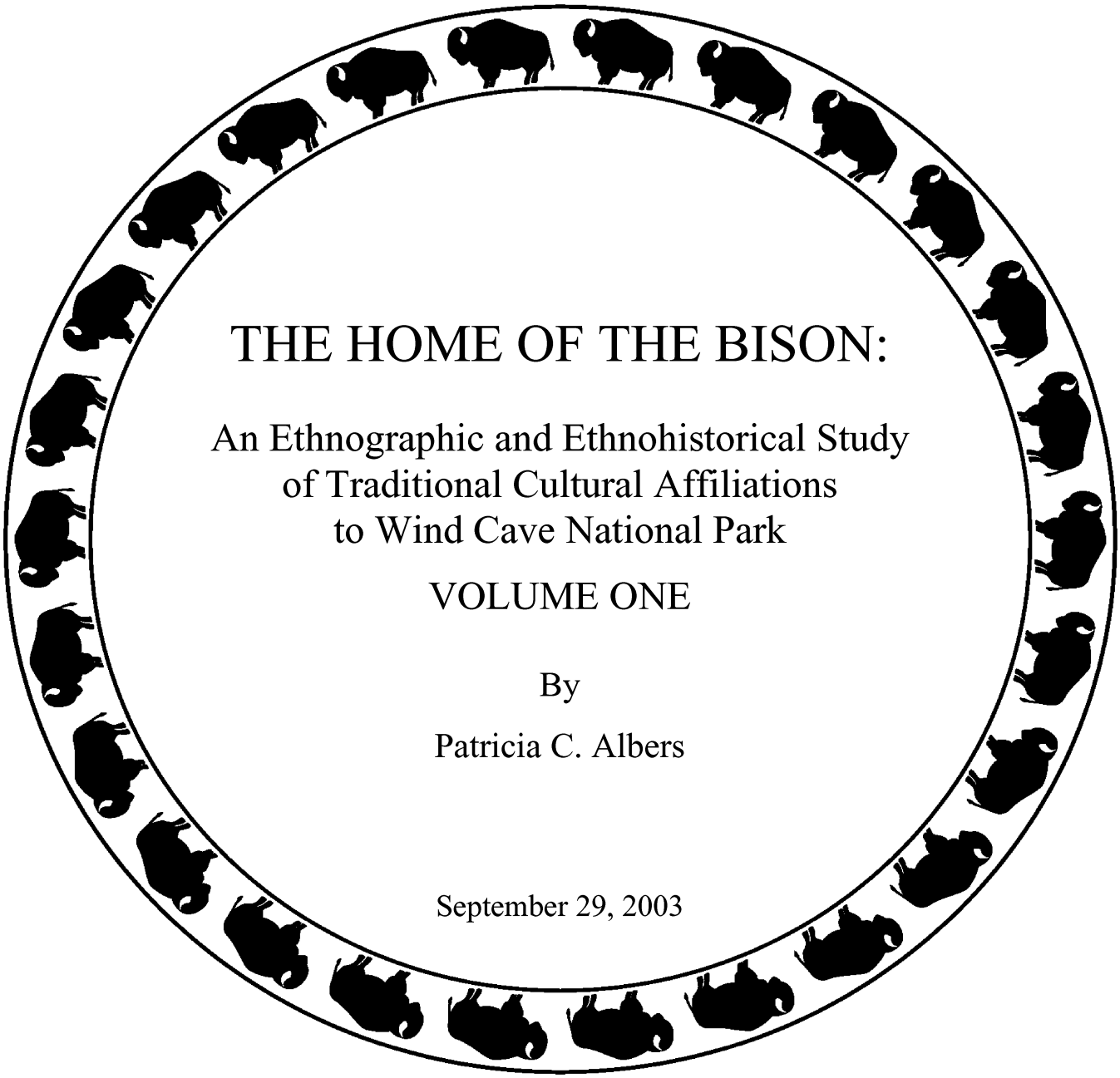

THE HOME OF THE BISON:

An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park

VOLUME ONE

By

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September 29, 2003

With the Assistance of

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Submitted in fulfillment of Cooperative Agreement #CA606899103
between the U.S. National Park Service &
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DISCLAIMER

Nothing written in this report should be construed as representing the views of the U.S. Park Service or the federal government of the United States. All of the information contained in this report and its interpretations reflect the position of the author, Patricia C. Albers.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

When Wind Cave National Park celebrated its Fiftieth Anniversary in 1953, a Lakota delegation from the Pine Ridge Reservation was invited to attend the festivities. As a way of honoring the event, the Lakotas adopted the park s superintendent, Earl M. Semingsen and named him *Tatanka Tokahe* [First Bison Bull]. Two things are significant about this name. On the one hand, it associates the park with bison, a culturally important connection for the Lakotas, who have long believed that Wind Cave is the home of the Buffalo Nation; and on the other, it refers to the name of the first human to emerge from the subterranean depths of the Black Hills through the portal that many Lakotas identify as Wind Cave. Much of the landscape of Wind Cave National Park, both above and below ground, is sacred to the Lakotas because it is a site of genesis and because it holds important teachings at the foundation of the way Lakotas have come to identify themselves as a people. The same holds true for the Cheyennes who hold the geological depression known as the Race Track in high regard and associate it with important cosmological precepts and the origins of their Sun Dance. The Lakotas identify the Race Track with an important spiritual pilgrimage their ancestors followed and that some have tried to recreate in modern times. In the traditions of both tribal nations, the story of the Great Race tells how the nature of relationships between humans and animals was established and how various topographic features of the Black Hills came into being.

It is not an exaggeration to say that Wind Cave National Park (hereafter referred to as WCNP) is one of the most sacred and culturally significant areas of the Black Hills to the Lakotas and Cheyennes. It is also a location associated with a complex and changing history of human occupancy, which extends back to prehistoric times. In the historic era, roughly 1742 to 1877, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were among many tribal nations who lived and traveled within reach of WCNP. For a brief period of time, circa-1880 to 1930, it was home to a small group of European American homesteaders. The history of the lands on which WCNP now sits form a diverse and deeply layered cultural tapestry. The ways in which its diverse populations adapted to the park s lands and assigned unique cultural meanings to them offer rich textual narratives. At least above ground, the park has never been a pristine landscape, but an area where the imprint of human activity is visibly marked on the landscape. Indeed, some of the most provocative interpretive questions about the park are not how it has existed as a pristine and isolated island of nature, but rather how its lands and resources have dynamically changed in the course of a history with different waves of human occupation.

In this executive summary, only some aspects of the park s culture history are highlighted. Specifically, attention is given to features of the park that can be identified as traditional cultural properties. A traditional cultural property represents a significant feature of the lived-in cultural practices and beliefs of an extant community, rooted in that community s history, and necessary to its survivance, identity, and well-being as a living community (Parker and King 1990). Wind Cave National Park contains many different landforms, landscapes, animals, plants, waters, soils, and minerals that meet this definition for contemporary tribes who are members of the Lakota and Cheyenne nations and very likely, the Arapaho nation too.

I. Current and Historic Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park

The Lakotas (pp.24, 46-49, 72-81, 93-95, 107-109; 154-160, 172-184, 247-248, 251-252)[1] and Cheyennes (pp. 23-24, 39-42, 67-72, 93, 108, 155, 157, 252) have had the most well-documented and uninterrupted historical relationship to the Black Hills over the past two centuries. Both of these tribal nations have also had important legal relationships to the area as established under the treaty law of the United States. Here, they are joined by a third tribal nation the Arapaho who were also connected to the Hills under U.S. treaty law (pp. 90-91; 100-102). The Arapahos (pp. 23-24, 36-38, 67-72, 93, 108, 252) arrived in the Hills sometime in the early half of the eighteenth century and maintained a continuing presence in and around the Hills until the United States illegally seized them in 1877 (pp. 126-129, 252-253; 254-265). Unlike the Lakotas and Cheyennes, there is nothing in the published literature that describes their continuing cultural relationship to WCNP, although a number of sources mention their ties to other sites in and around the Hills. The cultural resource staffs of the Arapaho tribes (p. 631) claim a cultural interest in the area, however, as do the staffs of all present-day Cheyenne (p. 630) and Lakota (p. 629) tribes. The federally-recognized tribes with the most important historical and cultural relations to the lands that make up WCNP include: The Northern Arapaho Tribe of Wyoming, The Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, The Northern Cheyenne and the Fort Peck Assiniboin/Sioux tribes of Montana, the Oglala Sioux, Rosebud Sioux, Lower Brule Sioux, Cheyenne River Sioux, and Standing Rock Sioux tribes of South Dakota.

There are many other tribes who have important cultural, historical, and/or legal relationships to the Black Hills. First and foremost among these are the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of South Dakota and the Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska (p. 632). Both of these tribes were parties to treaties and agreements with the United States governing the Black Hills. Although neither of these tribes had any kind of long-term residential connection to the area of the Black Hills, they need to be included among the federally recognized tribes with whom WCNP consults. Like other Dakota-speaking tribes, who were not parties to treaties dealing with the Black Hills, the Crow Creek and Santee Dakota have a long history of intermarriage with Lakota tribes who do have important historical ties to the Hills (p. 95). They also share in the cultural patrimony of the entire Sioux nation, and many of their present-day members adhere to beliefs and practices where the Black Hills occupy a significant place (p. 631). Dakota tribes who were not parties to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 either expressed no interest in being involved in consultations, or else, they deferred to the Lakota people for responsibility on matters pertaining to Wind Cave National Park (p. 631).

The remaining tribal nations have no relationship to WCNP under U. S. treaty law, although many of them have important historical connections to the area and some may have cultural ones as well. These tribes include the Arikaras, Comanches, Crows, Hidatsas, Kiowas, Mandans, Plains Apaches, and Poncas. Three of these populations the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Crows (pp. 21-22, 38-39, 45-46, 65-66) occupied and used areas on the northern side of the Hills in early historic times, but there is little evidence of any large or extended presence in the area of WCNP other than occasional trading and military forays. The Crows expressed no interest in further consultation with WCNP (p. 635). The Poncas (pp. 22, 42-43, 66, 95) and Comanches (pp. 23, 31-33, 64-65) are reported to have occupied areas in and around the southern Black Hills in the

[1] These and all future numbers refer to pages in the body of the text where further information and details are provided. In Part One of this report, there is a summary of historical material for different eras at the end of each chapter. Also, in Chapter Fifteen (pp. 587-616), there is a comprehensive review of the history of the park region from the early eighteenth century to the present.

eighteenth century, and the Poncas even retained a name for Wind Cave in their language (pp. 504-505). The cultural resource officer of the Comanche Tribe of Oklahoma deferred to the Lakotas for advisory responsibilities on WCNP (p. 635). The Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska expressed no interest in further consultation, while the Southern Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma indicated an historical interest in the area (p. 634). Of the tribal nations with known historical affiliations to the Hills, the Apaches (pp. 22-23, 33-35, 64-66) and the Arikaras (pp. 22, 43-45, 66, 95) have the earliest documented ties to the WCNP area, extending back at least to 1500 A.D. Both of these tribes traveled and camped at locations in and around the southeastern Black Hills until the end of the eighteenth century, after which time they are no longer reported in the area. Both of them also have important cultural connections to the Black Hills and retain stories of sacred significance about the area (pp. 503, 515-516, 528). Most of the sites where these stories unfold, however, refer to locations farther north. There is nothing specific that can be linked to Wind Cave and its surroundings. On historic grounds, the Plains Apache tribe of Oklahoma and the Fort Berthold Tribe of North Dakota (which includes the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas) expressed an interest in being consulted on matters pertaining to the park (p. 633). These tribes need to be included in any decisions that come under the guidelines of NAGPRA (p. 272) and that deal with funerary remains in the area between 1500 and 1800. The final tribal nation, the Kiowas (pp. 23, 35-36, 64-67) stayed along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River for approximately forty years in the mid-eighteenth century. Like the Apaches and the Arikaras, they hold many important stories of religious significance that refer to the Black Hills, but again, these cover sites on the northern side of the Hills (pp. 496, 497, 499, 505, 515). Kiowa cultural resource staff asked to remain on an advisory list until further consultations could be conducted with their tribal elders (p. 633).

Over the past three centuries, American Indian people of many different origins have had varying degrees of affiliation, historical as well as cultural, with areas of the Black Hills in and around WCNP, but only some of them, notably the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and possibly the Arapahos, have retained an on-going association with the area that conforms to the definition of a traditional cultural property. Before summarizing the cultural properties of importance to these tribal nations, a few words need to be said about European American historical and cultural attachments to the area of WCNP. For half a century between the 1880s and 1930s, a small number of European Americans homesteaded some of the land that would eventually become park property (pp. 121-125, 137-154, 234-236). Their history is part of the cultural heritage of many residents who live in communities bordering the park. Clearly, the lifestyles of European American ranch families and their adaptations to park lands represent an important chapter in any historical narrative that deals with the park (p. 624). The relationship of early settlers and other European Americans to park lands does not constitute, however, a traditional cultural property in the strict sense of its meaning. Certainly the park draws the interest of European Americans, locals as well as tourists, but it does so largely as a geological curiosity and an important zoological attraction (pp. 153-154, 166-169, 240-241). Since the park began 100 years ago, it has been influenced primarily by the modern cultures of tourism and natural history study, neither of which stand at the foundation of any contemporary European American community s identity or cultural belief and practice. They certainly are not necessary for the cultural survivance of any European American group (pp. 170-172, 441-442, 606-611).

This stands in marked contrast to the Lakotas and Cheyennes (and probably the Arapahos), where the park holds properties that stand at the foundation of some of their contemporary cultural beliefs and practices, and by extension, at the heart of their identities as Lakota and Cheyenne people. These tribal nations need to be consulted pursuant to a variety of different traditional cultural properties. In the remaining part of this overview, some of the cultural foundations behind the Cheyennes and the Lakotas continuing attachment to WCNP are

reviewed here. In addition, culturally significant landscapes, sites, and resources (animals, plants, minerals, and soils) on park properties are identified with consideration given to their protection and also to the conditions of accessing them for religious observances and other traditional cultural practices. Finally, attention is given to establishing consultative relations with these tribes and incorporating their perspectives into the park s interpretive programs.

II- The Cultural Foundations of Tribal Affiliations to WCNP

The cultural significance of the region where WCNP now stands to the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal nations is frequently diminished and trivialized in European American accounts. Their stories about the area are often labeled as tales, lore or legends, implying that none of them need to be taken seriously. This is unfortunate because Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of this area, its landscapes, landforms, geological activity, astronomical phenomena, plant habitats, and animal life, involve complex, richly textured, and systematized bodies of knowledge. The ontological premises of their knowledge systems certainly differ from the ones to which European Americans conventionally subscribe, but they still generate sophisticated interpretations of the region in which WCNP is located. This knowledge needs to be taken seriously and treated as a different but no less compelling way of thinking about the park in particular and the Black Hills more generally. The Black Hills are a powerful teacher, as the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos have long known, and it is important, where it is culturally appropriate and permissible to do so, to include some of their teachings in park interpretive programming (pp. 283-286, 578-593, 649).

From historic times to the present, the Lakotas have referred to the Hills euphemistically as a meat pack, a safe, or a supermarket, a place that contains all of the resources necessary for the well-being of the life forms they once depended on (pp. 281-282). In the historic era, roughly 1742 to 1877, the Black Hills represented a veritable storehouse of animals, plants, minerals, soils, and waters of value to local tribes. Tribes drew on these resources in different ways and degrees, but one thing is clear: the Black Hills were well known as an important and highly esteemed location for various kinds of resource procurement. Although one important species, the bison, abandoned the Hills after the 1860s, others remained abundant enough to provision the bands who stayed in the area or accessed it from a distance on a regular and recurring basis. Even after tribal title to the Hills was extinguished in 1877, Lakotas and Cheyennes continued to return to the region to hunt and find plants, stones, and other resources important to their daily needs and spiritual well-being, and they continue to do so to the present day (pp. 315-32, 392-400).

The Black Hills unique and diverse natural landscapes did not go unnoticed by the tribal nations who once lived and traveled in their reach. In most tribal perspectives, the abundance, uniqueness, and diversity of the Hills life forms were a telling testimony of their importance and sacredness. Indeed, the two went together in the sense that the region s geological/ biological complexity was embedded in, constituted by, created for, and a sign of their spiritual power. Indeed, the Lakotas and Cheyennes have long believed that the Black Hills are part of a complex and integrated ecosystem with important relationships to the surrounding prairies and sagebrush steppes. In his testimony before the Allison Commission, Red Cloud referred to the Black Hills as the Chief of the Land (pp. 522, 578-579, 595). Just as leaders do with their followers, the Hills guided, nurtured, and provisioned the lands within their shadows. As early as 1804, Lewis and Clark learned from the Arikaras that the winter home of the animals was located in the Black Hills (p. 476). In the early nineteenth century, bighorn, elk, pronghorn, and bison were reported to seek shelter during the winter months in the lower elevation recesses of the Black Hills. The annual cycle of ungulate movement between the Black Hills and the surrounding grasslands was

well-known to the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and it was also described by scores of European American writers who traveled the Hills before several native species were extirpated (pp. 309-315; 578-579).

The Lakotas and Cheyennes believe the Black Hills contain all the tiers, directions, and/or elements of the universe and that the spiritual forces which govern them have their homes in the Hills and their outlier formations (Inyan Kara Mountain, Bear Lodge Butte, and Bear Butte). Some of these homes are associated with caves. The Lakotas, for example, link Wind Cave to the spiritual force that governs the wind-power responsible for the breath of life (pp. 294-295, 305, 498, 499, 553). The Lakotas and Cheyennes, along with the Arapahos and Arikaras, also believe the spirits of animals reside in caves, and even more specifically, that they inhabit the vast cavern formations underneath the Black Hills. Cave openings are seen as portals to the animals subterranean homes, places where they exist in a spiritualized state awaiting the time of their materialization and emergence on the earth s surface (pp. 309, 311-312, 579-588).

In many different ways, the Black Hills are envisioned as a gigantic fertility or reproductive structure, often represented in the form of a bison. In historic times, winter was the time when animals returned to their underground homes. It was the season of gestation when new life was incubated inside the womb of ungulate species and by extension inside the earth and the caves in the Black Hills. In spring, when new generations of animals were born and received the breath of life, they were nursed at locations along the Race Track. The thermal waters at Hot Springs, for example, are described as the milk of the earth. Eventually, the animals made their way to the surrounding grasslands through the Hills various gateway canyons or birth canals, including the most famous one, the Buffalo Gap. After a summer season of feeding and growth, they returned in the late fall to the Race Track and then to the underworld to undergo a new cycle of rebirth and regeneration (pp. 455-456, 532-533, 564-565, 578).

In Lakota traditions, the spirit homes of bison are typically located in stone structures underneath the earth and usually inside eminences, such as mountains or hills (pp. 296-298, 340, 447, 544). In one Lakota story, the ice-like crystals of this subterranean world were the material out of which the Creator formed the first members of the Pte Oyate (Buffalo Nation), the ancestors of humans (p. 297). Gypsum (selenite), an important mineral in cave formation, was used in healing, in locating and calling animals, and in marking ceremonial altars (pp. 429, 433). In fact, the ribbon-like formations of gypsum that follow the Race Track have important symbolic meanings in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions and religious observances (pp. 340, 433-434, 557, 560, 566, 573,592). Stone is one of the most important spiritual entities in Lakota cosmology, constituting the foundation of all subsequent forms of creation. It is strongly equated with the earth and the bison (p. 594).

The spiritualized essence of the earth is usually represented in the figure of a bison woman whose home of origin is a cave or a spring. In Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, she appears either as an elderly woman or a young female who gifts humans with the plentiful supplies of bison that emerge from her subterranean home (pp. 299-300, 338-339, 447-449). The notion that the Black Hills embody a feminine generative presence is widespread in tribal traditions and documented not only for the Lakotas and Cheyennes, but also the Kiowas (pp. 499-500). Beneficent female bison spirits appear in a number of stories associated with Wind Cave (pp. 537-540).

Like stone and earth, water that comes from the depths of the earth is believed to have regenerative properties. And like caves, springs are seen as sites of emergence. In fact, several Cheyenne stories speak about bison coming to the earth s surface through springs rather than

caves (pp. 303-304, 453-454). Springs and caves are related, insofar as both are connected to the subterranean home of the bison and their guardian, the Earth. Both are also associated with Little People, who in some traditions are the Earth s helpers, assisting in the generative processes that she controls. Little People appear in several stories linked to the Wind Cave-Hot Springs area (pp. 454-455, 561-562).

Many Lakotas believe they are descended from the *Pte Oyate* (Buffalo Nation), and like their forbearers, they came into existence in the subterranean world and reached the earth s surface through a cave opening. The Lakota genesis story of *Tokahe* is widely associated with Wind Cave, and in fact, today, this is the one most commonly told in relation to this cave (pp. 540-542).

Once bison emerge on the earth s surface, their movement is linked to the wind and the sun. In early Lakota traditions, the North Wind, *Waziyata*, or his grandfather, *Waziya* (Winter Man and/or the First Buffalo Man), were equated with the North or Nadir of the earth, the direction from which the bison come. The home of these two figures is a cave. Some stories about Wind Cave are associated with the North Wind and/or the Old Man of Winter, and one of the Lakota names for this cave identifies it as the home of the wind, suggesting it has a connection to *Tate,* the Wind and his five sons, the Four Winds and the Whirlwind (pp. 302, 340-341, 449-452,549-555). In Lakota thought, the North Wind represents the material manifestation of *ni*, the breath of life (pp. 292, 302, 447). On cold winter days, bison were easily located by their clouds of frozen breath. Similarly, the openings to caves were made visible by the condensation they emitted. The Lakotas formed a synergistic connection between the two. Caves came to symbolize not only the place where bison came from but also where the breath of life or the wind originated (pp. 451, 452, 586). Because of its forceful airflows, Wind Cave came to represent the penultimate expression of this process, and some modern Lakota identify it very specifically with the spiritual force that governs breath (p. 545).

Historically, the North Wind and his grandfather, the Winter Man, maintained a paradoxical relationship with humans and bison because they created conditions that were life-giving as well as life-taking. Winters with enough cold and snow coverage to force bison into their usual patterns of movement were believed to be necessary for strong health and the renewal of life. Yet, under extreme conditions, winter could also bring death by driving game away and causing starvation (pp. 580-583). Indeed, one of the episodes in the highly regarded Falling Star cycles of the Cheyennes and Lakotas tell how the hero killed the Winter Man so people could hunt the bison he was hoarding. This story may have been associated with Wind Cave (pp. 556-557).

The connection of bison to the North Wind appears to have been part of an older Lakota tradition, widely recorded in the writings of nineteenth century observers who frequently mention the Black Hills in association with a giant who lived in a cave and controlled the movement of animals (pp. 449-450, 478, 587-588). This connection was confirmed in later years by Lakotas, who suggested that the lofty position of the North Wind was replaced by the figure of *Tatanka,* often represented as a white bison bull (pp. 337, 538). In fact, this cosmological shift may very well have followed a change in the seasons bison were typically hunted. Prior to the widespread adoption of horses and the commercial marketing of their robes, bison were usually hunted in the late fall and early winter through driving techniques at locations with natural enclosures or precipices (pp. 322-323, 581). In fact, just south of park properties is the Sanson Buffalo Jump, where bison were hunted in this manner during prehistoric times. By the nineteenth century, the customary time of the year to hunt bison was the late summer and early fall when the herds congregated on the open plains at locations outside the Black Hills (p. 323).

Tatanka remains a central figure in all major Lakota religious observances, including the most important of all, the Sun Dance (pp. 337-338). The bison bull is important to the Cheyennes as well, but he is not described in any detail in the ethnographic literature (p. 338). Among the Lakotas, the bison bull is sometimes linked to caves, and a few stories about Wind Cave and the general subterranean cavernous structure underneath the Black Hills mention white bison bulls or crazy bulls (pp. 542-543, 545-547). More typically, *Tatanka* is connected to the surface of the earth, including lands along the Race Track near the Buffalo Gap that are known in the Lakota language as *Tatanka makalhpaya* [The Stomping Grounds of the Bison Bull]. One important traditional Lakota story tells how a bison bull transformed himself into a human at this location (pp. 533-534).

In his various manifestations, *Tatanka* appears to be most closely associated with the sun, another major cosmic force in Lakota and Cheyenne cosmologies. The two are companions, and at night, when the sun sets, it stays underneath the earth in the bison s subterranean home (pp. 300-302, 452). In Cheyenne cosmology, the Sun is associated with the Southeast Wind (*Hesenota* or *Esseneta he*) (p. 287). There are many tantalizing bits of information, albeit circumstantial, that suggest the Buffalo Gap area may have been associated in older Cheyenne traditions with the home or pillar of this wind. In Lakota beliefs, the sun is connected either to the South (*Itokagata*) or the East (*Wihiyanpa*) Wind (pp. 290-291). In the worldviews of both tribes, there is a dynamic tension between the north (nadir-earth) and south (zenith-sun) that is played out every spring, when the sun begins its return movement north (pp. 300-301). According to the Lakotas, as the sun gets stronger, it drives the North Wind away and signals the bison to emerge from their subterranean homes to follow the sun s path. In historic times, this seasonal shift was associated with the general area of the Buffalo Gap and the annual cycle movement of bison to the grasslands beyond the Hills (pp. 300-302, 340, 452, 583-585).

The interaction of water, stone, and fire leads to the creation of breath, and bison symbolize this process because they carry the *ton* or force of the four superior spiritual elements in Lakota cosmology, namely, Stone, Earth, Sun, and Sky (and Wind) (p. 713). The sweatlodge, which is an important cultural practice among the Lakotas and Cheyennes, mimics a process that takes place on a grand scale in the region of Wind Cave National Park where the forces of the sun intersect with water (springs) and stone (caves), creating the conditions that spark the breath of life for new generations of bison (pp. 462-463, 585-586). When the southeastern reaches of the Black Hills still teemed with bison, the movement of certain herds between their winter homes along the Race Track and their summer grazing grounds on the prairies as far south as Alliance, Nebraska was well known to the Cheyennes and Lakotas who traveled and lived in this area (p. 579). Even after bison were extirpated from the region in the 1860s, their relationship to the Black Hills and the Wind Cave-Buffalo Gap area remained inscribed in tribal memory. When bison were reintroduced in the area during the early twentieth century, this event probably did not go unnoticed, nor would it have been unexpected. After all, Wind Cave was a major portal to and from their underworld home, and so logically, this would be the place they would first reappear. This event was certainly consistent with tribal beliefs, and it may have even reaffirmed the Lakotas conviction that Wind Cave is the origin home of the bison.

Once life is incubated within the depths of the Black Hills and emerges on the earth s surface through various cave openings, its various manifestations need to be ordered to insure its survivance. The process of this ordering is what the famous story of the Race Track is about. There are many different versions of this story among the Cheyennes and Lakotas, but many focus on how the race ordered the relationships between different animals and humans, thereby establishing certain basic categorical and cosmological distinctions in the universe (pp. 563-568).

In some Cheyenne traditions, the origins of the Sun Dance are connected to the story of the Great Race, and the area of the Buffalo Gap is believed to be the location where the bison first performed the dance and turned its teachings over to humans. The Sun Dance remains one of the most important religious observances of the Cheyennes and Lakotas, and much of its symbolism, at least among the Cheyennes, is directly tied to the Race Track and the story of the Great Race. Although many Lakotas and Cheyennes believe that the first Sun Dance conducted by humans took place in the Sun Dance Mountains near Bear Lodge Butte, its ultimate origin is still associated with the Wind Cave-Buffalo Gap area (pp. 472-475, 569, 572-573, 595-596).

The Lakotas also connect the Race Track to a circular constellation comprised of stars whose movements were coordinated with various landforms in the Black Hills (pp. 506-511, 569-570, 593-596). These alignments marked events in a ceremonial pilgrimage that started in the early spring with a pipe ceremony near the Buffalo Gap, moved to the interiors near Harney Peak and the Central Prairies, traveled to Inyan Kara Mountain and Bear Lodge Butte, and ended up at Bear Butte. One of the routes on this pilgrimage apparently followed the Race Track across WCNP properties to trails that led to the higher elevation regions of the Hills (p. 583).

While the Black Hills are unquestionably associated with the life cycle and movement of local animal populations, they are also distinguished by their plant life, which includes many species that never die over the winter months. The year-round greenery of the Hills abundant and concentrated stands of lodgepole pines, ponderosas, cedars, sages, spruces, and kinnikinick must have underscored the idea that this region had powers to perpetually renew and regenerate life (pp. 430, 589). Kinnikinick or bearberry, the gift of a spirit wolf, comes from the same direction as the North Wind and the bison, and it remains a vital ingredient in the tobacco mixtures that local tribes use when smoking a pipe to carry their messages to the spirits and *Wakan Tanka* or *Ma heo* (pp. 436-437). The notion that the Hills embody immortal forces and spirits is a long-standing one that, at least in terms of the written record, extends back to the mid-nineteenth century (pp. 513-514). This idea imbued the Black Hills with their reputation for providing tribal people with the natural resources necessary for maintaining and regenerating their own health, and it is probably the principal reason why the Hills remain a preferred site for the collection of many plant resources used in tribal healing and ceremonial observances today (pp. 393-395).

It needs to be emphasized that there are many different beliefs and practices associated with Black Hills in general and Wind Cave and the Race Track in particular. There is no right story nor has there ever been a single overarching narrative about either of these landforms in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions. Notwithstanding the variation, there are certain common themes that tie the different beliefs about these sites together, that link them to other locations in the Black Hills, and that reveal a more encompassing and shared sense of meaning about the relationships between the land, its animals, plants, and minerals, and the sky, its birds, winds, and stars. What the Lakotas and Cheyennes shared were certain cultural assumptions about the relationships between caves, springs, breath as a life-giving force, bison, and the spiritual forces, the Winds, the Earth, the Stone, and the Sun, that governed them. The cosmological precepts they shared were woven together in a range of tapestry-like storytellings that made sense in relation to the unique topography and landscape of the southeastern Hills. Most of the stories about Wind Cave, the Race Track, the Buffalo Gap, and the Hot Springs address fundamental and widely shared cosmological tenets about the nature of life and the workings of the universe. When they do so, they evoke the sacred knowledge and spiritual understandings that are at the heart of the way the Lakotas and Cheyennes see themselves and interpret their presence in this world (pp. 573-575).

Over time, some of the beliefs associated with the area of WCNP have changed. Yet, there is a remarkable continuity in the fundamental cosmological precepts that these traditions address. There is very little in modern Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of this area that does not have some historical precedent. Contrary to certain critics, who argue that contemporary Lakota beliefs about the sacredness of the Black Hills were invented in the twentieth century, either in response to tourism or the political movements of the 1970s, this report has gone to great lengths to demonstrate how modern beliefs and practices relating to the Hills and the region of WCNP have deep historical roots (pp. 476-577).

The region of WCNP not only occupies a significant place in Lakota and Cheyenne cosmologies and religious practice, but it also has importance for other reasons. Historically, this was an area some bands customarily established their winter camps. Locations along the Race Track, including those in the area of Wind Cave National Park, were highly valued because they were common winter haunts of the bison, and if bison failed to return, there was an abundance of other game. The season from late fall to early winter was the primary time of the year to hunt elk and mule deer, which commonly inhabited the Race Track and the rocky recesses of the Hogback. It is not fortuitous that most of the Lakota stories associated with the Wind Cave area take place during the late fall or winter months, the time of year the *tate* [small hunting parties] pursued elk and deer. Whether Lakota and Cheyenne winter camps were in the park at locations along the Race Track, at nearby sites along Beaver Creek and the Fall River, or outside the Hills along the Cheyenne and White rivers and even as far away as the Platte or Missouri rivers, it is clear that the region of Wind Cave National Park was one of areas small groups of hunters came to find game during the late fall and early winter months. The lands that make up most of the park s properties were clearly understood as a game reserve. They were a favorite winter hunting ground for the Lakotas and Cheyennes, an area that once held large numbers of bison. Even after this animal disappeared from the region, it was still rich in other sorts of large and small game, including several different species of birds commonly taken for food (pp. 106-109, 210-211, 214-215, 216, 218-210, 222, 223,316-317, 319, 379-380).

Bands that wintered outside the Hills usually camped in the area during other seasons. Around the time of the vernal equinox and before the thunders arrived, the Wind Cave-Buffalo Gap region was a place to gather dogwood and kinnikinick for tobacco mixtures (p. 509). As the summer solstice approached, bands began to move to locations in the higher elevation regions of the Hills (p. 399, 437-438). In doing so, they followed the Race Track to reach the well-established trails that took them into the interiors. At least two of these trails crossed park properties: one entered the Hills by way of the Buffalo Gap and followed Beaver Creek and its tributaries into the interiors; and the second skirted the western edge of the park near the water supply area by way of Red and Shirttail canyons and the Beaver Valley (pp. 586-587).

In the late spring and early summer, local bands focused their activity on the procural of plants used as food, medicine, and in manufacturing and ceremony. This was the time of the year the Lakotas and Cheyennes gathered lodgepoles, sought out medicinal plants not found on the surrounding prairies, and gathered food plants which were abundant in the Hills at this time of the year. Eastern facing locations along the Race Track and Hogback, for example, were popular sites to gather prairie turnip in the month of June (pp. 197, 208, 211, 220, 222, 223, 242, 393, 399, 583-584, 586-587).

Some local bands also traveled these trails in the fall and winter months to trap animals whose peltries and hides were at their prime during this time of the year. This would have been particularly true for the Lakotas and Cheyennes whose immediate families were linked by

marriage to European American traders and trappers (pp. 227-229). In fact, some early European American observers described how blazes were set in the trees of the Hills interiors to mark trails when these were covered by snow. Again, the familiar route that crosses Wind Cave National Park along Beaver Creek and its tributaries may have been used for this purpose (pp. 210-211, 228-229). Some bands also returned to the area in the fall rather than the spring to procure their lodgepoles (p. 399).

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No matter what season groups were in the Hills, they clearly sought out local springs in the area either for drinking water or for healing. The thermal waters just south of WCNP at Hot Springs were widely used by the Cheyennes and the Lakotas. There is abundant archaeological evidence of campsites in the vicinity of these springs, and this is one area where Lakotas and Cheyennes were reported to return on a continuing and recurring basis after 1877. While their reverence for and use of these thermal waters is the best documented, other springs have cultural significance too. Springs that emerge out of bluffs and rock outcroppings are commonly associated with the spiritual homes of Little People and also with the Double-Woman of the Lakotas, who is an important figure associated with excellence in quillwork. Any site of this order is bound to have spiritual significance and use, and, it would not be surprising to learn of such places inside the boundaries of WCNP (pp. 295, 304, 453-454; 485-487, 590-591).

Prior to the acquisition of trade metal and European-made tools, the Black Hills were a prime location to acquire rock and mineral suitable for manufacturing and ceremonial use. Two sites near WCNP, Battle Mountain and Flint Hill, were important areas to quarry flint used in the making of arrowpoints, and several archaeological sites on park properties also reveal quarrying activity. The gypsum and red clay deposits found along the Red Valley, for example, are explained in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions as originating in the Great Race, and both play a significant role in their ceremonial observances, including the Sun Dance. Even after the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were removed from the area, some of them returned to procure minerals, clays, and soil, especially those used for healing and religious observances (pp. 397-398, 433-434, 591-592).

In the years prior to 1877, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands maintained a complex, varied, and changing relationship to the Black Hills. As described in great detail in Chapter Seven (pp. 199-225), some of them regularly wintered along the Race Track and the lower elevation recesses of the Hogback, including locations in and around WCNP. Others wintered outside the Hills but at locations within easy reach; most of these bands generally camped in the Hills for shorter periods, especially during the spring and early summer. There were also bands who wintered at locations near the Missouri, Platte, and Powder rivers and who accessed the Hills on a recurring but less frequent basis. And finally, there were bands who hardly ever came to the Hills or who once lived near them but rarely returned after they moved to distant locations beyond the Hills. Looked at another way, the size and composition of the populations who stayed near the Hills varied over time. When bison were still abundant on the grasslands east of the Hills, the area was probably densely populated over much of the year by bands that accessed the area at different times and in different ways. After the 1840s, when larger numbers of Arapahos, Lakotas, and Cheyennes moved to locations south and west of the Hills to find more productive bison hunting territories or better grazing lands for their horses, the populations who wintered or summered in the Hills probably declined. Yet, in some years during the 1850s and 1860s, the Hills were heavily populated when bands took sanctuary in their reaches to escape U.S. military forces (p. 224). There were also times, especially during the summers of 1874 and 1875, when the Hills were abandoned because of a large military presence there (p. 224). As far back as the prehistoric record, the Black Hills were used by populations who came to the area from diverse

locations, who approached them in different seasons, and who stayed within their reach for varying lengths of time (pp. 17-25, 197-224).

However the Black Hills were used, they were an integral part of the territorial range of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos from the late eighteenth century until 1877 when they were illegally seized by the U.S. government. The Hills were also a common ground, a region these tribal nations jointly occupied and defended against outside encroachment. It was an area where they shared access to the region s rich resources, and where they built a sense of community through intermarriage and collaboration in subsistence, ceremony, and trade. In the process, they not only developed certain common understandings about the area, but they also shared access to the sacred sites that revealed the centrality of the Black Hills in their lives and cosmologies (pp. 50-57, 93, 96, 100, 196-198, 248-249, 526-530). The loss of the Black Hills was deeply felt by all of these tribal nations. Their inability to come together in the twentieth century to reclaim the Hills has engendered some bitterness. Yet, overriding some of their political differences is a profound and mutual sense of anger and frustration at being denied access to the Black Hills, particularly the public lands on which some of their most sacred sites rest (pp. 252, 257).

When today s Lakotas claim an ancestral connection to the Black Hills that stretches back to time immemorial, they are correct if we view their past in the light of a complex history of intertribal marriage and alliance and the cultural amalgamation that this history created. Certainly the Lakotas entrance into the Hills entailed conflict and competition, but it also came about through marriage and cooperation. As pointed out in many parts of the report, contemporary Lakotas are not the same people as the Lakotas of the seventeenth century. The people who make up the population of today s Oglala Lakota (Sioux) Tribe, for example, share strong and well-documented genealogical ties with the Arikaras, Poncas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes, all of whom lived and traveled in the Black Hills before the main body of Lakotas arrived and took up residence in the area during the early nineteenth century. Before the Lakotas arrival, Arikaras, Poncas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes shared ancestries with the Apaches who lived here probably as early as the sixteenth century. Decades, indeed centuries, of intermarriage created strong and tight social networks within which sharing, cooperation, and collaboration were not only possible but also encouraged across tribal boundaries. Although punctuated by short periods of conflict, the Lakotas relations with the Arapahos and Cheyennes were especially strong and enduring. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, these three tribes lived together in peace and jointly defended the Hills against the incursions of other tribes, notably the Crows and Pawnees, and together, they attempted to thwart the advance of European Americans. Before these three tribes dominated the Hills, they were co-occupied by Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, and Crows who tried to keep the Lakotas and Shoshones at bay, and before them Poncas and Arikaras as well as various Apachean and Numic-speaking populations frequented the area (pp. 50-57, 67, 70, 79, 95, 131, 526-530).

After American troops, prospectors, and settlers invaded the Black Hills illegally in 1874, the Lakotas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes joined forces in launching raids against the interlopers. Most of this raiding took place near the Hills various canyon gateways and along the Race Track. Some of the most intense fighting occurred at locations that followed the Red Canyon and Buffalo Gap trails into the interiors (pp. 124, 125-126, 157). Some early settlers reported that the southeastern region of the Hills, where WCNP is now located, was one of the areas that local tribes were least willing to relinquish (p. 106). This was the area where the Sicangu Lakota leader Spotted Tail wanted to establish an agency for his followers (pp. 114, 132). When deliberations took place between the federal government and representatives of these three tribes over the sale of the Black Hills, the lands between the outer edge of the limestone plateau and the Cheyenne River, which included the Race Track, were the ones these tribes did not want to

abandon. In fact, Red Cloud was very emphatic about not including the Race Track in any sale or lease (pp. 127, 128, 132).

In the last half of the nineteenth century, WCNP and its surrounding environs, including the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs, remained an ideal location for settlement and use. The area was now within easy reach of government agencies on the upper reaches of the White River, where many Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos drew their treaty annuities. Although bison had largely disappeared from the area, it still remained a location rich in other game, notably, elk, deer, and pronghorn. The region also offered other necessary amenities, including access to good shelter, wood, fresh water, and even forage for small herds of horses. It contained a rich and diverse range of plant communities, which tribes relied upon for food and medicine and in manufacturing and ceremony; it also included minerals and soils important in their daily life and in the conduct of their religious observances. Some of the same reasons this area was so important to local tribes made it attractive to incoming European Americans. The newcomers also recognized the advantages of its milder winter climate, fine grasses, mineral waters, accessible supplies of timber, and abundant game. They homesteaded along the Fall River and along Beaver and Highland creeks, and they ran their cattle and horses on lands that covered park properties until this use was prohibited in the twentieth century (pp. 116-118142, 150-153, 234-237). They also gathered timber and plant foods in the area and hunted here, and it is probably not a coincidence that many of their stories about Wind Cave and its discovery also involve hunters and hunting (pp. 146-147).

After 1877 when tribal title to the area was extinguished, Lakotas and Cheyennes from the nearby Pine Ridge Reservation gradually returned to the southeastern Black Hills. Once the military s policy of reservation confinement was relaxed, small groups began to enter the Hills with the permission of their government agents. In the late 1870s, the Hot Springs area was settled by a small group of non-Indian men (and men of mixed ancestry) with their Lakota wives and descendants. In the following decades, even at the height of the Indian Scare between 1889-1990, Lakotas were reported in the area bathing at the thermal waters of *Minnekahta*, trading with local merchants and ranchers, visiting friends, and even camping in the town over the entire summer. There are also references to them picking berries, digging turnips, and collecting medicinal herbs in the area. The Lakotas and Cheyennes of Pine Ridge also visited Wind Cave, camped on park properties, and traveled through the park en route to the locations where they cut their lodgepoles (pp.154-161, 224- 226, 242, 393).

In contrast to the late decades of the nineteenth century, when Lakotas and Cheyennes from Pine Ridge returned to the Hills to carry on many traditional subsistence pursuits, their activity in later decades was focused less on procurement, other than the collection of berries and medicinal plants, and more on making a living through performance or employment. In the early decades of the twentieth century, they became actively involved in the round of summer celebration activities sponsored by local white communities, and some became associated with permanent tourist attractions too. In these years, some Lakotas continued to use the park as a camping location en route to areas in the Hills interiors. In the 1930s, WCNP sponsored an encampment where Lakotas held dances and demonstrated bison butchering and cooking techniques. In these years, the Black Hills continued to be thought of as a source of sustenance, a place that provided people with a means of livelihood. Even though much of their presence in the Hills between 1920 and 1960 took place in settings of tourism, it can be suggested that this experience gave them a concrete context for retelling many traditional stories about the importance of the Hills and its various sacred sites, and this is certainly evident from the recollections of Nicholas Black Elk s grandchildren. Spending time in the Hills may have opened opportunities to visit isolated locations to conduct important but unobtrusive religious observances connected with fasting and

other prayerful devotions and also to the collection of plants and stones used in healing and ceremony.

Lakotas and Cheyennes from Pine Ridge and other reservations in South Dakota regularly traveled to the Hills to visit places of sacred significance. After 1930, Cheyennes from Oklahoma and Montana also began to travel to the Hills again for the same purpose. Throughout the twentieth century, the Black Hills were a place of return, an area that reminded tribal peoples of their culture, a landscape that continued to reveal and teach them some of the basic tenets of their worldviews and that rekindled and indeed became integrally tied to their own sense of identity as Indian people and members of particular tribal nations. The essential point is that the Lakotas and Cheyennes never abandoned the Black Hills. They continued to assert their relationship to the area, even if, at times, it was on the terms of the people who had stolen this land from them (pp. 172-179, 475-516).

After the 1970s, the Lakotas, the Cheyennes, and the Arapahos, began to reestablish a relationship to the Hills on their own terms (pp. 180-185, 269-274). Guided by provisions in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and newly established federal laws, especially the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, they sought access to the Hills for the purpose of conducting some of their traditional religious observances. Some participated in political occupations and takeovers, including one at WCNP, to publicize their legal rights, and others tried to get congressional legislation passed that would return most of the public lands in the Black Hills to tribal ownership, including again the area of WCNP. Although much of this political activity has subsided in recent years, Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos still struggle to advance their interests on public lands in the Black Hills. They continue to lobby for the protection of their sacred sites, for accommodations to conduct ceremonies and solitary religious observances on these lands and for considerations to access various traditional cultural properties. Equally significant, although less publicized, is the fact that since World War II increasing numbers of Lakotas have returned to the Hills to live and work. In 2000, according to the statistics of the U. S. Census Bureau, nearly five percent of the Hills population represented people who identified themselves as American Indian (p. 179).

As explained in greater detail in Chapter Seven (pp. 227-239), much of the land area that makes up the Black Hills and its outlier formations is under the jurisdiction of federal or state agencies. It is part of a vast public commons to which multiple interest groups have had varying degrees and kinds of access. Until the early decades of the twentieth century, much of area was open access land where local settlers hunted, grazed their animals, supplied their timber needs, and gathered wild plant foods with little or no restriction. Even the lands that became part of WCNP permitted certain extractive activities, including grazing, well into the twentieth century. For many years, tribal people also retained some limited access to the land for certain traditional purposes until laws and policies were enacted that seriously restricted the taking of faunal, floral, and mineral resources for domestic use. The passage of these laws not only affected tribal people but European American settlers as well. The extractive activities of both groups were restricted in the face of corporate timber and mining interests, but even more significantly, they were outlawed to meet the needs of an emerging travel and recreational industry.

When tourism and recreation started to flourish in the Hills after World War I, a new set of users entered the region with very different sensibilities about land-use and resource extraction. Over time, more public land came under a restricted status and off-limits to many traditional users, European Americans and American Indians (pp.165-169, 172-178, 224-226, 237-239). Competition and conflict between different user groups has defined much of the twentieth century history of the public commons in the Black Hills. Leaving aside for the moment their larger,

treaty-based interest in the Hills (pp. 245-268), Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho access to the area s public lands has been compromised, in part, as a result of changing attitudes towards land-use in the Black Hills, a shift that has affected many local whites as well and pitted their interests against those of tourists and recreationists. Although tribal interests in the Hills ironically share certain features in common with local white settlers, they remain quite distinct and separate in other ways. One feature that distinguishes tribal interests is their underlying religious character. In contrast to European Americans, whose religiosity is not tied to the land, the religious traditions of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos are integrally connected to the land and very specifically to the land that makes up the Black Hills (pp. 441-454, 531-596). Tribal interests in the Hills have always had economic components, underpinnings and motivations, but these have been defined and energized by worldviews where the material appearance of things is inseparable from its spiritual foundation. As explained in the text of this report (pp. 282-304, 325-354, 389-391), the material and immaterial dimensions of existence are intertwined in ways that make it difficult to separate the practical from the spiritual or the profane from the sacred in tribal worldviews. Nonetheless, there are certain times and places where the sacredness of life in its varied and complex manifestation is especially apparent and strong, where cosmic forces converge and reveal themselves in extraordinary and wondrous ways. One of these locations includes the environs where WCNP now sits.

III-The Character of Contemporary Cultural Affiliations to WCNP

Today the area that makes up WCNP remains important to the Lakotas and Cheyennes not only because of its historical connections through decades of occupation and use, but also because it speaks to important events in cosmological time that address fundamental teachings about the workings of the universe that led to the origin of significant religious observances. Many of these traditional teachings and observances still hold currency in contemporary tribal beliefs and practices, and this is well-documented in the writings and oral narratives of contemporary Lakotas and Cheyennes. It is also evident in the curriculums they teach in their K-12 schools and tribal universities (pp. 391-397, 475-516, 531-573).

A. Landscapes and Landforms: Issues of Protection and Access

The ways in which the Lakotas and Cheyennes have talked about and conceptualized the Black Hills and their various landscapes, including those identified with the region of WCNP, make it difficult to single out a series of discrete sites that can be identified, segregated, and ranked for purposes of cultural protection and management (pp. 641-643). The importance of Wind Cave, the Race Track, the Buffalo Gap, and the Hot Springs is not about these sites as single landforms, separated from each other and isolated from the living world of which they are a part. Instead, their significance resides in their relationships to each other and to the wider area that constitutes the entire Black Hills (pp. 454-455, 576-577, 637, 640-642). This is an integrated landscape but only part of it comes under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. Wind Cave and a portion of the Race Track are located on park properties, but the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs are situated outside boundaries of the park.

All of the Lakota and Cheyenne cultural resource personnel with whom we spoke singled out the Race Track as a culturally significant traditional property (pp. 635-636). For many different reasons already described here and in the text of the report, it is considered a sacred site (pp. 483-482, 562-573). Much of the Race Track, however, has been disturbed, opened to settlement and development since 1877. Large portions of it are also in the hands of private property owners. Only a few areas of this geological depression remain on public lands and retain any semblance

of their original state. One of the places where the track is still relatively isolated and pristine sits on park properties. All of the Lakota and Cheyenne resources officers we interviewed concurred that this area of the Race Track requires special protection, and two even suggested that it should be nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places to protect it from any further development. Given its importance in the history, cosmology, and current religious practices of these two tribes, we agree that it should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. Indeed, we would argue that the entire region encompassing the lands between the Buffalo Gap and Wind Cave should be designated as part of an historic district rather than an historic site. Since it is an integrated landscape, not just a small self-contained location that is significant, we recommend that the entire region be included under some kind of protected land status. Outside the Hogback, the town of Buffalo Gap is already part of a NRHP historic district and this designation should be extended to include the landscape in and around the natural landform known as the Buffalo Gap, a place that is also vitally important to the Lakotas and Cheyennes.

The Lakota cultural resource officers we interviewed identified Wind Cave and the mountain in which it is nested as sacred and culturally significant traditional properties (pp. 636-637, see also, pp. 446-451, 487-490, 532-562). The cave is already protected and so are some of the human-made structures that surround it. Both carry a NRHP designation. The mountain in which the cave is nested also carries a degree of protection because much of it sits on NPS land, but the restrictions on its use are probably not as rigorous as those that hold a NRHP status. Further protection, as described momentarily, might be handled in other ways.

Many other landforms or sites of traditional cultural significance probably exist on park properties that have not been referenced in the published or archival literatures we studied (pp. 638-639). None of the tribal cultural resource staff with whom we spoke volunteered information on other sites. Since all of the Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho people we interviewed indicated that the park continues to be used for fasting and prayer, observances that typically take place in areas of spiritual significance, there are bound to be other places that can be regarded as traditional cultural properties or sacred sites. Some of the types of places that might require special consideration in the future include:

1) Rock Art: All rock art in the Black Hills is believed to be sacred, representing one of the ways that spirits communicate with humans (pp. 453, 638). Wind Cave National Park, however, is not in an area where heavy concentrations of rock art are known to exist. Hidden and unidentified petroglyphs and pictographs might still be located on park properties. One of the Lakota cultural resource people we spoke to indicated that there was rock art on the mountain above the cave, although he did not specify its exact location. All rock art is protected under federal laws governing prehistoric remains, and special efforts need to be made to locate and protect those that may be situated inside the park.

2) Other Cave Openings and Springs: All springs and cave openings have sacred significance in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions because they are the portals between the earth s surface and the subterranean world where some spirits keep their homes (pp. 446-452, 638). While these sites may not have any tribal-wide traditions associated with them, as exist in relation to Wind Cave and the Race Track, some of them may be a part of traditional and culturally significant beliefs and practices of smaller circles of people, including families, communities, and associations of religious practitioners. As indicated previously, these sorts of locations are often tied to Little People, the Double-Woman, and a host of different animal spirits in Lakota and/or Cheyenne traditions (pp. 561-562).

3) <u>Unusual Topographic Formations:</u> Standing stones with unusual shapes might be known to have extraordinary properties and origins (pp. 453, 639). One location marked on old GLO map as Giant s Thumb could be one of these (p.560). Distinctive landforms, such as Rankin s Ridge, are often identified as the backbone of an animal spirit and therefore hold special interest. Canyons or rock outcroppings in which gypsum or other crystalline mineral formations are located are also likely to have significance, especially if they exist in locations with unusual concentrations of certain plants (e.g. chokecherries) or in areas animals are known to frequent and feed. Again, traditional cultural knowledge about these kinds of locations is probably restricted to certain circles of people.

4) <u>Burial Sites and Remains:</u> Burial areas are especially sacred, and in historic times, it was not uncommon for the Lakotas and Cheyennes to bury their dead near caves and in rock crevices. One of the primary reasons many modern day Lakotas and Cheyennes consider the Hills sacred is because they hold the burial grounds of some of their ancestors. In fact, one Lakota identified an area just above Wind Cave as the location for the burial of his grandfather s sister (pp. 451, 513, 639). Since this type of burial took place in the Hills before 1877, the locations of specific internment sites may not be known. If burials happen to be uncovered by accident in the course of routine park maintenance or improvements, they need to be left alone. If they have to be moved to protect them, their approximate age needs to be identified in order to determine which tribal nation(s) should be consulted. As a general rule of thumb, any remains found in the park that date between 1500 and 1700 probably have Apache or Arikara affinities, between 1700 and 1750, the situation becomes more complicated and the tribes involved also include Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, Poncas, and Cheyennes. After 1750, the Lakotas need to be added to the list, and between 1800 and 1877, the relevant tribes are the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

The identification of other traditional and culturally significant sites on park properties requires additional in depth and on-site consultations with tribes who have vested and continuing cultural interests in the park, namely, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. Even if knowledgeable tribal educators, elders, cultural resource personnel, and spiritual leaders from each of these tribes are invited individually or as groups to tour the area and identify sites, many of them may still not come to light. The sites may remain unidentified because only some individuals and families know about them, or because there are cultural reasons for not divulging information about their whereabouts (pp. 639-641).

As argued in greater detail in Chapter Sixteen (p. 641), each tribal nation and even each of its constituent communities probably has a different map of the sacred sites on park properties, and it would be an enormous undertaking to attempt to locate all of them. Since most areas of the park are left alone and not in any danger of being disturbed, it may not be necessary on a practical level to know these places in advance. Park staff and visitors, especially hikers and backpackers, may come across them from time to time because of the presence of offerings and other evidence of spiritual activity. If they do so, the sites need to be left alone and the prayer ties and banners associated with them untouched. One tribal cultural resource officer suggested that park staff and visitors be advised not to disturb these offerings when they are found (pp. 459-461).

Even if the park does not attempt to locate all the sites of cultural importance and/or sacred significance, it is absolutely imperative that such locations be identified whenever the park undertakes any form of development or pursues other actions that will alter the landscape. This includes such things as improving or expanding trail systems and carrying out prescribed burns. It is true that burns often reveal archaeological sites not readily visible in dense stands of vegetation, but this kind of activity can have devastating consequences if it takes place in locations where people customarily fast and pray or where spirits, such as Little People, are

known to frequent. Any type of action that is likely to disturb or alter a location demands on-site consultations with interested tribes, and it is often under these circumstances that information otherwise kept secret will often be revealed to protect a spiritual site from desecration.

The park also has important connections to the conduct of a variety of religious observances (pp. 459-474). All cultural resource officers of the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes indicated that the park is a site for the conduct of certain solitary religious observances involving fasting and prayer (pp. 459-460, 63-464, 643-644). It is also mentioned in relation to small group observances such as sweatlodges and pipe ceremonies (pp. 462-643). Even larger events, most notably Sun Dances, are known to have taken place on park properties in recent times (pp. 467-474.). Some of the Lakota cultural resource staff admitted that the frequency of group spiritual observances at the park has declined in the last decade, but they also observed that more private devotions continue to be held here. Many contemporary religious practices of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos do not take place in a set place. Sites are chosen for such purposes on the basis of the instructions religious practitioners receive from their spirit helpers, the solitude they offer, and/or their association with a specific spiritual presence (p. 474). Whatever the motivation for holding religious observances on park property in the past, it appears most of them were conducted at locations away from the heavily trafficked areas of the park. This will likely remain the case in the future, although one Lakota cultural officer indicated that some spiritually knowledgeable people want special access to the cave s interiors to hear what the spirits are saying. In order to accommodate such a request, special provisions and policies would need to be developed to permit religious observances inside the cave. As discussed elsewhere, granting such requests should be determined on the basis of a neutral standard that evaluates the activity s relative impact on the cave and its fragile boxwork formations, not on the grounds that the activity fails to conform to current policies governing the present-day access of spectators and spelunkers (pp. 642-645). In general, allowances need to be considered and made for certain kinds of traditional religious activity that do not fall under the urbanized, tourist and recreational models that typically manage human relationships to the natural world under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. It is also important to note that many sacred sites may not have any religious observances attached to them. They are left alone out of respect and regard for the spiritual presence that resides there (pp. 455, 640).

The most recent Executive Order on sacred sites, 13007 defines the parties whose interests need to be taken into consideration in terms of identifying and accessing sacred sites on federal lands. First, the person(s) must come from a federally-recognized tribe with established religious and ceremonial affiliations to the area; and two, the person(s) must be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion. The second determination can be tricky, as discussed elsewhere, because there is not always widespread agreement on who constitutes a legitimate religious practitioner (p. 651). Among some tribes, such as the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, there is a formally-organized association of medicine men and women, which makes their identification fairly easy. In most other tribes, the identification is more informally based. Even though there might be disagreement on the worth of particular practitioners, there is a general consensus on the identity of these people. Thus, at Pine Ridge, Rich Two Dogs and Wilmer Mesteth are widely respected religious practitioners and very knowledgeable about the park and its environs. While this law has merit in eliminating the fakes and wanabees, its restricted wording could potentially exclude people who come to the park for private devotions, if religious practitioner is narrowly construed to mean people otherwise identified as spiritual leaders or medicine men and women (pp. 457-458). Adherents and practitioners of tribal religions who would not be classified as a religious specialist or leader undertake much of the religious activity that takes place on park properties. Most private religious observances are unobtrusive and have impacts on the land that are no more invasive than a hiker or backpacker,

and therefore, they are not likely to require any kind of elaborate policy-making decisions. The conduct of sweatlodges, pipe ceremonies, Sun Dances, and other comparable group observances, however, require more consideration and accommodation.

Generally speaking, most forms of religious observance will not require a great deal of intervention or management on the part of park staff when it comes to finding suitable locations that are isolated enough to give individuals and small parties the solitude they need. Only some of the larger observances, notably the Sun Dance, raise management issues that involve, among other things, providing road access and sanitation and minimizing impacts on the land. Where conflicts of interest are most likely to emerge, and where management policies are most needed, pertain to issues of resource extraction, including requests from religious practitioners for soils, minerals, and plants used in the conduct of their observances. It should be pointed out that most of this kind extraction is limited in scope. In the case of plants, only berries, shells, and nuts can be legally collected on park property. Other takings are illegal, but if exceptions were to be made to allow limited harvesting for traditional religious purposes, much of it could be carried out in ways that do not damage or destroy a plant. Except for roots and bulbs, barks, leaves and branches can be harvested without removing a plant from its habitat (pp. 645-646). Indeed, we would recommend that the park service consider the possibility of allowing limited forms of extraction for religious purposes that do not destroy the resource and/or its habitat.

In this regard it must be pointed out that most Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho religious observances require a ceremonial altar and fire, the smoking of a pipe, and smudging (pp. 459-462). This is not a matter of choice; it is absolutely imperative in the conduct of virtually all religious observances. Propane-fueled fires or carbide lamps cannot serve as functional replacements. Most ceremonial fires require specific types of wood to produce the coals that light the pipes or the smudges that carry prayers and messages to the spirit world. Here the use of certain resources, such as box elder or cottonwood for fire, cedar for smudge, and kinnikinick for tobacco, is prescribed and absolutely necessary to insure a successful and effective outcome (p. 460). In the case of subsurface spaces, fires might be built on the outside and the coals carried in containers to light pipes and smudges in a cave interior. On the surface, open fires always pose a danger during dry periods and times of drought. Since most religious observances on park land are likely to take place from March 21 to August 1st during seasons of low fire danger, this is not likely to be a major concern. When fire danger is high, however, other kinds of accommodations might be made in consultation with tribes to determine how to contain and monitor open fires so they do not pose a risk.

B. Resources and Their Protection

There are many floral, faunal, and mineral resources on park lands that constitute traditional cultural properties. On lands under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, these resources are already guaranteed a high measure of protection. The concerns that tribes have expressed include the protection of these resources from the potentially destructive forces of development, such as new trails and roads, or the casual, and often illegal, takings of park visitors and local residents. Tribes also have a legitimate, traditional cultural interest in gaining limited access to some of these resources for use in healing and the conduct of any of a variety of religious observances, and again, we recommend that the NPS consider the possibility of allowing limited extractive activity. In discussing the types of traditional cultural properties at Wind Cave National Park, it must be emphasized that the information presented here and in the body of the report and its appendices represents only a portion of the knowledge that the Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho retain on animals, plants, minerals, and soils. Much of this knowledge remains unrecorded and unpublished and is transmitted orally in traditional contexts. Some of it,

particularly that which pertains to healing and ceremonial use, is privileged information, held by traditional religious practitioners and not widely known. Therefore, nothing contained in this summary or the report should be construed as exhaustive of the possible uses and meanings associated with natural resources that conform to the designation of a traditional cultural property.

1) Animals:. Wind Cave National Park s cultural identity and spiritual significance in the eyes of Lakota and Cheyenne people is closely tied to its animals, especially the bison. Historically, the these tribes had a twofold relationship to the area; first, it was a highly regarded hunting ground, and second, it was a spiritual place, a location spirits frequented and one where important transformative processes took place that gave animals and humans the breath of life. Since hunting is outlawed on park lands, this activity no longer takes place here. However, since 1937, when House Resolution 8773 was passed, authorizing the park to donate its surplus game meat to local tribes, it has remained an important and highly valued source of food for local tribes (pp. 177-178). Bison and other game animals that inhabit park properties are seen as particularly significant because they live in proximity to their underworld spiritual homes and because they feed on the grounds where the Great Race took place, where humans first emerged on the earth s surface, or where Falling Star traveled in his various quests to save the people. Some may even believe that the meat of animals grazed on park land has greater health-giving properties (p.173**).** Besides meat, there are many other animal parts, including hides, bones, skulls, teeth, shells, cartilage, bones, blood, and organs that have traditional cultural uses and purposes. Tribal members might legitimately request any of these when local herds are culled. The following list summarizes the animals whose body parts have been customarily used as food, in manufacturing, in healing and in various religious observances. A more detailed discussion of these uses is found in Appendix A (pp. 698-807) and also in Chapter Ten (pp. 356-381).

TABLE A: Summary of Faunal Cultural Properties Historically Associated with Wind Cave National Park and Used By the Lakotas and Cheyennes

	FOOD	MANUFACTURE	HEALING& CEREMONY
UNGULATES			
Bighorn	x	x	x
Bison	x	x	x
Elk	x	x	x
Mule Deer	x	x	x
Pronghorn	x	x	x
Whitetail Deer	x	x	x
CARNIVORES			
Bear	x	x	x
Coyote			x
Fox			x
Wolf	x		x
Mountain Lion	x		
Badger	x	x	x
Skunk	x	x	x
Weasel, Ferret			x
SMALL HERBIVORES			
Beaver	x	x	x
Gopher			x

SPECIES Table A, cont.	FOOD	MANUFACTURE	HEALING& CEREMONY
Mouse		x	
Porcupine	x	x	x
Prairie Dog	x	x	x
Rabbit	x	x	x
Squirrel	x	x	
BATS			
Bats			x
BIRDS			
Eagles		x	x
Hawks&Falcons			x
Vultures			x
Owls			x
Grouse&Turkey	x	x	x
Duck&Geese	x	x	x
Crane & Pelican		x	x
Kingfisher			x
Flicker			x
Woodpecker			x
Crow	x	x	x
Magpie	x	x	x
Junco	x		
Swallow&Lark			x
Nighthawk	x	x	x
Oriole			x
Meadowlark			x
Tanager			x
Sparrow&Warbler		x	
INSECTS			x
Ants		x	x
Butterflies&Moths			x
Dragonflies	x	x	x
Grasshoppers	x		x
Spiders			x

2) Plants -- The Black Hills have long been associated with plant collection (pp. 391-397) Indeed, the plants that grow in this area are believed to have more potency because of their association with the spiritual forces that live in the Hills and that govern the tiers, directions, and/or elements of the universe. Wind Cave National Park contains a host of plants important as food and medicine, in veterinary practice and in manufacturing, and with spiritual and symbolic significance. Again, although most of the plants that grow on park properties can be found at other locations in the Black Hills and on the surrounding prairies, their association with Wind Cave and the Race Track makes them especially potent and powerful.

The cultural resource officers with whom we spoke to singled out kinnikinick and sage as especially important (pp. 394, 645). Both of these plants are important traditional cultural properties, and they occupy a central place in the healing and ceremonial traditions of the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Lakotas (pp. 392, 394, 408-419, 428-429, 436-437, 821-823, 906-907, 917-918). Leaves from both plants can be taken without destroying the resource. Other plants have importance too, but these may be difficult to identify in association with the park for two

reasons. First, in general terms, tribal healers are reluctant to talk about and identify the sources of their medicine. This is considered privileged information, which is not even shared with fellow tribal members. Second, people are hesitant to talk about the locations where they gather plants for fear that divulging such information will lead to restrictions on future access, especially in areas like national parks where most forms of plant collection area prohibited (pp. 398-399). This is an area of consultation that will require special sensitivity and forbearance. Listed below are some of the plants inside park boundaries that are associated with traditional cultural uses and meanings. Again, more detailed descriptions on these and other plants are found in Appendix B and Chapter Eleven (pp. 400-439).

Table B. Summary of Faunal Cultural Properties Historically Associated with Wind Cave National Park and Used By the Lakotas and Cheyennes

SPECIES	Food	Medicinal & Hygienic	Veterinary	Symbolic& Ceremonial	Art & Manufacture
Flowering Forbs					
American Licorice	x	x			
Beardtongue		x			
Blazingstar	x	x			
Blue Vervain		x			x
Breadroot Scurfpea	x			x	x
Cattail	x	x			
Cleavers					x
Common Yarrow	x	x		x	x
Cowparsnip	x		x	x	x
Curlycup Gumweed	x				x
Evening Primrose				x	x
False Boneset	x				
False Gromwell					x
Fetid Marigold	x			x	x
Field mint	x	x			
Fleabane	x		x		
Goldenrod	x	x		x	x
Goosefoot	x	x			x
Gromwell	x				
Groundcherry		x			
Hairy golden aster	x	x			
Horseweed	x				
Lanceleaf bluebells				x	x
Locoweed	x				
Mariposa Lily	x	x		x	
Milkvetch		x	x	x	
Milkweeds		x	x	x	x
Milkwort		x			
Narrowleaf gromwell		x		x	x
Pasqueflower				x	x
Pepperweed	x	x		x	
Pinedrops		x		x	x
Prairie goldenpea		x		x	x
Pricklypear cactus		x			
Purple coneflower		x	x	x	x

SPECIES **Table B, cont.**	Food	Medicinal & Hygienic	Veterinary	Symbolic& Ceremonial	Art & Manufacture
Pussytoes		x			
Rush skeletonplant		x			
Sagewort		x	x	x	x
Scarlet globemallow		x			
Sheperd s purse		x			
Soapweed	x	x			x
Spurge		x			
Sunflower	x	x		x	x
Sweetclover		x			
Tansy		x			
Western ragweed		x			
Wild buckwheat		x			
Wild lettuce	x	x		x	x
Wild Onion	x	x			
Wood lily		x			
Woody Plants					
American Elm	x	x			x
Ash				x	x
Bearberry	x	x			
Box Elder	x				x
Buckthorn	x				x
Bur Oak	x	x			
Buffaloberry	x				x
Chokecherry	x	x			x
Cottonwood	x	x	x	x	x
Currant	x				x
Dogwood		x		x	x
Elderberry	x				
False Indigo					x
Hackberry	x				x
Hawthorn	x	x			
Hazelnut	x		x		
Juniper		x		x	x
Leadplant	x	x			x
Nannyberry	x				
Poison Ivy		x			
Ponderosa	x	x			
Raspberry	x				
Sagewort		x		x	x
Sandcherry	x				
Serviceberry	x	x			
Skunkbush		x	x		
Snakeweed		x	x		x
Snowberry		x		x	x
Sumac				x	x
Virgin s Bower		x		x	
Wild Plum	x	x			x
Willow				x	x
Woodbine		x		x	x
Grasses, Rushes					
Bulrush	x				x
Big bluestem		x			x

SPECIES **Table B, cont.**	Food	Medicinal & Hygienic	Veterinary	Symbolic& Ceremonial	Art & Manufacture
Grama		x		x	x
Junegrass		x		x	x
Little bluestem		x			x
Porcupine grass					x
Prairie cordgrass					x
Prairie sandreed				x	
Wild rye					x
Lichens, Fungi					
Puffball	x	x		x	

3. Minerals -The Southeastern Hills is famous for its rich flint quarries, and WCNP is associated with a number of sites that give evidence of the extraction of chalcedony and other minerals Much of this quarrying activity took place in prehistoric times, and there is little evidence of any active mining during the historic period. A limited degree of mineral extraction probably took place here for religious purposes, and some local stones were no doubt quarried to make axeheads, hammers, and grinders. Certain minerals and clays used in religious practice are still secured in the Black Hills, and some, like gypsum, are found on park properties. Certainly requests might be made for certain stones. As is the case with plants, it may be difficult to determine whether the park is used to secure any minerals, and if it is, where the mineral extraction takes place (pp. 297, 397, 428, 432-433, 645, 939-944).

Soils brought up to the earth s surface by badgers, prairie dogs, and voles, especially at locations linked to bison, have considerable cultural significance. These soils are believed to hold the purifying properties of the deep earth, and they are closely associated with ideas of regeneration and renewal, especially as they relate to the emergence of corn, bison, and people from the underworld. Lakotas and Cheyennes view prairie dogs as cultivators, animals whose actions set the stage for the growth of plants humans and bison depend upon (pp. 299, 432, 592, 645). In the past, Lakotas have requested some of these soils, and they will likely do so in the near and distant future.

Table C. Summary of Minerals and Soils at Wind Cave National Park and Used by the Lakotas and Cheyennes

	Food	Veterinary	Healing & Ceremony	Art & Manufacture
Minerals				
Coal			x	x
Flint				x
Gypsum			x	x
Hematite			x	
Limestone			x	x
Quartz			x	x
Sandstone				x
Slate			x	x
Stone with lichen			x	
Soil, Clay				
Red			x	x
Blue			x	x
Yellow			x	x

Table C, cont.	Food	Veterinary	Healing & Ceremony	Art & Manufacture
White			x	x
Soil unearthed By burrowing animals			x	

C. Tribal Perspectives on the Park

Every year busloads of children come from school districts on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations to tour Wind Cave, and many other Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos join the regularly scheduled tours as individuals and families. At some level, they must experience a certain degree of dissonance between what they hear and see in official park interpretive programming and what they ve been taught in their schools, by their elders and spiritual leaders. Many Lakotas we have spoken with are chagrined that the park gives only passing notice to the history of their presence in the area, much less any indication of its importance in their cultural traditions. (pp. 646-650).

The park is part of a public commons with responsibilities to all of its visitors including peoples with a very different understanding and sense of entitlement to the park and its properties. The Lakotas and Cheyennes have deep historical associations with this place, and they have compelling stories about its origins and meaning. They also possess incredibly rich bodies knowledge about the area s plants, animals, minerals, soils, and waters. Most of the tribal cultural resource people we spoke with indicated that some of this knowledge could be shared, and they approved efforts to create programming that would give the public a better understanding of the importance of this place in their lives. Yet, at the same time, most of them argued that a tribal input and perspective is imperative for this kind of programming (pp.647-648).

There are many opportunities here for the park to work with local educational institutions to create informative learning experiences for the public who visit the park. For example, there is a collaborative research project between the American Indian Studies and Biology programs at Black Hills State University to learn more about tribal relationships to the flora of the Black Hills. Jace Decory, Mark Gabel, and Charlie Lamb, three of the people involved in this program, might be contacted to create internships for Lakota students to work on interpretive materials for the park that could be posted along trails or displayed in the park s visitor center. Highly respected tribal educators in Lakota Language and Culture Studies programs, such as Albert White Hat and Victor Douville at Sinte Gleska Tribal University and Karen Lone Hill of Oglala Tribal University, might be consulted on how to best approach and build collaborative interpretive efforts.

However tribal input and perspectives are acquired, they should not be sequestered and treated as if they exist outside the park s authorized programming (pp. 647-648). All tribal history needs to be included at every stage in the chronology of the park from early historic times to the present. Tribal natural history perspectives need to be treated respectfully along side Western approaches. They need to be seen as vital and informative worldviews, not as relics of some bygone era or as frivolous legends. Also, we recommend that greater attention needs to be paid to the fact that local tribes knew of the cave before European Americans arrived. We may not know the exact date it was first discovered, but we can presume its discovery preceded the coming of European Americans by many decades if not centuries. Judging by the history the Poncas recorded in the early twentieth century, knowledge of the cave extends back to at least the early decades of the eighteenth century. Earlier dates might be determined from archaeological

remains near the cave s opening, but unfortunately, most of these were destroyed when the elevator was built.

D. Consultations and Further Study

Consulting work with tribes on sacred sites, traditional cultural properties, or any other issue of mutual interest will not be easy. The Black Hills, including the area of Wind Cave National Park, remain part of a long political struggle over who has legitimate ownership of these lands, and who has the right to steward them and define their cultural meaning. Since these lands are not likely to be relinquished to the Sioux Nation or any other interested tribal group in the near or foreseeable future, they will continue to be a sites of contestation.

In whatever consultation it pursues, the park service is bound by federal directives to work with tribes on a government-to-government basis (Executive Order 13084). This means that consultations must be arranged and worked out with the standing governments of the tribes who have a cultural interest in the park. Initially, this might entail individual in-person meetings between park staff and the culture resource offices of the 10 tribes with the most significant ongoing and vested cultural, historical, and legal interests in the area. These meetings might address areas of mutual policy interest with respect to: 1) identifying sites and resources; 2) defining patterns of access; 3) discussing the inclusion of tribal perspectives in park interpretive programming; and 4) determining the most appropriate mechanisms for seeking input and soliciting advice on matters of mutual interest. It is absolutely imperative that these meetings take place directly with park service personnel, the people who are empowered to make management decisions on the protection of sites and properties and the nature of tribal access to them. Hiring temporary consultants to do this sort of work will have little influence or effect because these people do not have the authority to act upon or accommodate tribal interests vis vis the park. In fact, some tribal offices were reluctant to speak with us because we were not NPS staff.

WCNP might also want to consider the possibility of developing separate advisory boards for each tribal nation, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos (pp. 632, 651-652). These boards might include tribal government officers who represent each tribe s cultural resource interests, knowledgeable tribal elders, spiritual leaders, and educators who teach tribal language and culture curriculums in secondary and higher educational institutions. In the case of the Lakotas, this would entail a fairly large group of 20 to 30 people, but it could be smaller if those who serve on the board represent people with demonstrated knowledge of the park, its uses, and history. Advisory boards of this order are invaluable in offering useful advice around management policies, site identification, access issues, and further consultation. They can also minimize accusations of favoritism and bias. However, if boards of this kind are developed, their input needs to be taken seriously and acted on in concrete and visible ways. The regional district office of the U.S. Forest Service in Custer, SD has already initiated this kind of process and is presently formalizing an official agreement with local tribes for consulting purposes.

In securing advice from tribes on matters of traditional cultural property identification, protection, and access, a few things need to take place at the outset. First of all, park staff and tribal advisors need to reach some agreement on the culturally proper ways to acquire, handle, and protect highly sensitive information about sites and other traditional cultural properties on park lands. Executive Order 13007 contains a very important provision, under Section 1. Part (a) it reads: Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of a site. Consensus also needs to be reached on who can represent tribal interests beyond the offices of tribal government, and on the culturally appropriate mechanisms for contacting spiritual leaders,

educators, and other knowledgeable people for further, more indepth and/or on-site consultations regarding any of a variety of matters relating to sacred sites, traditional cultural properties, and the conduct of religious observances. Mutually agreeable policies need to be developed around the protocol of consultation before the park or its representatives can move forward to inquire about more specific and sensitive concerns.

In making these recommendations, we are mindful of the fact that existing park service personnel are already overworked and overburdened with responsibilities and have little background experience, time, much less funding, to devote to these kinds of efforts. The park service might consider retaining staff entrusted with the responsibility of building and maintaining consulting relations with interested tribes. This is especially important at NPS properties, such as Wind Cave, the Badlands, and Devil s Tower, where there are many culturally sensitive issues that need to be addressed on an on-going basis. Currently, there is no end to the misunderstandings, suspicions, and resentments that have built up around the Park Service, especially in light of recent events at the Stronghold in Badlands National Park. While it might not be practical to hire someone for each site, it might be possible to create a liaison position that oversees this work in relation to a group of park properties, especially when these involve consultations with many of the same tribes. Although each park certainly has its own special management needs and issues, there are many areas of overlap including acceptable protocol for handling privileged information and the identification of culturally appropriate and knowledgeable tribal consultants. It needs to be emphasized, however, that some of this varies from one tribal nation (for example, Lakota as opposed to Cheyenne) to another, and as a result, it may be necessary to develop different protocols on a tribe-by-tribe basis.

There is clearly a need for more on-going research on the history of the park and its cultural uses from the perspectives of local American Indian and European American communities. More oral history on the recollections of people whose forbearers lived on park lands for extended periods, camped and crossed park properties temporarily on a seasonal basis, or who visited the area for various kinds of resource procurement or religious observance would greatly add to our knowledge of the area and give it a fuller texture and greater chronological depth. In regards to tribal historical relationships to the area, the most fruitful efforts will involve collaborations with tribal educational institutions. Developing joint research projects and/or offering students internships could provide meaningful alliances with direct benefit to tribes and the park.

III-Beginning a New Cycle

Wind Cave National Park is located on land that has important and unique geological, zoological, and botanical features, but it also has significant historical and cultural properties. Much of the purpose of this report is to document American Indian historical and cultural affiliations to the park, but it also includes materials on European Americans who settled on or visited the lands that now make up the park. In the conclusion to the report, Chapter Sixteen (pp. 623-653), additional recommendations are made on how the park might to take further steps to acknowledge, and where appropriate, accommodate the various cultural interests that surround it.

It must be emphasized that the following report offers a broad overview of the park s human history and its significant cultural properties. It represents a work in progress towards a much richer and more detailed representation of the park s cultural importance. Much more work needs to be done to respectfully engage and involve local tribes in protecting the cultural properties that are so important to them and in establishing guidelines for access to them. Also, a much greater effort needs to be given towards creating a more comprehensive storyline for the park s interpretive programming, one that acknowledges and includes the perspectives of the tribal nations

with long-standing and continuing interests in the park and the lands that surround it. These efforts can only enrich the park and help build an appreciation for all of its visitors, including the many American Indian people who visit it each year.

Finally, nothing contained in this report should be construed as a complete or exhaustive picture of the subjects it covers. Some of the tribal knowledge about the park is privileged information and can never be included in public documents such as this one. In building a more culturally comprehensive and diverse understanding of the park, its landforms, landscapes, natural resources, and history, a delicate line must always be maintained between what is confidential and restricted and what is open and accessible to wider public audiences. Moving in the direction of a more inclusive storyline for the park will not be easy, but it s well worth the effort because of the compelling nature of the cultural history that surrounds this area. As the park celebrates its first century, it will hopefully use this milestone as an opportunity to think about ways it can include and accommodate the knowledge and interests of all its constituents, including the peoples who were its original inhabitants and users.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is a work in progress. The interpretations and conclusions are limited by the published and unpublished materials we reviewed and by the information the staff of various tribal cultural preservation offices shared with us. We are cognizant of the fact that some of what is written here might need to be clarified or changed through a more lengthy and involved consultation process with the tribal nations who have continuing and vested cultural interests in Wind Cave National Park.

We decided not to interview other members of each tribe because we believed that, as a matter of fairness, we needed to give equal consideration in our research effort to all of the tribal nations with a known history of occupancy in the area. Had we done so, it would have been an enormous undertaking and impossible within the time constraints of our contract.

We diligently searched the published historical and ethnographic record on each nation to ascertain the character and chronology of their affiliation to the Black Hills in general and Wind Cave National Park in particular. The bibliography to this work reveals only part of this effort: most of the references cited include only the ones actually cited in the report. Many others were studied, but they did not offer material that shed light on tribal relationships to the Hills.

As becomes apparent in the report, the bulk of the cultural material relating to the Wind Cave National Park region of the Black Hills comes from the Lakotas and Cheyennes. This reflects the fact that they are the only two tribal nations on whom concrete beliefs and practices associated with the park were found.

Many of the beliefs and practices that both of these tribal nations attach to the area of Wind Cave National Park touch on the realm of the sacred. We have at all times approached this material with the respect it deserves, but we are aware that our understandings and interpretations only touch the surface of the rich and complex worldviews of the Lakotas and Cheyennes. We ask those much more knowledgeable than us to understand that we approached our studies in a heartfelt way and to take pity on our efforts if they do not reveal the full picture or misinterpret the meaning of certain stories and concepts.

Many people assisted in the production of this report, and all of them need to be acknowledged individually. Several undergraduate student majors in American Indian Studies, and two graduate students from the American Studies Department at the University of Minnesota worked on this report. Stacey Schlegel from American Indian Studies surveyed and reported on much of the historical and ethnographic literature relating to the Lakotas, Kiowas, Arikaras, Mandans, Hidatsas, Plains Apaches, Poncas, and Crows and she assisted in the writing of Chapters Twelve and Thirteen. Christine Berndt, a graduate student from American Studies, researched the historic and ethnographic writings on the Cheyennes and Arapahos. Both of these students and Kim Rossina, also a graduate student in American Studies and now an instructor of Dakota culture and history in American Indian Studies, assisted in archival research at the South Dakota State Historical Society in Pierre, South Dakota. Finally, Andrea Yardley from American Indian Studies and now a student in the Law School at the University of Minnesota, gathered materials

on Lakota cultural traditions relating to animals and also some of the information on the legal status of the lands that make up the Black Hills.

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Cashew Family (903) [*Only some of the more important families or species listed here]
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smooth sumac (904)
poison ivy (905)
Aster Family (906) [*Only some of the more important families or species listed here]
sagebrush.. (906)
rabbitbrush (907)
broom snakeweed (907)
Barberry Family [Oregon grape] (908)
Birch Family [birch, hazelnut, etc.] (908)
Honeysuckle Family (910) [*Only some of the more important families or species listed here]
stinking elderberry (910)
snowberry (910)
nannyberry (911)
Staff Tree Family (911)
Goosefoot Family (912)
Dogwood Family (912)
Cypress Family (913) [*Only some of the more important families or species listed here]
common juniper (914)
Rocky Mountain juniper (914)
Oleaster Family [buffaloberry] (916)
Heath Family (917) [*Only some of the more important families or species listed here]
bearberry (917)
huckleberry and grouseberry (918)
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Grossularia Family [currants and gooseberries] (920)

Olive Family [green ash] (921)
Pine Family [lodgepole, ponderosa, and Black Hills spruce] (922)
Buttercup Family [western virgin's bower] (923)
Buckthorn Family (924)
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serviceberry (924)
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wild plum (926)
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Introduction

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION: A PASSAGEWAY TO THE ISLAND HILLS

> *The Black Hills rise like an island from an ocean of grass-covered and treeless plains, watered by occasional and scanty supplies of rain; and the winds in passing over these plains gather some moisture which they part with as rain on being chilled by contact with the colder and more elevated region of the central portion of the hills. The result of this is the prevalence of frequent though not heavy rain-falls, giving to the hills a most peculiar climate* (Jenney 1875:181).

The figurative use of the term island, as in forested islands in a grassland sea (Froiland 1978:1), has become a popular way for European American writers to metaphorically represent the Black Hills (Raventon 1994). The striking topography of the Hills, rising 4000 feet above the surrounding plains, the abundance and diversity of their minerals, fauna, and flora as compared to the neighboring grasslands and sagebrush steppes made them seem, as Lt. Richard I. Dodge (1965:149) put it, like a true oasis in a wide and weary desert. Long before the arrival of European Americans in the region, Island hills or *Witapaha* [1] was an old name the Lakotas used for the Black Hills, and alternatively an ascription for peoples who lived in the Hills, including the Kiowas and possibly a division of the Cheyennes (Vestal 1934:264; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 314; LaPointe 1976:17).

Like the Black Hills, the nation s national parks are described in a similar language, as islands under siege or islands of hope (Keller and Turek 1998:29). In his quote appearing on the cover jacket to Philip Burnham s recent book (2000), *Indian Country, God s Country: Native Americans and the National Parks,* Colin Meine elaborates on this metaphor when he writes:

> Americans tend to view national parks as conscretated islands of nature, isolated both in time and space. We have recently begun to see that parks are embedded within larger, ever-changing landscapes, and that we must pay greater attention to the context if we hope to retain their natural features. But we are only beginning to understand that parks are also embedded within human histories and cultures, and that we need to know and understand that larger story as well.

The popular but false idea that national parks were once isolated and pristine enclaves is associated with many of the nation s most famous parks, including Yellowstone, Yosemite, and Glacier (Spence 1999). Situated in remote stretches of country, explored by European Americans only in recent historic times, these and other national parks carried an aura of pristine wilderness devoid of human habitation except, perhaps, in some long ago and now forgotten past. But few parks, if any, in the national park system ever stood outside the flows of human occupancy and use.

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[1] The Cheyennes (Petter 1913-15:582; Mooney 1979:150-151) and Arikaras (Parks 2001b:970) also used derivations of this name for the Kiowas. In fact, Petter (Ibid.) claims the Cheyennes adopted this name from the Lakotas.

Certainly the Black Hills, no less than the area presently held by Wind Cave National Park, were not without human inhabitants. From prehistoric to modern times, the lands in and around this park served as significant crossroads in the history of human occupancy in the Black Hills. Yet, little more than thirty years ago, the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park in particular were believed to hold landscapes largely without human inhabitants until European Americans took up residence in the area during the 1870s. Relying on the reports of mid-nineteenth century European American observers with limited experience in the area, some twentieth century writers (Palais 1941:3; Parker 1966:5-6) perpetuated the idea that the Hills lacked a history of significant human occupancy. As recently as 1978, Sven G. Froiland (p. 1) in his now classic book, *Natural History of the Black Hills,* argued:

> Historical Indians considered the region as a holy ground, rarely encroached upon. At least, the assertion is made that the Indians seldom or never lived in the Hills. Although they hunted here, probably because of the abundance and diversity of game, there is no evidence to indicate that they spent much time in the Hills. On the contrary, numerous Indian reports, legends and traditions support the observation that they carefully avoided the area except on special occasions. They kept it more or less as a sanctuary for particular religious or ceremonial rites, or for hunting purposes. This seems well established among the Lakota but whether it was true of their predecessors, the Kiowa and the Cheyenne, is probably less certain.

A decade later, Helen Rezatto (1989:17) wrote in reference to the Lakotas:[2]

> ...the Sioux did not actually live within the Hills -- and the white man makes that assertion more often than the Indian does. Usually Indians camped within sight of the enchanted mountains in the sheltered and watered valleys around the edge of the Hills. They did most of their hunting in the wide-open plains and foothills where game was most plentiful. Occasionally, they ventured into the dense forests of the rock-bound Hills to cut lodgepoles from the tall pines. But the Sioux never stayed long.

While Rezatto acknowledges the Lakotas' common use of the foothills and less frequent occupation of the Hills interiors, she perpetuates the widely held but false notion that it was not a part of the space within which they lived.

More recently, the Black Hills have become associated with a long and complex chronology of human settlement. Archaeologists have discovered Archaic sites, such as Beaver Creek Rock Shelter in Wind Cave National Park (Martin, Alex, and Benton 1988; Alex, L. 1991; Galindo 2000, 2001), and they have uncovered scores of other prehistoric remains, which reveal that multiple groups with contrasting adaptive strategies and different artifact assemblages used the region for many millenia (Tratebas 1986; Sundstrom, L. 1989, 1990). Historical sources document a veritable succession of American Indian people in the Black Hills, beginning with the Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, Poncas, Kiowas, Plains Apaches (Naishan Dene), Crows, and Comanches and ending with the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas. All of these tribal nations

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[2] *Lakota* means allies, and it is the preferred term of identification for the people commonly labeled as *Sioux* in historical sources. While Sioux was widely used in the past, its use has been discontinued in most modern writings. Sioux is also a term that collectively refers to the Dakota and Lakota-speaking peoples who comprised the Seven Council Fires, *Oceti Sakowin,* of the Dakota/Lakota (or Sioux) nation. In recent years, the Yankton and Yanktonnai divisions of the Seven Council Fires have been included linguistically with the Sioux who use the D or Dakota dialect, and Nakota has been reserved for speakers of the Assiniboin language. The Lakota Sioux, also known as the Teton or Western Sioux, were the westernmost nation within the council. After 1830, most of them lived west of the Missouri River. They are also the Sioux with the longest and strongest attachment to the Black Hills.

were known to have lived or traveled in and around the Hills during the historic era, and many of them stayed in the area of Wind Cave National Park for varying lengths of time.

Europeans entered the Black Hills, probably in the early decades of the eighteenth century, as itinerant Spanish traders from the Southwest. By the end of the same century, French traders and trappers, working for the Spanish and later the French, were reported in the Black Hills. Some of them likely worked the creek near Wind Cave that carries the name of their most sought after animal, the beaver. None of these men left a written record of their travels, although a few of them, including Jon Vall and Jean Baptiste Le Paige, shared some of their general knowledge of the Hills with the trader, Antoine Pierre Tabeau, and the explorers, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Nor did any of the later traders and trappers, who worked for American companies, leave much of a written record of their presence either. Only one trapper, James Clyman, who traveled with Jedediah Smith, wrote a very brief account of his passage across the southern Black Hills in 1823.

Beginning in the 1850s, several government-sponsored explorations left extensive records of their travels in the Black Hills. These include the reports of Lt. Gouverneur K. Warren, who accompanied expeditions under the leadership of General W. F. Harney in 1855, 1856, and 1857, and those from W. F. Raynolds explorations in 1859. None of these groups entered the southern regions of the Hills. Later expeditions, including General George Custer and Samuel Hinman s reconnaissances of the Hills in 1874 penetrated their southern reaches, but they still skirted much of the area of Wind Cave National Park. A year later, Colonel Richard I. Dodge was the military commander of another expedition, led by geologists Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton, that explored the Black Hills interiors. While some of the party traveled Beaver Creek (known then as Amphibious Creek) to the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs areas, probably passing across park property near Wind Cave, they wrote little about the area other than its geological features. By 1875, throngs of gold seekers had streamed into the Black Hills, building camps in the interiors at places like French Creek near present day Custer. Although many of the miners and early settlers traveled Indian trails through the southern Black Hills to reach the mineral rich interiors, including one that came through the Buffalo Gap and followed Beaver Creek or its tributaries inside the present day boundaries of Wind Cave National Park, few of them wrote about the area or remained to settle.

Under treaties negotiated between the United States and the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes in 1868, the Black Hills became part of a vast territory known as the Great Sioux Reservation and off limits to non-Indians. The subsequent failure of the U.S. government to enforce its own treaty laws and to keep non-Indians out of this land contributed, in large part, to the hostilities that led up to the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. This battle, combined with the discovery of the Hills vast mineral resources, prompted the United States to illegally extinguish Lakota sovereignty over the Hills in 1877. Despite strenuous Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho opposition, the Black Hills were seized by the U.S. government with the passage of a congressional agreement in 1877 and officially opened to non-Indian settlement. In a short period of time, Americans of varied interests and backgrounds took up residence in the Hills. In the area of Wind Cave, they staked mineral claims and homesteaded ranches. Within a decade, outside entrepreneurs began to develop the region for its recreational and tourist potential. Today, ranching and tourism remain the economic backbone of human settlement in the Wind Cave region of the Black Hills.

In many ways, the region where Wind Cave National Park is situated represents a microcosm of the Hills natural diversity and its complex cultural history. The area inside the Buffalo Gap, the well-known southern gateway into the Blacks Hills, was a location for tribal winter

camps and the site of important trails leading to the Hills higher reaches. It was an area renowned for the richness of its game and the medicinal values of its waters and plants. It was also a region where prehistoric peoples mined outcroppings of chalcedony, quartzite, and gypsum in the park and/or at nearby Battle Mountain. The park itself stands on the site of the famous Race Track, where a race among the animals determined human fate in a time before history, and it sits at the location of a cavernous opening to the subterranean world from which, according to Lakota traditions, humans and bison emerged to populate the world.

I. THE PLACE

Geographically, Wind Cave National Park sits at the southeastern edge of the Black Hills heavily forested, island-like habitat. The Black Hills represent a domal uplift of great age, existing well before the formation of the Rocky Mountains (Froiland 1978:19-24). Since the 1920s, the Black Hills proper have been described as consisting of four physiographic zones: 1) a central core of igneous and metamorphic rock, surrounded by 2) a high elevation plateau of limestone, sandstone, and dolomitic shale, followed by 3) a low elevation depression that nearly encircles the Hills, known as the Red Valley or the Race Track, and finally, 4) an exterior Hogback zone made up predominately of sandstone interspersed with limestone and shales (Darton and Paige 1925; Froiland 1978:11-17). More recently, another zone has been added to this division, and it consists of the tablelands and foothills separating the Red Valley from the interior plateau, and, in the southern Black Hills, this region is known as the Minnekahta Plains (Froiland 1978:18). Part of Wind Cave National Park sits astride the Race Track or Red Valley, nestled between the outer sandstone escarpments of the Hogback and the limestone plateau of the interior. The northwest corner of the park reaches into the crystalline central core, and, as a result, the park encompasses the major geological zones that make up the Black Hills.

Wind Cave National Park is also located in a transitional biotic zone, a region where mixed-grass prairies meet the higher elevation ponderosa forests, and where important watersheds, such as Beaver and Highland creeks, form their own distinctive riparian and woodlands-like environments, connecting the upland grasslands and forests to the lowland prairies and woodlands outside the Hogback. With the possible exception of the northern coniferous biome, dominated by spruce forests and grassy meadows, most of the major vegetation biomes associated with the Black Hills are represented at Wind Cave National Park. These are: 1) the Rocky Mountain complex of ponderosa pine, intermingled with stands of red cedar that covers much of the higher elevation interiors and the inner slopes of the Hogback; 2) the grassland biome, which combines features of the arid short-grass and sage-brush steppes to the west and the more humid mixed to tall grass prairies of the east and follows the Foothills, Red Valley, and the outer edge of the Hogback, and 3) a deciduous forest biome of oaks, elms, and cottonwoods that hugs many of the lower elevation waterways from the Foothills to the valley of the Cheyenne River (Froiland 1978:81-96; Sundstrom, L. 1990:57-59; Larson & Johnson 1999:7-25).

Near the park, the thermal springs to the south create their own specialized habitat, and even though they are outside the boundaries of the park itself, they are an integral part of the broader upland mixed-grass prairie that makes up much of the park s landscape. Many other features of the area that adjoin the park, especially the Buffalo Gap, are closely connected to Wind Cave and the Race Track. Indeed, they are inseparable in many tribal conceptualizations of this part of the Black Hills. Together they form a geographic area that is distinct environmentally from other areas of the Hills, but at the same time, integrally connected to the region as a whole.

Climatically, the Black Hills embraces mountain and semi-arid continental types with the latter dominating the weather patterns in the southern reaches of the Hills. Wind Cave is located inside the Hogback in the warmer and more arid parts of the Hills, euphemistically called the banana belt. Overall, the climate in this region is milder in the winter than the surrounding plains and steppes. Not only are the winds more moderate, but the temperature is warmer. The southern region is typically protected from the arctic air masses that swing over the northern edge of the Hills, and it also receives warm Chinook winds from the south that keep the area snow free throughout much of the winter. Although the southern Hills receive more rainfall than the surrounding open plains, they are much drier than the higher elevation areas to the north. But like the rest of the Black Hills, the heaviest precipitation falls in the form of snow during the late winter and spring months. During the summer, intermittent and sometimes heavy thundershowers frequent the area. In suitable and well-watered soil locations, many areas inside the Hogback sustain an average of 142 frost-free days each year, a season long enough to support corn and other cultigens (Johnson 1949; Froiland 1978:34-39 ; Sundstrom, L. 1990:56-57).

Hydrologically, the Black Hills are part of the Missouri River drainage system. Many of the region s continuously flowing streams drain into the Cheyenne River, whose two forks nearly encircle the Hills. In the southern Hills, the waterways of French, Beaver, Cascade, Hayward, Stockade-Beaver creeks and the Fall River empty into the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, while the waterways of the central Hills, Elk, Box Elder, Rapid, and Battle Creeks, flow east and empty into the Cheyenne near its forks. The waterways of the northern hills, Sand, Spearfish, Whitewood, and Bear Butte creeks, drain in a northeasterly direction and feed the North Fork of the Cheyenne, otherwise known as the Belle Fourche River. Beaver Creek and its major tributaries cross Wind Cave National Park and form an important drainage system that cuts through the Hogback at the Buffalo Gap (Froiland 1978:28-32; Sundstrom, L. 1990:54-56).

The park is named after the cave whose labyrynth of passageways occupy some of the subsurface on the park's western slopes. Formed by the porous limestones that comprise part of the Black Hills' interior landscape, Wind Cave is one of many caves in the park that are part of a wider cavernous structure surrounding the Hills' central crystalline core and that may very well interconnect and extend like fingertips to other subsurface locations on the surrounding prairies (Rezatto 1989:180). Whether or not the cavernous structure underneath Wind Cave National Park is linked to other cave formations in the Hills and beyond, it is clear that the life forms that make up its surface area are integrally connected to surrounding landscapes. The Buffalo Gap, southeast of the park, is a famous passageway, where in earlier times bison and other game entered the Hills to seek shelter along the Red Valley and where they returned to the surrounding prairies to feed on the luxuriant grasses at locations as far south as central Nebraska. From its headwaters on the higher elevation limestone plateau north of Pringle, South Dakota, Beaver Creek winds its way to the Cheyenne River, passing near Wind Cave and cutting through the Buffalo Gap. This creek and its tributaries were important trails that animals and humans followed in moving from the lowland prairies to the upland forest regions of the Hills. Generally speaking the area where Wind Cave National Park stands has been an important geographic connecting point, a crossroads linking the mountains to the plains. Besides its vertical connectedness from highland to lowland, the park covers an important part of the unique geological depression, known as the "Red Valley" or "Race Track," which encircles the Hills interior, and this makes it integrally linked, at least from a tribal perspective, to other parts of the Black Hills as well.

II. THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Technically, the purpose of this report is to provide information to the National Park Service pursuant to understanding the human history of Wind Cave National Park and the cultural affiliations that various groups have maintained to its natural and human-made resources. Since there are many different cultural histories, traditions, and cosmologies that bear upon Wind Cave National Park, it is necessary to adjust our lens to many different settings. We need to see the park in terms of the people it witnessed, the events it marked, the cultural resources it held, the uses it supported, and the stories it embraced. In order to do this properly, we need to discover its place in the larger scheme of the Black Hills, and we also need to understand its position in the wider web of relationships that linked the Hills to the peopling of the surrounding grasslands of South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska. There are four major bodies of substantive evidence that this report covers, and that provide a passageway into the park s complex and ever changing cultural history.

1) The first body of evidence identifies the communities of people with known historical affiliations to the area of Wind Cave National Park and the different groups of observers who reported on their associations. It describes the migrations of people to and away from this area at different moments in history, the uses they made of the area while living in its reach, and some of the conditions behind their arrivals and departures.

2) The second group of data consider how different peoples adapted to the area. In particular, it focuses on the specific nature of their social, political, and economic relationships to the park and its surrounding environs. It examines the kinds of procurement activities associated with this area, and how these are related to broader productive orientations and territorial movements. It analyzes the varying and culturally specific conceptualizations of land-use that have been associated with park lands, and it discusses how the park has stood paradoxically as both a common ground and a contested terrain. In doing so, it traces the long, protracted, and continuing struggles between the United States and the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations over ownership of the Black Hills, including areas within the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park. Pursuant to this, it gives special attention to the nineteenth-century treaties and agreements these tribal nations negotiated with the federal government and the relevant Black Hills claims cases they pursued (or attempted to move) against the government in the twentieth century.

3) The report also gives detailed attention to the various faunal, floral, and mineral resources on park properties. It describes the cultural meanings attached to them and the uses to which they were put by some of the different peoples who occupied the area. It considers the continuing importance of some of these resources in the cultural practices of the two tribal nations with the longest continuing association to the area in historic times, namely, the Lakotas and Cheyennes.

4) Considerable attention is devoted in this report to the cultural significance of the park s landscape, both above and below ground. Like the Black Hills of which it is a part, Wind Cave has long held sacred significance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and perhaps other tribal nations as well. The report describes and interprets why park lands occupy such an important place in tribal cosmologies, and why these continue to draw local tribes to the area for the conduct of some of their most important religious observances.

All of these different but related bodies of substantive evidence form the basis for identifying what kinds of cultural interests and properties are linked to the park and for discussing how these relate to park management plans and actions. These cover three separate but related topics.

1) The report considers issues relating to the identification and preservation of sites and resources for purposes of special recognition and protection in relation to traditional cultural properties. Four pieces of federal legislation are relevant here: the *American Indian Religious Freedom Act* of 1978, the *Archaeological Resources Protection Act* of 1979, the *National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966, the *Native American Graves and Repatriation Act* of 1990, and the various ammendments to some of these acts through 2000. Also important are two recent Executive Orders, 13007 and 13084, enacted into law in 1996 and 1998 respectively. All of these are described in greater detail in Chapter Eight, Section IV.

2) It deals with issues of access, particularly, the need for tribal peoples to use park lands to conduct any of a variety of religious activities, and also their need to extract certain resources for these purposes. Given the spiritual significance that this area holds for them, it commands special sensitivity in relation to the continuance of certain traditional cultural practices.

3) It looks at questions of representation and interpretation, particularly what kinds of cultural narratives are told about the area, by whom, and under what sets of circumstances. Some of the central cultural issues that affect the park and its properties are not simply about ownership and access to the land and its resources, but also about how their very definition gets privileged and conveyed in public discourse. In this regard, the report deals with issues of tribal intellectual property rights, and it also considers how topics of value for interpretive and educational programming might be developed in ways that reveal and reflect the importance of the area to the various communities the park serves.

III. THE SOURCE MATERIAL

The search for cultural information about Wind Cave National Park has presented special challenges. It is an area about which little was directly written until the late nineteenth century in sources based on the oral traditions and writings of either American Indians or European Americans. Therefore, a very general approach must be followed that takes in the entire Black Hills and the surrounding grasslands in order to get some perspective on what was happening in the particular area where Wind Cave National Park is located. The specific records we studied for this report are described in greater depth in the bodies of subsquent chapters, but here we focus on the types of materials gathered for presentation and analysis.

The first body of material includes a wide variety of culture history sources, both primary and secondary, which helped us to chronicle the population movements, cultural uses, and historical events relating to park lands. Before the 1740s, the evidence is derived from the archaeological record. For the historic era, the sources cover the accounts of European Americans who reported on the area from afar as well as those who traveled and/or settled in the region, including the writings and oral traditions of traders, travelers, missionaries, settlers, government officials, military personnel, and newspaper correspondents. They also cover the accounts of American Indians who lived and traveled in the area and whose knowledge was recorded in their own writings, winter counts, and oral traditions.

The second body of information comes from the ethnographic record, which contains some of the material described above but focuses more broadly on the knowledges, beliefs, and activities that constitute what is conventionally called a culture or way of life. Here, primary and secondary sources were examined as well. In relation to the various tribal nations reported to have lived and/or traveled in the area of Wind Cave National Park, an enormous amount of ethnographic material was surveyed. Sources were examined for the Apaches, Arapahos, Arikaras, Cheyennes, Comanches, Crows, Hidatsas, Kiowas, Lakotas, Mandans, Omahas, Pawnees, and Poncas. Although all of these tribes had known connections to the Hills at different points in history, some more than others, only the Cheyennes and Lakotas, were found to have had any prolonged association with the southeastern Black Hills that continued beyond the 1877 Agreement, which led the United States to take exclusive title to the land. They are also the only two tribes whose cultural attachments to the area of Wind Cave National Park and its immediate environs have been documented in the published and archival sources we studied for this report. The Lakotas (along with the Cheyennes remaining in their midst) who lived and/or who were enrolled on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations east of the park, and whose descendents now make up the Oglala Sioux and Rosebud Sioux tribes are the ones who have had the most active on-site associations with the park in the twentieth century. Therefore, these are tribal nations who receive the most attention in this report, although other tribes are recognized in various degrees and ways as well.

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The Plains Apaches, Kiowas, Crows, Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans, for example, preserved memories of the Black Hills in their oral traditions, but the regions to which they attached a special and continuing cultural importance were largely on the northern side of the Hills. The Poncas also retained memories of having lived near the Hills, and they even have a name for Wind Cave in their language, but there is little evidence in published ethnographic sources for any continuing and active link to the region. Also, none of these tribal nations were legally identified with the Black Hills in treaties and agreements with the United States. The Arapahos were parties to treaties and agreements involving the Black Hills; however, little has been recorded in the ethnographic literature about their cultural connections to the area. Most of the material we uncovered associates the Arapahos with the western side of the Hills and with Bear Butte or Bear Lodge Butte (a.k.a. Devil s Tower). Nothing is recorded in the ethnograhic literature about any cultural attachments to Wind Cave National Park or its immediate environs. Other than what might be deduced from the general nature of their historic patterns of residency and cultural adaptations to the area, we have not been able to identify, based on what has been recorded in the published literature, any specific cultural attachments to this area for tribal nations[3] other than the Cheyennes and Lakotas.

A lack of information in the ethnographic and historic record, however, should never be construed as definitive of the possible presence or absence of any tribe s cultural affiliations with Wind Cave National Park. Interviews with tribal cultural resource officers from many different federally-recognized tribes (see Appendix D) indicate that all of the Sioux tribes who were party to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 have definite, and, for some, very specific cultural attachments to park properties. It also indicates that the Northern/Southern Cheyennes and the Northern/Southern Arapahos have continuing cultural affiliations to the region where the park is located. The Three Affiliated Tribes (Arikaras-Mandans-Hidatsas), the Plains Apaches, and the Kiowas also expressed cultural interest in the area. It is important to note that the interviews with various tribal cultural preservation officers support, for the most part, what is de-

[3] This is true only in terms of the archival sources and published material we studied for this report. It is very possible that any one or more of these other groups may have some kind of continuing cultural relation to the area that has not been documented in the sources we reviewed.

duced from published sources where the firsthand accounts of tribal people, including their speeches, oral narratives, written documents, and winter counts were extensively used in reconstructing the history of tribal cultural connections to the area of Wind Cave National Park.

Much of the cultural *qua* ethnographic information presented in this report focuses on the tribal nations who lived in and around the Black Hills, but some of it also touches on the European American communities who settled in the area. As explained in forthcoming discussions, while Wind Cave National Park played an important role in the history and local economy of the southeastern Hills, particularly the communities of Hot Springs, Pringle, and Buffalo Gap, there is no evidence that local European Americans ever attached any special cultural meanings to it other than those associated with its presence as a geological curiosity and an important tourist attraction. In the years before the park was established, and for some years thereafter, it was a hunting area, an open range for grazing cattle, and a location for homesteading.

Another body of material examined for this report includes a wide variety of sources on the area s natural history, both primary documents based on the firsthand observations of European Americans who traveled and/or lived in the area in the last half of the nineteenth century as well as more contemporary descriptions of species habitats in the Black Hills. This information was critical in reaching some understanding of the historic and continuing uses to which park lands were put by the Cheyennes and Lakotas and also to the meanings they ascribed to the area and its resources.

Finally, a number of different treaty records, congressional documents, and court dockets are reviewed here, especially those that pertain to treaties, agreements, claims, and other kinds of congressional legislation that bear upon Wind Cave National Park. Although some attempt is made to address and interpret this legal history, none of those who worked on this project have the necessary expertise to interpret some of the dense and, at times, arcane legal rulings and readings that surround the litigious history of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Sioux s Black Hills claims and their more recent battles over traditional cultural property rights and access to sacred sites in and around the Black Hills.

Looking for information specific to Wind Cave National Park and the area where it is situated was like searching for the proverbial needle in the haystack. Many isolated bits and pieces of information were collected that did not appear very significant at first sight. However, when these were assembled and analyzed together, and compared against information for other areas of the Black Hills, a number of distinct and recurring themes emerged that could be traced across materials on diverse sets of phenomena. The data reveal that a number of cultural themes are associated with this area. The cultural expressions of some of them are not only long-standing, reaching back at least to middle of the nineteenth century, but many are also shared among the three tribes, Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, who occupied the Black Hills when they were seized in 1877.

There is a compelling story here, one that is rooted not only in the history of American Indian understandings and uses of the area where Wind Cave National Park now sits, but one that also carries curious traces in European American conceptualizations of and adaptations to the area. Yet, none of these meanings or usages can be fully understood without some appreciation of the larger region that makes up the Black Hills, its waves of human occupation, the diverse adaptations humans made to them, and above all the habits and habitats of the animals, plants and other life forms so important to the way in which this region has been treated by the people who came here to visit or live.

IV. THE INTERPRETIVE PERSPECTIVES

Given the wide range of substantive materials covered here, from studies of plant distributions to texts of tribal origin stories, several different research strategies and methodologies were followed in interpreting and making sense of the vast body of material available on Wind Cave National Park specifically and the Black Hills region as a whole. These include standard historiographic approaches for examining and interpreting the chronology of population movements, settlements, and intergroup relationships in the area. They also involve the use of cultural ecological or materialist perspectives for analyzing some of the diverse ways local groups adapted to the area, used its resources, and formed relationships to the land, based on cooperation as well as competition. Finally, they employ intepretive techniques, following the work of anthropologists such as Keith Basso (1996), to understand some of the cultural meanings behind the sacred narratives and observances that have been associated with the area by historic and modern tribal peoples. In telling the story of Wind Cave National Park and its environs, this report is divided into four sections, each of which focuses on different facets of the complex cultural relations that various American Indian and European American people have had to the area.

The first section looks at how the Black Hills functioned as a crossroads and a gathering place where people of diverse backgrounds came together in several successive waves of occupation, and it considers how the area of Wind Cave National Park fits into these larger patterns of movement and settlement. Not only does it identify the groups who occupied the Hills at various moments in time, but, equally important, it describes how different groups stood in relationship to each other. Before 1877, when the United States claimed title to the region, the Black Hills were a location where tribal nations of diverse backgrounds met, traded, intermarried, and formed political alliances. Although tribes competed and fought with each other to gain access to and assert control over the area, the more common pattern involved multitribal parties jointly occupying the region, sharing access to its resources, and holding the area as allied forces. In historic times, at least, the Hills were never the exclusive domain of any single tribal nation. In the 1870s, the Lakotas were the dominant population in the Black Hills, but there were significant numbers of Cheyennes and Arapahos in the area too.

While the Hills remained a major gathering place for tribal nations, it was a peripheral area for European Americans, who came here in small numbers, largely as trader/trappers and incorporated themselves into the social networks of local tribes. After the 1850s, the area became the focus of several government-sponsored explorations, but it was not until the gold rush of 1874 that thousands of European Americans flocked to the area, making it one of the most densely populated and rapidly developing locations in the northern plains. After European Americans arrived, the cast of people who occupied the Hills dramatically changed. The tribal nations who once controlled it were forcibly removed to make way for the ethnically diverse groups of Americans who came to dominate its landscape. From 1874 until 1903, the year when Wind Cave National Park was established, the report summarizes the chronology of events and conditions that contributed to new kinds of population movements and settlements in and around the Hills, focusing primarily on their southeastern reaches. It gives attention to the ways incoming European Americans occupied and used this area, and also how American Indian people, especially the Lakotas, maintained a continuing, albeit changed, relationship to the area. After 1903, it considers how the peopling and use of the southeastern Hills continued to undergo change, and it discusses what impacts this had on the park s relationships with its neighbors, Indians and whites alike.

The second section of the report covers the diverse ways in which populations socially defined their relations to the Black Hills, and, in the process, how they adapted their economies and systems of land tenure to the Hills distinct environments. From prehistoric to modern times, the utilization of the Hills, including the lands now occupied by Wind Cave National Park, not only involved populations with very different kinds of productive orientations but also people who approached the Hills from widespread locations both near and far. Not unlike the situation today, where the Hills have their local residents and their tourists from distant locales, they were utilized in the past by peoples who stayed within their reach or who approached them from far off locations on a regular and recurring basis.

A consistent theme that runs throughout this section is that the Black Hills in general and the region of Wind Cave National Park in particular served paradoxically as a common ground, settled and utilized by many different groups who shared access to the same lands but often on different terms. At the same time, they acted as a contested terrain, where people fought to retain or gain access to the commons on behalf of distinct and sometimes competing sets of interests. Before 1877, bands of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos all lived in and around the Hills under a general umbrella of peace. A century earlier, however, the area was bitterly contested as these three tribes gradually wrestled control of the area from many of its older residents, notably Plains Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, and Crows. But even these fights were not always neatly divided because at certain points in history some Cheyennes were on the Kiowa side of the battlefield, while others stood with the Lakotas.

It was the battles of the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas with invading miners and with the U.S. military that would define much of the late nineteenth-century history of the Black Hills. In the twentieth century, the fighting continued, but now the war was waged in the courts, on protest lines, and in the media. Beginning with the protracted and still unsettled history of the Sioux s Black Hills Claim and continuing to more recent lawsuits over traditional cultural property rights and religious freedoms, a complex and unresolved set of legal issues hangs over the Black Hills, its lands, resources, and people. The modern conflict surrounding the Black Hills is not simply a contestation over *de facto* versus *de jura* property rights. It also represents a fundamental schism over very different perceptions of what this place means, and how it is situated in a larger cosmological scheme of things. It is ultimately a fight over sovereignity, over who has the right to name and define the meaning of this place, and directly following, who ought to be the rightful steward of its manifold and complex resources. Wind Cave National Park sits in the middle of this maelstrom, and as a result, its management policies and actions are influenced in subtle as well as obvious ways by the politics and legal battles that surround it. Therefore, tracing the history of treaties, claims litigation, and congressional legislation that pertain to the Hills is a necessary part of this report. Much of the legal side of this contested history is covered in Chapter Eight of Section Two.

The Black Hills has also been a crossroads and meeting ground for numerous species of fauna and flora. It contains complex habitats with hundreds of different fauna and over one thousand varieties of plants, many of which are unique to the Hills and not located in the surrounding grasslands. The Hills contain a wealth of minerals and clays, springs and sources of fresh water. The geological and biological diversity of the region acted like a magnet, attracting diverse tribal nations to its edges and interiors to draw on the wealth of its resources for general and/or particular purposes. For many of the tribes who lived in or around the Hills, they were seen as a vast repository of resources, envisioned in the image of a cache or safe. Later, they drew European Americans to their mineral wealth, their rich grasses, and their abundant stands of timber. Many of the newcomers came and left with the boom and bust of the gold rush, but others stayed

on to develop the paying mines, timber stands, and arable lands. Over time, the region drew on its recreational potential and the reputation of its scenic beauty and unique wildlife.

The natural diversity of the Hills, especially the region of Wind Cave National Park, is the subject of Section Three. Chapters Nine through Eleven describe the vertible panoply of resources that make up the park. Drawing on a wide range of botanical, zoological, and geological source material, it matches resources known to exist on park lands with information on their uses and meanings among the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribes as well. Although some attention is given to the historic interests of European Americans in park resources, the predominant focus in these chapters is placed on traditional tribal interests. It seeks to identify resources that might be identified as traditional cultural properties and to explain why these were important historically and why they remain so in contemporary contexts.

One of the points that is emphasized time and again in this report is that tribal relationships to this area are totalistic, not easily disaggregated into a series of discrete landforms and natural resources that can be isolated and inventoried. Although many of the resources discussed here are organized in terms of standard, empirically-based systems of classification, these do not follow the logic by which either the Cheyennes or the Lakotas order their worlds. For reasons that become apparent in later discussions, Cheyenne and Lakota conceptualizations of Wind Cave National Park and the Black Hills as a whole are synergistic, weaving together diverse phenomena in a unified scheme where, for example, breath, winter, bison, caves, and gypsum are interchangable manifestations of one another. The significance of the park and its surrounding environs is not about a specific landscape feature, a cave *qua* cave, or the presence of a particular resource with empirically established uses and properties. Rather, it is about the integrated placement of a sequence of sites and resources in relationship to each other. It is also about their relation to the larger whole -- that is, the Black Hills.

Section Four attempts to give some sense of the importance and centrality of the Wind Cave National Park area in Cheyenne and Lakota beliefs as revealed not only in the texts of various stories about the area but also in the performance of significant ceremonies, which are believed by some Cheyennes and Lakotas to have originated in this region. It also attempts to explain how this area, its landforms and resources, constitute an integrated whole that is understood as distinct but related to other equally significant areas of the Black Hills. In doing so, it describes many of the cosmological precepts and spiritual practices that have a direct bearing on the cultural significance of sites in and around Wind Cave National Park. The lands of Wind Cave National Park, both below and above ground, embrace significant cultural sites with complex meanings and symbolic relationships. Two major origin places, Wind Cave itself and the Race Track, are located on park properties, and at least one major ceremony, the Sun Dance, is associated in some cultural traditions with the park. Because the sanctity of this area and other locations in the Black Hills have been called into question in recent years by several scholars and journalists who argue that beliefs about its sacredness are a fabrication of modern tribal activists to reclaim possession of the Hills, considerable pains are taken in this report to trace the historical depth of modern beliefs associated with the park and also to show how these are consistent with a wider body of cosmological tenets well established in the religious discourse of the Cheyennes and the Lakotas.

In many ways, Wind Cave National Park reflects the wider history of the Hills and their associated cultural traditions. Both its history and cultural meanings are contested, like the larger region of which it is a part. Indeed, it can be safely said that this park and others in the Black Hills under the management of the National Park Service occupy some of the most embattled lands in the national park system. The cultural wars and controversy that surround the area

cannot be avoided. Ignoring these would be intellectually dishonest and an obstacle to making sound recommendations on how park management policies and actions impact the public they serve, which includes peoples with a very different sense of entitlement to and interest in park properties.

This is a large report that contains an enormous body of information, owing in large part to the cultural diversity and complexity of the region s human occupation, not to mention the on-going controversies that continue to surround it. Given the vast amount of material presented here, it may seem hard to see the park from the Hills. Much of the material does not pertain to Wind Cave National Park directly; nonetheless, it is indispensible for understanding the particular role the park has played in the cultural histories of American Indians and European Americans. The Table of Contents, of course, offers a road map to steer the reader through the dense body of material that comprises the report. Throughout most of the report, park specific information is embedded in discussions of a wider body of information that gives meaning and/or context to its landscape. The reader is advised, however, that at the end of each chapter, from Two through Thirteen, there is a synopsis, which summarizes and focuses the evidence on the particular case of Wind Cave National Park. Two chapters, Fourteen and Fifteen, concentrate much of their attention on the park s landscape and its resources. Chapter Fourteen discusses the religious significance of the park and its environs to the Lakotas and Cheyennes. Chapter Fifteen ties much of the varied information found in earlier chapters together in a single unifying narrative, part of which serves to review and interpret the information previously presented. The final chapter and conclusion, Chapter Sixteen, provides specific recommendations on further tribal consultations. It also offers suggestions on park management policies and actions relevent to the protection of resources and sites, on special requests for access to park properties, and, finally, on the development of interpretive programming that incorporates some of the distinctive cultural histories and traditions associated with the park.

Part 1

Part One

THE NATIONS THAT LIVED AMONG THE HILLS

> *You know, in our language, the Black Hills are called Paha Sapa or H'e Sapa, which means,'the hills appear to be black.' They are also known among the old ones as O'onakezin, which means 'a place to take shelter.' Another name by which they are sometimes called is Wamakaognaka E'cante, which means 'the heart of everything that is.' The area surrounding the Black Hills is called Cha'Gliska This means 'sacred hoop.' So you have a center and a sacred hoop encircling it There are many places within the Black Hills that have special significance, such as the hot springs. Years ago our medicine men would meet there and share stories and medicines. They would sit within the warmth of Mother Earth. Now the place is an amusement park There is another place called the Red Lodge Canyon, where our picture-writings are on the walls. These writings have been vandalized. An awful toll has been taken on them. Within thee rock writings are the Seven Commandments of the Indian religion. These coincide with the seven rites of the Lakotas. We still go there to fast, to vision quest, to gather sage or herbs, we always have to get permission!* (Kenny Good Eagle in Little Eagle, L. 2000: 212-213).

The eastern most outlier range of the Rocky Mountains, which straddles the border of Wyoming and South Dakota, was called by many tribal nations in the region with a name that translates into English as Black Hills. The Shoshones, who along with their Comanche relatives had early connections to the Black Hills, knew them as *E n gakwe hen garnda yaBi,* which translates as Red- fir(?)-its place, its-mountain range (Shimkin 1947:250). The Poncas, who resided for a time on the southeastern edge of the Hills in the mid-eighteenth century, called them *Pahe cabe* [Black Hills] (Howard 1965a:7), the same name given to them by their close relatives, the Omahas (Fletcher and LaFlesche 1972:1:102). The Arikaras, who often traveled to the Hills to hunt and trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, named them *waakat tkAt* [Black Hills] (Morsette in Parks 1991:2:499, 507). The Kiowas, who lived and traveled in the region during the last half of the eighteenth century, knew them as *Ts ooukhou k oup* [Black Rock Mountains] (Harrington 1939:168) or *Sa dalkani k op*,[1] which refers to the tripe from a buffalo cow (Mooney 1979:419). By the dawn of the nineteenth century, the Black Hills were located at the center of Cheyenne territory. Besides their common names, *Moxtavhohona*, literally translated Black Hills and *Witapahit* Island Hills, the Cheyennes also addressed them by two esoteric appellations, *Hohonecedonil* [the People who Live among the Hills] and *Kamicubsdinsia* [the People who Move Camp among their Mountains]. These two names designate not only the Hills but also the Cheyennes themselves, and they are used only in ceremonial settings (Petter 1913-16:582; Moore, J. 1981:14). By the end of the 1830s, the Black Hills were at the heart of the Lakota s territorial range. The Lakotas also knew them as *Paha Sapa* [Black Hills], *He Sapa* [Black Ridge], or *Witapaha* [Island Hill]. Euphemistically, they called them their meat pack, *Oiyhpeye Talo* or spoke of them as a gathering place, *O Onakinsin* (Hassrick 1964:75,165; Kadlececk and Kadlececk 1981:81; Black Elk, N. in DeMallie

[1] Harrington, however, argues that this name actually refers to the Badlands and not the Black Hills (1939:168).

1983:163-164,171-172; DeMallie 1984:314; Black Elk, C. 1986a:205-206). In sacred settings, they variously addressed them as *Wamaka Og naka I Cante* [The Heart of Everything that is], *Hocoka yapi* [The Center], and *Otiwita* [The Sanctuary] (Black Elk, C. 1986a:205-206). Most of the common tribal names for the Black Hills are either descriptive of the landscape or particular activities associated with the area, while the sacred names convey something more essential and fundamental about a peoples relationship to the region: they suggest an intimacy born out of a deep knowledge and experience of the Hills, one created by peoples who had lived there and been nourished by their presence.

Although Europeans and later European Americans knew about the Black Hills early on, they remained off the proverbial beaten path of most outsiders until the mid-nineteenth century. When European Americans first arrived in the northern plains, they heard many stories about a mountainous region that tribal peoples called the Black Hills, *Costa Negra* in Spanish or *Les Cotes Noires* in French (Chittenden 1935:2:727). When the Lewis and Clark Expedition explored the valley of the Missouri River, William Clark (in Moulton 1983-87:4:204) wrote about them as follows on May 26, 1805:

> The high Country in which we are at present and have been passing for Some days I take to be a continuation of what the Indians as well as the French Engages call the Black hills. This tract of Country So Called Consists of a Collection of high broken and irregular hills and Short Chains of Mountains, sometimes 100 miles in width and again becoming much narrower, but always much higher than the country on either Side; they commence about the head of the Kanzas river and to the west of that river near the Arkansaw river, from whence they take their Course a little to the west of N. W. approaching the Rocky Mountains obliquely passing the river Platt near the forks, and intercepting the River Rochejhone near the big bend of that river, and passing the Missouri at this place--, and probably Continueing to Swell the Country as far North as the Saskashawan river. tho they are lower here than they are described to the South and may therefore terminate before they reach the Saskashawan. The Black hills in their course northerly appear to approach more nearly the Rocky Mountains.

Like many other writers of the time, Clark applied the name, Black Hills, to a wide range of elevated locations east of the main front of the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, Hiram Chittenden (1935:2:728) notes that in fur-trade times many of the detached spurs and peaks west of the Missouri River were collectively known as the Black Hills. Even as late as 1849, Francis Parkman used this label loosely not only to identify the Black Hills proper but the Laramie Range as well. A decade later, Henry A. Boller (1972:225) was still applying the term to bluffs along the Knife River in North Dakota, even though by this date most writers distinguished the Black Hills proper from other high elevation locations west of the Missouri River.

The history of the area, known today as the Black Hills, is a complex one. Prehistorically, it is marked by the traces of many culturally diverse peoples, and, historically, it is identified with the presence of more than ten different tribal nations. Besides the Cheyennes and Lakotas, the historic nations who regularly lived and/or traveled in this region include the Arapahos, Arikaras (Pawnees), Comanches (Shoshones and Utes), Crows, Hidatsas, Kiowas, Mandans, Plains Apaches (Padouca and Kiowa), and Poncas. Atsinas, Blackfeet, and even Flatheads who lived in Montana were reported to occasionally trade with tribes who stayed around the Black Hills. Tribes maintained diverse relationships to the Hills for varying lengths of time and at different points in history, and their affiliations were much influenced by the region s distinct environment.

One of the striking features of the Black Hills is the diversity of their landscapes and life forms. This feature, which is reiterated again and again throughout the report, played a significant

role in influencing not only how American Indian peoples adapted themselves to the area, but also how they thought about it in cosmological terms. Over the past two centuries, the Hills have been home to over one thousand distinct floral species and hundreds of different fauna. A number of species, representing all points of the compass, reach their geographic limits and intermingle in the fastness of the Hills. Tribal nations came to the Hills from all directions as well and brought with them distinct cultural legacies born in settings as different as the woodlands lifestyles of the Northeast, the desert traditions of the Southwest, the agricultural complexes of the Southeast, and the intermontane cultures of the Northwest. Indeed, as will be elaborated upon in later sections of the report, Native peoples understood the Black Hills as a great crossroads, the gathering or meeting place of many different human and animal nations.

The complexity of the region s human habitation, which in historic times involved more than ten different tribal nations, three European and American states, as well as various communities of mixed American Indian and European, Asian, African, and Hispanic ancestry, covers an enormous body of historical and ethnographic material. It is not a simple task to reconstruct a general picture of the region s history without doing some disservice to the rich detail of its inhabitants lives and experiences. The following reconstruction, therefore, represents only an overview of major population settlements and movements in and around the Black Hills along with some interpretive discussion of the forces behind them.

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 (Sundtrom, 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.

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[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.

Chapter Three

THE ARRIVAL OF HORSES AND EUROPEAN TRADE: 1742-1806

The dawn of the historic era is a time when written records in conjunction with tribal oral traditions allow us to assign specific ethnic names to the American Indian populations who lived and traveled in the Black Hills. Nations with documented ties to this region in the eighteenth century include the Arapahos (and possibly Atsinas), Arikaras (and probably Pawnees), Cheyennes, Comanches (and the related Shoshones and Utes), Crows, Hidatsas, Kiowas, Lakotas, Mandans, Plains Apaches, and Poncas.

The eighteenth century history of tribal affiliations to the Hills is a complex one, marked by considerable movement and momentous change. One of the most important changes was brought about by the introduction of the horse. Horses arrived in the Black Hills area sometime during the early half of the eighteenth century. In his classic work on the subject, John Ewers (1969:1-14) suggests that horses entered this area by way of two principal routes, both originating in the American Southwest (see Figure 1). In one route, which flanked the eastern edge of the Rockies, horses were introduced to the area by Apachean peoples. In the other, Numic populations, notably the Utes and Comanches, introduced horses to the region through the interior passes and parklands of the Colorado Rockies. By the mid-eighteenth century, horses had become a major item in the well-established trade networks that blanketed the region, connecting the horse-supplying tribes with links to the Spanish Southwest to tribes with access to French and British guns and other European commodities coming from the eastern and northern peripheries of the Plains (Jablow 1951:39-44; Ewers 1954; Albers 1993). The Black Hills became a central hub in this traffic, a place where tribes of many different backgrounds gathered together to trade (Wood 1973).

Once horses were adopted, they transformed the ways local tribes lived (Ewers 1969; Klein 1977). In time, access to horses became a defensive necessity for local tribes whose territorial ranges and very life became threatened without them (Secoy 1953). Tribes jockeyed with each other to gain access to horses, entering into alliances to protect the trade routes of which they were a part against those in neighboring and often competing chains (Jablow 1951; Albers 1993:101-102; Moore, J. 1996:82-93). They also raided one another to steal this most valued possession, which became not only a vital means of defense but also an important means of production and exchange (Albers and James 1985).

As horse ownership became a necessary condition of existence, it encouraged many groups, such as the Crows and Cheyennes, to abandon their horticultural pursuits to become full-fledged pastoralists (Moore, J. 1987:172-174; Albers 1993:108-110). It also forced some of the Apachean and Numic-speaking populations with broad-spectrum hunting and gathering adaptations to pursue more specialized procurement activities resting on pastoralism and the hunting of bison. Once the horse became commonplace in the region, the more specialized bison-hunting complexes of the prehistoric era became the prevalent economic orientation for most of the tribes who stayed around the Hills (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102). The adoption of horses, however, brought with it important limiting conditions, including the necessity of finding year-round locations with adequate pasturage (Albers and James 1985, 1991; Moore, J. 1987:126-174). Populations who spent most of their time on the grassland margins of the Hills easily accommodated this

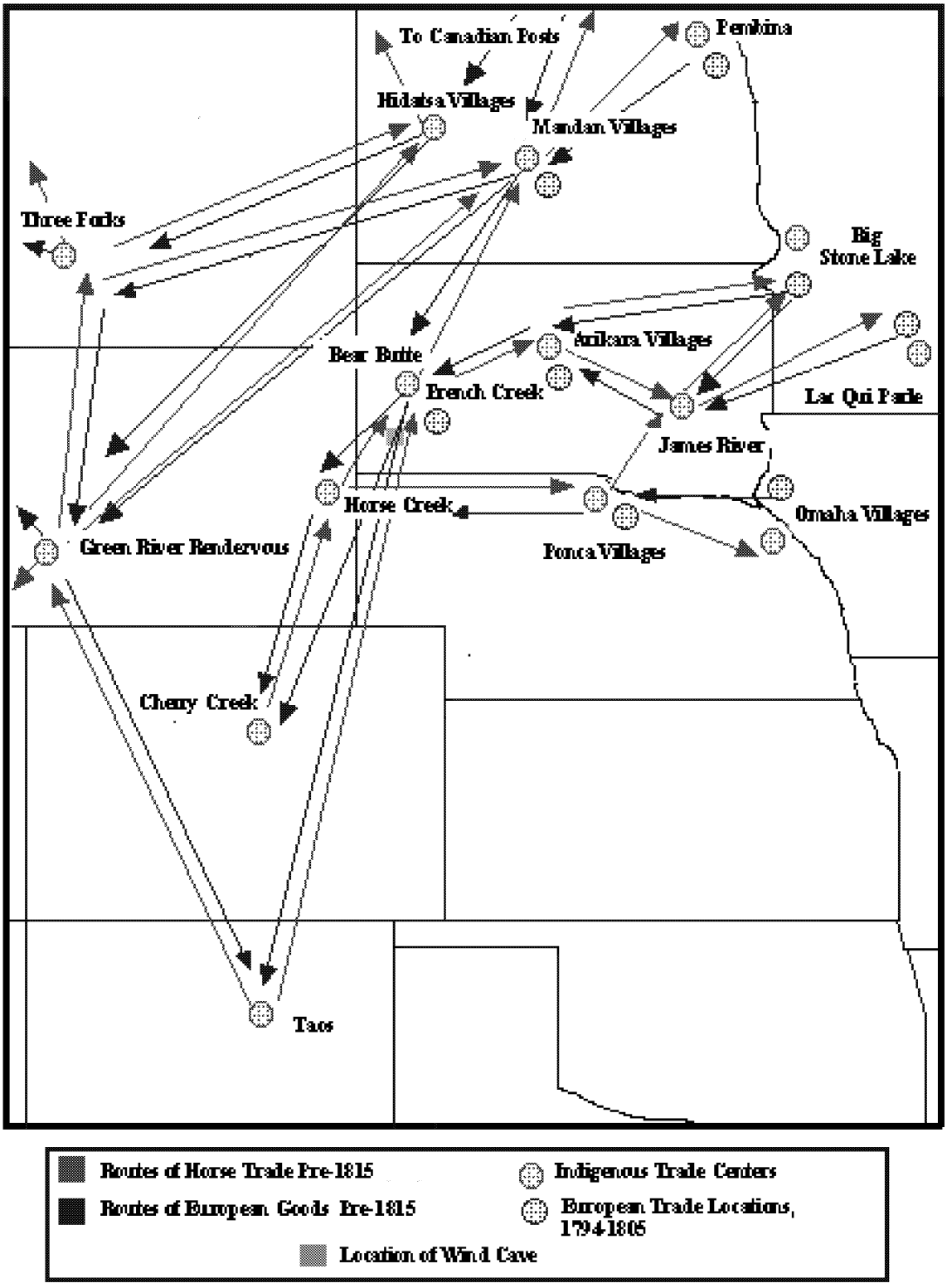
requirement, but it was not well suited to those who may have utilized the interiors on a more sustained basis. Although a decline in the year-round use of the Hills had taken place centuries earlier, the arrival of horses contributed even more to a specialized and seasonal pattern of resource procurement in the Hills higher elevation interiors (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102).

When the horse became a fundamental feature of tribal lives, European traders were penetrating deeper into the plains. At the dawn of the eighteenth century, traders had just begun to reach the peripheries of the region, relying on local tribes to carry their trade goods into the heartlands in exchange for hides and peltries. In the Southwest, the Apaches, Utes, and Comanches brought hides, meat, and other resources to exchange for Spanish trade goods which they, in turn, carried to populations as far north as the Black Hills in South Dakota and the Green River in Wyoming. On the eastern and northeastern peripheries, tribes such as the Assiniboins, Crees, and Lakotas brought guns and other European commodities to the agricultural villages on the Missouri to trade for horses, and, in turn, the villagers traded these European goods to tribes west of the Missouri (Jablow 1951:6,12,22-23, 27, 30, 38, 42, 45, 53; Secoy 1953 66-67, 74; Swagerty 1988: 78-79; Albers 1996:100-111). Much of this trade took place at the villages, but some of it also occurred at rendezvous points near the Black Hills, including Bear Butte in the north, the forks of the Cheyenne River and its tributary French Creek in the east, and Horse Creek, a stream along the Platte River, in the south (Wood, 1973; Sundstrom, J.1977:5, 8).

By the end of the eighteenth century, many of the tribes who occupied locations on the peripheries of the Plains and who acted as middlemen in the European trade were by-passed by white traders now setting up their posts in the interiors along major waterways such as the Assiniboine, Saskatchewan, Missouri, and Platte rivers. The movements of traders often interrupted, and even destroyed, the lines of trade that many local tribes controlled and diligently protected (Albers and Kay 1987:73; Albers 1993:105). When Jean Baptiste Truteau and others were waylaid by the Poncas and Lakotas as they ascended the Missouri River, these were not arbitrary acts of hostility but calculated moves to prevent traders from reaching groups in the interior and thereby cutting off their advantageous positions in local trade networks (Parker, D. 1950:61-62; Jablow 1951:35-38; Wood 2003:32, 34).

Until the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, most of the traders who entered areas near the Black Hills did so to explore locations best suited for building permanent entrepots, and they remained in the area for brief periods of time. Typically, they situated their trade activities at the villages of the large horticultural tribes, the Arikaras, Mandans, or Hidatsas (Wishart 1979:48-79; Wood and Thiessen 1985:5-36). Already well-known and native-controlled trade hubs, whose commerce extended well back into the prehistoric era, the villages soon became major resting and trading spots for a growing population of European traders. Although some traders and *engages* in their employ ventured away from the villages to trap and carry on their trade, some even taking their commerce to the Black Hills, only a few of them left a record of their travels.

FIGURE 1. Eighteenth-Century Plains Indian Trade Routes



I. THE EARLY HISTORIC RECORDS

One group of traders, the La Verendrye brothers, came to the northern Plains to search for an overland route to the Pacific (Burpee 1927:406-432; Smith, H. 1980). They reached the Mandan villages near present day Bismark, North Dakota in May of 1742. Two months later on July 23, they left the villages, accompanied by two Mandan guides, and traveled overland in a west-southwest direction (Burpee 1927:407; Smith, H. 1980:105). Although the eldest brother, The Chevalier, wrote of their travels, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty what routes they followed and which groups they met in their yearlong journey. This has led to no end of scholarly debate on the matter. Beginning with the exchanges of South Dakota historians, Charles Deland and Doane Robinson (1914), scholars continue to debate whether their course took them to the Big Horn Mountains or the Black Hills (Hurt 1974:79-83). One thing is clear: they left a metal plate, discovered in 1916, on a hill directly across the Missouri River from present day Pierre, South Dakota, an act establishing France s claim to the region (Cassells, Miller, and Miller 1984:135). This discovery has lent some credence to the argument that part of their travels took them through regions directly north of the Hills.

What we learn from the Chevalier s journal (Burpee 1927:410-429; Smith, H. 1980:105-114) is they encountered populations with eight different names, the *Beaux Hommes* (Good Men), *Petits Renards* (Little Foxes), *Pioya* (probably Kiowa), *Gens des Cheaveux* (Horse People), *Gens des l Arc* (Bow People), *Gens de la Belle Rivere* (People of the Good River), *Gens de la Rivere Cherise* (People of the Cherry River), and *Gens de la Flesche Collee* (Glued Arrow People). Three of the groups, the Little Foxes, Pioya, and Horse People feared another people called the *Gens des Serpeant* (Snake People). We also know that one of the groups, the *Gens des l Arc* (Bow People), did not fear the Snake people. They had large herds of horses and possessed asses and mules, implying that they also had contact with the Spanish Southwest. Indeed, one of their leaders knew some Spanish words and was able to relate a story of a well-known incident where the Pawnee killed a group of Spanish traders in the early eighteenth century. These people also had knowledge of the ocean from slaves taken by the Snakes (Burpee 1927:413-416; Smith, H. 1980:107-108). Other than this, we cannot say much more about these groups and their locations.

Except for the Chevalier s journal, information about the Black Hills in the early half of the eighteenth century was second hand and written by traders or government officials far removed from the area. Etienne Veniard de Bourgmont claimed to have ascended the Missouri River in 1714 as far as the Arikara villages above the mouth of the Niobrara River, but it is doubtful that he ever traveled much beyond the mouth of the Osage (Hurt 1974:83-84; Norall 1988). Nonetheless, his writings offer a glimpse of a number of tribal locations that remained more or less stable until the appearance of Delisle s map of 1718 and the writings of the Mallet Brothers in 1739 (Blakeslee 1995). From these sources, we learn that the Pawnees and the Skidi Pawnees were located in villages on the Loup River and along the central reaches of the Platte; the Omahas were situated at the mouth of the Big Sioux River; the Padoucas lived on the upper reaches of the Niobrara, Platte and the Arkansas rivers; the Arikaras inhabited areas above the Big Bend of the Missouri River; and the Lakotas still resided in regions east of the Missouri (Hurt 1974:69-71). After the travels of the La Verendryes and until the arrival of Jean Baptiste Truteau in 1794-1795, historic documents remain sketchy but basically corroborate the tribal locations given at the beginning of the century (Hurt 1974:84-98).

At the turn of the nineteenth century, many more traders entered the region and left a much richer body of documentary evidence, including more precise information about the Black Hills. Jean Baptiste Truteau, a representative of the Spanish Missouri Company in St. Louis, made two

trips up the Missouri between 1794 and 1795, spending one winter among the Poncas and another among the Arikaras (Truteau 1914, 1921; Parker, D. 1950:19-27; Nasatir 1952:279-299). He is credited with providing the first detailed information on tribes residing near the Black Hills. James McKay and John Evans, also in the employ of the Spanish, visited the Mandans in 1787 and set up a post among the Arikaras in 1795 (Nasatir 1952:99, 106). Neither wrote detailed journals, but the documents and maps they left of their journeys provided invaluable information for future explorers traveling the Missouri River, notably, Lewis and Clark (Wood 2003).

On the 1st of October in 1800, the French gained control of the territory known as Louisiana from the Spanish under the Treaty of San Ildefanso. Between 1802 and 1804, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939) wrote an extensive narrative of his time on the Missouri River that included specific details about the Black Hills. In 1802, Tabeau accompanied the Loisel Expedition of the Missouri Fur Company and remained with this group at a post on Cedar Island above the Great Bend of the Missouri River, but a year later in 1803, he moved up river to establish his own post among the Arikaras.

1803 was also the year that the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory from the French for fifteen million dollars in a ceremony held in New Orleans on the 20th of November. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were the first official representatives of the United States to explore the region. In their travels between 1804 and 1806, they visited Tabeau near the Arikara villages but wintered among the Mandans. Much of what they wrote about the area was learned from local traders, most of whom were located at the tribal villages along the Missouri, although two, Jon Vall and Jean Baptiste Le Paige, wintered in the Black Hills with the Cheyennes (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:133, 226-227). Vall s employees purportedly traded with local tribes along the Black Hills stream that bears the name French Creek (Sundstrom, J. 1994:15). Vall and his trappers were also reported to live and trade with local tribes at the forks of the Cheyenne River (Tabeau in Abel 1939:86-87). Another trader named Guenneville traveled extensively with the Cheyennes in the neighborhood of the Black Hills during the same period (Tabeau in Abel 1939: 87, 153).[1] The information Lewis and Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:395-440) gathered from these and other traders was contained in their daily journal entries and also in their Statistical Views, which included sketches of all of the tribes they encountered or heard about in their travels, including some of the most detailed information on tribes known to reside in the vicinity of the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park. In 1806, Alexander Henry, the Younger (Coues 1965:1:383-384), a trader with the Northwest Fur Company of Montreal, also visited the Mandan villages where he learned the whereabouts of some of the tribal nations who traded there, including those who lived near the Black Hills, and between 1804 and 1806, another trader, Charles McKenzie (in Woods and Theissen 1985:221-296), recorded his observations about tribes who came to the villages from regions in the direction of the Hills.

II. EARLY TRIBAL OCCUPANCY IN THE BLACK HILLS

Combining the above accounts with evidence from tribal winter counts (Good in Mallery 1893; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930; Carloff in Powers, W. 1963; Blue Thunder in Howard, J. 1965b; White Bull in Howard, J. 1968; Swift Dog in Praus 1962; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969; Howard, J. 1979; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982: 124-131; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987) and oral traditions (Bent in Hyde 1968; Grinnell 1972; Mooney 1979) collected from the end of the nineteenth to the early

[1] In the early twentieth century, an elderly Cheyenne man (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:35) confirmed that his people first met white men in the Black Hills.

decades of the twentieth century, we can begin to reconstruct the movements and locations of some of the named tribal nations known to have lived in and around the Black Hills. What we learn from these sources is that the Black Hills were a major crossroads where many different tribal nations came to live, trade, hunt, and war. We also learn about the tragic consequences of European diseases spreading through the region at this time. 1781 marks the year when one of the largest smallpox epidemics swept across the Plains, killing tens of thousands of people, wiping out entire villages along the Missouri River, and destroying large encampments as far north as the central Plains of Montana (Taylor 1977). This epidemic, and probably earlier ones as well, triggered important changes in the ways in which tribal nations were distributed across the region, and they contributed in one degree or another to the subsequent migrations of tribes affiliated with the Black Hills.

A. The Comanches, Shoshones, and Utes

One of the earliest references to the epidemic of 1781 comes from the journals of the Northwest Fur Company trader David Thompson (Coues 1965:2:328-335) during his years of travel on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan rivers in Canada. In 1787, he related a story from a Cree leader named Saukamapee who told of a time, circa the 1730s, when the joint forces of his tribe and the Blackfeet first saw their enemies, the Shoshones, fight them with horses. He also reported that sometime around 1781, these tribes discovered a Shoshone campsite on the Montana Plains where all the inhabitants had died from smallpox. From this and other fur trade reports of the time as well as the tribal traditions of the Flathead, collected in the early twentieth century by James Teit (1927-28:316-322), we know that Numic-speaking peoples, notably the Shoshones and Bannocks, occupied a vast stretch of territory extending south from the Canadian border through central Montana to the sagebrush steppes west of the Big Horn and Laramie Mountains in Wyoming. When the La Verendrye brothers arrived in the area in 1742, the Snakes (Shoshones) had retreated across the mountains after destroying a camp of Horse People. These mountains were either the Black Hills or the Big Horns (Smith, H. 1980:106). Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:376) wrote that Snakes were not well known where he traded on the Missouri because they occupied areas on the upper reaches of this river beyond the Crows. Gen. George H. V. Collot s map of 1796, which was based on information he received from Truteau, situated them to the west of the Yellowstone River and the Big Horn Mountains (Hurt 1974:123). A decade later, Lewis and Clark located the Shoshones west of the Big Horn Mountains and wrote that they shared an alliance with the Crows and Mandans with whom they traded horses (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:4:436-437; Shimkin 1986:308-310). Two years earlier, Antoine Laroque (in Wood and Theissen 1985:170) observed a group of Shoshones traveling with the Crows to the Mandan villages. In the early twentieth century, Calico, an Oglala Lakota, told Clark Wissler (1912:78-79) how the Lakotas were taught the Night Dance by the Cheyennes who, in turn, had learned it from the Kiowas. He then went on to say that these two tribes, along with the Arapahos, Utes, and Shoshones, once occupied locations east of the Black Hills.

Tabeau (in Abel 1939:160) linked the Shoshones with two other populations that he called the *Pele* and *Altines.* The ascription *Aliatan* and its variants, according to James Mooney (1979: 167) and Frederick Hodge (1907-10:1:1064), was probably another Numic-speaking group, the Utes, although Lewis and Clark used it synonymously with the name Snakes. More recently, Thomas Kavanagh (2001:903) has linked this name to the Comanches too, but this does not necessarily exclude the Utes with whom they had had a long history of intermarriage. Another name, *Ietan*, was applied to a well-known horse-trading population formed through intermarriages between Ute-Comanches and Apaches in southeastern Colorado. This ethnically mixed population was known to travel widely over the high plains region at the base of the Rocky

Mountains. In Lewis and Clark s writings, a probable variant of this name, *Staetan*, was applied to a population who were closely associated with the Arapahos and lived with them at locations along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:26-27, 423). In later years, the name *Ietan* was used primarily in reference to the Comanches (Hyde 1959:99, 201; Wedel 1959:76; Mooney 1979:167; Kavanagh 1996: 69, 128).

By the time the La Verendryes arrived in the region, the Comanches had already broken away from the main body of Shoshones and were beginning to migrate east and then south along the eastern flanks of the Colorado Rockies. According to George Hyde (1959:52-91), the Utes first brought the Comanches to Taos in 1707, probably a decade or two after they introduced horses to them, and together, these two tribes regularly raided Spanish settlements and Apache communities in northern New Mexico and western Texas. At the same time, some of the Comanches began to extend their territorial reach to the edge of the Black Hills in the eastern plains of Wyoming. Others, however, moved south, establishing their principal territorial ranges beyond the Arkansas River in Colorado where the vast majority were located by the 1740s. The ability of the Comanches to expand their territorial range beyond the mountain parklands of Colorado and Wyoming was a function, in large part, of what had befallen the Apachean groups, commonly called the Padoucas, who dominated the Plains on the southern edge of the Black Hills before 1725. Whether from epidemic disease or the raiding of tribes equipped with guns and ammunition, the Padoucas lost their hold over territories east and south of the Black Hills, opening the area to Comanche expansion (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:5-9; Hyde 1959:65-92; Kavanagh 1999:63-132).

As late as 1794, the Comanches were reported at locations within easy reach of the Black Hills. Truteau (Nasatir 1952:379) located them on the Platte River, ten days march (sixty to eighty leagues) from the Arikara villages on the Missouri. In the same time period, Francois Marie Perrin du Lac wrote about battles taking place between the Comanches and the Cheyennes at locations east of the Black Hills (Grinnell 1972:1:38). Most probably the Comanches involved in these battles were members of the northernmost branch of the tribe, known as the *Yamparika* [Wild Carrot Eaters], a name they shared in common with a division of the Utes (also known as the White River band). These were probably the Comanches whose territorial range straddled the two forks of the Platte River and extended north towards the Black Hills (Kavanagh 2001: 887).

It should also be noted that in the oral traditions of the Comanches and Kiowas (Wallace and Hoebel 1952:27-28; Hyde 1959:60-61; Wedel 1959: 75-77; Mooney 1979:162-164), some of the *Kwahada* Comanches remained far to the north in historic times as well, separated from the main body who, in the time of Lewis and Clark s visit, were located along the Arkansas River in Colorado and as far south as the Canadian River in Texas (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:437-438; Kavanagh 1996:148-158). The *Kwahada* had close relations with the southern Kiowas when they still lived in the Black Hills, and, in later years, they continued to be intimately associated with them (Hyde 1959:60-61). Farther north, notwithstanding hostilities between Kiowas and Comanches south of the Arkansas, small groups of Comanches and even Shoshones were known to live and travel in some of the larger Kiowa camps after this tribe moved their territories to locations well south of the Black Hills (Mayhall 1971:44-45,52). Regardless of their specific identity, it is clear that some of the Comanches occupied areas on the western and southern margins of the Black Hills into the nineteenth century.

Evidence for the presence of the Comanches in the neighborhood of the Black Hills also comes from other tribal oral traditions. Ponca and Crow traditions indicate that they first learned of and received horses from the Comanches at locations near the Black Hills in the early half of the 18th century (Fletcher & La Flesche 1973:1:79-80; Voget 2001:695). Some Cheyennes also maintained that when they first moved to the Black Hills, they acquired horses from the Coman-

ches and also learned how to dress hides in one piece from them (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18; Marriott and Rachlin 1975:94-98). Along with the Kiowas, the Comanches were reputed to make the best robes (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18).[2] The Lakotas also recognized the Comanches' early presence in the Black Hills (Calico in Wissler 1912:79). Because of their early and widespread association with the introduction of the horse to tribes in the Black Hills' region, the Comanches make a good candidate for the peoples the LaVerendrye's identified as the *Gens des Cheaveux.*

B. Apaches

Like the Numic-speaking Comanches, Shoshones, and Utes to their west, Apachean-speaking peoples were known to have occupied an enormous swath of territory extending from the eastern plains of Montana through eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota to the plains of western Texas and adjoining areas of New Mexico. This was an internally diverse population, which included groups known as *Padouca* and also *Gattaka* (Plains or Kiowa Apaches) (Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11-16).

From prehistoric times to the early historic era, there is overwhelming historic evidence that a region extending from the Bad River in the north to the upper reaches of the Arkansas River in the south was inhabited by a large population of Apachean speaking people known as the Padoucas. Strong archaeological evidence also supports the presence of this population near the Black Hills during protohistoric times. Not only were their settlements situated at locations as close as the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, but there is lithic evidence of their presence inside the Hogback in the southeastern Black Hills as well (Wedel 1959:589-599; Gunnerson 1960, 2001).

In 1719, Jean-Baptiste B nard de La Harpe learned from the Wichitas that the Padoucas had large numbers of horses, which they traded to the Arikaras (Foster and McCullough 2001:927-928). This makes the Padoucas a possible candidate for the tribal nation the La Verendryes identified as the Bow People in 1742. This identification is recommended for two reasons. First, the introduction of the bow and arrow in the northwestern Plains is commonly associated with the prehistoric Avonelea complex, widely reputed to be proto-Apachean in origin. Second, the Bow People were a population who owned large numbers of horses, asses, and mules, and followed a leader who knew Spanish words and historic events that had taken place much farther south (Smith, H. 1980:107-110). Both of these facts suggest a people with continuing access to the Southwest, which at this point in time would have been a group of Apaches, Comanches, or Kiowas, although Douglas Parks (2001b:968) argues that they might have been a division of the Pawnees or Arikaras because of their association with forts, a term most often applied to the palisaded villages of horticultural populations. He also recommends this identification because of other contemporaneous reports of a people named *Gens de l Arc* living in four villages near the Arikaras. The association of the Bow People with villages, however, does not eliminate the Padoucas, who, in contrast to some of the other Apaches in the region, were known to have occupied village settlements and followed a more semisedentary existence (Wedel 1959:73,589-599; Gunnerson 1960; Tweedie 1968; Blakeslee 1995:38).

The Padoucas were also among the first Apaches to adopt the use of horses in warfare, and

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[2] In Rudolph Petter s dictionary (1913-15:583-584), the Cheyennes had several different names for tribal nations in the Numic language family. *Paanaxceo* was the term for Bannocks and also Paiutes, while the Shoshones were called *Sosone* or *Moeomhetaneo* [Grass lodge people], the Utes *Moxtavataneo* [Black people], and the Comanches *Sisinovozhetaneo* [Rattlesnake People]. The Lakotas and/or Dakotas had the some of the same names for these groups. The Utes were known as *Sapa wicasa* [Black men], the Shoshones as *Sussuni* or *Pejiwokeya Oti kin* [Grass lodge dweller], and the Comanches were called *Sintehla wicasa* [Rattlesnake men] (Buechel 1970:733; Williamson 1970:35).

they were well known in the seventeenth century for their equestrian raids against the Pawnees in central Nebraska. By the mid-eighteenth century, their fortunes changed when the Pawnees, and, at times, the Poncas attacked them. Both of these nations were now well armed with guns and ammunition (Hyde 1959:63-92; Fletcher & LaFlesche 1972:1:79-80). As a result of this warfare, and possibly epidemic disease as well, most of the Padoucas eventually abandoned their northern settlements, although some appear to have remained in the area and become absorbed into other tribal bodies (Foster and McCullough 2001:927-928).

In a letter dated December 12, 1785, Estevan Miro, the Governor-General of Louisiana, reported the presence of Padoucas (or Toguibacos) on the headwaters of the Bad River when he wrote:

> The Pados were in former times the most numerous nation on the continent but wars other nations made against them have destroyed them to such an extent that at present they form only small groups who go wandering from one side to the other continually (*quoted from* Hurt 1974:112).

By the time of Lewis and Clark s Expedition in 1804-1806, the Padoucas were reported to have disappeared as a distinct group (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:438-439), and they were identified with a small remnant band, called *Dotame*, who lived between the two forks of the Cheyenne River west of the Black Hills but ranged as far south as the Loup Fork of the Republican River. They were reported as close allies of the *Catakas* and the *Nemousins* (probably Arapahos) and trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:425-426, 439). The *Dotame* were also mentioned by Tabeau (in Abel 1939:132) in 1803. Although various attempts have been made to affiliate the *Dotame* with other tribal nations in the region, including the Comanches and Cheyennes, none of these connections are very convincing (Parks 2001b:969).

The other Padoucas appear to have either joined forces with Apachean populations in the Southwest and/or to have been absorbed into the ranks of neighboring populations, including some of their erstwhile rivals, the Plains Apaches and Comanches (Hyde 1959:28-92; Wedel 1959:69-75, 77-78; Gunnerson 1960; Gunnerson and Gunnerson 1988:11-16; Foster and McCollough 2001:927-928). As reported by James Mooney (1979:248), one elderly Apache told Captain W. P. Clark that he had been born near the Badlands of South Dakota around 1780. Although the Padouca Apaches disappeared as a distinct tribal body, the name, Padouca, persisted. In later years, this name was commonly applied to the Comanches,[3] who had taken over much of the Apachean Padouca s former territorial range near the Black Hills (Wedel 1959:77-78).

Another group of Plains Apaches located in the region of the Black Hills was first mentioned in the historic record under the name *Gattacka* by Ren -Robert Chevalier de La Salle. When he visited the Wichita villages in 1681, he described them as a horse-trading people who visited New Mexico in association with the *Manrhout,* a group that some scholars now identify as the Kiowa (Mayhall 1971:23-25; Foster and McCollough 2001:927; Parks 2001b:966). Years later, they may have been referred to as the *Tokiouakos*, who traveled with the Arapahos and Kiowas in Truteau s writings (in Nasatir 1952:379). This name has been linked as well to the people known as the *Petit Renards* in La Verendrye's journal (Parks 2001b:969-970). These Apaches were also

[3] The Poncas and Omahas called the Comanches Padoucas, which suggests that the Comanches may have already overtaken much of the area southeast of the Black Hills by the 1740s, an area once dominated by the Apachean speaking Padoucas (Fletcher & La Flesche 1972:1:79-80). These Padoucas had bows made from elk horn, their horses were covered with an armor of hide, and they carried long shields. The armor and shields, however, suggests Apachean rather than Numic-speaking peoples (see Secoy 1953). Whatever the origins of the Padoucas of Ponca memory, they were a population with whom the Ponca alternately traded and fought (Fletcher & La Flesche 1972:1:79-80).

present in Tabeau s narrative (in Abel 1939:132, 154) as the *Cartarkas* and listed among the people who gathered at the foot of the Black Hills to trade with the Cheyennes and Arikaras. Lewis and Clark called them *Cataka*. They located their settlements on the western side of the Hills between the two forks of the Cheyenne River, but they noted that their territorial range extended farther north towards the Yellowstone River. They also described them as allies of the Kiowas and trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:136, 423-424).

In both recorded history and in oral tradition, the Plains Apaches, who call themselves *Na-I-sha* (Foster and McCollough 2001:938) were closely aligned with the Kiowas. They either met the Kiowas when they arrived in the Black Hills or migrated with them from Montana in the middle decades of the eighteenth century (Mooney 1979:254-255). These Apaches also maintained strong ties with another Athapascan-speaking population, the Sarsi, who were closely connected to the Blackfeet of Montana. Despite the distances separating them, the two populations made long-distance trips to visit one another in the nineteenth century. Even the Kiowas, in whose camp circle these Plains Apaches commonly dwelled, had Sarsi ancestors in their genealogies (Mooney 1979:160).[4] An interesting piece of evidence that lends support to the theory that La Verendrye s Horse People might have been Plains (Kiowa) Apache is the Cheyenne tradition that they received some of their first horses from this tribe and knowledge of a particular horse medicine from them near Bear Butte (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21; Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:244-245).[5] Even more importantly, these Apaches and their Kiowa allies were the only known people from the Black Hills region, besides the Comanches and Padoucas, to have moved back and forth from the southern Plains at an early date. In their southerly travels, both populations clearly had access to horses, but most likely, it was these Apache or their Padouca relatives who first introduced horses to populations living in the region of the Black Hills. Thus, it would not be surprising if the Horse People the La Verendryes met in 1742 were a group of Plains (Kiowa) Apaches. If not, then the most likely candidate for the enigmatic Horse People are the Comanches, since so many tribes report that they acquired their first horses from them.

C. Kiowas

Aside from the Snakes, only three other native populations can be identified with any confidence in the La Verendrye journal, and one of these is the, *Pioya* which in all likelihood is a corruption of the name Kiowa or *Ga igwu* (the name the Kiowa call themselves and probably the original nucleus of the Kiowa tribe) (Mooney 1979:228). The Kiowas trace their origins to the Three Forks of the Missouri River in the mountains of Montana, where, after an internal dispute, half of the tribe left their homelands to migrate to regions along the Yellowstone River east of the Crows. At the turn of the eighteenth century, they were closely aligned not only with the Crows but the Arapahos as well. In fact, it was at this time that they received their sacred Sun Dance medicine, which originated with the Crows and was given to an Arapaho man who married into the Kiowa tribe. As late as the 1880s, the keepers of this medicine were required to trace their descent to an Arapaho ancestor (Mooney 1979:242). It was also during the early eighteenth century that many sacred stories emerged about Bear Lodge Butte (Devil s Tower), Bear Butte, and the Black Hills more generally (Mooney 1979:160). From the Yellowstone, the Kiowas report they migrated to the northern edge of the Black Hills, where they stayed until 1760 when they

[4] There is also a tradition among the Cheyennes of their people having other close ties with Apachean speaking peoples, who the Cheyenne called *Mozeheonetan* [People of the Rasp Fiddle] (Petter 1913-15:582). Petter (Ibid: 583) argues the people the Cheyennes called *Sasap* were probably the Sarsi.

[5] The Kiowa Apaches have a number of traditions linking the origins of some of their most sacred medicine bundles to Bear Butte (McAllister 1937:162-163, 1964).

moved to the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, where they remained for thirty years before traveling south to the Platte River (Mooney 1979:153-154).

The Kiowa s own oral traditions closely match what appears in the historic documents for this period. After 1742, when the La Verendryes encountered them somewhere north of the Black Hills, they do not appear in the records of the northern Plains until Truteau writes about them in 1794 as two of the three tribes who regularly accompanied the Cheyennes on trading expeditions to the Arikara villages on the Missouri. They were clearly the tribe Truteau (in Nasatir 1952: 379) identified as the *Cuyahoga*, but they were also undoubtedly represented by a second tribe, the *Pitapahato*. Even though Truteau stated that this group spoke a different language than the *Cuyahoga*, *Pitapahato* is probably a corruption or derivation of *Witapaha* (Island Hill) (Mooney 1979:150-151). *Witapaha* is an old Lakota name for the Black Hills and the people who lived there, the Kiowas, and it is one the Cheyennes, Arikaras, and Pawnees also used for the Kiowas (Petter 1913-15:582; Parks 2001b:970). It is also an ascription that the Lakotas apparently applied to a segment of the Cheyennes (Vestal 1934:264; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:314). It is possible that traders gave this name to one of the divisions of the Kiowa known as the *K uato* (Pulling Up), who spoke a different dialect of the Kiowa language and lived in areas near the southern Black Hills where they intermarried with the *Wotapio* band of Cheyenne (Moore, J. 1987:218-222). The name *Witapahato* disappeared as a distinct tribal identity in the historic record not long after 1780, when Kiowa oral tradition tells us that the *K uato* were exterminated in a battle with the Lakotas (Mooney 1979:229).

In 1796, Collot s map showed the *Pitapahata* on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne River and the *Kayo* (Kiowa), along with an unidentified group, the *Tokiwako* (probably a group of Plains Apache), on the South Fork of this river (Hyde 1951:40; Hurt 1974:105-106). During the next decade, Tabeau (in Abel 1939:132) recorded the *Kayo* but not the *Pitapahato* among the groups who traded with Arikaras and Cheyennes at the foot of the Black Hills. In the same time period, Lewis and Clark listed the *Kiwis* and *Wetepahatoes* together and reported that both lived on the North Fork of the Platte River with 70 tipis, 200 warriors, and 1000 souls. They wrote that their territorial range extended to the southwestern Black Hills, and that they were closely aligned with the *Kanenavish* (Arapahos). They also noted that the Kiowas traded their horses to the Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas and bartered what they received from these groups with the *Dotomes* and *Castahanas* (possibly a group of Atsina) (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:421-422).

D. Arapahos and Atsinas

In the historic records of the early nineteenth century, the Arapahos were almost always reported in association with the Kiowas, and they were most commonly identified as *Blue Bead* or some variant of their Arikara name, *Tuhknihna: wish* (Color Bead Village) (Fowler 1986: 309 n28). They were also listed as *Gens de Vash* (Buffalo People) (Fowler 2001:860). Like the Kiowas and Plains Apaches, the Arapahos entered the Black Hills region from the north after they broke away from their Astina (Gros Ventres) relatives. It is nearly impossible from the vantage point of the Canadian records to separate the two when references to their existence appear in seventeenth-century accounts based on information collected in the vicinity of the Saskatchewan River (Gussow 1974:40-41). Arapaho oral traditions claim that they separated from the Atsinas sometime in the eighteenth century over a quarrel in some accounts and, in others, during a plague (Trenholm 1970:15-16). However, in 1897, Left Hand of the Southern Arapahos told Hugh Scott (1907:558) the following:

> We originated in the north beyond the Missouri river, and became separated by the breaking up of the ice on the Missouri river --that is the way we left some of our people up there. After we came south to the Black Hills we separated again because the Northern Arapaho preferred to stay north and we preferred to come south because there were more horses and a milder climate.

In Kiowa oral traditions, the Arapahos, along with the Crows, were in the vicinity of the Yellowstone River in the early eighteenth century. In Cheyenne traditions, the Arapahos were first encountered when the Cheyennes started to move to the Black Hills around 1750 (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-18). The Cheyennes report that, when they arrived on the northern side of the Hills, the region was occupied by Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, Arapahos, and Crows.

In 1794, Truteau listed them as the *Caminanbiches* and also as *Tocaninanbiche*, one of the three tribes allied with the Cheyennes, who often accompanied them to trade at the Arikara villages on the Missouri (Nasatir 1952:301, 379). In 1796, the Collot map placed the Red Bead people on the Yellowstone River (these are probably Atsinas), the Blue Bead nation on the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, and the *Tokaninambich* on the south branch of the Cheyenne River (Hyde 1951:40; Hurt 1974:122, 123). Several years later, Perrin du Lac noted that the Arapahos hunted in the summer with the Cheyennes at the forks of the Cheyenne River (Gussow 1974:58-59). Tabeau (in Abel 1939:87, 153-155) reported them in association with the Cheyennes, not only trading on the Missouri but also at the foot of the Black Hills. In Lewis and Clark s descriptions, the *Cannenavich* were located on the upper reaches of the Platte and the South Fork of the Cheyenne River but traveled with the Cheyennes as far west as the Big Horn Mountains (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). In 1806, the trader, Alexander Henry, the Younger, also mentioned them living in the vicinity of the Black Hills and on the Missouri in association with the Cheyennes (Coues 1965:1:383-384). Tribal historian Tom Shakespeare (1971:27) wrote that by the first decade of the nineteenth century the Arapahos were not only actively trading with Cheyennes in and around the Black Hills but hunting with them as well. The close relationship between these two tribes was apparently maintained at locations along the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River and farther south along the Platte River (Scott 1907:549).

Besides their close trading partnerships with the Cheyennes, the Arapahos maintained trade ties with the Arikaras and other village tribes on the Missouri (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). They were also affiliated with two other populations, the *Staetan* and *Kite*, whose tribal identities have been a source of some debate (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:423). The *Staetan* are identified as a tribe of Kites of the *Canenavich* tribe on Lewis and Clark s map. The *Staetans* are variously linked to the *Ietan*, a group of mixed-Ute, Comanche, and Apache, well known in earlier Spanish records (Hyde 1959:99, 183, 201), and to the *Sutaio* branch of Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:11). More likely, given Lewis and Clark s descriptions, both groups were names of divisions within the Arapaho tribal nation, even though they may have had foreign origins (Fowler 2001:860).

Another possible Arapaho group is the one identified by Tabeau (in Abel 1939:104) as the *Nimoussines*, which probably derives from the Cheyenne ascription, *Nomsin neo*, which means southerners (Fowler 2001:861). Whether this population is Arapaho, as Loretta Fowler claims, or Cheyenne, as John Moore (1987:67-68) argues, is hard to determine. They were probably not a group of Comanches, as Frederick Hodge[6] (1907-10:1:28) once suggested. Regardless of their

[6] The argument for a Comanche connection is based on the name the Comanche call themselves, which is *Neme* [People].

ethnic origin, Lewis and Clark placed the *Nemousin* on the headwaters of the North Fork of the Cheyenne River and reported that their territorial range, which extended from the Yellowstone in the north to the Loup Fork of the Republican River in the south, was shared in common with the *Datome* and *Cataka*. They also described them as being aligned with the Kiowas and occasional trading partners of the Arikaras (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:425-426). This is another one of the groups who traded at the foot of the Black Hills with the Arikaras and Cheyennes (Tabeau in Abel 1939:87, 153-155; Hyde 1959:189).

The Astinas, the Arapaho s close relatives, were identified separately as the *Castehana* and the *Paunch* Indians in Lewis and Clark s journals, but at this point in history, most of this population appears to have been located in regions north of the Big Horn Mountains and the Yellowstone River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:426-429). Indeed, most early nineteenth century historical documents place the Atsinas at locations in northcentral Montana near the Judith Basin (Fowler and Flannery 2001:678). The Atsinas ranged farther south to visit the Arapahos, and some even spent extended periods of time encamped with them at locations south and west of the Black Hills along the Platte River (Fowler 1987:45-47). Unlike the Arapahos, however, they were never reported at locations in and around the southeastern Black Hills where Wind Cave National Park is located.

E. Crows

The Crows, who call themselves *Apsaroke*, were an offshoot of the Hidatsas (Voget 2001: 715). They once lived on the prairies northeast of the Missouri River, near present-day Spirit Lake (a.k.a. Devil s Lake), North Dakota, and with their Hidatsa relatives, they migrated to the Missouri River and established villages there sometime around 1200 A.D. (Ibid: 695). According to their own oral traditions, the Crow separated from their Hidatsa relations in the late seventeenth century and moved southwest along the Yellowstone and Little Missouri rivers where they came in close contact with the Kiowas and the Arapahos. By the middle of the eighteenth century, they were closely allied with both populations, but especially the Kiowas, living and traveling with them in the northwestern areas of the Black Hills (Ibid:695; Mooney 1979:153-154, 242).

There is no question that Crows lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills; they were probably the *Beaux Hommes* the La Verendrye brothers encountered in 1742 (Parks 2001b:967). At this point in history, the Crows appear to have been well established in areas northwest and west of the Black Hills along the valley of the Little Missouri River, although they clearly traveled to areas east and south of the Hills on trading and raiding expeditions (Garnett in Friswold 1976: 130). Unlike their Arapaho and Kiowa allies, the main bodies of Crows, the *Wirresapere* [Mountain Crows] and *Pelacciwiraxpake* [River Crows], do not appear to have had any extensive or long-term territorial connections to the southern reaches of the Black Hills (Voget 2001:695), although they certainly entered this area to wage war on the Lakotas (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:25-26). Additionally, small family or band groups no doubt took up residence and traveled with the Arapahos and Kiowas whose territorial range during this period most definitely included the southern Black Hills and the upper reaches of the Platte River.

In 1796, Collet's map places them on the Yellowstone River (Wood 2003:50). A decade later, Lewis and Clark (in Moulton 1983-87:3:428) and others (Laroque in Wood and Theissen 1985:170) reported the Crows had ties with the Arapahos and Kiowas' dreaded enemies, the Shoshones, from whom they were procuring most of their horses. Their Shoshone connections became increasingly important in the early nineteenth century as their access to other horse sup-

pliers, notably the Kiowas, was cut off by the territorial expansions of the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Voget 2001:696-698). Indeed, as discussed in the next section, alliances with the Shoshones may have been one of the factors that precipitated a later break down in the Crows' ties to the Arapahos and a disruption of the Arapahos' friendship with the Kiowas.

F. Cheyennes and Sutaios

There are many stories in Cheyenne oral traditions recounting their migrations from Minnesota to the Sheyenne River in North Dakota and then to the Missouri River in the early decades of the eighteenth century (Bent in Hyde 1968:3-16; Grinnell 1972:1:25-33; Moore, J. 1987:89-125), although one of their tribal historians, Black Moccasin, reckoned they had moved to the Missouri as early as the late seventeenth century (Powell 1969:1:22). In these travels, the Cheyennes met another group, the *Sutaio*, who spoke the same language and eventually became incorporated into their camp circle (Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14). Together, the Cheyennes and their Sutaio allies crossed the Missouri River. According to the stories of Bear Woman and Old Woman (Bent in Hyde 1968:14-15), they moved across the Missouri between the Mandan and Arikara villages somewhere near the present site of Fort Yates, North Dakota. While living on the Missouri, they continued to plant corn and other crops.

Although some scholars have suggested that the Horse People of the La Verendrye expedition were Cheyennes (Hurt 1974:93), this is doubtful given other historical evidence that places them on or near the Missouri until the 1760s. The more likely candidates in the La Verendrye journal for a Cheyenne identity are the *Gens de la Flesche Collee* (Glued Arrow People), who the La Verendryes met on their return trip to the Mandan villages seven days north of the Arikara village at Pierre, South Dakota (Smith, H. 1980:113). These people have also been linked to the Lakotas on equally plausible grounds (Parks 2001b:968). Whatever the case, Bear Woman and Old Woman told George Bent (in Hyde 1968:16) that while living on the Missouri, the Cheyennes made two annual trips up the courses of the Cheyenne and Grand rivers and gradually moved their hunts southwest to the Black Hills.

It is not until Truteau s accounts of 1794-1795 that we begin to get a more exact picture of Cheyenne locations and movements, which many scholars argue took place incrementally one band at a time (Holder 1970:90-97; Moore, J. 1987:85). As reported in their own oral traditions, the Cheyennes abandoned their Missouri River settlements before the outbreak of smallpox in 1781 and moved their villages to the Cheyenne River (Bent in Hyde 1968:16). According to Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:301), they were located on Cherry Creek, a tributary of the river that bears their name, situated midway between the Arikaras on the Missouri and the Kiowas and Arapahos, who were closer to the Black Hills. Here, they built permanent lodges, planted corn, and occupied three villages named *Ouisy, Chouta,* and *Cheynne* (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379). In Collot s map of 1796, the Cheyennes were located just below the confluence of the north and south forks of the Cheyenne River (Hurt 1974:106; Wood 2003:50).

Perrin du Lac wrote of the years between 1801 and 1803 that the Cheyennes lived along the river bearing their name and hunted buffalo on the plains as far south as the Platte River, and that they shared this area with the Kiowas, Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and the Witapahatos (possibly a mixed group of the Kiowa/Cheyenne) (Gussow 1974:58-59). By the time Tabeau entered the region in 1802, many of the Cheyennes had given up horticulture, turning to a life centered on hunting and pastoralism. In their new adaptation, they came to inhabit the entire region between the Missouri and Black Hills. George Bird Grinnell (1983:1:9-10) indicates that some of them were now camping on the upper reaches of the White River. The Cheyennes still maintained a

strong middleman position, with the Arikaras on one side and the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches on the other. They were reported to accompany the Arikaras when this tribe attended the trading rendezvous at the base of the Black Hills (Tabeau in Abel 1939:151-153). Some of the tribes that Tabeau described as trading at the edge of the Black Hills, including the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Arikaras, constituted a trade block whose members stood together in competition to another alliance that joined the Mandans and Hidatsas with the Crows and then the Shoshones, Flatheads, and Nez Perces (Voget 2001:695-697; Hoxie 1995:31-46). In these long-distance trade chains, the horses, meat, and hides of the nomadic tribes were bartered against the corn and tobacco of the semisedentary villagers, who also traded guns and other commodities acquired from tribes with access to the commerce of the French and British farther east. The tribes in each trade chain generally cooperated with each other, while the tribes in opposing chains competed and sometimes fought one another over access to horses and European trade goods (Albers 1993:101-112).

Lewis and Clark described the Cheyennes' territorial range as situated on both sides of the Black Hills along the two forks of the Cheyenne River (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:420-421), but, elsewhere, they reported that it also extended to the Big Horn Mountains (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:487-488). Zachary Gussow (1974:28) notes that the original map Lewis and Clark sent back, which first appeared in 1807, showed the Cheyennes and various Plains Apache groups encircling the Black Hills. The Cheyennes were clearly the largest of these tribal nations, with an estimated 110 lodges, while the combined figure for the rest was 50 lodges.

In his letters to George Hyde (1968), George Bent, the son of a trader and a Cheyenne woman, described how the Black Hills were the area in which the Cheyennes acquired horses from the Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches sometime between 1750 and 1775. He also indicated that this was the location where most of the Cheyennes gave up farming to pursue a lifestyle centered on horse-raising, hunting, and the procural of wild plant foods. He related how tribal elders remembered the antelope pits they built at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River, and how they learned this technique of hunting from the Kiowas (Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21). It was in the country of the Black Hills that the Cheyennes became closely connected to the Arapahos, who remained their staunchest allies until their settlement on reservations (Bent in Hyde 1968: 21) and who joined them in wars against the Utes, Shoshones, and Crows that lasted until the reservation period (Moore, J.1987:115-116). It was here as well that much of their sacred knowledge was reconsecrated and tied to Bear Butte (Bent in Hyde 1968:61), which, according to Karl Schlesier (1987), had been their homeland in prehistoric times before they moved east for many centuries. However their prehistory is interpreted, it is clear that Bear Butte and the Black Hills became the center of their territory when most of them moved to this region in the last half of the mid-eighteenth century (Grinnell 1906:15, 1972:2:543; Powell 1969:4:467-469, 1982:2-4; Hoebel 1960:15; Schlesier 1974:4-6, 1987:54-55, 79-80; Moore, J. 1987; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:863-864). It is also clear that they learned important sacred knowledge at Bear Butte from the Plains Apaches, three of whose women married Red Hat, an early Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, around 1780 (Ottaway 1970:94; Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:242-244; Schukies 1993:187).

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Cheyennes were still allied with the Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and Kiowas, who often joined them on expeditions to trade at the Arikara villages. As Joseph Jablow (1951:58-59) rightly argues the Cheyennes had become a major middleman group in the region s trade, linking the Missouri River villagers with the more nomadic populations living near the Black Hills. This is also the time we begin to get a glimpse of the complexity of the Cheyennes' relations with the Lakotas.

The close association between the Cheyennes and Lakotas stretches back to the seventeenth century when they occupied adjacent territories in Minnesota and were considered a part of the same alliance formation. John Moore (1987:30-37) argues that a number of Cheyenne divisions, in particular the *Wotapio*, *Masikota*, *Totoimana* and *Omisis*, had Lakota and/or Dakota origins. Although one can certainly challenge some of the details in Moore's reconstructions of Cheyenne band histories, there is no question that D/Lakota speaking peoples resided with the Cheyennes throughout much of their recorded history. Tribal elders told George Bent that the *Moiseyus,* people of mixed Sioux ancestry, accompanied the Cheyennes on their westerly migrations to the Missouri River and the Black Hills in the early eighteenth century (Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14). D/Lakota speakers, or Sioux as they were commonly called in early historic sources, were certainly reported west of the Missouri in the company of Cheyennes at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1794, Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:310) noted the presence of a Sioux village on the Cheyenne River next to a Cheyenne settlement, some of whose inhabitants had been murdered by a Cheyenne named The Lance. In 1795, Jacques Clamorgan requested medals for Arikaras, Mandans, Cheyennes, and for the Sioux who are living with the last named (*quote taken from* Hurt 1974:125).

Cheyenne oral traditions certainly support the fact that their relations with the Lakotas were uneven at this point in history. According to George Bird Grinnell (1956:36-37), when the Cheyennes occupied the Black Hills area and settled the upper reaches of the Cheyenne River, there were no Lakotas present. As small bands of Lakota began to make their way across the Missouri, moving their belongings on dog travois, the Cheyennes took pity on them and gave them horses. But sometime after 1780, when Lakota movements infringed on the territories of the Cheyennes' allies, the Kiowas, war broke out and the Cheyennes appear to have been caught in the middle (Hyde 1937:24). Kiowa oral traditions reveal a great deal about their battles with the Lakotas (Mayhall 1971:30; Mooney 1979:156-157), although there is surprisingly little about these hostilities in Lakota winter counts for the same period. Since the Cheyennes depended on the Kiowas for horses, which they kept not only for themselves but also brokered to the Arikaras and Mandans in exchange for guns and other European trade goods, their relations with their Lakota relatives and friends must have been strained. Indeed, winter counts and oral traditions report a number of battles taking place between the Cheyennes and Lakotas, in this period, including one as far west as Rawhide Butte in Wyoming (Good in Mallery 1893:311; Hyde 1937:24; Howard, J. 1979:13; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998:11). These battles appear to have involved only some of the Lakotas because the Ben Kindred Winter Count indicates that the Cheyennes were aligned with the Soane Lakotas against the Oglalas and Sicangus (Beckwith, M. 1930:351), and this is also suggested in another source (Walker 1982:125). The fighting may well have involved only some of the Cheyennes too. Ironically, it was probably the Cheyenne *Wotapio* band, a group descended from intermarriages with Lakotas a century earlier, that became embroiled in this warfare: they were the ones who lived along the upper reaches of the White River and along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River, and they were the Cheyenne division who became intermarried and most closely allied with the Kiowas. Indeed, as their subsequent history indicates, many of them broke ranks with other Cheyennes and joined forces with the Kiowas, moving south of the Platte River at the dawn of the nineteenth century (Moore, J. 1987:218-225).

The other Cheyennes, including most of those from the ranks of the Omisis (with Totoimana, Masikota), Sutaios, and the Tsistsistsas proper (with Hisiometaneo, Heviksnipahis, Hevhaitaneo, Ovimana and Hetametaneo) tended to occupy the northern areas of the Hills and do not appear to have broken ranks with their Soane Lakota allies (Moore, J. 1987:229-234). Nonetheless, as George Hyde (1937:24) points out, the battles between the Lakotas and the Cheyennes were short-lived and a peace was reestablished between the two by 1810. At this point in history, the Cheyennes probably realized that they needed to rely on the Lakotas to help protect their ter-

ritorial and trade interests against the Crows, and there is considerable evidence in oral traditions and winter counts that the two were engaged in battles against the Crows north of the Black Hills after 1785.

G. Poncas and Omahas

The Omahas and Poncas were semihorticultural populations, who occupied village settlements along the lower stretches of the Missouri River in protohistoric times (O'Shea and Ludwickson 1992). These tribal nations were the first ones traders encountered as they entered the plains along the Missouri River. Their oral traditions reveal that they came from the Southeast, migrating to the central Plains by way of the Ohio River, across Iowa and Missouri, to their historic homelands in eastern South Dakota and adjoining areas of Nebraska (Howard, J. 1965a:14-15; Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:73-77; Wood 1993:79-80). From these traditions, we learn the Omahas and Poncas were forced out of western Iowa and Minnesota by the combined forces of Cheyennes and Dakotas, and for much of the early seventeenth century, they took up residence near the current site of Lake Andes where they received their sacred pole. Cheyenne oral traditions reveal they were aligned with Dakotas in this offensive war until a peace was made at the end of the seventeenth century (Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:73). During this time, the Cheyennes learned of the sacred pole that eventually became incorporated into their own Sun Dance (Schlesier 1987:75-76).

The combined forces of Omahas and Poncas traveled farther west to the valley of the White River where they built villages and hunted upstream in the years between 1730 and 1750. At this time, the Poncas moved even farther, following the Bad River to the country near the Black Hills, the place where they acquired horses from the Comanches (Howard, J. 1965a:7, 20-21, 130-133; Fletcher and La Flesche 1973:1:78-81, 102; Hurt 1974:86; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416). During these decades, the Poncas appear to have intermarried with Arikaras and joined them on hunting expeditions into the Black Hills (Hyde 1937:15; Howard, J. 1965a:13). Indeed, archeaological evidence form *Nanza*, the Ponca trading fort on the Missouri River, reveals the presence of Arikara-style pottery (Wood 1993:105). It was probably during these hunting excursions in the 1740s that the Poncas learned about Wind Cave and the little people who lived in the mountains (Howard, J. 1965a:20, 26). In later years, it was during these trips that they encountered the Kiowas, who fought them and forced them to retreat to the Missouri River where they built their fortified villages at the mouth of the Niobrara River (Hyde 1937:15; Hurt 1974: 86).

Once again, tribal oral traditions closely match the written records. Some European maps from the early half of the eighteenth century locate the *Les Maha*, the Omahas, and the *Les Maha Nation errante*, referring to the Poncas, on the north side of the Missouri near present day Sioux City, Iowa and at the mouth of the Big Sioux River in South Dakota (Howard, J. 1965a:24; Wood 1993:80-86). When European traders began to arrive in the region during the 1790s, the Poncas were situated on Ponca Creek and at the mouth of the Niobrara (Nasatir 1929b: 535; Howard, J. 1965a:25; Wood 1993:83-89; Brown and Irwin 2001:416-417). Truteau, who wintered among the Poncas in 1794-1795, wrote that their main village was located about seven miles above the mouth of the Niobrara, and that they were middlemen carrying European goods north and west to other tribes, including the Arikaras (Howard, J.1965a: 25-26; Hurt 1974:107). Tabeau (in Abel 1939:99-101), who traded in the region between 1802 and 1804, wrote that the Poncas were ravaged by the smallpox epidemic that swept the area two decades earlier. As a result of their dwindling numbers, they were frequently preyed upon by the Lakotas/Dakotas and thus were required to retain a strong alliance with the Omahas.

On their ascent of the Missouri, Lewis and Clark stopped at Ponca Creek on September 5, 1804 but found the Poncas' village deserted because the tribe was away hunting buffalo (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:49-50). In their entry for this date and in the Statistical View section, Clark wrote that their numbers had significantly declined from the ravages of smallpox. He estimated their former strength was 400 men, while their present numbers were reduced to no more than 50 men. He also wrote that Poncas joined forces with Omahas on hunting excursions to the upper reaches of the Loup and Niobrara rivers, suggesting that their hunting grounds were much farther south now (Clark in Moulton 1983:3: 50-51, 399-400).

H. Arikaras and Pawnees

Like the Poncas with whom they had once intermarried, the Arikaras were devastated by the smallpox epidemics of the late eighteenth century. After they separated from their Pawnee relatives, migrating north and establishing villages on the Missouri around 1300 A.D., they became a powerful tribal nation with more than thirty-two different settlements scattered along the Missouri from the mouth of the Niobrara to the Grand River. Until the 1780s, their geographic locations, fortified villages, and large numbers made them largely invincible against the periodic attacks of their Sioux-speaking neighbors to the east (Parks 2001a:366-367). As Joseph Jablow (1951:52-56) astutely argued, the Arikaras tolerated the thievery of the Sioux because they were the principal source of trade goods before European traders set up their commerce at the Arikara villages.

From various tribal oral traditions, especially those of the Kiowas and Cheyennes, we know the Arikaras were major trade partners of these tribes. They were a tribe with whom both had extensive ties of intermarriage (Moore, J. 1987:100-102). Indeed, one of the Kiowa divisions, *K at a* [Bitters], was given the same name as the Arikaras (Mooney 1979:228). In their early years of trade with these two tribes, the Arikaras supplied corn and other agricultural products in exchange for meat and hides, but as the eighteenth century progressed, more and more products of European origin entered the trade and the Arikara villages became a hub of commerce where horses and Spanish trade goods from the Southwest were exchanged for guns and other commodities of British and French manufacture coming from the East (Parks 2001a:370-371).

One of the first reports of an Arikara presence on the Missouri comes from the writings of Bourgmont, who, in 1718, identified some of their numbers in the neighborhood of the Niobrara River (Hurt 1974: 85; Norall 1988:123; Parks 2001a:366). The Delisle Map from the same year places them near the James and Vermillion Rivers, but according to Wesley Hurt (1974:86), there is no evidence that they ever occupied this location, suggesting that the French still had no direct contact with them. In the 1730s and 1740s, other records reveal that the Arikaras were some distance above the Omahas on the Missouri, but that they visited with their relatives, the *Pani-Maha* (Skidi Pawnee), then located on the Loup River, with some degree of regularity (Hyde 1951:83-86; Parks 2001a:366). Melborn Thurman s (1988:435-441) careful interpretation of early maps of the Missouri River suggests that the Arikaras may have occupied a number of separate locations during the eighteenth century, either simultaneously or at different times. The history of their settlements on the Missouri has been substantiated by extensive, twentieth-century archaeological research, revealing that the early eighteenth-century stronghold of Arikara settlement was situated on both sides of the Missouri between the Cheyenne and Bad Rivers (Lehmar 2001:245-255).

It was at their locations along the Missouri River, as reported earlier, that various tribes from the Black Hills regularly came to barter with the Arikaras. The Arikaras, however, traveled to the

foot of the Black Hills as well, not only to trade but also to conduct their annual bison hunts. In 1742, the La Verendrye brothers met two groups, one of which, the *Gens de la Belle Riviere*, was probably in a winter hunting camp (Parks 2001a:967-968). The other group, *Gens de la Riviere Cherise,* was hunting in the neighborhood of Cherry Creek; the La Verendryes returned with them to the Missouri, where some of their villages were still located near the mouth of the Bad River (Smith, H. 1980:111-113). Victor Collot s map of 1796 also shows them on the upper reaches of the White River at this time (Hyde 1951:40-41; Wood 2003:50).

The Arikaras' strong position in the intertribal trade stayed in place until the smallpox epidemic of 1781 killed well over half of their population and seriously impaired the rest. When French traders from Spanish Louisiana first arrived in the area and set up trading posts at the Arikara villages, they described what had befallen the Arikaras and the tragic consequences this was having on their ability to defend themselves against the rising tide of Lakotas moving to the Missouri from locations farther east (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:300-301). Indeed, Hyde (1937:20-21) argued that the 1781 smallpox epidemic on the Missouri was a turning point in the western migrations of the Lakotas. With village populations such as the Arikaras and Poncas unable to fend them off as they had in the past, the Lakotas began to have unobstructed access to many crossing points along the Missouri and used these to reach hunting grounds that eventually took them to the Black Hills.

From the 1750s to the 1780s, Spanish records describe the Arikaras as a large population with seven villages, located some distance above the Omahas on the Missouri River (Hurt 1974: 83, 96). When Truteau arrived at their settlement near the Cheyenne River in 1794 (also situated at this location on Collot s 1796 map), he reported that only two villages remained (in Nasatir 1952:300-301). At these villages, some of the Lakotas had settled and taken up farming, but many more came simply to trade. Many Lakotas also used this location to cross the Missouri to reach hunting grounds along the Cheyenne River. Some of the Lakotas who arrived at the Arikara settlements clearly came in peace, but Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:310-311) notes that others took advantage of the situation to raid Arikara horse stocks.

When Tabeau lived among the Arikaras, from 1802 to 1804, they had abandoned their settlements at the mouth of the Cheyenne River and lived exclusively in the vicinity of the Grand River. As already noted, he wrote about their strong alliances with the Cheyennes and other tribes who lived in the neighborhood of the Black Hills. He also described their relations with the Dakotas and Lakotas, some of whom came to the Arikara villages to trade from areas as far east as the Minnesota River. Their ties to these tribes were more mixed, and as revealed by other traders, they vacillated between periods of peaceful co-residency and trade to times of raiding and pillaging (Tabeau in Abel 1939:131). The Arikaras, however, were clearly at war with the Crows, a hostility that the Cheyennes and Lakotas quickly took up as their hunting ranges extended into Crow territory. They were hostile to the Mandans and the Hidatsas, who at this point in history still posed a major competitive threat to the long-distance trade chain in which the Arikaras were located (Tabeau in Abel 1939:132; Jablow 1951:51, 56-58). In this situation, the Cheyennes tended to remain neutral, although the Lakotas and Dakotas often sided with the Arikaras in their battles with the Mandans and Hidatsas. When Lewis and Clark passed the mouth of the Cheyenne River on October 1, 1804, the Arikaras' former villages remained abandoned. The Arikaras were now concentrated in three villages: one located on Ashley Island above the mouth of the Grand River, where Tabeau lived, and the other two on the west bank by Oak Creek (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:400-401).

The Arikaras' relatives, the Pawnees and Skidi Pawnees, appear to have had little connection to the Black Hills other than as a location to raid their enemies (Hyde 1951:145-147). These

populations occupied village locations along the Republican River, the central portions of the Platte, and the upper reaches of the Loup Fork (Parks 2001c:515). Their annual buffalo hunts took them west towards the Rocky Mountains, but their long history of hostility with the Padoucas, followed by the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos, and then by the Cheyennes and Lakotas probably prevented them from reaching the Black Hills except on military forays (Hyde 1951:39-82). Also, according to Douglas Parks and Waldo Wedel (1985) in their study of Pawnee sacred geography, most of the sites of religious significance to them were located in central Nebraska.

I. Mandans and Hidatsas

Farther north on the Missouri River, above the Arikara settlements, Lewis and Clark arrived at the Heart River villages of the Mandans, where they remained over the winter of 1804-05. The Mandans were another population of semihorticulturalists who, along with the Hidatsas, their northern neighbors on the Knife River, lived in large fortified villages. Of the two populations, the Mandans had the longest history of occupation on the Missouri River and lived there well before either the Hidatsa proper or their close relatives, the *Awaxawi*, arrived (Stewart, F. 2001; Wood and Irwin 2001).

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Mandans and Hidatsas maintained regular and friendly contacts with many of the tribes in the region, including the Cheyennes, Crows, Kiowas (with Witapahas), Plains Apaches, and Arapahos, all of whom traveled to their villages on the Missouri to trade (Henry in Coues, 1965: 1:383-384; Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:401-403; Laroque in Wood and Thiessen 1985:156-220). There is also evidence that Mandans and Hidatsas met the Cheyennes and other tribes to trade in regions south of their villages toward the Black Hills (McKenzie in Wood and Theissen 1985:280-281), and that some established winter villages on tributaries of the Missouri River, perhaps as far south as the Cheyenne River (Bowers 1963:48-50).

The Mandans and Hidatsas appear to have taken their annual bison hunts towards the Black Hills, probably along the Little Missouri River (Bowers 1963:51; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3: 234). In later years, Maximilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347), reported that the Black Hills were considered a prime location for hunting elk and bighorn sheep, while Alfred Bowers (1950:210) reported the Hills as a location for eagle-trapping. Again, much of this hunting appears to have taken place on the northern peripheries of the Hills (Bowers 1963:49). There is no evidence that these tribal nations were in areas of the southern Black Hills where the Arikaras and the Poncas took their annual hunts, even though they reached this area on raiding expeditions (Bowers 1963:238, 259). Also, ancestors of the Mandans may very well have occupied some of the prehistoric horticultural settlements along the Cheyenne River at the foot of the Black Hills (Schlesier 1994:342-344). In earlier times, it is probable that the Mandan had a much closer relationship to the Black Hills area because one of their oral traditions refers to Bear Butte and the pilgrimages the tribe once made to this sacred landmark (Rosen 1895:54). By the time of the La Verendrye brothers, however, we get the distinct impression that the two Mandan guides who accompanied them were not comfortable in areas far beyond the Missouri.

The Hidatsas, strong allies of the Crows and Shoshones, were part of a trading block that stood in competition with the one connecting the Arikaras to the Cheyennes. The Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos appear to have divided their trade allegiances between the Crows and Arikaras (Jablow 1951:51), a fact that may explain some of the early intertribal hostilities among some of these tribes. Even though the eighteenth century Kiowas and Arapahos who lived in the

Black Hills were reported to maintain contact with the Hidatsas and Crows, these associations were diminishing as the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas, both bitter enemies of the Crows, dominated regions bordering Crow and Hidatsa territories (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:426-428).[7]

J. Lakotas (or Teton/Western Sioux) and Dakotas (Eastern Sioux)

The Lakotas (also known as the Teton Sioux), along with some of the Dakotas -- mostly Yanktons, Yanktonnais, and Sissetons, certainly reached the Missouri River early in the eighteenth century from their primary settlements in Minnesota and adjoining regions of eastern South Dakota. Their winter counts list scores of horse raiding expeditions against the Arikaras, Hidatsas, Mandans, Omahas, and even the Crows and Shoshones far to the west beyond the Missouri River in the eighteenth century (Hurt, 1974:85; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351-353). In 1738, the La Verendryes reported Dakotan peoples making raids on the Mandan villages (Hurt 1974:88). If these raids followed patterns described at the end of the century, they were probably associated with peaceful trade encounters as well. Notwithstanding frequent forays to raid and possibly trade on the Missouri, there is no question that, before 1760, the winter settlements and hunting grounds of the main body of Lakotas were still far east of the Missouri in regions near Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake in Minnesota.

In one oral tradition recounted by Nicholas Black Elk to John Niehardt in December of 1944 (DeMallie 1984:307-316), the Lakotas, along with their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies, lived to the south near a big water where a man named Slow Buffalo led them. At this time, they had already learned to make fire from the yucca plant, they had knowledge of the bow and arrow given to them at the Race Track in the Black Hills, and they also had knives and slingshots (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:311). At a great council led by Slow Buffalo, the seven divisions of the tribe were sent out to live at different corners of the earth (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309). In these travels, they stuck together with the Cheyennes and Arapahos. The Cheyennes went south and west to find horses. As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:314) states:

> The Cheyennes, the ones that went toward where the sun goes down, came as far as the Black Hills. There was another tribe that grew from this band, and they called them the Island Hill [*Witapaha*, Kiowas], by which I think they meant [that] the Sioux called the Black Hills at that time the Island Hills. Soon another tribe derived from the band and called themselves Island Hills. They are the ones who traveled back to the south, and there they ran into the horse.

Eventually, the Cheyennes met the Lakotas and gave them horses in exchange for bows, arrows, and other valued objects (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:315). When the Cheyennes and the Lakotas began to fight, the Lakotas got their horses from the Arapahos, who also remembered the story of Slow Buffalo, and like the Lakotas, they too received a pipe (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:315-316). From Black Elk s narrative, it is clear that these tribes were close allies, even though hostilities erupted for a time between segments of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes.

Another story of how the Lakotas acquired horses was told by an Oglala man named Left-Hand to Ella Deloria (Howard, J. 1980:20-21). It tells how two Lakotas were scouting for bison

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[7] In light of this, it is important to point out that in contrast to the Cheyennes and Lakotas, whose sacred landscape became centered around the Black Hills in the nineteenth century, most of the Mandan and Hidatsa s origin stories and sacred sites were located in the Killdeer Mountains and at higher elevation buttes along the Little Missouri River (Bowers 1963:12). Much of the Crows sacred landscape became attached to the Big Horn-Pryor Mountain region (Nabokov and Loendorf 1994).

and got trapped on the west side of the Missouri River because the ice broke up. Unable to return to the other side, they traveled upland where they met two men on horses who were Cheyennes. The Cheyennes took them to their large camp on the White River, treated them generously, and gave them horses. There is also an entry in Battiste Good s winter count (Mallery 1893:296-297) which reveals that the Sioux may have acquired horses from the Omahas and Poncas even earlier.

According to George Hyde (1937:15,18), Lakotas and Dakotas began to permanently stay on the Missouri River sometime around 1760 in small groups with few horses. Some of them, notably the Yanktons, lived amidst the Ponca in villages where they planted corn and other crops (Howard, J. 1980:11). Others, including some of the Oglalas and, later, the Minneconjous, settled among the Arikaras and also farmed (Tabeau in Abel 1939:104; Howard, J. 1980:21). The vast majority, however, did not take up horticulture and retained a more nomadic lifestyle. Their westerly movements in this and subsequent decades, as Gary Anderson (1980) argues, were stimulated as much by access to horses, new trading opportunities, and more favorable hunting grounds as they were by pressures coming from their Ojibwe enemies to the east.

Whatever the exact date of their entry into the country adjoining the Missouri River, it is clear from a letter written by Miro that the Lakotas had become the dominant group on the east bank of this river by 1785 (Nasatir 1929b:535). There is no question that their dominance was secured by the losses the village tribes sustained in the aftermath of the 1781 smallpox epidemic, which was also reported in Lakota winter counts (Good in Mallery 1893:313; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:168; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:353; White Bull in Howard, J. 1968:9; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:127). The declines suffered by the villagers gave the Lakotas an opportunity to cross the Missouri unimpeded and to establish settlement areas along its various western tributaries. Initially, the Lakotas used the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers to penetrate the plains beyond the Missouri, but, later, they followed the Moreau and Grand rivers as well (Hyde 1937:20-21; DeMallie 2001a:731). It was not until the following decade, however, that a more precise picture of Lakota locations and movements emerges.

As the larger body of Lakotas moved towards the Missouri in the 1760s, smaller groups were probably already crossing the river and beginning to travel towards the Black Hills (Vestal 1934: 260; Ewers 1938:5). The Ben Kindred Winter Count reports Lakotas securing shells from the Platte River for making knives and also mentions numerous raids against the Shoshones and the Crows between 1760 and 1830 (Beckwith, M. 1930:351-354). In addition, they must have retained some memory, and even some connection, with their relatives among the Cheyennes who lived near them in the seventeenth century and who had crossed the Missouri decades earlier.

The first written evidence of the Lakotas arrival in the Black Hills, however, does not appear until 1775-1776, when a man named Stands Upright Bull was reported on the winter counts of American Horse and Cloud Shield to have returned to camp with a bough of *hante*, or cedar, from the enemy country (American Horse and Cloud Shield in Mallery 1987:130,131), or 1777-1778 in White Bull s count (in Howard, J. 1968:8). Other winter counts report a similar incident that took place a decade later (Good in Mallery 1893:309; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:168; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:354; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969:59; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:127; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987:130-131). One historian, James Hanson (1983:32), regards 1775 as the earliest possible date the Lakotas were ever present in the Black Hills, but it can be argued that this date simply marked one of many Lakota excursions into the Hills region (Feraca and Howard, J. 1963:8). Judging by the date, this event may have signified the victorious return of a war party that waged a battle where one of the divisions of the Kiowas was nearly exterminated. John Ewers (1938:5) suggests that the Lakotas entered the Black Hills country earlier, around 1765, and Cheyenne oral

traditions lend support to this. For if the Lakotas were approaching the Black Hills with dog travois rather than horses, as the Cheyenne stories tell us, this would predate 1775 by several decades. In fact, the trader, Peter Pond (in Gates 1965:57-58), reports that the Lakotas, or western Sioux, were already well stocked with horses in 1774. Writings from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Larson 1997:25-27; DeMallie 2001b:725-727) suggest that the Lakotas were ranging widely on the prairies west of Minnesota, and prehistoric evidence from South Dakota suggests their early presence there as well (Michlovic 1985; Sundstrom, L. 1990:268-269; Gibbon 2003: 41-42).

George Hyde (1937:23) believed the Oglalas were already established in the Black Hills by the 1790s, the time when the Kiowas retreated from their locations on the Cheyenne River because of their warfare with the Lakotas. It is difficult to know exactly how far west Lakota settlements reached beyond the Missouri because most of the information for this period comes from traders who never entered the Black Hills. What can be established from the accounts of traders in the 1790s is that Lakota bands were making inroads along the lower reaches of a number of Missouri River tributaries, including the White, Bad, Cheyenne, Moreau, and Grand Rivers. Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:2:310-311), for one, reported several instances where Lakotas were encamped with Cheyennes or Arikaras. Some of the Lakota winter counts also call attention to this co-residency (Good in Mallery 1893:101-103). In reference to the Bad River, Truteau (in Nasatir 1952:2:379) wrote that the *Oconona* (Oglalas) wandered habitually along the banks of this stream . McKay and Evans encountered a band of Lakota buffalo hunters on the White River (Nasatir 1952:1:99), and as already noted, Clamorgan requested medals for the Sioux who lived among the Cheyennes (Hurt 1974:125). If some Lakotas were residing with the Cheyennes, they probably covered the same country, which, at this time, most certainly included the Black Hills.

Even though some Lakotas were living among the Cheyennes, or, at the very least, sharing the same territorial range, relations between the two tribes began to deteriorate as larger numbers of Lakotas moved west of the Missouri (Hyde 1937:17, 24). In the last decades of the eighteenth century, hostilities broke out between the two and major battles were reported near Rawhide Creek in Wyoming in 1785-1786 and then again in 1793-1794 (Good in Mallery 1893:313; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-1930:3:169). It was during these years that the Cheyennes got caught in the middle of the hostilities between their Kiowa and Plains Apache allies on one side and the Lakotas on the other. But, as pointed out earlier, the Lakotas did not stand united in these hostilities because some of the northern Soane divisions remained staunch allies of the Cheyennes (Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982:125). According to Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:314), it was the Oglalas who broke off relations with the Cheyennes and became allies of the Arapahos.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Black Hills remained at the western edge of the Lakotas' territorial range. Most of the Lakota bands who were beginning to live along the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers kept their main winter camps along the lower stretches of these waterways (Hurt 1974:173-174). At this time, many Lakotas most certainly traveled to the upper regions of these tributaries to hunt in the late summer and fall for reasons discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven (Larson 1997:23). A decade later, according to Tabeau s account (in Abel 1939: 107), the Sicangus, Oglalas, and Soanes had become firmly established on some of the Missouri s western tributaries, and a few of their camps were already as far west as the forks where the Cheyenne River divides into its north and south branches. At the same time, he listed the major divisions and subdivisions of the Lakota, which included: *Sitcanrhou-Titons* (Sicangu), *Okondanas* (Oglala), *Minekanhini-yojou* (Minneconjou), and *Saones-Titons* (Soane) (Tabeau in Abel 1939:103-104). He also reported that none of the Lakotas who were associated with the

Arikaras farmed any longer. All of the bands had horses, depended largely on buffalo and wild plant foods, and traveled over large geographic areas (Tabeau in Abel 1939:103-104).

Some Lakota bands also played a middleman role, bringing horses and other goods from the Missouri to their Minnesota Dakota relatives in exchange for European trade goods. In the late eighteenth century, Lac Qui Parle in Minnesota was the location of trade fairs between the eastern and western branches of the Sioux. In later decades, after the Lakotas acquired horses and moved farther west, these gatherings shifted to a location along the James River in eastern South Dakota (Tabeau in Abel 1939:121-122; Hyde 1937:20-21; Ewers 1938:24-25; Robinson 1967:25; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:356). According to Hyde (1961:15-16), the site was called *Otuhu Oji* (Oak Grove), and it was situated on the James River due east of the mouth of the Cheyenne. This area persisted as a trade center well into the nineteenth century but began to diminish in the 1830s after the Lakotas became well established in the Black Hills (Hyde 1961:15-16).

When Lewis and Clark came up the Missouri in 1804, the Lakotas were reported on both sides of the river from the Big Bend near present day Chamberlain, South Dakota to a point just south of the Cannonball River in North Dakota. Even more specifically, the Sicangus were located on both sides of the Missouri at the Bad and White Rivers, while the Oglalas were placed near the Cheyenne River and the Minneconjous at the Moreau River. The Saones, including the Sihasapas and the Hunkpapas, were situated along the Grand River and at locations farther north interspersed with Arikara hunting camps (Moulton 1983-87:3:27-33,415-419). Within a time span of no more than three decades, the demography of this section of the Missouri River valley had changed, shifting from an area dominated by Arikaras, with a substantial number of Cheyennes and a small Lakota presence, to a region where the Lakotas were the dominant population, with a small group of Arikaras and a few Cheyennes in their midst. Farther west, the distribution of populations had also shifted since 1794, when Truteau s account offered the first detailed evidence on the subject. The territorial range of the Lakotas now extended to the eastern edge of the Black Hills, overlapping areas occupied by Cheyennes, whose territorial range, in turn, now stretched beyond the Hills to the Platte River, reaching areas once dominated by the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Arapahos.

As these changes were taking place, Lakota hostilities with the Kiowas continued unabated, and their wars with the Crows and Shoshones intensified (High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:169; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:351-354). In the coming decades, it was along the Crow battlefront that the Lakotas would eventually realign themselves with the Cheyennes and intensify their alliances with the Arapahos. Their conflicts with the Mandans and Hidatsas began to escalate as well, placing the Arikaras in an untenable position that would soon force them to leave the Missouri and seek refuge among their Pawnee relatives on the Platte. Indeed, when the Lewis and Clark Expedition returned to the area in 1806, Clark reported the fighting had already begun and a large force of 700 Sioux warriors were moving north from the Arikara villages to fight the Mandan (Clark in Moulton 1983-87: 4:201-202).

Prior to 1790, it is doubtful that the Lakotas maintained a large, permanent presence in the Black Hills region. It is certain, however, that small Lakota raiding and hunting parties were in the vicinity of the Hills with some degree of frequency and that their activity in the region was a prelude to the larger population movements that would follow. It is very likely that, in keeping with the custom of the tribal nations who lived along the Missouri River, they frequented the Black Hills on a regular and recurring basis during the seasons of their large communal bison hunts. It is also highly probable that small numbers of Lakotas, especially from the ranks of the Oglalas and Sicangus, started to remain in reach of the Black Hills and near the region of Wind Cave National Park well before 1800, but they would have done so in the company of allies

among the Arapahos and/or Cheyennes. By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, they were staking their claims to these areas independently and in growing numbers (Hyde 1961:14).

III.WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK IN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

From the time of the La Verendrye expedition in 1742 to the arrival of Lewis and Clark in 1804, the movements of tribal nations in and around the Black Hills underwent considerable change. The history of their tribal occupancy during these years is complex and at times confusing. One thing is clear, however: the Hills were never exclusively occupied by any single tribe. Instead, the tribal nations who entered, held, used, and defended large tracks of territory in and around the Black Hills did so in association with other tribes. In describing the tribal nations who occupied the Black Hills at the turn of the nineteenth century, Lewis and Clark (Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:422) wrote that these populations did not have any idea of exclusive right to the soil, which means that there were no geographic boundaries separating the territories they traveled. This lack of territorial exclusiveness was very common in the Plains region, and contrary to the conventional image of tribes being dispersed across the landscape like separate pieces in a jigsaw puzzle, populations of diverse ethnic origin were generally not separated by distinct territories but were interspersed over the same territorial ranges (Albers and Kay 1987; Binnema 2001). Territorial sharing went hand-in-hand with collaborations in trade and war.

This was no doubt true as well for the tribal nations who were occupying lands at or in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park. There are no direct historical data on the nature of tribal use and occupancy in Wind Cave National Park during the protohistoric and early historic eras, although there is plenty of circumstantial evidence to reconstruct a probable, albeit very general, picture of tribal affiliations in this area. What can be pieced together from archaeological evidence, historic writings, winter counts, and tribal oral traditions reveals that peoples from at least nine different tribal nations lived at different moments in time in areas within easy reach of present-day park lands and probably used the area for seasonal settlement, food procural, and religious observance.

A. 1742-1781

During the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the Black Hills were probably held by tribal nations who comprised two separate, and, at times, warring, political blocs. One was situated on the northern and northwestern edge of the Hills and comprised primarily of Crows, Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, and Arapahos, who maintained important trade relations with the large and powerful village populations, the Mandans and Hidatsas. Another was centered on the southern and southeastern margins of the Hills and formed around Padouca Apaches and Comanches, who maintained important trade ties with the Poncas. The alliances of these three tribes with the Arikaras appear to have shifted because early reports indicate they were carrying on a trade with the Padoucas and Poncas, while later accounts suggest that these tribes were enemies (Hyde 1951:39-83). Whatever the case may have been, it is clear that, in later periods, the Arikaras were situated in a trade sphere that included the Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, and Arapahos.

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

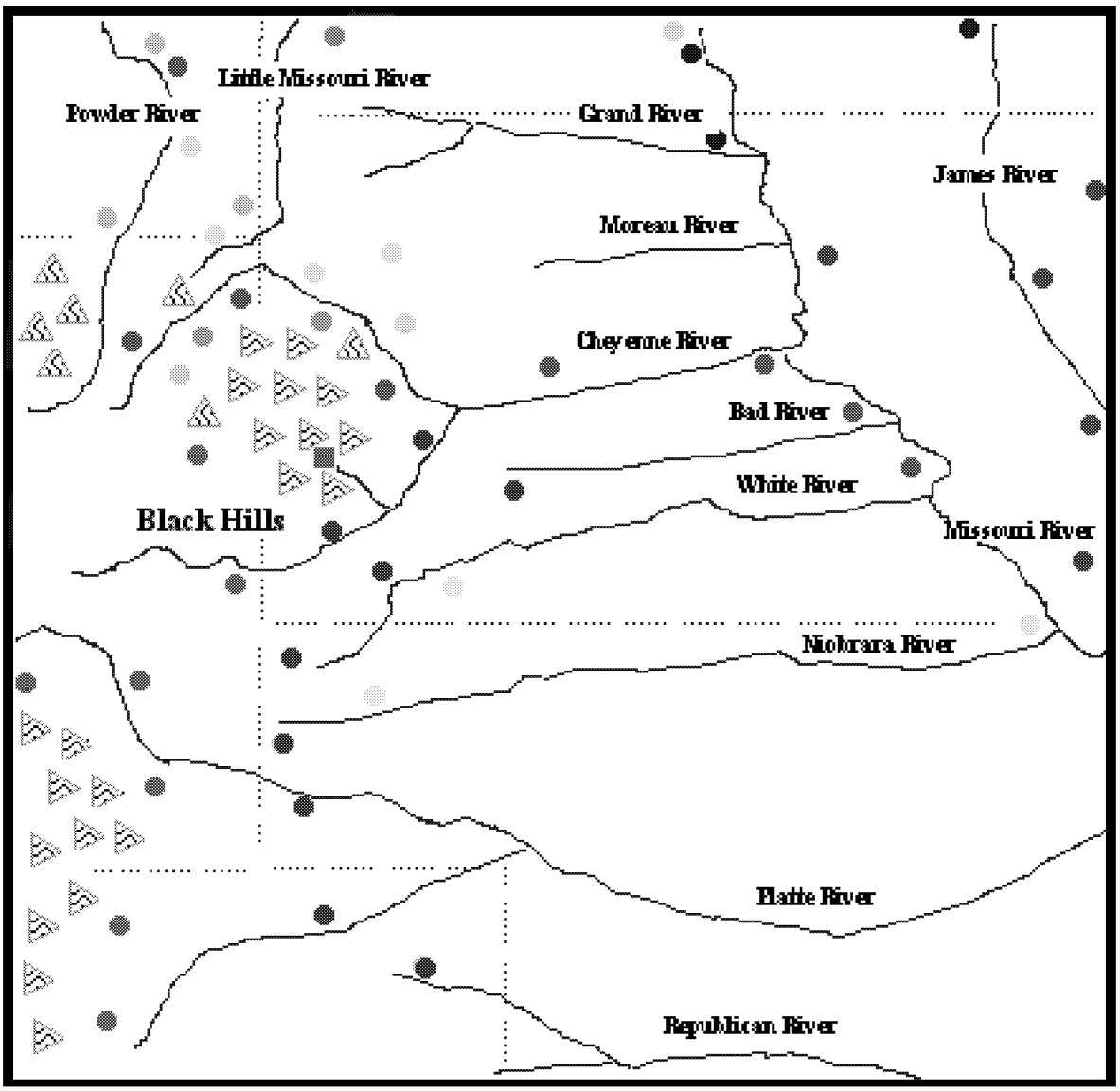
including some of their erstwhile enemies. Their disappearance as a separate and identifiable tribal nation by the end of the nineteenth century may have been a consequence of the disease epidemics sweeping the area, something that certainly played a role in the well-documented declines of Arikara and Ponca populations. As these tribes sustained huge population losses, other tribes began to enter and jostle for control of their territories.

Less solid but highly suggestive information lends support to the claim that some Comanches may have lived and traveled in this area at the same time too, although most of the population was probably in regions farther west. A few bands of Comanches apparently remained on the southern fringes of the Black Hills until the late eighteenth century, even though the main body of the tribe had migrated south to Texas and Oklahoma along the eastern flanks of the Rockies. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the Padoucas and Comanches had disappeared from this region, although some appear to have remained as small remnant populations who became incorporated into other tribal bodies.

Sometime after the 1760s, much of the territory between the southern Black Hills and the Platte River became home to a large segment of the Kiowas as well as some Arapahos, Plains Apaches, and smaller numbers of allied Crows who lived in their midst. At this time, the Arapahos and Kiowas moved their territorial ranges farther south, taking up settlements on the southern side of the Hills, where Wind Cave National Park is located. In the process, they not only pushed out or absorbed the populations of Padoucas and Comanches who may have remained there, but they also prevented tribes like the Poncas from accessing their hunting grounds near the Black Hills. As these tribes began to inhabit the southern reaches of the Black Hills, the Cheyennes and their Sutaio allies were taking their annual hunts to the Black Hills and moving some of their settlements away from the Missouri River. Tribal oral traditions place the Cheyennes on the upper reaches of the White River and along the South Fork of the Cheyenne, both of which are locations within easy reach of the Buffalo Gap and Wind Cave National Park. The Cheyennes had close and friendly trade connections with the Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches, but like their Arikara friends, they were not on good terms with the Crows. It is very likely that the Wotapio Cheyennes aligned themselves at this time with some of the Kiowas and took up residence along the upper reaches of the White River and the South Fork of the Cheyenne. It is also probable that the Sutaio and the Omisis Cheyennes began to penetrate areas along the northern edge of the Hills, where they became closely connected to the Plains (Kiowa) Apaches and Arapahos. The main body of Cheyennes and their related bands also started to move away from the Missouri and established some of their principal settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River, an area also reputed to be a location for some of the Arapahos and Plains Apaches as late as the 1790s. Following rapidly in the footsteps of the Cheyennes were small groups of Lakotas who were beginning to gradually make their way into areas west of the Missouri River. The Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas pushed their movements towards the territories of the Wotapio Cheyennes and their Kiowa allies in the southern Hills, while some of the Minneconjou and Itazipco Lakotas pressed their migrations along the Cheyenne River in areas dominated by Cheyennes.

Until 1781, the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Ponca villages were large and well-defended trading centers on the Missouri River. These tribes were able to control the distribution of trade commodities, preventing tribes on either side from crossing the river and bypassing their advantageous geographic positions. These groups spent the greater part of the year at their village locations on the Missouri, but in the summer and fall, they abandoned them for extended periods to hunt buffalo, especially on ranges west of the river. Two of these horticultural populations, the Arikaras and the Poncas, took their hunts to the eastern and southern margins of the Black Hills.

FIGURE 2. Probable Tribal Locations, circa-1745*



Although there are no written accounts of Arikaras establishing camps in or near the southeastern Hills, there is ceramic evidence of their seasonal presence in the archaeological record. There are written accounts and oral traditions, however, to place the Poncas here, a tribe who used this area as a bison hunting ground during the middle decades of the eighteenth century and even had a name in their language for Wind Cave. When Ponca and Arikara numbers were drastically reduced after smallpox epidemics swept their villages, they were unable to launch these expeditions and move unaccompanied into areas dominated by enemy tribes. In the case of the Poncas, their foes were Kiowas; for the Arikaras, they were the Crows. The Poncas ultimately abandoned the area in the face of rising hostilities with the Kiowas. In time, the Arikaras aligned themselves with the Cheyennes, who served as a go-between in their peaceful encounters with distant tribes such as the Kiowas and who also became the Arikaras allies in wars against the Crows. Neither the Poncas nor the Arikaras, however, were able to maintain their positions against the rising tide of Lakotas and Dakotas, who were now moving out of Minnesota in increaseing numbers to reach locations near and beyond the valley of the Missouri River.

B. 1782-1806

After the 1781 smallpox epidemic decimated the semihorticultural populations who lived along the Missouri River, the Lakotas were able to cross the Missouri without obstruction and establish themselves along some of the major tributary streams that flowed from locations in and around the Black Hills. In the 1790s, some of them were reported at sites west of the Missouri, sometimes in the company of Cheyennes. Although Cheyennes still occupied villages near the Missouri, and apparently did so until the 1830s, the main tribal body was now firmly established in settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River and at locations surrounding the Black Hills. From this strategic location, they played a central role in the trade of horses from the west against European trade goods coming from locations along the Missouri River (Jablow 1951).

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when the Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas began to push their territorial reach towards the Black Hills along the tributaries of the White and Bad rivers, they came into conflict with the Kiowas. These hostilities engulfed some of the Crows too, and many of the battles the Lakotas fought against these two tribes are reported to have taken place at locations near Wind Cave National Park on the southern edge of the Black Hills in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap and Battle Mountain. The Arapahos, who occupied this area as well, appear to have remained neutral in these struggles, while some of the Cheyennes aligned themselves, at least initially, with the Kiowas. This alliance was short-lived, however, and by 1810, some of the Cheyennes and Arapahos were fighting on the side of the Lakotas against the Kiowas. But other Cheyennes and Arapahos were neutral and continued to trade with the Kiowas and their Apache and Comanche allies. Eventually the Kiowas were routed from their locations at the southern edge of the Black Hills, and by the first decade of the nineteenth century, they had moved well south of the Platte River.

By the start of the nineteenth century, the Kiowas and some of their Apache and Comanche allies were beginning to push their settlements even farther south and out of reach of the Black Hills. Their southerly movements were the result of many factors beyond the threat of the Lakotas who were now penetrating the upper reaches of the White and Bad Rivers on the eastern edge of the Black Hills. One of the primary incentives for the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches to move south was better pasturage for their rapidly expanding horse herds. Another was the emergence of direct and more stable opportunities for trade with European Americans who were starting to build posts on the upper reaches of the Platte and Arkansas rivers. Whatever the reasons, we find little evidencce of a Kiowa, Plains Apache, or Comanche presence in the Black

Hills after 1805, and when these tribes occasionally appear, it is usually in the context of trading or raiding. By the late eighteenth century, the Kiowas and their Plains Apache and Comanche friends had formed a major alliance bloc, whose members regularly traveled as far as Oklahoma and Texas to secure horses to trade with the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Arikaras at locations along the foot of the Black Hills. Places such as Bear Butte, Horse Creek [a tributary of the Platte near Fort Laramie], and French Creek were well-known rendezvous points for this trade. Horse Creek remained an important trading location well into the nineteenth century, but Bear Butte and French Creek were no longer major trade sites for the Kiowas or Plains Apaches after 1807.

As the Kiowas pushed south, they became ever more removed from their long-standing and close friends, the Crows. Distance was not the only thing that separated the two: a wedge had now been driven between them as the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas took control of lands the Kiowas and Crows once shared and freely traveled. By 1804, when Lewis and Clark reported on the tribal occupation of the area, the Black Hills were held and completely surrounded by the Cheyennes with small numbers of Plains Apaches and Arapahos in their midst. At this point in time, most of the Arapahos and Plains Apaches had moved to the western side of the Hills and to locations along the Platte River and beyond. Small numbers of Lakotas probably lived among the Cheyennes on the eastern side of the Black Hills, although most historic documents for this period place them at locations closer to the Missouri River.

Once the Cheyennes control of the area between the Missouri and the Black Hills strengthened, they became major competitors and enemies of the Crows, who were long-standing rivals of the Cheyennes trade associates, the Arikaras. In their wars with the Crows, the Cheyennes called into play not only their strong links with the Arapahos but also their ties with the Lakotas, who were now moving in ever larger numbers into areas occupied by the Cheyennes. Along the Cheyenne River and the northern flanks of the Black Hills, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos peacefully shared and co-occupied a huge tract of territory, which became even larger when the combined forces of these three tribes were able to successfully penetrate lands held by the Crows northwest of the Hills.

Meanwhile, along the southern flanks of the Black Hills, the relations between the Cheyennes and Lakotas were not so peaceful. The Cheyennes and Arapahos who settled in this area appear to have been caught in the middle of the heated and growing war between the Lakotas and the Kiowas. Indeed, some of the battles may have been fought at locations immediately to the south of Wind Cave National Park. Local historians commonly tell stories about a fight between the Lakotas and Cheyennes at Battle Mountain. The source of this information is unclear, for there is no evidence of a battle having taken place here either in written records or in tribal winter counts and oral traditions. In the battles reported in the historical record, some of the Cheyennes (probably Wotapios) seem to have sided, at least initially, with the Kiowas, but eventually, they made peace with the Lakotas with whom they shared common genealogical ties. This warfare illustrates an important fact: the bands that shared the same tribal identity were not always united in their relationships with other tribes. Even at this early date, there were hints of fractures within their ranks, fissions that would lead in later decades to the division of the Cheyennes and Arapahos into northern and southern branches.

It is clear that in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when Lewis and Clark wrote about the locations of tribes in the region, the lands between the forks of the Cheyenne River and the

FIGURE 3. Probable Tribal Locations, circa-1795*

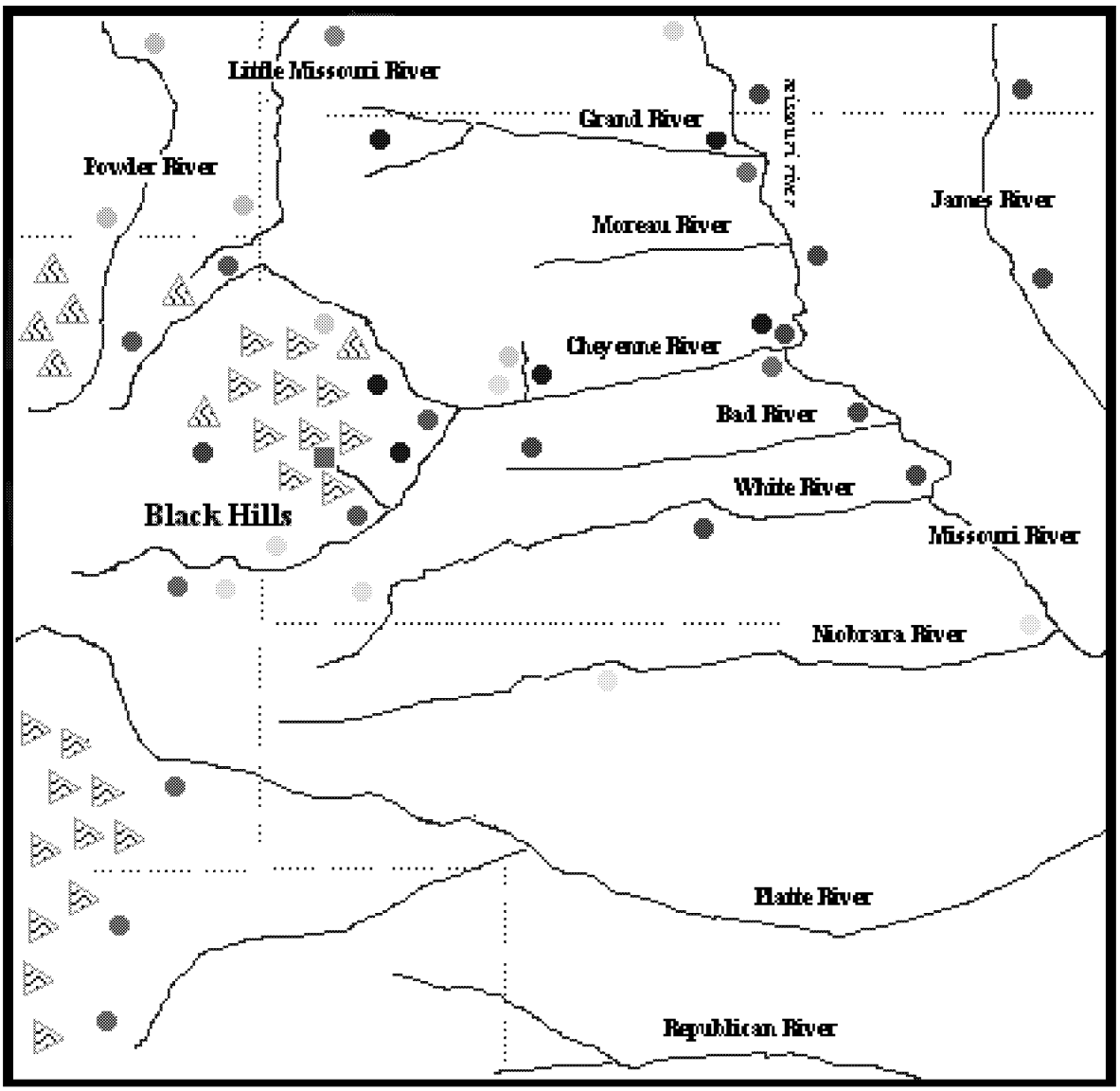
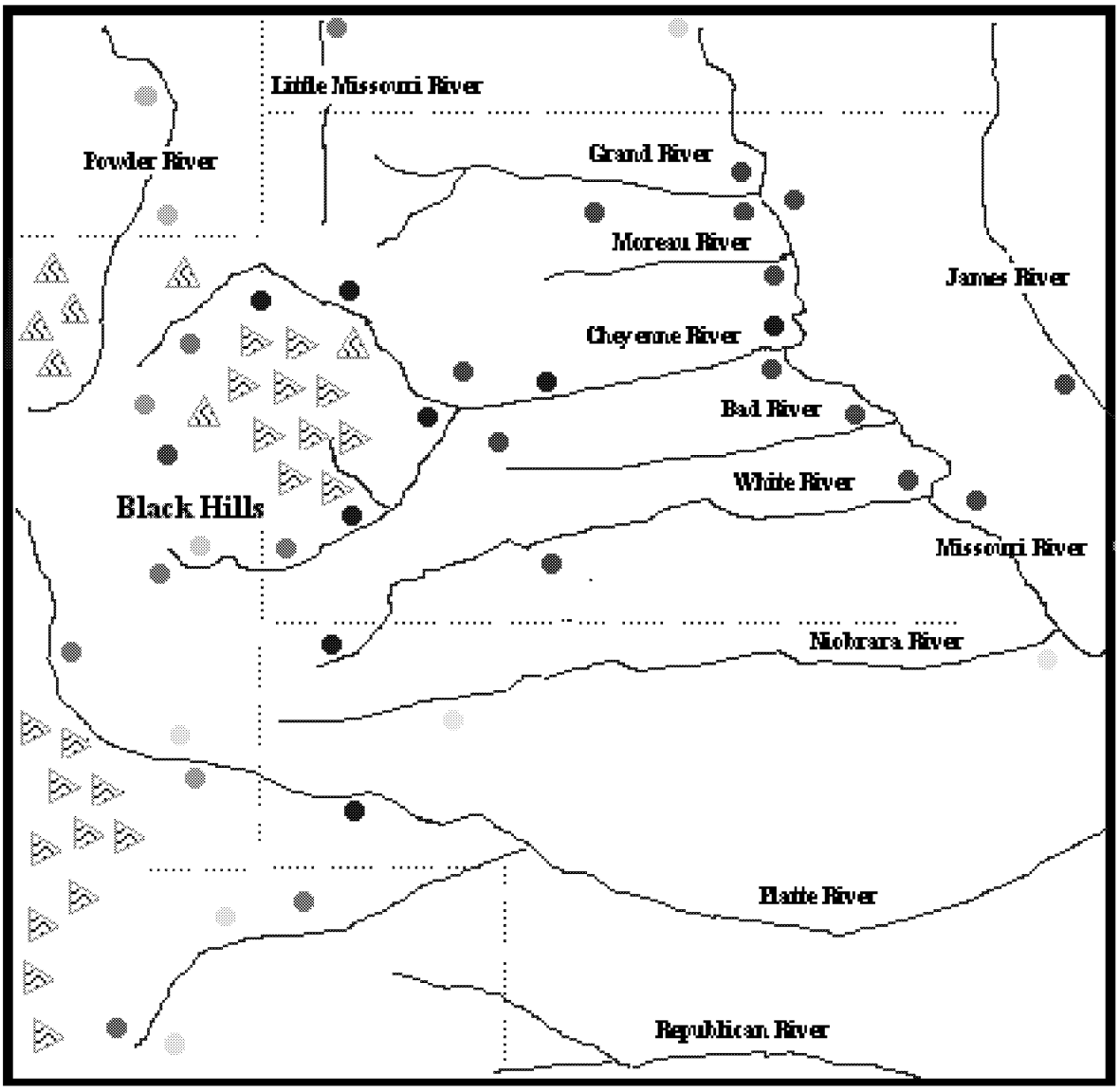


FIGURE 4. Reported Tribal Locations, circa-1805*



Platte, which included the southern Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, were the shared territorial domain of the Arapahos and Cheyennes. Indeed, we can assert that the Hills were at the center of these two tribes territorial ranges, with the largest concentrations of Cheyennes reported on the northern and eastern sides of the Hills and the main body of Arapahos located in areas to the west and south. It is probable that the Cheyennes were the dominant population in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park at this point in history. The Lakotas also probably had a recognizable but small presence. Most of the Lakotas still maintained their wintering sites along the Missouri River and the lower reaches of its western tributaries, although many were now taking their summer and fall hunts towards the Black Hills and in the region where Wind Cave National Park is now located. It was not until the decades after 1825 that the Lakotas became the dominant population in this region.

In the coming decades, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas would be the only populations regularly affiliated with the Black Hills. These three nations formed a strong alliance bloc and commonly collaborated in subsistence, trade, war, and ceremony. Eventually, they came to co-occupy and control a huge territorial range that stretched from the Missouri in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west and from the Yellowstone River in the north to the Arkansas in the south. Even though their locations and their relative population sizes changed in relation to the Black Hills, all of them continued to live within the reaches of these mountains. All of them also shared strong cultural attachments to them until they were seized by the United States government in 1877.

Chapter Four

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS AND THE BISON HIDE TRADE: 1807-1850

The year 1807 ushers in the beginning of another era, when the tribal nations of the Plains faced new challenges, precipitated in one way or another by the growing presence of foreigners in their midst. The newcomers were now largely Americans who came to the region, as the French and Spanish before them, to develop a commerce that revolved around a trade in beaver skins and other peltries. Beginning in the 1820s, the fur-trade became unprofitable and in its place a new kind of commerce evolved around a traffic in buffalo robes as well as deer, antelope, and elk skins (Mekeel 1943:168-173; Wishart 1979:41-115; Swagerty 1988:73; Kardullas 1990:35; Klein 1993:133-160; Pickering 1994:61; Moore, J. 1996b; Isenberg 2000:97-113). Over time, the tribal nations of the region developed more specialized economies that focused on the hunting of bison and the processing of their hides for American markets. Although bison were the mainstay of Native economies in earlier times, they were hunted mostly for subsistence and for exchange with neighboring tribes. Once American markets were developed, the demand for hides and robes escalated (Hyde 1961:29-33). Tribes began to spend much more of their labor on hunting bison and processing their robes for the commercial marketplace (Pickering 1994:62-66). As a result, they were under greater pressure to find and maintain control over territories that held the best bison ranges. As these ranges became depleted in areas east of the Black Hills, local tribes began to push farther west and south to find better hunting grounds (Hyde 1961:29).

The buffalo hide market was a big business, employing thousands of people who collected the hides procured and processed by American Indians for export to factories in the East. The hides were transformed into a variety of leather products, including industrial strength belts for factory machines and upholstery for carriage and buggy seats (Price, C. 1996:47). The Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos became some of the biggest tribal producers for this market (Moore, J. 1996b). Steamboats on the Missouri and freighters traveling the Overland Trail were able to transport large quantities of bison robes to markets in the East (Wishart 1979:83-87; Swagerty 1988:77; Pickering 1994:61). It is estimated that during the heyday of the bison trade as many as eighty-thousand hides were shipped annually from some of the trading posts along the upper reaches of the Platte and Missouri rivers (Hyde 1937:62; Isenberg 2000:105-109). The Lakota alone were reported to supply more than fifty-thousand robes in the early 1830s (Feltskog in Parkman 1969:680 n6). Fort Pierre, at the mouth of the Bad River on the Missouri, was one of the most important posts for collecting hides from tribes who hunted in the Black Hills, but, within a decade, Fort Laramie and other sites on the Platte River became major entrepots for the hide trade (Isenberg 2000:108-109).

Transformations in the region s economy directly affected how tribes related to one another, and how they distributed themselves over local landscapes. As trade companies multiplied the locations where they set up their operations, tribes no longer relied on each other for access to European and now American trade goods. The long-distance trade chains that once connected tribes living in the Black Hills with those residing on the Missouri began to break down (Albers 1993:105; Pickering 1994:64). By the 1820s, nearly every tribal nation had one or more trading houses in their own territory, and three decades later, there were trading posts in almost every

district within a given tribe s territorial range. As trade sites proliferated near the Black Hills, tribes no longer needed to travel to the Missouri, much less the Minnesota River, to secure the guns and other trade items they now required. In the face of this transition, intertribal confederations began to develop around tribes who shared and protected a common territorial range, which included prime bison hunting grounds and good grazing lands for their horses (Ewers 1975). When bison numbers began to decline precipitously, these ranges became bitterly contested between tribes who stood in opposing confederations (Albers 1993:122-128).

After 1834, emigrants started to stream into the region, following the Platte River before crossing the mountains to their final destinations in Oregon, Washington, and California. The Overland Trail cut through the heart of some of the region s best tribal hunting territories. This eventually led many of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to travel farther south to the Republican River and north to the Yellowstone to reach less disturbed bison ranges. As more and more settlers used this trail (exceeding 55,000 per year by 1850), many bands became dislocated not only from their prime hunting lands but also from some of the best riparian locations for their winter campsites (Price, C. 1996:27-30; Isenberg 2000:109-110). After 1845, the bands that typically wintered along the Platte River were becoming increasingly alarmed by the disturbances to their hunting and settlement areas (Fowler 1982:22). In retaliation, they began to launch raids against emigrant wagon trains. The emigrants responded by demanding the U.S. government take action to ensure their safe passage across the plains. In the summer of 1845, a force of dragoons under Colonel S.W. Kearney was sent to the Platte to intimidate local tribes and to warn them that they would be punished if the raiding continued (Hyde 1937:103-105; Hurt 1974:224-225; Price, C. 1996:28). A year later, when Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:63-64, 117-118, 129-30, 144-145, 147, 534) traveled the Overland Trail, he reported that the raiding went on unabated, not only against emigrant trains but also against the Pawnees, Shoshones, and Crows. As the hostile incidents increased, the U.S. military started to establish posts within reach of the Black Hills. Indian Agents arrived too, and they were responsible for managing relations between the United States and the tribal nations who lived along the overland trails. All of this led in the coming decades to major confrontations between the U.S. military and the allied forces of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

Between 1807 and 1850, a combination of forces, which developed out of a growing American presence in the region, set the stage for rapid shifts in the demographic profile of the tribal nations who peopled the Black Hills. The following discussion gives evidence of some of the change.

I. THE HISTORIC SOURCES

During the first half of the nineteenth century, much of what we know about the Black Hills was still written by Europeans and Americans at some distance from the area. In fact, before 1850, only two very brief accounts came from people who actually traveled in or near the Hills. The Missouri River remained the location where much of the information originated, although the Platte River was rapidly gaining ground as a place where traders, travelers, missionaries, and government agents wrote about the Hills.

A. The View From the Missouri River

American commercial interests dominated the Black Hills region after 1803, although French traders continued their operations here in association with companies owned by Americans. In 1807, Manual Lisa in partnership with William Morrison and Peter Menard started the Missouri

Fur Company. It was not until 1811, however, when Henry Breckenridge (1966) accompanied one of Lisa s expeditions up the Missouri that a written record was left about the area and the tribal nations he encountered (Chittenden 1935:1:114-119). The following year, John Luttig (in Dumm 1964; Hurt 1974:165-166), a Missouri Fur Company employee, traveled with Lisa and wrote of his journey. After Lisa s death in 1820, Joshua Pilcher took control of the Missouri Fur Company s operations, and he became an important source of information about the region in testimony given before the U.S. Congress (Pilcher 1824; Chittenden 1935:1:114-119, 125; Hurt 1974:178-180).

On the plains west of the Missouri, unlike locations to the north, most tribal nations were not inclined to invest a great amount of labor in the trapping of small fur-bearing mammals. As a result, when the American Fur Company of St. Louis and other fur-trade outfits began to operate, they brought in non-Indians, now popularly known as mountain men, to trap the animals. In the early years, these trappers usually traveled in large brigades. One of the most famous of these, the Astorians, named after John Jacob Aster, owner of the American Fur Company, included sixty-three men who traveled up the Missouri to the Arikara villages on the Grand River and then across the Plains skirting the Black Hills to the Snake and Columbia river drainages (Wishart 1979: 115-204; Irving 1897). Under the leadership of Wilson Hunt, the expedition of 1811 included the naturalist, John Bradbury (1966), who traveled as far as the Arikara villages and wrote about his tour. Another company that sent out large brigades was the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which was formed by William Ashley and Andrew Henry in 1822. One of these brigades, led by Jedediah Smith, probably entered the Black Hills at the Buffalo Gap (Palais 1941: 4-5).[1] Many years later one of the expedition s members James Clyman (in Camp 1960), wrote a narrative recalling their famous tour. The account is very confusing, and it is hard to track what routes the brigade actually traveled through the southern Hills. Ashley himself led another party in 1823, but the Arikaras attacked it. This brought the arrival of American military troops under the command of Colonel Henry Leavenworth (High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:173; Chittenden 1935:1:247-249). Two years later, an American military expedition led by General H. Atkinson and Major Benjamin O Fallen (1929; Jensen and Hutchins 2001) came to the region and negotiated the first peace treaties with the tribal nations of the Missouri River and the Black Hills. They left a wealth of information on the whereabouts of these nations and their relations with each other. Fourteen years later in 1839, Joseph Nicollet (DeMallie 1975, 1976) led a government sponsored scientific expedition to Fort Pierre on the Missouri River where he recorded some of the most detailed information on the locations of Lakotas in and around the Black Hills.

Notwithstanding their emphasis on the use of trapping brigades, American entrepreneurs and their employees continued to expand their trade entrepots, not only along the larger and well-traveled rivers like the Missouri but also along branch streams in more remote locations closer to the Black Hills (Cassells, Smith and Smith 1984:133-135). While carrying on trading operations of varying scale and intensity in the region, many of the traders and their employees, most of whom were French in descent, married into the tribes with whom they lived and worked. Over the years, a new community of native people emerged on the Plains, whose lives were centered on the trading forts of their European American fathers (Bent in Hyde 1968; Swagerty 1988:75, 82; Pickering 1994:61). Although most of the traders who lived in the region left little written information about their experiences, one of them was a notable exception. Edwin Denig, an employee of the American Fur Company, wrote journals and extensive descriptions of the tribal

[1] Some writers (Palais 1941:4-5; Turner 1974:16) claim that Smith s brigade entered the Black Hills at the Buffalo Gap and followed Beaver Creek into the interiors. Given the fact that Clyman talks about passing through a narrow, deep rocky canyon, one source (Parker, W. 1966:9) traces their route into the Hills by way of French Creek.

nations he encountered in more than twenty years of service between 1833 and 1855 in the Upper Missouri trade, including a short stay at a trading post on the Cheyenne River tributary, Cherry Creek (Ewers 1961). Denig s writings contain some of the most detailed commentary on the Black Hills and the tribes who lived there. He also provided Henry J. Schoolcraft (1851-1857) with information included in his monumental work on the tribal nations of the United States.

In this era, several European travelers made grand tours of the northern plains. Paul Wilhelm, Duke of W rttemberg, who arrived in 1823, was one of the earliest of these travelers. Although he had little to say about the Black Hills, he did note that some of the Lakotas were hunting there (Hurt 1974:170-173). A decade later, Maximilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966) toured the Missouri between 1833-1834. He kept copious notes of his travels and conversations with local traders and tribal peoples, and some of these include important and specific references to the Black Hills.

Missionaries were now arriving in the region, and many of them recorded their observations of the area too. Samuel Parker, who represented the American Board of Foreign Missions, traveled the Missouri in the years between 1835 and 1837 (Hurt 1974:216-217). Stephen J. Riggs, a Presbyterian missionary, who worked among the Dakota of Minnesota, visited Fort Pierre in 1840 (Price, C. 1996:48). The Belgian priest, Father Pierre Jean De Smet, (Thwaites 1966:22:136) arrived in the area in 1840, and he purportedly was the first clergyman to set foot in the Black Hills.

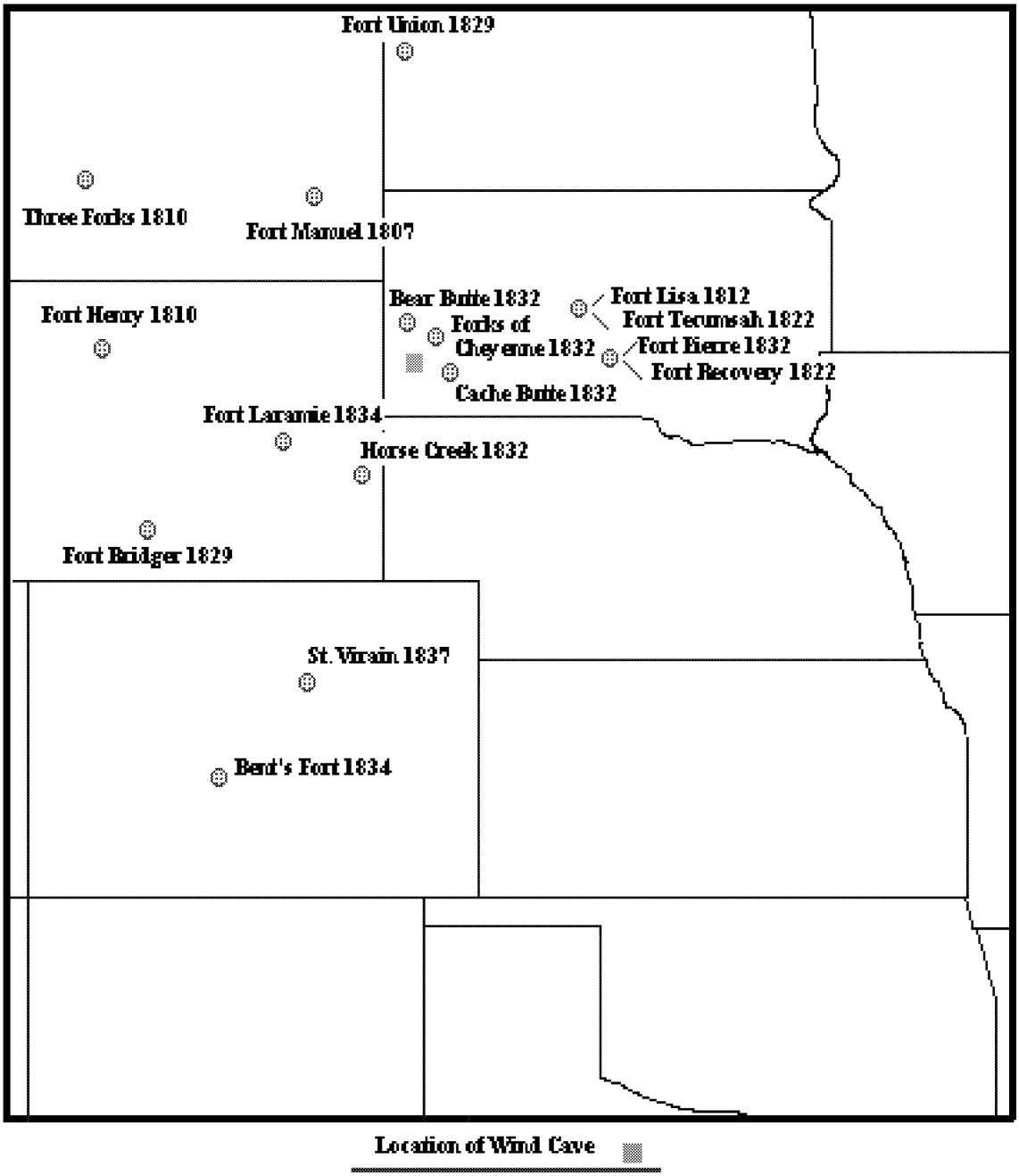
B. The View From the Platte River

Although much important writing about the Black Hills and the tribes who lived there continued to come from sources tied to locations east of the Black Hills, the vast majority of the documents after 1840 were written from the vicinity of the Platte River. This happened because most of the populations who traveled and lived in the Black Hills now traded on this river instead of the Missouri and also because this became a major route of emigrant travel. In 1819, a military party led by Major Stephen J. Long crossed the Plains to the Rocky Mountains by way of the Platte River. Two journals, one by Captain John R. Bell (1957) and another by Edwin James (in Thwaites 1966), provide rich accounts of the tribal nations who lived in the regions they traveled. Twenty-three years later, in 1842, John C. Fremont (in Viola and Ehrenberg 1988) led a scientific expedition through the area, and his journal contains important information on the locations of various tribal nations. The traveler and adventurer, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969), followed the Oregon Trail in 1846, and he also left a rich, albeit at times very confusing, account of his encounters with tribal peoples and trappers who stayed in the general vicinity of the Black Hills and the Laramie Mountains.

C. The View From the Black Hills

Other than Father De Smet s limited comments about meeting Cheyennes at the base of the Black Hills (in Thwaites 1966) and Francis Parkman s descriptions (in Mason 1947; in Feltskog 1969), many of which actually apply to the Laramie Mountains and not the Black Hills proper, only one other observer left a record of his presence in this area before 1850. James Clyman (in

FIGURE 5. Locations of Some Early American Trading Posts



Camp 1960),[2] a member of Jedediah Smith s trapping brigade, offered a brief glimpse of his travels through the area. Again, it is mostly from tribal oral traditions and winter counts that we find a more detailed picture of Native life in the Black Hills during this period (Good in Mallery 1893; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30: 3; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930; Carloff in Powers, W. 1963; Bent in Hyde 1968; Swift Dog in Praus 1962; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973; Howard, J. 1979; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998).

II. CHANGING TRIBAL OCCUPANCY OF THE BLACK HILLS

Between 1807 and 1850, another major shift was under way for the tribal nations who peopled the Black Hills. At the beginning of the period, some of the populations who once lived within reach of these Hills, including the Kiowas, Comanches, and Plains Apaches, were gone, returning only occasionally to trade or raid. The Cheyennes and the Arapahos were the tribal nations who now dominated the landscape with increasing numbers of Lakotas in their midst. By the end of the period, the demography of the area had shifted again. The Lakotas were the ones who prevailed, with bands of Arapahos and Cheyennes living among them.

A. Those Who Left

By 1807, the tribal nations who once dominated the Black Hills had abandoned whatever territories they held on the southern edge of the Hills, especially along the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. To briefly recapitulate, the Padouca Apaches, followed by the Comanches, controlled much of the area where Wind Cave National Park now sits in the early half of the eighteenth century, and, for a brief period of time, from the 1730s to the 1760s, they were joined by the Poncas who came to the region to hunt bison and acquire horses. The northern and western sides of the Hills were inhabited by the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, who began to abandon these locations in the 1760s and move towards the southern reaches of the Hills, where they displaced and/or incorporated into their own ranks the Padouca and Comanche populations who were still living there. As late as 1803, a small number of the Padouca Apaches still remained in the area, but a decade later, most of them had relocated to areas along the Platte River.

Under rising pressure from the Lakotas, the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches, eventually withdrew from their locations between the South Fork of the Cheyenne and the Platte River and moved to regions farther south where they joined the main body of Comanches. By the early nineteenth century, the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches were regularly reported as sharing encampments and a vast territorial range that hugged the Rocky Mountains from the South Fork of the Platte to the Arkansas River. After 1807, there are only a few records of their presence near the Black Hills.

Unlike earlier times, these tribes no longer took their trade to locations near the Hills. The days of the large trade gatherings of the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, Arapahos, and Cheyennes near the mouth of French Creek and at the foot of Bear Butte had passed. Now their large summer trade rendezvous shifted to a site at Horse Creek, a tributary of the Platte River on the Wyoming-Nebraska border (Hyde 1937:33; Mayhall, 1971:43). As a Lakota presence in this area increased, even this trade location became too dangerous for the Kiowas, and after 1825,

[2] His reminiscences were compiled in 1871, when he was 79, 48 years after he was in the Black Hills. The precise accuracy of his recollections is probably questionable. In fact, at times, Clyman (in Camp 1960:20) questions his own memory.

they never returned to it (Mayhall 1971:43). White Bull (in Howard, J. 1998:15), however, indicates that in the year 1814-1815 a peace council took place in the Black Hills between the Lakotas and Kiowas that was derailed when a Lakota clubbed a Kiowa at the event.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, relations between the Kiowas and their Arapaho and Cheyenne friends started to deteriorate. Historical records and oral traditions report the steady intensification of rivalries between these tribes. In the 1820s, a full scale war broke out between them, driving the Kiowas and their Apache and Comanche allies even farther south to the Arkansas River region where they remained until the reservation era (Grinnell 1956:32-34; Berthong 1963:23; Weist 1977:42; Coel 1981:14; Foster and McCollough 2001:928; Fowler 2001:841-842; Kavanagh 2001:888). In subsequent decades, the Black Hills disappeared from their visual horizon except as a vital memory of a place where their ancestors once lived, where important wars had been fought, and where highly sacred knowledge had been received (McAllister 1965; Mooney 1979).

The rising hostilities between the Kiowas and Lakotas had two major consequences, one of which was the combined forces of Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches hardly ever returned to their old haunts in the Black Hills (Larson 1997:27-28). The second major effect was the emergence of a major north-south divisional split within the ranks of the Arapahos and Cheyennes. Along with the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches, the Arapahos were well established in the Black Hills throughout much of the eighteenth century. Indeed, their recorded whereabouts closely follow the reports of these other tribes. As the Cheyennes moved to the northern reaches of the Hills, they became aligned with all of the groups who already lived there, especially the Arapahos. Both the Cheyennes and the Arapahos were caught in the middle of the escalating warfare between the Kiowas and Lakotas. It was during the period when this warfare went on unabated that the Arapahos and Cheyennes began to pull back from their alliance with the Kiowas. Although the reasons for the separation have never been fully documented in ethnohistoric sources, it can be conjectured that the Arapahos and Cheyennes were unable to maintain a neutral stand in the face of the rising hostilities and had to take sides. They ended up favoring their alliance with the Lakotas. In subsequent decades, some Arapahos and most of the Cheyennes remained in the immediate vicinity of the Black Hills. But the larger body of Arapahos and a few Cheyennes began moving into areas south and west of the Black Hills abandoned by their former Kiowa, Plains Apache, and Comanche allies. In time, as described in the next section, major segments of the Arapaho and Cheyenne would leave their settlements near the Hills and along the Platte River and move south to hunt and trade in the vicinity of the Republican and Arkansas rivers.

As the Kiowas and their allies, the Plains Apaches and Comanches, moved out of the Hills, so too did the Crows. Unlike the wars unfolding on the southern flanks of the Hills, the northern battleground involved a largely unified front of Arapahos,[3] Cheyennes, and Lakotas waging war against the Crows and driving their enemy from locations at the headwaters of the Little Missouri and away from the Hills region entirely (Mallery 1893:319; Hyde 1937:33-35; Swift Dog in Praus 1962:11,13; Hurt 1974:238; Moulton 1983: 3:25,26 n7). By the 1820s, the Crows had retreated to areas west of the Powder River, and by the 1850s, their territorial reach did not extend far beyond the Yellowstone River (Voget 2001:697-698). In a letter written to Valentine McGillycuddy, the agent at Pine Ridge, William Garrett (in Friswold 1976:130), a former scout and interpreter wrote: The Crows never owned the Black Hills, but they used to sneak in there

[3] The Arapahos were not always firmly committed to this alliance against the Crows, and they were known to trade with them throughout the nineteenth century.

and hunt, pick fruit and get lodge poles. They never had permanent homes there and were always run out by the Sioux as soon as they found they were there.

In the aftermath of a succession of disease epidemics, the strength of the once powerful Missouri River tribes was broken. The long-distance trade chains that once connected these groups with those living in the Black Hills and along the Minnesota River largely disappeared. American traders, who were now nearly everywhere in the region, undercut the middleman roles that many local tribes played in the region s trade. This had especially disastrous consequences for the Arikaras, who saw their powerful trade position erode in less than three decades. In 1823, they killed a group of Ashley s trappers in a desperate attempt to block their passage upriver (Parks 2001a: 367). In retaliation, Colonel Henry Leavenworth, with a small group of infantry and rifleman, mobilized a group of Lakotas to join them and attack the Arikaras. The battle lines were drawn, but before a fight ensued, the Arikara chiefs presented their peace pipes. The peace negotiations were never concluded, for the Arikaras fled their villages in the night (Hyde 1937:38-39). In the coming years, Lakota and Arikara relations deteriorated and entered into a cycle of skirmishes that ultimately forced the Arikaras to leave their Missouri homeland in 1832 to take up residence with their distant Skidi Pawnee relatives in Nebraska (Hyde 1951:183-185). After four years with the Pawnees, they returned to the Missouri to live with their former Mandan enemies just at the time another smallpox epidemic nearly wiped out the village populations in 1837-1838 (Hyde 1937:49; Parks 2001a:367).

After their return to the Missouri River, the relations the Arikaras held with their former Lakota and Cheyenne trade partners became even more tempestuous. Although the Cheyennes continued to trade with them, albeit in a diminished way, many Lakotas appear to have abandoned their trade connections not only with the Arikaras but also their Dakota-speaking relatives who lived farther east on the Minnesota River. The disruption of trade and the continuing enmities with the Lakotas severely limited the ability of the Arikaras and their neighbors, the Hidatsas and Mandans, to access the Hills as they had done in the past (Parks 2001a: 367).

Although the Mandans and Hidatsas were reported to make trips to the Black Hills[4] by way of the Little Missouri River for hunting bighorn and elk and trapping eagles as late as the 1830s, these excursions probably became less frequent once their Crow allies were driven from the region by the combined forces of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos (Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Bowers 1950:210, 1963:238, 259). Many battles were reported between these semihorticultural tribes and the Lakotas near Bear Butte (Odell 1942:34). When the Mandan and Hidtasa tribes lost more people in the smallpox epidemics of 1836-1837, their ability to travel independently to a territory now dominated by enemies was further compromised, although one Lakota winter count reports Mandan wintering in the Black Hills at Bear Butte in 1844-45 (Odell 1942:34). By 1851, when a combined force of Arikaras, Hidatsas, and Mandans traveled to the Fort Laramie Treaty conference in Wyoming, the Black Hills was considered enemy country. Repeating the words of his Arikara ancestor, Carries Moccasins, Alfred Morsette (Parks 1991:379) said: Now this is where there are enemies, here in this country. If they see us, they ll kill us. In less than half a century, the Black Hills went from being a prime hunting ground for these tribes to the territory of their enemies.

[4] References to Hidatsa and Mandan hunting excursions in the Black Hills may actually mean the hills and buttes along the Little Missouri not the Black Hills proper. It is hard to determine the locations to which some early sources refer because of the ambiguous uses of the name Black Hills during this time period. Alfred Bower s work (1950, 1963), however, was conducted in the twentieth century when there was no longer any confusion between the Black Hills proper and other high elevation locations west of the Missouri River.

Farther south on the Missouri, at the mouth of the Niobrara, were the villages of the Poncas, also much reduced by epidemic disease. This tribe, by contrast, appears to have been able to maintain a limited degree of access to the Black Hills and the upper reaches of the White River well into the nineteenth century through a pattern of intermarriage with the Sicangu division of the Lakotas (Howard, J. 1965a:28; Hurt 1974:203-204). By the late 1830s, an identifiable band of Ponca-Lakota ancestry, the *Wazazi*, had emerged within the ranks of the Sicangus (Hyde 1961: 56). Its principal territorial range hugged the southern edge of the Hills between the headwaters of the White River and the forks of the Cheyenne, an area within easy access to the region of the Buffalo Gap and Wind Cave (DeMallie 1975:36).

B. Those Who Remained

As explained previously, the Arapahos were well established in the Black Hills by the end of the eighteenth century, occupying locations along the north and south forks of the Cheyenne River (Fowler 2001:841). Indeed, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, they appear to have replaced the Kiowas as the dominant group in the southern Black Hills. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, more of them were moving to the rich bison ranges along the Platte River at locations immediately south and west of the Hills (Gussow 1974:75-76; Fowler 2001:840). As the Arapahos started to move away from the Hills, larger numbers of Cheyennes were occupying the locations their allies vacated. According to Cheyenne oral traditions recorded by George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:12-13), the Cheyennes first journeyed into the Black Hills on hunting expeditions in the last half of the eighteenth century, and they probably did so in the company of their Arapaho and Arikara allies, who regularly hunted in and around the Black Hills (Shakespeare 1971:27). Eventually, more and more of their people began to stay in the area over longer periods of time until the early nineteenth century when the Black Hills became the center of their territorial range (Grinnell 1906:15).

The Cheyennes were well established at locations in and around the Black Hills when Lewis and Clark traveled through the region, even though some Cheyennes maintained locations closer to the Missouri River. In fact, the map drawn by Lewis and Clark indicates that they were the most populous nation in the Black Hills (Berthong 1963:15). Their dominance of the region continued into the next decade. John Bradbury s journal (1966:139-140, 176) entry for June 17, 1811 simply reiterated what Lewis and Clark found, namely, that the Cheyennes had no fixed area of settlement but traveled the Black Hills country at the headwaters of the Cheyenne River. It also confirmed that the Cheyennes continued to play an important middleman role in the intertribal trade, carrying the horses, peltries, hides, and meat they acquired from tribes who lived beyond the Black Hills to their European American, Lakota, Arikara, and Mandan trade partners on the Missouri River (Jablow 1951:56-60). In the same year, Henry Breckenridge (in Thwaites 1966:5:92) wrote that the Cheyennes resided on the headwaters of the Cheyenne River, and that they traded with the Arikaras and the Spanish. In February of 1813, when John C. Luttig arrived in the area, he also reported that the Cheyennes had considerable quantities of skins to exchange with the traders and their village hosts (in Drumm 1964:55; Hurt 1974:167-168).

Many Cheyennes remained in regions north of the Black Hills during this period (Grinnell 1972:1:30). Yet, it is equally clear that, in the company of their Arapaho allies, others were moving beyond the Black Hills to the valley of the Platte River. By 1812, a large segment of the Arapahos were firmly established on the Platte and beginning to move as far south as the Arkansas River in the company of some of their Kiowa friends (Berthong 1963:19; Gussow 1974: 75-76). Some even ranged as far south as Texas (Fowler 2001:840-842). In 1819, Dr. Edwin James and Captain John R. Bell, members of the Stephen H. Long Expedition, reported a large

number of Arapahos and a small band of Cheyennes bringing British trade goods from the Missouri River, to an intertribal trading encampment along Cherry Creek near the present site of Denver, Colorado (Berthong 1963:20-21; Gussow 1974:31, 45). A year later, in 1821, Jacob Fowler again reported a sizable presence of Arapahos and Cheyennes at a large encampment of Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches on the Arkansas River (Berthong 1963:21). This written evidence, along with tribal oral traditions (Bent in Hyde 1968:31-57; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:1-9) indicates that in the 1820s some of the Arapahos and the Cheyennes were beginning to split into southern and northern divisions (Jablow 1951:62-65). While the southern branches largely abandoned the Black Hills region, living, hunting, and trading in areas between the Platte and Arkansas rivers, the northern Arapahos and Cheyennes remained in the environs of the Black Hills, with some concentrated on their western flanks towards the Platte River and others located on the eastern side towards the Missouri (Grinnell 1972:1:9-40). The historic record also reveals that, as in the past, both tribes not only jointly held the same territorial ranges but also shared them in common with other tribes including some of the Atsinas who occasionally joined them from Montana.

In 1825, when Atkinson and O Fallon (1825: 606) came up the Missouri to negotiate a peace treaty between the United States and the tribal nations of the region, they wrote a letter to James Barbeau of the War Department, stating that the Cheyennes inhabited the river that bears their name from its mouth to the Black Hills. They estimated that the Cheyenne population in the area was about 3000 people, that they traded at the mouth of Cherry Creek, and that their principal hunting grounds were towards the Black Hills. In their travels up the Missouri in the summer of 1825 to treat with the local tribes, they dispatched several messengers to find the Cheyennes who were reported in the neighborhood of the Black Hills or Black Mountains (Jensen and Hutchins 2001:101, 119).[5] They encountered bands of Cheyennes at a number of different locations along the Missouri from the mouth of the Bad River where they encamped with the Oglalas for treaty deliberations, to the Arikara village on the Grand River, and onto a location across the river from Warrenconne Creek in present-day North Dakota (Jenkins and Hutchins 2001:118, 119, 120, 166). Notwithstanding the movement of some Cheyennes to the Platte and Arkansas, an impressive number still remained on the eastern edge of the Black Hills living and traveling among groups of Lakotas and Arikaras.

It was during the 1820s that George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:9) and E. Admonson Hoebel (1960:9) claim the Cheyennes and Sutaios began to merge into one sociopolitical body, although Thomas Weist (1977:24) argues that they did not camp together or intermarry until 1830. Written records on the Sutaios are hard to find in the early historic record, and it is not clear with whom earlier traders identified them. In this same decade, whatever hostilities once existed between the Cheyennes and Lakotas were now localized and situated within a larger framework of peace. As historical records (Atkinson and O Fallon 1929:27; Hyde 1937:33-34) and tribal oral traditions (Bent in Hyde 1968:25-26) reveal, the Cheyennes and Lakotas began to join forces to route the Crows from the Little Missouri and Powder River regions. George Bent (in Hyde 1968: 25-26) recalls a famous story of a how a party of Bowstring Society soldiers lost their lives in a deadly fight with the Crows around 1819, and how the following year, the Lakotas and Cheyennes assembled in the Black Hills and set out to the Tongue River to seek revenge by destroying a Crow camp and taking its women and children captive. He also describes another battle with the

[5] Oddly, the editors (Jensen and Hutchins 2001:101n105) of Henry Atkinson and Stephen Kearny s journals of the expedition assert that the Black Hills named in these accounts refer to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains not the Black Hills proper. This makes no sense given what we know about the locations and movements of the Cheyennes who were widely dispersed at this point in history in a region that extended from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains and that most certainly included the Black Hills proper.

Crows that took place on Horse Creek in Wyoming when the Cheyennes were camped there some years later (Bent in Hyde 1968: 26-28). Other versions of these same stories are found in George Bird Grinnell s book *The Fighting Cheyennes* (1956: 26-32).

The complexity of intertribal relations during this time is revealed in another story that George Bent (in Hyde 1968:28-30) recalled and that Grinnell (1956: 2-34) recorded as well. Sometime around 1826, a band of Cheyennes was encamped along the South Platte near Greeley, Colorado with Arapahos and some Atsinas who had joined them from Montana, when a group of Crows arrived and set up their camp two miles away. While feasting their Arapaho and Atsina friends, the Crows demanded that the Cheyennes give up a Crow child who had been captured several years earlier. The Cheyennes refused, and the Crows threatened to start a fight hoping that their Arapaho and Atsina friends would join them. They declined and a battle ensued in which the Cheyennes, Arapahos and Atsinas joined forces against the Crows and their long-standing Kiowa friends, who were returning to the Arkansas having visited with the Crows in Montana the previous summer. This presumably began the period when relations between the Arapahos and Cheyennes on one side and the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches on the other broke down and developed into a full-scale war which did not end until 1840 (Berthong 1963:23; Grinnell 1972:1:35-69; Weist 1977:42; Coel 1981:14; Fowler 2001:842).

By this time, most of the Arapahos appear to have been well south and west of the Black Hills, with their primary territories stretching between the south and north forks of the Platte River (Shakespeare 1971:37-38,71; Gussow 1974:47-48; Fowler 1982:21-23, 2001:841). Even though Zachary Gussow (1974:31-35) maintained that the Arapahos still had control of the Black Hills as late as 1827, this does not correspond with much of the historical record, which reveals not only a large Cheyenne population in the Hills, but a substantial Lakota presence as well. It can be conceded, however, that the Arapahos were still the largest population on the western side of the Black Hills because they clearly had a dominant presence on the plains north of Fort Laramie (Fowler 1982:21-23). Rufus Sage described their western boundary as the Medicine Bow Range in Wyoming, and in the same period, John Fremont described them as ranging all along the Platte and the eastern flanks of the Rockies as far north as the present day town of Casper, Wyoming (Ibid: 22-23). Throughout much of this area, they traveled in the company of their Cheyenne and Lakota allies (Gussow 1974:78). The Arapahos' territorial range had clearly shifted west by this time, although some probably remained along the upper reaches of the White River in the midst of resident Cheyenne and Lakota bands.

Meanwhile, back on the Missouri River, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, reported in 1832 that the Black Hills were the area where the Cheyennes dwelled (in Thwaites 1966:22:33), and eight years later, Father De Smet visited a Cheyenne village at the eastern base of the Hills (in Thwaites 1966:22:136). Iron Teeth (Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4) and several other Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254) maintained that some of their fellow tribespeople continued to practice horticulture at locations on the eastern side of the Black Hills during this time period. In fact, some Cheyennes were reported to still farm near the Missouri River as late as 1833 and to trade there until 1850 (Grinnell 1972:1:30; Culbertson in McDermott 1952:52, 67). Older Cheyennes also remembered a Sun Dance taking place at this time in the valley of the Cheyenne River (Moore, J. 1987:32). These records indicate that part of the Cheyenne population was still holding onto their old territories, even though they were being surrounded by growing numbers of Lakotas. They also reveal that some Cheyennes still traveled back and forth between the Black Hills and the Arkansas River to acquire horses and trade in the Mexican southwest (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:5).

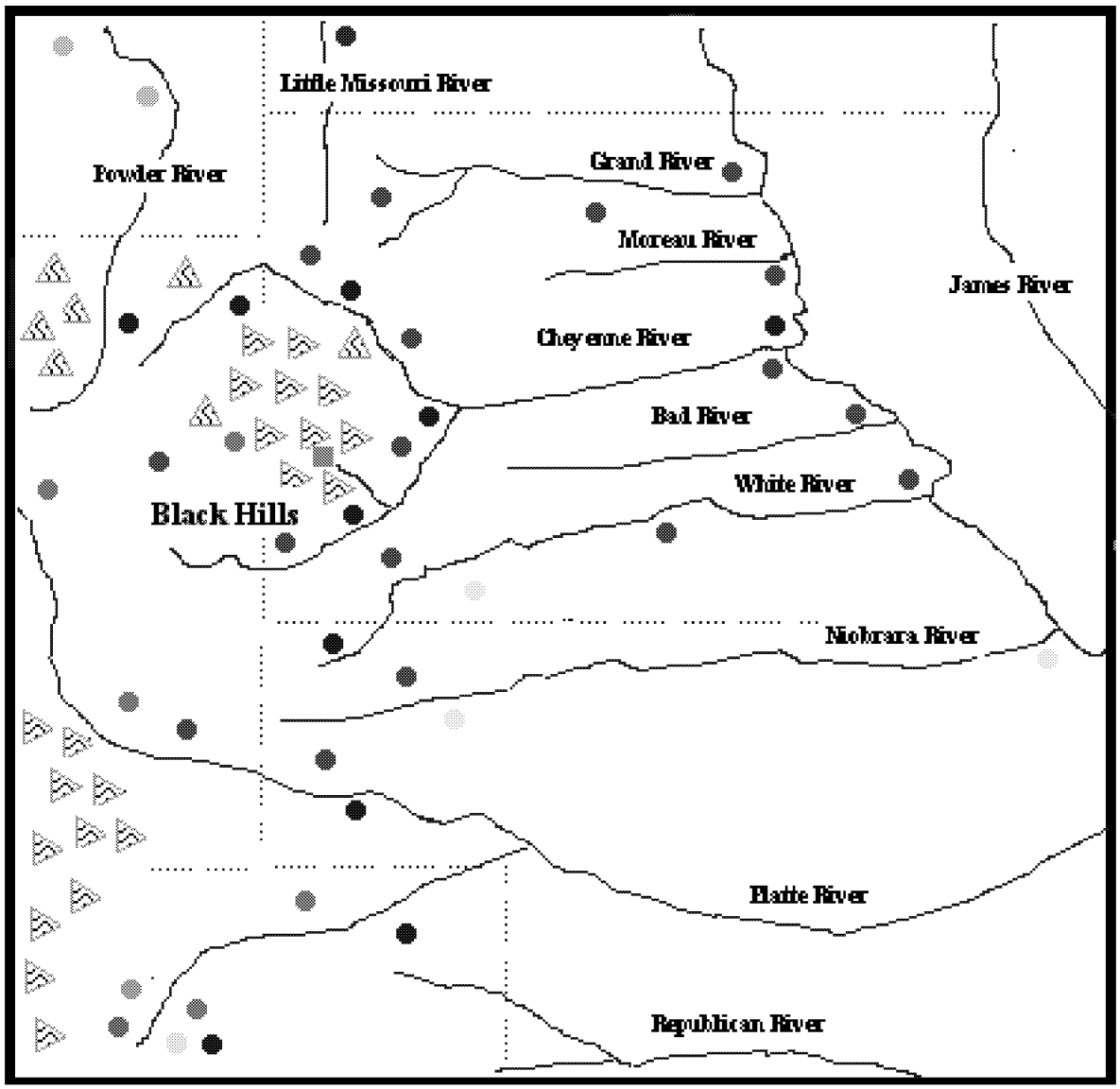
Following John Moore s reconstructions of Cheyenne band histories, it is possible to deduce the general whereabouts of the Cheyennes in relationship to the Black Hills in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The *Omisis* and *Totoimana* divisions of the Cheyenne, who had a long history of intermarriage with the Lakotas, lived on the northern and western edge of the Hills and eventually occupied a large swath of territory that extended between the Black Hills and the Powder River. The *Masikota* band of Cheyennes inhabited areas southeast of the Black Hills along the White River where some of them intermarried with the Oglala and Sicangu Lakotas. The *Hisiometaneo* lived along the upper reaches of the Niobrara River, and they also had close ties with the Oglalas and Sicangus (Grinnell 1972:2:68). The early locations of the *Sutaios* are difficult to reconstruct, although given where most of them eventually settled in the reservation era, they probably covered much of the same area as the *Omisis*. They also appear to have been divided into northern and southern branches, with some occupying areas near the southeastern Black Hills until 1877. The main body of the Cheyenne proper, which includes the *Tsistsistas*, *Heviksnipahis*, *Hevhaitaneo*, *Oivimana*, and *Hotametaneo*, made up the core group of Cheyenne who occupied the forks of the Cheyenne River from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. They were the ones who moved to locations between the forks of the Platte River, and they apparently did so as a block in a series of successive moves between 1815 and 1825. They were also the segment of the Cheyennes who appear to have had some of the most intimate and enduring connections with the Arapahos (Moore, J. 1987: 229-235).

In 1849, Thomas Fitzpatrick, the first Indian agent for the upper Platte and Arkansas rivers, noted as much when he wrote that growing numbers of Lakotas were pushing the Cheyennes farther south into areas the Arapahos occupied (Berthong 1963:24). Yet, he also claimed, The Cheyennes at that time were living on the south side of the Missouri River, between the Cheyenne and White rivers, and along the Black Hills (*quoted from* Berthong 2964: 24). On Francis Parkman s 1849 map, published in Mason Wade s edition (1947) of his journals, a small group of Cheyenne was still located in the southern Black Hills, but the larger body was placed outside the Hills between the south fork of the Platte and the Arkansas. The Arapahos were located in the same region but in areas south of the Arkansas. On this map, no Arapahos appear in the Black Hills.

After the Cheyennes and their Arapaho allies made peace with the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches in 1840, these tribes sometimes met with each other to trade and conduct ceremonies on the South Fork of the Platte River. Rufus Sage described a large convocation in 1842 that drew together all of the above five tribes plus Lakotas and even Blackfeet (and possibly Atsina) from Montana (Gussow 1974:44). In this period, more waves of Arapahos, Cheyennes, and also a few Lakotas moved out of the regions near the Black Hills to establish their primary territories in areas below the South Fork of the Platte. Like the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Comanches before them, the southern Cheyenne-Arapahos were attracted to this area not only for the new trading opportunities it offered, but also because it contained rich grazing lands for their horses and good hunting grounds where bison were still plentiful. Indeed, it was probably these opportunities and the declining populations of bison in the northeast as much as the pressure of the incoming Lakotas that brought more and more Cheyennes and Arapahos south (Mooney 1907:376-377; Scott 1907:558; Berthong 1963:25-27; Fowler 2001:842-843; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:864-865).

By the 1840s, the Arapahos and Cheyennes were divided into two geographically separate and politically distinct branches with different ethnic identities (Mooney 1907:376-377; Fowler 2001:842; Moore 1976b; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:865). The Arapahos referred to their northern branch as *Nenebi.neno?* [Northern People], while the southerners were known as *No.kho.sein mn ?* [Sage People] (Fowler2001:862). The Cheyennes referred to their northern

FIGURE 6. Reported Tribal Locations, circa 1835



branch as *Notam ohm sEhese*,[Northern Eaters], sometimes shortened as *Ohm sEhese,* and the southerners as *He«vAhetaneo?* [Roped People] or *Sowonia*, [Southerners] (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 882-883). After the 1840s, the histories of the two branches of the Arapahos and Cheyennes follow divergent courses. Even though the two groups continued to come together over common interests, cultural traditions, and family ties, they were now situated in very different spheres of social, economic, and political influence and their lives started to follow different paths as well. In fact, many of the southern Cheyennes and Arapahos had become so geographically removed from the Black Hills that some in the younger generations no longer had direct knowledge of them, only their parents and grandparents recollections of what life had been like there in times past. Some of the southern Cheyenne bands did return periodically to their former homelands in the Black Hills to trade and meet with their northern relatives, to conduct religious observances at their sacred mountain, Bear Butte, and to procure specialized lithic and plant resources (Moore, J. 1981:14). But generally speaking, the Hills were no longer a part of their primary territorial range. In direct contrast, the Hills remained well within the territorial boundaries of the northern Arapahos and Cheyennes. Even though both tribes now lived in areas increasingly populated by Lakotas, the Hills were still considered a part of their homeland and an integral part of their territory as later oral histories, government documents, and ethnographic writings reveal (Moore, J. 1987; Powell 1969, 1982).

C. Those Who Arrived

Although the Lakotas had already arrived on the high plains of the Missouri River by the late eighteenth century, gradually establishing hunting grounds and camping sites on tributaries leading to the Black Hills, they had not built a large settlement base in and around the Hills. Until the 1820s, much of the eastern side of the Black Hills region was held by Cheyennes, while the western flanks still remained in the hands of the Arapahos. As Lakotas entered the Hills to hunt and camp, they traveled in areas occupied by these other two tribal nations. Even after the 1820s, when the sheer size of the Lakota population far outnumbered the Cheyennes and Arapahos, the Lakotas never gained any real exclusive occupancy of the Black Hills. Cheyenne and Arapaho camps were always present, interspersed among those of various Lakota affiliations until 1877 when all American Indians were forcibly removed.

1. 1807-1829

In the years before 1830, many of the Lakotas still maintained their winter encampments along the lower portions of tributaries that fed the Missouri River from the Black Hills country. There is little doubt, however, that they used the upper reaches of these rivers as hunting grounds, a pattern commonly followed by the Poncas, Arikaras, and Cheyennes in the previous century (Clow 1995:262). It is equally clear that more bands were now wintering at the southeastern base of the Hills in association with the Cheyennes who were the principal tribal nation in the area.

From 1807 to 1819, there is clear evidence that the *Sicangu* [Brule or Burnt Thigh] Lakotas were well-established along the White River from its mouth to its headwaters, and that some were also using the neighboring Niobrara River as a hunting ground and a location to capture wild horses (Clyman in Camp 1960:16-17; Hyde 1961:17; Hurt 1974:179, 181, 199, 201, 204, 206; Cheney 1979:19; Clow 1995). There is also good documentation that the *Oglala* [Cast-on-own or Scatter Their Own] Lakotas controlled most of the course of the Bad River, and that they had a sizable presence on the White and Cheyenne rivers as well (Clyman in Camp 1960:16-17; Hurt 1974:200). Of the various Lakota or Teton divisions, the Oglalas were the ones most likely to have reached the base of the Black Hills before 1820 (Hyde 1937:20). The *Minneconjou* [Plant

near water] and *Itazipco* [Sans Arc or No Bow] Lakotas were above the forks of the Cheyenne, which means both of these divisions were within striking distance of the Black Hills as well (Hyde 1961:4). Some of the *Hunkpapa* [End of the Horn] and *Sihasapa* [Blackfeet] Lakotas were moving towards the headwaters of the Grand River (Hyde 1937:39-40), although much of their territory was still located east of the Missouri River. Despite a winter count marking 1828 as the first year the Hunkpapas camped at Bear Butte (Swift Dog in Praus 1962:13), this site was still outside their primary territorial range.

Following George Hyde s reconstruction, the above summary takes into account the extended movements Lakotas were making once they were firmly established at locations on the west side of the Missouri River. This gives a picture that is slightly different from the written record, but again, we must remember that the eyewitness accounts of Europeans and Americans took place along the Missouri River at a considerable distance from the Black Hills. While a few traders were establishing posts close to the Black Hills at places such as the forks of the Cheyenne River, none of them left written records of their stays. Therefore, our impression of what was happening at this time is still slanted towards the Lakotas who were observed at locations removed from the Black Hills proper.

For several decades after the Lewis and Clark expedition, there is little documentary information on the whereabouts of the Lakotas beyond the Missouri. Although many traders traveled the area, they did not leave any writings of their experiences (Hurt 1974:176). Most of the information for this period comes from travelers who passed through the area without any extended stay. Manuel Lisa s 1811 expedition up the Missouri was accompanied by the traveler, Henry Breckinridge, who left a journal (in Thwaites 1966) with brief comments about the tribes he observed along his route of travel from April 27 to July 6. These included Lakotas, Cheyennes, Arikaras, and Mandans who were noted at their usual and accustomed locations (Hurt 1974:177-178). In the same year, John Bradbury, a naturalist who traveled with the Astoria expedition, left an account (1966), and map of his travels, both of which contain information that is consistent with what Lewis and Clark gathered five years earlier (Hurt 1974:179-181, 199, 204). A year later, John Luttwig (in Drumm 1964), an employee of the Missouri Fur Company, accompanied Lisa s expedition and wrote a journal that again reiterates what others reported as locations for the Lakotas, Arikaras, Cheyennes, Poncas, and Mandans (Hurt 1974:182-183).

When Paul Wilhelm, the Duke of W rttemberg, traveled the Missouri in 1823, he wrote a journal with several interesting entries. First, while ascending Ponca Creek, he encountered a Ponca and Sicangu war party that had just returned from a battle with the Pawnee who lived on the middle reaches of the Platte. When he came to the mouth of the White River, he came across some Yanktons who were on a hunting expedition. This is one of the earliest pieces of evidence for the presence of Dakota speaking populations west of the Missouri. He met with Joshua Pilcher, a local trader, who told him that the friendly Lakotas had gone to the Black Hills to hunt because game was scarce down river (Hurt 1974:187), and he also learned that Poncas and Sicangus were hunting together on the Niobrara River (Hurt 1974:203-204; Howard, J. 1965:28). Another source for this period, Joshua Pilcher s 1824 testimony before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, contains more evidence that the Lakotas were in the Black Hills. He told Congress that on the west side of the Missouri the Lakotas ranged over the valleys of the Niobrara, White, and Bad rivers as far as the Black Mountains in which some of these streams rise and as far north as the head of the Little Missouri, above the Mandans (Pilcher 1824: 453).

A year later, when Atkinson and O Fallen came to the Missouri River, their accounts clearly suggest that some of the Lakotas were residing near the Black Hills. They report that the *Oohenonpas* [Two Kettle] or Broken Arrow band was camped at Fort Kiowa and were ostracized

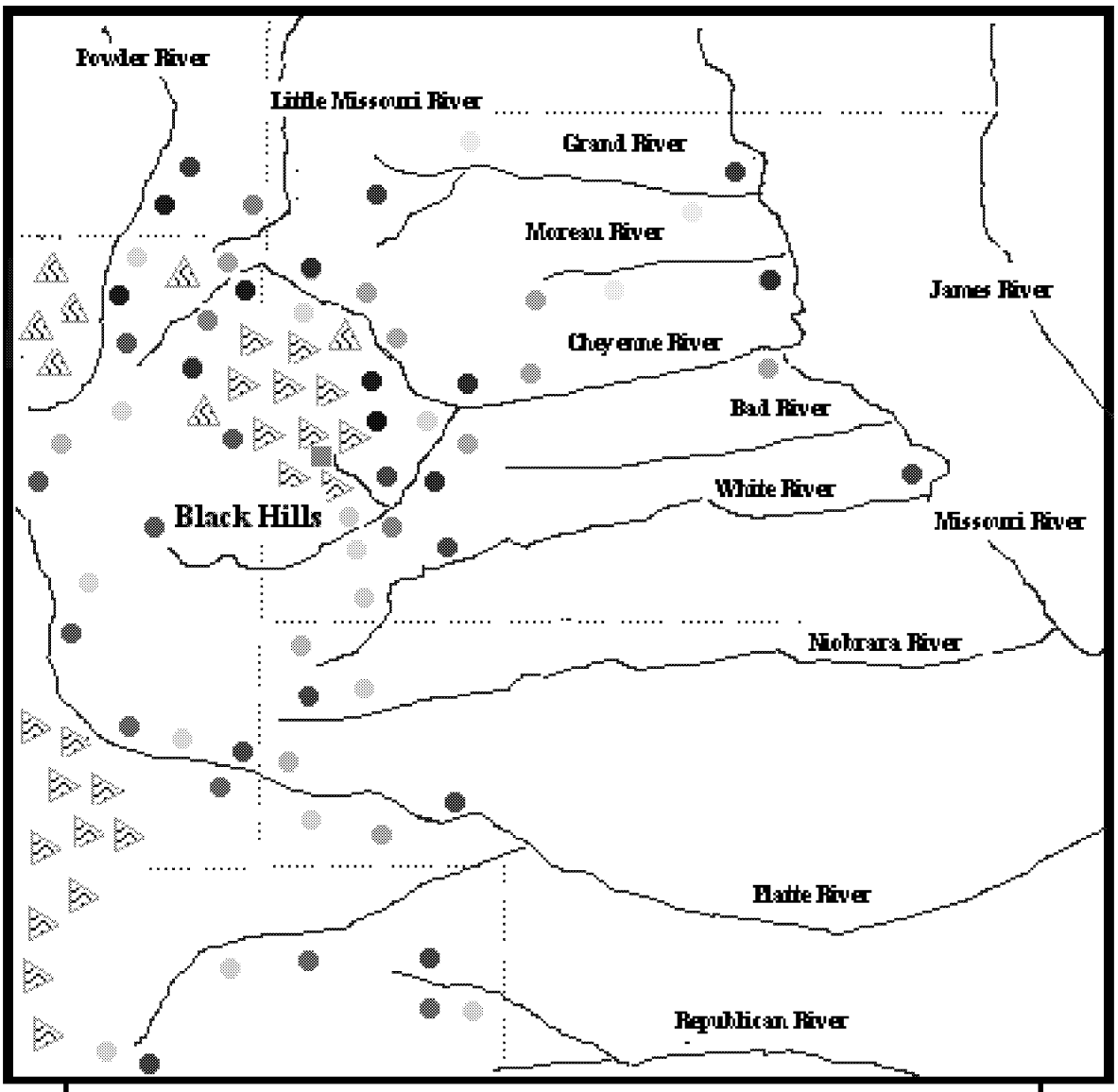
by the other Lakotas (Atkinson and O Fallon 1929:21). Oglala camps were located on the Bad River six miles west of its mouth (Atkinson and O Fallon 1929:26-27; Atkinson in Jensen and Hutchins 2001:115, 118; Kearny in Jensen and Hutchins 2001:115, 116, 119), but their usual travels extended along this river to the Black Hills (Atkinson and O Fallon to James Barber, 7 November 1825:606). The Soanes (probably Minneconjous and Itazipcos) were reported to camp thirty miles upstream on the Bad River (Atkinson and O Fallon 1929: 21, 29; Atkinson in Jensen and Hutchins 2001:113, 119, 120) and also on the Cheyenne River fifty miles above its mouth (Atkinson and O Fallon 1825:607, 1929:21,29,169; Kearny in Jensen and Hutchins 2001:124). Another Soane group, the Hunkpapas, were situated near the mouth of the Grand River (1929: 31), but the bulk of their territory was described as extending from the Missouri east to the Minnesota River (Atkinson and O'Fallon 1825:607). Atkinson and O'Fallon (1825:607) also record the presence of Tetons on the White River as far back as the Black Hills but do not identify their divisional affiliation. Hyde (1937:39) and Hurt (1974:204), however, conclude that these were Sicangus. In their 1825 letter to James Barber, they wrote that the Black Hills were the western limit of Lakota territory.

In their entries for the year 1828-29, six Lakota winter counts record the presence of Lakota camps in the vicinity of Bear Butte (Howard, J. 1960:368). This confirms other observations that the Lakotas were situated within range of the Black Hills by 1830. During the same time period, it is important to note that accounts from the Long Expedition give no evidence of a Lakota presence beyond the Black Hills -- a situation that would change dramatically in coming decades (Hurt, 1974:198). Nevertheless, the American Horse winter count reports that some Lakotas were traveling as far south as the Sand Hills in Nebraska to capture wild horses (American Horse in Mallery 1987:82-83).

In the years between 1807 and 1829, only the Cheyennes stood in the path of Lakota migration to the Black Hills, and while this certainly must have slowed their movement when hostility prevailed between the two tribes, the Cheyennes' presence was no longer an obstacle once a general peace was established, probably sometime after 1813, because Luttig writes that they were still stealing horses from the Cheyennes at this time (Hurt 1974:184). A decade later, however, Atkinson and O Fallon (1825:605-608) write that the Lakotas were at peace with the Cheyennes. In this era, the Kiowas were no longer a major threat either, even though Lakota winter counts identify a hostile encounter with them in 1814-1815 (Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:357; Blue Thunder in Howard, J. 1965b:360-361; American Horse in Mallery 1987:82-83; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998:14).[6] Once the Kiowas abandoned their areas of occupation on the southern edge of the Hills, these locations were now open to Lakota expansion. This was especially true after 1823, when Sicangu bands were coexisting peacefully with the Poncas, intermarrying and fighting with them against the Pawnees (DeMallie 1975:36). Farther north, the eastern side of the Black Hills was also open as far as Bear Butte through the Lakota s peaceful ties with the Cheyennes, but the area of the Little Missouri River and beyond was the ground on which the Lakotas and Cheyennes were still waging war with the Crows. Battles between the Lakotas and Crows are regularly noted for this period in winter counts and the documents of traders and explorers (Atkinson and O Fallon 1825:607-608; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30:3:175, 176; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930:357-359; Swift Dog in Praus 1962:11; Hurt 1974:199; Howard, J. 1979:29; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998:17). By 1823, the combined forces of Lakotas and Cheyennes were able to take the headwaters of the Little Missouri River

[6] There are conflicting reports on the identity of this enemy. Some accounts suggest that the enemy killed was a Crow, and one even suggests that he was a Cheyenne, but the vast majority identify him with the name the Lakotas commonly gave the Kiowas (Howard, J. 1965b:360-361).

FIGURE 7. Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota Band Division Locations, circa 1850



and begin their penetration into the heart of Crow territory along the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone Rivers (Ewers 1938:88). But this area was still probably not safe enough to bring encampments with children and the elderly.

2. 1830-1850

Between 1830 and 1840, most of the Lakotas were moving away from their locations on the Missouri River. The Lakota s southerly and westerly movements, according to Hyde (1937:45, 1961:29), were encouraged by the presence of new trading posts near the Black Hills and on the Platte River in areas with richer grazing lands for their horses and better hunting grounds. In the early 1830s, many Oglalas and Sicangus were still trading at posts near the Missouri, including Fort Pierre and Fort Tecumseh. Once posts were established for the Sicangus on the White River, another for the Miniconjous near the forks of the Cheyenne, and a third for the Oglalas just east of Bear Butte, many no longer needed to make the long-distance trip to the Missouri to trade (Hyde 1937:41; Clow 1995:264). In time, posts would appear near Horse Creek and at other spots along the Platte River directly south and west of the Hills. In 1834, William Sublette and Robert Campbell opened a post on the Platte where Fort Laramie would eventually be built, and within a year, about two thousand Lakotas were reported to have visited this post (Price, C. 1996:21-22).

Richard White (1978:333-334) disputes Hyde s assertion that Oglalas under Bull Bear s leadership came to the Platte because of the presence of traders. He claims company records only reveal that traders recognized the Oglalas and Sicangus hunting grounds were shifting in a southerly direction because bison were beginning to withdraw from locations near the Missouri River. Shortages of bison were reported in the winter of 1832-1833, but this was temporary and due to an exceptionally warm winter (Clow 1995). Seven years later, however, the missionary Stephen J. Riggs saw few bison on his journey to Fort Pierre. As bison numbers declined east of the Missouri, more Lakotas moved west to hunt them (Hyde 1961:29; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; Price, C. 1996:8). Even on the Platte River, there were reports of scarcity after 1840. In 1842, a grasshopper plague destroyed the grasslands and caused starvation among the Lakotas, who were greatly alarmed by the disappearance of their herds (Price, C. 1996:49). Most of the reports of dwindling bison numbers along the Platte and Missouri rivers before 1840 appear to have been the result of local weather conditions, especially drought and/or unseasonably warm winters, rather than the irreversible and long term forces, climatic or otherwise, that came later.

The truth of what motivated the Lakotas to move farther west probably lies somewhere in the middle. On the one hand, it is clear that Lakotas were pushed westward as game became more erratic and scarce near the valley of the Missouri River. On the other hand, there is no question that they were also being drawn west because of new opportunities, which included the proximity of traders to prime bison ranges, better grazing conditions for their horses, and closer access to horse-rich tribes, such as the Pawnees and Kiowas, whose herds could be easily reached and raided (Bray 1994:178; Price, C. 1996:21-22). William Bordeaux (1929:192), a Sicangu historian, clearly implies that his people wintered along the Platte and in regions farther south because of their more temperate winter climate. Whatever the reasons for the Lakotas' continued western migration, which probably reached its height in the 1830s, it led in no small degree to a period of great economic prosperity and independence (Ewers 1938:83).

By the 1830s, the historic record of Lakota locations is not dissimilar to what was reported for the Cheyennes and Arapahos. The German traveler, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, who made a tour of the Missouri River in 1832-1833, described Lakota territory as extending over the Black Hills to the Arkansas River, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the Yellowstone River (in Thwaites

1966:1:305). A few years later, 1835-1837, the missionary Samuel Parker (Hurt 1974:232-233) described Lakota territories as reaching from the Mississippi to the Black Hills, south to the Platte and over to the Big Horn Mountains. Although both probably exaggerated the extent of the Lakotas' primary territories at this point in history, Maximilian more so than Parker, they were correct in their assumption that the Lakotas territorial reach had extended well beyond the Black Hills during the 1830s.

There is little doubt that the Lakotas had clearly established themselves on the eastern side of the Black Hills by 1830. There is also no question that when they reached this area other tribes were still present, including the Cheyennes and also the Poncas, who were located on Maximilian s map in areas north of the Niobrara River (Hurt 1974:227). In 1832 and 1835, the letter books and journals of the Fort Pierre and Fort Tecumseh trading posts on the Missouri provide fairly detailed information on the whereabouts of the Lakotas. Some of the Sicangus were trading at posts on the White and Bad rivers (Deland and Robinson 1918:95n12, 112n51, 160). Yet, in the same period, George Hyde (1961:28) indicates that a portion of the Sicangu moved from the White to the Platte River in search of a more plentiful food supply. The Oglalas were trading at posts on the White and Bad rivers too (Deland and Robinson 1918:160), but they also appeared on the Platte (Hyde 1937:46-47; Clow 1995:264). In 1835, missionaries traveling to Oregon along the Platte River encountered a large group of Lakotas, probably Oglalas, who were going to the Black Hills to hunt and trade (Bushnell 1922:68). Returning to the year 1832, some of the Minneconjous were reported on the east side of the Missouri River, while others were with Sicangus and Oglalas on the White River and still more were on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers (Deland and Robinson 1918:121-122, 141, 234). Even though some Sihasapas remained east of the Missouri (Deland and Robinson 1918:159), Hyde (1937:38-39) claims that the main body was already halfway up the Grand River with the Hunkpapas.

In 1839, Joseph Nicollet (De Mallie 1975:353-356, 1976:260-261) offered the most detailed account of a Lakota presence in the Black Hills. For the Soane divisions, he reported the Minneconjou with one hundred and eighty lodges on the Cheyenne River and in the Black Hills under the leadership of Red Fish, White Swan, and Noble White Crow. Led by Four White Bears, the *Wanonwakteninan* [Oohenonpas or Two Kettles], with eighty lodges, were situated on the Belle Fourche River and at Bear Butte. The Itazipco, who were headed by Crow Feather and Elk Head, were found on Cherry Creek and the Cheyenne, and Moreau rivers with one hundred and ten lodges. The Sihasapa, with one hundred lodges, were on the Grand River, and the Hunkpapa, also with one hundred lodges, were at locations from the Grand to the Cannonball River. For the Oglala, he identified the locations of three different bands, each with one hundred lodges. The *Onkp hatina* [Lodges at the end of the circle] led by Yellowish Eagle, and *Ku-Inyan* [*Ku iya*, or Gives Rock] under the direction of Mad Bear were reported from the Black Hills to the Platte River. The *Oyurpe* [*Oyuxpe* or Unloads], led by White Earrings, were located principally in the Black Hills. Finally, the four bands of Sicangu were given the following locations: the *Cokatowanyan* [Middle Village], with ninety lodges, were on the sources of the Niobrara and White rivers and at the White Buttes near Crawford, Nebraska; the *Wazazi* (also known as *Wazaze* or Fringed), a band of mixed Ponca ancestry with seventy lodges, were under the direction of Black Horn and traveled between the White and Cheyenne rivers; the *Minishanan* [Red Water], led by Red Water, had sixty lodges and traveled in the Sand Hills along the Niobrara River; and the *Kiuksa* [Those Who Divide], also in the Sands Hills, had sixty lodges under the leadership of Two Elks.

It is clear that the Lakotas were well established in the Black Hills by the end of the 1830s with several divisions wintering at locations near the foot of these mountains. Indeed, we can say that at this point in history the Lakotas were not only the largest and most dominant group in the

region but the Black Hills had become the center of their territorial universe as well (Larson 1997:50-51). We can also conclude that some of the Lakotas, especially those located along the Platte, had abandoned their former haunts along the Missouri and no longer used this area as a location for trade. Instead the southern divisions of the Lakotas, the Oglalas and Sicangus, were taking their commerce to the upper reaches of the Cheyenne, White, Niobrara, and Platte rivers. Most of the other Lakotas, however, were still east, but many of them were probably using posts at the base of the Black Hills too, rather than traveling to the Missouri to trade. In later decades, we find little about the bands who remained on the eastern side of the Hills and who were largely removed from the catastrophic course of events that would engulf their relatives at locations south and west of the Hills along the Platte River.

Until the 1830s, Dakota-speaking populations remained largely in territories east of the Missouri River, although some of the Sisseton, Yankton, and Yanktonnai crossed the river to hunt and trade (Hurt 1974:187). After hostilities erupted between Inkpaduta and his followers in Iowa, some of the Wahpekute Dakotas joined the Yankton Dakotas and settled along the Missouri River. In later years, these Wahpekute were reported in the Black Hills among bands of Lakota, and in the 1870s, they were present at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. In its aftermath, most of them fled with Sitting Bull to Canada, where many of Inkpaduta's descendents now live. Some, however, eventually returned to the United States and settled on the Spirit Lake Reservation in North Dakota (Albers 1974; 2001a). With the decline of the fur-trade and the disappearance of bison in regions east of the Missouri River, some of the Dakotas started to push their settlements farther west. By 1837, Yankton territorities were reported in locations west of the Missouri along the White and Niobrara rivers (Denig in Ewers 1961:213; Horr 1974:313; Woolworth 1974:136, 145; Bray and Bray 1976:254). By contrast, their northern relatives, the Yanktonnais, still remained on the east side of the Missouri at this time (Woolworth 1974:52; DeMallie 2001b).

During the decades of the 1830s and 1840s, the Lakotas were fighting wars on two fronts. In the northwest, their hostilities with the Crows and Shoshones continued and even escalated with many battles now being waged in their home territory, including locations at Bear Butte in 1830-31 and the Buffalo Gap in 1831-32 (Good in Mallery 1893:319; Kindred in Beckwith, M. 1930: 359-362; Swift Dog in Praus 1962:13; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:120; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987:114-115). At this time, the Lakotas and their Arapaho and Cheyenne allies were pushing their territorial reach to the Crow s coveted hunting ranges on the Powder and Tongue rivers (Gussow 1974:68). To the south, hostilities with the Pawnees also intensified, not only because the Pawnee s large horse herds were a favorite target for Lakota raiding activity but also because the Lakotas' territorial range was starting to infringe on the Pawnees' hunting grounds along the upper reaches of the Republican River (Dodge 1959:130-131, 373).

In the next decade, the territory covered by the Lakotas continued to expand. Reports of their presence in areas dominated by Cheyennes and Arapahos west of the Black Hills and north of Fort Laramie became common. Likewise, more references appear listing them in Arapaho and Cheyenne encampments at various locations between the Platte and Arkansas rivers. In 1842, when John Fremont s expedition reached Fort Laramie, several camps of Lakotas were seen. They were described as allies of the Cheyennes and Arapahos, participating with them in joint raids against Crows, Shoshones, and American emigrants (Hurt 1974:220-221). By 1846, the Lakotas were the dominant population at Fort Laramie, with the Oglalas and Sicangus making up the largest numbers. Some bands of Minneconjous were reported there as well (Parkman in Feltskog 1969:135, 139). Although some Lakotas traveled and even moved into areas dominated by their allies south of the Platte River, their numbers remained comparatively small at these

locations. Conversely, Arapahos and Cheyennes still remained, albeit in smaller numbers, in areas of the Black Hills now dominated by the Lakotas (Gussow1974:37).

In contrast to conventional understandings, the process by which Lakotas extended their territorial reach to the Black Hills and beyond was not simply a process of conquest and aggression. It also involved a gradual and incremental movement where the Lakotas entered into areas that they jointly held and protected with the Arapahos and Cheyennes who already lived there. As these two allies moved on in search of new hunting ranges and trading opportunities, the Lakotas became the dominant occupants of the Black Hills, often in areas where small segments of the previous inhabitants remained. Through the intermarriages, which often accompanied these patterns of co-residency, tribally distinct populations sometimes merged into single band communities taking on the identity of the dominant group. This is what appears to have happened to some of the Cheyennes who remained in the Black Hills and eventually became incorporated into the camp circles of the Oglalas as well as to some of the Poncas who became affiliated with the Sicangus. In the process, their separate identities became largely obliterated in the historic record.

In many respects, the decade of the 1840s represents a continuation of earlier historical trends. There were now several trading posts skirting the Black Hills that the Lakotas were reported to use with some regularity (Deland and Robinson 1918:179; Larson 1997:57-58). The 1842 and 1845 Fort Pierre journals and letter books continue to mention the presence of Sicangus on the White River (Deland and Robinson 1918:199), but in 1845, they also indicate the arrival of Minneconjous in the area. Other Minneconjous, however, were listed at Butte D Ores (Bear Butte), some were on the Platte, and one band was encamped near Fort Pierre. A portion of the Two Kettle division was also at Fort Pierre but others were on the White River (Ibid:206-207). The Hunkpapas and Sihasapas were located at Three Buttes on the Little Missouri River, but some were on the Platte as well. The Oglalas were mostly trading at Horse Creek and at other locations on the Platte River (Ibid:199).

Just as the larger body of Lakotas dispersed and realigned themselves in relation to their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies, they also began to rearrange their affiliations at a divisional level. Unlike earlier decades, when each Lakota division occupied a distinct territorial range that followed one of the Missouri River s western tributaries upstream to the Black Hills, local groups were now reorganizing themselves with little regard to the territorial integrity of the divisions with whom they affiliated. In relation to the changes taking place among the Oglalas, George Hyde (1937:57-58) argues that after the death of Bull Bear in 1842, the group split into factions with each going its separate way. One segment became associated with Cheyennes and Arapahos and hunted southwest of Fort John, while another became aligned with Sicangus and Minneconjous from the Black Hills and hunted southeast of this post. In 1846, there was another separation with the Smoke people moving north and hunting between the Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains (Hyde 1961:99; Price, C. 1996:25-26). In contrast to the position that Hyde takes, one could argue that this was not simply an example of political factionalism within Oglala ranks, but rather an instance of multiple adaptive strategies emerging under conditions of rapid change. Older alignments were disintegrating and new ones were being formed as Lakotas moved away from their former areas of occupation to search out new territories and trade opportunities. These new alliances not only cut-across the Lakota s own divisional affiliations, but they transcended tribal boundaries as well.

Following the path of their Arapaho and Cheyenne allies, the Lakotas now became more geographically dispersed, but they were also becoming more internally differentiated and specialized. Some bands, who were called *Wagluke* [Loafers], began to establish their principal

settlements near trading posts, marrying their daughters to traders and serving as go-betweens for the bands who focused much of their labor on bison-hunting (Mekeel 1943:188; Hyde 1961:100; Bray 1994:178-179). Some of the bison-hunting bands began to travel more widely, as far south as the Republican River in Kansas and as far north as the Tongue River in Montana, to find hunting grounds where bison were still plentiful (Bordeaux 1929:192; Bray 1994:179; Price, C. 1996:26-27). Other bands, however, stayed behind, remaining in or near the Black Hills and in the valleys of the Cheyenne, White, and Bad Rivers where bison were less abundant but other kinds of game, including antelope, bighorn sheep, elk, and deer, were still plentiful. Differences such as these existed among the Cheyennes and Arapahos as well, and this helps us to understand why some of the bands of these two tribes also remained close to the Black Hills until the reservation era, even when their relatives in other bands were moving to far removed locations in search of the larger herds of bison (Bray 1994:185-186).

Before Lakota lives were disrupted and profoundly changed by the growing presence of foreigners in their midst, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961) wrote about their locations and culture prior to 1845 based on his many years of experience as a fur-trader on the Upper Missouri and at Cherry Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne. West of the Missouri River, he described Sioux territory as extending from the mouth of the Grand River to the head of the Powder River, and from this point it moved along the western side of the Black Hills to Fort Laramie on the Platte and then east to the junction of the Niobrara with the Missouri (Ibid:3). Denig also offered some of the most detailed information to date on the travels and whereabouts of various Lakota divisions.

He described the Sicangus territorial range as extending from the headwaters of the Niobrara and White rivers to the Bad River. He identified their leader as Clear Blue Earth and their principal enemies as Pawnees and Arikaras. Denig (Ibid:16-19) also reported that due to the emigrations of white people across their country, the Sicangus had suffered more than any other Lakota population the devastating consequences of epidemic disease.

Denig (Ibid:19-21) claimed the Oglalas inhabited a territory that included the Black Hills, extending northeast from Fort Laramie on the Platte to the headwaters of the Bad River and the forks of the Cheyenne. He wrote that The Swan led them, and that their primary enemies were the Crows who they regularly raided for horses. Like the Sicangus, they were now suffering the effects of epidemic disease. Prophetically, he also argued that in due time the Oglalas would start to raid along the Overland Trail and force the government to exterminate them.

The Minneconjous, according to Denig (Ibid:22-23), largely abandoned their locations near the Missouri River due to the absence of bison and traveled the country between Cherry Creek and the Grand River where game was still plentiful. They were led by La Corne Seule, but after his death they divided into many small groups. They were allied with the Oglalas in wars against the Crows, and they also counted the Mandans and Hidatsas as their enemies. In the 1840s, they made peace with the Arikaras from whom they acquired corn in exchange for meat and hides (Ibid:23- 25).

The Hunkpapas, Sihasapas, and Itazipcos often traveled in the same area as the Minneconjous but also inhabited the Moreau, Cannonball, Heart, and Grand rivers (Ibid:25). In later years, their hunting territories extended to the Little Missouri River. Denig also noted that they were little affected by the diseases originating along the Overland Trail, and that they were at peace with the Arikaras but enemies of the Assiniboins, Hidatsas, and Mandans (Ibid:27). Finally, the Oohenonpas (Two Kettles) were headed by Two Bears, restricted their territorial reach to the

Moreau and Cheyenne rivers, and maintained good relations with the traders on the Missouri (Ibid:28-29).

Kingsley Bray (1994:172-174) has written that the Lakotas experienced a remarkable expansion of their population from 8500 people in 1805 to 16,100 in 1881. In this period, Oglala growth was staggering: their numbers increased nearly fivefold from a population size of 1000 in 1805 to 4800 in 1881. The growth of other Lakota divisions was more modest: Sicangus doubled their numbers and the Sihasapas grew by about forty percent. The Minneconjous, on the other hand, lost about half of their numbers, while the size of the Itazipcos and Hunkpapas remained about the same. Unlike the village populations who lost about ninety-five percent of their people from the time of contact to the reservation period, the Lakotas gained large numbers. Their nomadic patterns of dispersal helped them to avoid some of the most disastrous effects of the epidemic outbreaks that depopulated the village populations, but they also enabled them to broaden their adaptive strategies by covering a wide range of ecological and economic niches in the territories they traveled.

Clearly, part of their phenomenal growth was sustained by lower mortality rates and an improved access to food resources. Yet, it was also the result of people being siphoned off from other tribes, such as the Cheyennes and Poncas, who became integrated into the Lakota body politic. This was certainly happening internally. The remarkable growth of the Oglalas was the result of people being drawn from other divisions, especially the Minneconjous. Bray (1994: 185-186) argues that the Oglalas maintained an aggregative strategy, characterized by greater flexibility in their leadership, residence, and alliance formations, enabling them to rapidly and easily incorporate outsiders into their ranks. Moreover, they moved more often and dispersed themselves over a much wider range of territory. This allowed them to achieve an adaptive advantage because they continued to have access to prime food resources. This would have been particularly critical, after 1840, when bison began their precipitous decline in areas east of the Black Hills. The Minneconjous, on the other hand, followed a more stable strategy with limited movement, a hereditary leadership, and more rigid patterns of residence and alliance. As Bray (Ibid:185) puts it, they shed their excess population to other Teton divisions.

III. TRIBAL TIES TO THE ENVIRONS OF WIND CAVE

In the decades before 1850 the tribal nations who lived in the shadows of the Black Hills were able to pursue many different opportunities in making a livelihood. They had access to a wide range of environments with a varied selection of game, plant, and mineral resources, and they possessed diverse strategies for drawing on them. They also had access to a large network of commercial centers in which to trade their own products for commodities of American manufacture. In making different choices, some bands established a fairly direct reliance on the commerce of American trading communities. Others, however, retained more of their independence, either through a highly specialized and trade-focused bison-hunting economy or through a more variegated and subsistence-focused orientation (see Chapter Seven). The particular paths local bands followed clearly influenced where they traveled and located their settlements and whether they remained in one area or moved on to another.

By the 1850s, the eastern Black Hills were not an ideal location for bands that were becoming heavily vested in the region s commerce as middlemen, as hide producers, or as pastoralists. The middlemen required territories near trading posts with a strong commercial traffic, and many of these were some distance from the Black Hills at locations along the Missouri and Platte. Nevertheless, as William Bordeaux (1929:45, 82-83, 191-192) and Susan Bettelyoun and Jose-

phine Waggoner (1988: 21) point out, these groups still made annual trips to the Black Hills for specialized purposes such as elk hunting and the procurement of lodge poles. Nor were they especially suited to the needs of the hide producers, who required access to hunting grounds where bison were plentiful enough to produce a surplus of robes for trade. Most of the good bison ranges were now situated at some distance from the Black Hills near the Republican, Tongue, and Powder rivers. Nevertheless, many of these groups traveled long-distances to the Hills every year to cut lodgepoles for their tipis, to carry out religious observances, and to conduct other specialized procurement activities (Bordeaux 1929:82-83, 191-192; De Giradin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:154,270-271; Bettelyoun and Wagonner 1988:21). The Hills were also not the most optimal location for groups who specialized in horse raising. As John Moore (1987:14) notes, many Cheyenne bands moved south in the winter to take advantage of a milder climate and richer grazing conditions for their horses but returned to the Black Hills region in the summertime. These transhumance migrations were determined not simply by the presence of bison and other sources of food but equally important by the availability of good pasturage for their horses.

Nonetheless, the Hills remained an excellent location for groups who pursued more diversified subsistence strategies, offering easy access not only to small herds of bison but also to elk, antelope, deer, and bighorn sheep. They also held diverse plant environments and good locations for winter shelter. For these groups, the Black Hills and its immediate surroundings constituted their primary territorial range (Hassrick 1964:156; One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25). As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Seven, some Lakota and Cheyenne bands spent a great deal of time at the base of the Hills and in the open parks at their southern reaches where good hunting grounds and pasturage for their horses were found. Many of them also used the high elevation interiors of the Black Hills in the summertime for specialized purposes and camped in these areas for short periods of time as well (Bordeaux 1929:45, 82-83, 191-192; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:154, 270-271).

Understanding that bands among the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas followed diverse adaptive strategies during this time period helps us make sense of their wide-ranging and ever-shifting movements. From 1807 to 1850, the Black Hills stood within the vast territorial reaches of all three tribes. Indeed, it can be asserted that these tribes jointly and exclusively occupied the Hills throughout much of this period. While other tribal nations were known to have entered the Hills occasionally to trade, raid, and to carry on limited procurement activities, they no longer lived near the Hills on a year-round basis, nor did they reside at the base of the Hills for extended and seasonally defined stays.

In the case of the Cheyennes, the Hills constituted the heart of their settlement from 1780 to 1825. This was the place where the largest concentrations of Cheyenne lived and congregated. In subsequent decades, even as increasing numbers of Cheyenne, mostly Wotapio, Tsistsistas and their affiliated bands, moved away from the Hills to locations along the Platte and as far south as the Arkansas River in Colorado, the Hills still remained the home base for a substantial population of Cheyenne from the Totoimana, Osmisis, and Sutaio divisions. These Cheyennes inhabited the northern and western sides of the Hills at locations extending from the forks of the Cheyenne River to the Big Horn Mountains. Another recognizable body of Cheyenne made up mostly of Masikota and Hisometaneo continued to live on the southeastern side of the Hills at locations that covered a territory between the South Fork of the Cheyenne River and the upper reaches of the Niobrara. The Masikota were probably the Cheyennes that Parkman (in Wade 1947) placed in the Black Hills on his 1849 map. Regardless of where and how far away the Cheyennes lived and traveled from the Hills, they always returned to this area to conduct their religious observances, to trade, to meet and deliberate on political issues with other tribes, and to

procure a wide range of food, medicinal, and lithic resources (Curtis 1907-30:6:109; Moore, J. 1987:229-235).

Of the tribal nations who inhabited the Black Hills in the early half of the nineteenth century, the Arapahos were the oldest occupants. When the main body of Cheyennes took up residence around the Hills at the end of the eighteenth century, Arapaho settlements already encircled the Hills and had done so for many decades. Although some Arapahos were reported on the eastern side of the Hills near the forks of the Cheyenne River as late as the 1790s, the vast majority had moved to locations on their southern and western peripheries. Like the Cheyennes, the Arapaho bands of the early nineteenth century were dispersed over a wide geographic area, which extended from the North Fork of the Platte River near present day Casper, Wyoming to the Arkansas River in Colorado. By 1850, most of their bands lived outside the reaches of the Black Hills, but some wintered along tributary streams on the western side of the Hills. The Black Hills may no longer have been at the geographic center of this tribe s territorial reach but they were certainly well within its territorial boundaries (Fowler 2001:840-841, Personal Communication Oct. 2001).

For the Lakotas, the Black Hills did not become the geographic center of their territorial range until the 1830s. Some Lakota bands certainly lived there in earlier decades amidst Cheyennes and Arapahos, but for the vast majority, the Hills stood at the western margins of their territory. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, they were a location to which the Lakotas traveled to hunt bison in the summer and fall from their winter settlements on the Missouri River. By the 1820s, the eastern edge of the Black Hills had become well populated by Lakotas, who were now living in their reaches on a year-round basis. Over the next decade, Lakota camps would surround the Hills in the same fashion as the Cheyenne and Arapaho before them. Before the 1830s, the Lakotas were not the dominant population in the Black Hills, although this would change rapidly in subsequent decades. By the 1850s, the Lakotas were clearly the largest population in the Hills with smaller numbers of Cheyennes and Arapahos living in their midst.

In Lakota movements to the Hills, the Sicangus were the ones who occupied much of the territorial range on the southern end of the Hills, while the Oglalas took up the territory on their eastern peripheries. To the north, Minneconjous and Itazipcos dominated the Black Hills landscape. In later years, this would change as Sicangus expanded their territorial reach south to the Niobrara River and beyond, as the Oglalas moved to distant locations south, west, and north of the Hills, as some of the Hunkpapas moved south and wintered on the northern edge of the Hills, and as Minneconjous took up residence on the eastern margins of the Hills and at locations as far south as the Platte River (Denig in Ewers 1961:16, 19, 22-23; DeMallie 1975).

From material presented in Chapter Seven, we can conclude that during the 1830s many Oglala, Sicangu, Minneconjou, and Itazipco bands of the Lakota and the Omisis, Sutaio, Totoimana, and Masikota bands of Cheyenne wintered near the Black Hills and remained in and around their reaches for much of the year, leaving them to travel to trading posts and to search out bison herds on the surrounding grasslands during the late summer and early fall. For the other bands, the Hills were not the locations where their people typically wintered, but places they visited on a regular and recurring basis for specialized purposes, especially during the summer months. Most of these visits were probably of short duration, a few weeks or even a month, but on some occasions, bands who typically wintered elsewhere may have stayed for an extended season or longer when game resources were scarce in the areas they customarily hunted or when politics and kinship compelled them to stay. No matter how their specific relationship to the Black Hills was defined, it is clear that a large portion of the Lakotas and Cheyennes were affiliated with the Black Hills in some way after 1835 and so too were some of the Arapahos.

The picture of the particular peoples who lived and traveled near the region of Wind Cave National Park is not much clearer in the early half of the nineteenth century than it was in the previous century. What we know about the area is still based on information that originated at far removed locations. More so than in the previous century, however, we can begin to specify the band affiliations of some of the peoples known to occupy this area, but we are still unable to determine from any direct line of historical evidence how this area may have been utilized. The record of human habitation from this period still rests largely on circumstantial evidence. From 1807 to 1850, there is no direct mention of any Arapahos living in the southeastern Hills or adjoining areas. This stands in contrast not only to the literatures reported from an earlier era but also to government correspondence from the next decade that documents Arapahos in the midst of Sicangus on lands within easy reach of the southeastern Black Hills and the area of Wind Cave National Park (Twiss 1855:82-83, 1856:96). Many of the same government accounts and also tribal oral traditions reveal that a few Cheyenne bands from the Masikota, and possibly the Omisis and Sutaio divisions were in the same area too, living among the Sicangus and Oglalas with whom they intermarried (Twiss 1855:82-83; Moore, J. 1987:229-234). The Wotapio Cheyenne, who had lived in this region at the end of the eighteenth century, abandoned the area probably when their Kiowa allies were under Lakota attack, and they were among the first Cheyenne to establish themselves in territories south of the Platte River (Moore, J. 1987:228-229). The Tsistsistas Cheyenne and their allied divisions were certainly within easy reach of the southeastern Hills and the area of Wind Cave National Park when they wintered at the forks of the Cheyenne River, but after 1825, they moved out of the area to the Platte River and locations farther south (Moore, J. 1987:234-235).

There is a much richer body of evidence for the presence of Lakotas in the southeastern region of the Hills, and after the 1830s, they unquestionably had the largest presence here. The Sicangu division was often associated with this area, and by the 1820s, much of their habitat followed the South Fork of the Cheyenne and the White River at locations only a short distance from the southeastern Hills (Deland and Robinson 1918:121-122,141,234; Clyman in Camp 1960:16-17; Denig in Ewers 1961:16; Hyde 1961:17; Hurt 1974:179, 181, 199, 201, 204, 206; De Mallie 1975:353-356; Cheney 1979:19). In the 1830s, a trading post was built for their commerce at Cache Butte, forty miles directly east of the Buffalo Gap (Deland and Robinson 1918: 95n12, 112n51,160; Price, C. 1996:21-22). Even more specifically, the Wazazi band of mixed Lakota-Ponca ancestry was one of the bands most often identified with lands bordering the southeastern Hills (DeMallie 1975:353-356). Some bands of the Oglala division were also affiliated with this area, even though many of them moved to the Platte or Powder River countries (Clyman in Camp 1960:16-17; Denig in Ewers 1961:19; Hurt 1974:200; DeMallie 1975:353-356). The Minneconjou were reported to have a small presence in the area as well (Deland and Robinson 1918: 121-122,141,234). Lakotas who typically wintered at locations on the northern side of the Hills, at the forks of the Cheyenne River, near the Missouri River, or at locations farther south on the Niobrara and in the Sand Hills of Nebraska, still used this region too, but they probably did so on a more opportunistic or restricted basis.

Chapter Five

TREATIES AND BROKEN PROMISES: 1851 to 1877

Although only a short span of time in the history of the Black Hills, the decades between 1851 and 1877 were momentous ones. This was a time when bison began to disappear from the Black Hills and the surrounding prairies, forcing local tribes to move even farther away to find good bison hunting grounds. By the 1860s, only a few areas in the Plains, including the Republican Fork and the Tongue/Powder river countries, held bison herds large enough to sustain a livelihood for the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos who hunted there. This was also a period when the growing presence of foreigners created even more hardship for local tribes and when the United States entered into treaties with tribal nations that led to the relinquishment of large tracts of tribal territory. Most of all it was the era of the gold rush when American soldiers, scientists, prospectors, speculators, and settlers entered the Black Hills illegally and made claims on the land, eventually leading the United States to seize the area from the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos: as the U.S. Court of Claims wrote in 1975, *a more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealings will never, in all probability be found in our history...* (*quoted from* Lazarus 1991:344).

I. THE HISTORIC LITERATURE

The history of the Black Hills between 1851 and 1877 is written from two very different, and at times antagonistic perspectives. On one side are the writings of Americans who were attempt-ing to civilize local tribes, confine them to reservations and take possession of their lands. These records, which include the writings of soldiers, scientists, government agents, and early settlers, depict a history that ultimately favors and defends American expansionism and the taking of the Black Hills. On the other side are accounts by Indians as well as non-Indians, including traders and federal agents, who viewed the Black Hills in a light more sympathetic to tribal in-terests and traditions. Today, this divide persists in the various ways the history of the Hills is de-picted and interpreted in the writings of contemporary scholars. While all history gets written from different, and at times contested, vantage points, the story of the Black Hills stands out be-cause it continues to be told in a context where questions of their ownership on historical, legal, political, cultural, and even religious grounds are still being challenged.

A. The Agency View

Beginning in 1851, much of the information about the tribal nations who occupied and traveled in the Black Hills originates from the writings of civilian officials who represented the United States government in its dealings with local tribes. Until 1867, this information is part of the record of agencies located on the Platte River, and after 1872, it appears in correspondence and reports primarily from the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies on the White River. Many of these documents were published in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, and they typically cover the agents day-to-day attempts to supervise and assimilate the bands under their jurisdiction. References made to the Black Hills in these reports give some evidence of tribal use of this area. There are also other government documents that deal with the nego-

tiations surrounding the Black Hills, and these are especially important, particularly the proceedings of the Allison Commission (18 June 1875, Report of the Commission to Treat With the Sioux Indians for the Relinquishment of the Black Hills, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*) and the Manypenny meetings that led to the Black Hills Agreement of 1876-77 (The Report and Journal of Proceedings of the Commission Appointed to Obtain Certain Concessions from the Sioux Indians, *Senate Exec. Doc.* No. 9, Cong. 2 Sess. 1876). Much of this government literature is drawn on in a wide variety of secondary sources that detail the more general histories of local tribes during this period, including work on the Oglalas (Hyde 1937, Olson 1965; Price, C. 1996; Larson 1997), the Sicangus (Hyde 1961), the Northern Cheyennes (Powell 1969, 1982; Weist 1977), and the Arapahos (Fowler 1982).

B. The Military Approach

1855 marks the date when American military and scientific expeditions began to explore the Black Hills, leaving detailed information on their geologic, meteorological, zoological, and botanical characteristics. The accounts about their tribal occupancy are generally less informative, although some contain brief but valuable observations on tribal locations, procurement activity, and religious sites. The expeditions of General William S. Harney in 1855, 1856, and 1857 generated considerable information about the Black Hills through the accounts of the topographical engineer, Lieutenant Gouvernor Kimball Warren (1856, 1875; McLaird and Turchen 1973). Warren s work contains valuable information on tribal locations, even though much of it refers to areas surrounding the Black Hills. A few years later, in 1859-1860, Captain William Franklin Raynolds crossed the northern reaches of the Hills (McLaird and Turchen 1974a), describing many of their topographic features and some of the Native names for them. The naturalist, Ferdinand Vandiveer Hayden, traveled in the area on several private expeditions between 1854 and 1866, and he also accompanied two military expeditions in 1855-56 and 1859-60. He recorded detailed information on tribal names and territories in an important work entitled *On the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley* (1862; McLaird and Turchen 1974b). Little was written about the tribal occupation of the southeastern Black Hills where Wind Cave National Park is now located, although David Dale Owens mapped the area for the Geological Survey as early as 1852 (Sundstrom, J. 1994:16).

It was not until the 1870s that any writings appear based on direct observations of the Black Hills southern reaches and their high elevation interiors. Most of these appear in the records of three government-sponsored expeditions. The first was the expeditionary force under the leadership of General George Armstrong Custer that toured the Black Hills in the summer of 1874. It was by far the largest and most controversial of the expeditions to explore the Black Hills. The best information on the expedition s travels was recorded by its Engineer Officer, William Ludlow (1875; McAndrews 1974; McLaird and Tuschen 1974c) and various newspaper correspondents (in Krause and Olson 1974). Their writings about the Black Hills Expedition provide some details about the Hills tribal occupation and use, but most of them are limited to brief observations and *ad hoc* commentary. Later in the summer, the Sioux Commission under the direction of Samuel Hinman, a clergyman influential in national Indian affairs, led a group to the southern region of the Black Hills to scout out possible locations for new Lakota agencies (Anderson, G. K. 1979). He wrote a short report (10 November 1874, Report of the Sioux Commission, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*) containing a few tribally related references. A year later in 1875, two geologists, Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton (Jenney 1875, 1876; Newton and Jenney 1880; McLaird and Tuschen 1974d), led another government sponsored expedition, under the military command of Colonel Richard I. Dodge (1965, Kime 1998), to verify the presence of gold in the Hills and to evaluate their worth pursuant to negotiating an

agreement with the Lakotas for their sale. The records left by this expedition contain various sorts of information on the region s tribal occupancy, but much of it is slanted to justify the United States taking possession of the region.

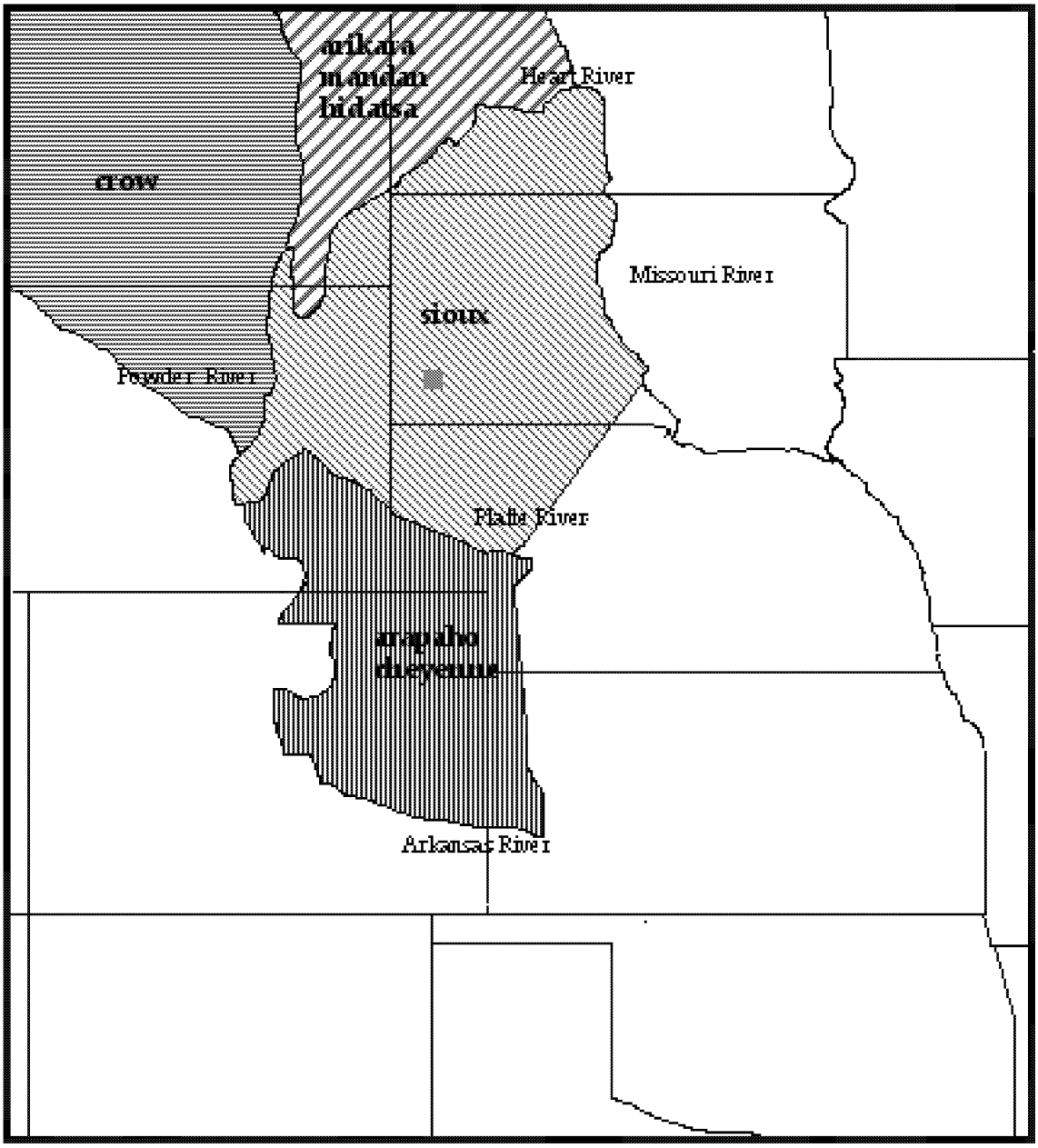
C. The Settlers Outlook

From 1874 when Custer s expedition arrived in the Black Hills to 1877 when the U.S. government extinguished American Indian title to the Black Hills, large numbers of gold prospectors entered the Hills and with them came an assortment of people to supply their provisions, accommodations, and transportation. Some of these early American settlers left written accounts of their early years in the Hills in published and unpublished form (Brennan 1875; Tallent 1899; Brown and Willards 1924; Hughes 1957; Curley 1973; Booth in Sundstrom, J. 1994:27-29; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999; McClintock 2000), which reveal a great deal about the life of the miners, the growth of the mining towns, the trails the newcomers took to reach the mines, and the general development of the region s economic, social, and political infrastructure. Many of these accounts also make reference to the relations between local settlers and the tribal nations who still owned the Black Hills. Most of them focus on the hostile engagements, but a few offer glimpses of peaceful encounters. More recently, a number of secondary histories have been written about the early years of white settlement in the Hills: these include, among others, Watson Parker s *Gold in the Black Hills* (1966) and Paul Friggens, *Gold & Grass*: *The Black Hills Story* (1983). Several local county and town histories, including Jessie Sundstrom s *Custer County History to 1976* (1977) also contain important information about this period in the history of the Black Hills.

D. Tribal Perspectives

For the years between 1851 and 1877, the story of the Black Hills also comes from Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas. In the early twentieth century, some of their people left important oral and written accounts of tribal life in the Hills (Bordeaux 1929; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931; White Bull in Vestal 1934; One Bull in Hilger 1946; Yellow Robe in McKelvie 1960; Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967; Bent in Hyde 1968; Iron Teeth et. al. in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973; Standing Bear 1975, 1978, 1988; White Cow Bull in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:208-210 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:364-369]; Wawoslata in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:264-270 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:452-463]; Nakpogi Ogiya in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:319-320 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:543-546]; Singing Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978 353-359 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998: 604-617]; Spotted Elk in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:359-362 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:617-622]); Bordeaux et. al. in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981; One Bull and White Bull in Stone 1982; Black Elk et. al. in DeMallie 1984; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988). Besides these sources, events connected to the Black Hills during this time period are recorded in various tribal winter counts (Good in Mallery 1893; High Hawk in Curtis 1907-30; Kindle in Beckwith, M. 1930; Swift Dog in Praus 1962; Blue Thunder in Howard, J. 1965b; Red Horse Owner in Karol 1969; No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow in Walker 1982; American Horse and Cloud-Shield in Mallery 1987; White Bull in Howard, J. 1998) and also in a number of tribal ethnographies and histories based on recollections of tribal elders who lived during the pre-1877 era (Densmore 1918; Hyde 1937, 1961; Vestal 1934; Odell 1942; Grinnell 1956, 1972; Hassrick 1964; Powell 1969, 1982). This material presents a picture of how the Black Hills were inhabited

FIGURE 8. Fort Laramie Treaty Lands, 1851



Location of Wind Cave ▩

and used by local tribal nations; however, it is often at variance with the accounts of the American civilian and military officials who toured the Hills during the same era.

II. THE EVENTS AND LOCATIONS

The 1851 to 1877 era falls into two distinct periods, each of which begins with a treaty negotiated between local tribes and the U.S. Government at Fort Laramie on the Platte River in what is now the state of Wyoming. The Fort Laramie treaties of 1851 and 1868 imposed European American ideas about property ownership on the landscape, and in the process, they introduced a new dimension into Indian-White relationships that would profoundly affect the nature of tribal ties to the Black Hills. The first period covers the years when the United States became actively involved in defining and restricting tribal land rights through treaties, while the second covers the time when the United States started to abrogate earlier treaty commitments that led to the seizure of the Black Hills. The congressional passage of the Black Hills Act in 1877 legitimized for Americans their ownership of the Hills, but it embittered the Northern Arapahos, Northern Cheyennes, and Lakotas, who held both an aboriginal and a legally-binding treaty title to the area. The dishonorable events and circumstances surrounding the passage of this act would make the Hills a site of contestation for generations to come.[1]

A. 1851-1868

The year 1851 marked a major turning point in Lakota fortunes and in the destinies of their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies. It was the year of the first Fort Laramie Treaty and the end of a time when tribal population growth soared, when their territorial holdings multiplied, and when their economic opportunities were plentiful (Bray 1994). It was the dawn of a new era, when the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos began to feel even greater pressure from the scores of emigrants entering their lands (Price, C. 1996:27-28; Isenberg 2000:111-113). The arrival of these Americans brought more epidemic disease, which had especially devastating impacts on the bands whose territories bordered the overland trails (Hyde 1937:63, 67; Denig in Ewers 1961:19-22; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:44-48). This was a time when the major food source of local tribes, the bison, declined and when the U.S. government began to play a greater role in provisioning tribes with food rations (Swagerty 1988:76, 83; Pickering 1994:62; Price, C. 1996: 28-30). In short, it was a period of profound transition when the very fabric of tribal livelihoods was being eroded by the loss of their food base, freedom of movement, and the lands that defined and sustained their way of life.

During the 1850s, major events were also unfolding outside Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe homelands that would have a direct impact on their future independence as sovereign nations. Although their lifestyles had changed in earlier eras through the introduction of foreign technologies, commodities, and systems of commerce, these tribes continued to maintain their own systems of land-use and governance. Now, foreign forces would begin to change their relationship to the land and the very conditions and terms of their sovereignty. By 1851, the American frontier s relentless march had reached the eastern edge of the vast territorial domain these tribes held. As a result of land cessions by the Minnesota Dakotas in 1851, Yanktons in 1857, and the Poncas in 1858, much of the land east of the Missouri River was now open to white occupation

[1] Chapter Eight offers a legal reading of the provisions and consequences of the federal statues negotiated in this time period, namely, the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868 and the Black Hills Agreement of 1877, and the subsequent claims that tribes have made against the United States for the unconscionable taking of the Black Hills and other treaty lands. Here attention is given only to the historical circumstances and events that surrounded the making of the treaties and an agreement.

(Albers 2001:769-770; Brown and Irwin 2001:426-427; DeMallie 2001d:779-781). Once Americans established settlements and territorial governments in areas bordering those of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, more pressure was placed on the federal government to claim and develop their lands. During the 1860s and 1870s, government treaty negotiators were barely a step ahead of the railroad magnates, land developers, mining interests, and emigrants awaiting entry into newly ceded tribal lands. Indeed, as the history of the Black Hills demonstrates, no sooner had the ink on one treaty dried than movements were afoot to negotiate more land cessions.

When the American frontier started to close in on the lands of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, U.S. Indian policy was fraught with inconsistency. In the 1860s, Indian affairs were largely governed by the representatives of various religious denominations, which held a major stake in proselytizing the Indians and bringing them into the fold of Christianity and its ideas of civilization. Under the influence of church and humanitarian groups, a major reform movement was in place that advocated a more fair-minded and even-handed treatment of tribes under U.S. jurisdiction, and this was the dominant policy position when the U.S. began its efforts to bring about the cession of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho lands (Hyde 1937:187-204; Olson 1965: 202-203 ; Price, C. 1996:72-73, 84-85). But just as federal Indian policy was being redefined to meet the demands of the reformers, the Civil War broke out. The war stalled, at least temporarily, the frontier s progress, but it also created a well-organized military command that was easily redeployed to fight the tribes when the Civil War ended. Indeed, most of the troops sent west were led by generals who built their rank and reputation on eastern battlefields. The growing presence of the military in the west brought about the development of a more aggressive political posture in the U.S. government s dealings with local tribes, and in many ways, this militarization was a direct prelude to the events that ultimately led to the taking of the Black Hills (Olson 1965: 10-12, 132, 144; Fowler 2001b: 282).

1. The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie and Tribal Territories

In 1851, Congress appropriated $100,000 for two federal agents, Thomas Fitzpatrick and David Dawson Mitchell, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and peace with tribal nations of the upper Missouri and Platte regions. On September 16, 1851, a council of tribes was convened at Horse Creek, a tributary of the Platte River, east of Fort Laramie in present day Wyoming. Various accounts (Berthong 1963:119; Lazarus 1991:16-17) estimate that nearly ten thousand people, representing the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Crow, Hidatasa, Sioux, Mandan, and Shoshone nations, attended this gathering. Many of these tribes were bitter enemies, yet peace prevailed among them before, during, and after the treaty deliberations.

Under the terms of the treaty (Kappler 1903:2:440-442), all tribes in attendance pledged a lasting peace with each other. They agreed to cease all forms of aggression, including warring, raiding, and horse thieving. They consented to share their hunting ranges, especially those districts where bison were still plentiful. The treaty also contained articles pledging a peace between the tribes and the United States. Among other things, the articles contained provisions that gave the U.S. government permission to construct roads and military posts within tribal territories and to permit the safe passage of emigrants through these areas in return for the payment of annual annuities.

Although many Lakotas and Dakotas were present at the treaty deliberations, only Sicangu, Oohenunpa, and Yankton leaders signed it. A huge territory was mapped out for them that included the Black Hills (see Figure 8 and Chapter Eight for further details). Much of this

territory, however, was shared with Cheyennes and Arapahos who became falsely and exclusively identified with territories between the North Fork of the Platte River in eastern Wyoming and the Arkansas River in Colorado (Shakespeare 1971:72; Weist 1977:47; Price, C. 1996: 1-36). Even though both of these populations still lived in and used the Black Hills, the Cheyennes much more so than the Arapahos, this was not taken into consideration when treaty negotiators carved out areas of tribal habitation according to European derived notions of exclu-sive occupancy. This area was assigned to the Lakotas. Judging by some of the speeches of tribal leaders contained in the Fort Laramie Treaty Journal, including one given by Black Hawk (Horr 1974:55-56), the Lakotas were fully aware that they shared much of their territory with the Cheyennes and Arapahos because they had taken and defended it together as allied parties. In fact, it was common practice for tribal nations who fought together to share use rights to the territories they jointly acquired and defended. Imposing territorial boundaries by tribal identification was not the way in which local populations distributed themselves across geographic space (Lazarus 1991:16-19; Albers 1993:112-122). At this point in history, the territorial boundaries drawn on the 1851 treaty map were largely meaningless as local tribes continued to move across the landscape in complex ways that encouraged the sharing of jointly held territories (Albers and Kay 1987:80-82). Nonetheless, as Raymond DeMallie (2001a:795) points out, the treaty set in motion the process of limiting tribal lands.

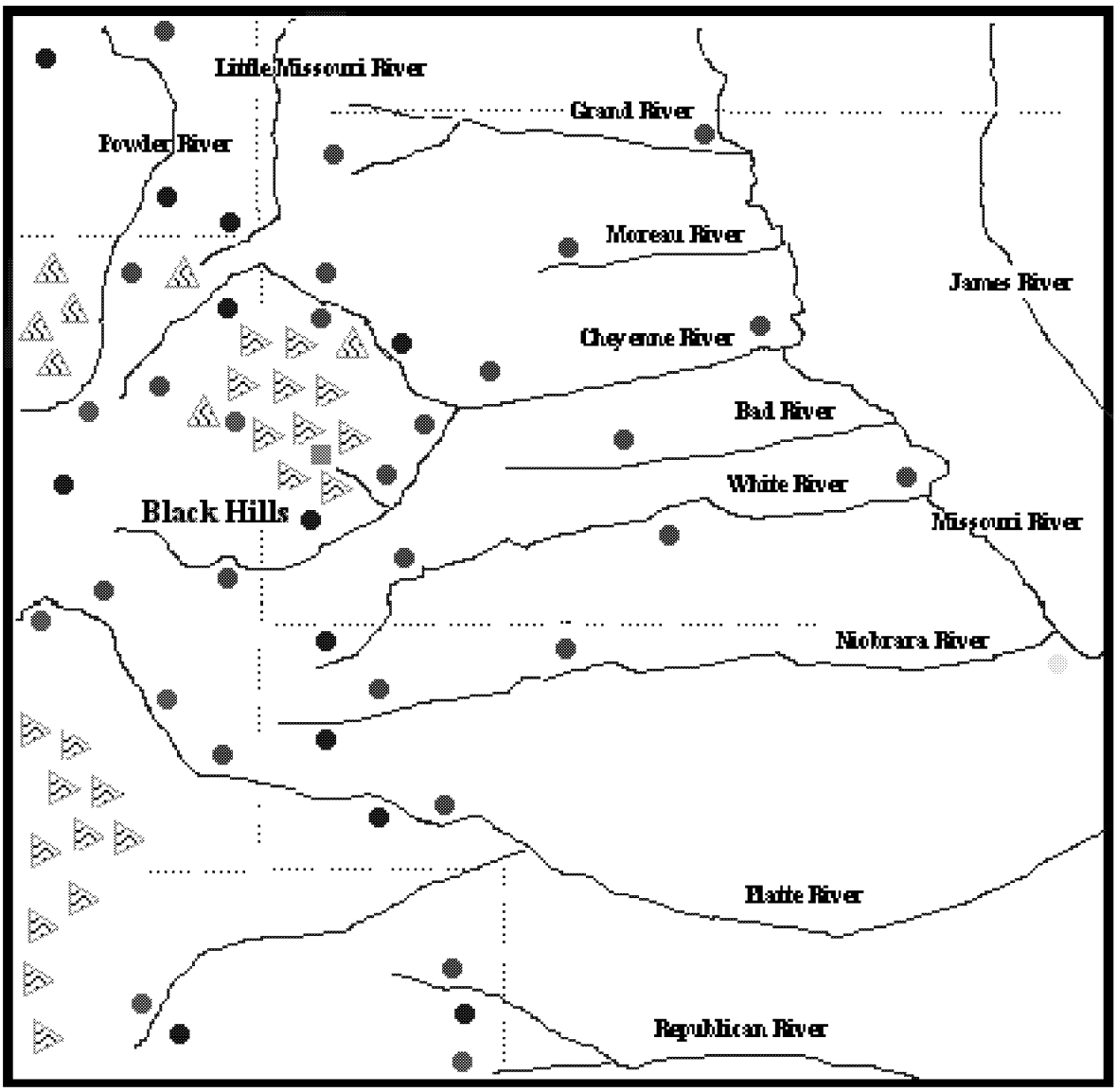
Given what we now know of tribal movement in and occupation of areas west of the Missouri River and north of the Arkansas, the tribal territories established by the Fort Laramie Treaty are grievously inconsistent with the historic record. This is true not only from the perspective of tribal oral traditions but also in relationship to the observations and writings of European Americans who traveled this region before 1851. Aside from the fact that the treaty borders did not match the actual distribution of the tribal nations across geographic space, they imposed a culturally alien understanding of human-land relationships.

2. Tribal Locations

During the decades between 1851 and 1868, different segments of the Lakota, Arapaho, and Cheyenne tribal nations appear to have been part of four shared territorial ranges, three of which encompassed the Black Hills. One territorial range, which stretched between the Platte and Arkansas rivers and west to the Rockies, was dominated by Southern Cheyennes and Southern Arapahos with small numbers of Lakotas, mostly Sicangus, among them. Another range moved northwest of the Black Hills to the Big Horn Mountains and Yellowstone River. Members of all three tribal nations traveled and lived in this area. A third range moved northeast from the Platte River across the southern and eastern flanks of the Black Hills to the Missouri by way of the Cheyenne River; it was occupied mostly by Lakotas although the Cheyennes had a recognizable presence there as well. Finally, the fourth range, held mostly by Lakotas and a few Cheyenne, covered an area between the northern base of the Black Hills and the Cannonball River in North Dakota.

In the 1850s, there were many reports specifically identifying the whereabouts and numbers of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. The principal sources of information for this era include the *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* and Henry Schoolcraft s *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1851-57:3:629-631). There are also Lt. G. K. Warren s 1855 map (in McDermott 1952:14-15) and reports from the Harney Expeditions (Warren 1875). Finally, Ferdinand Hayden s work *On the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri*

FIGURE 9. Locations of Tribal Nations, circa 1865



Valley (1862), was based on material he collected on his many different visits to the region.

a. Arapahos and Cheyennes

Henry J. Schoolcraft s account (1851-57:3:630) confirms the presence of Cheyennes near the Black Hills in the early 1850s, but it also suggests that the bulk of the population, along with most of the Arapahos, were located in regions south and west of the Hills. In one of his reports, Lieutenant G. K. Warren (1875:51) described much of Cheyenne and Arapaho territory as situated south of the North Fork of the Platte to the Arkansas River. Yet, he revealed that many Cheyennes wintered with the Oglalas near Fort Laramie, and that some had taken refuge with the Lakotas in the Black Hills after the Ash Hollow massacre in 1854 (Warren 1875:51). These were probably the Totomania and Masikota Cheyennes. He also prophetically pointed out that the Cheyennes have always been friends with the Dakotas --and associate much with them...They will probably unite with the Dakotas in the event of any general war (Warren 1875:51). Similarly, Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:276) claimed that the bulk of the Cheyennes occupied the area between the north and south forks of the Platte River, an area they shared with the Arapahos, but he also observed that they covered a much larger territory extending from the Black Hills and the Powder River country to the Arkansas River.

Cheyenne oral traditions (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Powell 1982:2:758-760; Moore 1987:229-232) for this period consistently place the Omisis and Sutaio bands in areas between the Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains and also at locations south of the Hills along the White and Niobrara rivers. Government reports (Twiss to Manypenny, 10 Oct 1855: 82-83; 22 Sept 1856:96) also indicate a sizable number of Cheyennes and Arapahos, 160 and 140 lodges respectively, in the midst of the Oglalas and Sicangus in areas along the White and Niobrara Rivers. These were probably Masikota and Hisiometaneo Cheyennes (Moore 1987:216), and farther south below the Platte, Sicangus were interspersed with the Cheyenne Dog Soldier or Hotametaneo bands that eventually merged with some of the Masikotas (Curtis 1907-30:6:109).

b. Lakotas

The Lakotas were widely dispersed in this period too, and as in the previous era, the divisional affiliations of bands did not always follow discrete territorial ranges. In many ways this was a very confusing period as tribes rapidly regrouped and altered their locations in the face of European American encroachment on their land, dwindling game resources, and military threats. Old band affiliations and locations swiftly changed. Bands were constantly separating and regrouping as they chose either to stay away from or face the hostilities now engulfing the region. For example, the Wazazi band is now identified with the Oglalas rather than the Sicangus (Hayden 1862a:375-376). In this period, we have an especially good picture of the Lakotas and Cheyennes who joined the so-called war or hostile factions and who were associated with bands under the leadership of major figures such as Little Wolf, Sitting Bull, and Crazy Horse (Vestal 1934, 1957; Sandoz 1942; Utley 1963, 1993; Powell 1982; Robinson, C. 1995). There is also good information on the whereabouts of bands who followed other famous leaders, such as Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, and those known as the *Wagluke*, or Loafers who stayed near the agencies (Bordeaux 1929:45, 84-85, 191-192; Hyde 1937, 1961; Olson 1965; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988; Price, C. 1996). There is much less information, however, on what was happening to the populations who stayed out of the limelight, away from the hostilities and maintained limited contact with the trading posts, and in later years, the agencies.

i. Sicangu: The Sicangu Lakotas, whose numbers were given at five hundred lodges, continued to be identified with an area that extended along the Niobrara and White rivers from their headwaters to their confluence with the Missouri (Warren 1875:48; McDermott 1952:14-15), but they were also located on the Platte (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:17-19, 50-52). The Teton (or Bad) River was typically identified as the northern boundary of their territory (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hayden 1862a:372). Lt. G.K. Warren (1875:47) indicated, however, that their range extended to the North Fork of the Cheyenne River. By 1854, some Sicangus ranged even farther in the company of the Cheyennes and Arapahos, who had shifted their hunting grounds from the Laramie Plains to the Republican Fork and locations as far south as the Arkansas River (Hayden 1862:372; Hyde 1961:85-86). Indeed, Hyde (1961:88) argued that when the southern Lakotas began to move farther south, the Black Hills was already rather crowded with Sioux who had migrated westward from the Missouri, where buffalo were no longer plentiful. In 1855, the Sicangus were continuing their southward push into the territories of the southern Cheyennes and Arapahos because, according to Hyde (1961:72), they were fearful of moving north and wintering near the Black Hills with General Harney s expedition in the region.

ii. Oglala: In the 1850s, the Oglala Lakotas were reported to have four hundred lodges situated at various locations encircling the Black Hills along the two forks of the Cheyenne River. Some were also located between the north and south branches of the Platte River on the western side of the Hills, and others were reported as far north as the headwaters of the Powder and Grand rivers (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hayden 1862:373-374; Warren 1875:48; Hurt 1974:228), although on Warren s 1875 map, they are confined to areas along the Platte (Warren in McDermott 1952:14-15).

iii. Minneconjou and Itazipco: The Minneconjou Lakotas, with two hundred and seventy lodges, and the Itazipco Lakotas, with one hundred and fifty, were reported to travel with the Oglalas at the headwaters of the Cheyenne River and over much of the Black Hills country (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hayden 1862:374; Warren 1875:48; Warren in McDermott 1952:14-15; Hurt 1974 228). On Warren s 1875 map, the Minneconjous were situated along the eastern flanks of the Black Hills south of French Creek (Warren in McDermott 1952:14-15). The Minneconjous were also located in areas north of the Cheyenne River as far as the Moreau, while some of the Itazipcos were reported to travel in territories along the Grand River in the company of the Hunkpapas and Sihasapas (Hurt 1974:228; Hayden 1862:373; Hurt 1974:228). Warren s map (in McDermott 1952:14-15) places the Itazipcos on the northern end of the Black Hills.

iv. Sihasapa, Hunkpapa, and Oohenonpa: The Sihasapa and the Hunkpapa Lakotas were listed with seven hundred and twenty lodges, and their principal territorial range was reported to cover the regions between the Moreau and Cannonball rivers (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hayden 1862:374; Warren 1875:48; McDermott 1952:14-15; Hurt 1974:228). Lt. G .K. Warren (1875:48), however, noted that, after 1855, some of the Hunkpapas and Sihasapas were traveling with the Minneconjous to areas on the northern side of the Black Hills, even though the main bodies of these two Lakota divisions were still located between the Grand and Moreau Rivers (Hurt 1974:228). Finally, according to Warren (1875:48; Hurt 1974:228) and Hayden (1862:374), the Oohenonpa Lakotas (or Two Kettles), who once remained in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, were now scattered and living with other Lakota bands upstream along the Bad, Cheyenne, Moreau, and Grand rivers, and on his 1875 map, Warren (in McDermott 1952:14-15) places them at the edge of the Black Hills near Rapid Creek.

c. Dakotas

Until the 1860s, many of the Dakota-speaking Sioux, including the Yankton, Yanktonnais, Sissetons, Wahpetons, Wahpekutes, and Mdewakantons, remained at locations east of the Missouri River as far as the Mississippi River in Minnesota (Albers 2001:762; DeMallie 2001c:778). Although some of the Wahpekutes, the Yanktons, and the Yanktonnais crossed the Missouri to hunt and settle in the West River country of Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, others typically wintered farther east. Many of the Yanktons were now living along stretches of the Niobrara and White rivers, and in 1855, Lt. G. K. Warren (1856:74) recorded their presence among Sicangus with whom they were intermarrying (Dorsey, J. 1891:261; Betteylouan and Waggoner 1985:24). They were included under the terms of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, although not without strong objections from the Lakotas (Woolworth 1974:223-224). In the aftermath of the 1862 Minnesota Conflict, some of the Yanktonnai, Sisseton, Wahpeton and Wahpekute Dakotas joined forces with Lakota divisions and took refuge in places like the Black Hills and Killdeer Mountains. A few remained among the Lakotas, eventually settling with them on reservations in Montana and western South Dakota, but the vast majority either escaped to Canada where they were settled on reserves in Manitoba and Saskatchewan or returned to their homelands east of the Missouri where they were assigned reservations in the 1860s. In an addendum, the Yanktonnais were made party to the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, and they along with the Santee Dakotas (mostly Mdewakanton and Wahpekute) became parties to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty: again, a source of chagrin to the Lakotas (Albers 2001:769-771; DeMallie 2001c:778-782).

d. Arikaras and Poncas

In this era, the Arikaras and Poncas, whose ranks were much depleted by epidemic disease and warfare with their neighbors, stayed close to the Missouri River and rarely ventured to the Black Hills as they once had (Parks 2001a:367; Brown and Irwin 2001:424-425). Warren (1875: 51) described the Poncas of the 1850s as a small remnant of a once powerful tribe, living at the mouth of the Niobrara but maintaining good relations with the Dakotas. Other evidence from this period, however, indicates that Lakotas and Cheyennes were attacking the Poncas when this population took their summer buffalo hunt to the upper reaches of the Elkhorn River (Howard, J. 1965:31; Jablow 1974:323-343). Similarly, the Arikaras were now under the constant siege of Lakota and Dakota raiding parties (Parks 2001a:367). In both cases, these tribes no longer had the military might or a strength in numbers to return to hunting ranges in the shadows of the Black Hills as they had in the eighteenth century.

3. Food Shortages and Patterns of Movement

Part of the vast territorial range the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Lakotas covered and shared now became the ground over which Americans were establishing major sections of their overland trails to California and other destinations in the far West. The presence of these trails continued to have devastating consequences for the tribal nations whose lands they crossed. As the numbers of emigrants using these trails increased dramatically during the 1850s, the game animals on which local tribes depended were depleted and important areas of tribal settlement were threatened (Price, C. 1996:8-30). In 1854, there were scarcely any bison near the Missouri River, and even on the plains near the Black Hills, their numbers were dwindling (Hurt 1974:242). Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:22,25) reported the herds had decreased to such an extent that Lakotas were starting to face continual shortages of meat and hide. In 1853, Indian Agent Thomas Fitzpatrick noted the dwindling numbers of bison along the Platte near Fort Laramie (Fowler 1982:34), and two years later, Indian Agent, Thomas Twiss (to Manypenny, 10 Oct 1855:83)

noted that bison were becoming scarce along the upper Platte, and that local bands were suffering during the winter months. Indeed, by the end of the 1850s, the Black Hills no longer stood above some of the largest bison herds on the Plains. In the face of this change, many of the Lakota and Cheyenne bands who remained in the vicinity of the Black Hills were now pushing their territorial reach farther north towards the Yellowstone River and farther south towards the Republican to find good hunting grounds (Hyde 1961:97-98; Fowler 1982:34; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:77).

In 1857, when the Harney Expedition encountered a group of Minneconjous surrounding bison at the western entrance to the Black Hills near Inyan Kara Mountain, Lt. G. K. Warren (1875:18-19) wrote that the Lakotas were agitated by the party s presence because it might frighten the bison into stampeding. Lakota apprehensions about the effect of a growing American presence on the bison herds were widespread at this time (Price, C. 1996:46-47). In 1859, Twiss convened a council of leaders to discuss the matter, which included spokesmen from the different divisions of the Lakotas and the allied Cheyennes and Arapahos. These leaders spoke about the growing shortage of bison on the Platte River and the necessity of moving their hunting grounds into Crow territory along the Yellowstone River. They asked the government to supplement their food needs and set up agencies to distribute provisions at different points in their combined territories (Ibid:47-48). On the Missouri, Lakotas expressed similar frustrations about the declining herds of bison, and some even advocated severing diplomatic relations with the United States. In fact, the local agent, Samuel Latta, warned the government that the safe passage of emigrants was at risk across this section of Lakota territory. By the 1860s, bison had largely disappeared along the Platte River too (Ibid:49-50).

As bison numbers declined, the combined forces of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos renewed their hostile pressures against the Crows, Pawnees, and Shoshones. By the mid-1850s, some of the Oglalas were moving north towards the Powder and Yellowstone rivers where they joined Minneconjous, Itazipcos, Hunkpapas, Sihasapas, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos to fight the Crows (Hyde 1937:89, 93; Powell 1982:1:164-179, 414-416). Other Oglalas in alliance with Sicangus, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos were pushing south along the Smokey Hill River and the Republican Fork and increasing their hostilities with the Pawnees (Hyde 1961:190-193; Powell 1982:1:414-416). Finally, Oglalas in the company of Cheyennes and Arapahos were moving west across the Laramie Range and into lands historically dominated by the Utes and Shoshones. Notwithstanding agreements made at Fort Laramie in 1851 to cease intertribal warfare, battles with the Crows, Pawnees, Utes, and Shoshones continued unabated throughout this period (Bray 1994:179).

The territorial ranges of the Lakotas, Arapahos and Cheyennes became increasingly dispersed in the 1860s and even more separated after the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1867. As the great ranges of the bison were divided, so were the destinies of the tribes who followed them. The southern bands of these three tribes were the ones who now spent much of the year in locations south of the North Fork of the Platte River, while the northern bands remained north of this waterway in an area that included the Black Hills (Mooney 1907b:396-411; Hyde 1937:113-118, 123, 1961:128-129; Fowler 1982:34-44; 2001:843; Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:865).

4. The Emigrant Trails and Rising Hostilities

In the years between 1851 and 1867, Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were becoming more unsettled about the growing presence of emigrants and military commands in their shared territories (DeMallie 2001:795). In 1854, an altercation between a Sicangu Lakota and a Mormon emigrant over the theft of a cow led to the battle commonly known as the Grattan Incident. The fight, which took place north of Fort Laramie, led to the death of Lt. John L. Grattan and most of the men in his detachment. Frightening Bear, a Sicangu leader, and some of his followers were also killed. In retaliation for the U.S. Army s attack, Sicangu warriors started to raid emigrants along the Overland Trail. The next year, when troops under the command of General William S. Harney destroyed a Sicangu camp at Ash Hollow, the retaliatory cycle broadened. The Lakotas, along with their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies, increased both the intensity and range of their raiding activity on military forts, trading posts, emigrant settlements, and wagon trains across the vast territory they shared and controlled (Hyde 1937:72-76; Powell 1982:1:180-184; Price, C. 1996:38-40).

In his 1855 correspondence to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas S. Twiss (1855b:81-85) responded to the growing hostilities along the Platte by recommending the closure of Fort Laramie and the establishment of agencies away from the major overland trails. Among the locations he suggested for the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos was a site more than 100 miles north of the agency on the North Platte, one on the White River near Cache Butte, and another on the Cheyenne River near Bear Butte. Two months earlier he also remarked that none of the populations assembled among the Black Hills, nor on the L Eau qui Court were hostile (Twiss 1855:78-79). A year later on September 12, 1856, he wrote a long report to George W. Manypenny, the presiding Commissioner of Indian Affairs, informing him that after recent altercations with the military, some local bands fled to the Black Hills to seek refuge there (Twiss 1856:87). In another report (Twiss 1856b:95), he described the natural assets of the Hills, which included abundant stands of ponderosa pine, juniper, and spruce as well as excellent grazing conditions at all times of the year for the buffalo (bison), antelope, deer, elk, and mountain sheep dwelling there. He does not imply that the Hills were as yet devoid of game, although a year earlier he claimed that bison were becoming scarce near the valley of the Upper Platte (Twiss 1855b:83). Indeed, as numerous reports from later years reveal, the Black Hills continued to be well-stocked with game, especially elk, bighorn, and deer, until the 1880s. While the Hills were no longer at the center of the region s major bison ranges, they provided sufficient game to support a seasonal use of the area especially over the winter months.

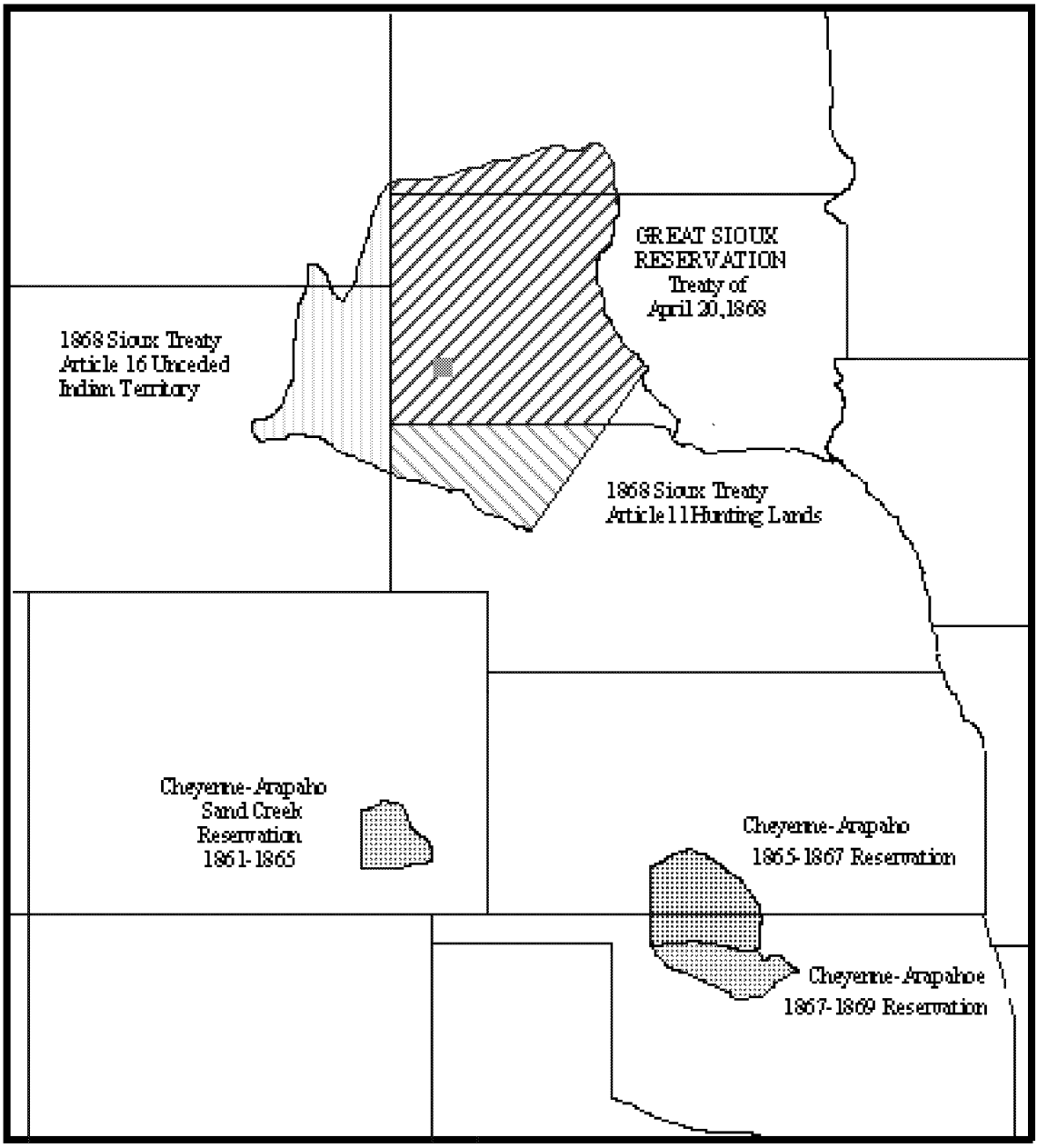
When an expedition under General Harney s command was ordered to survey the Black Hills in 1857, it met with resistance from a group of Lakotas. In his journals from the expedition, Lt. G.K. Warren (1875:19-20) wrote that the Lakotas believed the Fort Laramie Treaty only gave whites permission to travel along the Platte and Missouri, not over any other territory, especially the Black Hills where the expedition was then heading. On the tour, which skirted the edges of the Hills, the expedition encountered Minneconjous, Hunkpapas, and Sihasapas whose leaders were in agreement that the military s presence in the area was not in compliance with the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty (Warren 1875:20). Two years later, another government sponsored exploratory party under the command of Captain William Franklin Raynolds arrived in the Black Hills to survey them in order to determine the numbers, habits and disposition of the Indians inhabiting the country, its agricultural and mineralogical resources (*quoted from* McLaird and Turchen 1974a:21). Once again, the Lakotas reiterated their belief that the territories beyond the major waterways of the Platte and Missouri were off-limits to whites, although the expedition was eventually granted permission to cross Lakota lands en route to the Black Hills

and even given a Lakota guide selected by local chiefs at Fort Pierre (McLaird and Turchen 1974a:29). The guide, however, left the expedition before they reached the Little Missouri River (Ibid:51). As the expedition approached the Black Hills from the east, Raynolds (*quoted from* Ibid:43) wrote: As yet we have met no Indians, although the fires burning around us nightly show that they are watching our movements. This expedition only skirted the Black Hills on their northern edge, but its members did learn the Lakota names for many of their topographic features, such as *Mi-ni Lu-sa* , or Running Water, for Rapid Creek (Ibid:47). While the expedition wintered near Fort Laramie, a Minneconjou named One Horn advised them not to travel farther because the younger warriors from a large Lakota camp two hundred miles north were threatening to attack them. The threats were never carried out (Ibid:57-59), but there is no question from these accounts that the Black Hills were important to the Lakotas and an area that they were prepared to defend militarily against outside encroachment.

In 1861 at Fort Wise in Colorado, the Southern Arapahos and Southern Cheyennes ceded lands that were assigned to them under the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty in exchange for a small reservation in Colorado along Big Sandy Creek. (see Figure 10 and Chapter Eight). These lands only covered their territories in eastern Colorado and southeastern Wyoming (Berthong 1963: 149-151). Many of the Northern Cheyennes were not a party to the treaty concluded at Fort Laramie in 1851, and most of them did not enter into the negotiations at Fort Wise either. Also, many Cheyennes representing both the northern as well southern branches of the tribe, while present at the deliberations, refused to sign the treaties (Weist 1977:48). The lack of full Cheyenne representation in the conclusion of this and other treaties contributed to a bitterness and divisiveness within their tribal ranks that lasted well into the twentieth century (Powell 1982).

The continual movement and regrouping of local bands that resulted from a loss of land and a declining food base was accompanied not only by increased raiding activity along the emigrant trails but now by attacks on white settlements springing up in ceded territories. The dispossession of the Dakota from their lands in Minnesota and eastern South Dakota gradually spilled over into the country of the Lakotas and their allies. In the aftermath of the 1862 Minnesota Conflict, scores of Dakota crossed the Missouri River to seek refuge among the Lakotas. Although some of the Dakota ended up in Canada, others fled to the Badlands and Killdeer Mountains of North Dakota, and a few ended up in the Black Hills, where some stayed and even married into local Oglala bands (Curtis 1907-1930:3:178; Albers 1966-1976; Utley 1993:52-53;133-134). The Sand Creek Massacre two years later, in 1864, marked another major turning point in the rising hostilities with the United States. After a peaceful Wotapio Cheyenne village, under the leadership of Black Kettle, was brutally attacked by American cavalry, a combined force of Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Lakotas was quickly mobilized to take retaliatory action. As the oral traditions of these tribal nations amply testify, Cheyenne pipe carriers went to camps throughout the vast territory they held in common, an area now extending from the Yellowstone River in the north to the Arkansas in the south and from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the Missouri River in the east. From all locations, the warriors of the three tribes were assembled to seek revenge, with Julesburg, Colorado being the first in a long line of white settlements attacked in the aftermath of Sand Creek (Grinnell 1956:165-262; Bent in Hyde 1968:137-222; Powell 1982:2:299-342; DeMallie 2001:796). After the Minnesota Conflict in 1862 and the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, what had once been small-scale skirmishes and counter-raids turned into a full-fledged war between the United States and the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos (Hyde 1937:109-113; Utley 1963:319-322; Fowler 1982:28-32; Price, C. 1996:37-41; DeMallie 2001:796; Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001:865).

FIGURE 10. Sioux, Cheyenne & Arapahoe Reservations and Hunting Lands



Location of Wind Cave

After 1864, a large number of bands, which would become known as the hostiles, came together in a single alliance made up of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. The warriors of the allied bands continually attacked American soldiers setting up posts on the Bozeman Road along the Platte River north of Fort Laramie (Powell 1982:1:375-390). These bands generally traveled, hunted, and stayed together in locations that stretched between the northern edge of the Black Hills and the Yellowstone River (Powell 1982:1:385, 387). As it had in 1857, Bear Butte on the outskirts of the Black Hills became a central location for large multitribal encampments, where various bands came together to discuss their military tactics and political strategies (Warren 1875:52). Two of the largest gatherings took place in the years 1866 and 1868 (Hyde 1937:82, 152-153, 1961:78,106; McLaird and Turchen 1973:386; Singing Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:353-359 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:604-617]; Schukies 1993: 288; Powell 1982:1:325-326, 2:781; Lazarus 1991:25; Price, C. 1996:81-82).

5. The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and Its Prelude

After the U. S. Army failed to defeat the combined military forces of Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas in 1865, the federal government made another effort to negotiate a lasting peace with these tribal nations that would permit the construction of roads and posts to accommodate overland travel. Towards this end, the federal government authorized a commission to study the state of Indian affairs in the West and to initiate meetings with as many Lakotas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes as possible to reach some resolution. Over the next three years, meetings were held at agencies throughout the vast territorial ranges these tribal nations shared in common (Weist 1977:58-59; Powell 1982:1:417-450; Lazarus 1991:33-37; Price, C. 1996:55-61).

On June 1, 1865, a federal commission was convened at Fort Laramie to begin negotiations to gain permission from the Oglalas, Sicangus, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos to build roads along the Platte, Powder, and Yellowstone rivers. In order to insure that all bands were included in the deliberations, the Loafer bands at Fort Laramie were dispatched to find and bring in tribal leaders from the far reaches of the Powder River country. Over the next nine months, the leaders of a number of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands signed the treaty, one by one, in hopes of bringing about a general peace (Weist 1977:59; Lazarus 1991:33-37; Price, C. 1996:55-61). Still, many of the bands allied with Red Cloud had not signed. In May of 1866, leaders from the northern Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, who were often identified as the hostiles or war faction, arrived at Fort Laramie to negotiate with treaty commissioner E. B. Taylor. While the deliberations were underway, the tribes learned that military troops under Colonel Henry B. Carrington were already moving into the area to build roads without their consent. Infuriated by this, many abruptly left the proceedings (Weist 1977:59; Price, C. 1996: 55-61). The government, however, continued to deliberate with those who remained, most of whom were leaders of the southern Oglalas and Sicangus, along with some of the Cheyennes who lived among them. After the negotiations were completed and the treaty signed, the southern leaders and their followers, now often referred to as the friendlies, or peace-faction, returned to their hunting and wintering grounds located well south of the Platte River along the Republican Fork of the Smokey Hill River in Nebraska and Colorado. Their readiness to sign this treaty was no doubt a reflection of the fact that the areas being negotiated were outside their territorial range. Because the signatures of the northern Oglalas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were not secured, Congress never ratified this treaty (Price, C. 1996:61).

With a complete breakdown in relations between the United States and the northern bands of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, travel along the Bozeman Trail was virtually closed. Over

the next few years, several well-known battles took place along its route, including the famous Fetterman fight in the winter of 1866 (Hyde 1937:140-149; Olson 1965:41-45; Powell 1982: 1:451-462; Price, C. 1996:61-64; DeMallie 2001:796). As hostilities with the United States escalated, many Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, who typically wintered in areas south of the Platte, left their bands and joined forces with their northern relatives. During these troubled years, the Cheyennes, Oglalas, and Sicangus continued to take their women and children to the shelter of the Black Hills for safety (Powell 1982:1:386-387; Fowler 1982:43-44; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:68; Larson 1997:81). Even some of the northern Lakotas, the Hunkpapas and Sihasapas, and various divisions of the Dakotas, such as the Sissetons and Yanktonnais, began to use the Hills as shelter in the wake of battles with the U.S. military (Curtis 1907-30:3:178).

The ranks of the Oglalas, Minneconjous, and Itazipcos who typically wintered and hunted northwest of the Black Hills swelled in these years. They drew Sicangus and more Oglalas from the south, along with Hunkpapas, Sihasapas, Yanktonnais, Sissetons, and Wahpekutes disillusioned by events unfolding in the east (Larson 1997:81-83; Vestal 1934:51,53; Hyde 1937:113, 1961: 106). Similarly, many Cheyennes who had taken up territories in the south returned to locations in the north to join forces with the Osmisis and Sutaio bands that lived in areas north of the Black Hills (Powell 1982:1: 417-425, 2:722-729). The Arapahos returned north too with Black Bear and his followers, many of whom were intermarried with Lakotas, and they lived in the region between the North Platte and the Black Hills (Fowler 1982:43). In time, however, the followers of the northern bands dwindled as many of the southerners and easterners returned to their homelands south of the Platte and east of the Missouri River (Price, C. 1996:68-70).

Under increasing pressure from American citizens to open more roads to destinations in the West and to ensure their safe passage, Congress authorized monies for another round of treaty deliberations to secure the interests of the United States in the vast territorial domain of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. On July 20, 1867, Congress passed Senate Resolution 136, a bill that authorized the creation of the Indian Peace Commission. The leaders of the commission, included Nathanial Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Samuel Tappen, a reformer, John Sanborn, a former member of the Sully Commission, John Henderson, a U.S. Senator, Lt. General William Sherman, Maj. General Alfred Terry, and retired General William S. Harney (Maj. General Christopher Auger served as Harney s replacement) (Berthong 1963:289-290; Price, C. 1996:71-72). By mid-September, the commission had held a preliminary meeting with representatives of the Sicangus and various Loafer bands at Fort Laramie before traveling to Medicine Lodge Creek in Kansas to negotiate with the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos. The treaties [15 Stat. 589, 15 Stat. 593] with these tribes were concluded on October 17 and 28, 1867 at Medicine Lodge Creek (Kappler 1903: 2:759-764). Under the provisions of their treaty, the Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho relinquished the Sand Creek Reservation in Colorado and all title to lands in Kansas in exchange for reservation lands in western Oklahoma (see Figure 10 and Chapter Eight). Also, they retained the right to continue hunting off-reservation as far north as the Arkansas River as long as the bison remained in the region and as long as the tribes did not interfere with the construction of railroads and the passage of travelers along the overland trails (Berthong 1963:297-298). The question remains, however, whether the entire body of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes was represented at these deliberations. Clearly, it was not; for as the subsequent history of these tribes reveals, many of the Cheyennes associated with the Dog Soldier bands refused to sign the treaty (Berthong 1963:299) and most of the northern Arapaho and Cheyenne bands were never a party to it.

The commission then returned north to resume negotiations with the Sioux[2] amongst contentious discussion and debate. As Catherine Price (1996:71-71) describes the conflict, one of the most serious difficulties in negotiating treaties was that no one from the Sioux nation was empowered to speak for everyone. Also, no one considered abandoning their way of life as long as game could still be found near the Black Hills and along the Republican Fork, the Tongue, Powder, and Yellowstone rivers. Nevertheless, over the next several months negotiations were carried out at locations along the Platte and Missouri rivers with several divisions of the Teton Sioux, including the Sicangu, Oglala, Minneconjou, Hunkpapa, Sihasapa, Oohenonpa, and Itazipco, plus the Lower Yanktonnai, Cuthead Yanktonnai, and Santee Dakotas. The treaty [15 Stat. 635], dated April 29, 1868, reveals some of the concessions the United States was willing to make to insure an overall peace (Kappler 1903:2:775; Price, C. 1996:84-86). These included the abandonment of the Bozeman Trail, the withdrawal of all military troops from the area, and provisions to exclude, subject to special permission, all whites from Sioux land, which was defined as a broad area, extending north from the Niobrara to the Cannonball River and west of the Missouri river to a line that followed the western boundaries of the present day states of North and South Dakota. All lands outside these boundaries were to be ceded to the United States with the stipulation that the Sioux retained the right to hunt on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hills River and along the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone rivers as long as buffalo remained in sufficient numbers to justify a hunt (see also, Figure 10 and Chapter Eight). Except for hunting at the aforementioned locations, the tribes were expected to remain within their reservation. For the lands they ceded, the tribes were promised a payment issued as annuities to be paid out over thirty years in the form of food, clothing, and other goods and also in the form of services to assist in their acculturation. In the spring and summer of 1868, a good portion of the Sioux signed the treaty at various locations in their territorial range (Lazarus 1991:48-63; Price, C. 1996:71-79; DeMallie 2001:796-797).

A few weeks later, on May 10, 1868, a separate treaty [15 Stat. 655] was negotiated at Fort Laramie with the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes (Kappler 1903:2:778-781). This treaty gave these two tribes a choice of either settling among the Sioux with their permission under the terms of the April 29th treaty or relocating to the reservation established for the Southern Arapahos and Southern Cheyennes under the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty. All of the leaders of the Northern Arapaho apparently signed this treaty, and some Northern Cheyenne leaders did so as well, although others, including Little Wolf and Dull Knife, did not participate in the May negotiations (Powell 1982:758-766; Fowler 1982:46-47).

Even though the Northern Arapaho are explicitly listed as parties to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 with the Sioux [15 Stat. 635], they do not appear to have signed this statute. The Northern Cheyennes were not named at all: they were included, however, under Article 12 as such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them. The failure to formally acknowledge the Northern Cheyenne presence in name not only created bitterness, it also set the stage for many of the tragedies that befell them in the coming decades. In later years, the *Omisis* or Northern Cheyennes strongly believed that they had been robbed of their birthright in the two 1868 treaties. As Father Peter Powell (1982:2:760) writes:

> The commissioners did not comprehend one important fact and that is that the Ohmeseheso believed that they not the Lakotas were the true owners of much of the country included in the proposed Sioux reservation. Bands of the People, with their friends the Arapahoes, lived in the Black Hills country before the first Lakota bands made their home there. From the Black

[2] Sioux is used here to refer collectively to the Lakota and Dakota populations who were included in this treaty.

> Hills, bands of the People moved out into the rich game lands between the Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains, making these lands part of the People s country before any Lakotas made them their home there. Generations before, a party of the People, most of them Sutaio, crossed the Missouri River at the old Cheyenne Crossing. From there, they moved down into the valley of the Elk River or the Yellowstone. From that time on, the Sutaio considered the lands south of the Yellowstone to be part of their own country. Northern people considered the North Platte River to be the southern boundary of their lands.

It must be remembered that in the late 1860s many of the Northern Cheyennes were distributed over much of the same territorial range as the Lakotas. Although most of them occupied the country between the northern reaches of the Black Hills and the Yellowstone River, some were affiliated with the Sicangu and Oglala Lakotas who wintered at locations from the southern edge of the Black Hills to the White River and beyond (Powell 1982:2:693-778).

William Swagerty (1988: 72, 83) theorizes that the willingness of tribal leaders to sign the 1868 Treaty was more a function of the hunger their people were facing at this time than the military might of the U.S. army. But according to the recollections of some of the traders of the time, it was more likely the result of intimidation and the misleading information given them. In the case of the Cheyennes, they were told that the federal negotiators recognized and acknowledged their claims to the Black Hills and all of the country that surrounded them from the north branch of the Platte to the Yellowstone River. Clearly, none of the most prominent and independently minded leaders of the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho would have signed this treaty on the 10th of May unless they had thought otherwise (Powell 1982:2:768-770). Indeed, John Moore (1981:11) writes that the Northern Cheyenne believed, even more specifically, that a reservation would be established for them in the Black Hills. Whether or not this conclusion can be reached from the language of the treaties is debatable, but one thing is clear: the Northern Cheyennes and especially the Northern Arapahos, who are explicitly named, do have legal entitlements to the Black Hills under the terms of the April 29 [15 Stat. 635] and May 10 [15 Stat. 655] Fort Laramie treaties.

After the conclusion of the two Fort Laramie treaties in 1868, most of the Lakotas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes moved back to their respective hunting grounds. Some of the Sicangus with their Cheyenne and Arapaho friends returned to the headwaters of the Niobrara and south to the Republican Fork to hunt, and many of the Oglalas and their northern Cheyenne and Arapaho friends went back to the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone river country where in the following months discussions were held with the nontreaty bands (Hyde 1961:148). Red Cloud and other Oglala leaders, who had not been a party to the original treaty negotiations, came to Fort Laramie to discuss the treaty further and eventually signed it in November of 1868. Some of the northern Oglalas and Cheyennes, however, still refused to sign and never became a party to it (Powell 1982:1:68-77; Price, C. 1996:79-83).

B. 1869-1877

One of the many consequences of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty was a growing political divisiveness within tribal ranks. With the possible exception of the Northern Arapahos, the Lakotas and the Northern Cheyennes were split between bands that tried to accommodate their lives to the realities of establishing permanent settlements near government agencies and those who resisted this way of living and tried to maintain their independence at locations far removed from the agencies. As the Lakotas, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos, tried to make sense out of their new realities and find alternative paths to survival under radically changing circum-

stances, movements were afoot in Washington D.C. to get more of their land ceded, not the least of which was their beloved Black Hills.

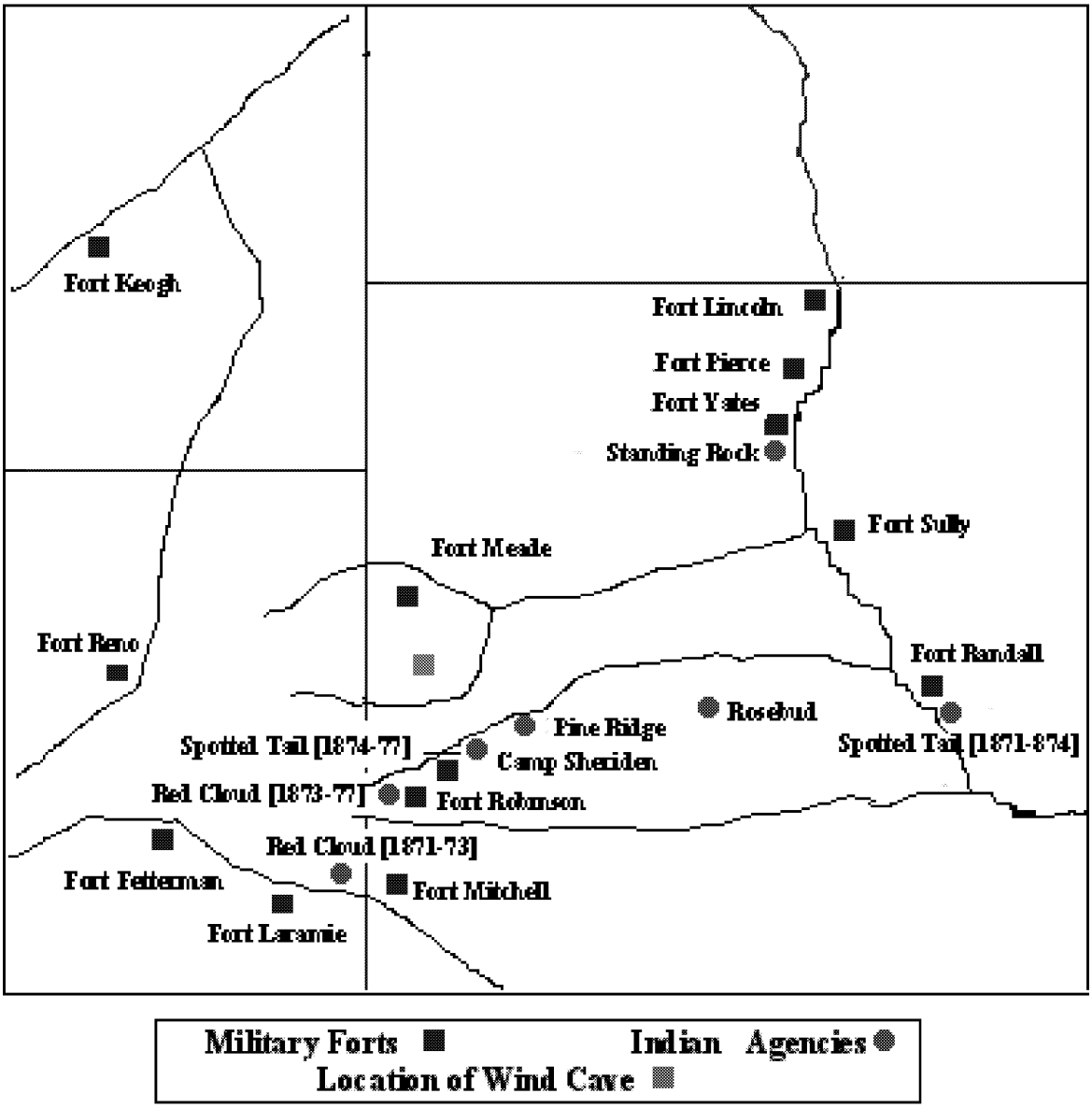
In the early 1870s, the United States experienced a major economic depression. As farmers lost their lands, workers their jobs, and entrepreneurs their businesses, the federal government was under growing pressure to acquire and open lands that would stimulate development in a starving economy. The gold fields in Colorado and Montana were already settled and no longer held opportunities for new riches. The Black Hills, however, were still untouched and unexplored. As early as 1861, tales of their gold and other precious metals fueled speculation and organized schemes to colonize them, but it wasn t until the early 1870s that the truth of these rumors would be confirmed. Against the background of the nation s failing economic health, the federal government authorized expenditures to explore the interior regions of the Black Hills in 1874 and 1875. When news of the Black Hills Expedition s gold discoveries reached the public, thousands of prospectors, land speculators, merchants, and settlers rushed to the Black Hills, which were still part of the Great Sioux Reservation and legally in possession of the Lakotas and other tribes who were parties to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. In 1877, Congress passed legislation that authorized the illegal taking of the Hills in the face of considerable tribal protest. Since the period between 1869 and 1877 represents such a critical time, a moment in history whose consequences remain unsettled to the present day, it needs to be covered here in some depth.

1. Agency Life

In the decade after the Fort Laramie Treaty was ratified by Congress in 1868, the federal government began the process of building agencies (see Figure 11) that would serve not only as locations for distributing annuities guaranteed under the terms of the treaty, but also as sites for assimilating the tribes into an American way of life as educated Christians and small-scale farmers. The first agency for the Lakotas was established on the Missouri River at Whetstone Creek near Fort Randall, but because it was too far for most of the bands to travel, other agency sites were set up in the following years along the Grand River, the Cheyenne River, and the North Fork of the Platte (DeMallie 2001:797). The question of where to locate agencies for the tribes was a source of considerable consternation for tribal and federal government officials alike. Indeed, the agency for Red Cloud and his Oglala followers was moved several times in the decade after 1868: it was located on the North Platte east of Fort Laramie from 1871 to 1873, near Fort Robinson at the headwaters of the White River from 1873 to 1877, and then near Pierre on the Missouri from 1877 to 1878, after which it was permanently established at Pine Ridge. Similarly, Spotted Tail and his Sicangu followers were moved from agency locations on the Missouri between 1868-1871 to sites near Fort Sheridan from 1871 to 1877 and back to the Missouri from 1877 to 1878 until a final agency was established at Rosebud (Olson 1965:271).

The issue of where to locate the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes was even more problematic (Powell 1982: 2:766, 817, 824-825). During the years between 1869 and 1877, the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos did not have separate agencies and received their annuities mostly at the sites serving the Oglalas, although some Cheyennes became affiliated with the Sicangus (Scott 1907; Bad Heart Bull and Blish 1967:287-288; Powell 1982:2:824-825). According to Loretta Fowler (1982:47-50), the Arapahos were set adrift in the years following the 1868 Treaty. In fact, Medicine Man and Black Bear, two leaders of the Northern Arapahos, enlisted the help of the commanding officer at Fort Fetterman in 1869, asking to be placed on the Wind River Reservation, which had been reserved for the Shoshones, but this could not be arranged. Nor were they able to negotiate a location for a settlement near Fort Casper in Wyoming. Some even went north to the Milk River in Montana to determine whether it would be

FIGURE 11. Locations of Agencies and Military Forts



possible to settle at Fort Belknap with their Atsina relations, but others decided to affiliate with the Red Cloud Agency within the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation. Sickness and death plagued their stay on this reservation. While they collected their rations at the agency, they spent little time there, preferring instead to camp and hunt in the areas they commonly lived and traveled on the western side of the Hills. The Northern Arapahos were not the only ones who avoided the agencies. Many Northern Cheyennes and Lakotas also spent most of the year elsewhere and only came to the agencies to collect annuities; otherwise, they stayed in their former territorial ranges and followed a life revolving around the pursuit of bison and other game (Hyde 1937:187-229, 1961:170-196; Powell 1982:2:815-830; Fowler 1982:49-55; Price, C. 1996:102-132).

By 1870, however, greater numbers of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were camping around the agencies because of the growing shortage of game in the region. As time moved on, they became more dependent on the supplies of food, clothing, and other annuities the government was distributing under the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. In the early 1870s, nearly two thousand lodges of Oglalas, Minneconjous, Itazipcos, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were reported to draw rations at Fort Laramie. Government agencies were becoming like trading posts, places where some bands stayed year-round, following the earlier pattern of the Loafer, *Wagluke*, band of Sicangus, whose daughters had married traders at Fort Laramie. A few even attempted farming (Poole to Parker, 20 Aug 1869:315-316). Some began to use the agencies as a winter camping location, a place to collect their annuities and to stay through the coldest months before they returned to their favorite hunting grounds in the late spring (see Chapter Seven). Others, however, spent little time at the agencies and came there only to collect their rations (Hyde 1937: 187-229, 1961:170-196; Powell 1982:2:815-830; Fowler 1982:49-55; Price, C. 1996:102-132).

It is important to remember that the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes were included under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and in its annuity distributions. Indeed, Red Cloud recognized their rights to these distributions when he said at a council held at Fort Laramie on June 12, 1871: I told you to wait until I had seen the Cheyennes and Arapahos, that I wanted to divide the goods with them. I want to do so again (Cree, 12 June 1871 *:* 25). In 1876, according to A.G. Lawrence (1876: 200), one thousand Cheyennes were considered by the government to be a part of the Sioux Nation.

Meanwhile, large numbers of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, who remained in the Powder River region and in areas farther north, had still not signed any treaty with the United States. Most of them remained largely independent of the agencies, although in some years they camped with their relatives among the treaty bands. In 1874, Agent J. J. Saville (1874: 251) complained to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Red Cloud Agency of the problems with feeding the non-treaty Indians. In his 1875 report (Saville 1875: 250), he wrote the following:

> The tribes of Indians who are supplied and remain more or less constantly at the agency are the Ogalla Sioux and Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes. The Ogallalas are divided into four principal bands: the head band, usually called Ogallalas, Klocales, Onkapas, and Wazazles. Each of these bands are subdivided into smaller parties, variously named, usually designated by the name of their chief or leader. In consequence of their roving habits and proximity of the hunting region of the Black Hills, Big Horn, and Powder River countries, the number of Indians at the agency at different times is variable. This constitutes one of the chief difficulties in making an accurate distribution of food and in making estimates of the quantity required for a year s supply. The rapid destruction of the game caused last year a larger number to remain permanently at the agency, rendering an increase in the amount of supplies necessary. As there are no means of ascertaining the facts regarding the amount of game, or the exact number of Indians remaining in the hunting regions, estimates must of necessity be but approximate.

From reports such as the above, and also from the twentieth century recollections of Lakotas and Cheyennes, it is apparent that many bands continued to depend on traditional economic pursuits for their livelihood and had only marginal ties to the agencies (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931; Hyde 1937:205-229; Powell 1982:2:926-930; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:154-155; Arnold in Crawford and Wagonner 1999:287-288).

2. Tribal Occupancy of the Black Hills

Before the invasion of gold miners, the Black Hills remained an important settlement and resource procurement area for local tribes (see Figure 12). Although bison had largely disappeared from the region, Ferdinand Hayden (1862:373-374) reported there were still enough elk, antelope, deer, and bighorn to afford the Indians moderate support. The region near the Buffalo Gap and Wind Cave National Park was reported to be a popular winter camping area. Luther Standing Bear (1975:3, 17-23), a Sicangu Lakota who was born in a winter camp near the Black Hills in 1868, remembered spending time in this area, probably in the fall and winter of 1872-1873. He wrote:

> The entrance to the Black Hills was through a narrow passage known as Buffalo Gap. The wild animals came in through this gap for protection from the icy blasts of winter, and the Sioux likewise went there. There were springs of clear water and plenty of wood. Nature seemed to hold us in her arms. And there we were contented to live in our humble tipis all through the rough winter (Standing Bear 1975:17).

Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:155-156) also recalled camping at the Buffalo Gap in the spring of 1874, and *Mato Chatka* [Left Hand Bear] (in Hot Springs Star, 22 July 1937) spoke about the Wind Cave area as the old hunting grounds of his people. Indeed, stories about this area invariably involve hunters and hunting (Wounded Horse in Koller 1970:1-2; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148).

The nearby Fall River and Hot Springs region has long been written about in local history sources as a popular camping area for the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Richter n.d.; Cook 1888; Rosen 1895: 473; Tallent 1899:644, 695; Brown and Willards 1924:18; Casey 1949:283-285; Williams 1952:7; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:140; Clark, B. 1983:3-4). These sources uniformly identify the Cheyennes as the area s original occupants who, after a heated battle with the Lakotas, were forced to leave. The Lakotas then held the springs until 1877. John Stetter, an early white settler, remembered seeing a band of Lakotas bathing at Hot Springs when he came to the Hills in the summer of 1874 (Ritcher n.d: 1; Clark, B. 1983:17). Nakpogi Ogiya, a Lakota, also described a camp located in this area in a story he shared with Ivan Stars in 1915 (in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:319-320 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:543-546]). According to S.D. Cook (1888) and Peter Rosen (1895:473), this was a region where whites were forbidden to come, and of all areas in the Black Hills, it was the one with which the Lakotas were most reluctant to part.

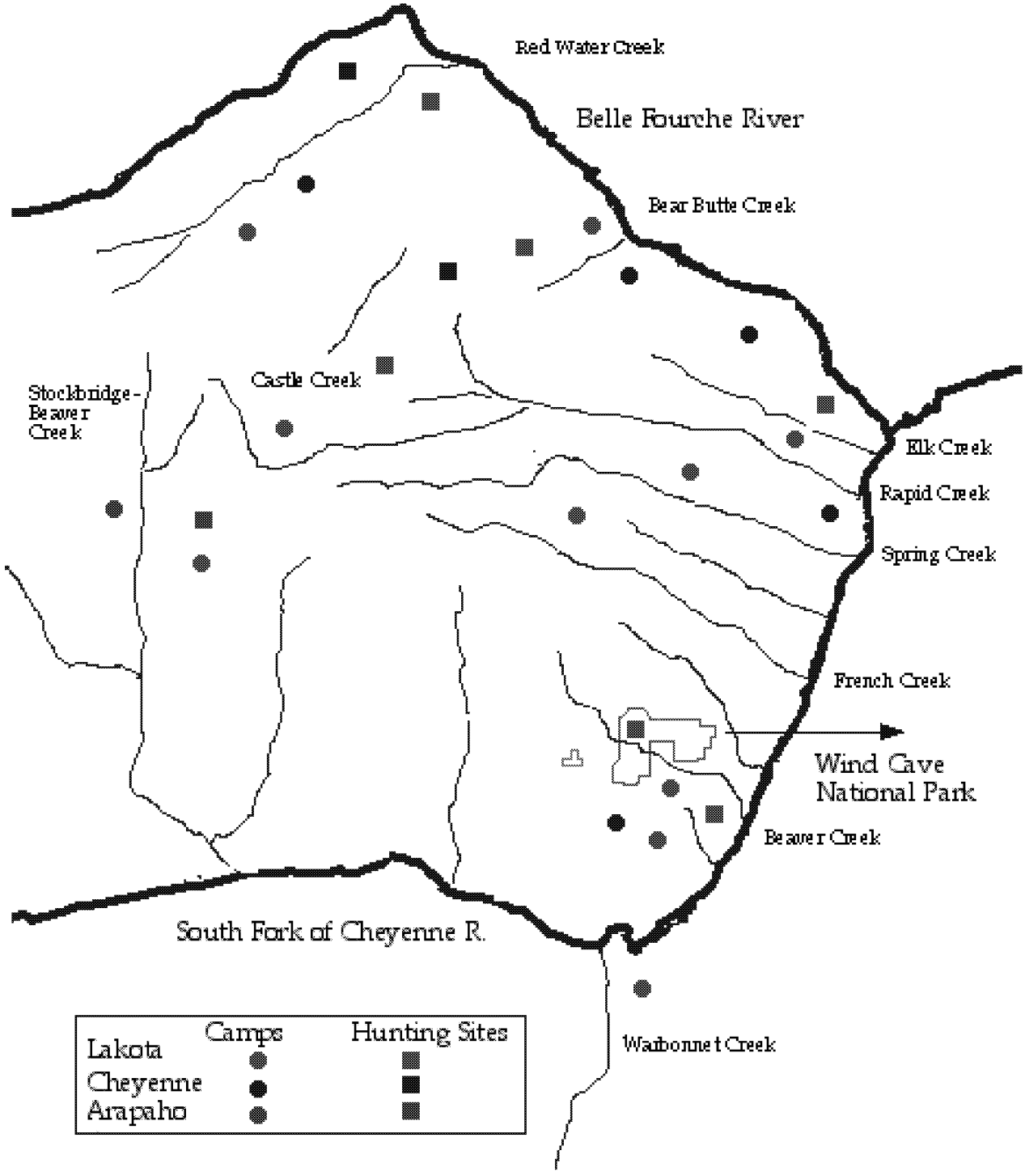
Many other locations in the Black Hills were also identified as winter camping sites. In the 1930s, One Bull and White Bull told Dick Stone (1982:23-25) that the region around Devil s Tower was a popular camping area for the Oglalas and the Hunkpapas, and that the valley where Sylvan Lake is now located was a wintering location for their grandfather. Both of these men also indicated to Stanley Vestal (1934:5-6) that they were born in the vicinity of Bear Butte near Spearfish Creek and the Belle Fourche River and that Chief Hump was born near this site. They reported other times when Minneconjous camped in this area too (Vestal 1934:132). American Horse and Clarence Three Stars also reported that their families often camped in the vicinity of Bear Butte (U.S. Senate 1897:3, 12). Thomas Odell (1942:24-25) added more information on the importance of this region as a winter camping ground for the Lakotas, and so did JamesLaPointe (1976:4, 89), who also noted that Rapid Creek was a popular settlement location. Chauncy Yellow Robe s *tiospaye* was another Lakota family who wintered in the northern Hills near the Belle Fourche River (McKelvie 1960:92-93), and Crazy Horse s people were said to have

wintered at locations on the western side of the Hills (Standing Bear and Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:164). In 1915, Wawoslata and Singing Bear narrated stories to Ivan Stars about camps along the Race Track and at Bear Butte (in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:264-270, 353-359 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:452-463, 604-617]). Finally, Spotted Elk (in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:359-362 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:617-622]) informed Iron Shell that Spotted Tail and his people traveled all around the Black Hills.

With the possible exception of the area where Sylvan Lake is now located, most of the Lakotas winter camping locations skirted the lower elevation valleys on the edges of the Hills central core. In the spring and early summer, however, Lakotas frequently camped in the higher elevation interiors. In 1874, the Black Hills Expedition came across a small Lakota camp in Floral Valley (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:121, 173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974: 250; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255-256). This expedition and the one led by Dodge (in Kime 1998: 75, 79, 96) a year later discovered the remains of several recent encampments in the area. Other locations for summer occupation are reported in tribal oral histories and ethnographies. Rapid Creek was a popular, summer camping site for Spotted Tail and other Sicangus (Bordeaux 1929:45, 84-85, 191-192). Sitting Bull s group was known to camp here during the summer as well (Born 1994:24). This area, along with Spring and Split Toe Creeks, were places Black Elk (DeMallie 1984:155-156) reported his family stayed in the spring of 1874. Henry Standing Bear told John Niehardt (in DeMallie 1984:158) that during the same spring his family camped with Minneconjou at Forest Creek on the northern side of the Black Hills, and Little Day, a Sicangu, remembered spending a summer in the camp of Meddling Bear at the northern edge of the Black Hills in the early 1870s as well (Hassrick 1964:12-13).

The Cheyenne Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58), who was born near the Black Hills in 1858, recalled camping and hunting in the northern region of the Hills during his childhood, and two Cheyenne women, Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5) and Hoistah (Barrett 1913:3-5) remembered the days of their youth in the shadows of the Black Hills. In these years, other Cheyennes were reported to camp on the northern side of the Hills near Bear Butte too and at Red Water Creek (Powell 1982:2:793, 923). Thomas Odell (1942:13-14) recorded numerous locations where elderly Cheyenne told him they once lived, including Rapid and Bear Lodge creeks. Annie Tallent (1899: 48) wrote about encountering a non-hostile band of Cheyennes at the northeastern edge of the Hills in the fall of 1874, and White Cow Bull told Ivan Stars in 1915 about a Pawnee attack on a Cheyenne village in the southern Hills (in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:208-210 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:364-369]). Finally, some of the Arapahos associated with Black Bear were reported to commonly winter along Rawhide Creek near present day Newcastle, Wyoming (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:371; Fowler 1982:43). Most of the recollections on the whereabouts of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho camping places in and about the Black Hills, however, refer to the period before large numbers of miners invaded the area in the fall of 1874. It is clear that much of this use was threatened and curtailed when large numbers of Americans started to enter the area in search of gold.

FIGURE 12. Some Reported Locations of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho Hunting and Camping Sites



3. Rumors of Gold

The tribal nations who lived in the Black Hills were certainly aware of the region s gold before Custer made its presence widely known in 1874 (Spring 1949:22-25; Herman 1958:G-2; Hughes, R. 1957:14; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:37; Sundstrom, J. 1977:11, 1994:16). As early as 1804, the correspondence of Spanish traders on the Missouri River reveals that local tribes knew about gold and other valuable minerals in the Black Hills (Nasatir 1952:738). In the 1840s, Father De Smet is reputed to have warned the Lakotas that they would lose the Black Hills if Americans discovered their gold (Parker, W. 1966:11-16; Sundstrom, J. 1977:12). Early itinerant trappers and traders, including Tousaint Kensler, were known to trade for gold from tribal people who found it in the Hills. Indeed, before Kensler was hung for murder in Montana, he claimed that he found gold in 1864 somewhere near the headwaters of French or Beaver creeks (Palais 1941:8-9). Several stories in the oral traditions of American Indians and fur-traders reveal that knowledge of the Hills gold was a jealously guarded secret (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 55; Sundstrom, J. 1994:16). Yet, it is also apparent that some tribal peoples sold this precious metal, or minerals that they thought were gold, to local traders (Odell 1942:150; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:117). As one elderly Cheyenne told Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:37):

> Soldiers came upon our Black Hills lands after we had made peace with the whites and had settled there on our reservation given to us by the treaty. White Geese and some other Cheyennes had been finding little pieces of gold in the sands of Red Water Creek. They took them to the white man trader store and exchanged them for powder and bullets and other goods. They would not tell him where they got them. When the soldiers came, they found White Geese and his companions camped beside the creek. There was a fight, and one Cheyenne was killed. As White Geese was getting away on horseback he lost a leather bag containing gold. The soldiers picked it up. In that way all of the white people learned of gold being in that country. Before long there were hundreds and thousands of them crowding in upon our lands. The Cheyennes had to go away from there.[3]

There were also tales of Americans prospecting in the Hills as early as the 1830s. Few of these prospectors ever lived to tell of their experiences, but the remains of some of their ill-fated ventures were found in the Hills by later miners in the form of rusted picks, shovels, and other artifacts (Brown and Willards 1924:28-30; Palais 1941:6-7; Spring 1949:22-25; Parker, W. 1966:11-16; Sundstrom, J. 1977:12; Friggens 1983:13). After the 1850s, local tribes were rumored to have actively prevented whites from entering the region, even those who were related to them by marriage, for fear that the gold would be discovered (Palais 1941:13; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:150).

When J. W. Wham (1871:698), the Special Indian Agent, met with leaders from the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations at Fort Laramie in 1871, he recommended that their agency be moved forty miles north near Rawhide Butte Creek in order to remove them from the heavy emigrant traffic along the Overland Trail. Tribal leaders were adamantly opposed to this recommendation because of its closer proximity to the Black Hills and what was left of their bison hunting grounds (Olson 1965:124-128; Powell 1982:2:783-789; Lazarus (1991:63). Commenting on the response of the traders who were present at this meeting, Wham (1871:698) wrote:

> When it became known to these that the policy of the Government was to exclude them from the reservation, and to prevent the indiscriminate traffic which had long been going on

[3] This is also reported elsewhere (Powell 1982:2:923).

> between them and the Indians, they objected to having an agency north of the river, and offered every inducement to the Indians to remain where they were, telling them that the object of the agent and the whites generally was to get into the Black Hills, where there was much gold, and that their country would be overrun with adventurous white men in search of the precious metal.
>
> However, before taking steps in this direction, I made another attempt to get their (the Indians) consent to establish a permanent agency on Raw Hide Creek, some forty miles north of Fort Laramie. But this request was flatly refused, on the ground that it was in the direction of the Black Hills.

Clearly, as subsequent historical events would demonstrate, the appraisal of what would happen to the region once the presence of gold became widely known was not wrong.

4. American Expeditions in the Black Hills

The rumors of gold and the fabled stories of the early prospectors fueled schemes to send private expeditions into the Black Hills to search for the metal (Olson 1965:172; Parker, W. 1966: 19-23). As early as 1861, the Black Hills Mining and Exploration Association was incorporated by white citizens from Dakota Territory, and on numerous occasions, the military had to prevent some of its members from crossing the Missouri River and entering Sioux territory (Parker, W. 1966:19-20; Lazarus 1991:67). In 1872, these Dakotans and businessmen from neighboring states began an active campaign to pressure Congress to open the Hills for mining, logging, and settlement (Lazarus 1991:61). At the same time, some of the civilian and military members of former government-sponsored scientific expeditions to the Hills were lobbying Congress to acquire the region (Lazarus 1991:68). According to Edward Lazarus (1991: 69), while the President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, resisted amending the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 as a matter of strategy, he was not opposed to do so in principal.

In the wake of the financial depression of 1873, which caused widespread unemployment and bankruptcy in the nation, more pressure was put on the federal government to open the Black Hills as a site for development and settlement. Many of those who supported the opening of reserved tribal lands argued that Indians were impeding the progress of the nation and robbing it of the opportunity to achieve economic solvency, or else they argued, more defensively, that it should be taken over by whites because it had become a retreat for hostile Indians (Parker 1966: 124, 126-127, 138; Lazarus 1991:69). All of this served as a pretext, of course, for the federal government to authorize funds in support of another major expedition into the Hills under the leadership of General George Armstrong Custer.

a.The Black Hills Expedition

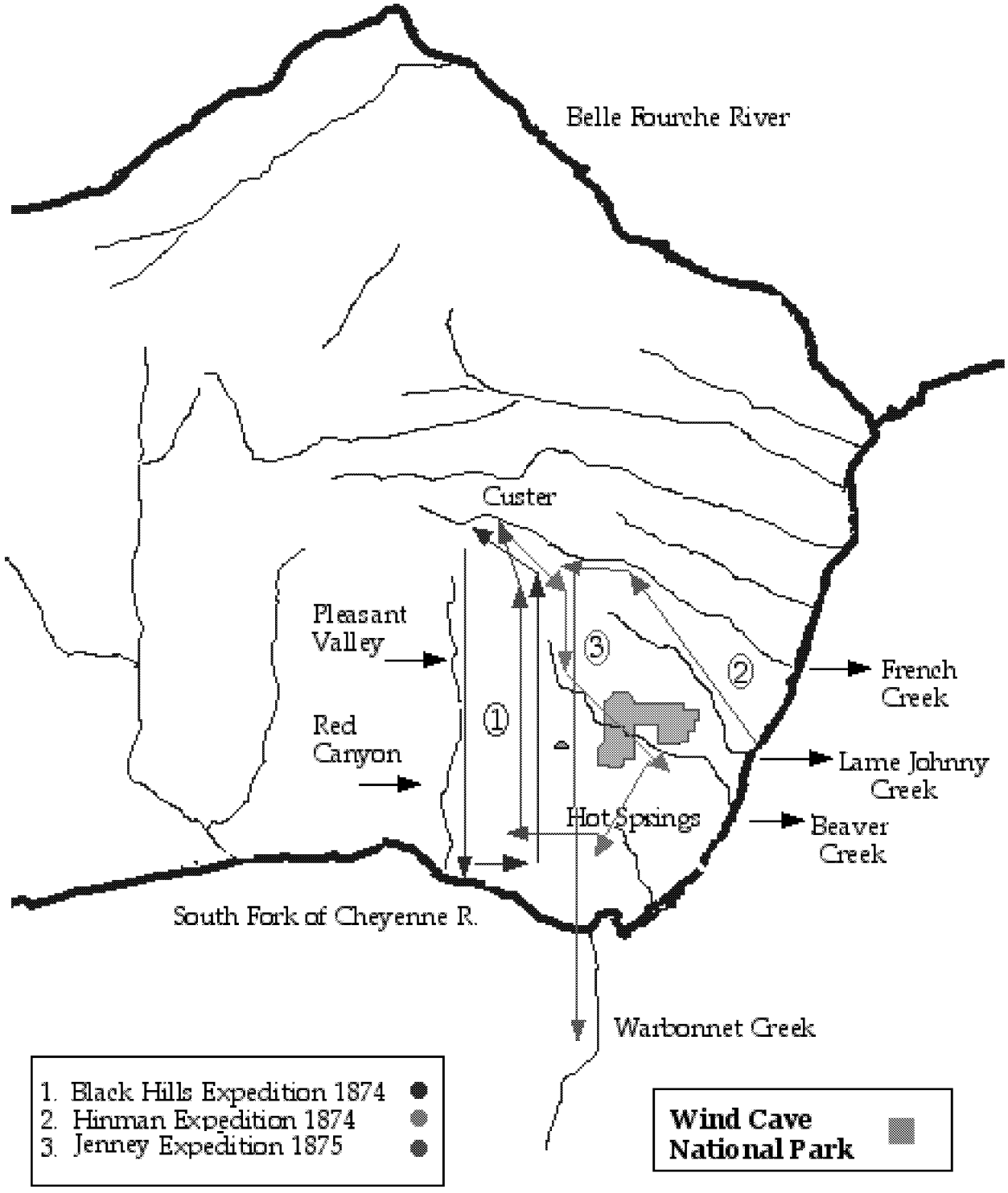
Even though the Hills were off-limits to Americans, except for the few traders who married into local tribes, they entered them illegally in the 1870s, either as representatives of government-sponsored expeditions or as private citizens. One of these illegal entries, as stipulated under Article 16 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, was a military reconnaissance expedition in the summer of 1874 under the command of General George Armstrong Custer. With ten companies of cavalry, two infantry, an assorted array of scientists, engineers, and cooks, numerous freighters in charge of a train of 110 wagons, and several Arikara, Hunkpapa, and Santee scouts and interpreters, the expedition was ordered to explore, as the Engineer Officer Colonel Ludlow put it, the choicest and most valuable portion of the Sioux reservation (Jackson 1966; Keenen 1967; McAndrews 1974; McLaird and Tuschen, 1974c:286-290; Krause and Olson 1974; Frost

1979). The expedition s itinerary, which the Lakotas would later call The Trail of Thieves, reached the Black Hills through Redwater Valley north of Inyan Kara Mountain, where Ludlow (1875:15) noted on July 22, 1876 a well-marked pony and lodge trail leading up the valley. On the same day, James Calhoun recorded in his dairy that Indian trails were visible in all directions (in Frost 1979:49). Three days later on July 25th, the expedition traveled through the valley of Cold Spring Creek, following a popular lodgepole trail, where evidence of old camps with drying racks for hides and meats was recorded. One of the guides also reported that this was an old pack trail used by trappers (Frost 1979:53n70; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:121; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255). Entering Castle Valley on the 26th, the expedition came across the remains of another abandoned camp, where lodgepoles had been cut and where fires were still burning (Calhoun in Krause and Olson 1974: 53; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Powers in Krause and Olson 1974:90). Shortly thereafter, they come across the camp of One Stab, Slow Bear, and Long Bear, which consisted of five lodges and twenty-seven people, including one of Red Cloud s daughters (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974: 255-256; McAndrews 1974:81). According to Donaldson (in Krause and Olson 1974:61) and Ludlow (1875:16), this group had camped in the interior Hills for two months to hunt and to gather lodgepoles. That night most of the members of this small Lakota camp stole away in the darkness without waiting to receive the rations that Custer had promised them (Ludlow 1875: 299). One Stab, however, was retained to assist the expedition as a hostage and a guide, but he was eventually released (McAndrews 1974).

As the expedition left Castle Creek, James B. Power (in Krause and Olson 1974:89), a correspondent for the *St. Paul Daily Press*, reported evidence of Indian trails everywhere and wrote: This valley seems to have been a thoroughfare for them supposed by some to be a trail from Red Cloud s agency to the hunting grounds. From there, the expedition traveled over Reynolds Prairie where a huge pile of elk-horns was located, of which the Arikara guides disclaimed any knowledge (Grinnell 1875: 8; Ludlow 1875:17; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250).[4] On the 29th of July, the expedition followed an old and well-traveled Indian trail to a location near present day Custer, South Dakota, where a large base camp was established (Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:256); it was here that members of the expedition discovered gold on the upper reaches of French Creek (Grant in Krause and Olson 1974: 251). Some of the Arikaras who served as scouts for this expedition had other stories to tell about it, including one by Alfred Morsette (in Parks 1991:385-386), who claimed the Arikaras were the ones who actually discovered the gold. It was also from this location that smaller parties were launched to explore some of the surrounding regions, including Harney Peak and the southern Hills (see Figure 13). Custer led the party that traveled south to the Cheyenne River, striking a large Indian trail that James Calhoun (in Frost 1979:61) described as uninviting. This route followed Pleasant Valley to Red Canyon and from there to a point just east of Edgemont on the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. En route the party came across an old campground. On the return trip, the party moved north by way of Pringle and passed through Shirttail Canyon and Beaver Valley near the western border of what is now Wind Cave National Park (Ludlow 1875: 19; Parker, W. 1966:25; Progulske 1974:18-34; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:257; Burrows in Krause and Olson 1974:223; Frost 1979:44-45).

[4] Stacks of antlers did have ritual meaning for the Cheyennes and Arapahos, however (Grinnell 1972:1:276).

FIGURE 13. Routes of U. S. Military Expeditions



Notwithstanding the fact that many on the Black Hills Expedition came across evidence of abandoned camps in the Black Hills, they reported that the Lakotas did not settle the area. Knappen (in Krause and Olson 1974:28) of the Bismark Tribune wrote:

> ...the fact that the country abounds in everything that will make a great State prosperous and wealthy, will for a moment agree with those who think that this country should still be left in the hands of the Indians, who like THE DOG IN THE MANGER will neither occupy it themselves or allow others to occupy it.

In an article from the *St. Paul Pioneer* on August 26, 1874, Aris B. Donaldson[5] (in Krause and Olson 1974:73) remarked:

> It is not certain that a single hostile Indian has been seen. Many Indians visit the Black Hills but they have no permanent villages. Not a single permanent habitation has been found. In all our long line of travel and exploration, we have not seen the slightest evidence of any attempt to cultivate the earth.

These represented a long line of arguments to justify dispossessing the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapaho of the Black Hills, and they rested on a number of false premises that will be discussed momentarily.

b. The Hinman Expedition

E. L. Howard (1875:253), who accompanied a group of Lakota leaders on a trip to the Hills in 1874, was well aware of their cultural importance to the Lakotas. Indeed, Spotted Tail had recommended the Buffalo Gap as the most favorable site for an agency (Hinman 1874:93). Later in the same year, Reverend Samuel Hinman was the leader of a government-sponsored party to explore the region in order to find a suitable agency location for the Sicangus who followed Spotted Tail. In late August, precisely the season of the year when many Lakotas moved west to the Powder River and south to the Republican to hunt bison, Hinman and his party, along with their two guides, one a Sicangu named Thigh and another of mixed-Lakota descent, Tom Dorin, approached the Hills interiors from the southeast (Ibid:91). It is worthwhile to give some attention to Hinman s report because it represents one of the first official published reports of the southeastern Black Hills and their immediate surroundings (Ibid: 90-97).

In early August, Hinman and his party explored the South Fork of the Cheyenne River near the mouth of Box Elder Creek, where he reported:

> As that location had been favorably mentioned by old trappers, voyageurs, and others, we decided to deviate from our easterly course and visit it, as it was believed to be only one hundred and twenty miles from the Missouri River at Fort Sully (Hinman 1874: 91).

While traveling the valley of the Cheyenne River, Hinman's party found evidence of a recent trail made by a band moving towards the agency and another of a war party heading in the direction of the Black Hills (Ibid:91). Upon reaching Box Elder Creek, they found it had good timber, box elder and cottonwood, but it was too narrow for an agency (Ibid.).

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[5] Contrary to A.B. Donaldson s misguided comments (in Krause and Olson 1974:73) on the subject, the Cheyenne did raise crops in the shadows of the Black Hills (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254; Moore 1987: 68-70; 140-143).

After exploring the tributaries of the Cheyenne and White rivers farther east over the next few weeks, they decided to explore the country of the Buffalo Gap, approaching it from their camp on the upper reaches of the White River (Ibid:93). As Hinman (Ibid.) wrote:

> From this camp we proceeded northward, to examine further the valley of this stream to its mouth and if thought expedient to look at the country about Buffalo Gate, the South Pass into the Black Hill range, a country selected by Spotted Tail as the most favorable location for an agency in the Black Hill country. We found the valley of the White Clay toward the mouth not so good as the upper part of the stream. The benches are higher, and there is very little good grass. Timber, however, is in some places quite abundant. We saw near the valley a large hill fenced in with a double hedge of thorn-bush, made by the Indians many years ago as a place to drive and entrap deer and antelope, and from the carcasses covering the prairie I should think they had great success. Further on we found pits dug by them for entrapping eagles. A few Indians have planted along this stream but their corn is entirely destroyed by grasshoppers. We encamped at Bute Cach , below the mouth of the Big White Clay, to prepare for our trip northward.

Before departing, Hinman reported that the Sicangu leaders, Spotted Tail and Two Strikes, arrived at their camp and tried to dissuade them from traveling farther north, although he does not inform us why they had been so warned (Ibid.).

Traveling across the divide between the White River and the South Fork of the Cheyenne, Hinman described the vista of the Black Hills topped by Harney Peak and the Cathedral Spires. After encamping in the valley of the South Fork of the Cheyenne, they found many trails of families and war parties moving towards Red Cloud Agency, which was located at this point in time at Fort Robinson near present-day Crawford, Nebraska. The party then ascended into the Hills by way of Burntwood Creek (now known as Lame Johnny Creek).[6] As they approached the Race Track, described as the great Indian trail leading around the hills, Hinman commented on the lack of human travelers, wood, game, and water (Ibid.). Given the season Hinman s party entered the Hills, it is not surprising that they did not sight people or animals. This was the time of the year when humans and game animals typically inhabited the surrounding grasslands. Following the sandstone escarpments inside the Hogback, Hinman (Ibid.) reported that his party traveled through narrow valleys with abundant water, springs, green grass, stands of dwarf elder-berry and plum, strange flowers, and pine covered hilltops. Soon they entered gorges and ravines where they passed through forests of pine, streams filled with fish, and small grassy parks and finally ended up at the headwaters of French Creek where they found the remains of the trail the Black Hills Expedition had followed a few months earlier (Ibid:94).

On their return trip, they descended to the Race Track and followed it to a point just north of the Spotted Tail Agency, which was located near Camp Sheridan in Nebraska; their route may have included portions of Wind Cave National Park. From there, they left the Hills crossing over the broken prairie lands south of the Hills (Ibid.), probably by way of Hat Creek. In concluding his report, Hinman (Ibid:94-95) said this about the Hills:

> The Black hills we found to be bleak, and except for its abundant growth of hard pine, a forbidding and sterile, mountain. Green from its springs and trees, it is a cool and pleasant retreat from the burning sun and baked soil of the desert plains around it, and only a garden spot when compared to and contrasted with the bad land and utter desolation that surround it. There may, indeed, be mineral wealth there, but, if so, we believe it to be yet undiscovered, and there are no evidences, either from location or character of rock, or soil, or sand, to

[6] Burntwood Creek is the original name of the stream now called Lame Johnny. It is found on Newton s Atlas (1880) compiled from data collected on the Jenny Expedition in 1875.

> warrant any expectation that a more diligent search would be rewarded with success. As an agricultural or grazing country, it is worthless. It is high, bleak, and cold, traversed by fearful storms in winter and spring, and in summer time almost truly said by the Indians to be inhabited by the thunder gods, ever angry at and jealous with hot displeasure of intrusion upon their sanctuary and mountain home. The cold weather is long and severe, the summers very short, and affording only time for a month or two of grazing in the parks and for the ripening of the smaller berries in the ravines. When civilization comes nearer and some railroad traverses these plains, the pine may be useful for rough lumber and for fuel; but now and for long time to come, its only use and value seem to be known to the Indians--for poles to uphold their teepees on the prairie, or to make *travois* for their ponies when they journey. An agency could hardly be located here, and to open the country would be a mistaken kindness to the whites and a great and uncalled-for wrong to the Indians. The country is theirs by solemn compact, and to take it from them will be wrong and robbery--an unwarrantable use of our great power to impose upon the simple and the weak.

Hinman s comments about the suitability of the Hills for an agency, of course, need to be interpreted in light of the federal government s interest in transforming the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos into farmers. This was a future that many of these tribal peoples did not embrace so long as bison and other game were still to be found, albeit at locations a considerable distance from their government agencies on the White and Missouri Rivers.

During this period, there was nearly uniform agreement among the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos about the value of the Hills for their own self-sufficiency (Allison 1875:188-190). There was less consensus among federal officials, however. While Samuel Hinman (1874:95) saw them as worthless for agricultural or grazing purposes, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. L. Smith (1875:8) wrote in his annual report that the Hills were naturally suited to agriculture and herding, and that they were one of all others within the boundaries of the Sioux reservation best adapted to their immediate and paramount necessities. He then went on to say:

> I doubt whether any land now remaining in the possession of the General Government offers equal advantages; but it will be found impracticable to utilize the country for the Sioux. So long as gold exists in the same region, the agricultural country surrounding the gold-fields will be largely required to support the miners, and to attempt to bring the wild Sioux into proximity to the settlers and miners would be to invite provocations and bloody hostility (Smith 1875: 8).

In the final analysis, the crux of the matter was who should have the opportunity to make use of the Hills potential for their economic well-being, the Lakotas and their Cheyenne and Arapaho friends or the Americans. Clearly, as the subsequent history of the area reveals, it was the future of the Lakotas and their allies that was sacrificed.

c. The Jenney Expedition

A year after the Black Hills Expedition in the summer of 1874, another expedition was launched under a presidential order ... to provide for the question of a fair equivalent for this country... (Smith, E. L. 1875:8). Led by two geologists, Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton under Col. Richard Irving Dodge s military command, several journals and reports were produced from this expedition (Jenney 1875; Jenney 1876; Newton and Jenney 1980; McLaird and Turchen 1974d:404-438; Dodge in Kime 1998). The expedition covered much of the same area as Custer did, and it also sent small parties to locations in the southern Hills to test for gold along Red Ca on, Minnekata (a.k.a. Fall River), and Amphibious (a.k.a. Beaver) creeks.

Walter P. Jenney and Henry Newton do not appear to have kept a dairy of the expedition, like the one written by Lt. Richard I. Dodge (in Kime 1998), but one or both of them wrote three reports; one published in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Jenney 1875), another printed as a congressional report (Jenney and Newton 1876), and a third issued by the U.S. Geographical and Geological Service of the U.S. Department of Interior (Newton and Jenney 1980). Much of their writing, with accompanying maps, focused on the Hills geological, floral, and faunal resources. Of particular interest are their descriptions of Beaver Creek, which was named Amphibious Creek on their map (1880), the Red Valley, and the Hot Springs, which were called by their Lakota name, *Minnekata*. Henry Newton and Walter Jenney (1880:34) wrote that, along with Dr. McGillycuddy and Captain Tuttle, they were directed to form a party to explore the southeastern Hills, which they reached by traveling Beaver Creek and crossing a section of Wind Cave National Park.[7] In their report (Ibid:141-142, 235), they describe the schist, slate, quartz, and the evidence of gold in the gravels on the creek s headwaters and the formations of purple limestone, red clay, and white gypsum as they pass over the Red Valley towards the Buffalo Gap (see Figure 13). Of the Red Valley, Newton and Jenney (Ibid:136) wrote: The Indians recognizing its continuity and the regularity of its surface, have followed it with their great trails or routes of travel, and it is known to them as the Race-course. They went on to say:

> It is generally well covered with the common short grass of the Plains but it is entirely destitute of trees, save that an occasional hill may sustain a few pines. The immediate valleys of the streams and dry washes which drain across it from the interior of the Hills are narrow and frequently lined with small groves or scattered individual trees. Their principal tree is the cottonwood, but there are occasionally dwarfed and stunted oaks and thickets of willow and wild plum. As already remarked, the majority of the streams sink in the ca ons of the Carboniferous, but many of them rise again in the Red Valley in unexpected places as springs or pools of water. They never, however, again become running streams (Newton and Jenney 1880: 136-137).

One of the spring areas he described were those along the Fall River, or as Jenney and Newton (Ibid.) put it, Minnekata or Hot Water Creek, so named by the Indians from the warmth of the water.

In another report, Jenney (1875:182) would conclude that:

> No evidence was found that Indians ever lived in the hills, or ever visited them, except in the spring to cut lodge-poles, or occasionally to stop and hunt deer among the foothills while passing from the agencies to the Upper Missouri. The only reason advanced for their not living in the hills is the prevalence of severe thunderstorms and the frequency with which the trees are struck by lightning.

Beyond a few general remarks, Jenney and Newton offered few details on tribal occupation in the Black Hills. Dodge had more to say about this occupation in his journals, and it is important to include the details of his commentary here. More than any other author of the time, his writings played a critical role in perpetuating the false idea that the Black Hills were not inhabited by the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos.

Before departing to the Hills from Fort Laramie, Dodge (in Kime 1998:39) claimed that Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, and the other chiefs told him that he should expect trouble from the northern

[7] Dodge does not mention this part of the explorations in his dairy (in Kime 1998), although he does make reference to the Hot Springs area in the book (1965) he later published.

Sioux who occupied the Hills. During his tour, which took place over a four-month period from May 25 to October 13, 1875, he hardly met any Indian people, although there was much evidence of their presence. The expedition found the remains of several camps along the route of their travels west of the Black Hills near Beaver Creek in Wyoming (Ibid:54, 58, 60, 62-64, 102). On Branchwater Creek in the western Black Hills, they discovered more evidence of Indian camps (Ibid:75), and following an Indian trail, they descended the next day into the Floral Valley and traveled to Castle Creek where they located the remains from a large camp at which lodgepoles had been processed and a medicine lodge had been built (Ibid:79). Two weeks later, while camping at French Creek, they were alerted to the presence of Indians nearby (Ibid:96).

In late August, Dodge (Ibid:191-192) reported that while starting down Red Water Creek, Walter Jenney, the geologist on the expedition, found so many signs of an Indian presence that he decided to return to the main party. And in September, he described a number of Indian trails in the vicinity of Spearfish Creek and Rapid Creek (Ibid:214, 222, 224). On the 18th of July, Dodge encountered two Indian people south of Harney Peak who, along with some men of mixed Indian ancestry, were watching whites pan for gold. He never spoke with them, however. In another instance, a guide with the expedition, California Joe, purportedly told Dodge that he had met an Indian named Robe Raiser on Rapid Creek. As he wrote in a draft of a letter addressed to General Crook,

> The old Indian told Joe that though fifty years old he had never been in the Black Hills before. He said that the Indians never come here, except occasionally to hunt, that when passing north or south in the fall the squaws come in for a few days to cut & trim lodgepoles. During this time the bucks hunt. The reasons given for the Indians not coming here, are, 1 that there is nothing to come for, there being but little game -3 that it rains very frequently & the Indians dont like the rain - 4 That it thunders & lightens with terrible force, striking & overthrowing trees, & setting fire to the woods - the Indians don t like this -2 that the flies are terribly bad, & torment their horses so they dare not turn them loose -- The old Indian said further that the Indians did not care at all for this country, & would have sold or given it to the white long ago, if it had not been for the squaw men about the Reservation, urging them to make a big fuss & get a big Price, C. (Ibid:139).

This account is located at the end of his third journal, which stops at an entry for July 20th and was probably written sometime between that date and the 29th of June when this journal begins.

Much of what is written here eventually appeared in the book Dodge (1965) himself published on the Black Hills. Other than the fact that it came to Dodge secondhand, there are many aspects of this narrative that don t ring true. For one, the idea that local Indians believed the region had little game was contrary to most everything else that was being written about local tribal understandings of the Black Hills in this and earlier decades, and it also doesn t correspond with some contemporaneous observations which called attention to the region s rich game resources (Brennan 1875:3; Tallent 1899:37; Knappen in Krause and Olson 1974:28; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:63, 69; Powers in Krause and Olson 1974:89; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974: 149; Burrows in Krause and Olson 1974:192). It even contradicts Dodge s own words, which he wrote in his journal on June 20th when the expedition was camped on Spring Creek about 10 miles west of Harney Peak:

> In ten years the Black Hills will be the home of a numerous and thriving population & all the Administrations & Interior Departments can t stop it. It is not an Indian country. They can live in it for only a small portion of the year and being Plains Indians they do not like to go into a country where they cannot ride everywhere they wish to go. They use it as a nursery for game & a fine one it is. (in Kime 1998: 12).

Six days earlier, the expedition encountered a small party of miners near present day Custer, South Dakota, and this prompted Dodge (in Kime 1998:89) to write that the Indians do not use it , and at the end of the second journal, there is another letter to General Crook which reads:

> The absurdity of turning over such a country [the Black Hills] to miserable nomads is too manifest for discussion - Besides the Indians dont want it. They never use it. There is not a trail of Indians in the whole interior of the Black Hills, except in the vicinity of the head of Spaulding Creek, where a few come in apparently for a week or two each fall to pick berries and cut lodgepoles. This portion of the country has not an Indian trail, and Custer was never more right than when he said they held on to it from a dog-in-the manger spirit. My own opinion is that they do not hold on to it of their own accord (except from the natural indisposition by interested agents who hope to have the manipulation of the millions of dollars which the Govt may pay for the land if the Indians only make row enough)...The country is too glorious a one to be kept from development & while I will obey orders & arrest these men if necessary, I shall never injure one in person or property. None but a ring ridden nation would ever think for one moment of leaving such a paradise in the hands of miserable savages even did they use it, which is not the case (Ibid:105-106).

While he traveled the Black Hills in the summer of 1875, Dodge was well aware that the expedition had been ordered to appraise the value of the region and that a government commission had been sent to Fort Laramie to negotiate with the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos for their lease and/or sale. It is quite obvious where his sentiments lay on this matter from what he wrote in his journal. There can be no doubt that these influenced how he came to interpret the evidence of the Indian occupation he sighted or heard about during the three months he traveled the region.

When Dodge s book *The Black Hills* (1965) was first published in 1876, it contained much of the same commentary found in his journals. He wrote as an example:

> My opinion is that the Black Hills have never been a permanent home for any Indians. Even now small parties go a little way into the Hills to cut spruce lodge-poles, but all the signs indicate that these are mere sojourns of the most temporary character...(Dodge 1965:136-137).
>
> ...Except in one single spot, near the head of Castle Creek, I saw nowhere any evidence whatever of a lodge having been set up, while old wickyups were not infrequent in the edge of the Hills. There is not one single teepee or lodge-pole trail, from side to side of the Hills, in any direction...(Ibid:137)
>
> Several small parties of Indians, overcome by curiosity, and reassured by the presence of the soldiers, came into the Hills this summer...(Ibid:137).

He then makes reference to and embellishes his journal notes on California Joe's conversation with Robe Raiser (Dodge 1965:137-138), and goes on to write that:

> These statements are borne out by those of every Indian communicated with, and by the observation of every man of our party. The Indians do not live in, occupy, or use the country in any way (except for lodge-poles as stated); they do not want it; the large majority would willingly give it to the whites, but for the exertions and influence of as rascally a set of white men as curse the earth.

It should be noted that California Joe, a.k.a. Moses Milner, who was a notorious figure in the early history of the Black Hills, was not regarded as a person of particular integrity and honesty

(Brennan 1875:2; Parker, W. 1966:64). It is also important to call attention to the fact that other than one encounter on Spring Creek and a meeting at Custer on the 9th of August with E. L. Howard, an Indian agent who accompanied a party of Lakota leaders to see the gold prospecting in the Hills, there is no evidence from Dodge s journals that he nor any other member of the expedition, excepting California Joe, had any extended conversations with Lakotas. Not only was the source of his information about Lakota use of the Hills unreliable, but it was also clouded by his own biases regarding the future disposition of the Hills. Nevertheless, his remarks about the lack of a Lakota presence in the Hills have persisted, often uncritically, in later works about the region.

It is hard to reconcile the claims of people like Richard I. Dodge and Walter Jenney, who, echoing the words of members of the 1874 Black Hills Expedition, asserted that local Indians did not live in, much less use, the Hills. Obviously, the Arikaras and Lakotas who led some of the government expeditions into the Hills from the 1850s to the 1870s had considerable prior knowledge and experience in the region. All of these parties either sighted Lakota camps in the Hills or in their proximity, and many observed evidence of their recent travels and occupations there as well. That these expeditionary parties only came across a few actual camps, or the recent remains of them, had everything to do with their own presence in the area. As Henry Standing Bear (in DeMallie 1984:158) later recalled, his band avoided the Hills during much of the summer of 1874 because of the military presence there. Susan Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner (1988:108) also described some of strategies Lakota bands followed in these years to elude detection when traveling near military troops.

Another factor was the season in which military expeditions entered the Hills. According to the ethnographer Royal B. Hassrick (1964:156), the highest use and occupancy of the Hills typically took place when Lakota bands wintered there from November to April, and then again in late spring when they used them to procure lodgepoles, berries, medicinal plants, and flint. By mid-summer, the time when some of these expeditions arrived in the Hills, most Lakotas and Cheyennes would have set out for their bison-hunting grounds now located far to the north and west on the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone rivers. Indeed, Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:154-158, 164-165) recalls that in May of 1874, two months before Custer arrived in the area, his family encamped at several locations on the eastern side of the Hills, and in the fall of 1875, after Dodge s party had left the Hills, his family camped on the western side en route to Crazy Horse s winter camp on the Tongue River.

Also, the mid-1870s was not a time to judge how the Black Hills had been used traditionally, since many Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were now receiving government rations and staying at federal agencies some distance from the Hills. Moreover, the area had become a war zone where Lakotas and their allies were known to raid mining camps, emigrant wagons, and freighting trains taking cargo into and out of the Hills. After 1874, this was no longer a place where these tribes could safely camp in small groups with their elders and children as was their custom in the late spring and early summer. In fact, E. L. Howard (1875:254), the Indian Agent at Spotted Tail Agency, noted in his annual report to E.S. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the following:

> A lesser number of Northern Indians have visited this agency than during the previous year, and more of ours have remained near the agency than formerly, for the reasons that they did not go south to the hunting grounds this season, and the excitement about the Black Hills has kept them together.

For this and the other reasons, already mentioned, the Black Hills were not utilized by many local bands during the times they were being explored by the civilian and military forces of the U.S. government.

It also needs to be mentioned that most of these early observers held a basic misunderstanding of tribal adaptations to the region. As described in greater detail in Chapters Seven and Ten, these involved transhumance patterns of movement and settlement, often covering several hundred miles of territory during the course of a single year. While it is true that none of the local bands established permanent year-round settlements at any sites in the Black Hills region, they certainly occupied and used a wide range of locations in the area on a regular and recurring basis, especially during the months of winter and early summer. Indeed, few of the populations who lived around the Black Hills maintained permanent, fixed settlements anywhere in their territories. These groups were mobile: they followed the movements of the game and the growing cycles of plants and changed their locations accordingly. Even when some early observers conceded that tribes used the region as a hunting reserve, they dismissed this activity as a form of summer sport (Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974: 136). This was an old rationale that European Americans commonly used in dispossessing American Indian people of their lands.[8]

5. The Gold Rush and American Settlement

After news of the Black Hills Expedition s gold discoveries was leaked to the press, the private American companies formed to colonize the Hills believed the time was now auspicious to launch their own expeditions (Olson 1965:172; Parker, W. 1966:28-30). One of these was formed by Charles Collins, a newspaper editor in Sioux City, Iowa, who had schemed to enter the Hills as early as 1869 (Tallent 1899:6-8). His first expedition was organized in the summer of 1874 and led by John Gordon. Annie Tallent, who accompanied this expedition and was presumably the first white woman to enter the Hills, wrote about it in her book, *The Black Hills or The Last Hunting Grounds of the Dacotahs* (1899). According to her narrative, the expedition left Sioux City, Iowa on October 6, 1874 (Tallent 1899:21-22) and arrived on December 3, 1874 at the Cheyenne River near Elk Creek where they encountered a band of Cheyennes moving to their winter campgrounds (Ibid:53-56). They reached the foot of the Hills near Sturgis on December 9th and set camp at Box Elder Creek (Ibid:56). From there, they entered the Hills and arrived on December 23 at French Creek where they built their fort and seven log cabins (Ibid:61, 66-71). In February of 1875, two members of the party set out in a southeasterly direction to reach the Niobrara River and follow it to Yankton to get supplies and send news of their arrival in the Black Hills to Sioux City (Ibid:76-77). Word of the party s presence in the Hills was soon published in the newspaper, and, according to Tallent, this prompted the government to be more watchful of whites entering the area. Two weeks later, when two other men left the stockade for Fort Laramie to get supplies, they were intercepted by the military. In April, the military arrived at the stockade and escorted the Gordon party out of the Hills by way of Red Canyon, where Tallent reports they met a small band of Indians whose tribal identity she fails to specify (Ibid:81-85).

Efforts on the part of the military to warn the intruders against trespassing and to remove them from the Hills whenever they were located, as happened to the Gordon party (Tallent 1899: 96-100, 134-136), were largely unsuccessful (Tallent 1899:160-181; Parker, W. 1966:65-67; Lazarus 1991:77-78; Price, C. 1996:155). Well-armed gold prospectors continued to make their

[8] Historically, it was common to justify dispossessing American Indians of their lands on the grounds that they did not use them properly. American Indian men s hunting, fishing, and warfare activities were frequently represented as sport rather than as a form of work or labor worthy of any entitlement to a land base (Albers 1996b:261).

way into the Hills in 1875, and from the fall of that year to the spring of 1876, the big gold rush was on (Tallent 1899:115-129; Spring 1949:71-72). By the summer of 1876, more than 1000 miners had staked claims in the Hills (Tallent 1899:172-181, 264; Parker, W. 1966:53-68). Some of the early miners were novices from the East, looking to the Hills for a new start in life, but others were seasoned prospectors who came from the gold fields of California, Colorado, and Montana with renewed hopes of reaping riches (Sundstrom, J. 1977:116)

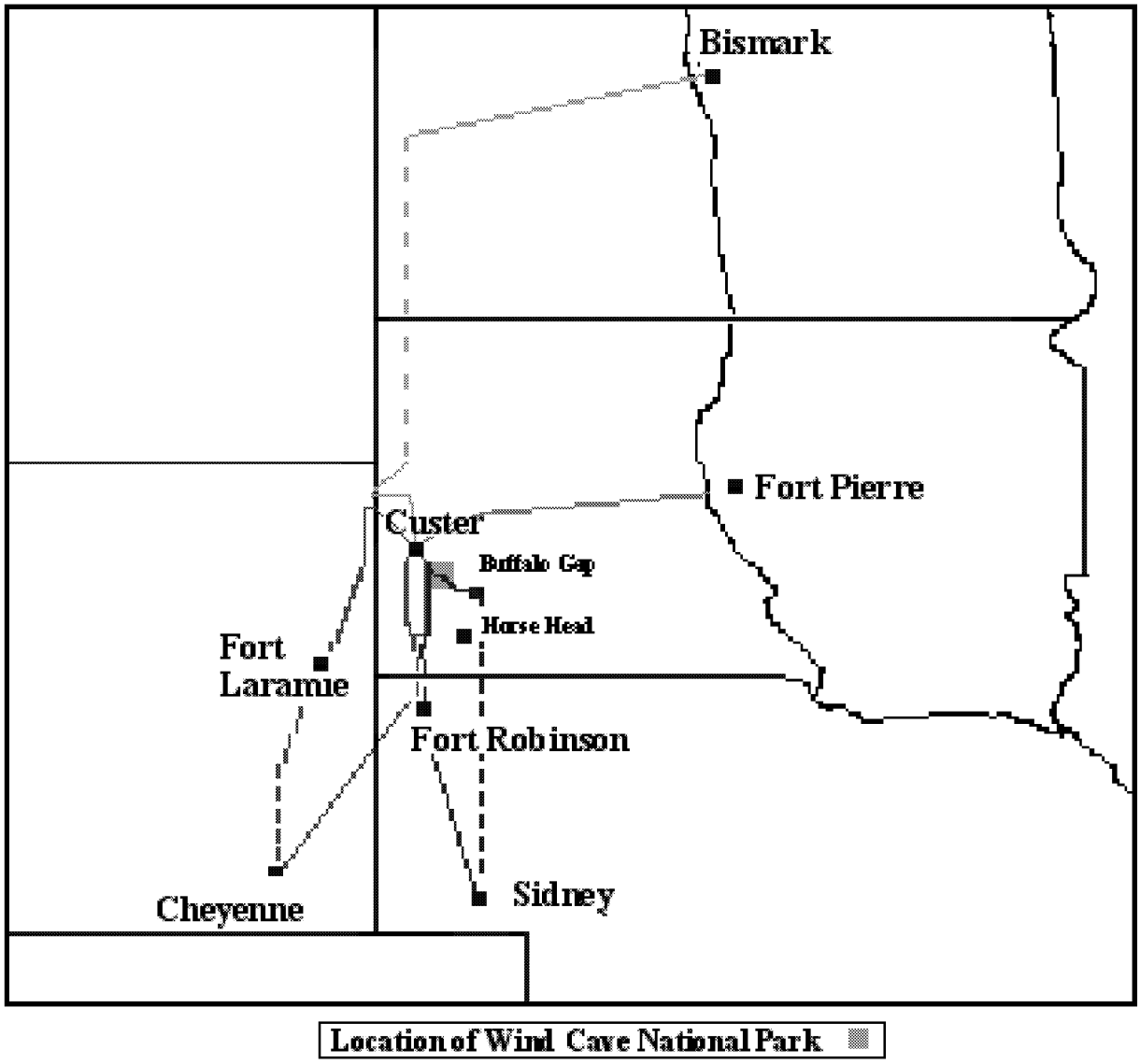
To provision the miners and the various businesses that supported them, roads were built and regular freighting operations brought in supplies from Bismark and Fort Pierre in Dakota Territory, Sidney in Nebraska Territory, and Cheyenne in Wyoming Territory (Tallent 1899:181-182; Spring 1949:69-70, 171-181; Palais 1950; Parker, W. 1966:108-113; Stewart 1967-70:70). Indeed, on December 1, 1875, the territorial legislature of Wyoming passed into law an act to establish a wagon road from Cheyenne to the Black Hills of South Dakota (Spring 1949:75). Stage lines and private mail services were established too and followed many of the same trails (Tallent 1899:189-198; Spring 1949:82-95;122-124; Parker, W. 1966:106-107, 111-122). Two of the most popular early routes traversed the southern Black Hills (see Figure 14). The one from Sidney to Custer took a route that entered the Black Hills at the Buffalo Gap, followed Beaver Creek, crossed the Race Track, climbed into the interior Hills near Wind Cave, and then went northward from Pringle to Custer City (Tallent 1899:647). Another popular route from Cheyenne, Wyoming entered the Hills at Red Canyon and traveled due north through Pleasant Valley (Spring 1949:81-82, 185) or through the area of Pringle near where the park s water supply is located. Both of these trails and significant locations along their routes were recorded on a map made by Crazy Mule, a Cheyenne scout who surrendered at Fort Keogh with Two Moon s band, sometime around 1880 (Fredlund, Sundstrom, and Armstrong 1996:7, 17-21; Sundstrom and Fredlund 1999:46-57).

By 1876, relay stations and stage houses were built to feed and shelter travelers at many different locations along these routes (Spring 1949:124-125; Biever 1982:4; Long 1992:59). Many of them were established at sites that had been popular camping places for local tribes. Even before such accommodations were built, wagon trains and travelers on horseback often selected the same locations as rest stops. The Buffalo Gap was one of the best known of these. One early settler account tells of a summer thunderstorm and flash flood at the Buffalo Gap that killed over sixteen people who camped too close to Beaver Creek (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:197). An early merchant of Custer, S.W. Booth (quoted from Sundstrom, J. 1994: 28), wrote in his 1876 correspondence to the *Times* of Oshkosh, Wisconsin:

> Tuesday, April 18th, we took dinner at Horse Head creek, and camped at night on the Cheyenne River. There were unmistakable signs of Indians; signal fires burning on the hilltops and our outriders found fresh trails on both sides of us. The pony express rider camped with us. He reported two trains captured between here and Custer. We all stood to our guns all night. The Indians came as near as they dared, but found us prepared and left. The next night we camped at Buffalo Gap where half a dozen battles have already been fought...

After spending the night at the Buffalo Gap, the party entered the Hills by a route that followed Beaver Creek, crossing Wind Cave National Park, and as the party ascended into the mountains, they came upon the remains of a wagon that had been captured by Indians (Sundstrom, J. 1994: 28). According to Jessie Sundstrom (Ibid:28-29), these wagons were from a sawmill outfit whose members engaged in a heated battle with unidentified Indian assailants near the Rifle Pit, south of

FIGURE 14. Early Emigrant Trails to Black Hills, 1874-1876



Pringle. The command of General Crook also used this trail, passing through the Buffalo Gap on their way to Fort Robinson in 1876 (Bourke 1892:387). A year later in 1877, Edwin Curley (1973: 85) described this route as follows:

> Still further on the road leaves the ca on [Buffalo Gap] and goes up and down over the steep hill-sides of an exceedingly rugged prairie country, which I judge to be eminently suited for the maneuvers of Indians. After some miles of this difficult travel, we emerged upon a nearly level, elevated plain in The Red Beds, whose dark-red earth and stone is relieved by dark-green patches of dwarf cedar or mountain juniper, while the bottom has the light emerald green of luxuriant grass, the whole giving a very peculiar and a pleasing, although somber appearance.

After 1875, the popular camping area at the Buffalo Gap and the well-traveled Indian trail into the higher elevation interiors along Beaver Creek turned into a war zone. Lakota warriors guarded this important gateway and trail to the Hills and attacked whites who followed it. The fact that early expeditionary parties did not see many Lakotas, Cheyennes, or Arapahos in the Hills at this time means that they were either off the well-trodden paths into or outside the area entirely because of the dangers posed by the presence of the military and other heavily armed white trespassers in the region. After the gold rush had subsided near Custer and shifted to the more northerly districts in the Hills, many of the major wagon and stage routes no longer crossed the Hills southern interiors. Instead, they skirted the edges of the Hills and by-passed the discovery town of Custer (Spring 1949:203). [9]

By 1876, a wide variety of commercial establishments had been built in the white settlements popping up in the Black Hills, especially around Custer, Hill City, Deadwood, and Rapid City. Bars and hotels were erected (Tallent 1899:183-184, 348; Parker, W. 1966:87; Sundstrom, J. 1994: 25, 29). Banks were open (Tallent 1899:274). Hardware stores, meat shops, saddleries, and dry good stores were in operation (Tallent 1899:349-350). Newspapers were in press (Tallent 1899:269-270; Parker, W. 1966:97), and telegraph lines were laid (Tallent 1899:378; Spring 1949:158-160). Towns were being platted (Tallent 1899:264, 287, 304), and even federal taxes were assessed (Tallent 1899:359). Indeed, one early prospector, John R. Brennan (1875:1), who arrived at Custer in November of 1875, claimed that federal troops under General George Crook assisted in surveying and laying out plots for this town, although Jessie Sundstrom (1994:23) clarifies this and writes that it was a ploy to get the miners to vacate French Creek. The fact that seven miners were given permission to remain behind to protect the claims indicates that the removal was viewed as a temporary state of affairs and that the military had no intention of respecting or enforcing the law of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.

In 1875, the military had largely abandoned its efforts to keep prospectors and settlers out of the Black Hills, and even before this, they never prosecuted any of the trespassers (Spring 1949: 67-71; Parker, W. 1966:66-68; Powell 1982:2:929). We now know from recently discovered correspondence that the military had no intention of arresting the miners. In the U.S. military files at the National Archives, an historian working for the legal counsel[10] in the Sioux's Black Hills claims uncovered the proverbial smoking gun, a series of letters that indisputably prove that the President of the United States gave covert approval to miners trespassing in the Hills. In one letter labeled Confidential and dated the 9th of November 1875, General Philip H. Sheridan wrote the following to General Alfred H. Terry:

> My dear Gen. Terry: At a meeting which occurred in Washington on the 3rd of November, at which were present the President of the United States, Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of War and myself, the President decided that while the orders heretofore issued forbidding the occupation of the Black Hills country by miners, should not be rescinded, still no further resistance by the military should be made to the miners going in; it being his belief that such resistance only increased their desire and complicated the troubles. Will you therefore quietly

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[9] Although Barbara Long (1992: 6) argues that the Sidney route never crossed Wind Cave National Park but skirted the Hills along its eastern edge, our research indicates that this is not exactly correct. The Sidney route to Rapid City did not enter the Hills and cross over park properties, but one of the arms or spurs of this route certainly did, as Long (1992: 59) points out in a footnote. This shortcut to Custer was very important during the early years of the gold rush from 1874 to 1876, but it fell into disuse after the gold boom crashed in Custer and the most important mining developments took place around Deadwood.

[10] Fred Nickelson, an historian at the University of Maryland, was the one who uncovered the three letters in which covert decisions were made to cease the arrest of miners (Lazarus 1991:343).

> cause the troops in your Department to assume such attitudes as will meet the views of the President in this respect (*quoted from* Wilkins 1997: 219).

Contrary to other opinions on the matter, it is now quite clear that the military had been authorized by the highest levels of the federal government to refrain from interfering with the miners illegal occupation of the Hills.

In the face of these developments, the Lakotas and their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies stepped up their raiding activity against the Americans. According to some of the early miners and settlers who wrote down their recollections of the early years of white settlement, Lakota and Cheyenne harassments and raids were frequent in the Hills between 1874 and 1876.[11] Places such as the Buffalo Gap in the southern Black Hills were considered especially dangerous (Tallent 1899:241-242, 292; Hughes, R. 1957:25-26; 53, 59-62; Curley 1973:85; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:456; Sundstrom, J. 1977:28). Red Canyon was another southern gateway where raids were frequent (Tallent 1899:243, 292-295; Brown and Willards 1924:74-75, 84-85, Spring 1949: 132, 135, 148; Hughes, R. 1957: 53; Parker, W. 1966: 133; Curley 1973: 45-46; McClintock 2000:58-60). Wagons and stages were attacked, horses and cattle driven off. Even large teams of freighters were not immune from assault. So commonplace were the raids that the miners welcomed the presence of General George Crook and his troops in the Hills during the fall of 1876 (Hughes, R. 1957:185-186). All of this indicates that the Lakotas and their allies were not passive when their beloved Hills were being invaded.[12] Against the vacuum of military inaction, the Lakotas engaged their own war against the miners from 1875-1876. Even though the Battle of Little Big Horn has occupied center stage in historical recountings of this period, an equally significant but less well-known battleground was the Black Hills including the region of Wind Cave National Park.

It is also clear that the white intruders were not passive either. Vigilante and militia groups were formed throughout the Hills to protect the miners and their settlements, even with the blessing of the U.S. cavalry under General George Crook (Parker, W. 1966:132-133, 137). Military detachments were called out to defend the roads into the Hills from Indian attacks (Spring 1949: 139-140), and professional hunters were hired to kill Indians (de Mandat-Grancey 1984:135). Bounties were even offered from fifty to as much as three hundred dollars a head for Indians. Indian heads were pickled and displayed in local bars (Parker, W. 1966:162; McClintock 2000:109, 122). Although many of the reports of Indian headhunting are clearly sensationalized, it does appear that such practices were not only going on but being sanctioned as well in the climate of racial hatred towards Indians that prevailed in the Hills during this period (Williams, R. 1993).

There is also no question, however, that many of the raids and murders attributed to Indians were the work of white thieves and bandits, popularly known as highway men. The famous massacre of the Metz party in Red Canyon, for example, was probably an atrocity committed by a gang of white men led by Persimmons Bill, although some still claim that Indians were among the collaborators (Spring 1949:136-139; Parker, W. 1966:135-136; McClintock 2000:58-60).

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[11] See, for example: Goulette n.d:7; Brennan 1875:7; Tallent 1899:145-146, 237-238, 244, 245-247, 290-299, 307-308, 368-369, 370-373; Brown and Willards 1924:62-63, 69, 77-79, 88, 91, 96-100, 103, 105, 106, 111, 113-115; Hughes, R. 1957:140-141, 152; Spring 1949:144-145, 150, 157, 169; Olson 1965:200; Parker, W. 1966:98-99, 133-136; Curley 1973:34-35; Sundstrom, J. 1977:287, 1994: 28-29; Curl 1984:22-23; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:135, 284-285; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:238-239; McClintock 2000: 58-62, 83-88, 135-137, 178-179).

[12] Black Elk (DeMallie 1984:170) and White Bull (in Vestal 1934:183-184, 206-210) offer Lakota perspectives on these raids, while Father Peter Powell (1982:2:927-928) describes some of the Cheyenne involvement in the attacks.

6. The Seizure of the Black Hills

Meanwhile, tensions between the federal government and the Lakotas, Cheyennes and Arapahos were escalating over the Black Hills and other issues surrounding the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. In the mid-1870s, government agents used Lakota middlemen to convince the non-treaty populations to permanently settle at their agencies on the Missouri and White River and to accept the treaty s provisions. Many people from the non-treaty bands encamped at these agencies with kin who were members of bands whose leaders had signed the treaty, and they drew on their relatives food rations. Still, they refused to sign the treaty. This created internal dissensions within Lakota ranks, especially between some of the younger men and their tribal elders. There were also fights over government attempts at census taking and over its efforts to move the Lakotas to agencies on the Missouri. Tensions flared over the shortage and quality of the food being distributed. The government s refusal to release ammunition and its ban on hunting along the Republican Fork added more fuel to the antagonistic mood of some of the young men at the agencies. In the face of all of this, federal officials threatened to cut off rations and remove the Lakotas to a reservation in Oklahoma if they did not comply with government orders (Olson 1965:171-198; Hannah 1993; Price, C. 1996:102-148). Tensions were also mounting among the Cheyennes and Arapahos who lived among the Lakotas and took their annuities at agencies on the Great Sioux Reservation (Powell 1982:2:921-923; Fowler 1982:52-56).

The movement of large expeditionary forces into the Hills and the growing presence of the miners and other settlers infuriated the Lakotas and their allies (Powell 1982:2:921-929, 933; Price, C. 1996:133-134). Iron Teeth, an elderly Cheyenne woman, shared her recollections of this with Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:16-17) in 1928:

> A few years after that, peace was made between the whites and the Cheyennes and Sioux. Our tribes were to have a permanent home in our favorite Black Hills country. We were promised that all white people would be kept away from there. But after we had been there a few years, General Custer and his soldiers came there and found gold. Many white people crowded in, wanting to get the gold. Our young men wanted to fight these whites, but there were too many of them coming. Soldiers came and told us we would have to move to another part of the country and let the white people have this land where was the gold. This action of the soldiers made bad hearts in many of the Cheyennes and Sioux. They said it would be no use to settle on any new lands, because the white people would come there also and drive us out. The most angered ones went to the old hunting grounds lying between the Powder and Bighorn Rivers.
>
> My husband and I took our family to the Red Cloud Agency, known to us as the White River Agency, where all the Cheyennes had been told to go. He was in bad humor because of our having been driven from our Black Hills home country, but he thought it was best to do whatever the white people ordered us to do.

In response to their rising complaints, J. S. Collins told tribal leaders assembled at the newly established Red Cloud Agency that the President of the United States was powerless to stop the miners from entering the Hills and that their best course of action was to cede the land (Olson 1965:177; Price, C. 1996:141-142). Indeed, while Jenney, Newton, and Dodge were in the Hills exploring its mineral potential, the government had already sent a commission to negotiate the cession of the Black Hills (Olson 1965:202-206; Price, C. 1996:149). The chair of the commission, William Allison, was instructed to honor the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty in reference to Article 12, which required the consent and signatures of three-quarters of the adult male population. According to the commission s own published proceedings and other documents that

recorded what happened, the government s initial request involved an offer to lease the Hills for mineral extraction only (Olson 1965:206-207).

During the course of the deliberations, which began on September 4, 1875, considerable confusion surrounded the meeting and the terms being negotiated. The commission initially proposed to lease the Hills which, according to Lazarus (1991:81), was a ploy to bypass Article 12 of the 1868 Treaty, requiring three-quarters of the adult male population to sign any agreement leading to the cession of land. The concept of a lease was not clear to many of the Sioux leaders who were present at the negotiations, and those who understood it, including Spotted Tail, considered the notion unsound (Ibid.).

When the negotiations were reconvened on the 23rd of September, after an extended adjournment, the Sioux delivered their positions on the matter. The Lakotas and their allies were divided on how to respond to the government s request, however. Those who considered the possibility of negotiating a monetary settlement not only demanded a large sum of money, enough to provision their peoples over many generations, but they also placed restrictions on what areas of land they were willing to negotiate -- namely, the interior regions inside the Race Track (Allison 1875: 88-190; Olson 1965:207-213; Hyde 1961:206-214; Powell 1982:2:931; Price, C. 1996: 150; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:209-214). According to Price (1996:151), the commission was astounded by the demands of the Lakotas, and while they expected a lengthy discussion and debate over the matter, they weren t prepared to haggle over the price of the lease. Although the commission extended an offer of $100,000 per year for mineral rights to the Hills, and $6,000,000, if the Lakotas agreed to sell it outright, the proceedings fell apart when many of the leaders suddenly left the negotiations in anger and disgust over the willingness of some of their relatives to put a price on the Hills (Ibid:151). Those who opposed the sale held the position that the Hills were not negotiable, and as Crazy Horse is purported to have said, One does not sell the land the people walk on (*quoted in* Lazarus 1991:81).

The Cheyennes, according to Father Peter Powell (1982:1:930-936), were similarly divided in their opinion. Most of those who followed Box Elder and Little Wolf held the position that it was unthinkable to sell the Hills, especially the locations that held their most revered and sacred sites. They would never have agreed to the sale of the Race Track and their sacred mountain, Bear Butte, under any terms. Many of these Cheyennes inhabited areas north of the Hills in close association with Lakota bands under the leadership of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, who were also opposed to any sale of the Hills. Even though these allied bands of Lakota and Cheyenne faced extreme hardship during the harsh winters of the early 1870s, they were still able to maintain their independence and follow a way of life wedded to the movements of a declining, but still extant, bison population. Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes who were willing to negotiate over the Black Hills had become increasingly dependent on the agency system once bison were extirpated from their aboriginal territories. Most of the populations who wintered at the edge of the southern Hills or at the agencies along the White River continued to hunt elk, deer, and antelope in the region, but much of this hunting supplemented and complemented a diet based on food rations distributed at the tribal agencies. By 1875, many of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were no longer in a position to completely refuse the government, as Edward Lazarus (1991:82) put it. Their leaders clearly recognized the value of the Hills and attempted to use it as leverage to ensure the livelihood and survival of their peoples in perpetuity.

Judging by the speeches of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders who spoke before the Allison Commission (Allison 1875:188-190), there was uniform agreement among them in the value of the Black Hills to the continued well-being and livelihood of their peoples. Some, like Stabber (in Allison 1875:189), believed that the Hills would support the Lakotas for seven gene-

rations to come. Spotted Bear (Ibid:188), said: Our Great Father has a big safe and so have we. This hill is our safe. That is the reason we can t come to a conclusion very quick. Another Lakota, Fast Bear (Ibid:189), remarked that the Black Hills were not a small thing but very valuable. While Red Cloud was willing to relinquish areas above the pines in return for fair compensation, he was not ready to give up the lands that stretched between the agency and the Race Track, the area with the richest reserves of game (Ibid:188) (see Chapters Seven and Nine for more detailed discussions on this).

Many Lakotas and Cheyennes did not appear at Red Cloud for the negotiations and remained in the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone areas. Even the bands settled at the northern agencies on the Grand and Cheyenne rivers were reluctant to come. According to John Bourke (1875: 246), the Indian Agent at Standing Rock:

> The expedition to the Black Hills by the military, and subsequent invasion of that country by parties in search of the precious metals, caused much dissatisfaction and bad feeling among the Indians. They emphatically expressed their belief that the Government was trifling with their rights in permitting the treaty to be violated, and asked the pertinent question, How can the Great Father expect us to observe our obligations under treaty stipulations when he permits his white children to break it by coming into our country to remain without our consent? The lawless invasion of the Black Hills by white men, in violation of the intercourse laws of the United States and treaty stipulations with Indians, and the apparent tardiness or inability of the Government in removing them, caused great distrust and lack of confidence among the Indians towards all white men and the white man s Government. When asked to go to the grand council at Red Cloud to participate in treating for the sale of the Black Hills, they very intelligently reviewed the whole condition of affairs, and finally refused to go, saying it was no use in making treaties when the Great Father would either let white men break them or had not the power to prevent them from doing so. Notwithstanding that these Indians promised the commissioners who visited them here in August last that they would attend, yet when the time arrived for their departure they refused to go, assigning as the cause the reasons stated. I finally succeeded, however, in prevailing upon all of the principal chiefs and headmen, with a number of their head soldiers, to go. They are now in attendance at the council, participating in the deliberations, and favoring a sale of the Black Hills as a measure calculated to promote their best interests.

While it is clear from this and other reports of the time that some of the leaders representing the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were resigned to the fact that they had little power to avert the government s seizure of the Black Hills, there still was not enough consensus at the meeting to get three-quarters of the adult male population to sign the agreement.

Lacking enough signatures, the commission abandoned further deliberations and the estimated 20,000 Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos in attendance at the negotiations went away angry, confused, and uncertain about the future of the Black Hills (Price, C. 1996:152). After breaking camp, many returned to their respective agencies, but some in the younger generation moved to winter camping grounds at locations near their bison hunting grounds along the Tongue and Yellowstone rivers (Olson 1965:215-217; Price, C. 1996:152-153). Alarmed by this movement, the military issued orders in December for all Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to return to their respective agencies and warned them that if they failed to appear they would be considered hostile and subject to military arrest. This was an unusually severe winter. Some of the messenger bands that tried to reach the followers of Crazy Horse and other warrior groups were forced to spend the winter in the Black Hills because the blizzards made travel impossible (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107). Although some of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos returned in compliance with the order, others refused to come in or were unable to obey it because of the inclement weather (Mekeel 1943:190; Powell 1982:2:934; Price, C. 1996:153;

Arnold in Crawford and Wagonner 1999:239-240). In spite of these conditions, the military engaged its forces in a massive mobilization that culminated in the Battle of Little Bighorn in June of 1876. The rest, as they say, is history: the American army was defeated at the Battle of Little Big Horn against an allied force of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. Within a few weeks of the defeat, Congress issued a directive ordering federal agents to withhold rations until the Lakotas relinquished the Black Hills country (Price, C. 1996:155).

With the death of General George Armstrong Custer and his battalion at the hands of the combined forces of Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas (and Dakotas) encamped along the Rosebud and Little Bighorn rivers in Montana, the United States government abandoned any pretense of fair play in future negotiations over the sale of the Black Hills (Lazarus 1991:89-92). In August of 1876, George Manypenny was appointed chair of a commission to recommence negotiations for the acquisition of the Black Hills (Olson 1965:224-226). Every possible pressure was put before the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders who gathered at Red Cloud Agency to cede the Black Hills, from the threat to remove all the tribes to Indian Territory in Oklahoma to an order to withhold rations until an agreement was signed (Lazarus 1991:92; Price, C. 1996:155). Even though there was still little consensus among the tribal nations who had been forced to gather for the proceedings, some of the leaders, under great duress and in the face of a military armed with bayonets, stepped forward to sign the agreement (Hyde 1961:230-235; Olson 1965: 225-227; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:209-210). The parties to this agreement were different bands of Northern Arapahos, Northern Cheyennes, and the Lakotas, including those affiliated with Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, the Lakotas at Cheyenne River, Standing Rock and Lower Brule, and Dakotas from Crow Creek and the Santee reservation (Lazarus 1991:458, 462-463).

The speech of one tribal representative, Black Coal, a member of the Arapaho tribal nation, expresses the seriousness with which these deliberations were being taken. He said:

> My friends, you that have come here to counsel with the Indians at this agency, I remember the same thing that took place with my father at the treaty of Horse Creek, when the Arapahoes, Cheyennes, Ogallallas, and Brules were all represented. You have come here to speak to us about the Black Hills and, without disguising anything that we say, and without changing anything that we say, we wish you to tell the Great Father when you get back that this is the country in which we were brought up, and it has also been given to us by treaty by the Great Father, and I am here to take care of the country, and therefore, not only the Dakota Indians, but my people have an interest in the Black Hills that we have come to speak about to-day. This is my country and the Great Father has allowed the Arapahoe people to live here, and he told them that they must not be foolish, and they have never been foolish or behaved badly since they have been in this country, and therefore, they have in interest in whatever becomes of it, the sale of it...(U.S. Senate 1876:35-36).

Other published speeches from the proceedings and unpublished documents of the public and private debates that surrounded them indicate that there was still no consensus among the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos regarding the disposition of the Black Hills (Hyde 1961:230-235). Indeed, one Lakota leader argued that no decision could be reached on the matter without consulting the other Lakotas who were not in attendance. The reluctance of the Lakotas and their allies to relinquish the Hills was not only based on their importance to these tribes, but also on the history of broken promises and bad faith by which the federal government had conducted itself in its dealings with them. As Two Strikes said, The reason we are afraid to touch the pen and are silent before you is because we have been deceived so many times before, and as another Lakota exclaimed, since the Great Father promised that we should never be moved we have been moved five times...I think you had better put the Indians on wheels and you can run them about wherever

you wish (in U.S. Senate 1876:43, 52). Nonetheless, on the 19th of October, various leaders, including Red Cloud, Young Man Afraid of His Horse, and American Horse, stepped forward and signed the agreement (Olson 1965:225-227). To this day, many people believe that the Lakotas and other tribal leaders did not understand the agreement to which they affixed their signatures. Despite the fact that three-quarters of the adult men had not signed the agreement, it was concluded on October 27, 1876 and ratified the following year on the 28th of February by the Senate. Notwithstanding the illegality of its actions, the United States formally seized the Black Hills, claiming that the Lakota people had ceded it under the 1876 Black Hills Agreement (Price, C. 1996:155-157).

It is clear, however, that the parties to this agreement had a very different interpretation of what it meant. Red Cloud is purported to have believed that he had signed a lease agreement, as introduced to him and others by William Allison during the negotiations of 1875 (Olson 1965: 227). Whether this is the case or not, it is clear that he was firm in his belief that the United States was obligated to provision the Lakotas indefinitely. As he told a government agent, The white man can work if he wants to, but the Great Spirit did not make us to work. The white man owes us a living for the lands he has taken from us (*quoted in* Lazarus 1991: 103). Of course, the intention of the government, whether it was clear to the Lakotas and their allies or not, was to enter into a purchase agreement in which there was a definite but open-ended conclusion to the payments. It is also clear that whatever concessions the tribal parties to the agreement may have retained in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 were stripped from them in the 1877 agreement. This included the loss of their off-reservation hunting rights to the Republican and Powder River countries.

7. Tribal Resistance and Surrender

Even as tribal title to the Black Hills was being relinquished, many Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos continued to remain out of the reach of the agencies and the soldiers, traveling, camping, and hunting in isolated locations in the vast country of the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone rivers. After the battle with Custer s forces on the Little Bighorn in Montana, many of these bands continued to follow their independent way of life, notwithstanding the considerable hardships they endured during the harsh winters of the 1870s (Powell 1982:2:793, 923, 926-928, 933). Cheyennes under Little Wolf and Dull Knife (a.k.a. Morning Star) and Oglalas under Crazy Horse and Lame Deer resolutely refused to sign any agreement or to stay at the agencies along the White River. Before the famous fight with Custer in the summer of 1876, they constituted the nucleus of the populations who lived in the regions between the Black Hills and Big Horn Mountains. In the summers, their ranks swelled when their kin from the agencies joined them in hunting and on raiding expeditions against American miners, the Crows, Shoshones, and other enemies. In the aftermath of the Battle of Little Bighorn and the threat of further hostile action from the U.S. military, they remained determined to hold their northern territories. In July and August of 1876, some of these bands camped near Bear Butte, while their younger warriors raided white settlements on the northern side of the Hills for horses, cattle, and other commodities. The policy of many of the older leaders, at least among the Cheyennes, was to avoid the whites and stay out of harm s way (Powell 1982:2:1047-1051).

Over the next few years, facing starvation and sickness among their peoples, the non-treaty northern bands associated with Crazy Horse started to surrender themselves at agencies on the White River in the spring of 1877. Contrary to previous and very small estimates of their population size, the Oglalas, Minneconjous, Itazipcos, and Cheyennes who surrendered numbered well over four thousand people (Hyde 1937:292). With the surrender of Crazy Horse, his followers and associates, only one small band under Lame Deer remained outside federal jurisdiction.

When Lame Deer was killed by Colonel Miles troops, the band fled but eventually surrendered at Spotted Tail Agency in the fall of 1877 (Hyde 1937:245). Although all of the Lakotas were now effectively under federal control, it would be another two years before the remaining Cheyennes were subdued and eventually settled either at Pine Ridge among the Lakotas or on their own reservation in Montana (Eastman in Graber 1978:28, 132-134; Powell 1982:2:1245-1261; Striata 1995:60-69).

After their forced removal to Oklahoma in 1877, the Northern Cheyennes under Little Wolf and Dull Knife made a return trek to the north with their people in 1878 (Grinnell 1956:359-414; Weist 1977:80-81; Straita 1995:34-37). Even though they shared a common heritage with the Southern Cheyennes, they were no longer a part of the same community. As Father Peter Powell (1982:2:1067-1070, 1125-1131) writes, their long history of intermarriage, territorial sharing, and political alliance with the Lakotas made them closer socially and culturally to this tribe, and it was with these relatives and friends that they sought shelter. Many of Dull Knife s people, however, were killed by the military when they tried to escape capture after being imprisoned at Fort Robinson (Grinnell 1956:414-427; Weist 1977:82-83). Some of those who lived were eventually settled at Pine Ridge (Striata 1995:74-76).

III. THE WIND CAVE AREA IN TRANSITION

In less than two decades, after the U.S. government began to impose boundaries on tribal territories, the Black Hills changed from being a camping ground, religious sanctuary, meeting place, plant nursery, game reserve, and mineral storehouse owned, occupied, and used exclusively by the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho nations (except for a few white traders who lived in their midst) to a land populated and controlled by European Americans for their own settlement and development. The demographic transition was swift and brutal. In little more than two years, the Hills turned from a region largely devoid of European Americans to one of the most densely populated areas of Dakota Territory. Almost overnight, towns sprang up with full services and amenities from saloons and banks to bakeries and churches. Major stage lines and freighting services quickly crisscrossed the region bringing people and supplies to the gold-rich towns of Custer and Deadwood.

Before 1875, the Black Hills remained an important area of occupation for the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. The bands of these tribes wintered at campsites that nearly encircled the Hills, they traveled into the interiors to fish, hunt, gather plants and lodgepoles, and they camped at various spots to conduct their religious observances and political deliberations. Their wintering locations stretched from the Fall River and the Buffalo Gap to the valley of Rapid Creek, from there to Red Water, and then along Stockade-Beaver Creek to the South Fork of the Cheyenne. In the summers, their camps were observed, among other places, at Reynolds Prairie and Castle Creek. This all changed in 1875, when scores of miners and settlers illegally entered the Hills and took control of the mineral-rich interiors. As the Lakotas and their allies waged war on the trespassing whites, the region became too dangerous for their own families and settlements. But even in the winter of 1875-1876, at the height of the illegal emigration, some Lakotas were reported to have camped in the Hills to escape the blizzards and bitter cold of one the harshest winters in the region s history. Even though these tribes were permanently exiled from the Hills through the passage of the Black Hills Act in 1877 and were no longer able to live among them on their own terms, they would continue to embrace the area and use it for a wide variety of cultural purposes in the coming years.

In the midst of this change, the southeastern reaches of the Hills, where Wind Cave National Park is now located, remained largely isolated. Two of the federally sponsored expeditions to this area, Custer s and Hinman s, may have crossed portions of the park's land, or, at the very least, lands that bordered park properties. The Jenney Expedition of 1875 sent parties to the southeastern area of the Hills and developed a fairly detailed map of the region that included the Beaver Creek drainage from its headwaters near Pringle to its mouth east of the Buffalo Gap on the Cheyenne River. From some of their descriptions, it is clear that they entered the park along Beaver Creek en route to the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs.

In the years before 1875, the southeastern area of the Black Hills was used and occupied primarily by Lakotas and the Cheyennes who remained in their midst. The Buffalo Gap was a favorite wintering area, especially for some of the Sicangu, Minneconjou, and Oglala bands, a location where people stayed from the late fall through the early spring. Neighboring areas along the Fall River, French Creek, and the South Fork of the Cheyenne were also popular winter camping areas, close enough for small parties to travel to park lands in search of food. The area was also probably used by the Masikota Cheyennes, and perhaps some of the other Cheyennes associated with the Oglalas and Sicangus. It was reported as a location where Lakotas temporarily encamped in the spring or fall when traveling between their buffalo-hunting grounds on the Powder and Tongue rivers and their agencies on the White River. In a variety of different sources, which are described in later chapters, the region was widely regarded as a hunting ground where small parties of men came to hunt deer and elk in the late fall from their settlements on the White River and even as far away as the Platte. It was also known as a place where people came to draw on the healing waters of the neighboring hot springs. Finally, it was reported to be the location of three major Indian trails, one which entered the Hills at the Buffalo Gap and followed Beaver Creek into the higher elevation interiors near present day Custer, South Dakota, another which followed trails to Custer on the park s western border, and a third, known as the Race Track, which encircled the Hills, and also covered park properties.

The Buffalo Gap was the area that Spotted Tail recommended in 1874 for the establishment of a permanent agency for his followers. The historic record does not tell us why he singled out this site, but as the discussion in Chapter Seven reveals, this was a logical choice given the transhumance migratory patterns of the game on which local tribes depended. The area extending from the Race Track through the Hogback to the grasslands were included in the lands that Red Cloud and other Lakotas did not wish to give up when the cession of the Black Hills was being negotiated in 1875 and then again in 1876. The historic record does not reveal why the Lakotas wanted these lands reserved for them, but again, as subsequent discussion reveals, they occupied a critical place in the ecological adaptations of local tribes to this area.

We can also be certain that many early prospectors traveled across park lands to reach the gold fields near Custer. Two of the major trails into the gold mining areas in the Hills interiors passed through the southern Hills. One of these, the Sidney-Custer Trail, entered the Hills at the Buffalo Gap and crossed sections of the park along Beaver Creek. The other, the Cheyenne-Custer Trail, followed Red Canyon and Pleasant Valley, or the Pringle area, along the western edge of park properties. While thousands of European Americans traveled these routes on foot and horseback or by wagon and freight team, very few appear to have stayed in the area before 1877. Indeed, during much of the period between 1874 and 1876, the trails into the Hills at the Buffalo Gap and Red Canyon were war roads that the Lakotas attempted to defend against outside encroachments. The intensity of Lakota military activity along these routes reveals, at least in part, how important this area was to them and how it would not be easily surrendered to incoming whites. Because of its lack of mineral wealth, isolation, and vulnerability, this region was

largely devoid of any white settlement. It would take another decade for European Americans to establish a substantial presence in this part of the Hills.

Chapter Six

HOMESTEADERS AND TOURISTS: 1878 to Present

After 1877, the Black Hills historical record turns on the European American prospectors, merchants, ranchers, farmers, and developers who came to the area to stake out a new life for themselves. Much of the story speaks to the drama and legend of the frontier West with its cast of notable characters, including Wild Bill Hickock and Calamity Jane. Indeed, a large portion of the published history, popular as well as scholarly, focuses its attention on the early decades of white settlement and their romantic link to epic tales of discovery, struggle, and survival on the American frontier. With the passing of the halcyon days of the cattle industry, following the disastrous winter of 1886-1887, the history of the Black Hills turns to more prosaic stories woven out of the fabric of national events from the Depression to the Vietnam War. In fact, comparatively little attention is paid in popular and scholarly writings to what happened in the Black Hills after World War I except for developments at Mount Rushmore.

Until the 1970s, when the American Indian Movement began its occupations in the Black Hills, tribal relationships to the area were essentially erased from the region s history. Most historical writings on the Hills abandoned any consideration of an American Indian presence after 1877, except as a reminder of the now well-known stories of the wars between the U.S. military and local tribal nations. The continuing ties of the Lakotas and their allies, the Cheyennes and Arapahos, were obscured, and even when glimpses of them appeared, it was in the context of events unfolding around the white settlers who came to occupy center stage in local histories. Although largely invisible, there is an important tribal history here, one that involves a complex and continuing relationship to the Hills, and it needs to be told.

Another story that remains hidden in some of the better-known historical accounts of the Black Hills is the emergence and development of the area where Wind Cave National Park is now located. After 1878, the park s lands became wedged between two very different kinds of American settlement. At locations to the north in Custer County, much of the settlement was built around mining and logging and the services that supported these industries, while areas to the south in Fall River County were developed around ranching and farming (Geores 1990:41-42). Although the histories of the northern and southern districts of the Black Hills moved in divergent directions at the end of the nineteenth century, their paths started to meet after World War I through their common ties to the region s rapidly growing tourist industry. The southern Hills can be credited as the pioneer in the region's leisure and recreational development. The town of Hot Springs, in particular, supported the growth of a lavish resort and spa industry at the end of the nineteenth century. A commerce built around travel and leisure did not develop farther north, however, until the early decades of the twentieth century when the Hills spectacular wilderness scenery and its legendary mining frontier started to be promoted. By the middle of the twentieth century, tourism had become one of the cornerstones of the Black Hills economy.

I. HISTORIC REFERENCES

In reconstructing the post-1878 history of the Black Hills, especially the region of Wind Cave National Park, several different kinds of source material were relied upon. Most of the secondary sources entail general histories of the region, while the primary materials include the oral and written accounts of the people who resided in the area at different points in time. Some unpublished archival material was also drawn upon to reconstruct events and trends from 1878 to the present.

A. Histories of American Settlement and Development

There are a number of general histories of the Black Hills, but most of these pertain to the era before Wind Cave became a national park. These include the early writings of pioneer settlers, including Annie Tallent s *The Black Hills or the Last Hunting Ground of the Dacotahs* (1899), Jesse Brown and A. M. Willards *The Black Hills Trails: A History of the Struggles of the Pioneers in The Winning of the Black Hills* (1924), Richard B. Hughes *Pioneer Years in the Black Hills* (1957), and John McClintock s *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills* (2000). There are the accounts of Le Baron de Mandat-Grancey (1981, 1984), who wrote about his travels in the area during the 1880s. More recent works, such as Watson Parker s *Gold in the Black Hills* (1966), Paul Friggens *Gold and Grass: The Black Hills Story* (1983), and Hyman Palais various writings (1941, 1942, 1942b, 1942c, 1950) chronicle the early history of the region as well. Bob Lee and Dick Williams *Last Grass Frontier: The Stock Grower Association* (1964), Herbert Schell s *South Dakota History* (1961), and Howard R. Lamar s *Dakota Territory, 1861-1889: A Study of Frontier Politics* (1996) are three works that place Black Hills history in the wider context of what was happening in the state of South Dakota. Finally, Martha Georges recent study, *Common Ground: The Struggle for Ownership of the Black Hills National Forest* (1990), offers interesting insights on the history of federal lands.

Several travel accounts, largely written for tourists and popular audiences, give a sense of the region s tourism and its most notable attractions, including Wind Cave, during the first half of the twentieth century. These include R. Peattie s edited volume, *The Black Hills* (1952), O. W. Coursey s *The Beautiful Black Hills* (1926), Robert Casey s *The Black Hills and Their Incredible Characters: A Chronicle and a Guide* (1949), Leland D. Case s *Lee s Official Guide to the Black Hills and the Badlands* (1949), and Albert N. Williams' *The Black Hills* (1952). All of the more serious historical writings and popular travel accounts on the Black Hills include information on the southeastern regions where Wind Cave National Park is located, but this material is very general, except for Suzanne Julin s article South Dakota Spa: A History of the Hot Springs Health Resort, 1882-1915, which appeared in the 1982 *South Dakota Historical Collections.*

Some of the best and most detailed information on the history of the southeastern Hills comes from the writings of local historians, many of whom wrote essays included in works that mark local town and county centennials (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-1970; Fall River Country Historical Society 1976; Sundstrom, J. 1977; Curl 1984; Oelrichs Historical Society 1984). Of particular note here is the exceptional historical work of Jessie Sundstrom, *Pioneers and Custer State Park* (1994), which describes events unfolding on state lands directly north of Wind Cave National Park. There is also the work of South Dakota s poet laureate, Badger Clark, *When Hot Springs was Still a Pup*, originally published by the Kiwanis Club of Hot Springs in 1927 and republished in 1983 by Linda Hasselstrom of Lame Johnny Press.

Except for John Bohi s 1962 article, Seventy Five Years at Wind Cave: A History of the National Park, which appeared in the *South Dakota Historical Collections* in 1962, there is little in the published literature that focuses on the park. Historical research (Long 1992; Western History Research 1992) has been conducted for the National Park Service, but it remains unpublished. These sources were consulted for material on European American settlement and cultural affiliations to the park. Unpublished oral history transcripts from the South Dakota Oral History Project at the University of South Dakota-Vermillion (Bingham 1973; McAdam 1973; Petty 1973; Smith, A. 1973; Williams, B. 1973) also give some insight into the relations of local European American settlers to the park.

B. Accounts of Continuing Tribal Use and Settlement

Contained within the historical and popular writings on the Black Hills, in general, and Custer and Fall River counties, in particular, are glimpses of a continuing tribal presence in the Black Hills and the region of Wind Cave National Park from the late nineteenth to the early half of the twentieth century. A Lakota and Cheyenne presence is revealed in the writings of scholars and local white settlers (Mekeel 1932; Odell 1942; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70; Fall River Country Historical Society 1976; Sundstrom, J. 1977; Born 1994; Moore, J. 1981), in the documents of federal officials (Jones 1904; U. S. Senate 1904), and in tribal autobiographical accounts (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967; Fools Crow in Mails 1978; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988; Pourier et. al in Niehardt and Utrecht 2000). In addition, there are a few unpublished oral history transcripts from the American Indian Oral History Project (Brown Thunder 1971; Circle Bear 1971) and the South Dakota Oral History Project (Bingham 1973; McAdam 1973; Petty 1973; Smith, A. 1973; Williams, B. 1973) at the University of South Dakota-Vermillion that provide additional evidence for the Lakotas continuing relationship to the Black Hills. Most of these sources, however, contain only *ad hoc* references written in contexts devoted to other concerns. When taken together, however, they document a continuing but changing pattern of tribal relationship to the Hills after 1877.

Over the past four decades, there has been an explosion of writings on tribal ties to the Hills. Much of this originally appeared in local and national newspapers, including *Indian Country Today, Lakota Times, New York Times, Rapid City Journal, Rolling Stone Magazine, Sioux Falls Argus-Leader,* and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press,* which covered Lakota takeovers in the Black Hills during the 1970s and 1980s. More recently, a number of writings have discussed these events in relation to tribal litigation and land reclamation efforts (Matthiessen 1980; Clow 1983; Parlow 1983a; Cassells, Miller, and Miller 1984; Giago 1984, 1999; Pemberton 1985; Lazarus 1991; O Brien 1991; Means and Wolf 1995; Smith and Warrior 1996; New Holy 1997, 1998; Christafferson 2001). Yet, behind the more prolific coverage of the Lakotas political relationship to the Hills is another trail of writing that indicates the slow but steady return of Lakotas and other American Indians to the Black Hills as tourists, workers, residents, and religionists (White, R. 1970; Powell 1969; Bingham 1973; Petty 1973; Schlesier 1974; Fools Crow in Mails 1978; Moore 1981; Parlow 1983a; Giago 1984, 1999; Gonzalez 1996; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988; Red Hat in Schukies 1993; Young Bear and Theisz 1994; Forbes-Boyte 1996, 1999; Dorst 2000; U.S. Census Bureau 2000; Larner 2002).

II. TRANSITIONS

The transitional lands on which Wind Cave National Park stands, bridging as they do the prairies and sandstone hills of the Hogback with the high altitude coniferous forests of the limestone and granite interiors, continued to influence the course of the history of the park area after 1878. The park and its surrounding region stood on the margins of the Hills major centers of white settlement and economic development. It remained an area that people crossed to get to the gold fields in the interiors. Even after European Americans discovered Wind Cave in 1881 and developed it into a tourist attraction, the park s lands remained largely unpopulated. Most of the small number of homesteads within park boundaries were not settled and patented until after the 1890s (Western History Research 1992:70). Grazing, hunting, trapping, and some farming were the primary economic activities settlers pursued on the lands that now encompass park properties.

As settlement increased and the cave s popularity grew, the park s lands became less isolated. In time, they came to occupy an important place in the history of the southern Hills, and after 1920, they contributed in not insubstantial ways to the growth of the local economy. In order to get a good sense of this history, however, we need to see it in the light of the wider region of which it has always been a part.

A. The Emergence of a New Social Order, 1878 To 1902

The decades between 1878 and 1902, the year before Wind Cave became a national park, were heydays in the history of the Black Hills. This was a time of rapid population growth and economic development, much of which rested on mining, logging, and ranching. It was a formative period when new and radically different kinds of political and economic relationships to the Hills were established by the European Americans who made this region their home. As their presence grew, they transformed the landscape in fundamental ways, redefined the uses to which its resources were put, and above all, imposed their own cultural meanings on its value and worth. In short, the newcomers created the foundations upon which a new social order would be built and the future course of the Hills would be navigated.

Once European Americans dominated the region, they also determined the conditions under which the Black Hills former residents would continue to preserve some of their relationships to the region. Although many of them were forced out of the area and placed on reservations far removed from the Hills, the Lakotas and Cheyennes of the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation were still close enough to retain an ongoing relationship, based not only on certain limited patterns of traditional use but also on new kinds of association linked to European American adaptations to the region.

1. The Stories of European American Settlement

The early stories of European American settlement in the Hills, especially in the region where Wind Cave National Park was established, focus on three subjects. First, they typically consider the trails that emigrants took to reach various locations in the Black Hills and the history of their development from wagon roads and stage routes to railway lines and modern highways. Second, they chart the chronology of the area through the discoveries of the Hills natural resources and the industries that fostered their development. Finally, they give attention to the figures whose noteworthy accomplishments contributed to the Hills growth and its unique history. Here the rascalians and bandits, the likes of Lame Johnny, often receive as much attention as the scions of local industry.

a.Trails and Crossroads

Much of the popular romance of the region is told from the vantage point of the routes that prospectors and settlers took to reach the Black Hills in the 1870s (Spring 1949; Palais 1950; Parker, D. 1951). Initially, most of the emigrants came to the Hills on foot or horseback and by wagon, but as the region continued to boom and grow after 1877, stagecoaches and later trains brought people to the area. The newcomers came from all directions; they migrated from the mining fields of California, Montana, and Colorado, from urban centers and farms in the East and Midwest, from the cattle ranges of Texas, Kansas, and Oklahoma, and even from the foreign lands of China, Canada, Mexico, Sweden, Scotland and Germany (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41-45, 55, 101, *et. seq.*; Bingham 1973:2; Petty 1973:1; Williams, B. 1973:1; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:10, 12, 28, 35, 48, 59, 70, 78 *et. seq.*; Sundstrom, J. 1977:261, 289, 362 *et. seq)*. Bismark in Dakota Territory, Sidney in Nebraska Territory, and Cheyenne in Wyoming Territory were the major transcontinental railway stops from which travelers embarked to follow overland routes to the Hills. Fort Pierre on the Missouri River was the nearest stop for emigrants arriving in the region by steamboat. These were the four major locations from which throngs of prospectors and settlers started their journeys to the Hills and also the central terminals for wagon trains hauling cargo into and out of these mountains.

Two of the earliest trails into the Hills and to the bustling gold towns of Custer and Deadwood crossed the southern Black Hills . The land on which Wind Cave National Park now stands was situated along one of these important routes and bordered another at the location of the park s water supply area. The Buffalo Gap, as previously noted, was a major point of entry into the Black Hills from the town of Sidney in Nebraska, and the divides along Beaver Creek and Cold Brook Canyon became well-trodden trails, leading prospectors and earlier American Indians into the high elevation interiors where the town of Custer is located. Professor Walter Jenney, the geologist who led a federally financed expedition to the area in 1875, followed this route again on horseback in 1879. He was accompanied by Dr. Valentine McGillicuddy, also a former member of the 1875 expedition, and Col. William J. Thornby of Deadwood, South Dakota (Tallent 1899:645-646; Casey 1949:87-88; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:143). As Tallent (1899:647) described their itinerary, From Pringle, they took an old Indian trail along the divide towards the Buffalo Gap, for six or seven miles and passed within a short distance of the now famous Wind Cave. Even as late as 1881, emigrants traveled with wagon trains hauling freight to Custer along this trail (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:251). After 1877, most of the wagon and stagecoach traffic from Sidney to the Black Hills gold fields was routed along the eastern flanks of the Hills, although the Buffalo Gap remained a major rest stop along the route (Palais 1950:226-231*)*. By the 1880s, the Beaver Creek Trail and others nearby were used primarily for local traffic or for hauling lumber and other freight (Long 1992:6). According to Donald Williams (in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:275), a descendent of one of the pioneer sawmill operators in Hot Springs:

> Most of the lumber was hauled down Cold Brook Canyon over the hill south of Wind Cave Park and on to the Buffalo Gap. The hill out of the canyon was called breakneck hill, which could be accomplished without too much effort, then over Gobblers Knob and on down to Beaver Creek.

To the present day, local residents and historians are well aware of the history and importance of Beaver Creek and the Buffalo Gap, not only to the early miners but also to the Lakotas and other tribal nations who previously lived in the region (Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:3; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:14). Even foreign visitors knew of its importance. Gallot

Francois Edmond, Le Baron de Mandat-Grancey (1981:3-6), a nobleman born in Dijon, France in 1842 and a writer of popular western stories, traveled to the Black Hills in 1883, 1886, and 1887. While visiting the Fleur de Lys ranch in 1887, he had this to say about the Buffalo Gap:

> It is in this region, at the same time so rough and so changeless, that we plunge, on leaving Buffalo Gap, which is situated at the edge of the great prairie. One can enter the massive bulk of mountains by three or four gaps --(*breches*). The former was well known at the time of the Indians. They had given it the name *Breche aux buffles* of which Buffalo Gap is the translation, because it was through there that passed each year the immense herds of buffalo which, having wintered on the southern prairie, came north in the spring. Innumerable Indian wars had as their objects the possession of this hunting ground; for the tribes who could claim it for themselves would have marvelous hunting there. It is said that certain days three or four thousand buffalo were slaughtered. Even now the ground is literally covered with their skulls (Mandat-Grancey 1981:11).

He also reported on the wonders of the water that flowed in Beaver Creek:

> In the southern Black Hills all of the streams of the prairie have execrable water, but none compare with Beaver Creek, which flows at the Buffalo Gap. Its water has all the properties of the spring which, in our day, has made so celebrated the name of the *Hunyadi*. The good Flynn saw himself already associated with his name on the bottles the doctor would dispatch to the entire world (Mandat-Grancey 1981:7).

By the end of the 1870s, Buffalo Gap was a major stopping point along the route of the early Northwestern Stage Company line from Sidney, Nebraska to Deadwood, South Dakota (Smith and Willards 1924:48; Biever 1984:4), and it was also one of the locations where people changed stages to ride to Hot Springs and Custer (Sundstrom, J. 1994:25, 27). George Boland and his brother established a stage and relay station here with food and overnight accommodations for passengers and freighters (Stewart 1967-70:70). In the early 1880s, during the halcyon days of the cattle industry, the Buffalo Gap grew into a bustling community with over one thousand residents (Casey 1949:86-90). It became the most important shipping point and transfer location for people and goods destined to the southern Hills.

Another important route crossing the southern Hills came directly north from Fort Robinson, Nebraska, through Red Canyon and Pleasant Valley or, alternatively, Shirttail Canyon and Pringle to Custer (Sundstrom, J. 1994:25, Palais 1950:231-238). Like the Buffalo Gap, Red Canyon was an entrance into the Hills jealously guarded by the Lakotas and Cheyennes, who regularly attacked wagon trains and stages passing through its narrow passageway during the height of the gold rush between 1874 and 1876. Both of these early gateways were also the targets of highwaymen and horse thieves, who were known to maintain their hideouts at isolated locations in the southern Hills (Spring 1949:296). One of the more well-known thieves was Lame Johnny, Cornelius Donahue, who with his partner, Lame Bradley, shared a shack along the creek that bears his name; he was eventually hanged in 1878 on a cottonwood tree north of the Buffalo Gap, near the site where he and his accomplices purportedly robbed a stagecoach (Brown and Willards 1924:298-301; Case 1949:104; Federal Writers Project 1952:287; Bohi 1962:365; Stewart 1967-70:70; Sundstrom, J. 1994:66-67; Rezatto 1989:120-127).

Little more than two years after the gold boom, the placer mines in the discovery town of Custer played out. After 1877, when the region s mining development and the locus of its population growth shifted to the northern districts of the Hills, the major transportation routes were diverted to roads around the edge of the Hogback. When the U.S. Post Office Department started to carry mail into the Hills in 1878, Luke Voorhees took it over a newly established stage route

that crossed the southern Hills from Raw Hide Buttes to Horse Head, just south of the Buffalo Gap, where it joined the Sidney line going north to Deadwood. This new route bypassed Hat Creek, Red Canyon, and Custer, a change that led to the loss of mail service for many settlers in the southern Hills.[1] By 1880, the mail contract over this route was curtailed, although the passenger service continued from Cheyenne to Deadwood by way of Horse Head Junction (Spring 1949:292, 298-299, 303). In the 1890s, local mail was carried by stage on a route that started at the Buffalo Gap, included stops at Wind Cave and Hot Springs and ended at Edgemont (Petty 1973:13). Wind Cave served as the local post office for some of the region s homesteaders well into the twentieth century (McAdam 1973:3).

Within a decade of the invasion of prospectors and settlers, railtracks were being laid to destinations at the foot of the Black Hills. The Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad offered service between Sidney and Rapid City, following the old stage and wagon routes (Biever 1984:4). A railway station was built along Beaver Creek, and the town of Buffalo Gap was relocated farther south as a result. The first train arrived in 1885, and from there, passengers were taken by stage to destinations in the southern Hills (Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:70). With the arrival of the railway, Buffalo Gap became the first major shipping point for locally raised stock, eliminating the time consuming, long distance cattle drives of earlier years (Palais 1941:43; Lee and Williams 1964:161). The railways not only made it more convenient but also more cost effective for ranchers to bring their stock to distant markets (Schell 1961:250), and this no doubt helped to make some of the land in and around the present day boundaries of Wind Cave National Park attractive for stock raising. The coming of the railroads in the mid-1880s also opened the region to tourists and travelers, and it played a central role in the growth of Hot Springs as a nationally acclaimed resort and the development of Wind Cave as a popular tourist attraction. Eventually, branch lines took passengers into the interior regions of the Hills, and by 1891, two railways reached Hot Springs (Clark, B. 1983:72).

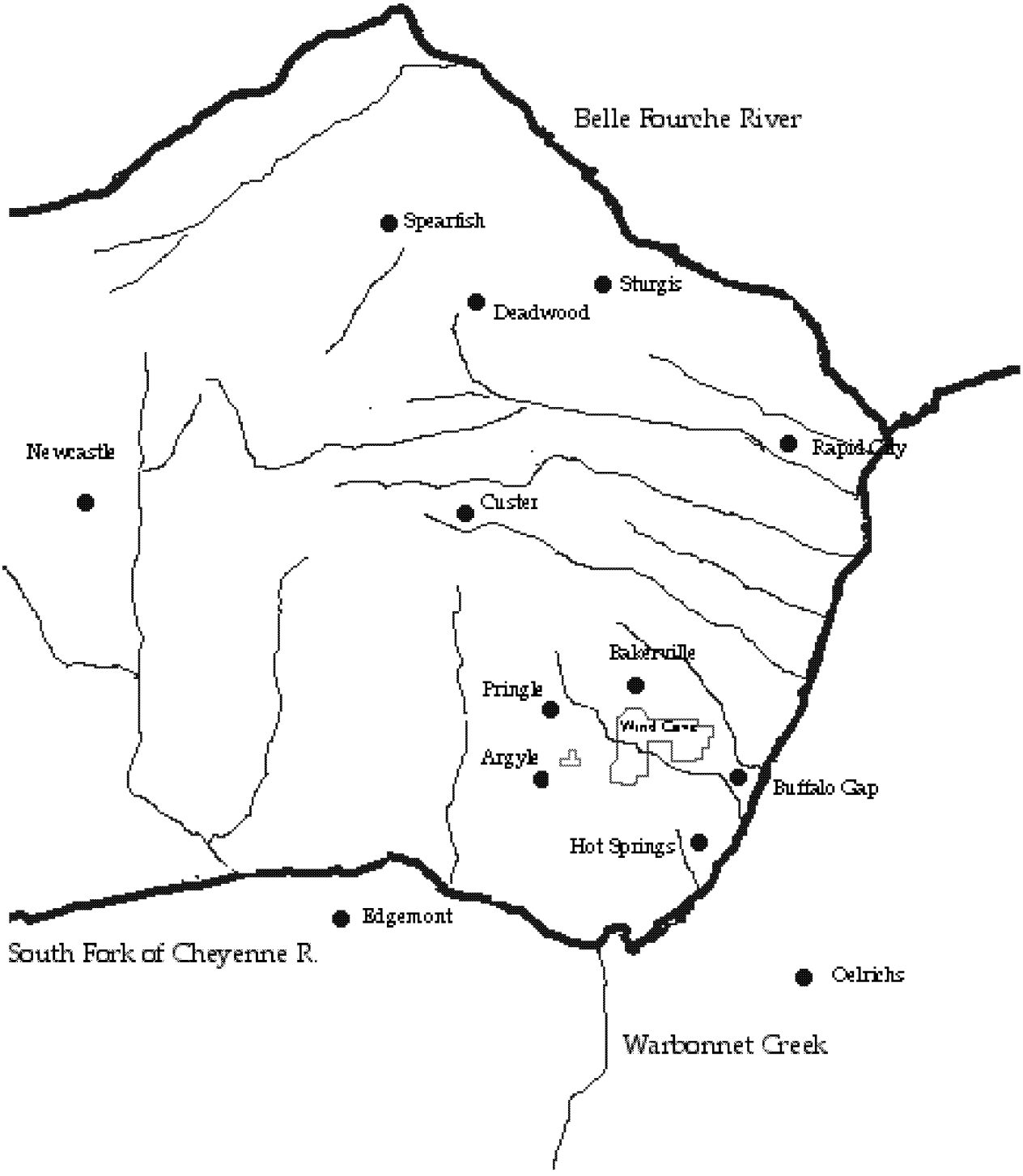
1891 was also the year that Fred Evans hired Chris Jensen, a Danish emigrant, to run a coach to Wind Cave from Hot Springs (Sundstrom, J. 1994:28). Later, sightseers could reach the cave in a four-seated tally-ho bus drawn by four horses and owned by Jensen, who now ran a livery stable in Hot Springs. A competitor, Edmund Petty, who ran the mail service in the 1890s, took people to Wind Cave once a day on his stagecoach, which was later sold to a promoter for Deadwood s 'Days of 76' (Tallent 1899:672; Bohi 1962:392; Koller 1970:3; Petty 1973:13; Smith, A. 1973:10; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:146; Sundstrom, J. 1977:27-28; Clark, B. 1983:14).

b. Towns and Settlements

Wind Cave National Park is situated along the southern border of Custer County. Originally, Custer County covered the entire southern Black Hills and the grasslands as far south as the Nebraska state line. The center of its government was located at the town of Custer. By the time Lakota title to the Black Hills was extinguished in 1877, the gold rush was over in Custer. The thousands of prospectors who flocked to the area were gone and with them went much of the town s commercial development. In subsequent years, Custer s population fluctuated between fifty and four hundred people (Tallent 1899:408-409). In the face of a dwindling population and reduced commercial opportunities, it neither had the economic strength nor the political clout to

[1] Before the U.S. mail was able to establish its service in the Black Hills, private individuals, such as Ben Arnold, carried mail from Sidney, Cheyenne, and Fort Crawford to the region s settlers. Until the Hills were officially relinquished in 1877, all traffic into and out of the Hills was illegal. Even though no one was ever prosecuted for this illegal traffic, some were detained by the military in the early years of European American occupation.

FIGURE 15. Early European American Towns and Settlements in the Black Hills



maintain control over the far-reaching county it served. When the southern half of the county experienced a spurt in its economy and population as a result of the region s cattle boom, its local citizens brought a bill before the territorial legislature to have the county divided. In 1883, a law was passed to create a new county, named Fall River, with its seat at Hot Springs and its northern boundary less than three miles south of Wind Cave National Park (Tallent 1899:641; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:339). Even though the park is still situated in Custer County, many of its most important economic links are tied to Hot Springs and Fall River County. Therefore, the histories of both counties are considered here.

At the end of the 1870s, Wind Cave National Park and its neighboring environs were still largely unpopulated. Some of the earliest European American residents were people who entered the region to prospect, but when the mining boom was over, they turned to other economic pursuits. Some made a living from hunting and trapping (Bingham 1973:2, 4; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:164). A few started small-scale sawmills and logging operations at locations north of Wind Cave and outside park boundaries (Lindsay 1967-70:899; Williams in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:274; Sundstrom, J. 1994:43-47, 103-109). Most of the people who settled in the general region of Wind Cave as squatters and later as homesteaders ended up running a wide variety of ranching and farming enterprises. Although some of the earliest settlers were prospectors who turned to ranching and other occupations when the gold fields played out, others worked as hired hands for the big cattle companies and struck out on their own when many of these operations folded after the harsh winter of 1887. Many more, however, arrived in the area for the express purpose of establishing homesteads and making a living from ranching and/or farming.

As tribal residents of the area had done before them, European Americans selected the best sites to homestead along Beaver, Highland and Lame Johnny creeks, the Fall River, and other local waterways. While these locations afforded enough resources to make a living with modest economic returns, there was rarely enough contiguous and open space inside the Hogback to support some of the larger market-oriented stock operations that had taken over the grasslands outside the Hills. Still, a few sizable ranches were situated on park lands in the 1880s (McAdam 1973:27; Long 1992:8). Most of the land squatted on and later homesteaded in the southern Hills involved family-run enterprises, which operated on a much smaller scale than some of the huge commercial operations overtaking the region outside the Hogback near Buffalo Gap and Oelrichs (McAdam 1973:3; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:4, 5, 7, 14, 28 *et seq*.; Western History Research 1992:81, 101). A few of the biggest cattle enterprises in the area, such as the L7 at Lame Johnny Creek, ran some of their stock inside the Hogback too and on land that is now part of Wind Cave National Park (Clark, B. 1983:17, 27; Long 1992:7-9).

Besides the thousands of people who came to the Black Hills to work the lands, mines, and timber stands, many arrived to offer their services as workers and entrepreneurs in other businesses. The bullwhackers who hauled freight into the Hills by wagon, and the stage drivers who brought passengers made up a significant portion of the labor force before the arrival of the railroads. The freighters supplied local entrepreneurs with mining equipment, sawmills, printing presses, furniture, fixtures, food, clothing, and caskets, which they hauled from railroad terminals over two hundred miles away at Sidney, Cheyenne, and Bismark (Schell 1961:152-155; Friggens 1983:70).[2] A variety of different people came to the area to open businesses from hotels, saloons, and billiard halls to druggists, bakeries, and liveries. Skilled professionals quickly followed, in-

[2] Fred T. Evans, who built Hot Springs famous luxury hotel, owned one of the biggest freighting firms in the region (Schell 1961:154).

cluding doctors, lawyers, and school teachers (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:2, 12, 14, 16, 35, 48, 96, 189 *et seq.*; Sundstrom, J. 1977:258, 259 *et. seq*). Finally, a few people came to the Hills primarily as investors with the necessary capital to build and develop some of the area s resources, including Hot Spring s thermal waters and Wind Cave s subterranean attractions (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:80-82, 141-145, 234-235; Bohi 1962:369).

The population that occupied the Hills at the end of the nineteenth century represented a diversity of ethnic groups. Although European Americans formed the dominant group, small numbers of Asian Americans, Mexican Americans, and African Americans also made this area their home (Casey 1949:348-349; Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:70; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:84-86, 258-259, 301, 339-340; Sundstrom, J. 1977:27; Rezatto 1989:101-104). In Hot Springs, for example, the Joseph Chow family operated a laundry (Bingham 1973:13), and Fred Evans brought in African-American laborers from Chicago to work at his hotel (Petty 1973:21).

At the end of the 1870s, most of the mining and cattle towns at the northern edge of the Hills from Rapid City to Spearfish were well established, offering a full range of services and accommodations to their residents. The southern Black Hills were still isolated and barely developed until the 1880s when its cattle and resort industries started to flourish, attracting a wide range of merchants, professionals, and workers to the area. The 1880s was the decade when some of the towns surrounding Wind Cave National Park also began to come into their own.

The town of Buffalo Gap, ten miles east of Wind Cave, was the site of significant commercial development but only for a very brief period of time. During the halcyon days of the cattle industry, many of the towns bordering the southern edge of the Black Hills flourished. Edgemont, Oelrichs, and Buffalo Gap were bustling communities in 1885. Buffalo Gap had a population of over a thousand people, twenty-three saloons, seventeen hotels and eateries, two sporting houses, various retail establishments, and a bank. Fire destroyed the business section in 1895, and even though some of it was rebuilt, it never returned to its former glory days after the region s cattle boom went bust in the aftermath of the hard winter of 1887 (Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:70-71). Small scale ranches were established all along the course of Beaver Creek from the Gap to the western reaches of Wind Cave National Park, while most of the larger operations held lands that hugged the Hogback and extended across the grasslands towards the Cheyenne River (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40-45, 55, 101, *et. seq)*.

To the west of Wind Cave National Park, the small community of Pringle, named after one of the early settler families, developed around the stage station known as Point of Rocks that served the traffic between Cheyenne, Wyoming and Custer, South Dakota. Its early residents wrestled their livelihoods from ranching, logging, and mining (Smith, A. 1973:8, 17-18). By 1890, it had become a train stop for the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincey railroad (Sundstrom, J. 1977:197), and it had two stores, which local ranch families from the western sections of Wind Cave National Park patronized every fall when they laid in their annual supplies (Smith, A. 1973:18; McAdam 1973:4). Henry Sager, Ed Van Dewater and the other ranchers of another western border community, Argyle, grazed their horses and cattle on some of the lands that eventually became part of the park (Henry Sager in Sundstrom, J. 1977:363, 364, 365, 404).

On the northern border of the park, small ranching communities, such as Bakerville, were established in the 1880s. The Smith, Hight, McVeigh, and Renner families were among those who established homesteads along Highland Creek on lands bordering Wind Cave National Park (Sundstrom, J. 1977:316, 384-385, 1994:37-38, 41, 57-63, 75, 76). As was the custom elsewhere, local families undoubtedly used park lands to graze their stock, to hunt, to collect timber for fuel, and to gather berries and other plants for foods and medicines. Over time, all of the

homesteads that bordered Wind Cave National Park were purchased by the state of South Dakota and placed within the jurisdiction of Custer State Park or reconveyed to the federal government and included within the land holdings of Wind Cave National Park (Sundstrom, J. 1977:384, 385, 1994:62; Western History Research 1992:100).

In the 1880s, seven miles to the south, the town of Minnekahta, later known as Hot Springs, began to develop. Although the Lakotas and Cheyennes had long appreciated the healing properties of its thermal waters, these were not widely known to whites until 1879 when Professor Walter Jenney, Valentine T. McGillicuddy (later, an agent on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the 1890s), and Colonel William J. Thornby relocated them while on a trip to explore the geology of the area.[3] According to Thornby, who learned about the springs from Horatio N. Ross,[4] a former prospector and member of the Black Hills Expedition, the trio found the Minnekahta Spring covered in frog spawn. They sighted the large rock basin that Indian people carved into the shape of a moccasin, and they found abundant evidence of lodgepoles and tipi rings in the vicinity, suggesting fairly recent occupation by local tribes. Later in the summer of 1879, Thornby returned with George Boland who was the owner of a ranch and the stage station at the Buffalo Gap, and the two located the spring where the plunge bath now stands. It was during this trip that Thornby staked the springs locations (Tallent 1899:648-651; Fall River County Historical Society 1976: 143; Julin 1982:200-204; Clark, B. 1983:17-19).

Shortly after this discovery, Thornby wrote an article in the Deadwood Pioneer that attracted the attention of a local physician, R. D. Jennings. In 1881, Jennings and another physician, A. S. Stewart, set out to investigate the springs. They were sufficiently impressed to form a stock company with other investors, including E.G. Dudley, Fred Evans, and L.R. Graves, and bought up much of the land surrounding the springs, a part of which was now owned by Joe and Edmund Petty who used one of the springs to irrigate their farm. These men acquired the site at Hot Springs from its original owner L.B. Reno by trading their ranch at the Buffalo Gap.[5] In 1882, the northern Black Hills businessmen moved to Hot Springs with their families, built log homes there, and platted the original town site, which was called Minnekahta. The town was not incorporated until 1890 (Tallent 1899:649; Clark, B. 1983:20; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:143, 345; Julin 1982:205-211). In subsequent years, the entrepreneurs jointly acquired the capital necessary to purchase additional property, and in 1886, their Townsite Company was reorganized with a capital stock. The site Thornby originally staked at Minnekahta spring was sold to Joe Laravie and John Donaldson. Later, the property was purchased by the company and platted for a new town site. The site did not develop into a booming recreational center until five years later when the railroad arrived 13 miles to the east at the Buffalo Gap (Tallent 1899:652-653, 658; Julin 1982:205-210). In and around the town of Hot Springs, many families established farms and ranches (Clark, B. 1983:18-19), and many of them were related to people who held land patents on properties inside the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park.

In 1886, the Dakota Hot Springs Company was formed to spur local development. According to Badger Clark (1983:53), Fred Evans and other stockholders went confidently to work to make

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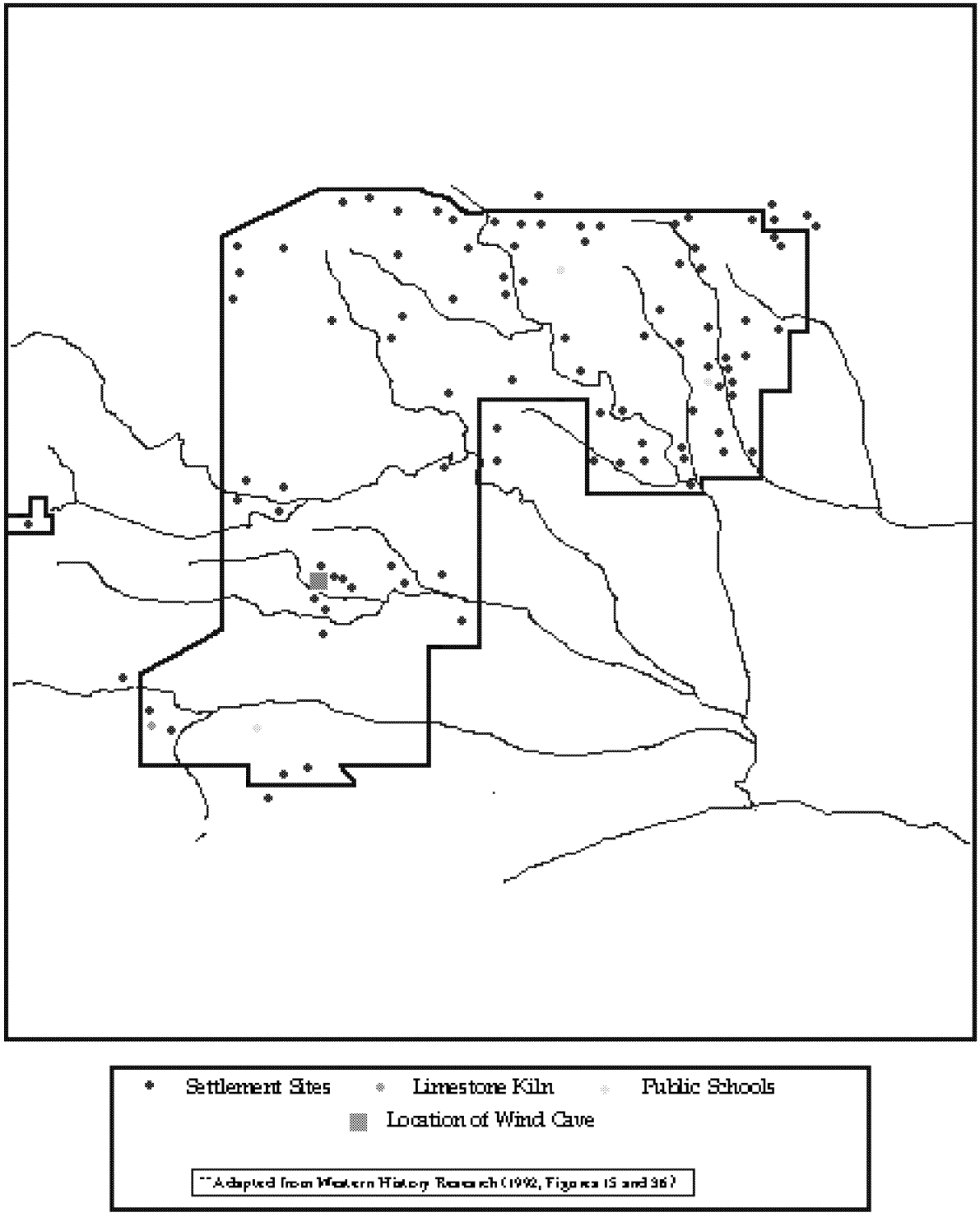
[3] The thermal waters of Minnekata were first recorded by a party of the Jenny Expedition in 1875, but the big springs were not uncovered by whites until 1879.

[4] Ross is also credited with the discovery of gold on French Creek during the Custer Expedition.

[5] According to Maude Petty (1973:2-3), the land was sold because it was subject to flooding. Having learned from local Lakotas of the Fall River s tendency to flood, many of the incoming settlers decided to stake their ranches and farmlands away from the river (Williams, B. 1973:14-16). Indeed, in 1920, after one of the heaviest snowfalls in decades, the river did flood (Bohi 1962:439; Smith, A. 1973:35; Williams, B. 1973:15).

FIGURE 16. Locations of European American Settlement Sites at Wind Cave National Park



a city out of a score of ramshackle log buildings, located in a lonely canyon 13 miles from a branch railroad. As part of the change, the town adopted a new name Hot Springs (Clark, B. 1983:54), built a lavish resort hotel, and established the town s first paper, the *Hot Springs Star*. When South Dakota became a state in 1889, Hot Springs was in the midst of its own boom (Clark, B. 1983:64-68). The State Soldier s Home and Black Hills College were completed in 1890 (Clark, B. 1983:64, 66), and within a year, the town grew from 583 in 1889 to 1500 in 1890 (Julin 1982:220-235; Clark, B. 1983:68). The next year, in 1891, the branch lines of two railways served the town (Clark, B.1983:71, 72).

Unlike the thermal waters at Hot Springs, there are conflicting stories about which of the early settlers found Wind Cave. One attributes its discovery to Edmund Petty, an early resident of Hot Springs (Tallent 1899:670) and another to the prospector, William Brooks, who mined iron ore in the region and who was also out hunting when he purportedly came across the cave in 1879 (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:220; Fall River County Historical society 1976:9). John Wells is also mentioned in conjunction with the discovery of Wind Cave (Western History Research 1992:32), and Cora Hawthorne Fingerlos (in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:508) claims her father, Horatio Hawthorne, uncovered it with some other ranchers when they were out looking for stray cattle. Some even claim that Lame Johnny, the notorious horse thief in the region, found it in 1877 (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:39; Stabler in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:85; Clark, B. 1983:22; Sundstrom, J. 1994:66-67). Most assign its discovery to the Bingham brothers, Jesse and Tom, local cowboys, who supposedly located it with their friend, John Dennis,[6] when they were out deer hunting in 1881 (Bohi 1962:365-366; Koller 1970:2-3; McAdam 1973:12; Sundstrom, J. 1977:105, 1994:68). With his usual flair, Badger Clark (1983:22) wrote of the discovery as follows:

> Wind Cave, with its ninety miles of passages, forms a sort of gigantic lung through which volumes of air are breathed in and out. Before the present entrance to the cave was opened with dynamite, the narrowness of its throat made the Cave asthmatic, as it were, and its deep-toned wheezing was audible for some hundred yards. It was this might bronchial trouble which attracted the attention of Jess and Tom Bingham as they rode near the spot and following the sound it its source, the astonished discovers felt the cold, subterranean air blown strongly into their faces from the black hole among the rocks.

Another brother, Matthew, may have played a role in its discovery too. According to his daughter, Mary Bingham (1973:3-4; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:33), her father not only lived and hunted with local Lakotas, but he was also a fluent speaker of their language. It doesn t take a leap of imagination to surmise that Matthew and his brothers, Tom and Jesse, may have learned about the cave from the Lakotas. Its discovery might not have been an accident, as widely reported in the literature. Although the brothers may not have known the exact location of the cave, they probably learned of its general whereabouts from Lakota sources. Indeed, Charles Stabler (in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:85), the son of John Stabler, who built a hotel at the site of the cave, wrote:

> The Indians who lived and hunted in the area that now comprises Wind Cave National Park, were probably the first humans to note the strong currents of air rushing in or out of a small opening in the rocks along side the gulch.

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[6] John Dennis came to the Black Hills from Hill City, and he homesteaded an area in Hot Springs named after the Catholican Springs (Fall River County Historical Society 1973:144; Julin 1982:203).

In his history of Wind Cave, John Bohi (1962:365) also argues that local tribal people probably knew it before what he calls the first real discovery, that is, the recognition of the opening as something unique and interesting occurred only with the arrival of permanent settlers. The implication that local tribes did not recognize the uniqueness and significance of the cave can be easily challenged, but not the fact that the Binghams were probably the first European Americans to find the cave. After the Binghams came across the cave, Jesse built a small cabin over the cave s opening, but later, he was caught rustling cattle and eventually fled the area (Clark, B. 1983:86).

In the 1890s, during her childhood on a ranch inside the modern borders of Wind Cave National Park, Fannie McAdam (1973:18-19) recalled many people prospecting in the area but with little success. In fact, mineral claims to the lands where the cave sits had been abandoned, and in 1890, three new claims were filed on the lands around the cave and sold to the South Dakota Mining Company the same year (Bohi 1962:368-369; Stabler in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:86; Western History Research 1992:30-35). The owner of the company, J.C. Moss,[7] assigned one of his employees, Jesse D. McDonald, to manage and conduct assessment work on cave properties. McDonald and his family took up a homesite near the cave and applied for homestead rights to the surface lands, which they agreed to deed back to their employer. With the help of two brothers, Bob and Larry McAdam, Jesse s sons, Alvin and Elmer, began to explore and map out the cave s passageways, making them accessible for tours, which turned into a very successful enterprise in subsequent years (Bohi 1962:370-394; McAdam 1973:11). In 1892, the Parrot Hotel, which John Stabler leased and ran in Hot Springs, burned down. That year he entered into a business arrangement with Jesse McDonald and acquired a sizable interest in cave properties. This led to the formation of the Wonderful Wind Cave Improvement Company. A year later in 1893, Stabler built and opened a hotel at the site (Bohi 1962:395-398; Koller 1970; Stabler in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:86; Sundstrom, J. 1977:105; Sundstrom 1994:68; Pisarowicz 2001l:1, 2001m:2). The same year Moss filed a suit against McDonald and his company, and Peter Folsom filed another suit against the mining company Moss owned. In 1894, Folsom acquired the South Dakota Mining Company s claims, and in 1895, the courts upheld his ownership of the cave. The next year, in 1896, the courts ruled in favor of McDonald s homestead rights. The U.S. Land Office, however, maintained that ownership rights were uncertain (Bohi 1962:394-403; Stabler in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:86; Western History Research 1992:32-36). Meanwhile, McDonald and Stabler began to feud over shares in the ownership of their joint property, leading in 1897 to a local sheriff taking possession of the cave and turning it over to Peter Folsom who, in association with John Stabler and Peter Paulson, formed the Wind Cave Company (Bohi 1962: 403-405; Stabler in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:86; Western History Research 1992:36-41).

When the time limit on McDonald s original homestead expired, the U.S. Land Office was called in to investigate the competing claims. The special agent assigned to the case, C.W. Greene, recommended that the government cancel McDonald s homestead entry, and in 1901, the federal government withdrew the land around Wind Cave from mining and agricultural development (Pisarowicz 2001l:2). The cave remained open, however, and some of the families who had had interests in it, notably, the Stablers and McDonalds, worked as guides (Bohi 1962:400-403).

[7] There are conflicting reports about which Moss actually ran the company. Charles Stabler (in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:86) and Jesse Sundstrom (1994) identify the owner as J.C. Moss, but John Bohi (1962:369) and the Wind Cave National Park Time-Line (Pisarowicz 2001l:1) attribute its ownership to R. B. Moss.

John Stabler s daughter, Catherine, who directed tours in her teens, was the first female guide (Smith, A. 1973:15). Chris Jensen, who ran a coach to the cave from Hot Springs, also became a guide. In 1903, Congress passed an organic act that set aside over ten thousand acres of federal land for the creation of Wind Cave National Park. The South Dakota representative Eben W. Martin of Deadwood introduced the legislation (Bohi 1962:416; Koller 1971).

According to Jessie Sundstrom (1994:68), the enabling legislation to establish a National Game Preserve on lands bordering the park was introduced to Congress, nine years later, in 1912 by W.C. Martin, whose family owned a ranch along Beaver Creek. The game preserve, however, was managed by the Department of Agriculture until 1935. A year after the game preserve was established, the American Bison Association s donation of fourteen bison arrived on the reserve from the New York Zoological Gardens, and in 1914, elk were reintroduced to the area from Jackson Hole, Wyoming, and antelope were brought from Brooks, Alberta (Bohi 1962:430-432; Pisarowicz 2001l:2-3; Sundstrom 1994:68). George Boland, who once ran the stage stop and the post office at the Buffalo Gap, was assigned the job of the first game manager (Bohi 1962:392-393). In fact, most of the early appointments relating to the management of the park and other federal lands in the Black Hills were given to locals. Joseph and Rufus Pilcher, two of the park s early superintendents came from Custer, and they were followed by Abraham Boland (brother of George) and his son, William from Buffalo Gap (Bohi 1962:229-231; Sundstrom, J. 1977:178, 196, 242, 349).

c. Industry and Development

As with much of the rest of the Black Hills, the area of Wind Cave National Park was prospected for its mineral potential, but there was never any developed mining activity other than a small placer operation and a limekiln at the southwestern edge of the park (Bohi 1962:391-392; Western History Research 1992:56). In fact, by the time white Americans located the cave, the gold boom in Custer County was over (Parker, W. 1966:69-88). Although many mines were located with gold, mica, and tin deposits in Custer County, the necessary capital and facilities to develop most of them were lacking (Tallent 1899:401-403). The serious development of the Hills mineral potential took place much farther north in the vicinity of Deadwood and Lead, where the hardrock mines were located, although Custer remained the center of mica and tin mining in the Hills (Tallent 1899:404; Parker, W. 1966:184-198; Sundstrom, J.1977:45-68, 1994: 28). To the east of Wind Cave National Park, the variegated colored sandstones of Calico and O Dell canyons, located in the Hogback near the Buffalo Gap, supported the development of an active quarry industry. At the end of the nineteenth century, the sandstone from these quarries and one at Hot Springs serviced local as well as national markets. Today, many of the old buildings still standing in local towns were built of sandstone from these quarries (Tallent 1899:415; Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:70; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:317; Julin 1982:221-222). Gypsum was also mined in the area, and for some years, the largest plant in the Black Hills was located at Hot Springs (Schell 1961:376).

Another industry developed in Custer County was logging, which in its early days was largely a subsidiary of the mining industry. Timber was required to build the mines and sluices, and it was needed as fuel and shelter for the miners too (Geores 1990:37). Sawmills of large and small scale were operated near the town of Custer and in the area that now covers Custer State Park. In 1895, Custer County was the center of the Black Hills timber industry. It had more than twenty active sawmills and shipped more lumber than any other location in the area (Tallent 1899:411; Schell 1961:373-374; Lindsay, 1967-1970:899-900; Progulske 1974:120; Sundstrom, J. 1977:139-142, 1994:43-48; Geores 1990:29-56). Until the 1890s, when Albert Williams built sawmills along the Fall River, much of the lumber used in the southern Hills was produced at the

mills on French Creek, and as already indicated, transported over a road that followed Coldbrook Canyon, passing over a southern section of Wind Cave National Park (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:274-275).

At the dawn of the twentieth century, there was little interest in the sustainability of the Black Hills forests. Areas were clear-cut without regard to the environmental damage this practice might cause (Geores 1990:38). There is no question that some of the timbered areas near towns in the southern Hills were stripped early on to provide wood for fuel, shelter, and commercial buildings. Luther Standing Bear (1975:17) remembered the Buffalo Gap as a wooded location. It is quite likely when he was a child that this location was more thickly timbered. Given what we know about other sites, this area was probably denuded to provide wood for European American settlement. Even though Watson Parker (1985:590) mocks Standing Bear s recollections of how the Buffalo Gap s environment once appeared, he seems to have done so without considering how this area might have changed after the arrival of European Americans. According to Edmund de Mandat-Grancy (1981:11), the hills around the Buffalo Gap were stripped of much of their tree cover before 1886.[8]

Although mining and logging played an important role in the history of Custer County, where Wind Cave National Park is located, neither of them was a significant part of the development on the lands inside modern park boundaries. In contrast to the northern regions of the Black Hills, where European Americans continued to develop the region s mineral and timber assets, early economic growth in the Hills southeast of Custer rested largely on agricultural enterprises. Cattle were first introduced into the interior regions of the Hills during the early 1870s by two early traders, Nicholas and Antoine Janis, both of whom were married to Lakota women (Palais 1942:9). Once the Black Hills were dispossessed from local tribes, the region was open to raise and pasture stock on its winter-hardy and drought-resistant native grasses (Friggens 1983:59-60). Entrepreneurs quickly grasped the advantages of developing a locally based cattle industry. As Paul Friggens (1983:59) wrote: When the Fort Laramie treaty was violated, it not only opened the way for gold miners, but it also launched a beef bonanza to feed the miners. Thousands of head of cattle were trailed-up to the Black Hills in the summer of 1876 from Kansas, Nebraska, and even as far away as Texas. For many years, drovers brought cattle north to supply the army posts and Indian agencies surrounding the Black Hills, but, now, they brought even larger herds to supply the miners. The journeys took up to ninety days with crews of a dozen cowboys and thousands of head of cattle (Friggens 1983:59; Palais 1942:7-9).

In the 1880s, the cattle business thrived on the edges of the Black Hills, not only in the north at places like Spearfish and Belle Fourche, but also in the south where the towns of Edgemont, Oelrichs, and Buffalo Gap flourished when the industry was at its prime (Palais 1941:10-12; Schell 1961:155-157, 243-248; Biever 1981:3-4). The town of Oelrichs was named after the cattle agent, Henry Oelrichs, who managed cattle operations for wealthy investors from Wyoming, Texas, and even England (Friggens 1983:64; Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:71; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:340; Biever 1981:3-4). One of the largest and most famous of these ranching operations was the Bar T on Hat Creek, but other large operations on the southern edge of the Hills included the Z Bar, TOT, and TAN ranches (Lee and Williams 1964:100; Clark, B. 1983:27; Biever 1982:4). In 1882, the Anglo-American Cattle Company, with Oelrichs as its representative, bought out the Bar T, TOT, and TAN ranches with a total of 34,000 head of cattle,

[8] Many other areas of the Hills, however, became more heavily forested over time. Comparing photographs Illingsworth took on the Custer Expedition in 1874 with those taken a century later by Donald Progulske (1974), it is apparent that much of the interior region of the Hills is more forested today than it was one hundred years ago. Much of this recent growth has been the result of federal efforts to suppress naturally occurring fires, for which there was considerable evidence when the Jenny Expedition traveled the Hills in 1875 (Newton and Jenny 1880:322).

making it the largest cattle operation in the area (Biever 1981:4). For a short period of time in the 1880s, Oelrichs supported its own meat packing plant (Schell 1961:366; Lee and Williams 1964:164). While the cattle industry reigned on the southeastern slopes of the Hills, the sheep industry started up much more slowly farther west. Several local ranchers made an effort to raise sheep in the 1880s but failed. Although a short-lived woolen mill was built at Edgemont in 1890, it wasn t until the twentieth century that this industry took hold in the region (Palais 1941:55, 59; Schell 1961:367).

Stock was run on free and open ranges, lands that were technically not owned by anyone (Palais 1942a:24). Although none of the cattle barons held title or fee samples to the land on which they grazed their cattle, they certainly maintained control through a well organized and supervised division of the ranges into cattle districts, where the cattle barons held usufruct rights enforced by the cowboys and representatives who worked their ranges (Friggens 1983:64). Unlike the plains surrounding the Black Hills, which were soon taken over by corporate cattle companies and run by employed cowhands, the grasslands inside the Hogback were the focus of much smaller cattle operations, many of which were started by miners who moved out of the central Hills when placer gold mining went bust or by newly arriving emigrants. Indeed, some of the earliest settlers, who arrived in the area of Wind Cave National Park between 1878 and 1879 were prospectors who abandoned their mining interests near Hill City to take up cattle ranching in the southern Hills (Williams, B. 1973:1; Petty 1973:1-3; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:143; Julin 1982:203; Sanford in Clark, B. 1983:81-82; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:285-286). As one example, in 1882, August Sanson, a former prospector and freighter from Sweden, entered into a partnership with Robert Wittke and acquired property south of the park at the mouth of Wind Cave Canyon along Beaver Creek. After buying out Wittke, he held the lands through the 1960s (Sanson, F. and Sanson, A. in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40-45). According to federal and local land records, his son Adolph held patents on property inside Wind Cave National Park (Western History Research 1992: Appendix D). In the late 1880s and 1890s, a new wave of homesteaders arrived, most of whom came from Europe and locations in the eastern United States (McAdam 1973:3; Smith, A. 1973:1, 5-6, 9; Sager in Sundstrom, J. 1977:362-365, 1994:29-33, 57-63; Western History Research 1992:72). The McAdam family, who settled lands on the western edge of the park, had farming roots and came from Pennsylvania by way of Kansas and Nebraska (McAdam 1973:1). In the Wind Cave area, an exception to the small landholding pattern was the ranch operated by Charles H. Valentine from the late 1880s to the early 1890s, with support from New York and English investors (McAdam 1973:27; Long 1992:8). This was a sizable ranch that included a large herd of thoroughbred horses and a private racetrack (McAdam 1973; Smith, A. 1973:13-14).

Other large, corporate-style ranches, such as the L-7, bordered the park on its eastern boundaries. In the 1880s, some of these ranches not only ran cattle, but they also bred and raised horses. The famous Fleur de Lys ranch, established in 1885 on Lame Johnny Creek by R. Auzias de Turenne and M. Marion, imported Norman, Percheron, and Arab breeds from France. The horses from this ranch, which gained fame through the writings of Baron E. de Mandat-Grancey (1981,1984), were run on the open range, including lands that became part of the eastern extension of Wind Cave National Park (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:45; Sundstrom, J. 1977:161-164, 1994:48-51). In 1890, the ranch was sold to local homesteaders (Sundstrom, J. 1994:51). Another nearby ranch even raised polo ponies and invited youth from neighboring ranches to participate in games of polo (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41).

In the early 1880s, the nation s prosperity combined with expanding railroad networks and skyrocketing cattle prices quickly led to ecological disaster. Throughout the west, the grasslands

became seriously damaged by overstocked ranges, as the prime buffalo and grama grasses were depleted and replaced by less desirable forbs and woody plants (Palais 1942a; White, R. 1991: 222-223). The undernourished cattle did not fare well on the bonanza ranches when the brutal winter of 1886-87 came. After a summer of severe drought, a hard winter followed with some of the coldest temperatures and worst blizzards ever recorded. Lacking shelter and feed, anywhere from seventy-five to ninety-percent of the open range stock died that winter (Palais 1942a:41; Lee and Williams 1964:154-166). All of the large and otherwise profitable cattle operations sustained huge losses, from which many never recovered (Schell 1961:244; Friggens 1983:64).

The final blow to the big cattle operators came a decade later, when the region was marked for homesteading. In 1897, the open ranges were closed and fenced off by the Honyockers, farmers and stockman who came to the area to develop the small plots of 160 acres allotted to them under the provisions of the 1862 Homestead Act (Lee and Williams 1964:126-127). The terms of this act required homesteaders to live on and work their land for a five-year period, after which they were able to acquire a private deed of ownership (Friggens 1983:87). Once the era of open-access to the range ended, stock raisers throughout the area managed smaller sized herds unless they were able to lease enough contiguous land under the jurisdiction of federal land-holding agencies (Lee and Williams 1964:127-128; Geores 1990:38-39).

Before much of the land in the region was surveyed in 1892 and opened for homesteading in 1897, the early settlers claimed it by right of occupancy as squatters (Bohi 1962:390; Lindsay 1967-70:899). Squatters rights could be and were sold as if the original owners possessed real title to their lands (Sundstrom, J. 1994:57-58). Inside the Hogback, much of the land supported modestly sized cattle operations, many of which survived the devastating winter of 1887 because the cattle had access to good shelter. As a result, many local cattle operators were able to literally weather the big storm and took relatively small losses. Also, most of them were self-supporting and sustained themselves and their families in other ways through subsistence hunting, gathering, gardening, and the raising of kitchen stock such as pigs, turkeys, and chickens (Bohi 1962:366, 391; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 72, 283, 419; McAdams 1973:8; Smith, A. 1973:25; Williams, B. 1973:3, 6, 20, 26; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 166, 189, 227, 261, 298, 209, 364, 365, 379, 1994:29-34, 75; Western History Research 1992:81, 88).

According to Annie Tallent (1899:642), nearly two-thirds of the land in Fall River County was capable of supporting homesteads for crops or stock-raising. The eastern regions of Custer County, including many areas in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park, were similarly well-suited to these endeavors (Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:70-71; Sundstrom, J. 1977:160). As early as 1877, farms were established along the Fall River and Beaver Creek where good crops of vegetables, corn, wheat, barley, oats, and rye were grown (Palais 1941c:67). The same also applies to some of the well-watered locations in Custer County that adjoined Wind Cave National Park (Sanson, F. in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:42-43; Sundstrom, J. 1977:160, 293, 282, 352). Inside the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park, most of the lands supported cattle grazing, although fields from four to sixty acres supported crop cultivation, especially along the park s flat and well-watered bottomlands (Western History Research 1992: 80-81).

1897 was also the year the federal government created the Black Hills Forest Reserve under considerable protest from Black Hills landholders. According to Martha Geores (1990:43), when the forest reserve was established, property rights were frozen over much of the interior region of the Black Hills. After this date, squatters were able to file their holdings as homestead claims and gain title to the land. In the southern Hills, by contrast, federal lands appeared as a

checkerboard amidst larger sections of private land held and homesteaded by farmers and ranchers. When the government began to assert its regulatory control over the region, it scrutinized the legitimacy of mining claims and homesteads, and when these were fraudulent or contested, it repossessed the land (Geores 1990:43-45). This is precisely what happened to the area on which Wind Cave National Park now sits.[9] Here ownership rights became so contested and legally entangled that they were eventually taken over by the federal government in 1901 (Western History Research 1992:38-41; Sundstrom, J. 1994:68). During this period, the government also began to exert its regulatory power in other areas; timber cutting and cattle grazing were now restricted by lease arrangements and no longer open-access resources (Geores 1990:46, 48).

While the government was regulating and restricting access to lands and resources inside the Hogback, it was opening the surrounding prairies to more homesteaders. Paul Friggens (1983:87) claimed that most of the land successfully homesteaded in western South Dakota was proved-up during the early decades of the twentieth century, a time that coincided with a moist climatic cycle on the plains, bumper crop yields, and unprecedented prices in regional commodities markets. Scores of additional people flocked to the region after 1887, when more lands were opened for settlement, especially after the breakup of the Great Sioux reservation into five smaller reservations (Schell 1961:247-248:253-257; Stewart 1967-70:71). As they had in the gold rush days, people from every sector of American life, and many foreigners too, paid the eighteen dollar filing fees and took advantage of the free lands to make new lives for themselves (Friggens 1983:89).

Inside Wind Cave National Park, homesteads were established over the entire area but particularly in the townships that did not become incorporated in the park until the 1940s (see Figure 16). Indeed, much of the land inside the present day boundaries of the park was patented during later land rush periods, most of which followed in the footsteps of new federal laws, including the Three Year Homestead Act of 1912 and the Stock Raising Homestead Act of 1916 (Western History Research 1992:70). The Western History Research report (1992:68) makes the important observation that the most desirable park lands, along the bottomlands with access to a good supply of water and closest to the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs, were patented in the 1880s, but those in the northern reaches of the park with the roughest terrain were not patented until after the 1890s and well into the twentieth century. Many of these homesteads came under the provisions of later homestead acts (Western History Research 1992:70).

By the first decade of the twentieth century, thousands of families laid down their roots in the Black Hills and the surrounding West River counties. Most of them ran modestly sized farming and ranching enterprises, and while some of them succeeded and stayed in the area, many others failed and moved on. Judging by the family narratives recorded in local town and county histories, it was not an easy challenge for the small-scale operators to survive and continue their agricultural pursuits against the erratic climate of the plains and the nation s wildly fluctuating commodities markets. In good times and lean ones, families survived and made ends meet from food grown in kitchen gardens and orchards, by harvesting timber for firewood, by hunting local game and collecting berries and other wild crops, and by working as petty commodity producers and in a host of wage-labor jobs (Tallent 1899:414, 673; Lindsey 1932 in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-1970:899-900; Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:71; Williams, B. 1973:3, 6; Mc-

[9] Jewel Cave was also taken out of private hands by the government. Even though there was no contestation over the mining and homestead rights to the lands on which the cave sat, considerable pressure was placed on the Forest Service to acquire the lands and put them in a protective status. As early as 1908, the government studied the possibility of acquiring the cave but it didn t have the means or interest to develop it. It wasn t until 1965 that it was finally opened to the public under the auspices of the National Park Service (Geores 1990:74-75).

Adam 1973:8; Petty 1973:3, 13, Smith, A. 1973:23, 25, 35; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 189, 227, 261, 298, 309, 364, 365, 379, 412, 1994:49; de Mandat-Grancey 1981:12; Friggens 1983:88-89; Long 1992:6-9; Western History Research 1992:81, 82).

d. Leisure and Recreation

In the 1880s, the area around Minnekahta, the original name of Hot Springs, was still unpopulated. It was the resort, according to Badger Clark (1983:23), of adventurers, who came in hopes of relieving their rheumatism, or local tribespeople who still brought their sick to the springs to be cured. In the 1880s, accommodations were rustic, consisting of log cabins and tents (Cook 1888; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:289-291; Julin 1982:209-212). It wasn t until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the railroads reached the area, that Hot Springs became a flourishing resort town, which Annie Tallent (1899:655) described as having numerous sanitariums and bathhouses equipped with all the best appliances for administering every kind of water treatment, including the plunge, the spray, the vapor, the salt, the Turkish and Russian baths. Its mineral waters were judged by reputable physicians as incomparable in value for medical treatment (Tallent 1899:644). Upwards of ten thousand people flocked to the springs each year during its heyday (Fall River Historical Society 1976:344). Some camped with tents near the more established springs, while others stayed in bathhouses and elegantly furnished hotels (Tallent 1899:655; Julin 1982:224-234). It was a celestial empire, as Tallent (1899:670) put it, forming copious springs in whose limpid waters the rheumatic, the dyspeptic, the neuralgic, the sciatic, the hypochondriac, and the hysterical may lave, and aided by frequent generous droughts of the tepid fluid be made whole. Visitors raved about the waters and the other scenic attractions of the area, which included Minnekahta Falls, Cascade Springs, and Wind Cave (Tallent 1899:670; Julin 1982:251).

Other areas near Wind Cave were associated with privately owned ranches and hunting lodges, which provided guides and accommodations for visitors interested in sight-seeing and game hunting. Fleur de Leys Ranch to the east of park properties was one of these (de Mandat-Grancy 1981; Sundstrom, J. 1994:50). Sylvan Lake and other locations in what would later become Custer State Park also became the sites of flourishing resorts in the 1890s (Lindsay 1967-70:899-900; Sundstrom, J. 1994:90-97).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Wind Cave had become a major side attraction for many of the visitors who came to Hot Springs and other locations in the Hills to vacation (Bohi 1962; Julin 1982:251; Long 1992:10-13). One enthusiast, E. W. Jamar (quoted in Fall River County Historical Society:346), said:

> The great Wind Cave, out-rivaling the Mammoth cave of Kentucky in extent, the Cascade springs, the lofty pine-clad hills, grand canyons rippling streams, beautiful falls of the Minnekahta and the Cheyenne, make up a matchless group of attractions.

In the early days, people climbed down into the cave on ladders, carrying candles on wooden sticks, and laying down string to find their way back out (McAdam 1973:11, 14; Sundstrom, J. 1977:105). Before the McDonalds and the Stablers developed the cave, it was a destination for some of the more adventurous visitors in Hot Springs (Long 1992:11). This all changed after 1888, when regular tours of the cave were established. Soon, the cave s attractions were advertised throughout the United States, souvenir specimens from its various caverns were marketed and sold, and many improvements were made to encourage more visitors to its subterranean sights (Bohi 1962:389-391; Long 1992:11-13). Other attractions were also incorporated into the

cave s early promotions, including the exhibit of a fake petrified man, and the arrival of a psychic, Paul Alexander Johnstone, who stayed in the cave several days searching for a hidden scarf pin (Bohi 1962:404-407; Long 1992:12).

Wind Cave was not only a leisure attraction for outsiders, it was also an important source of recreational pleasure for people who lived in the Hills (Bohi 1962:366-368, 407-408; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:14; Clark, B. 1983:61-62). As Jessie Sundstrom (1994: 104) wrote:

> When entertainment was lacking at home, outings were taken to the Needles area and Harney Peak and excursions were taken to Wind Cave. Before the advent of the train, families or groups visited these attractions in buggies and wagons rented from the livery stables, if none was available within the family or its circle of friends.

In the 1970s, descendents of the Pringle family from Pringle, South Dakota recalled hitching up their wagon team on Sundays and traveling with local railroad workers to explore Wind Cave (Sundstrom, J. 1977:353). Local ranchers often found themselves near the cave when they were out rounding up stray cattle or on threshing trips and took time out to visit its interiors (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:57, 508). Fannie McAdam (1973:11) remembered how the locals saved cord from store purchases and wound it into balls for the recreational spelunkers in their families. Local interest in the cave is also reflected in the custom of naming cave rooms after fraternal organizations, such as the Elks, Masons, YMCA, and Knights of Pithias (Bohi 1962:407). There were other caves throughout the Hills and at Wind Cave National Park that were never developed, but these also provided locals with many opportunities for amateur exploration (Sundstrom, J. 1977:309, 1994:55-56). Other outdoor amenities in the Hills, including the thermal waters at Hot Springs, offered the locals recreational pleasures as well. In fact, many local ranchers and townspeople built cabins or set up campsites in some of the remote and more scenic regions of the Hills interiors (Sundstrom, J. 1977:104-105, 1994:41; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:138).

2. Accounts of a Continuing Tribal Presence

In the years after 1877, many of the people who were members of the tribal nations that once occupied the Black Hills were settled on reservations far removed from the area. The Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, Poncas, Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos ended up on reservations in Oklahoma. Some of the Northern Cheyenne were also settled in Oklahoma, but many more were eventually located on the Tongue River Reservation in Montana. The Crow ended up on a reservation in Montana that carries their name. The Northern Arapahos were settled on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming with the Shoshones, and the Hidatsas, Mandans, and Arikaras took up residence together on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota (see Figure 18). The Lakotas, and some of the Cheyennes who continued to live in their midst, were settled on the Great Sioux Reservation, which bordered the eastern flanks of the Hills (see Figure 17). In 1889, this reservation was subdivided into five smaller reservations, and the lands were allotted to individual Indian families with the surplus open to white settlement. Except for Pine Ridge, the primary reservation for the Oglalas and some Cheyennes, Sicangus, and Minneconjous who remained in their midst, the other reservations were situated some distance from the Black Hills. The farthest removed was Standing Rock, which straddles the North and South Dakota border; it became the home of the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa divisions of the Lakota and the Yanktonnai Dakota. Directly south is the Cheyenne River Reservation where most of the Miniconjous, Itazipcos, Oohenunpas, and some Sihasapas were located. Most Sicangus were enrolled on the

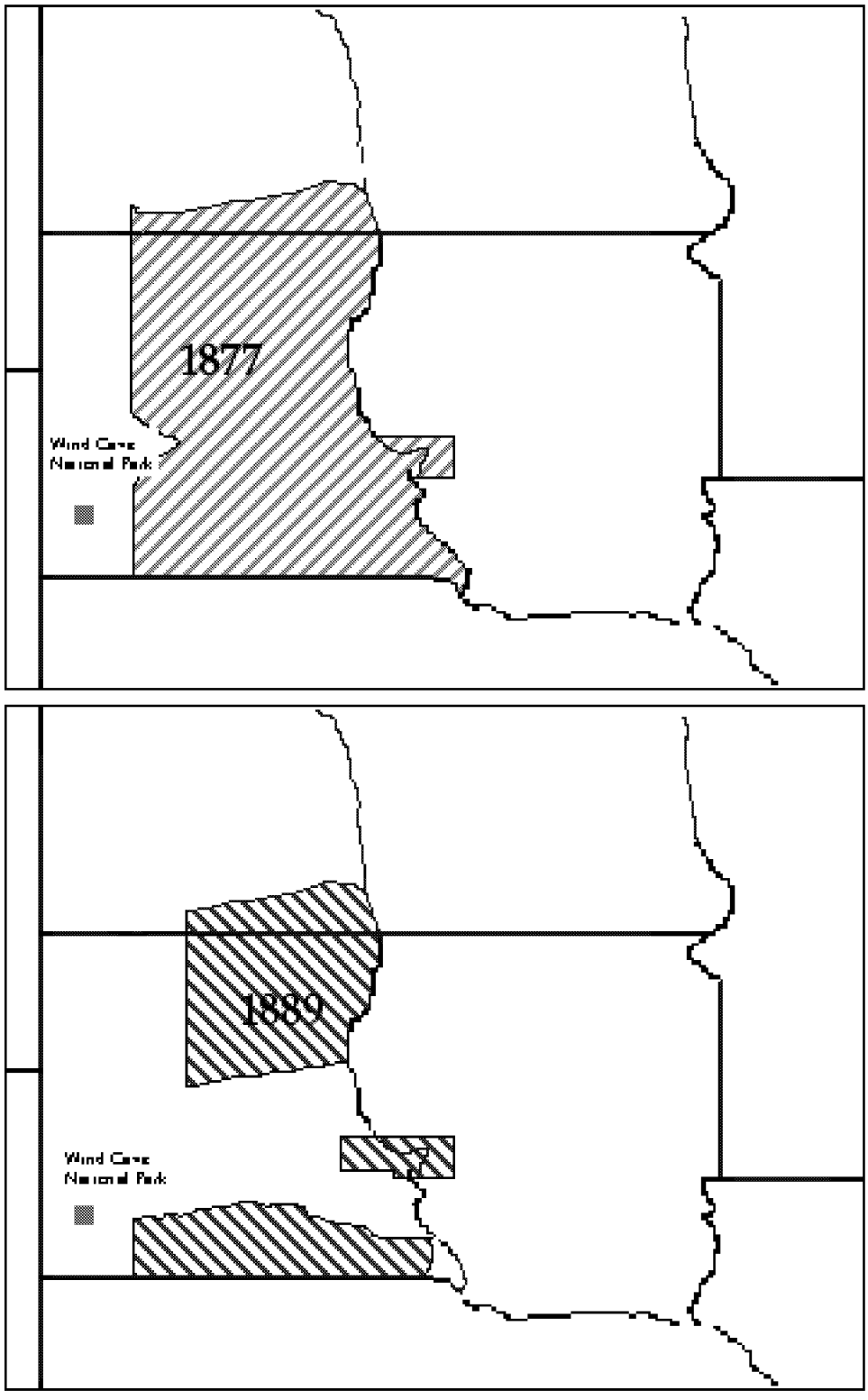
Lower Brule Reservation across the Missouri from present day Pierre, South Dakota or on the Rosebud Reservation, where some Cheyennes also lived (Moore, J. 1987:232).

It is critical to recognize that despite their loss of the Black Hills and their forced removal to reservations at near or far locations, the Lakotas and Cheyennes maintained a continuing, albeit changed, relationship to the area. The relative proximity of their respective reservations to the Hills played an important role in the ways in which and the degree to which the region was accessed by these tribes after 1877. Not surprisingly, the most intense and varied pattern of use became associated with members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe who lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation. In the days of travel by horse and wagon, many locations in the Hills, especially in the southeastern region, where Wind Cave National Park is now located, took less than a day to reach from this reservation.

After the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were forcibly confined to reservations in the 1870s, they were unable to leave them without special permission from their agents. Throughout the 1880s, the military was still rounding up bands who remained outside the reservation, bringing them to the agencies and instituting measures to keep them there (Hyde 1956; Utley 1963; Powell 1981). Scudder Mekeel (1932:278) indicates, however, that in these and later years requests were made and casually granted for Lakotas from Pine Ridge to gather plants and herbs off-reservation. This policy was also reported in government documents (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904) and remembered by the descendants of early European American settlers (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:262). When government food distributions were late in arriving or insufficient to meet local needs, which happened with a fair degree of frequency, traditional patterns of food procurement helped local families stave off hunger and starvation. Many accounts from the descendants of early European settlers in Custer and Fall River counties report Lakota people traveling, camping, hunting, and collecting plants at areas in and around the Black Hills until the beginning of the twentieth century (Eastern Custer County Historical Society1967-70:12, 71, 730; Bingham 1973:4,6; McAdam 1973:6; Petty 1973:23; Smith, A. 1973:16; Williams, B. 1973:16, 30-31; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317, 379; Clark, B. 1983:68-69).

Although the Lakotas and Cheyennes successfully ran cattle on their reservation lands in the 1880s, they were plagued by the same disastrous weather conditions as their white neighbors. In the catastrophic winter of 1886-87, they also experienced losses in their stock, but interestingly, these were much smaller than those of white cattle operators because the Lakotas took care to shelter and feed their animals. Indeed, the agent from Standing Rock reported that Lakotas on this reservation only lost thirty-percent of their herds in comparison to the seventy-five percent losses sustained by neighboring white operators (Utley 1963:25). But this success was short-lived. Two years later, economic conditions on local reservations were deteriorating, and the federal government used this as an opportunity to force the tribes to relinquish more of their land. In 1889, the year the Great Sioux Reservation was divided, many Lakotas and Cheyennes embraced a messianic movement known as the Ghost Dance, some of whose followers broke-away from the agency at Pine Ridge and tried to establish an independent camp at the Stronghold in the Badlands on the northeastern edge of the reservation. Facing hardship and starvation, some Lakotas began to raid local travelers and ranches on the Cheyenne River near Edgemont, the Buffalo Gap, Hot Springs, and even in areas of Wind Cave National Park (Lee and Williams 1964:124; Stewart, Q. 1967-1970:71; McAdam 1973:5; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:213; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). Fights ensued over the thievery, leading to the deaths of Lakotas and whites alike. During

FIGURE 17. Sioux Reservation Boundaries 1877 and 1889



the years of the so-called Indian Scare, 1888-1890, settlers in the southeastern region of the Hills took shelter in the towns or at well-defended ranches (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 55, 244, 260, 261, 262, 292, 431, 506, 548, 731; Petty 1973:22; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:63, 72, 213; Sundstrom, J. 1977:289, 291, 388, 392). There were many false alarms about possible Indian attacks during this time, and one account tells of a teenage mail carrier who unexpectedly came across a group of Lakotas, somewhere between Hot Springs and Buffalo Gap, who were peacefully traveling to bathe at the thermal springs (Clark, B. 1983:26). Federal troops were called in to quell the hostilities that eventually led to what is widely considered the most shameful and tragic moment in the history of Indian-White relations, the Wounded Knee Massacre (Utley 1963:60-133). In the aftermath, passes were temporarily suspended for all off-reservation travel, including food procural activities (Mekeel 1932:278). The publicity surrounding this event, much of it negative, had a major impact on tourists coming to Hot Springs; in fact, local promoters made a major nationwide effort to convince the public that life in the resort town had not been disrupted by the events at Pine Ridge (Julin 1982:238-239). Nor did the conflict appear to have damaged Indian-white relations in the town of Hot Springs, some of whose early residents remembered only good ties between their families and local Lakotas during the 1890s (Bingham 1973:4; Williams, B. 1973:16-17).

For the Lakotas and Cheyennes who lived on the western edges of the Pine Ridge Reservation, the Black Hills were only a short distance away and easily accessible for various subsistence pursuits. It is quite likely that before and even after Wounded Knee, Lakotas entered the Black Hills surreptitiously to hunt, but it is difficult to determine how actively the Hills were used for this purpose. How much the Lakotas relied on the area for hunting must have been influenced by the rapid declines in local game populations. Through the end of the 1880s at least, whitetail deer and many small species of game remained fairly abundant in the southeastern Hills. However, other large ruminant species, including bighorn, elk, mule deer, and pronghorn had either been extirpated or were becoming scarce (Progulske 1974:123-124; McAdam 1973:17; Turner 1974: 136, 137, 139, 144, 147-148; Clark, B. 1983:13). In addition, larger numbers of settlers and their domesticated animals were taking up more of the land, making it difficult for local tribes to use the area for traditional subsistence pursuits unless they had permission from local land owners. Given the Lakotas widespread belief, then and now, that the Black Hills were taken from them illegally, it would not be surprising to learn that some amount of hunting continued to take place in remote areas of the southeastern Hills with or without the government s knowledge and permission.

The presence of Lakotas in the Hills from 1878 to 1902 is noted with some regularity in the published recollections of early white settlers. Members of this tribe, especially Oglalas from Pine Ridge, frequently visited the southern Hills, and they did so for many different reasons besides food procural. Some were employed in jobs that took them into the Hills. Many of the freighters who hauled cargo between Sidney, Nebraska and Deadwood, South Dakota were Lakotas from Pine Ridge (Utley 1963:26). They may have performed other kinds of jobs in the Black Hills too, including work as hired hands on local ranches, although few references to their early employment were uncovered in the primary or secondary sources reviewed for this report.[10] Maude Petty (1973:24) emphatically stated that local Lakotas did not work in the town of Hot Springs until the early decades of the twentieth century.

[10] Work as farm laborers, freighters, domestics, and guides is part of the hidden labor history of the Lakotas and many other tribal peoples in the plains, a history that has been hidden because of the prejudiced view that Indians did not work. Indeed, considerable research has taken place in recent years uncovering their rich labor history. Further study would likely reveal that the Lakotas had a complex work history in the Black Hills, too (Albers 1996b).

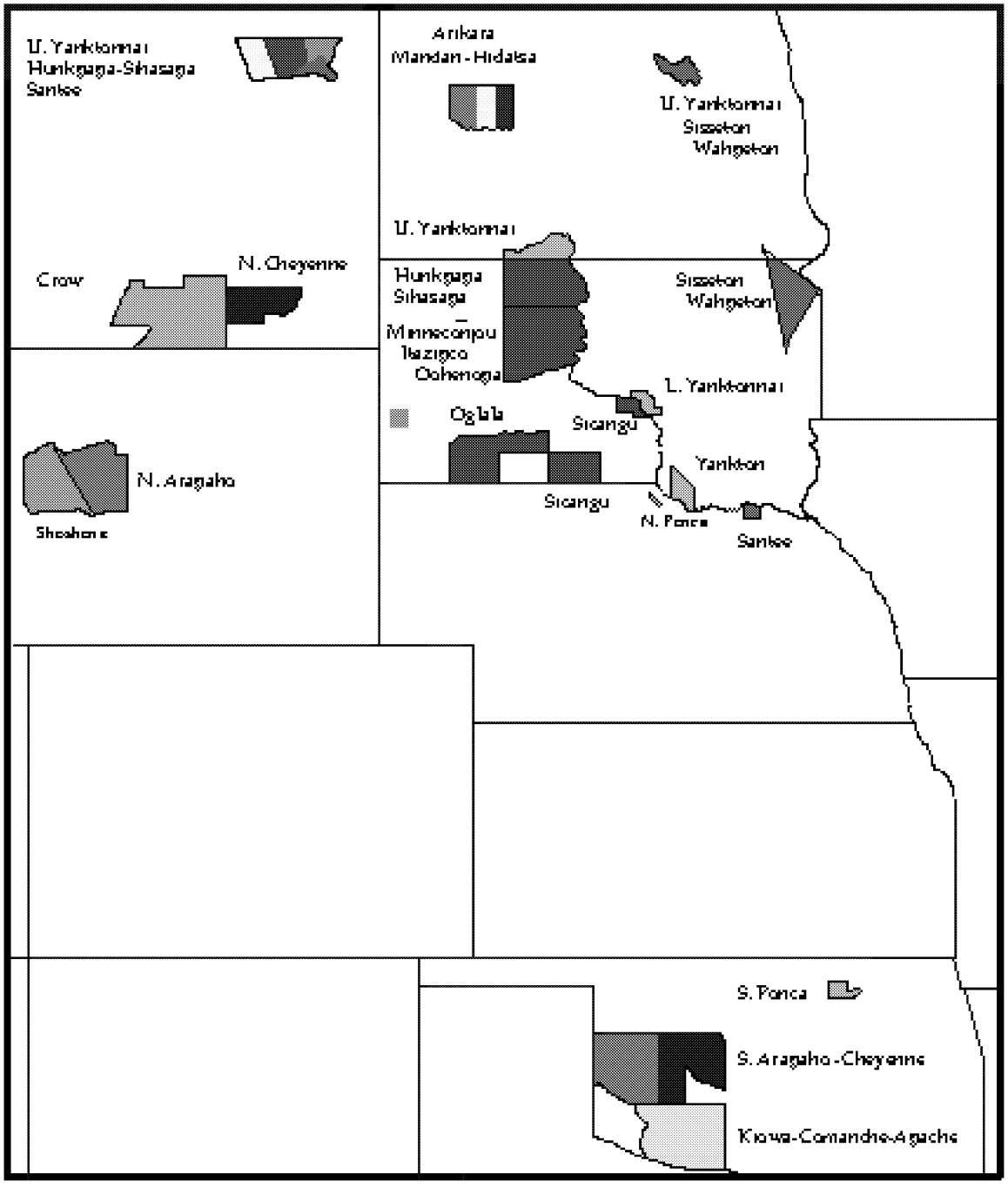
Before 1903, many Lakotas still came to the Hills to gather their lodgepoles in the summertime (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317). Fannie McAdam (1973:6) and Alice Smith (1973:16) both recall Lakotas traveling in wagon trains and camping along the roads in and around Wind Cave National Park to reach areas in the central hills where they processed lodgepoles. Many came to visit long-time friends, some of whom knew their language (Eastern Custer County Historical Society, 1967-70:727; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72, 261, 292, 418, 505, 506, 579, 594, 700, 727, 732, 760; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293-294; Clark, B. 1983:12-13, 15), or to see relatives who were married to non-Indians living in the area (Clark, B. 1983:70-71). More came to trade their moccasins and beadwork for goods and services from local businesses and professional people, or sell them outright to visiting vacationers (Jones 1904:126; Petty 1973:23; Sundstrom, J. 1977:334). Eva Streeter (in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:12), the daughter of Bert Bayliff, who ran a local meat market, remembers her father taking beadwork from the Lakota in trade for meat. Bernice Williams (1973:16) and the descendants of Thomas and James Ball (in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:14) recall Lakotas trading beadwork for the fruit and farm produce of their parents. Dr. William McRoberts of Edgemont provided medical services to Lakotas who gave him beadwork in return (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:170). Matthew Bingham, the brother of Tom and Jesse, lived for a time in the camps of Lakotas[11]who stayed at Hot Springs over the summer months; he made a living from hunting and regularly supplied the Lakotas with hides, especially the antelope skins they commonly requested (Bingham 1973:4, 6).[12] Descendents of early settlers also described times when Lakotas stopped by their homesteads to take a meal, to camp on their property for a short or extended stay, and even on occasion to remain over an entire winter (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:292, 418, 505, 579, 594, 727, 732, 760; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 72, 213, 262, 264; Bingham 1973:7; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293-294, 317; Williams, B. 1973:16). There is clear indication as well that Lakotas continued to come to the region to bathe at the thermal waters in Hot Springs and Cascade Springs (Cook 1888; Rosen 1895:473; Casey 1949:284; Petty 1973:23; Clark, B. 1983: 23; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:293-294). According to Mary Bingham (1973:13), Lakotas would dig deep into the mud near local springs until they found water, and then, sit in the water and mud for hours to relieve their aches and pains. Early Hot Springs residents, (Williams, B. 1973: 16; 30-31; Bingham 1973:3; Petty 1973:23) recalled Lakotas camping all along the Fall River to bathe. Many stayed at a campground on the Petty addition at the lower end of town where a tourist court is now located, and some even remained there over an entire summer season.

Besides a few reports (McAdam 1973:6; Smith, A.1973:16) of Lakotas camping on and tra-veling across park lands enroute to other locations in the Hills in the late nineteenth century, there is another reference about them coming to the park. At least one Lakota party was reported to have toured Wind Cave, although Catherine Stabler indicated that most would not enter the cave, even though they were encouraged to do so (Bohi 1962:391). Her remarks imply that Indian people were commonplace visitors in the area of the cave. The one party who did take a tour, according to Stabler (*quoted in* Bohi 1962), chanted their Indian songs all the time they were in the cave. Both of these reactions to the cave, avoidance and song (most likely a form of prayer

[11] His daughter Mary (Bingham 1973:4, 6, 7) recalls that her father and family were especially close to Frank Bear Nose and Suzy Little Killer.

[12] This and information documented in a senate report (1904) on the confrontation between a group of Lakota families and a Wyoming sheriff s posse suggest that Lakotas \were procuring some of their large game hides and meat from non-Indian suppliers in Hot Springs. One can only speculate why they were doing so. Aside from the fact that large ungulates were becoming increasingly scarce throughout the region, there were policies that prevented them from hunting, including various efforts to disarm them from the late 1870s to the early 1890s.

FIGURE 18. Modern Reservation and Tribal Locations



reveal the respect these Lakotas held for this subterranean location, which, as described in later chapters, was a sacred place to them.

Lakotas even lived permanently in the area and were among the first settlers of the town of Hot Springs in the 1870s (Cook 1888; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:293-294; Clark, B. 1983:23). According to S. D. Cook (1888) the town:

> ...was occupied by the Indians and their half breed allies until the year 1880 when the first white men were permitted to make settlement here. At this time the squaw men were in possession of the Hot Springs. They having obtained them from the Indians, or through the privilege of the knowledge derived from them...Tents and tepees had formerly been used for hospitals. They ran the springs as a resort for Indians and any others that might come. During that time many hundreds of Indians and scores of whites were treated for various chronic diseases.

Col. William Thornby told Annie Tallent (1899:651-652) that two men, Joe Laravie and John Davidson came from Pine Ridge to visit George Trimmer, who had a Dakota wife, whose name was Mary Lone Eagle.[13] Laravie was suffering from rheumatism, and Trimmer took him to one of the hot springs to bathe. He and his friend Davidson, both of whom were married to Lakota women, decided to remain in the area, and they built log cabins, erected tipis, and became owners of land on which the town of Hot Springs now stands (Cook 1888; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:345; Clark, B. 1983:23). In 1881, they formed a partnership with George Turner and built a log hotel for patients near the springs (Sanford in Clark, B. 1983:82). Although the circumstances surrounding the sale of the land are not clear, the title was purchased from them in 1886 for the development of a resort (Tallent 1899:651-652; Clark, B. 1983:9).

The important point to be made from this discussion is that the Lakotas and the Cheyennes of Pine Ridge maintained a presence, albeit a diminished one, in the Black Hills after the area was seized by the government in 1877. In later years, as discussed momentarily, their use of the Hills increased substantially in association with the rise of travel and tourism in the region. Although there is little record of their presence on the lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park, other than their visits to the cave and their campsites on park lands en route to other locations in the Hills, it is highly likely that some Lakotas and Cheyennes may have used these lands for hunting and plant procurement, especially if they had close friendships with any of the park s early settler families.

B. The New Faces of Change 1903 to the Present

After 1903, the year that federal lands in and around Wind Cave were turned into a national park, the Black Hills region remained important to European Americans because it continued to support jobs in the traditional mining, logging, and ranching industries. By the end of the twentieth century, many of these industries no longer provided a major source of livelihood to local residents. With the growth of tourism and other service-oriented businesses, the nature of the

[13] Mary Lone Wolf was born of French Canadian and Dakota parentage in the northeastern area of Dakota territory. When she was still a child, her family moved to St. Paul, Minnesota. She was held captive in the 1862 Minnesota Conflict but returned to her parents four years later. In 1871, she married George Trimmer and three children were born to the union. The two made their way to the Black Hills and came to Rapid City in 1876. In 1877, the couple moved to Hill City, and in 1879, they moved to Hot Springs. In 1887, the Trimmers separated. A few years later Mary married a man named Lone Wolf from Texas, and they resided on the Pine Ridge Reservation (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:164).

economy and the work people performed in it changed as did the relations between Wind Cave National Park and its neighbors. The changing economy of the Black Hills not only impacted the European Americans who lived in the Hills or who visited them as tourists and recreationists, but it also affected local tribal populations who stayed in the Hills or on neighboring reservations and who continued to retain a visible presence in the region.

In the midst of this change, the Black Hills remained one of the most contested land areas in the United States. Beyond the political struggles that European Americans waged amongst themselves over the nature and status of their own user rights to the region s federally-managed lands, the most contentious and long-lasting battles were fought with the Hills former tribal residents, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. European Americans continued to assert their rights in the Black Hills, not only as conquerers but also under constitutional laws that grant the United States the power of eminent domain over all lands within its boundaries. Since 1877, European Americans have claimed both a *de facto* and *de jura* sovereignty over the Hills. In doing so, they have developed and imposed their own forms of governance on the area, establishing laws for the ownership of private property and for the management of public lands, which comprise much of the Hills geographic space.

Throughout the twentieth century, various European American interest groups, from ranchers and miners to recreationists and environmentalists, have challenged the ways in which public lands in the Black Hills are used and managed. The battles have been fought with the understanding that much of the Hills are part of a public commons and a place in which competing American interest groups can establish different sorts of claims (see Geores 1990 and Chapter Seven). The American Indian tribes from whom the area was illegally seized, namely the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, were systemically denied access to this commons and its resources (Geores 1990:127). In time, they too challenged the laws and policies that restricted their rights to access the Hills. Indeed, one of the most famous and still unsettled Indian claims against the U.S. government in the twentieth century involves the Black Hills. The economic changes and political conflicts that marked the Hills during the twentieth century have had profound consequences for the position that Wind Cave National Park occupies in the region s history and for its relationship to the diverse public constituencies it serves.

1. European American Interests

During the twentieth century, the face of the Black Hills underwent many changes, most of which were closely tied to national economic cycles and federal policy. After World War II, but particularly in the last decades of the twentieth century, there was a steady decline in the relative importance of traditional extractive industries in local economic development. Reflecting wider regional trends in the American West, a growing tension emerged between the needs and interests of the older industries and a new urban-based, recreational commerce built around the preservation of the region s natural resources (Geores 1990:4-5; White 1991:496-534).

a. The Decline of Traditional Enterprises

Mining, logging, and ranching, the Black Hills three traditional extractive industries, maintained their supremacy in the region s economy until the middle of the twentieth century when their influence started to gradually erode. In the case of mining, even though the boom days of the gold rush had long passed, the Hills continued to support various mining enterprises and the thousands of workers this industry employed. From the mining of mica, gypsum, and feldspar to the production of lignite, oil, and kaolin, mineral production remained a major industry in the

Black Hills through World War II (Montgomery 1957:56-65; Schell 1961:375-378; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:340; Geores 1990:92-93; Sundstrom, J. 1977:66-68). During the Great Depression, mining sustained the economy of the Black Hills when the neighboring plains and prairie regions of South Dakota faced economic collapse (Geores 1990:93). It also played a role in bolstering the local economy during World War II and during the national post-war economic expansion (Geores 1990:94-95), although jobs in the mines dropped more than fourteen percent from 1940 to 1950 (Montgomery 1957:24). In fact, mining occupied a favored status in the Black Hills relative to other industries. Geores (1990:52-54) argues that while the timber and livestock industries were being increasingly regulated on public lands, mining remained a privileged industry; it was the one industry for which new public lands were opened to extraction, not only for minerals but also for the timber and water needed to work the mines. Also, this industry was not subject to the same degree of law enforcement when its resources were taken through illegal means (Geores 1990:51-54). In the early half of the twentieth century, mining was so highly placed in the local economy that its interests even preempted the status of wildlife reserves (Goeres 1990:93-94). After 1950, the favored status of the mining industry in the Black Hills began to decline. Increasing regulations imposed on the industry, the rising costs of extracting its resources, and a declining demand for its products led to the closure of many mines, including Lead s famous Homestake Mining Company in the 1990s. In addition, stiff political opposition to the development of other mining industries, notably uranium, contributed to the reduced importance of this sector in the overall economic development of the Hills (Geores 1990:94-95).

Logging in the Black Hills was an important industry that directly supported the building and expansion of local mines. According to Herbert Schell (1961:374), the Homestake Mining Company used 2,000,000 running feet of lumber annually to support its mining operations. Over the course of the twentieth century, the timber industry became concentrated in the hands of fewer owners and its production and distribution were increasingly organized to serve outside markets over local ones. Even though timber from the Black Hills was hard to market because of its low quality and difficult to process in large quantities because of the lack of water, the prevailing direction of federal development policies for the forest continued to support the export of timber at the expense of local interests (Geores 1990:84, 85). In time, the interests of the large corporate timber companies were favored over those of the smaller, locally run mills and the domestic needs of local residents. While residents were still able to access timber for domestic purposes, the location, timing, and extent of their cutting was severely limited (Geores 1990:65-67, 81-85). Like the mining industry, the timber companies were subject to increasing restrictions in later years. As the importance of recreation and tourism gained ground in the local economy, the U.S. Forest Service came under increasing pressure to maintain the pristineness of the lands it managed and to protect the local wildlife. In 1969, the National Environmental Protection Act was passed, and henceforth, all federal agencies were required to assess and weigh the impacts of any user on public lands (Geores 1990:111-112). Since that time, federal policies regarding the management of the nation s natural resources have increasingly moved towards a more diversified view of public lands and their users (Geores 1990:118-120).

The economy of the Black Hills, and the West more generally, thrived in the early decades of twentieth century. Besides the profits to be taken in the local extractive industries of mining and logging, agribusiness was booming. After the catastrophic losses to the cattle industry in 1887, ranching rebounded in the West but on the much smaller scale of family-run businesses. In addition, farming became more important in the region, not only as a result of the continuing opportunities afforded by various homestead acts,[14] but also in response to rising commodity prices in

[14] More homesteads were served up in western South Dakota in the first decade of the nineteenth century century than at any other time in that century (Friggens 1983:87).

the last decade of the nineteenth century (White 1991:272). In the early twentieth century, the agribusiness sector continued to serve as the foundation of the local economy in the southern Hills. In the neighborhood of Wind Cave and Hot Springs, cattle ranching dominated, although farming was important here too (Palais 1942c:90). Farther west in the vicinity of Edgemont sheep raising gained ground (Palais 1942b:53-60), even though it was prohibited on public domain lands (Geores 1990:50-51).

The region s farmers and ranchers, however, continued to face the vagaries of the climate and the market. A severe drought in 1911 forced many of the smaller operators out of business (Schell 1961:257). The region s agricultural growth was stalled in the 1930s, when thousands of people lost their farms and ranches to the economic calamity of the Great Depression (Schell 1961:281-284). As Jessie Sundstrom (1977:193) described the situation in the Black Hills:

> The bright hopes and promises of Custer County which flourished in the mid-1900s were followed by times of trial and tribulation: first, World War I, then the stock market crash in 1929, and the gradual drying of the climate and the blowing, blowing, blowing of the soil depleted by overzealous farmers who were not thinking of the consequence of their overuse of the land. The Dust Bow days of the Dirty Thirties were born with anger, patience, or insanity by the pioneers. They were laced with grasshopper infestations and fires from which Custer County was no more immune than the rest of the state although, by comparison, the Black Hills continued to be an oasis in the barren, blowing dust bowl. Crops were meager, income was scanty, bills mounted and tried the fortitude of store owner and customer alike.

Many agricultural areas in the west never fully recovered from the Depression. Even though some small scale stock/farm operators were able to weather the economic downturn and rebuild their businesses in the years after World War II, many others either sold or abandoned their ranches/farms and left the region entirely. Because of the more favorable climate and environment inside the Hogback, many of the farmers and ranchers in the southern Hills were affected less adversely than their neighbors who owned lands on the surrounding grasslands (Palais 1941: 100-105). Still, some suffered severe losses during the drought years of the 1930s.

The small-scale agricultural enterprises that operated within the old and expanded boundaries of Wind Cave National Park also experienced trials during the Depression Years, and a few faced foreclosure. Those who survived probably did so, as they had in the past, largely through their own self-sufficient food production activites (McAdam 1973:35). Also, as before, many supplemented their farming and ranching by seeking wage-work. Some of the women from ranch families in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park worked temporarily as domestics in boarding houses and hotels in Hot Springs, while many of the men worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps (Smith, A. 1973:20, 23). It was during the last years of the Depression, 1935 to 1940, that eighty percent of the private property holdings inside park boundaries were reconveyed to the federal government (Western History Reserach 1992:105). The process of reconveyance took place with little resistence, probably because it happened at a time when the agricultural sector and its producers were economically impoverished.

The post-World War II era brought federal safety nets for agricultural producers and improved prices for their commodities, allowing farmers and ranchers to liquidate their debts from earlier decades (Schell 1961:303). In the 1950s, the Sloan-Pick Act supported the development of huge irrigation projects along the Missouri, including the creation of the Angostura Reservoir on

the Cheyenne River, no more than twenty miles south of Wind Cave National Park. This reservoir provided irrigation water that made farming on the dry highlands directly south of the Black Hills more reliable (Schell 1961:305-307). In the same era, improved farm technologies and new agricultural practices brought changes to the ranching and farming industries. Increasingly, agricultural operators combined cattle raising with the cultivation of feed, notably alfalfa, to sustain their stock over the winter months. Also, the cattle industry became more specialized. In western South Dakota, ranchers raised and then transported their stock to feedlots in the eastern part of the state where they were fattened before being slaughtered for the national market (Schell 1961:349-351). Farmers began planting more drought-resistant varieties, diversifying their crops, and employing methods of tillage better suited to the region s soils (Palais 1942:107). Despite these changes, agriculture gradually lost ground in the Black Hills. By the 1950s, it was no longer a principal source of income in the area, and the number of farms started to decrease (Montgomery 1957:38-49). These trends continued in later decades when a variety of factors forced more and more people out of the agribusiness.

Although many changes took place during the twentieth century in how the lands in and around the Black Hills were ranched and farmed, none of them raised the efficiency of operations enough to combat the vagaries of national commodities markets. When commodity prices for agricultural products plummeted in the 1980s and 1990s, more and more people were forced to give up farming and ranching. Throughout the plains, farms/ranches were foreclosed. The younger generations were no longer choosing to take up the hard and often unpredictable life of their forebearers. Increasingly families left the region, and with their departure, the population of western rural South Dakota continued to decline. In the Black Hills, where there were other economic opportunities, especially in the travel and tourism industry, local counties did not experience such dramatic population declines. Pennington and Custer counties actually gained population during this period (U.S. Census Population Profiles 1900-2000).

One of the factors contributing to the hard times that Black Hills ranchers faced in the twentieth century were the increasing restrictions imposed on their public grazing rights. In response to the damages wrought by overgrazing on public lands, the open ranges were closed in the early twentieth century. Leases were let to ranchers for the use of public lands, and those who lived within the boundaries of federal land holdings were given priority on these leases (Geores 1990: 48). In time, the Forest Service decided unilaterally to stop giving out permits to new users, restrict the number of permits extended to older users, and reduce the time under which contracts were let (Geores 1990:86, 90-91). Outraged by policies from which they were being excluded, local stockman began to organize, putting pressure on their political representatives to involve them in the decision-making on their access to and use of public lands (Geores 1990:88). As Geores (1990:88-89) points out, the tension did not just revolve around the quality of the range, but increasingly responded to another set of interests, namely the quality of the forest vegetation for deer, the prime interest of the region s sports hunters. In fact, in the 1950s, the conflict escalated to a point where local ranchers were refusing sports hunters access to their property (Geores 1990:89-90). Overall, relations between ranchers and government agencies were becoming increasingly uncooperative and litigious in the twentieth century (Geores 1990:91). As more of the public land in and around the Black Hills was placed in a reserve status or became homesteaded by farmers who plowed and fenced their lands for crops, cattle operators were forced to downsize their herds but not without strong political opposition (Schell 1961:255-257; Geores 1990:46-51; Sundstrom, J. 1994:81-85). In the face of this change, some local ranchers simply sold out and pursued other endeavors to make a livelihood in the Hills (McAdam 1973:24).

Grazing rights were also now restricted on federal lands under the management of the National Park Service. Even though national policy had long dictated that park lands not be used for

agricultural purposes, exceptions were made especially in areas, such as Wind Cave National Park, with a prior history of homesteading. In fact, the first superintendent of the park, William A. Rankin, who owned land and grazed stock inside modern day park boundaries, complained in his first annual report about the park s open range, the loose stock, and the lack of fencing (Bohi 1962:421-422, 426; Long 1992:7). In 1909, a federal order authorized the park to give out permits for grazing livestock (Bohi 1962:421), but five years later, in 1914, this practice was severely restricted (Bohi 1962:434). In 1921, local ranchers who held grazing permits hired a range rider to monitor and manage the range (Bohi 1962:440). The continuance of grazing on park lands may have been a function of the fact that there was little federal support for the park s operations, so these leases may have been a necessary means for generating revenue. Also, many of the park's early workers and managers were local residents whose employment supplemented their own ranching endeavors. This work probably did not offer a living wage, and as a result, it was likely in their own best interests and those of their neighbors to make the park s range accessible to stock-raisers (Bohi 1962:430).

The Great Depression was a turning point in the American West. It began an era when the federal government played a much larger role in providing work and livelihoods for Americans living in the West (White, R. 1991:459-534). In the Black Hills, under the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the government s Works Project Administration offered thousands of jobs for the Hills residents in construction and the arts (Schell 1961:292-293; Sundstrom, J. 1977:194). Numerous public projects were sponsored through the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and in South Dakota, most of these were located in the Black Hills (Schell 1961:293; Sundstrom, J. 1994:152-163). Wind Cave National Park was the site of one of the largest CCC camps in the Hills: its workers constructed bridges, improved roads, and built campsites and the park s visitor center. Along with other CCC workers in the Hills, they helped to create much of the infrastructure for the robust development of tourism in the Black Hills (Schell 1961:186-187; Bohi 1962: 449-460; Geores 1990:97, 101, 109; Long 1992:42-54; Sundstrum, J. 1994:152-163). Since this interesting period in the history of the park is well represented in park museum displays and on its web site, it does not need to be elaborated upon any further here.

After World War II, the basis of local livelihoods gradually shifted away from small-scale entrepreneurial ventures and wage-work in the logging, mining, and ranching industries to service-oriented jobs and professions. In 1950, only twenty-five percent of the people living in the Black Hills were employed in the region s traditional industries. Already most of the local populace was working outside the older economic sectors (Montgomery 1957:24-25). Fifty years later in 2000, less than half of the residents in Fall River and Custer counties worked in these sectors; the vast majority was now employed in public and private service-oriented jobs (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Labor and Employment Profiles, Fall River and Custer Counties S.D). They were employed as wage workers in government agencies and in industries that serviced leisure, tourism, and recreation. As it had since 1903, the park service continued to represent an important source of employment for Custer and Fall River counties. With these economic changes, there was a shift in the population away from the rural areas to the towns and cities of the Black Hills. Although the population decreased modestly in some parts of the Hills, other areas gained population. Fall River County for example, dropped from a high of 10,439 people in 1950 to 7,453 in 2000, but Custer and Pennington counties both saw substantial increases in their numbers (U.S. Census, Population Profiles, 1900 to 2000). Generally speaking, the Black Hills fared much better than other parts of western South Dakota at maintaining their populations, and they have been able to do so largely because of their leisure and recreational assets.

By the end of the twentieth century, the traditional extractive industries associated with mining, lumbering, and ranching were no longer the backbone of the Black Hills economy. Instead,

the leisure, travel, and recreational industry had become the mainstay and the centerpiece for regional development (Geores 1990:111). In the face of increased opposition from recreational and tourist interests, traditional users have seen their access to publicly owned areas reduced (Geores 1990:121; see also Chapter Seven). This shift is not unique to the Black Hills, however; it has taken place throughout the American West, and it has had a significant impact on the place of the national parks in regional economic development (White 1991:535-630). Like other areas of the American West with scenic landscapes and large federal land-holdings, the Black Hills have witnessed significant demographic shifts. As the work and livelihoods of the populations who live in their reach has changed, so have the expectations surrounding some of their uses. Many private holdings adjacent to public lands, especially national parks, are being subdivided to make room for what are popularly known as ranchettes, small acreages developed as recreational properties, notably for vacation and retirement homes. The people who purchase these properties usually support policies that maintain public lands in a natural state and oppose most traditional, extractive forms of development. These people typically derive their incomes from sources outside the areas in which they live, or they work locally in service-oriented professsions. Most of them live off the land too, but the way they do so is passive and an extension of their leisurely, voyeuristic lifestyles.

The urbanization of the Black Hills and the movement towards a lesiure-based economy have had profond impacts on the relative importance of national park lands to the local economies of the West and the Black Hills in particular. In the New West, the nation s national parks have become an increasingly valuable economic asset. Their unique and relatively pristine landscapes draw tourists and leisure residents to the areas in which they are located. Although Wind Cave National Park has not as yet experienced the kinds of recreational development taking place near some of its sister parks in the West, notably Yellowstone, Glacier, Rocky Mountain, Zion, and Capital Reef, there is strong evidence that this trend is beginning to take hold here. As it does, the park will continue to play an important and increasingly substantial role in the direction of local economic growth. It will also, however, have to contend with the effects of a growing population on its borders.

b. The Growth of Travel and Tourist Enterprises

By the late twentieth century, what maintained the economic viability of the Black Hills was not the mines, the timber business, or even family farms and ranches, but recreational tourism, which first got its start in the southern Black Hills at Hot Springs and Wind Cave in the 1890s (Geores 1990:30, 42). Since its inception, the history of Wind Cave National Park has been closely linked to the growth and development of the Black Hill s travel industry and the interests of its consumers, most of whom come from locations outside the Black Hills.

With the arrival of the automobile and the building of improved roads in the early twentieth century, the Black Hills travel and leisure industry began to shift its focus. The popularity of spas, which made Hot Springs such a popular destination, was in decline and with it the fortunes of many local businesses (Williams, B. 1973:30-31; Julin 1982). Indeed, Cascade Springs, another resort community in the 1890s, was all but deserted by 1905: most of its stone buildings torn down to provide materials for building churches and hospitals in Hot Springs (Hamelstrom in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:344-345; Resatto 1989:129-131). Increasingly, the major attractions for tourism in the Black Hills were its legendary mining history, its wildlife, and its scenic attractions both above and below ground (Clark 1952b; Julin 1982:265).

To the north, Custer State Park, originally established as a forest reserve to support the state school system through the sale of its timber, was turned into a recreational area in 1914, two

years after the creation of a game preserve adjacent to Wind Cave National Park (Lindsay1932 in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:900; Sundstrom, J. 1994:110-114). Other areas of the Hills under the management of the U.S. Forest Service were also becoming adapted to a growing demand for recreational use. The forest service and state park systems supported recreational interests by stocking non-indigenous sports fish, especially trout, in local streams (Sundstrom, J. 1994:73). Indeed, it is around the issue of water quality in the Hills that we begin to find early evidence of user privileges associated with the traditional mining, timber, and cattle industries colliding with the interests of recreationists who, as early as the 1920s, were starting to become a powerful lobby in the politics over public land use in the Black Hills (Sundstrom, J. 1994:94-95).

In its earliest years of operation, Wind Cave National Park remained closely tied to one of the region s traditional user groups: ranchers (Bohi 1962; Long 1992). Well into the twentieth century, as already noted, it continued to allow grazing on its land and issued permits to locals for such use. Perhaps because the primary focus of the park was its subterranean environment and not its above ground landscape, uses generally prohibited at other national parks continued here. Certainly areas surrounding the park were, and continue to be, devoted to traditional grazing uses. In later years, as more adjacent land became incorporated into the park, it carried with it a history steeped in the region s ranching culture. At least above ground, the park has never been a pristine landscape, but an area where the imprint of human activity is visibly marked on its landscape (see Chapter Seven).

As the twentieth century progressed, a dramatic shift was underway in the character of the groups with definable interests in the Black Hills. Besides the traditional mining, timber, and grazing users, there were recreationists and tourists whose growing presence would eventually reshape federal land policies. Following the successful boosterism of Hot Springs businessmen in the previous century, representatives of the railroads and local entrepreneurs started to launch massive advertising campaigns, extolling the region s scenic vistas, its unique geological formations, its wildlife, and its gunslinging frontier history (Lee 1987; Goeres 1990:94). According to Martha Geores (1990:96), the 1920s ushered in an era when public lands in the Black Hills moved from being a passive recreational resource to an active one. Before 1910, the natural assets of the Hills public lands were used primarily by local people who vacationed at cabins or campsites over the summer months, who hunted game commercially or for subsistence and pleasure in the fall, and who collected timber and gathered plants for food and other domestic uses. Thereafter, the area was increasingly opened to tourists and other recreationists from areas outside the Hills (Geores 1990:96-97). This was also true of Wind Cave National Park, where the number of outside visitors underwent a dramatic increase (Long 1992:38-39). In fact, there appears to have been a shift in the park s policy around this time -- away from local groups and their concerns to the new and rapidly growing tourist market and its interests. The park not only stopped issuing permits for grazing and other local uses, but it also began to actively work with the area s tourist boosters in promoting travel to the Black Hills (Lee 1987; Long 1992:39-40).

When President Coolidge[15]spent his summer vacation at Custer State Park in 1927, considerable national attention was focused on the Black Hills (Sundstrom, J. 1994:136-139). Even though the stature of the presidency did much to legitimize the appeal of the Hills to potential vacationers, it was not enough to sustain a steady flow of tourists. In order to successfully com-

[15] So important was his presence to the area s tourist aspirations that many local sites were renamed in his or his wife s honor. The south fork of Battle Creek, once called Squaw Creek, became Grace Coolidge Creek, and Sheep Mountain became Mount Coolidge. Even though he stayed at a retreat in neighboring Custer State Park, there is no evidence in the sources we came across that he visited Wind Cave.

pete with Yellowstone National Park and draw more tourists, a better infrastructure and more attractions had to be created in the Hills. In subsequent years, developments that took place in the heart of the Black Hills National Forest played a critical role in shifting the mother lode of Hills tourism from their southern reaches near Hot Springs to more northerly locations near Custer, Deadwood, and Rapid City. This happened in several different ways.

Beginning around 1907, automobile travel became increasingly popular, rapidly replacing the railroads as the primary form of transportation Americans used to reach tourist destinations in the West (Long 1992:38-41). The park began to arrange concessions with the owners of automobiles and tour cars to bring tourists to the cave from Hot Springs, where many still arrived by train (Bohi 1962:429). Within two decades, most of the visitors who came to Wind Cave did so by personal auto, with some of them camping during their visits to the park (Bohi 1962:442; Long 1992:38). Automobile travelers arrived in the Hills through many of the age-old routes developed along the region s gateways and Indian trails. Overtime, these became modern highways. From the west, U.S. Highway 18 and state highway 89 entered the Hills through Red Canyon, following the old trail to Custer by way of Shirttail Canyon and Pringle. From the east, U.S. Highway 18 and state road 385 reached the Hills along the Fall River near Horsehead Junction, one of the former stage stops, bypassing the Buffalo Gap as the customary southeastern access route into the Hills. To the present day, the old Buffalo Gap entry is still along a dirt/gravel access road and hardly used by the traveling public.[16] Hot Springs now became the gateway town for the southeastern Hills. Through the 1930s, roads into and around the Black Hills remained poor, something Gutzom Borglum once described as their oxen cart highway system (*quoted from* Geores 1990:100). In subsequent decades, dirt and gravel roads were gradually transformed into paved highways and scenic byways through the efforts of Peter Norbeck, one of the region s most avid promoters of travel and tourism (Sundstrom 1994:118-126). Highway 87 connected Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park, and in the course of its building, drained and destroyed a natural lake inside park boundaries on lands once belonging to the old Valentine ranch (McAdam 1973:28).

Notwithstanding Norbeck s attempts to improve and build additional state roads in the Hills, the American Automobile Association advised its travelers in the 1950s to bypass the Black Hills and take other routes to Yellowstone (Goeres 1990:100-101). When U.S. 16 became the major travel route to the Black Hills and Yellowstone, Rapid City, Keystone, and Custer became its primary beneficiaries. The Hot Springs region lost ground and became increasingly isolated from the flow of the heaviest tourist traffic (Casey 1949:8). After the building of I-90 in the 1970s, it became even more remote. Today, many transcontinental travelers do little more than visit the sites and towns on the northern side of the Hills within easy access of the interstate, notably, Mount Rushmore and Deadwood. For travelers who take time to explore the Hills, Wind Cave National Park remains a popular attraction on their trip itineraries, and Hot Springs serves as the primary town providing accommodations for the park s visitors. Still, the Hills south of Custer are no longer the locus of tourist activity in the Hills as they once were at the end of the nineteenth century.

Even before major highways routed traffic away from the far reaches of the southern Hills, the nation s interest in recreational spas had declined. Other than Wind Cave, there was little to attract tourists to this area, especially when more spectacular sites were being developed farther north. In the central hills, the Work Projects Administration and its Civilian Conservation Corps, created lakes, including Stockade near Custer and Pactola Reservoir and Sheridan Lake near Rapid City (Geores 1990:97). With the lakes came new campgrounds and other facilities; hun-

[16] Plans are now underway to pave the road and make it a scenic bypass.

dreds were built and improved during the 1930s, including many of those at Wind Cave National Park (Bohi 1962:449-460; Sundstrom, J. 1977:145-150; Long 1992:48-54). More important than the lakes was the creation of Gustav Borglam s colossal sculpture at Mount Rushmore, which forever shifted the focus of national attention to this site and its nearby locations (Clark 1952c; Larner 2002:89-125). Mount Rushmore was first conceptualized in the 1920s, but it was not completed for another two decades (Rezatto 1989:142-155). It has been an astounding success, drawing large crowds of people every year. In its shadows, an entire array of manufactured attractions started to dot the Black Hills landscape from Rapid City to Custer. Wax museums, reptile gardens, and other tourist traps existed alongside the region s notable natural attractions, including the Needles and Cathedral Spires (Goeres 1990:103-106). The southeastern edge of the Hills largely escaped this form of tourist development, however, and retained an authenticity where travelers were still able to see landscapes and wildlife in a setting that at least appeared to approximate a more original condition.

During and after World War II, recreational facilities and attractions on federal lands deteriorated because of a lack of funding. In the 1960s, fees started to be charged or increased for the use of many facilities in order to raise sufficient operating funds for their maintenance (Geores 1990:99). There were more recreational users too, locals as well as outsiders. With the building of Ellsworth Air Force Base in 1942, Rapid City quickly became one of the largest population centers in South Dakota, and many of its residents became active recreational users in the Hills (Geores 1990:99). When automobile touring, as lampooned in Chevy Chase s film Vacation, became the primary family-centered recreational activity of the postwar era, thousands of outside tourists, mostly from the Midwest, flocked to the region (Montgomery 1957: 66). During these years, Wind Cave remained one of the featured stops on automobile itineraries of the Black Hills (Case 1949:8; South Dakota Federal Writers Project 1952). Atlhough it remains so today, it still stands off the beaten path of the most frequented travel routes in the Hills.

Beyond the scenic attractions, providing the foundation for much of the sightseeing tourism in the Black Hills, there was another important leisure activity, sports hunting and fishing. Ever since dude ranches and hunting lodges were built in the late nineteenth century, these two sporting industries have drawn many outsiders to the area. But their greatest support has come from local residents. Throughout the American West, pioneer settlers and their descendants relied heavily on the native fauna and flora to supplement their diets and/or as a commercial endeavor (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:402, 419; Bingham 1973:4, 6; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:176, 232,243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 261). Today, hunting remains an important and fundamental feature of life for many European American ranch families in the Hills (Sundstrum, J. 1994:69). Berries and other wild plants continue to be collected by local residents too (Bohi 1962:366; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583, 585; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom J. 1977:227, 366). In recent years, a few small businesses have started to produce and market custom-made jams and jellies from the region s stocks of currants, chokecherries, serviceberries, and raspberries (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:365, 379; see also, Chapter Eleven).

As discussed in much greater detail elsewhere, the state of South Dakota did not impose game laws on its citizens until 1911, a date that coincides with the time when game reserves were established in the Black Hills at Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park. Unlike Wyoming, whose early game legislation appears to have been enacted to protect a lucrative sports hunting industry catering to a wealthy Eastern clientele, South Dakota s game laws emerged in direct response to the overkilling of local game through the combined effects of market, subsistence, and sports hunting (Progulske 1974:123-124; Turner 1974:136, 137, 144). On federal

forest lands and in Custer State Park, where hunting was permitted in set seasons, poaching still remained a serious problem for many decades after game laws were enacted (Sundstrom, J. 1994:69). Even though hunting was disallowed inside the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park, game continued to be taken by poachers well into the twentieth century (Bohi 1962:462). Much of this illegal activity was the work of locals who resented restrictions being placed on their traditional open-access rights to the region s public lands and who certainly resisted some of the changes taking place to accomodate the interests of outside recreationists (Sundstrom, J. 1994: 69). Despite the problems with pouching, many of the game populations in the region rebounded by the mid-twentieth century as a result of the enactment of game laws, conservation efforts, and the creation of protected habitats. Today, the local wildlife is appreciated as much for its value in the spectator sport of sightseeing as it is in the actual chase.

During the twentieth century, except for Wind Cave National Park, the southeastern Hills lost much of its cachet and ability to attract large tourist audiences. Many of the classic architectural structures along Hot Springs main thoroughfare, built during the bustling years of the spa industry, are now boarded up. The town has the retro feel of so many other quaint western communities long past their prime and outside the reach of trendy destinations that make up much of the modern travel and leisure industry in the American West. Today,Wind Cave and the more recent Mammoth Exhibit in the town of Hot Springs are the only attractions that bring a sizable tourist audience to the area. With the gradual decline of the region s traditional agribusiness sector in the last half of the twentieth century, these attractions have come to play an even larger role in bolstering the local economy, a subject to be discussed in more detail momentarily.

c. Cultural Traditions

Over the past century, the Black Hills have become the home of thousands of European Americans and smaller numbers of African Americans, Asian Americans, and Mexican Americans.[17] From the Hills, all of these people have made a living in mining, logging, farming, ranching, tourism, and a host of other occupations. Through their own lives and the histories of their ancestors, now reaching back over five generations, they have established strong ties to the area. For many local residents, the attachment goes beyond the stories in their own family histories and involves a deep appreciation of the region s unique frontier history, its wildlife, and the striking beauty of its natural landscapes. One only needs to read the praises of people like Badger Clark (1952a, 1952b, 1952c, 1983) to understand some of the strong cultural feelings local European Americans hold for this region.

Over the years, European Americans have imposed their own unique cultural understandings on the Black Hills and their many diverse landscapes. Most of their cultural traditions are linked to the halcyon days of the gold rush and the cattle boom during the 1870s and 1880s. They are tied to the trials and struggles of the European American pioneers who settled the area or the epic battles between the U.S. military and the region s tribal nations. The cultural narratives uniformly focus on the adventures, exploits, and hardships associated with the taking and settlement of the Hills. Much of the discourse celebrates whites conquering the Hills against all odds, and Mount Rushmore stands as its quintessential expression (Clark 1952c; Geores 1990:102-108;

[17] Asian American, African American, and Mexican American people are barely visible in the literature on the Black Hills. Asian and African American peoples arrived in the area with the Gold Rush, while Mexican Americans probably came here as early as the eighteenth century as itinerant traders (see Chapter Three). None of these ethnic groups are associated, at least in the published literature, with any distinctive set of cultural traditions regarding the Black Hills landscape and Wind Cave National Park in particular. Some of their family stories are found in local town and county histories, however.

Dorst 2000; Larner 2002). With varying degrees of embellishment and exaggeration, most of these stories derive from actual historic events. Some of the narratives, however, have been transplanted from other regional folk traditions, including the tales of Paul Bunyon and the legends of lost gold (Rezatto 1989:57-70). Others derive their origins in ersatz traditions, often mistakenly attributed to the legends of local tribes who occupied the region before European Americans arrived. One example is The Legend of Old Scattergold (Rezatto 1989:73-75), but of course, the classic in this genre of storytelling is the widely retold Legend of the Rose (Brown and Willards 1924:24-26; Price, S. 1935:37; Hughes, R. 1957:7-8; Stone 1982:28-29; Rezatto 1989: 70-72).

In relation to Wind Cave National Park, there are no mythical or legendary stories, at least that we were able to find in the course of our research, derived from European American cultural traditions. The culture of European Americans comes into play predominately in terms of how the park s geology and wildlife are represented in park interpretive materials (Peterson 1929:149-153; Case 1949:9-10, 59-60, 89-90; Casey 1949:17, 28, 197, 283-289, 323-325; South Dakota Federal Writers Project 1952:16, 376-379; Williams, A. 1952:27-30). More broadly, it is reflected in the region s tourism and specifically, in the ways in which the cultural values of European Americans are expressed in local travel discourse (Long 1992:18-20). Since Victorian times, visits to America s unique and scenic landscapes have been considered a form of extraordinary experience, often described in a metaphoric language akin to religious phenomena and intended to invoke pleasurable emotions and morally uplifting attitudes (MacCannell 1976; Albers 1988; Sears 1989). This is certainly apparent in some of the travel writings that have described the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park in particular (Coursey 1926; Case 1949; Casey 1949; Peattie 1952; Williams 1952; Long 1992:18-20; Raventon 1994).

The only stories of historic importance to local European American residents, as revealed in some of their own writings about the area (Tallent 1899; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70; Koller 1971; Fall River County Historical Society 1976; Sundstrom, J. 1977; Clark, B. 1983), have to do with European Americans finding and developing the cave and the feuds that surrounded its ownership. These stories are worthy of interest and bear telling in popular travel writings (Case 1949; Casey 1949; Rezatto 1983) because they conform to wider legend-making traditions associated with the Hills. They speak to the mythological drama of America s Frontier West, its discoveries, challenges, and above all, the conflicts and fights over access to its riches (see Chapter 15 for a fuller discussion of this). Yet, there are many other stories derived mostly from the histories of local families that give rich cultural evidence of their experiences in and attitudes towards Wind Cave National Park. Regrettably, little of this has been represented in park interpretive materials.

European Americans have also used the Hills to establish religious camps; today, New Agers flock to the Hills to seek their own spiritual epiphany. Certainly Mount Rushmore has achieved the status of a sacred shrine, a symbol of the nation s democracy and above all, American sovereignty over the Black Hills (Geores 1990:103-104; Larner 2002:89-125). Today, it is a national icon, one of the most frequently visited and photographed monuments in the United States (Geores 1990:108). Standing in a contested relationship to this site is the equally significant sculpture of Crazy Horse, still undergoing completion outside of Custer. Responding to the request of Lakota leader Henry Standing Bear, Korczak Ziolkowski and his family devoted their lifetimes to carving a figure of Crazy Horse out of Thunder Mountain, an undertaking funded entirely with family funds and private monies collected from visitor s fees and donations. Ziolkowski was able to purloin the use of the mountain by filing a mining claim, which, under the federal law of the 1950s, still superseded all other forms of use and interest on U.S. Forest Service lands. Initially, there was considerable opposition to the undertaking from local whites

and the federal government, but, in time, this opposition softened and turned to support when it became apparent that the proposed monument had considerable benefit in attracting tourists and their revenue (Geores 1990:105-107). Opposition has also emerged among tribal people. Some Lakotas supported and even encouraged Ziokowski work (Rezatto 1989:179-180). Others, however, looked at his effort very differently: they saw this monument not only as a desecration of their sacred Black Hills, but also as another attempt to commercially appropriate their culture and the image of one of their most revered leaders (Geores 1990:107-109).

Whether European Americans developed their own cultural sense of the Black Hills through the appropriation of tribal symbols or their own cultural traditions, they have had little to say about the area of Wind Cave National Park. Other than its association with major pioneer trails and the discovery of its unique cave, this is not an area of the Black Hills that appears to have a highly developed and especially strong cultural attachment for European Americans. This stands in marked contrast to the tribal nations of the region.

2. Tribal Interests

In direct contrast to European Americans, several tribal nations, especially the Lakotas and Cheyennes, have a strong and continuing cultural attachment to the area of Wind Cave National Park. Historically, this relationship grew out of their ideas about the region s animal, plant, and mineral life and its relation to particular landforms in the area, notably, Wind Cave, the Race Track, the Buffalo Gap, and the Hot Springs. Today, these traditions remain a vital part of their cultures, and a significant feature of their contemporary tribal identities. Their strong cultural ties to the area are revealed not only in the continuing practice of traditional religious observances at some of these sites but also in the persisting use of the area for traditional forms of procurement (see details in sections Three and Four). There are also associations linked to their historic involvement in the region s tourism, economy, and politics, and some of these are summarized here.

a. In Tourism

When tourism began to develop its stride in the Black Hills, many local communities and entrepreneurs included Lakotas in their events and attractions (Casey 1949:291-296). As early as 1908, Lakotas from Pine Ridge were invited to participate in the Buffalo Gap Fair, where they entered various rodeo contests and camped at the edge of town during the event. Indeed, some of these Lakota were well-known and highly respected bronc riders and pickup men. According to Queenie Stewart (1967-70:70-71), who described this early fair, the most popular feature of the rodeo was the Tepee-Setting Race, which involved two women driving a wagon around the track and erecting their tipis in front of the grandstand. The winners took away a prize of five dollars (see also, Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:194). Similar festivities and competitions were held in Deadwood, Rapid City, Hot Springs, and Custer where local Lakotas were known to participate as well (Casey 1949:291-296).

Scudder Mekeel (1932:278-281) wrote that throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, prominent Lakota men were invited to organize a following to participate in the festivities of various Black Hills communities. Each of these leaders carried full responsibility for the people who accompanied them, and they commonly organized the excursions according to the protocol bands followed when traveling in pre-reservation times. They reached the Hills in caravans, with wagons and sometimes with travois carrying tipis and other equipment for their extended summer visits. Some of them passed through and camped at Wind Cave National Park on

their way to these festivities (McAdams 1973:6) or to secure lodgepoles (Smith, A. 1973:16). In 1930, White Man Bear was the leader of a group that participated in the Water Carnival at Hot Springs, while Short Bull organized the people who went to the rodeo at Edgemont (Mekeel 1932:280-281). The town of Custer included Lakota participants in its Gold Discovery Days. According to Jessie Sundstrom (1977:124), the Lakotas were provided meat as part of their payment for participating in the parade and given a place to camp during the festivities. In 1930, Young Skunk was the leader of one of the groups who regularly attended this event (Mekeel 1932:280-281). These celebrations became part of a circuit that some Lakota families traveled over the entire summer. Even as late as the 1960s, it was a common practice for Lakotas to participate in the rodeos, stampedes, fairs, pageants, and celebrations run by local white communities in South Dakota (Albers and Medicine, n.d). When Hot Springs developed its Crazy Horse Pageant in the 1950s, Lakotas from Pine Ridge were featured participants as they had been in the old Water Carnival (Danker 1963:37, 42). Participation in some of these events was not only remembered as a pleasurable leisure activity by many Lakotas but also an important, albeit meager, supplement to their annual income (Albers and Medicine, n.d).

Also common from the 1920s to the 1960s was the practice of involving local Lakotas in commercial ventures that featured native dances and craft exhibits. Indeed, Geores (1990:101-102) notes that, after the 1940s, Indian involvement was welcome, and even actively solicited, at local tourist attractions. The most famous of these was organized by the Alex Duhamel family, who operated a large retail store in Rapid City (Born 1994:23-24). The Duhamels also owned land on the road to Mount Rushmore at Rockerville Gulch, where Sitting Bull s *tiospaye* once camped every year to cut their lodgepoles. In the mid-1920s, the Duhamels decided to develop the area into a tourist attraction (Born 1994:26). As Bud Duhamel told David Born (1994:24), Nicholas Black Elk approached his father, with whom he had had a long trading relationship, about the possibility of developing an Indian pageant at the site. It was Bud Duhamel s impression that Black Elk supported the pageant idea as a way of educating white tourists and also providing employment for his people. When the pageant first started in 1927, the Lakotas built a summer camp near Baken Park, and whenever the park s hall wasn t being otherwise used, the Lakotas performed dances for the tourists. In 1934, it was moved to Crystal Caverns, and a round building that seated several hundred people was built for Lakota dance performances (DeMallie 1984:63; Born 1994:25; Larner 2002:270). When the pageant was at its height, anywhere from twenty-five to fifty families participated in the event, and they received a twenty-five percent share of the gate sales. Pageant participants lived in a campground, which the Duhamels maintained, providing the campers with food and water. Their stays at the camp lasted from a few days to several weeks each summer. Their performances included a variety of dances, demonstrations of sign language, a peace pipe ceremony, and rope tricks. Crafts were exhibited at the campground for tourists to purchase, and a parade was held each day (DeMallie 1984:63-64; Born 1994:26). The grandaughters of Black Elk, Esther DeSersa and Olivia Pourier, fondly recalled spending summers at the camp when they were children (in Neihardt and Utrecht 2000:134-135). The pageant continued until 1957, but interest in it started to wane after Black Elk s death (Born 1994:25).

Following popular local trends in this period, Wind Cave National Park established its own Indian camp and exhibit in 1937. The park superintendent, Edward Dixon Freeland wrote a detailed typescript of the camp after its first year that is liberally referenced here. According to Freeland the park invited Dan Blue Horse from the Pine Ridge Reservation to assemble a group to set up camp, perform dances, and demonstrate traditional buffalo processing techniques. A group of nineteen families, fifty-five people in all, arrived on the 18th of July in a caravan of wagons (Ibid:1). A large area was set up for the camp, which consisted of canvas-wall tents com-

monly used by Lakotas at this time. Firewood and water for cooking were provided by the park (Ibid:2).

On the first day of their encampment, the rangers killed a buffalo and brought it to the camp where it was skinned and butchered in view of watching tourists. Raw kidney and liver were eaten by the older Indians and the children, delicacies that Freeland (1937:3, 7) was told would promote long life. The meat was cooked the old way in the paunch of a buffalo, filled with water and heated by hot rocks submerged into the liquid. After the meat was cooked, it was taken out and placed on a pile of *psoralea* leaves, the particular species not identified. Some of the leaves were also placed in the water to purify it. After prayers and song, the meat was divided evenly and distributed among the campers by the leader of the group, Dan Blue Horse, who also shared pieces of the meat with tourists (Ibid:4). The remaining meat was then cut into thin strips, soaked in an unnamed herb so the flies wouldn t touch it, and hung over a peeled pine pole to dry in the sun. The bones were broken up for soup to which wild turnips were later added (Ibid:5). The hide was staked out on the ground to dry with the hair side down, and after it dried, it was divided up among the elderly women (Ibid:6). The whole process, according to an article in the *Hot Springs Star* (July 22, 1937), was repeated on the second day of the encampment. In the evening, the group was dressed in their regalia for dances held around a bonfire. The dances drew a large crowd, arriving in seventy-five automobiles (Freeland 1937:8). On the last night of dancing, Freeland was presented a warbonnet, and he was given the Lakota name, *Wicasa Tatanka* [Buffalo Man]. The camp broke up on the 22nd of July with participants moving on to Custer s Gold Discovery Days and the Days of 76 at Deadwood (Ibid:10).

Local newspapers reported the event a success. It was well-received by the locals and tourists who came to see the activities and by the Lakotas who danced and demonstrated traditional bison butchering and cooking techniques. One article from the *Hot Springs Star* of July 22, 1937 quoted eighty year old Left Hand Bear [*Mato Chatka*] as saying:

> We should keep well and free from sickness this winter on the reservation because we have feasted on buffalo here in our old hunting grounds, and our squaws have much buffalo meat drying for us to use when the snow comes again. Buffalo meat is the medicine for the red man.

The same newspaper also described the next year s encampment, which again was led by Dan Blue Horse with fifty-three people participating. This time the event apparently lasted longer, over a seven day period (Hot Springs Star July 1938; Bohi 1962:458). One of the participants in the 1938 program, Charley Eagle Louse (1939), wrote a letter to Freeland to inquire about the forthcoming 1939 encampment and to thank him for the buffalo he sent to Pine Ridge in December of 1938. Eagle Louse wrote:

> I am say very thanks for the Buffalo meat I had last Dec. and everyone said that (Tatanka Wicasa) Buffalo Man is best friend of yours, so I said, yes. Mr. Freeland is one of the best honest man in the Black Hills. He likes the indians and treat them right. Well Mr. Freeland I believe this is a Good Winter we had there was lot snow here and I think we will have lots of feed and berries for the coming summer and so I am chopping wood now so don t worry about my arms now Mr. Freeland and say Mr. Freeland my wife said ask Mr. Freeland see if we re going make the jerk meat again this summer. Well I am in condition now and I expect to see you some days and I will try to see you and have discussing in regards to 3rd Annual doings. If you believe we re going to have that Celebration. Well I will close here and I say goodbye to you and Mrs. Eagle Louse and my little boy Charlie Jr. both said hello and shake hand to you.

Eagle Louse and Left Hand Bear s remarks are important in light of evidence presented in later chapters; they support the prevalent idea among the Lakotas that this area was not only the sacred homeland of the bison and a place of health and renewal, but also a widely recognized traditional hunting ground and winter camping spot. The ability to come back to this place and feast on its bison must have been a moving experience for these Lakotas, one of whom mentions the good snow coverage of the past winter and his own well-being in a context that is widely linked in Lakota traditions to Wind Cave, the bison, and *Waziyata*, the North Wind, who brings the snow that heals the earth and brings new life to the people (see chapters Fourteen and Fifteen for further discussion).

While the encampment was well received by the Lakotas, the tourists, and the residents of Hot Springs, as judged by local newspaper accounts, it was not continued after 1938. Arno B. Cammerer (1938), the Director of the National Park Service, wrote Freeland that permission for future encampments, except for the one already planned during the coming summer, would not be granted because of the costs these incurred to the park and the precedent they might set pursuant to other groups seeking comparable accommodations. He also declined Freeland s request to slaughter four rather than two buffalo. This brief, but very successful, venture ended Wind Cave National Park s efforts to involve local Lakotas in the park s interpretive programming. Even though park lands were culturally significant to the Lakota people, and even though they were associated with a rich legacy of stories in Lakota as well as Cheyenne oral traditions, this was rarely incoporated into the promotional images and the educational materials that the park used to represent itself in the twentieth century.

Even Mount Rushmore, which had little to recommend it as a site of cultural importance to local tribes, maintained an active Lakota presence during the 1950s (Larner 2002:240-242, 262, 269-275). For many summers, Ben Black Elk and other Lakotas regularly greeted visitors to the monument (Larner 2002:269-275).[18] According to his daughter, Olivia Pourier, her father became associated with Mount Rushmore after the death of her brother in 1948. Wearing his best Lakota outfit, Ben Black Elk took a horse and travois to the Hills, tracking his son s spirit in the area of Harney Peak and Hill City along the old Iron Mountain Road, and leaving the area by way of the Buffalo Gap (Larner 2002:271; Olivia Pourier in Neihardt and Utrecht 2000:40-41). At the encouragment of Carl Burgess, who ran the concession at Mount Rushmore, he was convinced to spend his summers at the monument interacting with tourists, an activity from which he was able to make a decent living (Larner 2002:271).

It is also curious that Wind Cave National Park did not receive permission to continue the involvement of Lakotas in special summer activities when comparable exhibitions were instituted in the same period and continued well into the 1950s at Yosemite National Park, although not without serious misgivings on the part of the Park Service (Spence 1999:102-107, 116-120). In fact, in the early twentieth century, a few tribal groups even lived within the boundaries of the nation s parks, some continued to hunt and collect plants on park lands, and temporary tribal exhibitions and performances were held at many others (Keller and Turek 1998; Spence 1999; Burnham 2000). Over time, however, major steps were taken by the park service to minimize and/or remove tribes from the nation s parks, and by the 1950s, tribal peoples were conspicuous by their absence in interpretive programming. This was also true at Wind Cave National Park, except for an event in November of 1953, when a delegation of Lakotas from Pine Ridge was invited to the park for festivities to celebrate the park s Fiftieth Anniversary. At this event, the Lakotas adopted the park s superintendent, Earl M. Semingson and named him, as rendered in

[18] Indeed, some of the most popular and enduring images of Mount Rushmore to appear on the postcard in the 1950s and 1960s depicted Ben Black Elk in the foreground of the picture (examples in author s photograph collection).

the park s monthly report, Totonka To-kah Key, translated as Leading Buffalo (Bohi 1962: 465). Actually, this name refers to the first buffalo man or human of the Lakota origin story, *Tokahe*, who led people to the surface of the earth from their underground home at Wind Cave (see Chapter Fourteen for details on the story associated with *Tokahe*). Aside from this event, there is little evidence of any Lakota involvement in park activities after World War II. Whatever the reason for the Lakota s disappearance from Wind Cave s public presentations and events, it appears from park documents that no further efforts were made to involve them, even during the 1950s when the region s tourist promoters were extolling the virtues of including Indians in local tourist attractions (Geores 1990:102).

Living in the Black Hills over extended periods during the summer months afforded older Lakotas a context in which to pass on their knowledge of the area to the younger generations. Indeed, one might even argue that their growing involvement in the region s tourism provided an important context for them to reassert some of their traditional practical and spiritual ties to the Hills (Pourier in Niehardt and Utrect 2000:134-135). It also presented them opportunities to carry on various kinds of procurement activities such as the gathering of plants for food and medicine. David Born (1994:26-27) writes about this from an interview he had with Francis Duhamel, who told him that when Henry Horse became ill, Black Elk took off to the nearby hills with a gunnysack to gather herbs and roots for a medicinal tea. He cured his patient who started to dance again three days later.

Watson Parker (1985:591) has argued that the rise of tourism in the Black Hills after World War I was the major force behind the Lakota s spiritual attachment to the area. Indeed, he even asserts that this spirituality was a fairly recent invention, created for the tourists by Black Hills publicists . In contrast to Parker s cynical interpretation of the sincerity and authenticity of some of the Lakota s religious performances at public attractions, other writers take the position that these were not fabrications but part of an overarching desire of people like Nicholas Black Elk to share their knowledge of Lakota traditions with others (DeMallie 1984:64-67,69-70, 71; Born 1994:29). It was not, as some cynics (Parker 1985:59; Worster 1992:113, 135-136, 141) have argued, a context for the creation of traditions that lack any link with the past. Even though their stays in the Hills and some of the economic opportunities that supported this presence were not entirely on their own terms, they did create a bridge across which some of their knowledge and use of the Hills would continue to pass to future generations. In fact, much of what was written by Parker s so-called publicists in the 1940s and 1950s was not new, and it follows what European Americans were writing about tribal traditions relating to the Hills as early as the 1870s. Reminiscent of the accounts of people such as Colonel Richard Dodge, Walter Jenney, and William Curtis, Leland Case (1949:5) wrote in his 1949 travel guide to the Black Hills:

> Indians didn t live in them. These pine-covered hills were much too mysterious and sacred for that, for here the holy *wakan* spirit took the form of the Thunders. And The Thunders couldn t be placated by song or dance as could, say the *Wakan* of sickness, drouth, or a slain buffalo. The Thunders blinding fire might with no warning strike a man dead.

In the same year, Robert Casey (1949:14) gave a more fantastical, and perhaps even absurd, assessment of Lakota perceptions of the Hills, when he wrote:

> When the Sioux were pleading for their ghostly shrine, Paha Sapa -- the Black Hills--this place had been a place of inviolate holiness, the home of the Great Spirit, whose rocky corridors and tree-roofed halls had never been profaned by a human s prying eyes. The shamans and medicine men who had gone there on great occasion to pray had entered the Manitou s precincts only at night, with their eyes closed, feeling their way slowly along a

> route made familiar by tradition. But Custer had come and the god, who wanted none of the face with his forked tongue and his gifts for destruction, had gone away.

Other than the fact that these statements acknowledge the Lakotas sacred attachment to the Hills, they bear only a remote resemblance to actual Lakota traditions about the area.

The growing involvement of the Lakotas in the tourist industry of the Black Hills was not without its own contradictions. There was still widespread racism against Indians in the region. There was also anger over the Lakotas persisting efforts to reclaim the Hills. Martha Geores (1990:102) quotes an editorial from the *Rapid City Journal* in 1955 that encouraged, although begrudgingly, Indian participation in local tourism. It bears repeating here: First, stop in Indian Country...and regardless of how you feel about them, Indians still have a romantic attraction to easterners and city dwellers. The efforts to involve Indians in local tourism, however, came to a screeching halt with the rise of the American Indian Movement and their political occupations in the Hills during the 1970s and 1980s.

The Lakotas, however, were not only performers at attractions and doings in the Black Hills, but they were also tourists themselves. Tom Giago (1999:276), the former editor of the *Lakota Times* and *Indian Country Today*, wrote in 1985 about the importance of the Hills for Lakota leisure activity, and how it was curtailed in the 1970s and 1980s because of the highly politicized takeovers and demonstrations during these years. The point he made was that Lakotas, like their European American neighbors, frequently took weekend outings to the Hills for recreational pleasure. Today, Wind Cave National Park is also a destination where school districts from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations commonly bring their students on educational outings (Terry 1999, Personal Communication; Albers and Kittelson 2002). Local tribal organizations use the Hills to establish camps and retreats for their young people. In 1996, the Sioux Sans Alocholism Hope Lodge Youth Component of Rapid City sponsored a camp at Storm Mountain, aimed at preventing alienation among the youth and building their leadership and creative talents (Roach 1996: B1).

b. In Other Economic Pursuits

Throughout the early half of the twentieth century, the Black Hills remained a space that Lakota people continued to visit, and like many other Americans, they often accessed it in the context of tourism. There were other ways Lakotas used the Hills as well. Before and after tourism developed in the region, the Black Hills continued to be a location for food procural, especially for the Lakotas from the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation. In the early twentieth century, the agent at Pine Ridge, John Brennan,customarily gave small groups of Lakota permission to camp and gather plants for foods and medicines in the Black Hills (Jones1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904). In October of 1903, passes were issued to two small parties for the purpose of visiting the Black Hills and vicinity to gather berries, roots, and herbs (Jones 1904:125). The parties included women and children, and each numbered about thirty-five people. They were headed by Charles Smith and William Brown, who were described as intelligent, law abiding, well disposed men. The two parties happened to meet by accident on the Wyoming side of the Hills, and they decided to return home to Pine Ridge together. While encamped on Dry Creek in Converse County, Wyoming, they were approached by Sheriff Miller of Weston County with a posse of seven men and a warrant for the group s arrest for supposedly violating state game laws in Wyoming. The leaders, Smith and Brown, refused to be taken under arrest, denying that anyone in either of their parties had violated Wyoming law. The sheriff and his party remained to have dinner, which was served by Brown s spouse. After the meal, the parties broke camp to return home and the sheriff attempted again to have the group follow him. The sheriff s posse and

the Lakota party went their separate ways, and after traveling twenty five miles, the Lakotas camped. On October 31, their train of fifteen wagons traveled until noon, stopped for a meal, and then moved on along Lightning Creek where they came to a fence. A young boy who was guiding some ponies rode ahead, and a young girl opened the gate. After the boy and three wagons had passed beyond the gate, they discovered the Sheriff ahead of them with a posse of thirteen well-armed men (Jones 1904:126). The stories diverge, as to what happened next, but a fight ensued in which four Lakotas were killed and two wounded along with the sheriff and a deputy. A few days after the incident, nine of the Lakota were arrested and stood trial on November 13 but were acquitted. The federal investigation following the incident determined that the Indians were lawfully absent from the reservation and were justified in resisting arrest and defending themselves.

Other than this much publicized incident, which became the focus of congressional hearings (U.S. Senate 1904) and was recorded in two Lakota winter counts for the year 1903 (Kindle in Beckwith 1930:366; No Ears in Walker 1982:155), we know very little about tribal hunting in the Hills from published sources during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Badger Clark (1983:68-69), however, implies that Lakotas commonly came to the southern Hills to hunt game and stray cattle during this time. Recollections of early settlers in Custer and Fall River counties confirm this as well, and they report other kinds of food procural activity and the processing of lodgepoles in the area too (Smith, A. 1973:35; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293, 379). Clearly, the Black Hills and particularly the region near Wind Cave National Park were important hunting locations in pre-reservation times and singled out in scores of stories and references (see Chapter Nine). How much hunting actually took place here after 1877 will probably never be known. The passage of state game laws, declining game populations, increased European American settlement, and the creation of game reserves in areas closest to the Pine Ridge Reservation no doubt combined to substantially reduce tribal hunting. There is no specific evidence in the sources studied for this report on the Lakota s hunting, legal or illegal, in this part of the Hills after Wind Cave National Park was established in 1903.

After 1877, but especially after 1903, when the National Park Service took over lands near Wind Cave, this area ceased to function as one of the Lakota s favorite winter camping and hunting grounds. From the 1930s to the 1950s, however, Wind Cave would regain its reputation as an important source of game when the National Park Service began a program to distribute surplus game to local tribes. In 1934 and 1935, the park donated live bison to the Oglala Sioux Tribe to start their own herd (Isenberg 2000:190-191). Two years later, House Resolution 8773 was passed on December 20, 1937, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to sell or otherwise dispose of surplus bison and elk from Wind Cave National Park to tribes in the region. In 1938, the annual report of the park superintendent reveals that 2 cows and 2 bulls were given to Pine Ridge (WCNP Annual Reports for January and May, 1938:3). Over the next two years, these reports document in some detail the numbers of bison and other game distributed to local tribes. In the fiscal year ending in 1939, eighty-nine bison were given to the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, Crow Creek, and Wind River reservations (WCNP Annual Report 1939:2-3). The next year, 40 bison and five elk were given out to the same reservations and Fort Berthold (WCNP Annual Report 1940:2). In the following years, detailed breakdowns are not given. The 1941 report indicates that 21 elk were given to reservations (WCNP Annual Report, 1941:1), and for the fiscal year 1942, 30 elk were distributed at Pine Ridge and 1 buffalo was given to Standing Rock (WCNP Annual Report 1942:2). In 1943, Standing Rock again received 1 buffalo and 37 elk were given to various reservations (WCNP Annual Report 1943:2). 1946 lists 3 buffalo killed for Indian agencies, while 1948 indicates that all of the animals eliminated in the park were given to local Indian schools for food (WCNP Annual Report 1946:4). In 1953, it was reported that twenty percent of the game was being held in cold storage to distribute to Indian reservations for ceremonial, religious, and food purposes (WCNP Annual Report 1953:

9). And in 1955, the report (WCNP Annual Report 1955:7) states that Indian reservations received 184 quarters of buffalo meat, 24 of elk, and 124 of deer and antelope. After this date, these distributions are no longer reported. Whether this practice continued or not cannot be determined from written park records. Ruthann Knudson (*quoted* from White, D. 2002:23-24), however, claimed in 1997 that these distributions remained a standard policy of the parks in the Great Plains; she also noted that Badlands and Wind Cave traditionally provided bison to the inter-tribal council and directly to tribes annually or semiannually depending on the culling practices. One thing is clear: this would have been an important and much valued gift for local tribes until they began to play a more active role in raising their own bison herds. Custer State Park also gave bison meat to local Indian families as reported by Olivia Pourier (in Niehardt and Utrecht 2000: 146).

While the importance of the Black Hills for hunting declined over the twentieth century, it remained an important area for traditional plant procurement. In fact, there are a number of sources which reveal that the Hills continued to be a preferred and frequently used spot for collecting plants.[19] As described in greater detail in chapters seven and Eleven, the Black Hills remained an important location for Lakotas and Cheyennes to find any of a variety of different plants, especially those used in their medicinal practices and religious observances. Although there are no direct published data on Lakota collecting plants on park properties, it is highly likely that they did so in the early twentieth century when they camped here on their way to other locations in the Hills.

In the early half of the twentieth century, Lakotas were not only entering the Black Hills to perform at local celebrations and tourist attractions, or to carry on traditional procurement activities, but they were also employed in other kinds of work. Early on, Lakotas were hired out as wage-laborers to work on ranches and farms owned by local whites. Raymond Brown Thunder (1971) worked on a horse ranch in his younger years in the Black Hills. The CCC camps of the Depression years were also a source of work for the Lakotas, and many worked on WPA projects in the Black Hills (Lewis, L. 1980:135-136). In the 1930s, the Sylvan Lake Resort hired young Lakota women to work as waitresses and domestics (Sundstrom, J. 1994:102), and in the same period, Lakotas were hired as practical nurses and in other occupations at hospitals in Hot Springs. There was also an Indian School in Hot Springs that maintained a staff of Indian employees (Petty 1973:24-25).

Although the economy of the Hills has struggled to survive in the twentieth century, it has always been wealthy compared to the reservations that surround it. Over the past century, reservations in western South Dakota have ranked among the most economically depressed areas in the United States (DeMallie 1978; Biolsi 1992; Pickering 2000; Christafferson 2001). The lack of work opportunities on their home reservations forced many Lakotas to move to locations in the Hills to find work during the twentieth century. Much of this movement took them to Rapid City, where after World War II, the local Lakota population increased dramatically (White 1970). But even other towns in the Black Hills, including Spearfish, Custer, and Hot Springs, became workplaces and homes for Lakota people (Petty 1973:24-25; Amiotte 1977:228-232). The 2000 census figures reveal that more than 5000 people of American Indian ancestry live in the Black Hills. In

[19] Although Martha Geores (1990:68-70) claims the Lakotas were prohibited from using lands in the Black Hills National Forest, she does not identify any laws or policies that formally excluded them. Clearly, as she points out, there was considerable sentiment in local newspapers to keep the Lakotas out of the Hills as residents and permanent users. Yet, she does not address how the celebrations local white communities sponsored actively encouraged a Lakota presence in the Hills during the summer months, and how they no doubt created some opportunities for procurement activity on forest service lands.

Fall River county, they make up 6.1% of the resident population, in Custer 3.1%, and in Pennington 8.1% (U.S. Census 2000, Population Profiles).

Whether Lakotas lived in the Hills or on nearby reservations, it is clear that they maintained a continuing presence in the region during the twentieth century. In 1949, writing in reference to Lakota participation in the Days of 76 and other local celebrations, Robert Casey (1949:292) stated:

> What comes out of all this backsighting is the realization that the Sioux are still a part not only of the scene but of the life of the West River country. When you see them meandering aimlessly through the streets of any of the Hill towns, they are more likely to be wearing faded blue jeans than bright blankets and ceremonial skins but you won t mistake them for Scandinavian corn planters and you ll know instinctively that you are somewhere on the far side of the Missouri.

Even today, Lakota people are ever-present in the Hills. They are permanent residents of the Hills towns and cities, working in a wide range of professions (Larner 2002:21-23). They are also consumers, shopping, securing medical treatment,[20] seeking entertainment, and pursuing a host of other services in towns on the eastern side of the Hills. Today, the Hills remain a fundamental part of their life and experience. Most of the Lakotas who live in or visit the southeastern Hills still come from the Pine Ridge Reservation. Many of the communities on Pine Ridge are less than a few hours away by automobile. Travel from other Lakota reservations is considerably longer, and this bears some consideration when looking at the modern use of the Hills, which, with the exception of Bear Butte and Bear Lodge Butte, has been reported and documented mostly for Lakotas from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations. Certainly the area around Wind Cave National Park is most easily accessed by these Lakotas.

c. In Politics

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos began to seek legal avenues to reclaim their interests in the Black Hills. As described in much greater depth in Chapter Eight, these tribes started organizing their efforts as early as 1891 (Lazarus 1991:119-120). Twenty years later, in 1911, the three tribal nations sought legal ways to pursue their claims through the federal court system, and in the 1920s, they went to Congress to get jurisdictional acts passed to have their cases heard in federal courts (Fowler 1982:134; Lazarus 1991:138). Only the Lakotas, however, were able to get very far in this effort (Fowler 1982:165, 173). Through a complicated history of congressional acts and court decisions, which stretched over sixty years, from 1920 to 1980, the Lakota s case, *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians, No. 79-639*, sought monetary compensation for the illegal seizure of the Black Hills and reached its final hearing at the Supreme Court in 1979. The nation s highest court ruled in 1980 that the Black Hills had indeed been seized illegally by the United States as a Fifth Amendment taking and that the Sioux were entitled to over one-hundred million dollars in settlement for this unconscionable theft (Lazarus 1991:378-379*;* see also Chapter Eight for more details).

While the Black Hills case was winding its way through the courts, the grounds on which the Lakotas chose to reclaim their interests in the Hills radically changed. After years of frustrating delays and with settlement terms many Lakotas were unwilling to accept, some of the tribe s

[20] The sanitorium in Hot Springs served many Indian TB patients including Nicholas Black Elk (DeMallie 1984:21-22). The Soldiers Home in Hot Springs also became the residence for a number of Lakota of mixed ethnic ancestry including Susan Bettelyouan and her spouse (Bettlyuoun and Waggoner 1989: xviii).

elders and traditionalists aligned themselves with younger tribal members who were part of the American Indian Movement, and together, they launched a series of protests and land takeovers in the Black Hills and on the neighboring Pine Ridge Reservation (New Holy 1998:336-33). Supported by the belief that the Sioux Nation still owned the Black Hills under the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and that they never actually extinguished their interests under the 1877 Act,[21] some Lakotas began to hold demonstrations in the Black Hills to draw public attention to their case. Lee Wilcox led a protest at Mount Rushmore in 1970 that focused on Lakota land claims (Larner 2002:278-279). Later, Lehman Brightman of United Native Americans as well as Russell Means, his brother, William, and other members of the American Indian Movement arrived to support Wilcox s protest, which turned into an occupation that lasted four months (Means and Wolf 1995:167; New Holy 1998:336; Larner 2002:280-289). Three years later, the American Indian Movement staged its highly publicized and now nationally televised takeover at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation, using this as another forum to push their agenda on treaty rights forward (Matthiessen 1980; Means and Wolf 1995:257-93; Smith and Warrior 1996:198-199; New Holy 1998:337-338). According to Alexandra New Holy (1998:338), the occupation at Wounded Knee climaxed a reawakened treaty-and-land centered Lakota identity, one inspired by tribal elders who were descendants of and raised by leaders who had signed the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and who were familiar with the stories of how *Paha Sapa* had been taken illegally from the Lakotas. It marked a significant turning point in Lakota history, one which established the conceptual grounds for the Lakotas' efforts to reclaim lands in the Black Hills instead of accepting a monetary settlement for their illegal seizure by the United States government (Lazarus 1991:325).

Frustrated by the continuing failure of the U.S. government to respect their treaty rights and refusing to take a monetary settlement for the Hills, the Lakotas began to launch another series of occupations in 1981, one year after the Supreme Court issued its ruling on Sioux claims. By this time, many Lakotas had become adamantly opposed to any monetary settlement. Proclaiming that the Black Hills are not for sale, a group of Lakotas (along with supporters from other tribes) who were associated with the American Indian Movement, left Porcupine, South Dakota on April 4, 1981 and established a settlement called Camp Yellow Thunder on National Forest Service Land in Victoria Creek Canyon west of Rapid City. This camp was viewed as a first step in reasserting Lakota rights to the Black Hills, and the legal basis for its occupancy rested on provisions guaranteed to the Lakota in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, and an 1897 federal law granting access to U.S. Forest Service lands by educational and religious groups. With the support of many local non-Indian groups, including the Black Hills Alliance and the American Friends Service Committee, tipis and other equipment were set up at the site for an extended occupation. The camp was named after Raymond Yellow Thunder, who had been brutalized and murdered in 1972 at Gordon, Nebraska (Egner 1982: C2; Matthiessen 1980:526-527, 608; Means, W. in Parlow 1983a:31-34; Cassells, Miller, and Miller 1984:114-115; Geores 1990:127; Means and Wolf 1995:410-418).

Two weeks after the camp was established, the Lakotas applied to the U.S. National Forest Service for a special use permit, which was denied as had all other previous and similar requests, according to documents released in subsequent court hearings (New Holy 1998:341). In August of 1981, the camp pursued an administrative appeal, and a month later, the United States filed an action to evict the campers (New Holy 1998:341). In the face of the U.S. Forest Service s rejec-

[21] Under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, Article 16, no additional lands were to be relinquished by the Sioux unless three-quarters of the male population agreed to a cession. Since the 1877 Agreement did not contain the required number of signatures for the sale of the Black Hills, it was an illegal act.

tion of their application for continued use, and its subsequent orders to disband the camp, the Lakotas refused to move, held onto the site, and filed suit against the government on the grounds that the campers had been illegally denied their legitimate right to a special use permit to 800 acres of forest service land (Matthiessen 1980:530-531; Cassells, Miller and Miller 1984:115-116; Wolf and Means 1995:15-17; New Holy 1998:341). The actions were consolidated, and in 1985, the first court opinion on the case in *United States v. Means 627 F. Supp. 247* in the United States District Court for South Dakota, was given. The court held that the grounds on which the campers had been denied a permit were arbitrary and that forest service regulations violated the First Amendment and burdened the free exercise of Lakota religion. It further ruled that the plaintiffs were entitled to a special use permit for a religious camp (New Holy 1998:341). The case lasted another four years on appeal, and in the intervening years, the camp served as a site for traditional religious observances and also as a location for a spiritual youth camp where efforts were made to educate younger Lakotas in the traditional ways of their people (Egner 1982: C2; Means and Wolf 1995:417). In 1988, the Eight Circuit Court, in *The United States vs. Means 858 F.2d 404,* overturned the ruling of the district judge in Sioux City that had given AIM permission to establish a permanent religious camp at the site, and a year later, when the Supreme Court refused to hear the ruling of this court, the occupation was over (Kimball 1989:B2; Worster 1992:109; New Holy 1998:342).

During the years of its existence, there had been a great deal of public support and also opposition to the Yellow Thunder Camp. Dr. Larry Zimmerman of the University of South Dakota, for example, worked with some Lakotas to get the site nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, a controversial move among state archaeologists who argued in 1983 that a Multiple Resource Nomination should be pursued instead. There was also support for a petition to allow the establishment of permanent structures at the site under a Special Use Application that was signed by thirty eight members of Congress (Cassells, Miller and Miller 1984:115-116). The long occupation helped to focus national attention on Lakota claims to the Black Hills and to mobilize a widespread and rare consensus among the Lakota people and their tribal governments that stressed the return of public lands in the Black Hills rather than monetary compensation. However, legal impasses and internal disputes among the Lakotas over tactics for holding the Yellow Thunder Camp ultimately led to a lack of resolve on pushing the occupation any further and the use of this political strategy was largely abandoned (Worster 1992:109; New Holy 1998: 343).

Two other occupations also took place in the Black Hills in 1981. One was led by the *Tokala*, or Kit Fox Warrior Society, and made up of people largely from the White Clay community on the Pine Ridge Reservation. This group occupied a site on Flynn Creek near Custer, South Dakota in early November of 1981, but the takeover was short-lived when the occupiers were arrested and jailed by a combined force of Custer County sheriffs and the state police (Matthiessen 1980:608). The other took place at Wind Cave National Park. This one was launched by the Tokala Society, Lakota Treaty Council, and members of the Oglala Sioux tribal council, who passed a resolution in support of an occupation that became known as the "Crazy Horse" encampment (Parlow 1983b: xv; Loud Hawk in Parlow 1983a:45). It was led by tribal chairman Stanley Looking Elk (in Parlow 1983a: 20) who, two years later, recounted how he and other members of the tribe applied for a ten day camping permit from the park. The occupation, began on the 25th of June, the 105th anniversary date of the Battle of Little Big Horn. More than two-thousand people showed up at this encampment, some of whom were tribal elders, including Nellie Red Owl who was in her eighties (Looking Elk in Parlow 1983a:20). Although originating with the Oglalas, it eventually drew other tribal supporters including Arapahos and Cheyennes (Parlow 1983b: xv). One of the leaders. Robert Fast Horse, a young Lakota lawyer, was very explicit about the reasons for the occupation, and as quoted in Edward Lazarus book (1991:412),

he proclaimed the takeover was a symbol of protest that the Black Hills are not for sale . The camp was set up in an isolated area on the northern edge of the park. As the occupation extended beyond the ten days allowed by the permit, representatives from Department of the Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs attempted to negotiate terms for removing the protesters. According to some of the Lakotas who participated in the takeover, various federal officials promised them that they would negotiate for the return of the Black Hills but this never happenened. Instead, the promises were used as a ploy to disband the camp (Parlow 1983b:xv; Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:20; Loud Hawk in Parlow 1983a:45). In the meantime, a power struggle developed within the encampment between the tribal representatives and some of the younger protestors over the proposed negotiations with the federal government. Eventually, many of the younger protestors abandoned the camp and moved on to occupy a site at Sheridan Lake (Looking Elk in Parlow 1983a:20). According to Stanley Looking Horse (Ibid.), the Crazy Horse encampment was eventually abandoned because of warrants issued by the state of South Dakota against the protestors who had taken over lands at Sheridan Lake. After sixty days, the takeover at Wind Cave National Park eventually ended without any legal intervention, but the occupation was an unmitigated disaster from a public relations standpoint. The debris left behind after the camp was deserted led the news media to mock the Lakota s spiritual regard for the Black Hills (Matthiessen 1980:532, 543-546; Powers, M. 1986:206; Lazarus 1991:412; Young 2001). This occupation did not have widespread support among the Lakotas or its news media. Tom Giago (1984:295-296; 1999:236), the well known editorialist and owner of two American Indian newspapers, strongly opposed it and chastised the leaders of the Oglala Sioux Tribe for embarrassing the nation by its ill-advised, poorly organized, and self-defeating tactics.

Besides the occupations, the Lakotas launched other strategies to regain their proprietary interests in the Black Hills (Greider 1987:37-40, 60, 62, 64). In the 1980s, they attempted to secure title to public lands in the Black Hills through congressional legislation, but their effort, described in more depth in Chapter Eight, did not succeed. More recently, Lakotas and Cheyennes have started to take new steps to pursue their interests in the Black Hills. Notable among these have been their efforts to play a more active role in the public deliberations that surround the use of federally managed lands in the area. Along with other user groups, the Lakotas are demanding a place at the table when public policies and environmental impacts are considered that affect the Hills. In 1995, they opposed the Costner brothers plan to exchange their own real estate for forest service land, and they demanded to be involved in the consultative process (Melmer 1995b:A1, A3, 1995c A1, A3; New Holy 1998:348). In 1996, several groups representing Lakota tribal constituencies in alliance with the Sierra Club and Audubon Society filed for an intervener status in the revised management plan of the Black Hills National Forest. One group, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, asserted in a tribal council resolution that the forest service plan did not adequately weigh the balance of industrial timber users against wildlife, grazing, and tribal cultural interests (Porterfield 1997:A1; New Holy 1998:348-349). In addition, tribes have taken efforts to gain ownership of private lands in the Hills through gifts and purchases or as settlements in civil cases. The Northern Cheyenne and Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho tribes bought small sections of private land at the base of Bear Butte (Parlow 1983b: xiv-xv), while the Lakotas of the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe sued the Homestake Mining Company for damages to the waters that flowed on their reservation and sought compensation in the form of land in the Black Hills (Porterfield 1997b: A1,A2; New Holy 1998:349-350).

Since the 1970s, the federal government has enacted several pieces of legislation (see Chapter Eight for more detail) to protect tribal cultural properties and religious freedoms especially on federally-owned lands. In the 1980s, the Lakotas and Cheyennes went to court to seek protection for sacred sites in the Black Hills under the provisions of one of the new statutes, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, but this effort did not achieve favorable results either. As

discussed in greater detail in Chapter Eight, the federal courts have tended to diminish the intent and power of congressional laws governing traditional cultural properties and religious freedoms. In recent years, this has led to renewed lobbying efforts on the part of tribes to strengthen some of the laws protecting their cultural and religious interests. No matter how the courts have ruled in cases affecting traditional cultural properties and practices, federal agencies have been ordered to evaluate the impact of the new laws on their own policies and the lands under their jurisdiction. Increasingly, the managers of the nation s public lands have had to consider how various tribal rights might be respected without jeopardizing other regulations and the interests of other user groups (Forbes-Boyte 1999). What this means, as Martha Geores (1990:112) argues, is that tribal interests can no longer be ignored by the agencies responsible for managing public lands, including those located in the Black Hills. Given current federal laws, the question of whether tribes have access to sacred sites on public lands is no longer a source of debate and contention. The central concerns now revolve around what kinds of protections are afforded these sites and what sorts of concessions are given to tribes to permit them to conduct their religious observances at these sites in culturally appropriate ways.

Much of the responsibility for making decisions on these matters appears to hinge, at least in part, on the local administrators who manage public lands. Devil s Tower National Monument is a case in point. In 1995, local tribal representatives were parties to a consultative process with environmentalists and rock climbers regarding management plans for the use of this site. A decision was reached to place a mandatory restriction on this site in the month of June in order for tribal people to conduct their religious observances without interference from tourists and recreationists (Melmer 1996:A1, A3; 1996b:A1, A2; Dorst 2000:315-318; Larner 2002:321-330). Some rock climbers challenged the park service s decision on the grounds that it denied other legitimate uses of public property, and the courts declared the ban unconstitutional. In 1998, a voluntary restriction on climbing was instituted and upheld by the federal courts. Subsequently, most climbers and other visitors to the monument have respected the voluntary ban (New Holy 1998). Similar efforts to resolve conflicts between tribal and other users of public lands have surrounded Bear Butte (Forbes-Boyte 1996, 1999; Young 1996:A1,A2; Larner 2002:331-333).

Wind Cave National Park is another example. Several times, between 1978 and 1982, the Lakotas performed a ceremony, identified as the Indian Oyate to the Paha Sapa, at Wind Cave National Park, and according to one of the park s former cultural interpreters (Terry 1999, Personal Communication), requests were made and granted for holding Sun Dances and other religious observances on park properties. This is also confirmed by Lakota cultural preservation officers, who also note that most of the larger group observances have declined during the past decade. Still, they point out that smaller and more solitary observances continue to take place at locations in the park (Albers and Kittleson 2002). In the case of Wind Cave, the sites that have been chosen for these activities do not appear to have conflicted with or compromised the interests of other user groups in the way that they have at Devil s Tower National Monument and Bear Butte State Park. Held in some of the more remote regions of the park, away from the cave entrance and the roads that carry the heaviest tourist traffic, these activities have not become a source of conflict between competing user groups, and as a result, little formal intervention, management, and negotiation appear to have been required on the part of park staff and administrators. Nonetheless, other issues relating to park regulatory policies require further discussion, and most of these are addressed in other sections of this report. What can be said here is that the use of sacred sites in the Black Hills, specificially at Wind Cave, Bear Butte, and Bear Lodge Butte, became increasingly common after 1970 (New Holy 1998:350; Larner 2002:319-331).

Over the past four decades, the Lakotas and other tribal nations have attempted in various ways to secure their interests as rightful owners and/or users of public lands in the Black Hills. They have used legal and political means to achieve their ends. Whether or not these have succeeded, tribal peoples are commanding the use of the Hills public spaces on their own terms and for their own purposes. In recent years, various Lakota groups have started to organize new protest rallies in the Black Hills: one took place in 1994 at Bear Butte over the exploitation of the site by New Agers, another was held in 1997 at Mount Rushmore to call attention to Lakota treaty rights (New Holy 1998:349), and most recently, the Stronghold area of the Badlands became the site of an occupation in a controversy between the National Park Service and members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe (Lurie, J. 2002:12-14). Before 1970, much of the tribal access to the Hills was initiated by European American entrepreneurs, community boosters, and government administrators and defined by their interests. Now, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos are pushing their own agendas forward and doing so with full knowledge of the rights and protections afforded them under various federal laws.

III. WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND ITS MODERN MILEAU

In the years after 1877, the date when the federal government took possession of the Black Hills, the region where Wind Cave National Park is situated remained a backwater, largely isolated from developments unfolding elsewhere in the Hills. The private mail, stage, and freight traffic, which once followed trails crossing park lands along Beaver Creek and its tributaries and near the water supply area in the vicinity of Shirttail Canyon, were much reduced after the gold fields became exhausted around Custer and after transportation to the more populous and developed areas of the Hills was rerouted along the outer edge of the Hogback. Sections of the park, however, remained convenient routes for local travel between Custer and the southeastern Hills. Until the mid-1880s, some wagon drivers continued to haul freight along the old Sidney-Custer trail, and loggers still used neighboring Coldbrook Canyon to move lumber along trails on the southern edge of the park.

Other than an area to cross en route to other locations, much of the park appears to have been used by early European American settlers as it had been when the Lakotas and Cheyennes inhabited the area, as a location to hunt game. It was part of a range where the area s dwindling herds of elk, mule deer, and pronghorn commonly browsed and where, in earlier times, bison grazed before they were extirpated from the region and replaced by cattle. The region s rich native grasses made it a popular grazing ground for the livestock and horses owned by the European Americans who established homesteads within and around present day park boundaries. Once park lands came under a restricted user status, where most extractive activities were prohibited, including grazing, the park s180 square miles were returned to their original use as a shelter and feeding area for wildlife. Hunters still culled the herds, but these were government employees (often professionals trained in biology), not local tribespeople or non-Indian ranchers and recreationists pursuing the animals for subsistence or sport.

The park was also an area where mineral claims were staked but never really developed. Prospectors certainly searched the area for gold and other valuable minerals, but it was a group of hunters in pursuit of deer that came across the cave in 1881 and made its whereabouts known to other European Americans. When investors of the South Dakota mining company took out a claim on the cave a decade later, they hired Jesse McDonald to manage the property and encouraged him to homestead the surface lands around the cave. His two sons, Alvin and Elmer, and their friends, Robert and Lawrence McAdam, whose family homesteaded land a few miles west of the cave, began to explore and map its subterranean passageways. Two years later, John

Stabler entered into a business partnership with Jesse McDonald to develop the cave as a tourist attraction for the scores of tourists who were starting to flock to the spas in the neighboring town of Hot Springs. In time, the partnership between McDonald and Stabler became a source of litigation that led the U.S. Land office to retake and reclassify the lands in 1901. Two years later the area was turned into a national park.

From the late nineteenth century to the present, Wind Cave and the town of Hot Springs have been umbilically connected to each other. Until the early twentieth century, the success of Wind Cave as a tourist attraction was largely dependent on the growth of the leisure industry in Hot Springs. Without its presence, it is unlikely that the cave would have been developed in any serious way during the early twentieth century, as was the case with Jewel Cave. By the second decade of the twentieth century, however, the tables had turned. Now, Hot Springs, whose spa industry was floundering, became dependent on the cave s successful development for maintaining its place in the Black Hill s growing leisure, travel, and recreational industry. Over time, and for a wide variety of reasons described earlier, Wind Cave National Park became the major attraction beyond the town of Custer to draw tourists to the far reaches of the southern Hills. Even though the area remains off the beaten path of the most heavily traveled areas, the Hills popular travel guides continue to route tourists along itineraries that lead them to Wind Cave.

Although the park s development was closely tied to the region s tourism, much of the area in and around park boundaries was ranching country. Local ranches were originally squatted on and then homesteaded from the 1890s through the early early decades of the twentieth century. On its northern borders, the original homestead lands were eventually returned to public ownership and transferred to the park in the 1930s, creating a contiguous and unoccupied boundary with Custer State Park. To the west of its border, some of the land remains in private ownership, but most of it is publicly owned and part of the Black Hills National Forest. One tract of land and its water rights, located outside the main boundaries of the park, was purchased from the McAdam family to provide the park with a continous source of water. Ranching, logging, and mining historically took place on some of the private, state, and federal forest service land not far from the northern and western sides of the park, but in later years, most of this activity took place at some distance from the park, near the town of Custer and in areas much farther north. Ranching has remained the primary activity on the park s southern and eastern borders where most of the land has stayed in private hands. Over time, however, the boundaries of the park were gradually pushed farther east when public lands were reclassified or private acreage was purchased by the federal government for the park.

In direct contrast to neighboring lands under the management of the U.S. Forest Service and South Dakota s Game, Fish, and Parks Commission, which have been obligated by law and policy to attend to the interests of multiple users and contend with the conflicts wrought by their competing interests, the park service has been largely insulated from this kind of contestation because of the reserved status of the lands under its managment. But it has never been isolated and unaffected by the social and economic interests of the communities that surround it. Throughout much of the early half of the twentieth century, the park was embedded in a social environment where most of the residents in the area lived directly or indirectly off the land. Ranchers and farmers were the ones whose interests were most directly affected by park land/water management policies and actions, especially when these entailed the transfer of private and other public lands into the park s more restricted user status. Until the 1920s, most publicly held land in the Black Hills was managed by people who were long-term, local residents, and this was true for Wind Cave National Park when the Pilcher and Boland families were employed in important administrative positions. Equally, the park was impacted by its neighbors land uses, including their legal access to grazing lands until the 1920s, the persisting problem with game poaching, and the

illegal taking of timber on park property. Most of these uses, both lawful and unlawful, did not detract, relatively speaking, from the overall health of the park s environment. Nevertheless, once grazing was prohibited, concerted efforts took place to rehabilitate and return the park s grasslands to a natural state. Fortunately, during most of its history, the park was located in an area largely removed from some of the most damaging ecological impacts of practices routinely followed by the mining and logging industries in other areas of the Hills.

With the exception of fishing, wild fruit collection, and limited livestock grazing, most forms of extraction have been prohibited on park lands. Since 1903, when Wind Cave National Park was first established, spectatorship has remained the primary legitimate use of park properties with the cave serving as its central attraction, closely followed by the bison and other wildlife. Like other units in the National Park System, a major and continuing function of Wind Cave National Park is to serve the national travel industry and its respective regional and local economies. Outside of protecting the spaces they manage from harmful development and preserving the local landscape and wildlife, the original purposes for the park s creation, park staff and administrators are there to serve the interests of their visitors, both local residents and tourists who arrive from distant locales. Over the years, Wind Cave National Park has played a substantial role in capturing a sizable portion of the tourism in the Black Hills and bringing its revenue to the neighboring town of Hot Springs. Indeed, it can be said without exaggeration that after the collapse of the spa industry, Wind Cave remained the central, if not the only, attraction drawing tourists to the far southeastern reaches of the Hills. It can also be said that, after 1950, when the role of agriculture and other extractive industries started to decline in the Black Hills, the relative importance and contribution of tourist attractions like Wind Cave to the local economy increased. Today, the leisure, travel, and recreational industry is the backbone of the Black Hills economy, and in the southeastern Hills, Wind Cave National Park occupies a position that is not inconsiderable to the economic health and vitality of its neighbor, Hot Springs.

Wind Cave National Park has not only been part of the ongoing relationships that sustain the well-being of Black Hills tourism and the European American interests that these support, but it has also occupied a place in the lives of local tribal people. It is difficult to know exactly what kinds of onsite activities the Lakotas carried out in the immediate area of the park before it was established and in the decades immediately following its creation. There are few records of a tribal presence here between 1877 and 1930, although there are several reports of Lakotas camping, hunting, and gathering plants in the Black Hills and also staying at nearby Hot Springs, where they continued to return every summer to bathe in its thermal waters. Most of the reports on Lakota food procural activity in and around the Black Hills are recorded for the years before 1920. Since Wind Cave National Park sits on lands that were once a popular winter hunting ground for the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and one that remained close to the western boundaries of the Pine Ridge Reservation, it would not be surprising to learn that some amount of subsistence game hunting and plant gathering continued to take place here until the early part of the twentieth century. After 1911, when the state of South Dakota started to impose game laws, Lakotas would have been subject to arrest for hunting without a license outside the borders of their reservations.

In the same period, the federal government was placing restrictions on timber cutting on its lands in the interior regions of the Hills. Before 1910, there are numerous reports of Lakotas processsing their lodgepoles at various locations in the Hills interiors, especially along the upper reaches of Spring Creek. There are records of them picking berries, digging turnips, and collecting a host of other plants at various locations in and around the Hills. In addition, there is also evidence of Lakotas camping on and traveling across Wind Cave National Park on the way to the places they procured their lodgepoles. It is highly likely that they used these travels as opportunities to procure other plants used as food or medicine and in manufacture or ceremony, and

some of this procural probably took place on park properties. As the twentieth century progressed, some of this activity was reduced because permits were now required to take timber on U.S. Forest Service lands. As the government began to privilege the big timber companies in its leasing policies, the access of local domestic users to the forest was restricted. This not only impacted the Lakotas, but it also affected local ranchers who depended on an unfettered access to the forest to acquire timber for their fuel and other domestic uses.

After 1920, Lakotas were still coming to the Black Hills in the summer months, but now they were largely doing so to participate in the rodeos and celebration festivities of local white communities, and/or to perform at privately run tourist attractions. Once again, there are references to Lakotas traveling to these events along routes that crossed Wind Cave National Park and camping along the way. For a brief period of time between 1937 and 1938, the park involved Lakotas in some of its interpretive programming. Because of opposition from the Director of the National Park Service, Arno Cammerer, the participation of the Lakota in future park activities was never pursued or encouraged, even during the 1950s when the region s tourist boosters actively promoted the presence of Indians in the area s various tourist attractions.

Since Wind Cave, the Race Track, and probably other sites too[22] were of considerable religious importance to the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, it would also not be surprising to learn that unobtrusive forms of ceremonial observance (for example, fasting and other prayerful observances) were still conducted in the park and that plants and minerals used for medicinal and religious purposes were collected here as well. Between 1903 and 1936, we uncovered only two accounts (Stabler in Bohi 1962:391; Pilcher 1964) about Lakotas coming to the park to visit the cave for ceremonial purposes. It is hard to know what to deduce about the lack of any other evidence confirming their onsite use, except to say that the Lakotas may have stayed away, fearing the consequences of practicing ceremonies that were no longer sanctioned either on or off their reservations. Whatever traditional religious practices the Lakota maintained during these years were typically held in remote reservation locations where they would not draw the attention of outsiders. Nonetheless, many accounts (*see* Section Four) from the same period reveal that the Lakotas and the Cheyennes continued to hold important traditions about the cultural meaning of Wind Cave and the Race Track, as well as the neighboring Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs.

Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the park largely ignored the cultural interests of its tribal neighbors after the 1930s. The park did embark on a program, however, to supply surplus wild game meat to tribes from 1938 until the mid-1950s, when park reports cease to record these distributions. As elaborated upon in greater detail in Section Four, one of the Lakota s continuing and fundamental attachments to the park centers around the animals, especially the bison. In the twentieth century, this entailed an interesting, and perhaps ironic, set of exchanges. In the 1930s, Wind Cave National Park supplied the Oglala Sioux Tribe with bison to start their own herd (Isenberg 2000:176). Two decades earlier, bison captured by a Lakota of mixed ancestry, Frederick Dupree, from the Cheyenne River Reservation became part of the famous herd of Scotty Philips and his Oglala wife. This herd provided the original stock for Custer State Park (Schell 1961:247-248; Sundstrom, J. 1994:112), and one source (Casey 1949:17) claims a few of the animals ended up at Wind Cave National Park as well.[23]

After the 1950s, as reported in Section Four, a rich body of stories about Wind Cave, the Race Track, and other nearby sites in the Black Hills appeared in the published literature based

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[22] Other sites within park boundaries have cultural significance too, but these have not been identified in any of the published and unpublished sources consulted for this report.

[23] We have been unable to find additional evidence to corroborate this claim.

on tribal oral traditions. While some of these traditions became an integral part of the way in which Europeans advertised and interpreted the Black Hills landscape for tourists, especially from the 1930s to the 1950s, they were hardly present in the park s own promotional and interpretive materials.

With the revitalization of tribal religious beliefs and practices in the 1970s, Wind Cave and the Race Track were among a number of different sites in the Black Hills that were singled out as holding significant spiritual values. Beginning in 1978, the same year the American Indian Religious Freedom Act gained congressional approval, Lakotas began to approach the National Park Service to gain permission to hold some of their ceremonial observances inside park boundaries. In 1981, the Oglala Lakota Tribe received a two-week permit to use park lands for an encampment which turned into a politically engineered occupation, whose motives and tactics created considerable dissension within the ranks of the Oglala people. In the same year, other takeovers took place in the Hills, and all of them served as a pretext to raise public awareness about Lakota treaty rights. They represented one of many strategies the Lakota s pursued in the 1980s to regain ownership of and/or access to the Hills. In more recent times, the Lakotas have launched other efforts to work with federal and state agencies, which manage much of the land inside the Race Track, to make their cultural interests in the area known and respected. Using the power afforded them by several recent pieces of federal legislation, they are now playing a more active role in the advisory processes that surround decisions governing the protection and use of culturally significant and sacred properties managed by the federal government. These consultations have become part of the standard procedure of the offices of the National Forest Service in the Black Hills, and they are required of the National Park Service as well.

What has been presented in this section, and what appears in the forthcoming ones as well, is aimed at providing a strong evidentiary background for such consultation in the future. More specifically, it will be argued that the involvement of the Lakotas and Cheyennes in park consultative processes is necessary not only because these are the two tribes with the longest continuing relationship to the lands that make up the park, but also because these tribes share important historical attachments to the area and significant cultural affiliations with many of its resources, some of which also hold religious significance to them.

Part 2

Part Two

THE BLACK HILLS AS A COMMON GROUND AND A CONTESTED TERRAIN

Last summer all of our tribes attended a council about the Black Hills. We have held a council among ourselves and we now want to tell you what are our conclusions. We were born and raised here. Last summer our Great Father sent us very hard words. These hard words were about the animals in the Black Hills, the game that is there. The hills are full of deer and buffalo, and also plenty of good water. We look toward the Black Hills because there is plenty of money, plenty of gold, and plenty of grass. All kinds of minerals and timber are also abundant there. My Great Father wishes to have our land for his folks, for his people. We are all here and have many children. We all have families and wish to live well with all of them. I shall tell you to-day words that will make your heart glad, and I expect to hear some words from you that will make my heart glad. We give the land to our Great Father. This is the same as I said last summer. We give the Great Father part of the Black Hills from the Racing Ground (meaning the road that runs along the eastern base of the mountain). The country once belonged to us from Sioux City to this place. This country is where we were born and raised, and we told you years ago that we were going to stay here...(Iron Nation in U.S. Senate 1876:77-78).

The fact that gold and other mineral deposits exist here has been verified, but still further, the fertility of the soil and the healthful fragrance of the atmosphere has been found to equal any locality on Uncle Sam s farm. And from all indications we have seen, it does not appear that the Indian need be jealous of this portion of his titled estate, nor will it be robbing him to deprive him of it. We have found no settlements in the Black Hills. All we have seen have been hunting parties for the Missouri agencies, who came up here for a little summer sport. There are a few traces to show that they make their home any portion of the year, or ever did, and the only temptation to draw them are the herds of elk and deer, which a few years of active hunting would exterminate. They cannot mine the gold or iron; the timber does them no good, and they will never make any use of the rich soil that has been waiting centuries to be utilized. But I am meddling with a question it is not my province to discuss. I will state the facts, and let other people formulate the theories. The great fact here is: one of the most valuable landscapes on the continent fenced in from all civilization --one of the richest storehouses ever filled with the gifts of the Almighty locked and barred by human legislation from those for whom it was meant...(William E. Curtis, September 5, 1874, *Chicago Inter-Ocean* in Krause and Olson 1974:136).

Although these two men came from very different situations and held divergent interests in the Black Hills, Iron Nation and William E. Curtis were equally aware of the Hills immense value. They understood what the area s rich gold, grass, game, and timber reserves meant to each of the peoples they represented, and they obviously held very different views about who deserved to benefit from this wealth. Iron Nation, reflecting the sentiments of the Sioux people, spoke of the Hills as a homeland, a place that nourished his people and that offered hope for their future well-being. Although he was willing to give up some portions of the Hills in exchange for having the needs of his people met, he did not want to part with the lands that extended from the Race Track to the outer edges of the Hills. This was the area where most of the game was located and where some of his fellow tribespeople lived and camped over the winter. It was the area of the Hills most critical to their survival. Curtis, like so many other writers of his time, dismissed the significance of the area to its native inhabitants. Not only did he deny they lived in their reaches or used them in any serious way, other than for summer sport, but he also claimed they did not have the capacity to harness the Hills resources as the Almighty had intended. Curtis argument for dispossessing the Hills from their tribal occupants reveals a lack of understanding of how this region, particularly the area of the Race Track, fit into the annual subsistence cycles of local tribes. Even if he had comprehended the importance of the area for tribal patterns of adaptation, it probably would not have made much difference in altering the determination of European Americans to possess the Hills. European Americans were bound to take the Hills at any cost, and in the process, to sacrifice the lives and futures of the peoples who held it under U.S. treaty law.

Until 1877, when American Indian title to the Hills was illegally extinguished, the Black Hills were not only renowned for the richness of their game, and therefore, considered a prime hunting territory, but they were also seen as an important place for local tribes to fish and to collect plants and minerals. Throughout certain periods of their prehistory, they sustained a diversity of peoples who inhabited their outer reaches and their interiors on a year-round basis. In historic times, however, the Hills high elevation interiors were no longer a place of permanent habitation, but a location where groups came for brief periods of time on a regular and recurring basis to carry on various task-specific activities. In contrast, the peripheries and some of the low elevation interior regions along the Red Valley were occupied either by tribal populations who wintered in these areas or who visited them for specific kinds of procurement activity at other times of the year. The general environs of Wind Cave, the Buffalo Gap, and Hot Springs was one of the areas native populations used as a wintering site, a hunting location, and an area to camp in other seasons as well.

For much of the nineteenth century, the combined forces of Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos jointly and cooperatively established their presence in the Hills. This was a common ground, where these tribal nations lived peaceably with each other, shared in the area s rich resources, and jointly claimed access to its sacred sanctuaries. There were also times when it became a contested terrain, a site of struggle where these nations fought to gain and/or preserve their use of the area s sacred spaces and material bounty. After the 1860s, the Black Hills became increasingly engulfed in confrontations with the United States and its citizens. Ownership was challenged militarily at first, and then, after 1876, by legal maneuver.

Yet, even before the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos lost their *de facto* claim to the area, it was a resource procurement area for European Americans. By the early nineteenth century, French trappers and traders were wintering in the Hills and trapping its waterways for fur-bearing animals. When Americans arrived, they also used the area to feed their commerce in furs and hides. The initial presence of European Americans generally melded with local tribal interests. Many of these men married into local tribes and carved out an interdependency between

themselves and the tribes with whom they traded and on whose lands they lived and trapped. Generally, their presence did not stand in competition with local tribal interests. Some of these men probably trapped near Wind Cave along Beaver,[1] Highland, and/or Cold Spring creeks. Even though no written records were left of their activity in the region of Wind Cave National Park, we can deduce from circumstantial evidence that they were in the area.

This all changed in the 1870s, when Americans came to the Hills to seek gold. After 1874, as described in Chapters Five and Six, the area following Beaver Creek near Wind Cave became a well-trodden travel route for gold seekers entering the interiors of the Hills through the Buffalo Gap. Within less than a decade, an area that had been largely remote and off the beaten path of European American travel, quickly become a center of American economic activity and resource procurement. Logging, ranching, and tourism soon followed mining. Although neither of the first two activities was heavily pursued in the area of Wind Cave, ranching and tourism eventually became the economic mainstays of this region. As the Wind Cave area and the Black Hills more generally came under American control and domination, tribal interests were rapidly compromised. Nonetheless, many tribal peoples continued to come to the area to conduct religious observances, to gather plants for medicinal uses, and to hunt as well.

After European Americans secured control over the Black Hills, much of the area remained in the public domain. It became part of a large commons, regulated either by the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, or the National Park Service (Geores 1990). As it had been when the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos held sovereignty over the Hills, the public land inside the Hogback was shared and open to multiple user groups. Managed by federal agencies, much of this access took place under an umbrella of consensus, but at various points in time, competition and conflict erupted over its use. The strife typically followed in the footsteps of wider demographic and economic transitions in the Hills and the nation at large.

Throughout the twentieth century, the one group that was generally excluded from making use of the Black Hills' commons were the original tribal occupants of the area. Despite this, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes have struggled since 1877, in various ways and degrees, to reclaim their political and cultural sovereignty over the Hills. Today, the Black Hills remain a site of contestation where legal wars, political struggles, and cultural battles are being waged over their ownership. The fight over the Hills continues in the courts of the nation, in the halls of Congress, and in the media that capture the attention of the American people. Wind Cave National Park has not been unaffected by this conflict. In 1981, it was the site of a political occupation organized by the leadership of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and since then, it has remained a focus of Lakota efforts to reassert their cultural and proprietary interests in the Black Hills.

In light of a history where the Black Hills is both a site of cooperation and conflict, this section has two separate but related goals. On the one hand, it considers the different ways its human inhabitants cooperatively established their relationships to the Black Hills from early historic times until the present, and in the process, it shows how diverse patterns of adaptation came to mark their use. On the other hand, it examines the political struggles and legal battles that continue to surround the question of ownership and a cultural legacy for the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park in particular.

[1] In earlier times, before 1880, it was called Amphibious Creek (see Newton s 1880 map).

Chapter Seven

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF LAND USE AND ADAPTATION

Throughout much of their history, the use and occupation of the Black Hills was organized around the social and economic practices of the tribal nations who lived in their reaches. Many of the early fur traders and the *engages* in their employ followed the lifestyles of local tribes, creating an existence that was adapted in one way or another to the customs of the country. It was not until the 1850s, when European American emigrants started coming to the area in large numbers and when U.S. military personnel arrived to safeguard their passage, that qualitatively new sorts of ideas about occupancy and utilization started to press on the region. It was during the treaty-making era, after 1851, that a European American influence was felt most strongly on land use and occupation. Under the terms of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, the United States established a friendship agreement that established a protocol for the conduct of tribal nations in their dealings with each other and with the European Americans passing through their territories. It also defined tribal land boundaries and patterns of occupation, but it did so in foreign terms and in ways that completely misrepresented how local tribes actually distributed themselves across geographic space. In the next two decades, additional treaties would be entered into. These were not simply pacts of friendship but legal agreements for the relinquishment of vast tracts of tribal territory. In 1868, more treaties were negotiated between the United States Government and the Lakotas (and some of the Cheyennes and Arapahos in their midst) that reserved a huge tract of land known as the Great Sioux Reservation for their ownership and occupancy. In addition, two other vast territorial tracts became reserved hunting ranges for their shared use. In these treaties, the Black Hills were considered territory exclusively owned and controlled by the Lakotas, although two other tribal nations, the Cheyennes and Arapahos, were given rights to the Hills as well. When the Black Hills Expedition entered the area in 1874, its forces were technically trespassing on tribally owned land and when a burgeoning mining and ranching population began to occupy the Hills shortly after what the Lakotas call Custer s Trail of Thieves, they were making settlements in and claims to an area that were also illegal under U.S. treaty law.

When the federal government decided to take ownership of the Hills out of tribal hands, it forced an agreement in 1877 with the Lakotas and their allies that led to the seizure of the Hills. Unable to challenge the agreement through legal or political means, local tribes were powerless to stop the rush of Americans making settlements in the Hills. The newcomers to the Black Hills established new ways of utilizing the land and very different patterns of ownership that would remain in place until the present. Meanwhile, the Lakotas (at times with the participation of the Cheyennes and Arapahos) began organizing to press their claim to the Black Hills. In the twentieth century, this led to litigation before the U.S. Court of Claims, the Indian Claims Commission, and the Supreme Court. While the Supreme Court reached a decision to award the Lakotas a monetary settlement for the illegal taking of the Black Hills, this award was never accepted. In the 1980s, representatives of eight federally recognized Lakota and Dakota tribes unanimously pushed for land recovery, and from 1985 to 1993, they attempted to get legislation before Congress that would enable the return of public lands in the Black Hills to tribal ownership. None of the bills, however, ever made it beyond the hearing stage. Today, the ownership of the Black Hills remains in a state of limbo. The Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos believe they still

hold treaty and aboriginal property rights in the area, while state, federal, and private landowners think otherwise and continue to fight Native claims.

Since the Black Hills are a contested terrain and will likely remain so into the near future, it is imperative that this report take some time to consider tribal relationships to this land before 1877 and to contrast these with the patterns of land use evolving after American domination of the region. This serves as a background for discussing in more detail the political and legal challenges the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos launched to regain access to and/or ownership of the Black Hills.

I. AMERICAN INDIAN RELATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

From prehistoric times through the era of European American settlement, there were certain general patterns of adaptation that the tribal peoples of the Black Hills shared in common with their neighbors in the greater region of the plains. A few patterns disappeared, while some displayed remarkable stability over time. Many more, however, were modified after the adoption of horses in the eighteenth century and the involvement of Native peoples in the European American fur and hide trades. After their forced removal to reservations in the 1870s, the tribal nations of the Black Hills had to adapt their means of making a livelihood even more to the presence of European Americans who had taken political and economic control over the region. European American adaptations and land strategies, however, were built around a set of goals, relationships, and ideas very different from those of the region s Native inhabitants.

In discussing tribal adaptive strategies and land use patterns, this chapter focuses largely on two tribal nations, the Lakotas and the Cheyennes. These are the two populations who had a continuous association with the southeastern region of the Black Hills, where Wind Cave National Park is located, from the late eighteenth century until the United States government took control over it in 1877. The Arapahos and other tribal nations who are known to have lived in this part of the Hills did so before the specific nature of their relationships was preserved either in oral traditions or written records. Although some information is covered on their associations to the southeastern Black Hills, it is not as detailed or as comprehensive as that presented on the Cheyennes and Lakotas.

A. Kin-Based Social Formations

Historically, American Indians from the plains region procured their livelihoods within systems of social relationship governed in large part by kinship or through associations modeled after kinship relations (Eggan 1937:35-98, 1966:45-77; Hassrick 1964:97-110; Maxwell 1978; Moore, J. 1996:145-173; Eggan and Maxwell 2001:977-979). Access to the lands on which local tribal nations settled and produced their subsistence was organized around kinship. Indeed, the language of kinship was pervasive in their lives, even defining the very nature of their relationships to the animals, plants, minerals, mountains, waterways, and other phenomena of the corporeal universe on whose existence their lives depended. It also extended to a spiritual realm whose numinous presence was manifested in all things and in all relationships in their living universe (Standing Bear 1978:193; DeMallie 1987:30-32; Detwiler 1992:239; Forbes-Boyte 1996:103; Moore, J. 1996:182). In brief, kinship embraced the structures, actions, behaviors, and sentiments that united people and that brought them into relationship with the world around them. When Lakotas say, *Mitakuye Oyasin*, All my Relations, they are expressing their basic sense of connectedness to each other and to all that makes up the world around them. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:60) wrote: It is the custom of men when they finished smoking the pipe together

to say *mitaku oyasin*. Here is affirmed the pervading conception of an essential and mysterious bond, binding together the people, the animals, the earth, and all that is.

In the perspectives of the Lakotas and Cheyennes who inhabited the Black Hills and their surrounding environments in the nineteenth century, the land, sky, and waters were alive. They had an animate presence. Every life form was implicated in the existence of another. There was a basic unity to all that exists. In the Lakota worldview, as one example, a peoples existence was dependent on recognizing this connectedness and in respecting and caring for their relationships to everything that lived and made their own existence possible (Standing Bear 1978:192-195). In this perspective, the land its landscapes, and life forms, were not inanimate things over which humans exercised their dominion (Hassrick 1964:205, 226; Powers W. 1986:153). Each living form had its own unique and autonomous qualities. Humans existed on equal ground and in a reciprocal relationship to all other living forms that made up the web of life, and they needed to understand the limits and opportunities that these associations presented in the unfolding of their own lives (Mirsky 1937; Goldfrank 1943; Deloria, E. 1944; Lee 1959:59-69; Standing Bear 1978:194; Powers, W. 1986:153; Black Elk, C. 1992:45).

Similarly, the Cheyennes believed that everything was alive and subject to a larger natural order, *xamaetoz* (Moore, J. 1996:182). From a Cheyenne perspective, when everything is in the place it belongs, the world is calm and at peace, but when things become disordered, there are consequences that are both tragic and comical (Moore, J. 1996:183). As with the Lakotas, the Cheyennes believe it is imperative to understand and respect where each life form is situated in the universe, and more specifically, how humans should behave properly in relation to life s myriad manifestations and the forces that stand behind and animate them (Schlesier 1987:4-12).

Given these philosophical premises, it is easy to understand why the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal nations of the plains did not see their relationship to the land and its various living resources as a form of exclusive ownership. As Melvin Gilmore (1919:33) wrote, the Lakotas: truly venerated and loved the earth, they considered themselves not as owners or potential owners of any part of the land but as being wooed by the land which gave them birth and which supplied their physical needs from her bounty and satisfied their love of the beautiful by the beauty of her face in the landscape. Their rights to the places they lived and the resources whose lives they depended upon were based on ideas of usufruct. People had a right to partake of a particular space because they had established a proper relationship with the other living forms that occupied it. One of the best discussions of this kind of relationship is found in Karl Schlesier s work (1987:80) on the Cheyennes. Wherever they lived, the Cheyennes invoked a ceremony called the *Massaum* in which they established and renewed their kinship with a specific land and the animals, plants, and other life forms that lived there. Through this ceremony, the Cheyennes entered into a reciprocal relationship with the life forms on whose existence their own lives depended. It marked the territorial range in which the Cheyennes had secured permission to use the place for their own survival (Ibid.). Other ceremonies of the Cheyennes and their Lakota and Arapaho allies had similar meanings and consequences. In historic times, many of these were conducted in or near the Black Hills. One of them, the Sun Dance, is associated in a very special way with the region where Wind Cave National Park now stands, and this is discussed in more detail in Section Four.

In gaining rights to enter and use a specific area of land each tribal nation not only had to enter into relationships with non-human beings but also with the other peoples who resided there. As discussed very briefly in the last section, the tribal nations of the region formed complex and ever-changing alliances with each other. They did not distribute themselves across geographic space in terms of any sense of exclusive occupancy. Instead, they jointly shared the regions they

lived in, and this sharing was built in large part on ties created through kinship (Albers and Kay 1987).

Through common descent, intermarriage, and adoption, people of different tribes were joined together in complex and ramifying networks of kinship. In 1862, Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:277) wrote about the close connections between the Cheyennes and Lakotas as follows:

> The Shyennes are a proud race, large and well-formed, more like the Dakotas than any tribe I am acquainted with on the Missouri. They are at peace with the Dakotas, and have become so intermarried now, that it is hardly probable that they will ever break their friendly relations. So many of them speak the Dakota language, that their own language is not used at the present time in diplomatic affairs.

The creation of a kinship tie established a reciprocal bond between the parties; it created obligations and responsibilities to share and care for each other s welfare (Mirsky 1937; Goldfrank 1943; Deloria, E. 1944; Lee 1959:59-69). It enabled people to make claims on the living areas, support systems, and legacies of the people with whom they established a tie. As a result, it allowed them to move across the wide tracts of geographic space they shared in common (Walker 1982:16-17; Albers and Kay 1987; Albers 1993:112-122). Such sharing was contingent, of course, on the parties standing together in a spirit of cooperation and peace.[1]

Conflict and competition, however, also marked the ways in which the tribal nations of the plains arranged themselves across geographic space. The absence of kinship ties or their erosion could and often did lead to hostilities, divisions, and even war (Albers 1993:122-128). Territorial and social boundaries were erected when large segments of tribes became engulfed in conflict. Gaining or defending territorial access was managed through the use of force. In situations where people of different tribal origins fought together against common enemies, they shared equal claims to the lands they mutually defended or conquered. This sentiment is clearly apparent in the words of tribal leaders, who spoke at the Fort Laramie Treaty Conference in 1851. Black Hawk of the Lakotas said:

> Father, if there is anything I do know, it is the country for I was raised in it, with the interpreters and traders. You have split the country, and I don t like it. What we live upon, we hunt for, and we hunt from the Platte to the Arkansas, and from here up to the Red Bute (sic) and the Sweet Water...These lands once belonged to the Kiowa and the Crows, but we whipped these nations out of them, and in this we did what the white men do when they want the lands of the Indians. We met the Kiowas and the Crows and whipped them , at the Kiowa Creek, just below where we now are. We met them and whipped them again, and the last time at Crow Creek. This last battle was fought by Cheyennes, Arrapahoes and Ogllahlahs combined, and the Ogllahlahs claim their share of the country (*quoted from* the Fort Laramie Treaty Journal, September 18, 1851 in Indian Claims Commission, Horr 1974:55-56).

What is significant about this quote is the recognition that the land areas being discussed were shared by the three tribal nations who had jointly fought to wrestle them from their former owners, the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, and Crows. As noted earlier, tribal nations did

[1] In aftermath of U.S. military hostilities at Ash Hollow, Agent John W. Whitfield was called to Fort Laramie to hold council with the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to bring about a peace. Whitfield s report of this council meeting reveals that one of the Cheyenne leaders set forth four terms for the possible conclusion of a peace which included a request that one thousand white women be sent to them as wives (Powell 1981:1:183). Although Whitfield did not reveal his reactions to this request, it probably seemed preposterous from an American perspective. Yet, it was perfectly sensible from a tribal point of view where marriages solidified relations between peoples, opening avenues for peace, trade, and the shared use of a territory.

not distribute themselves across this region of the plains as discrete ethnic blocs with clear-cut territorial boundaries. Instead, they formed complex alliances where peoples of different tribal origin held vast tracts of territory in common. The groups who jointly acquired and defended them also held rights to their shared occupancy and use (Albers and Kay 1987:80-82).

It cannot be emphasized enough that contrary to popular opinion, as evidenced in some of Edward Lazarus s (1991:18) remarks on the subject, tribal occupancy of the Black Hills was not gained solely by aggression. When the Cheyennes first arrived in the region, they entered it peaceably by establishing strategic trade alliances with some of the Hills occupants, notably the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches. Although the Cheyennes fought bitterly with the Crows, as they gradually pushed their settlements towards the Black Hills, they intermarried, collaborated, and coexisted with the other tribal nations who lived in the region. The Lakotas entry into the Black Hills followed a similar path. Although they warred with the Kiowas and Crows, and for a short period of time battled with some of the Cheyennes, the Lakotas overall movement into and settlement of the Black Hills took place over many generations under conditions of intermarriage and peaceful coexistence with their close Arapaho and Cheyenne friends.

The settlement patterns and alliance formations that brought people of the same or different tribal nations together were organized in a number of different ways. The tribal nations whose subsistence was focused on hunting and the procural of wild plant foods were organized into bands, numbering between fifty to two hundred people. The bands were typically comprised of closely related families who lived and traveled together over a common territorial range. Among the Lakotas, this level is often identified by the expression *tiospaye*, which refers simultaneously to an extended family and to the residential camps families gathered in throughout much of the year (Deloria, E. 1944). In Cheyenne, the expression *manhao* refers to a bunch, implying a group of closely related people who gather together (Moore, J. 1987:179-180, 266-267).

Among the tribal nations who lived year-round in the vicinity of the Black Hills, bands functioned as semiautonomous entities. They formed the core settlement groups associated with the winter camps people generally occupied from November to April. At certain times, however, these groups broke up into smaller family or task-based groups to conduct any of a variety of specialized activities (Walker 1982:16-17, 28; Hassrick 1964:156-157, 164-165*;* Moore, J. 1996:68-69). In the spring and early summer, families often dispersed into smaller groupings for brief periods to procure their lodgepoles and to gather plants for food and medicinal purposes. Later in the summer and early fall, however, the different bands gathered together in larger encampments for communal hunts, trade, political negotiation, and ceremonial observance. In the case of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, these encampments rarely, if ever, took in every member of the entire tribe -- that is, all the people who identified themselves either as Lakota or Cheyenne. Instead, they tended to be organized along mid-level divisional lines with, for example, bands of Oglalas coming together to hunt buffalo or hold a Sun Dance. Sometimes bands from other divisions, or even tribes, joined a particular encampment. In the largest of these encampments, such as the ones that took place for trade and political negotiation at the base of Bear Butte, tribes occupied separate camp circles (Moore, J. 1987:27-51).

The membership of a band or a larger multi-band camp circle was highly flexible, however. Families commonly shifted their band or camp circle allegiances on a circumstantial basis. A band or camp circle grew in size as people were attracted to its location and leadership, but it could also dwindle when members left its ranks over disputes, insufficient resources, or better opportunities elsewhere. The movement of people between bands and camp circles was facilitated through ramifying networks of kinship, which were created through band exogamy and the bilateral generational systems of kin reckoning so common in the area (Eggan 1966:45-77). It

was these kin ties as much as tribal or band identities that determined where and with whom people lived. As a consequence, it was not uncommon to find bands dominated by Cheyennes with Lakotas in their ranks and vice versa. Indeed, tribally mixed bands were a common feature of the plains landscape in historic times (Walker 1982:30, 61, Albers and Kay 1987; Moore, J. 1987:117-121; Albers 1996).

The bands that occupied contiguous territories were the ones who typically came together in larger encampments over the summer months for buffalo hunting and Sun Dances. These bands sometimes shared the same tribal affiliations, but there were many instances when bands of more than one tribal origin, the Cheyennes and Arapahos or the Oglalas, Sicangus, and Minneconjous, for example, gathered together for these purposes (Hyde 1961:57, 106; Powell 1981:1:248-249). Indeed, tribally exclusive encampments appear to have been the exception rather than the rule after the mid-nineteenth century (Albers 1993:112-122; 1996). In the case of the Cheyenne Dog Soldier bands and the Sicangu Lakotas, who frequently traveled and lived together, each tribe formed their own camp circle at contiguous locations, and each ran separate Sun Dances that were jointly attended on consecutive days (Powell 1981:1:249). These encampments were generally organized under the supervision or leadership of the tribe who sponsored them with bands of other tribal affiliations standing in a guest relationship to the hosts. As described by James Walker (1982:22-23):

> In aboriginal times a Lakota camp was an assemblage of tipis belonging to a number of families who made a council fire as a symbol of their autonomy. In the winter camp or a formal camp the tipis were placed in a circular form known as the camp circle. A short space was unoccupied towards the rising sun and this was known as the entrance. The space enclosed by the camp circle was the camp middle or arena. The ends of the camp circle next to the entrance were known as the horns, and the place in the circle opposite the entrance was the chief place. A tipi was placed on the area near the chief place, with its door towards the entrance, and this was the council lodge. It was the public lodge of the camp, where all communal gatherings were held, and all business of common interest to the camp was transacted. If business of importance was to be done, a fire was made on the fireplace of the council lodge, and this was known as the council fire. Business transacted about the council fire was of the nature of legislation and was binding upon all members of the camp. A temporary camp was made without formality, tipis being placed according to the convenience of their occupants.

There were also larger gatherings where bands from distant locations congregated for purposes of trade, political negotiation, and religious observance. These encampments might contain many thousands of people of diverse tribal origin who came together temporarily for a specific purpose. Bear Butte at the north end of the Hills and Horse Creek south of the Hills were two places where these large gatherings commonly took place (see Chapters Three to Five). Information on how supervision was managed and power shared by the participating tribes is hard to find. The gatherings were probably organized through a process of consensus and shared responsibility among participating tribes, with soldier societies from each tribe appointed to keep order in the camps.

The populations who practiced intensive forms of horticulture followed a kinship system based on lineage and age-grade principles (Eggan 1966:45-77; Holder 1970; Eggan and Maxwell 2001:975-977). Although their kinship systems appear to have created more stable, fixed, and well bounded social groupings, they still formed strong symbiotic ties with their neighbors in which marriage and fictive kinship created alliances that facilitated trade and joint territorial access (Albers 1993:100-112). Most of the populations who practiced horticulture maintained large concentrated, semisedentary settlements along the bottomlands of the Missouri River and some of its larger tributaries, such as the Niobrara and Cheyenne, where they grew their crops of

corn, squash, and beans over the summer months. Many of these villages became trade entrepots, in which many different tribes gathered to exchange goods in the spring and fall. During much of the eighteenth century, they were central locations in the vast intercontinental trade chains that connected the horse- and gun-supplying tribes (Ewers 1954; Wood 1973; Albers 1993).

Although these tribes were generally less mobile than their neighbors who lived in the high plains regions farther west, they abandoned their villages to conduct communal bison hunts on the open plains in the early summer after their crops were planted and before or after the harvesting season in the fall. In the late fall and over the winter months, the large villages broke up into smaller groups who set up another set of semi-permanent villages upstream along various western tributaries of the Missouri River. From these settlements smaller task-based groups, usually composed of men, traveled great distances for specialized hunting and procural activity (Lehmer 2001).

B. Productive Orientations

The particular ways Native peoples carved out a relationship to the Black Hills displayed considerable variability not only over time but also from one population to another. In reference to the Late Prehistoric period, Linea Sundstrom (1989:73) summarizes three of these orientations 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 hunting dominated subsistence pattern of the open high plains, the mixed hunting-and-foraging pattern of the Wyoming basins, and the semihorticultural, semisedentary village pattern of the Missouri and Central Plains all may be represented in the Black Hills.

Except for the mixed hunting-and-foraging pattern, all of these orientations persisted in the region until the historic era. After the arrival of horses in the eighteenth century, aspects of the semihorticultural and the bison-hunting patterns were modified to accommodate the presence of this new animal. In many instances, the presence of the horse simply supplemented or enhanced preexisting productive arrangements, but in some cases, it brought about a very different orientation where the procural and raising of horses became the focus of production rather than a means to enhance other forms of production. In addition to the arrival of horses, the introduction of mercantile commerce by Europeans and later Americans also considerably altered the productive strategies of the tribal nations who lived around the Black Hills.

The place of the Black Hills in the size and scope of the territorial ranges that tribal populations covered in their annual productive pursuits varied considerably during the historic era. On the one hand the distances people traveled in and around the Black Hills differentiated these ranges, and this can be conceptualized along a continuum. On one end of the continuum was a localized pattern, where a people s territorial range was largely restricted to the Black Hills and their immediate environs (extending not much farther than the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River). On the other end was a long-distance pattern where people covered ranges that took in several hundred miles of territory. Here, the Black Hills were used by groups who traveled great distances on a regular and recurring basis to reach them from winter or summer settlement locations on the Missouri and Platte rivers. In the middle of this continuum was a proximate pattern that covered smaller but still sizable tracts of territory. Groups either wintered in the vicinity of the Black Hills and traveled towards the headwaters of the White, Niobrara, and Powder rivers to hunt bison in the summer, or they wintered along the lower reaches of these and

other nearby rivers and hunted at the base of the Hills and entered their interiors for specialized procurement tasks in the late spring and during other seasons as well.

The territorial relationships of local tribal nations to the Black Hills can also be differentiated by the extent of their use. Following Leigh Syms work (1977) on this subject, territorial ranges can be divided into primary, secondary, or tertiary procurement areas. A primary range is the area in which a population conducts their central productive activities on a regular and recurring basis. It includes the preferred and predominant locations for settlement and subsistence. Secondary ranges are used more selectively for specialized but recurring activities or alternatively, as a safety net when resources temporarily fail in a primary procurement area. Finally, tertiary ranges include areas which groups enter only occasionally for irregular and limited procurement purposes but sometimes as a prelude to a more intensive cycle of use.

When temporal dimensions are added, an incredibly complex picture emerges in relation to the productive orientations and spatial movements of local tribes. This is true not only from the perspective of the use and occupation of the Black Hills as a particular geographic area, but also from the vantage point of the histories of the various tribes who were known to live in the Hills. In the historic era, considerable change took place in the productive orientations of tribes, in the locations and distances they covered when carrying out their productive activities, and in the spans of time they utilized specific areas. There was also variation within single tribal nations with respect to the productive uses their constituent groups made of the Black Hills at any given moment in time. Indeed, it is difficult to generalize some of this complexity without doing serious injustice to the distinctive features of local group adaptations, especially among populations as large and geographically dispersed as the Lakotas. But even among smaller populations, such as the Cheyennes, the variation was not inconsiderable.

1. Broad Spectrum Foraging Orientations

One kind of productive orientation represented in the Black Hills reaches back to prehistoric times. It was localized and involved a reliance on a broad spectrum of faunal and floral food resources (Sundstrom, L.1989:66-68, 99-100, 107). In the Middle Archaic period, as described in Chapter Two, some of the populations who adopted this strategy lived in the interiors of the Black Hills and followed a pattern of transhumance movement, moving from habitats in the higher elevation central Hills in the summer months to the Hogback and Race Track areas of the southern Hills over the winter (Tratebas 1986:138; Sundstrom, L. 1989:107; Alex, L. 1991:51-53). These groups were especially dependent on the plentiful stocks of bighorn and deer in the region (Sundstrom, L. 1989:100). Other groups, however, traveled between their summer locations on the surrounding grasslands, where pronghorn and bison abounded, to winter campsites inside the Hogback (Tratebas 1986; Sundstrom, L. 1989). The territorial range of these populations appears to have been localized, with the Black Hills as the primary area for their procurement activity. Both of these locally based, broad-spectrum orientations largely disappeared by the end of the Late Archaic period. With their disappearance, data for a permanent year-round occupation of the Hills interiors by single populations also declines. There is some archaeological evidence, however,that certain features of these patterns persisted in later time periods, albeit in a much diminished form. Most of the data suggest that the interiors continued to be used on a recurring and seasonal basis by task-based groups from populations that followed other adaptive orientations and lived on the fringes of the Hills or even at locations as far away as the Missouri River (Sundstrom, L. 1989:99). This more specialized and seasonally based use of the Hills interiors persisted even after 1877, when local tribes were settled on reservations outside the Hills.

2. Semihorticultural Orientations

Another orientation was associated with the practice of horticulture and semisedentary village settlement in the valleys of the Missouri River and its larger tributaries, including the Niobrara, White, Cheyenne, and Little Missouri. Despite local variations, there were certain general attributes of this pattern that were commonly shared by the tribal nations who practiced it. The main feature was its focus on the cultivation of corn and other cultigens, including beans, squash, and tobacco. Hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild plant foods supplemented local diets, but the defining focus of productive activity was horticulture. In the historic period, the tribal nations who practiced horticulture appear to have done so in two different ways.

One kind of horticultural adaptation was associated with fairly intensive forms of cultivation in which fields were placed along the bottomlands of some of the region s larger waterways. Considerable amounts of labor (mostly female) were invested in growing crops, and a certain degree of sedentism was necessary to produce stable yields and a large surplus for subsistence and trade with neighboring non-horticultural populations (Wilson 1917; Will and Hyde 1964; Lehmer 2001). Much of this horticulture took place along the Missouri River and the lower reaches of its larger tributaries, although there is some evidence, extending back to prehistoric times, that certain populations attempted to establish this kind of horticulture along some of the higher elevation watercourses near the Black Hills, including the Cheyenne, White, Niobrara, and Little Missouri rivers (Alex, R. 1981:42-43; Sundstrom, L. 1989:99-100; Schlesier 1994:342; Wood 2001:192-193). The Arikaras, Hidatsas, Mandans, and Poncas practiced this type of horticulture throughout the historic era, and it also marked the Cheyennes productive orientation in protohistoric times (1965a:39, 50; Brown and Irwin 2001:418; Lehmer 2001:245-255; Parks 2001a:369-370; Stewart 2001:332; Wood and Irwin 2001:355). Some of the Lakotas, including the Minneconjous and the Oglalas as well as the Yankton Dakotas, apparently made attempts to practice this form of production too but for very brief periods of time (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:350-351; Howard, J. 1980:11).

Fairly typical of the populations who practiced this pattern of horticulture were annual communal bison hunts. The hunts generally took place twice a year, in the fall and the early summer, at locations a considerable distance from the villages where the fields were planted and maintained (Wedel and Frison 2001:60). During the time of the hunts, entire villages were abandoned as their residents took up settlements in proximity to their hunting grounds. The Arikaras, for example, left their villages for periods of a month or more in the early summer after their crops were planted and then again in the late fall or early winter after the harvesting season was over (Parks 2001a:370).

Besides the semi-annual bison hunts, other kinds of procurement activity took place at sites away from the villages. These commonly involved smaller task-based parties who set out for varying lengths of time to secure particular animal, plant, or mineral resources on a recurring or opportunistic basis (Tabeau in Abel 1939:70; Bowers 1950:10, 1963:48, 50; 1965a:41; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-348; Moulton 1983-87:3:234). The eagle-trapping expeditions of the historic Hidatsas and Mandans were of this order (Bowers 1950:206-254; 1963:238, 259; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). It was also common for some of these populations to establish winter villages away from their large summer settlements on the Missouri. The Mandan, for example, chose locations fairly close to their villages in densely wooded river bottoms, where fuel was abundant for their fires, where fodder was available for their horses, and where buffalo often found shelter as well (Stewart 2001:332-333). One account (Odell 1942:34), however, indicates that in the winter of 1844-1845 some of them wintered as far south as Bear Butte. Earlier, in the eighteenth century, the Arikaras apparently built some of their winter villages at

some distance from the Missouri, even as far west as the forks of the Cheyenne River (Parks 200a1:967-968), and so did the Hidatsas as far south as the upper reaches of the Little Missouri River (Lehmer 2001:248).

Another kind of horticultural adaptation was more casual and opportunistic in nature. It was practiced by tribes who depended more heavily on bison hunting and who lived in a wider range of environments, including some of the higher elevation river valleys near the base of the Black Hills. In the casual forms of horticulture, once crops were planted, the fields were typically abandoned until the harvesting season in the fall. Only marginal effort was given to maintaining the fields as the crops matured. As might be expected, this type of horticulture was associated with low and erratic yields. It functioned as a supplemental subsistence activity rather than a core adaptive strategy by populations whose patterns of residence tended to be more nomadic. For a variety of reasons, the practice of horticulture at these locations appears to have been casual and not sustained or intensive enough to produce yields sufficient for reliable subsistence and trade. In the protohistoric era, this kind of horticulture was associated with some of the Dismal River sites, often linked to the Padouca Apaches and found in regions immediately to the east and south of the Black Hills (Wedel 1959; Gunnerson 1960, 2001). It was also practiced by some of the Poncas, who tried to establish year-round settlements near the Black Hills in the early eighteenth century, and it was certainly followed by the Cheyennes from the late eighteenth century to the reservation era (Grinnell 1972:1:251-254; Moore, J. 1987:69-73, 140-141). There is some suggestive but inconclusive evidence that some of the Lakotas may have attempted it too (Hinman 1874:93; Standing Bear 1978:58). The populations who practiced horticulture appear to have had two distinct but related territorial relationships to the Black Hills, and some of these undoubtedly included the southern Hills where Wind Cave National Park is now situated.

a. Long-Distance Connections

This involved the long-distance territorial connections of village populations whose principal settlements were situated along the Missouri River and whose buffalo hunting grounds were typically located upriver along tributary streams in proximity to their villages. This pattern has been documented for the eighteenth century Poncas who followed the Niobrara, the White, and even the Cheyenne River to hunting grounds east and south of the Hills (1965a:20-21, 39, 50, 130-133; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416, 419). The Arikaras were also known to follow the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers to buffalo ranges at the base of the Black Hills in early historic times (Tabeau in Abel 1939:70; Smith, H.1980:111-113; Parks 2001a:967-968). When the Cheyennes and some of the Lakotas practiced horticulture and took up residence at locations along the Missouri in later decades, they followed these rivers to hunting grounds near the Black Hills as well (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:310-311; Bent in Hyde 1968:16; Clow 1995). The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Crows traveled up the Little Missouri River to buffalo hunting grounds at the northern edge of the Hills, and there is plenty of ceramic evidence to support their presence in this area during the protohistoric period. They also traveled this route to trap eagles and hunt elk and bighorn in or near the Black Hills (Bowers 1950:10, 206-254, 1963:48, 50, 238, 259; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Moulton 1983-87:3:234; Lehmer 2001:248; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). Judging by the large and culturally varied collections of prehistoric ceramic material now found in or near the Black Hills, this was an old and long-standing economic orientation in the area (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65, 70, 99-100).

When horticultural tribes traveled towards the Black Hills in the early summer and late fall, they usually spent an extended period of time in the region. While they were present, they undoubtedly took the opportunity to pursue other activities. Some probably entered the interiors of the Hills to carry out other kinds of hunts, to collect various plant and mineral resources, and to

conduct religious observances. Even after the larger body of the population returned to the villages to harvest their crops, smaller parties likely remained or came back to the Hills for specialized tasks such as elk and bear hunting or eagle trapping, which typically took place in the early spring or late fall (Rosen 1895:54; Bowers 1950:206-254, 1963:238, 259; 1965a:41; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). The fall was also a season when some of the villagers met other tribes at locations near the Black Hills to barter their surplus corn and items of European manufacture for horses, hides, furs, and meat (Tabeau in Abel 1939:104,132, 151-153; Bowers 1963: 48-50). Bear Butte, already described in previous chapters, was a well-known location for gatherings the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Arikaras regularly attended in the late eighteenth century, but other locations were probably selected as well, including French Creek and Horse Creek (Wood 1973; see, Chapter Three).

While the Black Hills unquestionably represented a primary territorial range for some of the village tribes who wintered and planted along the Missouri River, they were secondary and tertiary ranges too. Whether or not the Hills were the preferred and predominant place for horticultural tribes to hunt fluctuated over time and in response to a variety of different influences. For example, while the Black Hills were clearly a primary range for the Poncas in the early eighteenth century, warfare with Apaches and Kiowas, and later Lakotas, forced them to move their hunting ranges farther south at some distance from the Black Hills. By the 1820s, however, there is evidence that on some occasions they hunted alternative areas along the White River but usually in the company of the Sicangus and Oglalas, who had become the principal inhabitants of this waterway (Howard, J. 1965a:28-29, 130-133). The headwaters of the White River includes areas within easy reach of the southern Black Hills where Wind Cave is located, and the Poncas are one of the few tribes whose name for it has been recorded in the published literature (Ibid:20, 76).

This was also the case for the Arikaras, who in time lost their primacy over the buffalo ranges in the vicinity of the Black Hills. Before 1781, when smallpox dramatically reduced their numbers, they were probably the primary population who used the buffalo ranges at the headwaters of the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers, all of which are in striking distance of the Wind Cave National Park area. In later decades, they appear to have continued this practice, but now these areas were dominated by the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas. As long as the Arikaras maintained good relationships with these tribes, they also retained some degree of access for hunting and other procurement tasks. In later years, as hostilities escalated with their neighbors, the Arikaras spent a greater portion of their year in the vicinity of their villages (Parks 2001a: 371). By the 1850s, the Hills region was considered enemy territory and entered only occasionally and with well-armed parties (Parks 2001a:379). Like the Hidatsas and Mandans, among whom they now lived, the Hills became the destination for specialized hunting parties in search of elk, bighorn, and eagles. The primary bison hunting ranges for these horticultural populations became concentrated along the Little Missouri River in areas far to the north of the Black Hills. In contrast to the Arikaras, who probably once hunted in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap in the southeastern Black Hills, Mandan and Hidatsa hunting parties appear to have confined their procurement activities to the Hills northern reaches. There is no evidence that they ever hunted in the southeastern Black Hills in historic times, although there are highly speculative theories for the prehistoric presence of populations ancestral to the historic Mandan (Schlesier 1994:342; Wood 2001:192-193).

When the Cheyennes established their horticultural villages near the Mandans and Hidatsas in the mid-eighteenth century, they followed the practice of taking their early summer and fall buffalo hunts to the Black Hills. Eventually, they carved out a place for themselves in regions between the Little Missouri and Cheyenne rivers (Bent in Hyde 1968:16). By the end of the eigh-

teenth century, the Cheyennes had removed most of their villages from the Missouri and established their principal settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River where they are reported to have maintained their fields of corn until the early nineteenth century (Moore, J. 1987:68-70). When this happened, their relationship to the Black Hills shifted from a long-distance to a proximate one.

b. Proximate Connections

These connections, which are also quite old archaeologically, involved populations who attempted to practice horticulture along the high elevation waterways near the base of the Black Hills. Before the Little Ice Age, when the climate of the plains region was much warmer, horticultural settlements were established in a wide range of locations where cultivation is now difficult to sustain. There is considerable evidence that in the Late Archaic and Prehistoric periods the upper reaches of the Cheyenne, Little Missouri, Platte, White, and Niobrara rivers supported a variety of horticultural settlements possibly ancestral to peoples such as the Arikaras, Mandans, Hidatsas, and Poncas (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65; Wood 2001:192-193).

In the protohistoric era, the Poncas were known to have established satellite horticultural communities within easy reach of the Black Hills (1965a:20-21, 130-133; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416). Most of the ones associated with more intensive forms of horticulture appear to have been short-lived, however. Where horticulture was practiced on a sustained and long-term basis, as among the Padouca Apaches and later, the Cheyennes, it involved a casual pattern (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254; Moore, J. 1987:68-70; 140-143; Gunnerson 2001:470-471).

The best documented and most detailed description of the casual pattern comes from ethnographic and ethnohistoric material on the Cheyennes, who planted in the vicinity of the Black Hills as late as 1865 (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254; Moore, J. 1987:68-70, 140-143). The precise locations for this cultivation are difficult to trace in the historic record, although Thomas Odell (1942:13-14), in interviews with Cheyennes living on the Pine Ridge Reservation, was told that Bear Butte Creek was one of the locations where they planted in the mid-nineteenth century. He also records Rapid Creek as a location where the Suhtaios once planted (Ibid:151). In the late eighteenth century, Cherry Creek and other higher elevation locations near the forks of the Cheyenne River were reported as Cheyenne farming sites, but some of these may have been associated with more intensive forms of horticulture (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379; Moore, J. 1987:71). Nineteenth century sites along the Little Missouri and the Platte rivers involved casual forms of horticulture too (Grinnell 1972:1:253). These locations are still some distance from the Black Hills proper, but they were considerably closer than their horticultural settlements along the Missouri where some Cheyenne apparently farmed until 1833 (Grinnell 1972:2:33). The advantage of these higher elevation locations was their easy access to the rich buffalo hunting grounds and timber resources in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Moore, J. 1987:147-148).

At the end of the nineteenth century, many elderly Cheyenne recalled planting crops in the shadow of the Black Hills. Some even reported doing so until the mid-1860s (Grinnell 1972:1: 252-254; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:5). Given the reported locations of the Cheyenne in the early nineteenth century, it is probable that much of this planting took place along the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River. It is also possible that the Cheyennes planted along streams inside the Hogback. John Moore (1987:69-72) explains in some detail why the Black Hills were able to support casual and opportunistic forms of horticulture. Not only do the Black Hills receive more rainfall than the surrounding plains, but they also have more frost-free days (Moore, J. 1987:70-71). Indeed, when European American settlers came to the area,

many planted kitchen gardens, a casual form of horticulture in and around the Black Hills, including locations in Custer and Fall River counties and inside the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park (Tallent 1899:414, 673; Lindsey 1932 in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-1970:899-900; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Williams 1973:3, 6; McAdam 1973:8; Smith, A. 1973: 25, 30, 35; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:189, 309, 364, 1994:49, 75).

By the early nineteenth century, most of the Cheyennes appear to have abandoned both their intensive and casual forms of horticulture (Grinnell 1972:1:172). Many hypotheses have been advanced as to why most of the Cheyennes, and even some of the Lakotas, gave up farming as they moved away from the Missouri towards the Black Hills. One of these relates to the uncertainties of the climate in this area of the plains, and another has to do with the competing demands imposed by horticulture versus pastoralism or bison hunting as primary adaptive strategies. But Luther Standing Bear (1978:58) suggested another explanation when he wrote:

> Corn had come to us in a beautiful legend, but we did not grow very much of it. On the Plains it would have been taken by the buffalo, so it was planted only in little spaces close to a stream where the ground was moist and rich. It was left uncultivated to grow by itself while the camp moved on, and when the camp came back the corn was gathered.

The incompatibility of growing corn in the same areas where the buffalo roamed is also suggested in the popular story of the struggle between the corn wife and the buffalo wife in local tribal traditions. Iron Teeth, a Cheyenne woman, offered another explanation to Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:5):

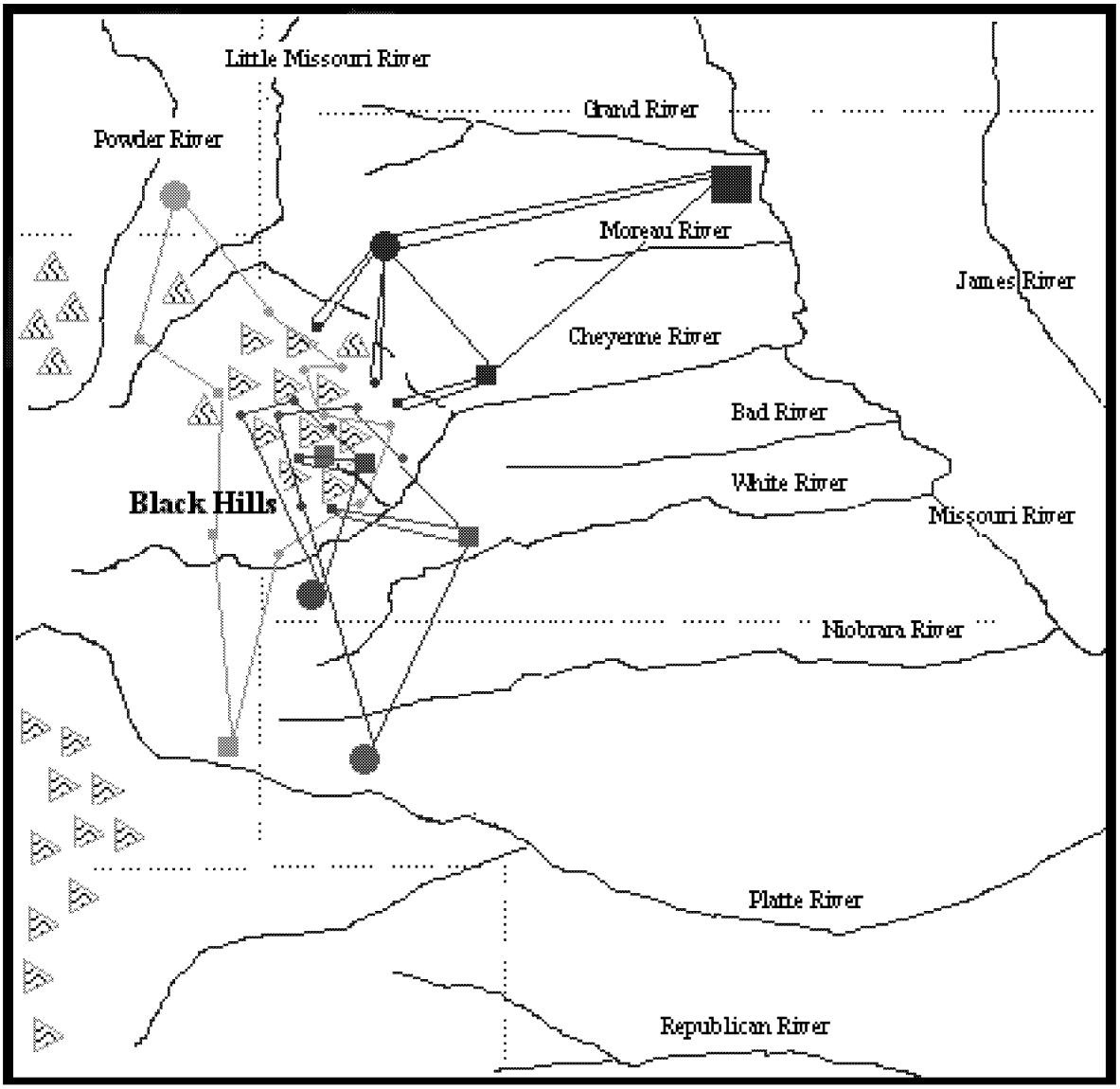
> We planted corn every year when I was a little girl in the Black Hills. With sharpened sticks we punched holes in the ground, dropped in grains of corn, then went hunting all summer. When the grass died we returned and gathered the crop. But the Pawnees and Arikaras got to stealing or destroying our growing food, so we had to quit the plantings. We got into the way then of following all the time after the buffalo and other game herds.

This is an excellent description of the casual pattern of horticulture described earlier, but it also confirms that it was predation, in this case by humans, rather than natural forces that led to the abandonment of farming. In time, the vast majority of Cheyennes and Lakotas chose hunting over horticulture except as a casual pursuit, and even those who may have continued to pursue it appear to have done so in opportunistic ways.

No matter where the Cheyennes established their settlements and gardens, they had easy access to the good bison and pronghorn hunting grounds on the grasslands surrounding the Hills and also to the elk, deer, and bighorn in their interiors. They were also within easy reach of timber resources in the region s many sheltered valleys (Moore, J. 1987:164). As Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:5) reveals, groups planted their crops in the spring near their winter villages and abandoned these sites in midsummer to search out bison on the surrounding grasslands, returning to them in the fall to cultivate their crops.

Another population, the Padouca Apaches, also practiced a casual form of horticulture. Archeologically, these Apaches are associated with the sites of the Dismal River Phase, which have been discovered at locations from southern Kansas to the Black Hills. Although their subsistence revolved primarily around buffalo hunting and the gathering of wild plant foods, they

FIGURE 19. Schematic Representation of Transhumance Movements



planted corn and squash in the fertile bottomlands of small tributaries off the Cheyenne, Bad, White, and Niobrara rivers. These locations were the sites where they built their semi-permanent villages. Dismal River sites are associated with distinctive baking pits, metates, and pottery styles (Gunnerson 2001:240-241). Historic descriptions of their subsistence practices indicate that Padouca Apaches did not typically organize large-scale summer buffalo hunts as many of the other tribes in the region did. Rather, they appear to have followed a broad-spectrum subsistence pattern where a wide variety of wild plants and game were taken (Foster and McCullough 2001:928-929). The Dismal River sites, located where the Angostura Reservoir now stands, were in easy reach of the Wind Cave region, and there is no question that this area would have been used as a primary staging ground for the procurement of fauna and flora for food, medicinal, and manufacturing purposes when the Padouca Apaches occupied the area until the late eighteenth century. Indeed, Waldo Wedel and George Frison (2001:49) note the presence of lithic materials from nearby Battle Mountain at Dismal River sites now inundated by the reservoir.

3. The Bison Hunting Orientations

The most prevalent, persistent, and specialized adaptive pattern associated with the Black Hills was built around the hunting of bison (Sundstrom, L. 1989:66-69, 94-98). Even after the arrival of the horse in the early eighteenth century, bison hunting remained the defining adaptive strategy of the populations who lived and wintered near the Hills. Throughout the protohistoric and historic era, many different tribal nations followed procurement strategies where bison hunting was their primary productive pursuit. The Arapahos, Comanches, Crows, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Lakotas were the ones who occupied areas in the vicinity of the Black Hills. In historic times, these populations appear to have followed three (and possibly as many as five) different adaptive patterns in which bison hunting played a central role in their economies. In one pattern already discussed, bison hunting supplemented various levels of horticultural activity. In another pattern, bison hunting was the major focus of procurement, even though it was supplemented in varying ways and degrees with other kinds of game and wild plant foods. This pattern emphasized bison hunting for subsistence, and it appears to have persisted among some bands until the reservation era (Wedel and Frison 2001:56). In a third pattern, a highly specialized adaptive strategy was pursued that depended on the procurement of bison, not only for subsistence but also for trade. During the heyday of the commercial bison robe market in the Plains, circa 1820 to 1860, some Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands became major producers for this trade, concentrating their efforts on bison hunting to the exclusion of other productive pursuits (Mekeel 1943:168-173; Swagerty 1988:73; Kardullas 1990:35; Klein 1993:133-160; Pickering 1994:61; Moore, J. 1996b:122-143). Increasingly, their movements and livelihoods were synchronized to the locations of the best herds, and when the bison declined in one region, they moved onto richer ranges. In reference to the Lakotas, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:154) reported a dual pattern of adaptation:

> The western Dakota have no fixed habitations. Hunting and fighting, they wander incessantly, through summer and winter. Some follow the herds of buffalo over the waste of prairie; others traverse the Black Hills, thronging on horseback and on foot, through the dark gulfs and somber gorges, and emerging at last upon the Parks, those beautiful but most perilous hunting grounds.

Again, it is difficult to know which Black Hills Parkman is naming because the ascription was used simultaneously for the Laramie Mountains and the Black Hills proper. Some historians (Wade in Parkaman 1947, Feltskog in Parkman 1969) believe, depending on the context, that some of his references to the Lakotas actually refer to the their travels in the Laramie Range. Whatever the case, it is an important statement because it suggests that the Lakotas were

differentiated not simply by the locations they traveled but also by the kinds of adaptive patterns they emphasized and pursued.

Whether bison-hunting populations followed a more variegated and subsistence-oriented adaptation or a more specialized and market-oriented one, it was common for them to situate their territorial ranges in proximity to well-watered and timbered hills and mountain ranges. It is also clear that that these mountain zones were heavily utilized. As Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:271-272) also wrote:

> Wild as they were, these mountains were thickly peopled. As I climbed farther, I found the broad, dusty paths made by elk, as they filed across the mountainside. The grass on all the terraces was trampled down by deer; there were numerous tracks of wolves, and in some of the rougher and more precipitous parts of the ascent I found footprints different from any that I had ever seen, and which I took to be those of the Rocky Mountain sheep.
>
> Such are the Black Hills, as I found them in July; but they wear a different garb when winter sets in, when the broad boughs of the fir-trees are bent to the ground by the load of snow, and the dark mountains are white with it. At that season the trappers, returned from their autumn expeditions, often build their cabins in the midst of these solitudes, and live in abundance and luxury on the game that harbors there. I have heard them tell how...they had spent months in total seclusion. They would dig pitfalls, and set traps for the white wolves, sables, and martens, and through the whole night the awful chorus of the wolves would resound from the frozen mountains around them, yet within their massive walls of logs they would lie in careless ease before the blazing fire, and in the morning shoot the elk and deer from their very door.

The impression one gets from Parkman here and elsewhere in his journal (in Feltskog 1969:261-262, 270, 272-273, 277, 290-291, 297-298, 312) is the interiors of mountain areas around Fort Laramie, including the Laramie Range and the Black Hills proper, were rich with game, especially deer and elk, and were inhabited throughout much of the year, although in winter it was mostly by solitary French Indian trappers who traveled alone or with their Indian families and companions.

In 1854, the trader Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:6) described the importance of the Black Hills to the Lakotas when he wrote:

> The Black Hills are the most eastern spurs of the Rocky Mountain range, several thousand feet high, well covered with timber, of which pine is the principal. The Hills or Mountains thus called commence near the head of Powder River running nearly a northeastern direction to within about 50 miles of the White River, the intermediate space to that stream being occupied by the Bad Lands. The Sioux seldom camp for any length of time in the Black Hills. But little game is found there and it consists of panthers, bears, and bighorn which are difficult to find and kill. Not much grass is found on the sides of the mountains, at least not enough to support the horses of a large camp for any length of time. They frequently visit the place, however, in search of lodgepoles which they make from the tall, straight young pines. At these times the camps are usually placed at the base of the mountains where grass is plenty, and when buffalo are not to be seen, they subsist on elk, blacktail deer and bighorn sheep.

One of the reports (Edmunds, Curtis, Guerney, and Reed 1866:168) of the Northwestern Treaty Commission to the Sioux of the Upper Missouri gave additional details on this pattern in the mid-1860s. In reference to the Black Hills, they wrote:

> Their domain is the vast rolling prairie country, where a short nutritious grass covers the surface, affording ample food, winter and summer, for the herds of buffalo, pronghorn, and other game upon which the Indians depend for their subsistence, shelter, and clothing.
>
> Central to this domain in an isolated spur of the Rocky mountains, known as the Black Hills, well defined on the maps of General Warner, from which numerous streams flow in every direction, tributary to the Platte, Missouri, and Yellowstone.
>
> This mountain region, and the valleys and hills adjacent to the streams, are the fastnesses to which the tribes resort in winter, or in case of danger of war parties in summer; the taller grasses of the river bottoms and the cottonwood timber that skirts these streams affording protection from storms and subsistence for their ponies. But usually, summer and winter, the Indians follow the buffalo herds, making lodges and clothing of their skins, and food of their flesh.

In his report to the Indian Claims Commission, Zachary Gussow (1974:8) describes the pattern for the Cheyennes and Arapahos in this way:

> For the winter season each band or camp group retired to a traditional tract of territory in which it had one or more favored sites. Sheltered valleys and hollows at the foothills of mountains and along streams, away from the open prairies, affording if possible wood, water and game, were sought out as protection against the cold winters and severe snows and winds. Group hunting played an important part of the winter food quest, although the group formed was smaller than in summer and the buffalo were driven into pounds or enclosures large enough to hold a hundred head or more.

John Moore (1996:68-69) also represents the Cheyennes wintering patterns and annual subsistence cycle in similar terms.

More recently, Brian Reeves (1990:171-172) gave a generalized description of tribal dependence on forested mountain ranges in the adaptive strategies of Plains Indians as follows:

> Life in the Northwestern Plains was tethered to the seasonal movements and behavior of the bison, on which natives relied for most of their material needs...The yearly life cycle in these northern climes can be divided into two periods: over wintering and summering. The over wintering period extended from October to May when bison ranged through their fall, winter, and spring habitats. The ranges of the herds during these seasons were principally along the western and northern edges of the Plains. Some herds also wintered in such prairie mountain ranges as the Cypress Hills in southeastern Alberta and the Black Hills in South Dakota...A critical requisite for native settlement, from fall to spring, was fuel. All else being equal, depletion of local firewood supplies was the major reason camps had to be moved...In summer, water was the limiting resource for natives, their dogs, and bison. The bison had, after calving in May, moved out into their ranges on the shortgrass Plains area. As summer wore on and waterholes and streams dried up, the movements of herds and man became increasingly circumscribed and focused on major rivers...Wild plants were collected: tubers and root crops in the late spring and early summer in the foothills and mountains, and berries in mid- to late summer in the Plains area and foothills. Another important activity during the snow-free months was the acquisition of flakable stone for small tool manufacture.

Some of the populations who followed this strategy and lived near the Black Hills spent the late summer months in the grasslands surrounding the Hills, entered their high elevation interiors in the early summer to gather lodgepoles and other plant resources, and camped in their accessible lower elevation valleys over the winter (Ludlow 1875:18; Hassrick 1964:156; Moore, J. 1987:164; Sundstrom, L. 1989:95-96, 107).

The adoption of horses, however, brought with it a limiting condition for the populations who followed a bison hunting orientation -- the necessity of finding locations with adequate winter pasturage (Moore, J. 1987:140-175). Some of the lower elevation valleys of the Black Hills in and around the Hogback certainly fit the conditions that Reeves described, and when horse herds were moderately sized, they also met the need of finding good winter grazing grounds (Moore, J. 1987:163-164). Many areas of the southern Hills, especially in the vicinity of the Hot Springs and Wind Cave, would have offered good wintering sites not only because they were several degrees warmer than the surrounding plains and often remained snow free throughout much of the winter, but also because they contained abundant supplies of fresh water and the kinds of grasses that were much desired as fodder for Native horse herds (Moore, J. 1987:70-71, 171-173). This area clearly supported large horse raising enterprises after European Americans arrived, so there is no doubt it would have done so when the area was occupied by tribal peoples (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70: 41, 45; Sundstrom, J. 1977: 161-164, 1994: 48-51).

While many bands spent a greater part of the year along the lower elevation valleys of the Black Hills, their higher elevation interiors became associated even more with specialized and temporary forms of resource procurement once horses were incorporated into local economies (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102). As discussed in more detail earlier, many European American settlers and military observers of the 1870s claimed that local tribes did not live in the Black Hills and used them only to gather their lodgepoles. While it is true that there is no evidence for their year-round occupancy of the interior Hills, there is a substantial body of material on their regular and extended presence in the Hill s lower elevation valleys from late fall through the early months of spring. Solid data also supports their shorter but recurring stays in the interiors during the late spring and early summer. The only time of the year many groups customarily stayed in the open prairies was from late summer to early fall when they conducted their communal bison hunts. Indeed, seasonal transhumance movements, often covering hundreds of miles of territory, were very common for the Lakotas, the Cheyennes, and the Arapahos (Elkin 1940:210-211; Hassrick 1964:154-156; Moore, J. 1987:164; Fowler 2001:847). At certain points in their histories, the Black Hills were located at the center of these movements.

The best description of the use of the Black Hills for over wintering and summering comes from Royal B. Hassrick s ethnography on the Lakotas. He argues that the Lakotas preferred to establish their camps in forest-like environments, near level-wooded and well-watered areas surrounded by ridges and high bluffs. The open high grounds were used only for some of the ceremonial camps and large-scale buffalo hunts in late summer (Hassrick 1964:65, 153). He even states that their dependence upon this modified woodland environment may have accounted for their determination to acquire and keep the Black Hills country (Hassrick 1964:65). Hassrick then goes on to describe how the use of these wooded areas was coordinated with their annual subsistence cycle.

In the late fall at the sign of the first snowfall, the Lakotas gathered at predetermined locations to select their winter campsites, which were occupied from December until March or April. For many Lakota bands, these were typically situated in valleys along local waterways or in well-timbered hollows in the Black Hills with good access to water and fuel (Hassrick 1964:156). These were also areas in easy reach of game, especially elk and deer. In fact, there were a number of well-defined Indian trails, documented by early explorers and settlers that criss-crossed the Hills. Some were apparently used in the winter months because Henry Newton and Walter Jenney (1875:302) reported: "The snow must be sometimes deep enough to hide trails and landmarks, as the main Indian trails leading through the Hills were marked by stones placed in the forks of the trees or by one or more sets of blazes, the oldest almost overgrown by the bark. At this time of the year, men made their tools and also spent time away from their winter camps

to hunt when supplies preserved from the communal fall hunts were low. This was the season of the small hunting party that the Lakota knew as the *tate.* Before the large bison herds disappeared from the Hills, the wintertime would have been the best season to hunt this animal, using various driving techniques. After the 1850s, when bison started to rapidly disappear, the bands that remained near the Black Hills turned increasingly to elk and deer as a source of meat. The hides of these two animals were especially valued in the manufacture of clothing, and winter was the time of the year that women fabricated and decorated a wide range of items made from their skins.

In early spring, the winter camps broke up with smaller groups traveling in search of deer, elk, and pronghorn, which, Hassrick (1964:154-155) notes, remained as important as bison at this time of the year. Hunting was not a primary pursuit during the spring months, however, because the meat of many ungulates, especially bison, was unpalatable, lacking in fat, proteins, and other nutrients (Binnema 2001:51), but it was a good season to capture certain animals for their hides.[2] This was also the preferred season for trapping eagles (Grinnell 1972:1:299-302). It was the time of the year for breaking in the yearlings from the horse herds, for repairing tipis with hides procured over the winter months, and for smoking skins to use in making leggings and moccasins (Hassrick 1964:155). Finally, this was the season when women collected sap from box elder trees to make sugar (Ibid.).

By late spring, from May to June, family groups were usually moving to higher elevation locations in the Black Hills to gather vegetables, pick berries, procure medicinal plants, and cut lodgepoles for their tipis. Most groups moved away from the valleys of rivers and creeks in and around the Black Hills at this time of the year because they were prone to flash floods.[3] This was also the season when some groups traveled long-distances to trade, and when young men ventured far a field to raid horses from enemy tribes (Hassrick 1964:155). John Moore (1996:67-68) writes that this was the time of the year when the Cheyennes entered into major battles to protect and advance their territorial ranges. Finally, the late spring corresponded with the initiation of a cycle of ceremonial observances, which were conducted in the Hills interiors (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a: 42-43; Black Elk C. 1992a:50-52).

In midsummer, Lakotas came together in large encampments for their annual Sun Dances and multitribal political deliberations (Black Elk C. 1992a:50-52). By late August, they were moving to the open grasslands where buffalo were sighted to commence their communal hunts, using horses and surround techniques (Hassrick 1964:156). From then until November, hunting was the focus of their economic activity. Men hunted bison at this time of the year in larger communal formations, known as the *wanisapa*, while women prepared the robes and dried the meat. Women also used this time to gather nuts, plums, berries, and other food plants which matured in the late summer and early fall (Ibid:156, 166).

The use of the Black Hills low elevation valleys as a primary location for winter settlement and its higher reaches for early summer procurement activity appears to have been a very common pattern during the prehistoric era as well. In the Late Archaic period, populations associated with the Pelican Lake, Besant, and Avonlea traditions hunted buffalo on the grasslands

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[2] There is some evidence that tribes hunted bison at this time of the year for specific uses. According to some Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:226), the early spring was the best time to take bison for dressing hides used in making covers for tipis. It would have also been the season to hunt newly born calves, whose meat was considered a delicacy.

[3] Descriptions of flash floods along the Fall River as well as Beaver and French creeks are found in some of the early settler accounts, and in the case of the Fall River, some early settlers claim they learned about its flooding from the local Lakotas (Petty 1973:2-3, Williams 1973:13; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:197; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317).

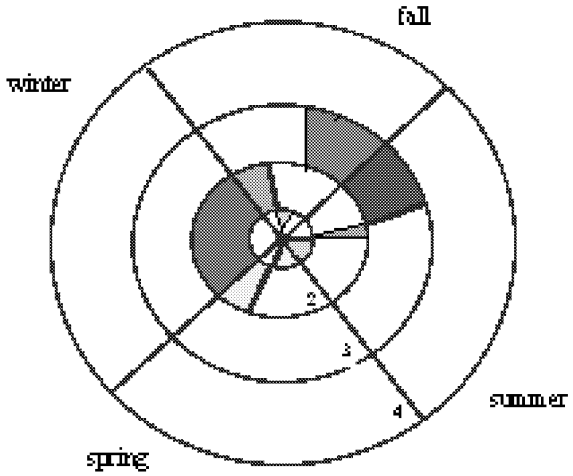
surrounding the Black Hills but also spent time on the margins and in the low elevation valleys of the Hills during the winter (Sundstrom, L. 1989, 1990). There is also considerable lithic evidence of their presence in the higher elevation interiors of the Hills, but none of it suggests any year around occupancy as had been the case among the broad-spectrum foraging groups in earlier phases of the Archaic (Sundstrom, L. 1989:59-61; Hannus 1994:184, 188-190).

In the historic era, the bands of many different tribal nations used the Black Hills as a location for their winter campsites, as a place to hunt in the fall, as a site to gather plants and other resources in the early summer, and as an area to gather for trading, political meetings, and ceremonial observances. However the Black Hills were used, they became a primary feature of the territorial landscape for many different tribes. They were a prominent part of the Padouca Apaches and probably some of the Comanches territorial ranges in the early decades of the eighteenth century, followed by Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, Crows, and Arapahos in the middle decades of the same century, and then by the Cheyennes at its close (Tabeau in Abel 1939:132, 151-153; Truteau in Nasatir 1952:301, 379; Henry in Coues 1965:1:383-384; Grinnell 1972:1:25-33; Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14; Hurt 1974:105-106, 112, 122, 123; Mooney 1979:153-154, 164, 229). When the Lewis and Clark Expedition arrived in the area, the Arapahos and Cheyennes were the dominant populations in the Hills, but some of the Apaches and possibly Comanches still remained there as well (Tabeau in Abel 1939:71, 104; Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379; Moulton 1983-87:3:85, 133-135, 420-422, 425-426, 438-439, 487-488). Over the next forty years, the Lakotas gradually gained ascendancy in the region with small segments of Arapahos and some Cheyennes remaining in their midst (Atkinson and O Fallon 1825:606-608; Deland and Robinson 1918:179; Denig in Ewers 1961:19-23; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966: 1:305; Bradbury 1966:139-140, 176; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:154; Hurt 1974:227; DeMallie 1975:353-356).

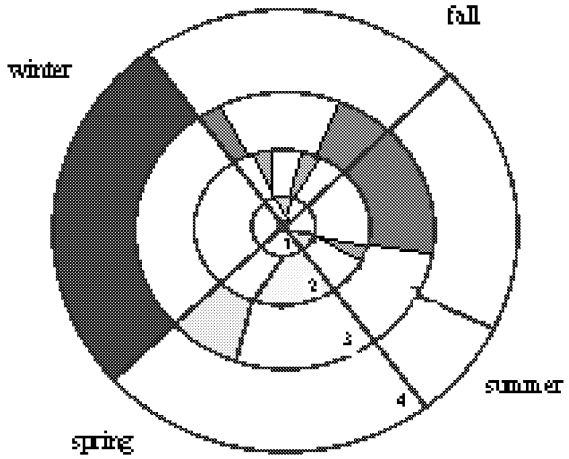
The adaptive patterns of the populations whose production was focused on bison were clearly related to the habits and movements of these animals, especially their tendency to congregate in the late summer on the open grasslands and to disperse in the late fall and winter in sheltered valleys and canyons (Oliver 1962:6-18; Isenberg 2000:43-44). Although bison movements between the winter and summer were predictable in a general way, their appearance at specific locations was often erratic. Drought, warm winters, and severe blizzard conditions changed their numbers, migrations, and gathering habits locally, and under these circumstances, bands sometimes faced hunger and even starvation (Bamforth 1987; Epp 1988; Clow 1995; Lott 2002:75).

When the Black Hills stood literally at the center of Cheyenne and Lakota occupation in the early half of the nineteenth century, not all of the bands that represented these two tribal nations used the Black Hills as a wintering site or as a primary staging ground for their subsistence activities. Some, however, wintered regularly in the low elevation valleys of the Black Hills and along the forks of the Cheyenne River. In the late summer and early fall, they moved out onto the surrounding grasslands to hunt bison and pronghorn. Other groups wintered in the more distant valleys of the White and Bad rivers and the main branch of the Cheyenne below its forks; these locations, however, were still within easy reach of the Hills. In one case, they maintained a localized relationship to the Hills, and in the other, a proximate one. There were other bands among the Lakotas and Cheyennes who never lived near the Black Hills for any extended period or who moved away from their reaches when bison populations began to decline after the 1850s. In this case, the bands held a long-distance relationship to the region, and the Hills were part of their secondary or even tertiary territorial ranges. What is apparent from the historic and ethnographic literature is that the tribes who depended upon bison hunting as their primary produc-

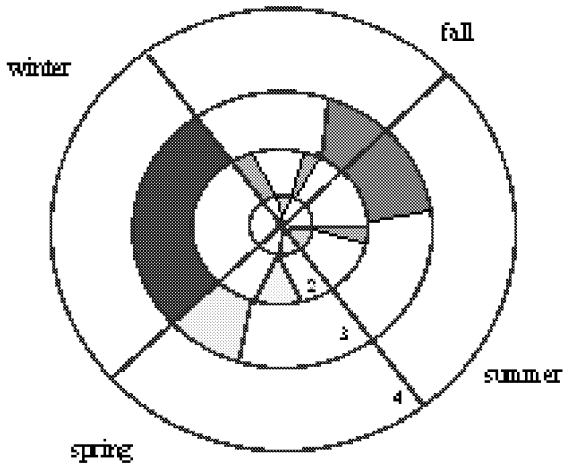
FIGURE 20. Locations for Seasonal Procurement Activity



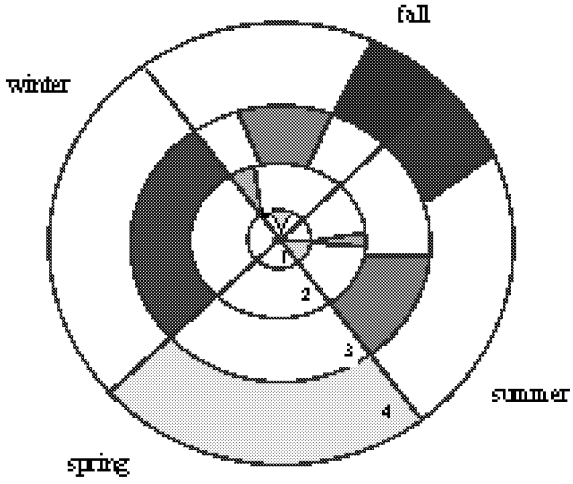
Localizied Bison Hunting Pattern



Long-Distance Bison Hunting Pattern



Proximate Bison Hunting Pattern



Semihorticultural Pattern

1. Black Hills Interiors	3. Upper Reaches of Missouri River Tributaries
2. The Hogback and Race Track	4. Missouri/Platte Rivers

tive pursuit and who followed more nomadic lifestyles had diverse patterns of relationship to the Black Hills. It is worthwhile to discuss some of these here in greater depth as they apply to the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, since these are the tribal nations whose nineteenth-century affiliations with the Black Hills are the best documented.

a. Local Connections

The groups who wintered and remained near the Black Hills probably followed the most variegated pattern of subsistence where bison hunting was balanced with other kinds of procurement. This pattern fits most closely with the cycle described by Royal B. Hassrick, where groups wintered in the Black Hills and moved out to the grasslands beyond the two branches of the Cheyenne River in late summer. Even as late as the 1860s, after bison had largely disappeared from the Black Hills, Ferdinand Hayden (1862:373-374) reported that the Lakotas were able to make a modest living from the abundant supplies of pronghorn, deer, elk, and bighorn that still inhabited the Hills.

There is strong evidence that until the early 1870s many Lakotas and Cheyennes established their wintering sites at a variety of locations along the two forks of the Cheyenne River. Some camped inside the Hogback on the Race Track or near the gateway canyons along waterways such as the Fall River and Beaver, Rapid, and French creeks on the eastern sides of the Hills and in Red Canyon in their southern reaches. Others wintered near Bear Butte and Spearfish creeks on the northern side of the Hills, and some were reported to stay at Stockade-Beaver, Rawhide, and Cold Springs creeks on the western side (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:20; One Bull in Hilger 1946:150; McKelvie 1960:92-93; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; La Pointe 1976:74,89; White Cow Bull in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:208-210 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:364-369]; Wawoslata in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:264-270 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:452-463]; Nakpogi Ogiya in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:319-320 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:543-546]; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107; Sundstrom, L. 2002:109-110).

One description of this adaptation comes from Stephen M. Barrett s biographical story (1913) of *Hoistah*, a Cheyenne woman who was born in the early nineteenth century in a winter camp at the foot of the Black Hills along the north fork of the Cheyenne River. He writes about the movements of Hoistah s band as follows:

> In the spring the Cheyenne moved down the river among the green meadows, seeking pasture for their ponies and following the deer, elk and buffaloes as they left the shelter of the wooded hills. Protection being no longer needed, the animals entered the open country in the river valleys where the first tender grass springs up, and the warriors sought them there...and again the winter camp was made on the bank of the Cheyenne River.
>
> The Cheyennes as usual had come into the Black Hills before it was time for the game to be driven in to seek shelter, but no big game came, indeed it seemed that the big game, elk and buffaloes, would never come. Repeatedly hunting parties had returned to camp to report only ill luck.
>
> One band of hunters, going far down the river, came back with the report that the Crow Indians were encroaching upon the Cheyenne hunting grounds. Whether other Indians were

> driving the animals away or whether the mild winter weather induced them to remain longer in the open country was an unsettled question in the camp (Barrett 1913:11-13).

A Lakota perspective on this settlement comes from information that One Bull shared with Dick Stone (1982:23):

> My grandfather used to tell me that he and his people used to camp at Bear s Tipi, a good many years before Sitting Bull was born. My grandfather usually lived around Sylvan Lake, in the Black Hills, in the wintertime. They liked to winter there because the cold winds were kept out by the Hills.
>
> The Sioux liked to spend the winter along the river that runs by the base of Bears Tipi . This was fine winter country. While in camp here the people rested and had a quiet time. There were all kinds of animals there, buffalo, deer, elk, bear, and mountain lions. After the hides were tanned they were made into robes and buckskins. the women would make the skins into clothes. There was beaver trapped there along the streams. This was quite a long ways from a trading post where skins could be traded for White Man s goods. White men would come to the camps with oxen and stone boats and buy what skins were for sale.
>
> The Pine Ridge people liked to camp at Bears Tipi , too. Every once in a while Sitting-Bull would make a visit to this place. He would live there for several days and then go back to his people...

His brother, White Bull (in Stone 1982:25), also confirmed this pattern and said:

> Sometimes, years ago, we would go to Bears Tipi and stay all winter. That is how the arrows and scraping knives came to be found there. When I was two years old I spent the winter there with the Minneconjou, Itazipco, and Uncpapa Bands. These bands all speak the same language. They hunted pronghorn, buffalo and deer. There were also black bears and grey wolves around this area.
>
> When I was fourteen years old we wintered at this place and again when I was eighteen years old. We wintered in different places around the Hill, each time.

Again, the populations who resided at these locations over the winter left them in the spring to travel to other locations in the Hills for specialized tasks like lodgepole procurement, and then in late summer, they moved to the surrounding grasslands to hunt bison beyond and between the two forks of the Cheyenne River (Standing Bear 1975:17-23; White Bull in Stone 1982:26; Moore, J. 1987:165).

b. Proximate Connections

In the same period, many of the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and some of the Arapahos also maintained winter camps outside the Black Hills and beyond the two forks of the Cheyenne River but still within a few days travel from these mountains. In the case of the pre-1840 Lakotas, the Oglalas and most of the Sicangus maintained winter campgrounds in regions south or east of the Black Hills along the Bad, White, and Niobrara rivers, while Minneconjous and Itapizcos settled in the valleys of the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers in areas north and northeast of the Hills. Most of the Sihasapas and Hunkpapas wintered along the Grand River and remained out of direct reach of the Black Hills. Although some of them joined other Lakotas to winter near the Hills, this was generally not their primary subsistence range but a secondary or tertiary one (Atkinson and O Fallon 1825:607; Deland and Robinson 1918:95n12, 112n51, 121-122, 141, 160, 179, 199, 234; Clyman 1960:16-17; Hyde 1937:20, 39-40, 46-47, 1961:17, 28; Odell 1942:21-30; Denig in

Ewers 1961:16-23; Hurt 1974:179, 181, 199, 200, 201, 204, 206; DeMallie 1975:353-356; Clow 1995).

In the case of the Cheyennes, the main body stayed at the forks of the river that bears their name until the 1820s when they moved en masse to the upper reaches of the Platte River. Many of the Omisis or *Ohmeseheso,* Northern Cheyenne, which included the Suhtaio or *So?taaeo?o*, encamped during the winter along the Belle Fourche and the upper reaches of the Little Missouri, but some were known to inhabit the upper reaches of the White River until the 1870s. The Masikota wintered primarily along the upper reaches of the White River and also the southern Hills, the Hisiometaneo on the upper Niobrara, and the Totoimana on the north branch of the Platte, all of which are locations within easy reach of the Black Hills (Atkinson and O Fallon 1825:606; Bradbury in Thwaites 1966:5:139-140, 176; De Smet in Thwaites 1966:22:136; Grinnell 1972:1:12-15, 30; Powell 1981:2:766-929; Moore, J. 1987:229-235, 1996:146-147).

Even when the winter camps of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were located in river valleys beyond the Hills, there is evidence that hunters came to the area in the fall and early winter to capture elk and other game (Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6; Grinnell 1972:1:276; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:7, 20, 47-48; Koller 1970:1-2; Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1984:147-148; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:21). Many of the groups who wintered outside the Hills in nearby river valleys also arrived in the Hills in small family groups in the late spring and early summer to fish and to gather lodgepoles, medicinal plants, and minerals (Hinman 1874:95; Newton and Jenny 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Bordeaux 1929:45, 82-83, 191-192; De Giradin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:270-271; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; 1988:65-66; Moore, J. 1981:14; Chittenden 1983:2:728; DeMallie 1984:156-157, 171, 173). When they came to the Hills, many of these groups joined those who wintered in the Black Hills at locations near the base of the Hills for trade, political negotiations, Sun Dances, and Scalp dances (Dorsey, J. 1894:448-449; Densmore 1918:256; Hyde 1937:82, 152-153, 1961:78, 106; Odell 1942:21-30; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:89; Grinnell 1972:1:368-381, 2:201-202; Mc-Laird and Turchen 1973:386; Singing Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:353-359 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:604-617]; Schukies 1993:288; Price, C. 1996:81-82; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:48-50, 51-52; Sundstrom, L. 1996:189, 192, 194, 200).

By mid-summer, much of the Hills were empty of human habitation as groups moved out onto the grasslands to follow and select the herds to be culled in their large communal bison and pronghorn hunts. In some cases, however, they did not travel very far. In 1857, Lt. G.K. Warren (1875:15-16) met Minneconjou Lakotas hunting buffalo in the Red Valley near Inyan Kara Mountain on the western side of the Hills. Large pronghorn drives were known to take place among the Lakotas just outside the Hills on the headwaters of the White River (Denig in Ewers 1961:17-18; Hyde 1961:17) and also among the Cheyennes at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River or *Wokaihe yunio he* [Pronghorn Pit River] in their language (Grinnell 1906:17; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21, 194, 196; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12). There are also a number of archeological sites in Fall River County along the south fork of the Cheyenne River associated with pronghorn hunting (Sundstrom, L. 2000:127-128). Thus, even though groups who wintered in proximate river valleys and hunted on nearby grasslands used the Black Hills for specialized purposes over a brief period of time from the late spring through early summer, the Hills and their immediate surroundings were still part of their primary or secondary territorial range, and a location they used on a regular and recurring basis.

The transhumance movements of tribes in and around the Black Hills closely followed those of the ruminant animal species on which they depended for much of their subsistence. The larger accessible gateways to the Hills, such as the Buffalo Gap, were well-known points of entry for

animals during the winter months, and as a result, they were popular locations to establish winter campsites (Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1978:43-45; Crow Dog in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96). Bison, elk, and pronghorn commonly moved back and forth between their winter grazing lands on the Race Track and their summer feeding grounds outside the Hogback, and this movement is not only well-recorded in historic sources but also implicated in the archeological record (Tabeau in Abel 1939:77; Turner 1974:19; Moulton 1983-87:3:179-180, 182,222, 1983: 4:16. 482; 1983:6:338; Seton 1929:421; Sundstrom, L. 2000:125; White, D. 2002:23). As its name implies, the Buffalo Gap was a major entry and exit point for bison who moved between the Black Hills and the Nebraska grasslands and for pronghorns who followed long-distance migratory routes from the Hills to the grasslands along the upper reaches of the White River (Hayden 1862b:150; Seton 1929:421; Ewers 1938:12; Sundstrom, L. 1989.; Turner 1974:20, 141-142). Judging by the prehistoric and historic rock art found at Red and Craven canyons, also in the southern Hills, these appear to have been important migratory routes for local cervid populations too (Sundstrom, L. 1984, 1990). The association of the Black Hills with game animals is discussed in more detail in the next section, but it is worthwhile to note that it was not only a fundamental condition of the ways in which tribal nations adapted themselves to the area but also a defining feature of their cosmological relationship to the Hills (see Chapters Twelve through Sixteen).

Until the 1840s, when bison were still plentiful on the grasslands surrounding the Black Hills, this region became the primary territory for a succession of tribal nations who depended heavily on bison but followed other subsistence pursuits as well. After the 1850s, when bison populations began their precipitous decline, the territorial ranges of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes became more dispersed. More and more bands were wintering in areas outside the Black Hills. Yet, many of them continued to return to the Hills on a regular and recurring basis to carry on specialized procurement tasks and to attend social, political, or religious gatherings. Here they joined with the bands who, albeit in much smaller numbers, remained at the foot of the Black Hills until the reservation era.

c. Long-Distance Connections

The distances that tribal nations covered to reach the Black Hills and use them on a regular and recurring basis fluctuated considerably over time. In the case of the Cheyennes and the Lakotas, much of their early connection to the Hills entailed long distance movements from locations on the Missouri River that took up to a week s time to travel with a large party. At the end of the eighteenth century, when the Lakotas started to establish themselves on the Missouri and the lower reaches of the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers, the Black Hills were a long-distance destination which local bands reached in search of favorable bison hunting ranges from mid-summer to late fall, but it was also a destination in the late for spring for procuring lodgepoles and medicinal plants (Clow 1995). For some divisions, most notably the Oglalas, the Hills were probably the westernmost extension of their territorial range as early as the 1780s (Hyde 1937:17, 21-23; Ewers 1938:5, Larson 1997:23). Even earlier, Lakotas may have entered the Hills for different purposes in the company of the Cheyennes and Arikaras, who had clearly followed this long distance pattern for some time. Before 1780, however, the Hills would have been a secondary or tertiary range for most of the Lakotas.

After the 1830s, many of the Lakotas abandoned their wintering grounds near the Missouri River and no longer returned to this area even to trade. The Black Hills were no longer a long-distance destination but a proximate location. The Lakotas primary territorial ranges now hugged the Hills and their nearby watercourses (Atkinson and O Fallen 1925:606-2608; Hyde 1937: 45; Thwaites 1966:1:305; Hurt 1974:187-233; DeMallie 1975; White 1978; Bray 1994; Price, C.

1996:21-22). This closely followed the pattern established by the Cheyennes whose territories encircled the Black Hills at the end of the eighteenth century, even as increasing numbers of Lakotas made this their home base (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:301; Bradbury 1966:139-140, 176; Moulton 1983-87-87:3:487-488; Moore, J. 1987:55-87).

In later decades, the situation became even more complex as growing numbers of Cheyennes and Lakotas moved away from the Black Hills to reach richer bison hunting grounds and/or better grazing lands for their horses. Some bands shifted their primary territorial ranges to locations well south of the Hills, and in time, the headwaters of the south fork of the Platte and even the Republican and Arkansas rivers became the locations where they over wintered (Bordeaux 1929: 45, 82-83, 191-192; Hyde 1961:35, 55-56; Bent in Hyde 1968:31-57; Berthong 1963:19-21; Fowler 2001:840-842). Other bands, however, turned their sights northwest, making the valleys of the Powder River and its tributaries their principal winter camping sites (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hyde 1937:89, 93; Dodge 1959:130-131, 373; Denig in Ewers 1961:19-23; Hurt 1974:228-229; Price, C. 1996:31-37; DeMallie 2001:794-799; Fowler 2001:842; Moore, J., Liberty, and Straus 2001:864).

By the 1850s, when many Lakotas and Cheyennes had moved their primary hunting ranges away from the Black Hills, the relationships of local bands to the area became much more diversified. Some of this variation was probably a product of the predominant adaptive strategies local bands followed. As described earlier, the bands who became heavily vested in a market-oriented economy, where bison were hunted for their exchange value as much as subsistence, were probably the ones who moved the greatest distances from the Black Hills (Mekeel 1943:168-173; Swagerty 1988:73; Kardullas 1990:35; Price, C. 1996:47; Klein 1993; Pickering 1994:61; Moore, J. 1996:30-33). Since bison were no longer plentiful east of the Black Hills, many of the Lakotas and Cheyennes who were actively involved in the hide market began to set their sights on the rich bison grounds along the two forks of the Platte River, the Powder River, and even as far south as the Republican and Arkansas rivers (Hyde 1961:35, 55-56; Moore, J. 1996:13-29). As already detailed in Chapter Four, prodigious amounts of robes were taken for this trade. Yet, even those who were less dependent on the hide market moved farther away from the Black Hills when bison ranges started to contract.

Many Oglalas, Minneconjous, and Itazipcos, along with Arapahos and Cheyennes, began to move towards and congregate at locations along the north branch of the Platte River, in the Powder River country, and eventually as far north as the Tongue and Yellowstone rivers. Most of these areas were outside the peripheries of the Black Hills, and in time, other wooded hills and mountainous regions, such as the Laramie and Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming, were used as wintering and summering locations. Other bands moved south of the Platte and no longer used the Hills either, except on an irregular basis. Most of the southern Arapahos, southern Cheyennes, and Lakotas (predominantly Sicangus) who hunted on the Republican and Arkansas rivers were now trading at posts near the present-day sites of Denver and Colorado Springs, and even when they came north to Fort Laramie, they had little reason to route their travels near the Black Hills. These groups were now spending time in the Sand Hills of Nebraska and/or the foothills of the Rocky Mountains and using these areas as places to gather lodgepoles and medicine in the summer months, to hunt elk and deer in the fall, and to over winter. Some bands returned to the Black Hills periodically for political and ceremonial purposes; however, for most of them, the Hills were now a tertiary territorial range (Hyde 1937:85-86, 1961:35, 55-56, 78, 97).

Still, a number of bands traveled long distances to the Black Hills on a regular and recurring basis. Here, the Hills remained part of their primary range, a central location to camp in the late spring and/or late fall either en route to trading posts on the Platte River or as a destination to pro-

cure specialized resources. In the spring, these bands used their long-distance travels as an opportunity to enter the interiors of the Hills to secure lodgepoles, to gather berries and medicinal plants, and to conduct ceremonies. Fishing took place here at this time of the year as well. In the late fall, the hunting of elk, deer, pronghorn, and bighorn was a primary procurement activity for men, while the gathering of acorns was a focus for women. For other bands, however, the Black Hills became part of their secondary or tertiary territorial ranges. They still came here to hunt, gather, meet, and conduct their ceremonial observances, but they appear to have done so on an a more irregular basis (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931; Hyde 1937:89, 93, 106, 113, 152-153, 1961:99; Ewers 1938:88; Denig in Ewers 1961:22, 25; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; McLaird and Turchen 1973:375-377; Hurt 1974:242; Powell 1981:2: 923; Fowler 1982:34-44, 2001:843; Moore, J. 1987:165, 205-251; Bray 1994:179, 185-186; Price, C. 1996:26-27, 46-47, 49).

William Bordeaux (1929:191-192), a Sicangu Lakota whose family wintered along the Platte River, describes this long-distance relationship to the Black Hills in some detail, and it is worth quoting his words here. As he writes:

> As a general rule, the Sioux Indians spent their winter months as far south as the Republican River, where the winter months are milder and the climate more moderate than in the northern territory.
>
> The buffalo also concentrated in the south country to escape the severe winter months in the north. Each spring lured the Sioux on the trail of vast herds of these animals moving north. The Black Hills are right in the path of these trails.
>
> When the foothills were reached the Sioux scattered out into the mountains to hunt the smaller game animals, such as the deer, antelope, and mountain sheep. Numberless droves roamed in the green valleys and gulches of these wonderlands.
>
> The Indian was at a disadvantage when trying his luck on these sensitive animals out in the open. It was almost an impossibility to accomplish the feat. The dense forest with its heavy brush, gave the Indian hunter more advantage in hunting these animals in the Black Hills.
>
> These hunting opportunities together with the abundance of wild fruit lured the Sioux into these wonderlands yearly, to hunt and gather wild fruit to sustain them through the winter months.
>
> When all necessary nourishment and equipment was obtained the Sioux would then vacate their summer haunts for the warmer climate in the south. The approach of fall weather, with its cold north winds, would compel the vast herds of buffalo to start on the southward march and migrating with them were the harvest-laden Indians.
>
> Completing the journey to their southern territory would require several weeks. The Platte River country with its fertile valleys and timbered banks would tempt several of the bands to remain for the winter, while the remainder continued south to the Republican River.

Some of the Cheyennes also maintained a long-distance summer relationship to the Black Hills. As one Northern Cheyenne elder told John Moore (1981:14):

> It was just like a vacation--in the old days, everybody went back to the Black Hills every summer. After they used their heavy tools, like corn grinders, nut stones and things, they would hide them around some place and then come back the next summer and use them again...They used to always return to Black Hills. They never did leave it permanently. The

> way my grandmother used to say, even when they traveled far, they always returned. They really thought a lot about this, Bear Butte and Black Hills. They always came back, this was their way of life.

So no matter how far away some of the Lakotas and Cheyennes traveled, the Hills continued to act like a magnet drawing them back at certain seasons to carry on any of a variety of activities.

The extent of the territory that some of these bands followed in the course of a year is revealed by Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:154-165), who described the travels of his family between 1873 and 1875. In 1873-1874, they spent the winter at White Buttes near Fort Robinson. In the spring, they headed for the Black Hills to cut lodgepoles, following Horse Creek where they briefly encamped. Moving north away from the south fork of the Cheyenne, they made camp at the foot of Buffalo Gap to hunt deer and pronghorn. From here, they traveled to Split Toe Creek, then to Spring Creek, and finally, to Rapid Creek where they moved to the Hills higher elevation locations to find lodgepoles. On their return trip to White Buttes, they followed Spring Creek down to the south fork of the Cheyenne and then took Horse Creek south to a place near Fort Robinson where a Sun Dance was held. In the fall of 1875, Black Elk s family set out to join Crazy Horse s band on the Tongue River. They camped at Horse Creek, next at Warbonnet Creek, and then moved north along the western edge of the Hills by way of Sage Creek, then Stockbridge-Beaver Creek, and onward to Driftwood Creek. During these travels, a side trip was made into the interiors of the Black Hills where Black Elk received a vision. Moving away from the Black Hills, they camped at Taking the Crow Horses Creek and then along the Powder to the Tongue River. After hunting buffalo and processing the meat over several weeks, they returned to the White Butte area of Nebraska where they wintered again. Even though long-distance excursions such as these appear to have been part of a regular and recurring annual pattern for some bands, others probably made them on a less frequent basis. In this pattern, the base and interior areas of the Black Hills were clearly important destinations or stopping points for food procural and ceremonial observance. Again, the point must be made that this kind of travel was not exceptional for the Lakotas (Walker 1982:189), the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1987:165, 205-251), or other tribal nations in the area. It was characteristic of the aggregative patterns of adaptation that Kingsley Bray (1994) identified for the Oglalas in the nineteenth century.

There were Lakota bands, especially among the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa divisions, who traditionally wintered in areas farther north along the Grand Little Missouri, Powder, and Tongue rivers and who traded at posts on the upper reaches of the Missouri River. Most of them had little occasion to pass by or come to the Hills except for specific purposes. Although some came for specialized procurement activities, political gatherings, and ceremonial observances, the Hills had always been a long distance destination and a secondary or tertiary territorial range for most of them (Denig in Ewers 1961:15-29; Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631). A few bands related to the Minneconjous, however, were reported to winter in or near the northern Hills after the 1850s (Vestal 1934:5-6; Odell 1942:27-28; One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25).

4. Pastoralist Orientations

There was yet another adaptive orientation in the region of the Black Hills, but this one appears to have been confined to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at the height of the intertribal horse trade. During the protohistoric and early historic eras, there were populations who included the Black Hills as a secondary or tertiary procurement area and who traveled long distances to reach them every summer. Before the 1820s, and perhaps for some decades thereafter, there were specialized horse-trading bands that annually traveled from the southern plains

to the Black Hills to trade their horses for guns and other British and French trade goods. These populations spent much of their summer trading in areas in proximity to the Hills, and they no doubt entered the interiors at these times to procure specialized resources or as part of their everyday subsistence strategies while staying in the region. It seems safe to assume that, in the eighteenth century, there were a number of bands that ranged between the Black Hills in the summer and the southern plains in the winter. This is suggested by the fact that the Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa and Padouca) Apaches, Comanches, and also a group called Ietans appear simultaneously in the records of Spanish observers in areas south of the Arkansas River and by French and American reporters along the Missouri (Hyde 1959:99, 201; Mooney 1979:167; Kavanagh 1996:69, 128; Foster and McCollough 2001:927; Parks 2001b:966). In the nineteenth century, some of the Cheyennes were known to follow a transhumance pattern of movement in which they acquired horses in the Southwest, grazed them on the southern plains over the winter, and then brought them north to trade in the summer at locations on the edge of the Black Hills and also along the Missouri River (Jablow 1951; Moore, J. 1996:30-33; Isenberg 2000:46). The groups who became specialized pastoralists with horse herds numbering in the thousands ultimately remained in the south because of the milder winters and better grazing conditions for their horses. The Cheyennes, however, returned regularly to the Black Hills. John Moore (1981:14) comments on how the Cheyennes viewed these movements:

> Modern elders also provide the reasons for the migratory patterns of the Cheyenne bands. While the whole tribe preferred to spend some summer time in the Black Hills, after about 1830 there weren t enough buffaloes in the area to support the whole tribe through the winter, so some bands had to make winter camps along the rivers of the southern plains. This also conserved grass, for as the horse herds of the Cheyennes began to grow, they needed more grass than the Black Hills area could provide through the winter.

The Southern Arapaho leader Left Hand gave a similar explanation to Hugh Scott (1907:558) in 1897. Most of the bands who came to specialize in horse herding and trading continued to rely on bison as an important source of food; however, many of the decisions they made about their own transhumance migrations were not determined simply by bison movements but more critically by the locations of good winter pasturage for their horses. When these herds were small, various locations in and around the Black Hills, especially along the southeastern stretches of the Race Track, would have been good spots to graze horses over the winter and at other times of the year as well. Certainly after European Americans arrived in the southern Hills, this area, including lands that are now part of Wind Cave National Park, was a popular location to raise and graze thoroughbred horses, as evidenced in the histories of local ranches, including the Valentine Ranch at Wind Cave National Park (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41, 45; McAdam 1973:27; Sundstrom, J. 1977:161-164, 1994:48-51).

5. Early Agency Orientations

When European and then later American traders entered the country near the Black Hills, many married into local Indian families and adapted their lifestyles to the customs of the country. Over the next century, the descendants of these unions formed their own distinct communities, which were connected on one side to their father s commercial enterprises and on the other to their mother s communities of origin (Mekeel 1943:188; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:312; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:34-38; Bent in Hyde 1968; Swagerty 1988:75, 82; Bray 1994:178-179; Pickering 1994:61). Some of the bands whose daughters married local traders began to winter and even establish year-round campsites near the trading posts run by their in-laws, and some of their men were hired as hunters to provision the traders meat supplies (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:42). One well-known band of this order was associated with

Fort Laramie and known as the *Wagluke*, Loafers or Hangers Around the Fort. In his 1856 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Twiss (1856b:98) wrote:

> These Indian traders have Indian families and a large circle of relatives among the Indian bands. Besides these, there is always a great number of Indian families who, from long habit and inclination, make it their home at the trading posts, and would from necessity plant and raise corn for food, when they once learned the manner of doing it from the Indian trader.

Thirteen years later, De Witt C. Poole (1869:315), the agent at Whetstone Agency, wrote:

> The Indians located immediately at this agency are known as Loafer, composed of individuals who have seceded from the various bands of the Sioux and Cheyennes, and number about one thousand souls. They are mostly inclined to cultivate the soil, and adopt the habits of civilized life, instigated thereto by long association with the whites who have married into their families in many instances.

The same year John Burbank (1869:302-303), Governor and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reiterated Poole s observations and reported that one thousand Indians at the Whetstone Agency, largely representing seceders from the Cheyenne and Sioux bands, had long-term relationships with whites. Many of these Lakotas and Cheyennes married non-Indians, farmed, and adopted European American cultural practices. Indeed, as Scudder Mekeel (1943:189) wrote, the government recognized these bands as part of a permanent class that typically stayed at the agency throughout the year but left periodically to hunt and procure wild plant products elsewhere.

The bands whose daughters married European Americans often served as go-betweens, helping to negotiate exchanges between other tribal bands and the traders. In later years, many of these bands played a similar bridge role in dealings between representatives of the U.S. government and local tribes. Susan Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner s book, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People s History* (1988), gives considerable insight into the history and lifestyles of the bands associated with Susan s father, James Bordeaux, a trader who operated a post along the Platte and in later years, the White River. What is clear from this book is that, like other bands, the *Wagluke*, or Loafers, made regular trips to the Black Hills to hunt deer and elk in the late fall and to procure lodgepoles in the spring (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:21). The Black Hills was clearly a part of a long-distance, but probably a secondary or tertiary, territorial range for the *Wagluke* Lakotas who wintered at Fort Laramie.

Although many Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands still followed adaptive patterns independent of the agencies, more and more were using the Black Hills in the fashion of the Loafer bands after the 1860s. Fort Laramie and later other agencies, such as Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, were becoming popular locations to over winter because these were sites where treaty annuities were distributed. With the disappearance of bison east of the Black Hills and along the Platte, many bands became more dependent on the annuities they received from the government in the form of food, clothing, and tools (Olson 1965:171-198; Powell 1981:2:815-817; Price, C. 1996:102-132). In time, a greater portion of the combined Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho population remained at the agencies year-round, following the pattern established by the Loafer bands in earlier decades. By 1872, probably half of this population made the agencies their winter homes (Daniels 1872:268-269).

As the agencies started to function as wintering grounds, some local bands began to cover more than five hundred miles of territory annually to reach good bison hunting territory. As

described earlier, Black Elk s family wintered in the area of Fort Robinson in the years between 1873 and 1875, set out in the spring for the Black Hills where they gathered lodgepoles, fished, and carried out other procurement activities, and then traveled to the bison ranges on the Powder and Tongue River where they remained from midsummer to late fall, at which point some began the return trip to their winter camps in Nebraska. In this instance, even though their relationship to the Black Hills entailed a long-distance connection, they were still visited on a regular and recurring basis and remained part of the band s primary territorial range.

When Lakota agencies were located on the White River, after 1873, Red Cloud s near Crawford, Nebraska and Spotted Tail s just a few miles down river to the east, they were within easy striking distance of the southern Black Hills and the region of Wind Cave National Park. It was easy for the hunters of bands who wintered at these agencies to reach this area on specialized hunting trips in the late fall and early winter. Indeed, stories about Wind Cave from this period invariably involve hunters and hunting expeditions in wintertime (Wounded Horse in Koller 1970:1-2; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148). Other bands, however, stayed in the Hills to winter at this time. This was certainly the case for Standing Bear s family, who wintered at the Buffalo Gap in 1874 (Standing Bear 1975:17-23), and it was also true for the Minneconjou followers of Makes Room, who camped over the winter near the present-day area of Sylvan Lake and Bear Lodge Butte (One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25). Even as late as the winter of 1875-1876, the bands of Spotted Tail and Swift Bear were reported to encamp at the edge of the Black Hills where they depended largely on elk and deer for food (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:108-109). As reported earlier, Spotted Tail, with good reason, recommended the Buffalo Gap to Samuel Hinman (1874:93) as a site for his new agency. The practice of camping over the winter at the base of the Black Hills, close to water and wood, as well as good hunting grounds for deer and elk, appears to have been common during this period, and it followed an age-old pattern in which the late fall and early winter months were the times to procure elk and deer (Hassrick 1964:65, 156). After bison disappeared from the region, it is clear that local groups increasingly turned their sights to the Hills still abundant populations of elk and deer (Hayden 1862a:373-374).

There is also no question that the Hills remained a popular area for the Lakotas to procure their lodgepoles as well as food and medicinal plants in the late spring and early summer months as described by Nicolas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:173) and others (Hinman 1874:95; Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317, 369; Moore, J. 1981:14). It was in the summer of 1874 that the Black Hills Expedition came upon an Oglala band led by One Stab in the high interiors of the Black Hills where they were hunting and collecting plants (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis Krause and Olson 1974:173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255-256; McAndrews 1974:81). In the following summer of 1875, Jenney s party came across a recently abandoned campsite where the occupants had been processing lodgepoles and carrying on unidentified ceremonial observances (Dodge in Kime 1996:105). Whether or not local bands camped at their agencies year around, they were clearly using the Hills in a traditional fashion and in seasonally specific ways.

Yet, in some years, the Black Hills became a primary territory, perhaps even a year-round shelter, for local bands fleeing the threat of U.S. military troops. In the aftermath of the 1854 Ash Hollow Massacre on the Platte River, many Lakota bands retired to the Black Hills and remained there until it was safe to return to their wintering spots farther south. Similarly, in the 1860s, in the wake of the Sand Creek Massacre and the Minnesota Conflict, many Cheyennes and Lakotas moved into the Hills to elude the soldiers. Cheyenne and Arapaho bands from the south,

which typically wintered along the south fork of the Platte, returned north and took refuge in the Black Hills. There were also bands from the north and east that congregated in the Black Hills after 1862 to avoid General Sibley and his troops. As confrontations with the U.S. military escalated, there are increasing reports of the Black Hills being used by the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos as a sanctuary -- a place to hide women, children, and the elderly during periods of intense hostility (Twiss 1856:87; Warren 1875:51; Curtis 1907-30:3:178; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:68; Larson 1997:81). Yet, it is equally clear that in some periods tribes stayed away from the Hills when large military expeditions were known to be traveling there (Standing Bear, H. in DeMallie 1984:158; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:108).

Notwithstanding the movement of many bands, now known as the friendlies, to the agencies, other groups under the leadership of men like Crazy Horse, Lame Deer, and Sitting Bull of the Lakotas and Little Wolf and Box Elder of the Cheyennes continued to carry on their life independent of federal annuity distributions, and they did so largely in the region of the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone rivers where bison could still be found (Powell 1981:2:815-817, 921-922). In the 1870s, many of these bands also continued to hunt and winter in the neighborhood of the Black Hills but generally in their northern reaches (One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25). According to Ben Arnold (in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:287-288), a scout and mail carrier in the region during the 1870s, there were many reasons that some of the Lakotas stayed in the bison country and away from the agencies. One of these was that it was more economically profitable for them to do so. As he put it,

> The annuities offered the non-treaty Indians amounted to less than the value of one robe per capita. From a business standpoint, it was to their interest to remain away from the reservation, hunt buffaloes, and sell their robes to traders and buy what they needed for subsistence, and not depend upon the agency issues, which were never sufficient to keep them from feeling the pinch of hunger. This fact alone sent many friendlies to the hostile bands where they were could be better clothed and fed. The wild bands without agency assistance were in better physical condition than were the agency Indians. Barring the molestation of the military, life in the hostile camps was more desired than inactive life on an agency. The complaints against the soldiers were well founded, as at no time did they live outside their treaty rights (in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:287-288).

Although some within the ranks of the non-treaty bands came to the agencies to stay temporarily with relatives, their primary settlement and procurement areas were outside the reservation in their joint hunting territories. Many of those identified as Oglala and Sicangu traveled to the agencies at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail by way of the Black Hills, following familiar trails and camping at locations that had not been overtaken by the military and well-armed miners (Black Elk in De Mallie 1984:154-155). After 1875, under a policy of U.S. military containment, Lakota and Cheyenne bands were forced to stay near their agencies and considered hostile if they chose to remain at more removed sites in the vast area that was still considered their territory, either as part of the Great Sioux Reservation or the joint intertribal hunting ground established by the Treaty of 1868 (Howard, E. 1875:254; Mekeel 1943:190; Powell 1981:2:932-936; Price, C. 1996:153; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:239-240).

Some aspects of the older modes of adaptation to the Black Hills had persisted even as more bands became dependent on agency food distributions, but overall, the patterns had changed, especially after 1874. Most of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were now situated in proximity to agencies where the federal government supplied them with much of their food (Price, C. 1996:102-132). Although the Black Hills were still used in traditional ways, the numbers of people using them probably declined after European Americans invaded the area. Again, the popular idea that Native people did not use the Hills needs to be interpreted in the con-

text of the time that people like Lieutenant Richard I. Dodge were writing about them. As explained earlier, the most intense use of the Hills by the Lakotas and Cheyennes took place in the winter months when European American exploratory parties did not travel in the area. Bands typically encamped at lower elevations along the Race Track or along the valleys of streams that cut through the Hogback. When European Americans happened to come upon small parties, or the remains of their recent encampments, in the high elevation interiors, it was during the early summer months, the time of the year the Lakotas and Cheyennes usually entered this part of the Hills. By the middle of the summer, the Hills were largely abandoned as groups set out for their bison hunting grounds on the high plains. Yet, it was during an era of declining use and during the off-season of their use that most of the first hand observations of the Black Hills were recorded and interpreted in such a way as to deny that the Lakotas and Cheyennes ever had any real occupancy of the area. In contradiction to the Lakota and Cheyennes own oral traditions, the European American accounts of the mid-1870s cast doubt about their permanent occupancy of the Black Hills. Unfortunately, these sources are the ones that continue to be the primary references for many later, and often misleading, interpretations of tribal use and occupancy of the Hills in pre-reservation times (Jenney 1875:182; Palais 1941:3; Parker 1966:5-6; Froiland 1978: 1).

6. Modern Reservation Orientations

After the 1877 Agreement, the Lakotas and Cheyennes relationships to the Hills became even more disrupted. In her 1997 dissertation, *The Significance of Place: The Lakota and Paha Sapa*, Alexandra Lyn New Holy (1997:155), organizes the Lakotas historical relationship to the Black Hills in terms of three broad periods: one moves from myth times to 1877, when the Lakotas still held sovereignty over the Hills and when these mountains continued to provide for the material and spiritual well-being of the people ; the second covers the period until Wounded Knee II in 1973, when the Lakotas pursued a monetary settlement for the illegal seizure of the Hills; and the third includes the time since when any kind of payment for the Hills was rejected. Her timeline can be elaborated upon further by giving attention to some of the concrete ways the Lakotas and Cheyennes continued to actually use the area, even though they no longer held *de facto* control over it. Indeed, contrary to her argument (New Holy 1997:112), part of which is premised on the notion that Lakotas were physically separated from the Black Hills, we take the position that even though they were removed and their material associations with them altered, many still maintained an active onsite relationship to the Hills.

While 1877 theoretically ended Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho sovereignty over the Hills, these tribes still entered and used them for many different purposes in subsequent decades. Indeed, as described in Chapter Six, many Lakotas and Cheyennes returned to the Black Hills in the early twentieth century, following a pattern of brief and even extended residency and use during the summer and fall months. In Hot Springs, for example, some Lakotas were reported to spend their entire summer at a campground on the northern edge of the town (Bingham 1973:3; Petty 1973:23, 24). Until the early decades of the twentieth century, much of their presence in the region was associated with trade, subsistence activity, and the use of local waters for healing. From 1878 to 1918, when agencies received their food rations late or in insufficient quantities to meet local needs, government officials had little choice but to allow local tribes to find food off-reservation to stave off hunger and even starvation (Mekeel 1932:278; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). Before 1920, it is clear that agents at Pine Ridge routinely issued passes to Lakotas to travel in the Hills for extended periods of time in the summer and fall to gather roots and herbs (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:262). Although hostile encounters with local settlers near the Buffalo Gap and Edgemont from 1889 to 1890 and a shoot-out with a Wyoming sheriff s posse in 1903 must have had some

salutary effect on their off-reservation food procurement activity, there is no doubt it continued with or without government approval (Clark, B. 1983:68-69; Jones 1904).

Local European Americans remembered a number of instances of Lakotas hunting, procuring lodgepoles, and collecting plants for food and medicine in the Black Hills (Stewart 1967-1970: 71; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; McAdam 1973:6; Smith, A. 1973:16; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293, 317, 379, 1994:75; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). A descendent of Nathaniel Dryden (in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72), for example, recalled:

> In the summer when the teepsala or teepsins, a wild plant with a bulbous edible root, were ready for use, the Indians roamed the prairie in bands, digging and drying the teepsala for winter use. When Nat s children saw the Indians out digging the turnips nearby they would run to their mother and beg an old hen to trade to the Indians for some of the turnips. Ralph recalls that he and Elmer Curl, whose parents lived near Bert s place one year, dug Indian turnips by the hour.

The use of the Hills for gathering plants and minerals for practical or spiritual uses continues largely uninterrupted until the present-day. For this purpose, Lakotas came to the Hills not only from Pine Ridge but as far away as Standing Rock (LaPointe 1976:46; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:46, 98, 133-134, 141, 253, 258-259; Ingram 1989:181; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:30, 128; Forbes-Boyte 1996:104, 106). One group was even reported at Wind Cave in 1910, requesting stones for use in healing (Pilcher 1964), and many continued to come to the neighboring thermal springs to bathe (Cook 1888; Casey 1949:284; Bingham 1973:11; Petty 1973:23; Williams 1973:16; Clark, B. 1983:23; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:293-294; LaPointe 1976:46). In addition, Cheyennes were known to travel to the Hills from Montana and even Oklahoma after the 1930s to collect plants and gather clays as well as minerals for their ceremonial paints (Odell 1942; Hart 1981:33, 39; Moore, J. 1981:14; Schlesier 1987:6). Both tribes also continued to use the Hills as a place to fast, pray, and conduct other ceremonial observances (see Section Four).

Especially after 1900, Lakotas were involved in the annual summer rodeo, fair, and festival activities of local white communities. As described in greater detail in the last chapter, certain groups traveled a regular summer circuit in the Hills, staying in the region for extended stays in their tipis and wall tents (Mekeel 1932; Sundstrom, J. 1977: 124), and some of them regularly crossed over and camped on the lands of Wind Cave National Park (McAdam 1973:6). In time, permanent tourist attractions were established in the Hills that invited Lakota participation and that provided facilities for them to camp over the entire summer (DeMallie 1984:63-64; Born 1994; Larner 2002:234-272). Following trends established elsewhere in the Hills, Wind Cave National Park even supported a weeklong Indian encampment of its own in the summers of 1937 and 1938 (Freeland 1937). As reported by Martha Geores (1990:101-102), local tourist boosters made major efforts during the 1950s to capitalize on the region s tribal connections and to involve local tribes in tourist attractions.

Whether Lakotas and Cheyennes entered the Hills for brief or extended seasonal stays, it is clear that they continued to retain a visible presence there. Badger Clark (1983:70-71) described the co-mingling of Indians, local ranchers, and wealthy Easterners as a typical sight on the streets of Hot Springs in the days when its spas were at the height of their popularity in the 1890s. Indeed, some Lakotas spent their entire summer at campsites in Hot Springs (Bingham 1973:6). Robert Casey (1949:292) described their ubiquitous presence in other Hills communities as well. Many other sources document the recurring presence of Lakotas in the Black Hills during the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones 1904:126; Meekel 1932; Utley 1963:26; Eastern Custer County Historical Society, 1967-70:727; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:72, 261, 292, 418, 505, 506, 579, 594, 700, 727, 732, 760; Brown Thunder 1971; Bingham 1973:3-4, 6-7; Petty 1973:23; Williams, B. 1973:16-17; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:12, 14, 24, 33, 72, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293-294, 317, 334; Clark, B. 1983:12-13, 15; Lewis, L 1980:135-136). These sources mention Lakotas visiting their white friends in the area, camping and carrying out subsistence activities, trading with white merchants and farmers, working on local ranches, and freighting supplies to towns in the Hills.

By the 1930s, it becomes clear that the Black Hills had become, once again, an important part of some Lakotas annual subsistence cycle; they remained a critical part of their *de facto* territorial range, even though, in the eyes of the federal government, they no longer held title to them. Unquestionably, the Lakotas were now entering the Hills on different terms and under a very different set of circumstances, but the fact remains that part of their livelihood was drawn from their summer activities in the Hills, which also included jobs in various programs of the federally-run Works Project Administration, work as waitresses at Sylvan Lodge, and employment as practical nurses in the hospitals of Hot Springs (Brown Thunder 1971; Petty 1973:25; Lewis, L. 1980:135-136; Sundstrom, J. 1994:102). They also shopped and traded in the Hills, especially at Hot Springs and Rapid City, both of which have long served as important off-reservation commercial centers for people from the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Lakotas history of employment and commerce in the Hills, coupled with their visits to the area for a wide range of traditional subsistence and religious purposes, was a significant part of their lives well into the 1960s. It is important to emphasize that even while their legal claims to the Black Hills were stalled in government offices and federal courts during these years, the Lakotas and their Cheyenne friends never completely abandoned their economic and cultural ties to the region.

Starting in the 1970s, the Lakotas attempted in varying ways and degrees to reestablish a relationship to the Black Hills on their own terms. Beginning with the takeover at Mount Rushmore in 1970 to the Yellow Thunder Camp on National Forest Service Land in 1981, some Lakotas used these occupations as a tactic for repossessing lands to which they believed they still held title under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Wind Cave National Park was also one of the sites of a politically motivated takeover in 1981. By the time the Supreme Court reached a decision in 1980 validating Lakota treaty rights to the Hills and offering a cash settlement for their illegal seizure, most Lakotas were no longer interested in taking monetary compensation for the Hills. Instead, as will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter, they were uniformly in favor of seeking congressional action to bring about a return of public lands in the Black Hills. Even today, the defining character of the Lakotas political posture towards the Hills is to seek the repatriation of federal lands, and in the meantime, to protect and open access to these lands for the conduct of religious observances and other traditional activities (New Holy 1998). As Lakota political efforts to regain sovereignty over sections of the Black Hills continue to play out in Congress, the courts, and the media, the area is still used for various practical and spiritual purposes.

Less well publicized, but equally significant, are the growing numbers of Lakota people who returned to the Hills after World War II as full time residents. Again, their presence has increased substantially in towns like Hot Springs, Custer, Spearfish, and Rapid City where many of them hold jobs in the public and private sector. Census figures for 2000 show that that over six percent of the residents in Fall River and three percent of those in Custer County are American Indian, most of whom probably identify themselves as Lakota (U.S. Census 2000, Population Profiles, South Dakota: Fall River, Pennington and Custer counties). These are small numbers to be sure,

but they indicate, nevertheless, that Lakotas make up the Hills citizenry and represent the largest ethnic population in the region besides people of European American ancestry.

Today, areas of the Hills, especially around Rapid City and Hot Springs, remain important commercial centers for Lakotas from neighboring reservations. These and other regions of the Hills are locations for leisure travel among the Lakotas and for the field trips of their local school districts. Wind Cave National Park is one of the sites where school districts from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations regularly bring their students on field trips and outings (Terry 1999, Personal Communication; Albers and Kittelson 2002). Again, even though the conditions under which and the manner in which the Lakotas and Cheyennes use the Black Hills are very different from what they were before 1877, the fact remains that the Hills are still a place they live and visit. As such, they remain a vital part of their modern adaptive strategies and survival.

II. EUROPEAN AMERICAN RELATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

During the first century of their presence in and around the Black Hills, European Americans adapted themselves to the region in much the same way as the tribal nations in whose territories they lived. As more white Americans settled in or traveled through the region, the federal government stepped in and attempted to assert its power over the land through treaty-making, military containment, and finally, the dispossession of tribal peoples from their homelands. In the process, peoples from cultures with very different understandings of land tenure came into conflict. In this battle, the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho peoples lost much of their territory, including their beloved Black Hills. The loss came about not only through their physical removal from their homelands, but also through the imposition of a very different way of relating to and thinking about these lands. When Americans first arrived in the Hills, they quickly imposed their own notions of ownership, even though they had no legal right to do so. After the Black Hills Agreement of 1877, the area was rapidly transformed through new patterns of production and property relationship. Yet, there was also a stunning, albeit unintentional continuity in land-use strategies in the Black Hills. Much of the Hills and its surrounding grasslands remained a commons with multiple users. Instead of being organized through networks of kinship, the commons was under the management of government agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management, the National Forest Service, and the National Park Service (Geores 1990). Initially, laws of discovery and usufruct rights, which systematically excluded the region s indigenous inhabitants, determined much of the access to this commons. Later, it was regulated by the federal government which determined how the land would be put to use and who would be its benefactors. At different times in the twentieth century, various American users of the Black Hills have contested federal regulations governing the commons (Geores 1990). This contestation, however, has continued against a backdrop where the ownership of the Black Hills remains a site of struggle between the newcomers and their original tribal owners.

A. Trade and Trapping Patterns

The documented presence of traders and trappers of European ancestry living in the Black Hills extends as far back as the first decade of the nineteenth century, although it is probable that some were coming here over extended periods in the eighteenth century as well. The earliest Europeans in the area were probably from Spanish settlements in the Southwest, coming to the area as itinerant traders. The traders and trappers who stayed for longer periods of time were French in ancestry, and they probably began to settle in the area at the end of the eighteenth century. Their occupation of the region was established by usufruct rights, usually gained by entering into marriages or adoptive kin relations with the tribes on whose lands these men worked

and traveled. Over time, some of the men remained in the region and formed large families. Along the Missouri, Platte, and White rivers, the traders and their mixed-ancestry families formed permanent communities around their trading posts and places of business. Attached to these posts were employees, trappers, and hunters who also married into local tribes. These men, their families, and the tribal people who followed them led a more mobile life, temporarily traveling away from the posts to hunt and sometimes winter at far-removed locations where fur-bearing animals were abundant. Their patterns of life often mirrored those of the tribes with whom they lived. As Susan Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner (1988:68) described the bands of trappers:

> Most of the trappers married Indian women and had large families. They went out in the wildest places where the animals were to be caught along timbered creeks. These white men lived in tents and adapted themselves to Indian ways. A winter camp was generally made in the timber some place; a few families would go in together for protection.

Over time, the independent trappers and their mixed ancestry families became more prevalent in the region, and many of them probably traveled and camped in the Black Hills on their hunting and trapping excursions. Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:312) describes one of these groups, although it is not clear whether he is describing the Black Hills proper or the Laramie Range here.

> The reader may possibly recollect that when I joined the Indian village, beyond the Black Hills, I found that a few families were absent, having declined to pass the mountains along with the rest. The Indians in Bisonette s camp consisted of these very families, and many of them came to me that evening to inquire after their relatives and friends. They were not a little mortified to learn that while they, from their own timidity and indolence, were almost in a starving condition, the rest of the village had provided their lodges for the next season, laid in a great stock of provisions, and were living in abundance.

Little about the life of these family-based trappers remains, but clearly by the 1840s, they along with the traders who employed them became a growing part of the local landscape.

Many of the trappers, however, appear to have lived a more solitary existence. Traveling alone or with a companion, they spent many months of the year in the remotest recesses of local mountains, trapping beaver and other fur-bearing animals. Susan Bettelyoun (1988) gives a vivid description of her father s early years as a beaver trapper working the streams on the northern side of the Hills, and Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:258-269) offered interesting accounts of many of the lone trappers who plied their trade in the region and traded their peltries at Fort Laramie each year. Again, even though we know some of the names of these trader trappers, such as Jon Vall who traded with Cheyennes at the foot of the Black Hills (probably along the lower reaches of French Creek) in the first decade of the nineteenth century, we know very little about their life and travels in the Hills. Much more information, however, is available on the fur companies and commercial systems they worked under (Wishart 1979:41-114).

Another variety of trappers in the area was associated with the highly mobile and independent brigades known popularly as the Mountain Men. One of these was Jedediah Smith s American Fur Company party, who entered and crossed the Hills in 1823 at the Buffalo Gap and possibly over lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park (Clyman in Camp 1960). These men typically entered a region for a few weeks, trapped its supplies of beaver until they were depleted, and then moved onto another location (Wishart 1979:115-204). Farther west in the Rocky Mountains this was the dominant pattern of trapping, but it had little staying power in the region of the Black Hills. Why this is so is unknown. There certainly were streams still rich in beaver in the mid-nineteenth century, and in later years too, but it was probably too dangerous for such outfits to remain in Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho country for any extended period.

After the 1860s, military scouts, soldiers, freighters, and miners married into Indian families. Some of these men established homes with their Indian wives in the Black Hills, and in adjoining areas during the 1870s. Indeed, there was a small community of these men and their Lakota wives and families living at Hot Springs in the 1880s. Very little has been written on these families or what happened to them in later years. What available writings reveal is that some of these men adapted themselves to a way of life that remained closely tied to the tribal communities from which their wives came, while others lived apart with their descendants becoming more closely aligned with and integrated into the region s white communities.

B. The Extractive Economies of Gold and Grass

Gold and Grass comes from the title o f a book about pioneer settlement in the Black Hills, which the author, Paul Friggens (1983:59), took from a quote attributed to the scout California Joe, who traveled with Walter Jenney s expeditionary party in 1875. First, the gold brought the prospectors and then, the grass brought the cattlemen, both of whom developed patterns of adaptation and systems of land use strikingly different from the tribal nations who had occupied the region for thousands of years. Unlike the tribal nations, and even the European American trappers and traders before them, who accessed the land in common as a function of their kinship and friendship alliances, the new settlers imposed a way of relating to the land that was based on notions of exclusive use and private property. The land and all of the resources that it contained were commodities, which could be held by individuals or groups who possessed exclusive rights to use, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of what they owned.

1. Relations to the Land

In the early years of European American settlement, the new arrivals established their ownership of the land and its resources through extralegal means. In the eyes of the government, they were squatters until the land was surveyed and deeds conveyed through the fee patenting system. Although there was some degree of order to the allocation of lands in the eastern regions of the United States under the Land Ordinance Act of 1785, there was little the government was able to do to enforce its land policies in the west. Battles ensued in Congress between politicians from the east and those from the west over the rights of squatters. The prosquatter faction achieved victory through the passage of a preemption act in 1841, under which squatters were given prior right to purchase the lands on which they had made improvements when the government offered them for sale (White, R. 1991:137-140). The lands of the Black Hills were no different: newcomers established their access rights informally through rights of discovery or rights of possession without regard to federal laws and regulations. Edwin Curley s early guidebook (1877:113-128) to the Black Hills provides step-by-step instructions for asserting pre-emption rights to mines and other kinds of land in the area.

Under the terms of the 1872 Mining Act, all lands in the public domain of the United States were open to oil drilling and mineral mining without any payment of royalties -- a law that still applies unchanged today (Geores 1990:5). Miners staked their claims and quickly formed mining associations among themselves to record and keep track of lands they prospected and mined (Parker 1966:61-62, 92-94). Much has been written about the democratic ways in which these associations operated, and how the miners governed themselves (Parker 1966:60-63, 83, 94; Schell 1961:149-150). Certainly most of the early settlements during the years of the mining boom were built on the ideals of independence and democratic cooperation, but it is clear that this

pattern was soon eroded when mining claims and interests were turned over to investment bankers and speculators (Lamar 1996:150-177).

Very quickly, much of the area in the Black Hills interiors, including portions of the land where Wind Cave National Park is now located, was staked and claimed. In a short time, after the placer deposits were exhausted, the claims were abandoned or purchased by speculators. The speculators, who operated independently or by forming stock-bearing companies, bought up investments all over the Hills. Probably less than a decade after the discovery of gold, much of the mineral-rich section of the Hills was in a small number of private hands or holding companies (Parker 1966:196-198). Although some proved to be very profitable, for example, the claims that led to the hardrock mining of gold by the Homestake Mining Company at Lead, most ended up being worthless because the areas were too remote and costly to mine (Tallent 1899:401-403). The South Dakota Mining Company owned the claims over much of the area where Wind Cave now sits, but these were taken over by the federal government in 1901 when ownership rights to the land became embroiled in controversy.

The lands settled for ranching and farming followed different systems of use and ownership. The small-scale operators took over the areas of land they lived and worked on as squatters. Until these lands were deeded as homesteads in the 1890s, their occupation and use was managed informally through the unwritten agreements and mutual respect governing first rights of occupancy. Judging by the stories of early land transactions in the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs area, local settlers casually traded their ranch holdings and sold parcels of land with an exchange of cash or goods and a handshake (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 101; Clark, B. 1983:72). Once the government took control over the Hills in 1877 and started the process of surveying the land, which began in 1892, squatters rights in the area were generally recognized and deeded under the Homestead Act of 1862. Land not proved up for a homestead remained part of the public domain or was divided into quarter sections and made available to a new generation of homesteaders, known as the honyockers, who came to the area primarily to farm from 1889 until the early decades of the twentieth century. Many of these homesteads appear to have been situated outside the Hogback, along the Cheyenne River and its tributaries, on lands better suited to farming (Stewart 1967-70:71; Friggens 1983:87-89). However, some of them were established on some of the more rugged and marginal lands that would later become part of Wind Cave National Park (Western History Research 1992:71).

Before the land was surveyed, subdivided, and homesteaded, there was also a period when there was free access to the prairies surrounding the Black Hills and the timbers, meadows, and grasslands inside the Hogback. Recognizing that profits could be made from raising cattle without any investment in the lands that fed them, local entrepreneurs quickly developed companies to acquire the capital to buy stock, attracting investors from as far away as Texas and England. In the years between 1877 and 1886, hundreds of thousands of cattle ran loose on lands in and around Hills (Lee and Williams 1964:122-124; Friggens 1983:64), including much of the area within the present-day boundaries of Wind Cave National Park. The open range was organized and governed by an ingenious system known as the roundup. According to Paul Friggens (1983:64):

> Each year, the different outfits divided the vast range country into districts or zones, with reps or representatives in charge, who proceeded to work the great herds on a set schedule of about six weeks. Early each spring, the cattlemen dispatched their cowboys and reps to round up the drifting herds, assess winter losses and brand the calves. In the fall or beef roundup, the cattle were again gathered, calves weaned, steers and old cows sorted out and trailed to the closest shipping point.

In allocating their grazing rights, the ranchers of the southern Hills appear to have escaped some of the battles that embroiled the large cattle outfits and small-scale operators in the range wars of neighboring Wyoming (Lee and Williams 1964:124-126; White, R. 1991:344-346). The reason for this is unknown, but it can be hypothesized that these two groups may not have stood in competition. The small operators appear to have owned some of the less desirable ranges closer to the base of the Hills and inside the Hogback along the Fall River and Beaver, Highland and Lame Johnny creeks.[4] While these areas were optimal for maintaining small herds because of their sheltered grazing lands and access to water, they were probably not as well-suited for the large, concentrated enterprises cattlemen were running on the open prairies that hugged the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. Interestingly, it was these very conditions that allowed some of the small-scale Black Hills ranchers to sustain much lower losses during the disastrous winter of 1886-1887 (Schell 1961:245).

Generally speaking, there appears to have been little competition and fighting among those with local range and water rights in the area of Wind Cave National Park, except, of course, for the now infamous McDonald-Stabler feud. But this was not the only squabble that led to litigious action over land and water. There were other contested claims, which, interestingly, also involved members of the Stabler family. According to Fannie McAdam (1973:29-33), Charles Valentine had a romantic interlude with Stabler s daughter, Catherine, who sued him in court for breach of promise and won his interest in the Valentine Ranch. In 1889, she went to New York and married another man, Charles F. Ottman, who returned with her to run the ranch, which she worked while still serving as a guide at Wind Cave (Bohi 1962:392n.32). The couple sold the Valentine Ranch and moved to a ranch west of the park. In later years, a fight broke out with her brother over water rights. Apparently, her mother and brother, after losing their claim to property at Wind Cave, settled on a ranch near Shirttail Canyon, where spring water was piped to Catherine s ranch. No compensation was paid for the use of this water, so her brother, Charles, took her to court and won a seven-hundred dollar settlement. After giving up her own ranch, she stayed on her mother and brother s ranch and continued to guide at Wind Cave until 1913, when she left the area permanently to resettle in New York (Bohi 1962:392; McAdam 1973:33). Kate, as Catherine was commonly called, was a colorful and independent personality, who packed side-arms and purportedly, had numerous romantic liaisons with local men. From McAdam s stories (1973:29-33) of her, she may very well have been the southern Hills version of Calamity Jane.

Land inside the Hogback in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park and Hot Springs, except for tracts along some of the continuously flowing streams, appears to have been used most profitably for grazing cattle, horses and farther west, sheep. In fact, most of the patent files for lands inside park boundaries indicate that much of the area was used primarily for grazing (Bohi 1962:421, 426, 428, 434, 440; McAdam 1973:8; Western History Research 1992:81, see also Abstracts of Patent Claim files contained in this report). Small parcels, averaging 18.9 acres, were cultivated for grains, root crops, kitchen gardens, and even orchards (McAdam 1973:8; Western History Research 1992:81, 88, Abstracts). This was also a location where settlers secured timber for fuel and shelter (illegally after 1903), raised kitchen stock (poultry and hogs), and engaged in a wide variety of other subsistence activities including fishing, hunting, and the collection of wild plant foods. These activities most certainly sustained them when the markets for cash crops and stock were low (Bohi 1962:366, 434, 462; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 72, 283, 419; McAdam 1973:8-9; Smith 1973:25; Williams 1973:3, 6, 20, 26; Fall River County

[§]It was less desirable not because of the quality of grasses but because of the lack of available open and contiguous space.

Historical Society 1976:, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 166, 189, 227, 261, 298, 209, 364, 365, 379, 1994:29-34, 75; Western History Research 1992: Abstracts).

Another industry that survived through an extralegal system of land use was the timber business. In areas north of Wind Cave in what is now Custer State Park, small operators built sawmills and took the logs freely. Like the free grasslands the cattlemen used, there was open access to the forests, and loggers simply appropriated the timber they transformed into usable lumber (Tallent 1899:411; Lindsay 1967-1970:899-900; Geores 1990:38-39). Open access, however, was curtailed after 1897 when the Black Hills Forest Reserve was established. After this date, the government began to assert its proprietary interests in the area. It did so not only by testing the legitimacy of mining and homestead claims before fee patents were transferred to the owners, but also by restricting future access to lands without homestead, mining, or township titles. In future decades, access to forest lands for mineral extraction, timber cutting, and stock grazing was regulated through leases at minimal or zero cost (Geores 1990:42-43, 46, 48).

National Park Service lands, except for properties with preexisting patents, also became restricted. The original 10, 522.17 acres set aside in 1903 were limited to specified uses. In its early years of operation, Wind Cave park lands were seamlessly connected to local homesteads; they were not cordoned off, and they continued to be used as an open range until 1909, when permits were issued for cattle grazing (Bohi 1962:421-422, 428). It was not until much later that further limits would be placed on the park s land use, restricting activity largely to camping, hiking, and sightseeing. During the twentieth century, more acreage adjacent to the park was set aside to establish a game preserve, originally under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, to accommodate a herd of bison. In later years, additional land in the area would come under NPS stewardship, including the game preserve and large sections of privately owned land most of which was reconveyed to the federal government in the 1930s (Western History Research 1992:47, 100, 101, 103, 105).

As the legal custodian of the largest body of land inside the Black Hills Hogback, the federal government was authorized to determine the uses to which this property would be put. In order to do so, however, it was legally obligated to recognize the preexisting rights of the squatters with homesites, mining claims, and timber or grazing interests. In the early years of its management, roughly 1877 to 1920, the government often lacked the means or the will to police much of the public property under its jurisdiction (Geores 1990:57). Many people continued to squat illegally on forest land for example, and one way the government attempted to drive them off was to forbid any fencing on public lands, a prohibition that made it impossible for these homesteaders to protect their crops and stock. In 1906, however, many of the homesteaders were able to acquire patents on their land when the Forest Homestead Act was passed (Ibid:60-61). It would take many more years for the federal government, under the auspices of the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service to fully enforce many of their regulations on the use of public lands, for recreation or privately-run grazing, mining, and logging operations (White, R. 1991:147-150). Initially, at least, the federal government s management and regulatory role evolved with little incident (Geores 1990:29-79).

When more land was reconveyed to the federal government and greater restrictions were placed on its use, the government agencies that managed the land had to contend with unlawful forms of usage, including the unauthorized taking of timber, illegal grazing, and poaching. In the decade after Wind Cave National Park was established, park superintendents complained about the unlawful taking of timber in their annual reports (WCNP Annual Reports, December 22, 1913; February 20, 1914; Bohi 1962:434), and as late as 1953, they were still reporting problems with poachers (Bohi 1962:462). It would take some years for local residents to adjust to the shift

from a free and open use of public lands to more restricted patterns of access. Despite widely scattered instances of unlawful takings, Martha Geores (1990:78) argues that there was a low level of conflict between different user groups as these changes were enacted. She attributes this to the fact that local communities with clearly defined rights and boundaries managed resource uses in the area. Although the Park Service had to contend with some local resistance as the status of its lands changed over time, it never had to face some of the challenges of its sister agency, the Forest Service. Over the years, this agency has had to balance the interests of multiple user groups, from the area s original mining, logging, and ranching interests to the newer and growing ranks of recreationists and tourists.

The only major conflict that appears to have engulfed Wind Cave National Park surrounded the disposition of the Custer Recreational Development Area. While the state of South Dakota and business groups in Custer and Rapid City lobbied to have this land transferred to Custer State Park, the citizens of Hot Springs staunchly opposed this move and advocated its inclusion in the national park that served their economic interests. Once again, this dispute illustrates the park s twofold loyalties -- one to the county it serves politically, Custer, and two to the county it supports economically, Fall River. In 1946, the matter was settled and the land of the recreational development area was divided between the two parks. The park s properties grew from nearly twelve thousand acres to a little over twenty-eight thousand acres at this time (Long 1992:54).

Most of the land in the Black Hills interiors served as a public commons in the early years of its occupation by the United States, much as it had when tribal nations controlled the area. The major difference was that once the federal government took control of the area, it was no longer managed through productive arrangements and alliance formations organized around kinship. Instead, access was regulated through the preemptive powers of the state, in this case the United States, which conceded rights either by transferring title to individual land and claim holders in the form of private property or else by bestowing access privileges through limited leases and/ or restricted forms of usage. People of many different European ethnic heritages and economic interests came to rely on the mineral, timber, water, and grass resources of the Black Hills in its early years, and while some held private title to land inside the boundaries of forest and park service lands, they gained access to much more of it from the leases the government let. Publicly owned park lands, while open to everyone, were restricted in their use from the outset and confined to limited grazing leases and recreational pursuits. Until they were reconveyed to the federal government, private lands remaining within park borders continued to be used for many of the same domestic and small-scale agricultural functions as U.S. Forest Service lands. The pattern of small tracts of private property situated amidst larger federal land reserves was a very common pattern throughout the western United States, and one that was markedly different from what prevailed in areas east of the Mississippi River.

2. Ranch Life

Inside the Hogback, including areas in and around what is now Wind Cave National Park, local ranching families followed mixed economic strategies, but their main focus was raising stock and securing the forage to feed them. Ranchers pastured their cattle and horses on their own lands, but these holdings were often small. Therefore, many needed to run their animals on the area s open ranges, which included lands over much of the area that is now Wind Cave National Park (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 41, 57; McAdam 1973:2-3; Sundstrom, J. 1977:363, 364; Long 1992:6-8). Even after free access to public ranges was terminated, Wind Cave National Park continued to be a site where local ranchers ran their livestock, only now they had to pay a fee to do so (Bohi 1962:462). When public lands were not available

for these purposes, families appear to have devised other strategies to acquire sufficient acreage to make their agricultural enterprises profitable (Western History Research 1992:101).

For many families in the late nineteenth century, cattle and horses were the stock they raised as commodities for sale and not a main source of their own food and transportation. Not uncommonly, early ranch families hunted, fished, and trapped for their meat in order not to deplete their cash stock. When wild game was still plentiful in the late nineteenth century, it was used to supplement other sources of food. Some of the descendants of early settlers recall eating the pronghorn, deer, bighorn, and rabbits that ranged over the prairies and timber as well as the ducks and geese that inhabited local streams (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:402, 419; Fall River County Historical Society 1976; 176, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 261). A number of accounts tell of settlers hunting in the area near Wind Cave, and indeed, many of the stories of the cave s discovery, presented in Chapter Six, involve ranchers and cowboys hunting in the area.

Local ranch families regularly gathered berries and other wild plant foods on the public lands adjoining their ranches, and as children, they often picked them to earn money by selling them at Buffalo Gap, Custer, or Hot Springs (Bohi 1962:369; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583, 585; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:227, 365). The berries were dried and canned and made into jams and jellies too (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583, 585; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:277, 365, 379). Families also used government owned and regulated lands to procure the wood they needed for shelter and fuel, and they regularly made trips into the higher elevation areas to log the timber they needed for these purposes (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:507). Some continued to do so illegally on the lands of Wind Cave National Park (Bohi 1962:434).

Inside the Hogback of the southern Hills were small valleys with fresh water, timber for fuel, and rich alluvial soils for gardening. There were also open grasslands with good forage to run cattle. In and outside park properties, along Highland Creek, Beaver Creek, and the Fall River, many pioneer families raised cattle for the market but kept kitchen stock for domestic use. Milk cows provided them with the means to make cream, butter, and cheese, chickens for eggs and meat, and pigs for bacon and lard (Bohi 1962:391; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:283; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 178, 204, 232). A quick survey of the abstracts from the Patent Case Files assembled in the report of Western History Research (1992) reveals the presence of this stock, as for example, in the listing of structures for housing chickens, keeping milk, and smoking pork (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts for Patents-1433,1492, 1944, 2666, 2952, 3242, 3356, 3588, 3770, 173421, 206218, 244675, 544749, 559966, 614676, 658673, 703938, 727792, 749867, 867857, 954365).

Many of the families in the area also maintained vegetable gardens and orchards on irrigable lands near springs or continuously flowing rivers and streams, and this was true at Wind Cave National Park as well (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 72, 283; Lindsay 1967-70:899; Williams 1973:3, 6; McAdam 1973:8; Smith 1973:25, 30, 35;Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 178, 204, 232; Sundstrom, J. 1977:189, 309, 364, 1994:27, 62; Western History Research 1992:88, Abstracts for Patents-1433, 1490, 1492, 1944, 2952, 85744, 244675, 614676, 703938, 749867). Some families even transplanted wild berry bushes to their own properties for easy access to the fruit and to use as windbreaks (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:283). They also grew alfalfa and other domestic grasses, and they harvested wild grasses to feed their animals over the winter months (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:*et. seq*; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:*et seq.*, and

Sundstrom, J. 1977: *et seq.;* Western History Research 1992:Abstracts for Patents- 2296, 2354, 2952, 3356, 173421, 244675, 614676, 700949, 703938, 749867, 867857, 954365). As Freda Sanson (in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:43) aptly puts it in describing life on her father s ranch, which is located on park borders, grass is our living.

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, ranch life was often hard and unpredictable. In some years, the members of small ranch families needed to hire themselves out as laborers. They worked on the bigger cattle operations in the area, in freighting jobs, in construction, in domestic service, and in employment at the park in order to make ends meet (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:55, *et. seq*). During the early years of its existence, most of the workers and officials at Wind Cave National Park were local settlers, who supplemented their income by taking jobs at the park (Bohi 1962:423, 427, 429, 430). In fact, before the 1930s, park budgets were so meager that non-local workers ended up being quartered in the house of the park s superintendent (Bohi 1962:427). No matter how the park s settlers carved out a living for themselves, much of it remained dependent, directly or indirectly, on their use of public lands. In certain respects, this use was not strikingly different from the ways in which native peoples lived off the land in the Black Hills, relying on them to hunt, collect berries, edible forbs, and medicinal herbs, cut timber for fuel and shelter, graze horses, and possibly even plant small gardens.

In contrast to the tribal nations of earlier times, who used the entire Hills as a public commons, European Americans settlers squatted on, homesteaded, and eventually turned significant portions of the Black Hills into a form of private property. Much of the privatization took place along the Race Track. A much smaller portion of the high elevation interiors remained under private ownership. At Wind Cave National Park, the heaviest occupation and privatization of the land took place in the well-watered valleys or at locations along the Race Track, and much of it took place later in the settlement history of the Black Hills. Most of the northeastern region of the park was not settled until after the 1890s, while the southwestern sector was occupied a decade earlier. In fact, even after the original boundaries of the park were established in 1903, lands were still being settled and patented along the Race Track (Western History Research 1992:68-71). Some of this land continued to be homesteaded until the 1930s, when it was reconveyed to the federal government to become part of the park s northeastern extension (Western History Research 1992:105).

Over the years, the lands inside park boundaries were settled and worked by individuals and families of different backgrounds and means. According to the analysis provided by Western History Research (1992:66-67), some of the more affluent individuals who occupied the area were able to purchase their homesteads with cash. Land patents secured through cash entries were typically associated with better property, located in the flat bottomlands near springs and continuously flowing streams. These lands were also usually occupied and patented at earlier dates. Most of the more rugged and less well-watered properties were proved up later, after the land was developed through investments of labor rather than cash.

Another indication of differences in the relative wealth of settlers was the form and size of their dwellings. These included roughly hewn, one room log cabins and also frame houses with stone basements and multiple rooms; the houses ranged from less than two hundred to over one-thousand square feet. Although some of this variation reflected family size, as suggested by the author of the Western History Research report (1992:87), it is equally clear that the dwelling spaces of comparably sized families differed in fairly significant ways (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts from Patent Case Files). Additionally, the nature and complexity of the kinds of structures on patented lands and the values of the properties clearly reflected differences in wealth

as well. Some patents were associated with an elaborate array of structures including corrals, horse barns, ice houses, root cellars, smoking houses, chicken quarters, and granaries valued at well over a thousand dollars. Others, however, contained only modest improvements, amounting to little more than a dwelling, cattle shelter, and fencing with appraisals less than four hundred dollars (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts of Patent Case Files).

Early homesteaders also differed in their family status. A good portion (42%) of the settlers were single, men as well as women, or widows and widowers when they patented their lands, and most of them were in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties when they did so. (Western History Research 1992:77, 79). Many others were members of nuclear families, with an average family size of 3.38 persons (Western History Research 1992:79), but there is also evidence for the presence of extended families in which in-laws, brothers, father/sons, and other family combinations took up homesteads on contiguous or nearby properties (Western History Research 1992:73). This was certainly the case in the land-holding patterns of the Stablers and McDonalds. In fact, some of the extended families in the area appear to have been among the most successful in their agricultural endeavors (Western History Research 1992:101). This was probably due not only to the fact that they shared larger and more varied land holdings, but also that they were able to mobilize a larger labor force and thereby diversify their work efforts. Again, like the tribal nations who occupied the area before them, extended family arrangements were highly adaptive in pursuing a living through mixed economic strategies.

Besides arrangements where extended families occupied contiguous properties, there is also evidence of more dispersed living and land patterns. A quick look at the list of patentees on Wind Cave National Park lands reveals that they carry many of the same family names as people who settled outside park boundaries, closer to the towns of Buffalo Gap or Hot Springs. Ball, Streeter, Sanson, and Tanner are some of the surnames that appear on the patent lists for the park and in the family histories compiled by local historical societies (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70; Fall River County Historical Society 1976; Sundstrom, J. 1977). In some cases, as with the Sanson family, the relationships appear to have been generational ones. Thus, Adolph Sanson, who held patents on lands at Wind Cave National Park, was the son of August Sanson, who owned a large ranch on the southeastern border of the park. In this case, and probably others too, it was the children of the first generation settlers who took up homesteads on park properties. This is suggested by the ages and dates when some of them filed their patents (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts of Patent Case Files).

Whether this is the case or not, it is obvious that many of the people in the Wind Cave area were tied to the communities of Pringle, Hot Springs, and Buffalo Gap through close-knit webs of kinship and marriage. It is equally clear from the family narratives in county and town histories that local settlers frequently visited one another and joined together in supporting various kinds of recreational, educational, and religious activity. School houses, which are indicated on GLO maps, were located on park properties (Western History Research 1992). Local settlers had many sources of entertainment in the late nineteenth century: they held their own dances with fiddle and cord players and organized a variety of social clubs and church functions (Clark, B. 1983:27-32; Stewart 1967-1970:70-72; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103- 104, 1994:39; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:5, 127, 232). In addition, they participated in the annual summer fairs, rodeos, or celebrations of nearby towns. Buffalo Gap had an annual fair; Custer ran its Gold Discovery Days; and Hot Springs held a water carnival and hosted a Chautauqua every year (Stewart 1967-70:2-3; McAdam 1973:25; Petty 1973:22; Sundstrom, J. 1994:124).

C. The Rise of Federal Power and Tourism

The Great Depression represented an important turning point in the history of the Black Hills and the western United States more generally. It was a time when the federal government began to play an ever-growing role in the management of its land, timber, and mineral resources and in enforcing regulations on the private use of such properties. After World War II, it is well-recognized that the federal government appropriated to itself a much greater presence and power in the West, and in the process, abrogated many of the policies which gave local users considerable access to federal lands and input on their management (Geores 1990:80-81; White, R. 1991:496-534). As the federal government assumed more power over the regulation of its traditional mining, lumbering, and grazing users, new interests were emerging from the ranks of recreationists and tourists, many of whom came from urban areas outside the Black Hills. Once seen as a resource colony of the nation s cities, the source of the extractive resources on which its industries were built, the Black Hills and the greater West more generally started to become a playground for much of the American travel and leisure business. In the last decades of the twentieth century, the old users and the new users came into increasing conflict with one another. The old users wanted to maintain their cheap and unrestricted access to public lands in the Black Hills, while the new users wanted these protected for their recreational and sightseeing pursuits. Supported by conservationists and environmentalists, the new users became highly vocal in their criticisms of the federal government for not moving far enough and fast enough to preserve the nation s public resources for spectatorship and leisure activity. They put increasing pressure on the government and its agencies to restrict users whose operations conflicted with their own interests (Geores 1990:4-5). The costs and restrictions on grazing leases were strongly felt and opposed by the old users and small operators whose ranching enterprises often functioned with only small profit margins (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41). Today, this divide stands at the forefront of ongoing battles over America s public lands, and it will remain so as long as the economies in the American West shift away from their reliance on extractive industries towards a new dependency on the commerce of leisure, travel, and recreation (White, R. 1991:519, 530).

1. The Commons and Its Competing User Groups

The tensions created by the changing face of the groups who use public lands has been felt most strongly by land management agencies under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. The National Park Service largely escaped this conflict because its properties already held a special restrictive status that prohibited most extractive uses, other than fishing, berry picking, and limited grazing. From the beginning, they were marked as sanctuaries, and as Martha Geores (1990:6) points out, they have been relatively insulated from the battles that have plagued other federal land-managing agencies. Still, they have not been untouched by the changes taking place in the economies of the New West and the new user groups coming to the nation s parks. In this changing economy, the National Park Service has played a critical role as the public owner of many of the major sites and attractions around which a large part of the modern tourist economy is being built. The Black Hills are no exception in this regard; its major attraction, Mount Rushmore, is under National Park Service management. Although Wind Cave National Park does not have the same draw and cachet as Mount Rushmore National Monument or even Devil s Tower National Monument, it still occupies a vital position in the economy of the southeastern Hills where it is located. Indeed, as argued in the last chapter, it is one of the primary reasons tourists travel south of Custer, and as a result, its existence is vital to the service-oriented businesses that support the town of Hot Springs.

Since World War II, the National Park Service has faced tensions in trying to manage its lands in accordance with its original mission while simultaneously serving the interests of its growing number of visitors. The park service has had to achieve this balance in a time when fiscal support for parks has declined and when user fees have not made up the difference. Wind Cave National Park has not had to contend with impacts that the huge numbers of tourists and recreationists bring to some of the better-known parks, such as Grand Canyon, Yellowstone, and Yosemite; it is too obscure and remote for that. But it still faces the challenges of defining its place in relation to its local neighbors. Throughout the West, communities that adjoin public lands are becoming increasingly sensitive to the impact of federal policies and actions on their economic well being. Questions about the effects of parks on the more traditional industries, their jobs and taxes, are often raised especially when these involve a change in the user status of lands or in the power base of local political structures. While it is evident that the survivability of many communities in the West is dependent on how well they can articulate with the contemporary tourist, leisure, and recreational industry, it is also clear that these articulations often bring unwanted changes to the cultural lifestyles of older communities. The tensions between the older generation of ranching/farming families who make a living from the land and the incoming populations who visit or take up extended forms of residency for leisure and recreation but make their livelihoods elsewhere are widespread in the American West. In this situation, very different ideas are emerging about the proper use of public lands, with the old timers generally favoring open access for traditional occupations and the newcomers supporting restricted access that keeps the land and its minerals, fauna, and flora, intact.

In recent years, the managers of public lands in the Black Hills have faced other kinds struggles too. Among the most significant, or at least well publicized, battles have involved contestations over tribal use of and access to public properties. Wind Cave National Park is part of what has probably been the most hotly contested body of public land in the United States. Since the late nineteenth century, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos have challenged the legitimacy of current ownership rights in the courts and in Congress, on the picket line, and in the mass media. Still, there is no resolution. Even though tribes have pressed hard to regain lands inside the Hills, none of their efforts have succeeded. The monetary settlement offered by the courts for the illegal taking of the Black Hills is still refused. So the ultimate status of the land remains in limbo. Barring the privileges that come with outright ownership, local tribes have increasingly pushed forward with whatever legal means are available to them to gain access to public land in order to protect sacred sites and to conduct the religious observances associated with them. In contrast to the past, when tribes were either excluded from public lands or their interests in these lands ignored, they have now become significant parties in the consultations and decisions reached over the public use of federally managed land-areas. Tribal interests often merge with environmentalists and conservationists interested in protecting the natural integrity of a place, but sometimes conflict with the tourists and recreationists who want uninterrupted access to sites for viewing, camping, hiking, and/or climbing. This certainly has been the case at other locations in the Black Hills, notably Devil s Tower National Monument and Bear Butte (Forbes-Boyte 1996, 1999; Dorst 2000).

Federal lands in the West have always operated, in varying degrees and ways, in the manner of a public commons, where ethnically different groups hold similar as well as dissimilar access rights to the commons. What has changed over the past century is the profile of the interest groups who use the nation s public lands and the impact that this has had on the regions where these lands are situated. In relation to the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, in particular, three different interest groups with distinct cultural agendas have become embroiled in controversies over how public lands ought to be used and regulated. These include the local communities of ranchers and townspeople whose lands adjoin park boundaries and whose own resources

are impacted in negative and positive ways by the presence of a park in their locale. There are also the tourists and recreationists who desire unimpeded access to park sites and the development of accommodations for their activities, including lodgings and campsites as well as improved roads and trails for hiking, bicycling, and now snowmobiling. Added to this mix, there are many different tribal peoples who desire not only access to the land to carry on some of their traditional cultural activities, including the performance of ceremonial observances and the collection of plants and minerals for religious purposes, but also protection for the sites of sacred importance to them. Protecting these sites and the ceremonies conducted there often runs afoul of the agendas of other interest groups, whose own activities must be curtailed in one way or another in order to accommodate tribal needs (Keller and Turek 1998:177-184, 233-240; Dorst 2000). Attending to the differing cultural agendas of these various interest groups raises a number of thorny policy and regulatory questions, which are covered in the last chapter of this report.

2. Tourists and Their Cultures

One of the persisting features of the Black Hills panorama of human use and occupation is its complexity. Over the past millennium, multiple user groups have accessed the Hills from near and distant locations. Like the tribal nations who dominated the area before 1877, European Americans developed varying relationships to the Hills. Besides the permanent year-round residents who made a living from ranching, logging, mining, and other local industries, there were those who came to the Hills for short stays but on a regular and recurring basis from proximate locations in South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska. The Hills have always been a popular location for the residents of nearby communities to hunt in the fall and fish in the summer. Some of these people have cabins or second homes in the Hills, while others camp out in RVs during extended summer visits. Early on in the history of its non-Indian settlement, the Hills also became an attractive destination for people who traveled to the area from more distant locations (Clark, B. 1952b; Julin 1982; Lee 1987; Goeores 1990). As Montgomery s research (1957) from the 1950s shows, most of the long-distance tourists and recreationists came from the Midwest, but visitors from other regions of the country and indeed the world have made Wind Cave National Park part of their travel itinerary in the Hills (Long 1992). As in past, the Hills have acted like a magnet, drawing people from all points of the compass.

Modern travel is built on a quest for the extraordinary and the exotic: a search for an experience that is different from the course of everyday life (MacCannell 1976). Historically, this has been accommodated in two ways. one comes about through the purposeful manufacture of an attraction, the creation of something unique that celebrates or memorializes an idea, an event, an individual, or an entire people. Mount Rushmore is the classic example of this in the Black Hills. The other stands as some pre-existing phenomenon within the natural world, whose uniqueness is purposely managed and preserved for the public. This may include an unusual landform, a scenic vista, or a rare animal, plant, or mineral. Wind Cave represents this kind of extraordinary site or sight. In the United States, federal, state, and local governments are typically responsible for stewarding the phenomena that represent the unique natural and human-made heritage of Americans. This is certainly the case in the Black Hills, where most of the noteworthy places are under the protection of federal or state agencies.

Areas where there are large concentrations of unusual sites have a kind of scenic or recreational capital that can be exploited to local economic advantage. Although the sites themselves are part of a collectively owned trust, they generate private economic opportunities for a wide variety of businesses that cater to tourists and recreationists. Communities in proximity to these locations benefit economically by providing services that support various travel and recreational cultures,

from the automobile or camper sightseeing experience to the hiking and backpacking of today s so-called outdoor enthusiasts. At least structurally, this is not very different from how publicly held lands provided opportunities for economic development in the past. The central difference is that most travel and recreational uses do not typically require any kind of extraction that leads to the depletion of resources.

In many ways, the growth of modern travel and recreation in the Black Hills has imposed yet another kind of cultural sensibility on the area — one that is rooted in an urban experience where a peoples relationship to the land involves a kind of passive witnessing or spectatorship. In this sensibility, an area s natural resources are not extracted and transformed as they typically are in more traditional land relations (European American and American Indian). Over the past century, National Park Service lands have been set aside and reserved to promote an attitude towards the land that has its origins in the urban experience and the urbanization of the United States. Historically, this perpspective has privileged the needs and interests of outside visitors. Insofar as locals, both Indian and non-Indian, meet the terms of this urbanized relationship to the land, they are seen as the visitors to nation s national parks. The problem, however, is that many parks, including Wind Cave National Park, are situated on lands where the locals have significant cultural attachments that do not conform to a recreational or tourist model. In the case of American Indians, there are important cultural properties -- landscapes, landforms, and natural resources -- that people need to access in traditional ways in order to conduct vital religious observances and maintain their cultural heritage. This poses a challenge to the manager s of the Nation s national parks because these traditional uses require the development of management policies that depart in significant ways from those established to fit the cultural models of tourists and recreationists.

III. PERSPECTIVES ON WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Where does Wind Cave National Park fit in the larger scheme of human occupation, land use, and economic adaptations to the Black Hills? There is no question that before 1877 the historical and ethnographic record on the occupancy and use of park lands is scanty, and as a result, much of what can be said about it is inferential and based on circumstantial evidence. Even though there are a number of archeological sites in the park, revealing the remains of hunting, quarrying, and settlement activity, most of these are prehistoric and have not been studied in any depth. Hopefully, on-going and future archeological and oral history research will enable us to have a better and more complete picture of what was happening on these lands before they were taken over by the National Park Service in 1903. In the meantime, there are a number of conclusions, albeit hypothetical, that can be advanced at this point.

First, and probably most importantly, the historical and ethnographic evidence points to this area being most intensively used by tribes during the winter months. In prehistoric as well as historic times, some of the lower elevation locations along the Race Track, Beaver Creek, and Wind Cave Canyon probably served as winter campsites. There is no question that areas near the Buffalo Gap and along the Fall River were used in this way during historic times, and there is no reason to believe that other locations inside the southern Hogback were not used in this way as well. There is also good archeological evidence for this kind of use in prehistoric times, especially during the Middle Archaic. Environmentally, this area was well suited for a winter camping location. It offered all of the necessary amenities, including access to good shelter, wood, fresh water, game, and even forage for small herds of horses. The extent to which either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes and the tribal nations who came before them wintered on park property is hard to determine, but it is clear that even if bands did not actually establish their

winter campsites inside park boundaries, their hunters came here on a regular and recurring basis from other locations. In the nineteenth century, some Lakotas and Cheyennes established their winter camps at the Buffalo Gap and along the Fall River, both of which are very close to the park. There are also reports of their bands wintering along the Race Track, although the precise locations of their camps are typically unspecified. Farther away but still within easy reach of the land at Wind Cave National Park were Lakota and Cheyenne winter camping sites along the Cheyenne and White rivers. Before the nineteenth century, other tribes, notably, the Arapahos, Kiowas, Plains Apaches (and Padoucas), and Ponca, occupied these sites, even groups who customarily wintered as far away as the Niobrara, Platte, and Missouri rivers were reported to come to the southern Hills in search of game at different seasons of the year. It is not difficult to infer from this information that the area in and around Wind Cave National Park would have been covered during some of these hunts.

There are a number of stories about the park and its environs, especially from the Lakotas but also the Cheyennes, that tell about important events taking place here in historic and myth times. The vast majority of these stories are set in the winter or fall, and they invariably involve hunters and hunting. Most of them speak of bison, but a few refer to deer or other large game (see also, sections Three and Four). After European Americans arrived in the area, the park also became known as a good place to hunt and trap. It is not coincidental that when Jesse and Tom Bingham came across Wind Cave, they were hunting deer. Earlier, the area on which Wind Cave National Park now sits may have served as a temporary winter camping area for trappers and their families. It is clear that many of the early white trader-trappers, their Indian wives, offspring, and other associated relatives wintered in the Black Hills because this was the prime season to take game valued for their peltries. Again, although we know little about their occupation, we can surmise that they were here because their presence is well documented for locations to the north along French, Grace Coolidge, Battle, and Rapid creeks. Generally speaking, in both tribal and European American traditions, the general area of Wind Cave National Park has been associated with hunting and large game animals.

Historically, the Wind Cave National Park area was probably a good place for tribes to camp, hunt, and collect plants en route to other locations in the Hills at other times of the year as well. During the 1870s, some Lakotas stopped at the Buffalo Gap to camp in their annual spring and fall travels between their agencies on the White River and their buffalo hunting grounds in the country of the Powder and Tongue rivers. In late spring and early summer, small groups were widely reported to camp in the Black Hills interiors to secure their lodgepoles, and some may well have followed Beaver Creek and/or the Race Track to reach these higher elevation locations. This route was also apparently followed by the Lakotas in their spring ceremonial cycle (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42-43). They certainly did so after 1877, when they traveled and camped on park properties en route to their lodgepole processing sites or to the celebration festivities they attended in Custer and Deadwood. Indeed, the Lakotas and Cheyennes who were settled on the Pine Ridge Reservation were routinely given passes during the fall and summer months to collect food plants and medicinal herbs in the Black Hills. As revealed in Chapter Eleven, the use of the Hills for plant procurement is regularly reported in the accounts of non-Indian travelers, government agents, and local settlers, and it is also commonly mentioned in tribal oral traditions and writings.

When European Americans first came to the area, as prospectors, freighters, and merchants, they also crossed the park s lands and camped here on their way to Custer City and Deadwood. The park included two of the most highly traveled routes into the interiors for people coming overland to and from the Union Pacific Railroad stops at Sidney, Nebraska and Cheyenne, Wyoming. In later years, however, the traffic along these routes declined substantially when the

focus of gold production shifted to the northern Hills and when alternative routes were created that skirted the Hills along the outer edge of the Hogback. Nevertheless, the park continued to serve as a route of travel between Custer and Buffalo Gap/Hot Springs for local residents, freighters hauling supplies, and loggers transporting timber. It was also a location where early settlers collected berries, gathered other flora for food and medicine, and harvested timber for domestic use. Indeed, the illegal taking of plant resources inside park boundaries by local residents was a serious problem well into the twentieth century.

The large quartzite quarry at Battle Mountain and even the outcroppings of purple chalcedony in Wind Cave National Park also attracted tribal nations to the area to acquire lithic material for making arrow points and implements. Much of the use of this region for mineral extraction by native populations took place in prehistoric times, and it clearly declined after the introduction of metal from European American traders. Some quarrying, however, still probably continued for sandstone used in the making of hammers and grinding stones, for gypsums applied in various kinds of manufacture and ceremonial contexts, and for clays mixed in paints (see Chapter Eleven for further details). In fact, there is one important twentieth-century record (Pilcher 1964) that identifies Wind Cave with the collection of stones used for medicinal purposes, and there is good circumstantial evidence for the continuing importance of local gypsum in ceremonial practice (see Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Fifteen).

Certainly, the nearby thermal waters at Hot Springs were an important attraction for Native populations in prehistoric and historic times. The healing properties of these waters were well-known and brought people to the area for brief and extended stays (see Chapters Six, Fourteen, and Fifteen). Again, there are reports in European American and tribal sources of Lakotas and Cheyennes staying in this area not only in the winter but in other seasons as well. Aside from brief references to Lakotas and Cheyennes camping in this area, there are few specific details about the nature of their settlement. Indeed, we may never really know much about it given how the building of the city of Hot Springs and park headquarters disturbed the archaeological remains of earlier settlements (Scott 1888; Pilcher 1964). One thing is clear, however, and that is, Lakotas and Cheyennes frequently returned to Hot Springs after 1877 to bathe and camp. According to accounts from non-Indian residents in the area, it was not uncommon for some Lakota families to remain in the area over an entire summer.

The geological resources of the park and neighboring locales also drew the interest of European Americans. Although the entire area was prospected, there was never any developed mining on park lands other than a limekiln at the southwestern edge of the park. Sandstone was quarried, and gypsum was processed at nearby locations outside park boundaries. Of course, the thermal waters at Hot Springs were a major attraction for European Americans, and the foundation for the town s development.

The mild winter climate, sheltered recesses, as well as good water, timber, and grazing areas of the park also recommended this area as a location not only for various kinds of tribal economic activity and occupation, but also for European Americans to settle. In certain respects, early European uses of and adaptations to the area of Wind Cave National Park hardly differed from the tribal nations who preceded them. Tribal populations no doubt grazed their horses on the rich grasses that covered the Race Track and the foothills of this area, something later generations of European American certainly did. In fact, several ranches inside the park and on its borders were engaged in the raising of thoroughbred horses in the late nineteenth century. The main distinction between the two populations was the species of ungulate that became the focus of their livelihoods and adaptations to the region. For tribal peoples, it was the bison until they were

extirpated from the area in the 1850s, and for European Americans, it was domesticated livestock, especially cattle introduced in the region during the 1870s.

From the 1880s until the 1930s, a small population of homesteaders established ranches on park lands, and the remains of some of these are part of the park s archaeological record. Except for a few families, such as the McAdams, McDonalds, and Stablers, little has been written about the lives of those who settled on or near park properties, although much more has appeared on some of the families who occupied areas adjacent to the park. What has been reported in historic records, oral traditions, and the writings of local historians is that much of the park area was used to graze livestock through the early decades of the twentieth century. Small sections of land especially at level, well-watered locations were also used to cultivate gardens, to raise kitchen stock, and to grow various grain crops for cash or animal feed. Most of the early ranching families were small operators who made modest livelihoods through mixed economic strategies, which included subsistence food production and various kinds of wage-work. Some local ranchers and their family members even worked on construction or served as guides, rangers, and administrators for the park after it was established in 1903. There were also larger, investor-based ranches on park lands in the 1880s, including the one run by Charles Valentine. This ranch and others established on the park s eastern boundaries ran large herds of cattle on park properties.

Much of the park s history from the 1880s to the 1930s is tied to the region s ranching tradition and its dependence on the use of public lands. Historically, access to open ranges, at little or no cost, made livestock raising an attractive and profitable endeavor for small and large operators alike, and it played a critical role in the development of the region s cattle industry. It also created a powerful political interest group with a stake in maintaining traditional European American user relationships to the Black Hills public spaces. Until the competing interests of the travel, leisure, and recreation industry entered the picture, local ranchers carried considerable influence in shaping the policy of land use on public properties, including those that came under the management of the National Park Service at Wind Cave. In some ways, Wind Cave National Park was probably unique in comparison to other national parks because of the length of time in which livestock grazing, prohibited at most parks, prevailed here. Besides the fact that the park s primary attraction was subterranean, the continuation of grazing was probably linked to two other realities. First, the park s early managers and employees had vested interests in maintaining the *status quo* because they were local landholders who ran their own stock on park properties. Secondly, because the park occupied an orphan-like status relative to other parks in the national park system, it received hardly any revenue in its early years of operation. Maintaining grazing permits and privileges well into the twentieth century may very well have served as an important source of revenue and also an incentive for some locals to assume caretaking responsibilities for the park.

Whatever the case, it is clear that in the 1930s park policies began to change, moving away from sustaining a local ranch-based economy towards a greater involvement in and support for the region s developing leisure, travel, and recreation industry (Long 1992). From the time Wind Cave was developed as a privately owned tourist attraction in the 1880s to 1903, when it became a publicly-owned one, much of the focus of park activity centered on the cave. Over time, and as the local ranching economy and spa industry in Hot Springs declined, the cave assumed greater importance as a critical resource in the region s tourism. Throughout much of the twentieth century, the park contributed to the local economies of Custer and Fall River counties not only by bringing tourist dollars to local businesses but also by being the employer of a large local work force. This contribution has not been inconsequential, especially as a greater portion of the region s economic wealth became dependent on this industry. By the 1930s, when the park took over management of the adjoining national game preserve, its above ground wildlife began to

equal, if not, surpass the cave as a central attraction for tourists. The health and well-being of the park s bison, elk, antelope, and prairie dogs took on increasing importance in the overall scheme of the park, and by extension, greater efforts were made to preserve and restore the land to some semblance of its original state. Increasingly, park properties became associated with more restricted, non-extractive uses. Except for fishing and berry picking, all of the activities allowed on park land including camping, sightseeing, and hiking, catered to the region s growing leisure, recreation, and tourist industry and the interest groups that supported these pastimes. As part of this process, the park s representation of itself became increasingly divorced from the history of the many different peoples who had occupied and used park lands for extractive purposes since prehistoric times. The bulk of its interpretive narratives focused on the region s natural history with hardly any attention given to its human history of occupation by tribal peoples or European Americans. Most of the people-based history concentrates on the cave, its discovery and exploration, or on park construction, especially the structures built when the CCC camps were in operation during the 1930s.

The Black Hills in general and Wind Cave National Park in particular were witness to a succession of different ethnic groups who adapted themselves to the area in a number of different and very specific ways. The history of these adaptations and some of the cultural traditions associated with them provide textually rich narratives that deserve as much attention in park interpretive programming as the stories on its natural resources. From the material covered in the next section, which focuses on the specific faunal, floral, and mineral resources of the area, we can come to certain conclusions about the ways different groups historically used park properties. However these groups adapted to the area, and whatever resources they took from it, one thing is clear, and that is, this region has always been a common ground, an area in which people of diverse backgrounds lived and traveled.

Chapter Eight

COMPETING CLAIMS, CONTESTED ACCESS

Of all the lands within the continental United States the federal government seized from their original American Indian owners, the Black Hills remain among the most contested and controversial. The lands that make up Wind Cave National Park were part of the longest running American Indian claims case in history, *Sioux vs. United States* [C-531-7], otherwise known as the Sioux Black Hills Claim. After nearly sixty years of congressional deliberation and court litigation, the Sioux s Black Hills claim case reached a settlement in 1980 when the Supreme Court ruled that the United States had taken the Hills illegally without just compensation. The eight tribal claimants who were parties in the suit have not accepted this settlement, which amounted to 106 million dollars. Today, a sum of money, now rapidly approaching one billion dollars, sits in the U.S. treasury as settlement for the United States illegal taking of the Black Hills from the Sioux Nation.[1]

Even before the Black Hills Claim reached the Supreme Court, the Sioux were moving forward in other ways to reclaim possession of the Black Hills. In addition to land takeovers, including one at Wind Cave National Park in 1981, there were several attempts from 1985 to 1993 to introduce legislation in Congress that would return sizable amounts of public land in the Black Hills to the Sioux, but none of these moved further than the hearing stage. In the same decade, the Sioux took other steps to assert their political and cultural interests in the region. Today, the question of the ownership of the Black Hills remains unresolved. Although the federal government takes the position that the courts have settled the question, the Sioux remain fiercely opposed to accepting the only remedy the judicial system has to offer them for the illegal taking of the Hills -- a monetary settlement. They still stand united in their determination to reacquire legal possession of land currently claimed by the federal government. The question of the Black Hills sits at an impasse not only with respect to the Sioux s unresolved claim, but also in relation to the unlitigated claims that the Cheyennes and Arapahos hold to the Black Hills as well. Neither of these tribes pressed their Black Hills claims in court, although both were represented in the deliberations surrounding the case before the Sioux filed their claim in 1920 and both sought counsel and attempted unsuccessfully to get jurisdictional acts passed to pursue their claims.

Beyond the battles involving ownership of the land, there has been litigation over tribal religious access to the Hills stemming from the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. These need to be discussed here as well. In order to understand the history of the various legal struggles over the Black Hills in the twentieth century, including the lands on which Wind Cave National Park now stand, we must begin with an understanding of the nineteenth century federal treaties and agreements in which the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were the central parties.

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[1] Lakota or Dakota is the preferred self-ascription of people identified historically and in legal dealings with the United States as Sioux. To avoid confusion, the term Sioux will be used in this chapter to designate the Lakotas (Teton Sioux) and the Dakotas (Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yankton, and Yanktonnai Sioux) who were parties to various treaties with the United States and in later years listed as claimants in suits against the U.S. government.

I. TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

The period when treaties were negotiated between the United States and the tribal nations who historically occupied the Black Hills covers the years between 1825 and 1871, the year Congress formally ceased the process of making treaties with tribes and began to enter into legislated agreements with them. In 1870, the House of Representatives lobbied for the abolition of the treaty system. With the support of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian from New York, the federal government unilaterally modified the manner in which it negotiated with tribes. Instead, it now acted from an attitude that tribes were ward-like entities and were thus subject to domestic legislation approved by the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the President. In 1871, legislation was passed that prohibited the United States from recognizing tribes as independent nations and from contracting with them by treaty. Henceforth, all dealings with tribes would take place in the form of agreements (Lazarus 1991:80; Wilkins 1997:229, 237-239).

A review of all treaties, agreements, and statutes between Indian tribes and the United States government, as compiled by Charles J. Kappler (1903), and a survey of all land cessions by Indian tribes in the United States, summarized and mapped by Charles C. Royce (1899), indicates that only the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos entered into treaties and agreements involving the consideration of lands in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. In each case, however, none of the statutes affecting lands in the Black Hills included the entirety of the populations making up these three tribal nations. In the case of the Arapahos and Cheyennes, only the northern divisions of these two tribes were represented in deliberations affecting the Black Hills. In the case of the Sioux, while most of the eastern divisions were not represented in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, some were parties to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and the Black Hills Agreement of 1877, which led to the illegal taking of the Black Hills. The Santee Tribe of Nebraska and the Yanktonnai of Crow Creek and Standing Rock were not parties to the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty,[2] but they were included as signatories in the 1868 Treaty and the Black Hills Agreement of 1876, which was passed into law by Congress in 1877. The Yankton Sioux Tribe was represented in the 1851 Treaty but not the negotiations surrounding the 1868 Treaty or the 1876 Agreement. Most of the Sioux affiliated with the Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe, the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, the Flandreau Sioux Tribe, and the federally recognized Sioux communities in Minnesota were not parties to any treaties or land cessions relating to the Black Hills.[3] The Sioux Nation claim to the Black Hills, submitted and litigated in federal courts between 1923 and 1980, included the following tribes: Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Fort Peck Sioux Tribe, Oglala Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, Santee Sioux Tribe, and Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Of the other tribes with known historical affiliations to the Black Hills, including the Plains Apaches, Comanches, Shoshones, Kiowas, Crows, Hidatsas, Mandans, Arikaras, Pawnees, and Poncas, none were parties to treaties or agreements governing land cessions in or near the Black Hills. Moreover, none of these tribes ever filed claims with the U.S. Court of Claims or the Indian Claims Commission that pertained to lands in the Black Hills or at Wind Cave National Park.

What follows is a list of all the federal treaties and agreements, governing land cessions to which the western Sioux, the Cheyenne, and/or the Arapaho nations were parties and which have

[2] In 1853, an amendment to the 1851 treaty was devised to include the Yanktonnai in the provisions and annuity payments of this treaty (DeMallie 2001; 780).

[3] Because of extensive patterns of intermarriage between modern Sioux tribes (Albers 1974), many individuals who are enrolled in these tribes are descended from Sioux who were parties to these treaties.

some bearing on the legal standing of these tribes in relation to the Black Hills. This chronological listing not only highlights the provisions of each statute, but it also discusses their consequences in regards to continuing claims on the Black Hills.

A. Atkinson and O Fallon Treaty of 1825

In 1825, General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Benjamin O Fallon traveled up the Missouri River to assess the numbers and whereabouts of tribes along the river and to enter into treaties of friendship, whereby the tribal signatories pledged their loyalty to the United States and its traders (Jensen and Hutchins 2001; see also, Chapter Four). Sioux representing the Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonnai divisions, who occupied lands from the mouth of the White River to the Cannonball, signed four treaties, as did a party of Cheyenne leaders (Kappler 1903:2:161-166). When representatives of these tribes signed the 1825 treaties, they acknowledged the right of the United States to regulate trade in the region. It is clear that the tribal parties who signed these treaties did not act on behalf of their entire nation. Nor is it likely that they fully understood the consequences of their signing, which the federal government construed as according it sovereign power to intervene in the affairs of the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Weist 1977:41-42).

B. Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851

The Fort Laramie Treaty of September 17, 1851 [11 Stat.749] (Kappler 1903:2:440-442) was another friendship treaty under which many tribal nations in the northern Plains pledged a lasting peace with the United States. Most divisions of the Teton Lakota (Sioux) and the Yankton Dakota (Sioux) attended the treaty deliberations, but only Sicangu, Ooehnunpa, and Yankton \signed it. Some of the northern and southern divisions of the Arapaho were also party to the treaty (Fowler 1982:28-32). In the case of the Cheyenne, only the southern bands appear to have signed the treaty (Powell 1981:1:110). Even though Congress never ratified this treaty, it subsequently carried considerable weight in supporting or contesting tribal land claims in federal courts.

In the process of making peace, the tribal parties to the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty ostensibly approved boundaries to mark their respective territorial domains (Lazarus 1991:17). Technically, no tribal nation surrendered any land in this treaty, but as a number of scholars (Berthong 1963:121; Lazarus 1991:17-19; DeMallie 2001a:795) have argued, this document codified and concretized a series of territorial borders that would have a lasting impact for the tribes involved in these deliberations. It effectively restricted the territorial boundaries around which tribes negotiated land cessions in later years. Not only did it exclude the Cheyennes and Arapahos from lands that they had shared with the Sioux for over a century, including the Black Hills; it also deprived the Sioux and their Cheyenne and Arapaho allies of territories they had jointly wrestled from the Kiowas and Crows in previous decades (Lazarus 1991:18). Although Sioux rights were disadvantaged in the second instance, the interests of the Cheyennes and the Arapahos were jeopardized in both. It also seriously impaired the ability of these two tribes to make claims on lands they had continuously and jointly occupied for more than a century, and once again, some of these included the Black Hills.

The lands designated for the Sioux and the Cheyenne-Arapaho under Article 5 of the Fort Laramie Treaty were designated as follows: 1) the territory of the Sioux began at the mouth of the White River and followed a southwesterly line to the forks of the Platte, and from there, it ascended the Platte to Red Butte and then it moved north along the western side of the Black Hills to the headwaters of the Heart River, down this river to the Missouri and then back to the starting point on the mouth the White River; and 2) the land jointly assigned to the Arapahos and

Cheyennes commenced at the Red Butte and followed the North Platte River to the Rocky Mountains, from which point the boundary extended south to the headwaters of the Arkansas River and then east to the crossing of the Santa Fe Trail and from there, it returned to Red Butte by way of the forks of the Platte River (Kappler 1903:2:441, see Figure 8 in Chapter Five).

As discussed in Chapters Three to Five, the tribal nations of the plains distributed themselves across geographic space in ways that were very different from the manner in which white Americans established their relationships to the land. By projecting their own sense of landed property rights onto tribal territorial domains, the United States, as Edward Lazarus (1991:17) puts it, affirmed formally that Indians possessed personal and property rights including rights in their lands. It also established, as Chief Justice John Marshall had written in the 1832 Supreme Court case Worcester v. Georgia: Indian tribes were distinct, independent, political communities, who retained at least limited rights of self-government (in Lazarus ibid.). Even though the treaty may have created a legal benchmark for judging future federal decisions and actions, it seriously impaired the rights of the tribes to make claims based on their own standards of sovereign interest in landed property. Although government officials who were party to the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty emphatically told the tribal parties assembled at the treaty deliberations that the boundaries should not be construed as interfering in their movements, the making of these borders on paper had lasting consequences for the judgments that federal courts would later deliver with regards to whether or not tribes held aboriginal title to certain land holdings. According to the Indian Claims Commission s, Findings of Facts, dated August 27, 1965 (Horr 1974:56), Colonel Mitchell is reported to have told the tribes that in fixing a boundary to their country, he had no purpose of limiting them to that boundary in hunting, or to prohibit them from going into the territory of any other Nation, so long as they remained at peace. Yet, this is precisely what happened a century later when the Indian Claims Commission deliberated on the government s liability to tribes for lands either illegally gained or inadequately compensated (Lazarus 1991:49-69).

Another major feature of the 1851 Treaty were provisions whereby tribes gave the United States the right to construct roads and military posts in their territories. Tribes agreed to furnish restitution for crimes committed against U.S. citizens. In return, the United States committed itself to protecting tribes from the wrongdoings of its own citizens, and it promised to pay each of them fifty thousand dollars over a ten-year period for the right to construct roads and posts through their territories (Kappler 1903:2:440-442; Lazarus 1991:17-18; Price, C. 1996:31). The Senate, however, did not agree to this commitment and slashed the number of years the government was obligated to make payments without ever informing the tribes of their amendment (Lazarus 1991:19-20). In the end, the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty was a failure because, as Lazarus (Ibid:20) puts it, one party amended the terms, the other ignored them.

C. The Treaty of Fort Wise in 1861

In 1861, ten years after the conclusion of the failed Fort Laramie Peace Treaty, the United States entered into a treaty [12 Stat., 1163] (Kappler 1903:2:614-617) with representatives of the Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho nations at Fort Wise in eastern Colorado. Under the provisions of this treaty, all of the Cheyenne-Arapaho territory stipulated in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, except for a small area set aside in eastern Colorado as a reservation for their joint occupancy, was ceded in exchange for a settlement of $450,000 to be paid out over a fifteen year period (Kappler 1903:2:614-617; Berthong 1965:149-151). The problem with this treaty was that most of the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos never entered into the negotiations, even though they were included in the lands designated by the 1851 Fort Laramie

Treaty. In addition, many Southern Cheyennes, especially the followers of the Dog Soldier bands, refused to sign it (Weist 1977:48). Although this treaty paved the way for the settlement of eastern Wyoming and Colorado by American mining and agricultural interests, it did so at a terrible cost to the large numbers of Cheyenne and Arapaho who were not represented in the deliberations. One of its many consequences was that it left the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos in a legal limbo with respect to their future claims against the United States. Not represented at the cession of their 1851 Fort Laramie lands and barely acknowledged in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, they were cast adrift, situated betwixt and between treaties, to which they were linked by default rather than intent. Even to this day, some of their land claims remain unresolved as a result, including those connected to the Black Hills.

D. Indian Peace Commission Treaties

In March of 1865, Congress passed an act authorizing expenditures to make peace with all the tribes along the Missouri and Platte rivers. A peace treaty was negotiated with the Yanktonnai at Fort Sully that provided compensation in the form of annuities over a twenty-year payment period (Kappler 1903:2:690-692).[4] Although the Yanktonnai objected to the building of overland routes through their country and increased steamboat traffic on the Missouri, they signed the treaty, which was ratified by Congress (DeMallie 2001:781).

Negotiations farther west with various divisions of the Tetons or Lakota Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were not concluded as easily. Unable to defeat these tribal nations militarily, the federal government authorized E. B. Taylor to conclude another treaty on its behalf that would bring a lasting peace to the region and permit the construction of roads and posts to accommodate overland travel (Weist 1977:58-59; Price, C. 1996:55-61; Lazarus 1991:33-37). For reasons already described in Chapter Five, the commission failed to secure the signatures of the bands whose territories would have been most affected by the building of the road, although it did manage to get the permission of leaders whose hunting grounds were far-removed from the area. While E.B. Taylor argued that the treaty negotiations had been a success, Congress disagreed and did not ratify the treaty. It can be argued that by failing to gain the full consent of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, the 1865-treaty commission paved the way for some of the liberal provisions in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 that established the Great Sioux Reservation and the large hunting commons in the Republican and Powder River countries.

1. 1867 Medicine Lodge Creek Treaties

On July 20, 1867, Congress authorized expenditures for the formation of another Indian Peace Commission to secure the interests of the United States by negotiating treaties with tribes throughout the western plains The first treaty [15 Stat., 589] was signed on October 17, 1867 by the Comanches, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches (Kappler 1903:2:759-760), and on October 28, 1867, the Southern Cheyennes, and Southern Arapahos signed their treaty [15 Stat., 593] at Medicine Lodge Creek in Kansas (Kappler 1903:2:760-764). Under the terms of these treaties, the tribes agreed to keep the peace with the United States and its citizens, allow the construction of roads and railroads across their territories in the southern and central plains, and cede all of their lands in the present day state of Kansas. The Southern Cheyennes and Southern Arapahos settled for a reservation in what is now western Oklahoma in exchange for relinquishing rights to

[4] Yanktonnai were not represented at Fort Laramie nor were they party to the Yankton land cession even though they were later included in some of the annuity distributions (DeMallie 2001:780-781).

their reservation lands in Colorado secured under the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. Like the other parties to the treaty, they were promised a cash payment over twenty years, and an agency with personnel to support farming and other "civilizing" programs (Berthong 1965:297-298). In addition, the Southern Cheyennes, Southern Arapahos, and the other three tribes who were parties to these treaties retained the right to continue hunting off-reservation as far north as the Arkansas River as long as the bison remained in the region and as long as the tribes did not interfere with the construction of the railroads and the passage of travelers along the overland trails (Berthong 1965:298). Some of the considerations in this treaty played a role in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat., 655] with the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes.

2. The Fort Laramie Treaties of 1868

Meanwhile, the commission was deliberating with various bands of Sioux, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos at Fort Laramie and other locations along the Platte and Missouri rivers to secure similar concessions in the northern reaches of the plains. Over the next ten months, the commissioners successfully negotiated and concluded the terms of a treaty with many of the bands of the Sioux on April 29, 1868, but they failed to meet with leaders of many of the more independent northern bands (Price, C. 1996:77-79). Eventually, many of these leaders, including Man Afraid of His Horses and Red Cloud, signed the treaty in November of 1868, but some of the northern Sioux, including Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, refused to negotiate or sign it (Ibid:79-83).

In crafting the Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat., 635] (Kappler 1903:2:770-775), the Indian Peace Commission worded this treaty much like the other treaties it concluded in 1867 and 1868. Under Article 1, the parties agreed to abstain from war and to punish anyone on either side who engaged in aggressive acts against the other (Kappler 1903:2:770). Article 2 specified what territory would be included in a reservation set aside for the parties to the treaty. The Great Sioux Reservation, as it became popularly known, was created for the undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them. This encompassed all lands west of the Missouri River in present-day South Dakota (Ibid.). Articles 4 through 10 contained provisions to establish agencies and to support tribal education, health, and agricultural needs (Ibid:771-773). Article 11 conferred the right to hunt on any lands north of the North Platte River and along the Republican and Smokey Hill rivers as long as buffalo remained in sufficient numbers to justify the chase, but it also stipulated that the tribal parties would refrain from interfering with the construction of railways being built in these areas and from harassing emigrants along the overland trail. In addition, the government agreed to withdraw its posts and military from locations north of the North Platte and to retain them only at locations south of this river (Ibid:773-774). Article 12 promised that no portion of the reservation held in common by the parties to the treaty would be relinquished unless consented to and signed by three-quarters of the adult male population (Ibid:774). Articles 13 and 14 contained provisions to support the acculturation of the tribes, while 15 secured the promise that once agency buildings were constructed the tribes would make the reservation their permanent home (Ibid:774). Article 16 stipulated that all lands north of the North Platte River and east of the summit of the Big Horn Mountains would remain unceded Indian territory and that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy or will be allowed to settle on the same; or without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same (Ibid:774-775). It also promised that the military posts in the area would be abandoned and that the road to Montana would be closed (Ibid:775). Finally, Article 17 stated that the provisions of the 1868 treaty would abrogate all prior treaties and agreements between the two parties (Ibid:775).

Under the terms of this treaty [15 Stat. 635], which was finalized on the 29th of April in 1868, a reservation was established for the Sioux, the northern Arapaho, and other tribal parties these two tribes agreed to admit (Kappler 1903:2:770-775). Besides the various bands of Teton Lakotas, the Yanktonnai Dakotas and Santee Dakotas were also included under its provisions. Under the treaty all Sioux territory east of the Missouri, except for lands on established reservations, was ceded to the United States under Yanktonnai protest (DeMallie 2001:781). Although most of the upper Yanktonnai eventually settled on what was then known as the Fort Totten Reservation (now Spirit Lake Reservation) after its establishment in 1867, the southern Yanktonnai either remained at Crow Creek on the Missouri, where they received a reservation under an executive order in 1879, or moved to the Grand River Agency (now Standing Rock) (DeMallie 2001:782-783).

Later in the year, another treaty [15 Stat. 655] was signed with the northern bands of the Arapahos and Cheyennes giving them permission to remain on what was then called the Great Sioux Reservation or establish residence on the reservation established for their southern brethren under the terms of the Medicine Lodge Creek Treaty [15 Stat. 593] (Kappler 1903:2:778-781). The Northern Cheyennes and Arapahos interests in the Black Hills were covered in the Fort Laramie treaties in two ways. In the treaty with the Sioux [15 Stat. 635], they were included under the provisions of Article 2. In the second Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat. 655], they were given a choice either to make their permanent home on a portion of the lands set aside for their southern relatives in Oklahoma under the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty, or take up residence within the territory designated and set aside for the Sioux as negotiated on April 29, 1868 (Kappler 1903:2:778-781; Powell 1981:2:762-768). Although many Northern Cheyennes, including the followers of Little Wolf, were never parties to either of the Fort Laramie treaties, those who were believed they had legal rights to the Hills under the terms of both 1868 Fort Laramie treaties (Powell 1981:2:768-770; Dusenberry 1955:24-25; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973: 17n18).

In 1869, Congress ratified the Medicine Lodge Creek and Fort Laramie treaties but not without contentious debate (Price, C. 1996:84-85). The Fort Laramie Treaty not only secured for the Sioux much of their aboriginal domain, including the Black Hills, but it also guaranteed that these lands could not be trespassed on by outsiders without their expressed consent. Also of great significance, it mandated that no land within the boundaries of the reservation, which again included the Black Hills, would be ceded without the signed consent of three-quarters of the adult male population. But even as the treaty was being ratified, the federal government was under pressure to amend the terms of the treaty in order to make the Black Hills available for European American settlement and development (Lazarus 1991:67-70).

E. Black Hills Agreement, 1875 to 1877

Under mounting pressure from the miners, merchants, and settlers who colonized the Black Hills, and in the face of growing resentment and hostility from the tribal nations who still owned them, the government began another round of negotiations in 1875 with the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to relinquish the Hills. Only this time the negotiations would not be concluded in a treaty but an agreement.[5] As pointed out in Chapter Five, the first round of negotiations, which

[5] Unlike treaties, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives must pass agreements. Treaties only require passage by the Senate. Some scholars have argued that the move to agreements reflects a change in the political posture of the U.S. government towards tribes. This may be true, but agreements still hold the same legally binding contractual obligations as treaties.

began on September 4, 1875, failed. Even though they were reconvened a few weeks later, it was apparent that a consensus could not be reached among the adult male representatives of the tribes present at the negotiations. By October of 1875, the federal government abandoned its efforts to negotiate an agreement for the Black Hills and the commissioners returned to Washington, D.C. knowing they would be unable to secure the signed consent of three-fourths of the adult male population for any lease or sale. A few months after the Battle of Little Big Horn, the government authorized another commission to negotiate a settlement for the Black Hills. In August of 1876, George Manypenny, the chief negotiator, recommenced the deliberations (Olson 1965:224-226). Two months later on October 27th, without the required consent of three-quarters of the adult male population, the negotiations were concluded when several influential Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos signed the agreement. Four months later, the agreement became law with the passage of a Congressional Act on February 28, 1877.

From the moment of its passage, nearly every section of the statute became a subject of controversy. The statute contains the following provisions. Under Article 1, new boundaries were created for the Sioux Reservation that did not include the Black Hills. These boundaries were described as commencing:

> at the intersection of the one hundred and third meridian of longitude with the northern boundary of the State of Nebraska: thence north along said meridian to its intersection with the South Fork of the Cheyenne River; thence down said stream to its junction with the North Fork; thence up the North Fork of said Cheyenne River to the said one hundred and third meridian; thence north along said meridian to the South branch of Cannon Ball or Cedar Creek; and the northern boundary of their said reservation shall follow the Said South Branch to its intersection with the main Cannon Ball River, and thence down the said main Cannon Ball River to the Missouri River (*quoted from* Lazarus 1991:458).

All of the lands outside this boundary were ceded to the United States, all rights to hunt in these areas were relinquished as well, and Article 16 of the 1868 treaty, covering unceded Indian Territory, was abrogated (Lazarus 1991:457-461). Article 3 permitted the United States to build no more than 3 wagon or other roads across the new reservation. Article 4 provided that all annuities, subsistence, and supplies from this agreement, the 1868 treaty, and any future act of Congress would be distributed at points along the Missouri River (Ibid:458). Articles 3 to 11 covered the conditions of delivering annuities, resettling bands on the reservation, and making allotments for individual heads of families. These articles also stipulated the terms for providing support in agriculture, education, government and subsistence until the tribes became self-sufficient, and they set forth provisions for enforcing morality and for taking an annual census (Ibid:459-461). Some of these provisions, however, duplicated what the government had already offered to the Sioux under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Importantly, there was no monetary settlement for the 7.7 million acres of land ceded by the act.

Curiously, however, Article 12 of the 1868 Treaty [15 Stat., 635] was not abrogated, leaving the Sioux with a significant legal avenue to challenge the 1877 Act. Since three-quarters of the adult male population never signed the 1876 document on which congressional action was taken and the Black Hills Act of 1877 passed, Congress had illegally overridden its own duly ratified treaty law. The failure of the U.S. government to gain the required consent of the Sioux, Northern Arapahos, and Northern Cheyennes to change the terms of the 1868 Treaty, and its failure to offer adequate compensation for the illegal taking of the Black Hills, placed the Hills in an entangled and protracted history of litigation. To this day, even though the question of the legal

standing of the lands that make up the Black Hills has been settled, at least from the perspective of the U.S. judicial system, the historical and cultural claims of the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to these lands still remain unresolved. And there is not likely to be any closure on this issue in the near or foreseeable future.

F. The 1889 Agreement

If the 1877 Agreement had not been enough to undermine what little faith the Sioux had in the honesty and integrity of the United States government and its representatives, the proceedings surrounding the break-up of the reservation established by the 1877 Act, which began five years later in 1882, subjected them once more to the indignity of having to surrender more of their lands under further duress and deception (Lazarus 1991:107-112). Although three-quarters of the adult male Sioux population eventually and reluctantly signed an agreement in 1887 for the creation of five smaller reservations and the cession of all remaining lands, they did so with the explicit understanding that it would not abrogate any of the rights remaining to them under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 [15 Stat., 635]. The passage of the 1889 Act, and the resulting loss of additional lands exacerbated internal divisions among the Sioux and reinforced their resolve to reclaim the Black Hills (Ibid:111-112).

II. THE SIOUX BLACK HILLS CLAIM AND IT S ADJUDICATION

Until August 15, 1946, when President Harry S. Truman signed the Indian Claims Act (60 Stat. 1049), tribes pursued their claims before the U.S. Court of Claims once they secured a special jurisdictional act from Congress. The process of getting a hearing on a case before the U.S. Court of Claims was subject to legal obstacles and delays. There was no assurance of Congressional support in getting a jurisdictional act passed, much less receiving a favorable hearing in court. Indeed, as Edward Lazarus (1991:184) argued:

> The Court of Claims consistently read jurisdictional acts narrowly and almost universally refused on technical grounds to hear cases based on fraud, duress, mistake of fact, or other questions of treaty validity. The process became so cumbersome that Congress began to deliberate on other alternatives, not only because the number of tribes seeking jurisdictional acts was becoming unwieldy but also because of the process itself was unfair.

In the 1930s, Congress began to consider the formation of a special judicial body to hear Indian claims cases (Lurie 1978:97-110; Lazarus 1991:184), and fifteen years later, it passed into law the act governing the formation of the Indian Claims Commission (hereafter abbreviated as ICC). Congress granted the commission the right to hear two sorts of cases. One was based on issues of equity, wherein treaties, contracts, and agreements between the United States and tribal claimants were made under fraud, duress, unconscionable consideration, mutual or unilateral mistake, whether of law or fact, or any other ground cognizable by a court of equity (Lazarus 1991:185). The other addressed issues of fairness and covered claims based upon fair and honorable dealings that are not recognized by any rule of law or equity. (The act also included provisions for the formation of an Investigation Division that would give tribes assistance in assembling the necessary evidence to bring before the ICC (Ibid:185).

The overall history of the ICC has yet to be written, although judging by the evaluations of particular cases, including the Sioux s Black Hills claim, it would have to be argued that it

obstructed as much as it advanced the process by which tribes might received some fair measure of justice for their claims (Sutton 1985). As Edward Lazarus (1991:262-263) wrote:

> Congress had created the commission precisely because the claims court, through uncharitable interpretation of special jurisdictional acts, had frustrated efforts to resolve tribal grievances on their merits. Despite this congressional intent, the commission had exacerbated the problem. The result was a tribunal even stingier in its legal rulings than the court whose conservatism it had been designed to circumvent.

Because of the ICC s narrow interpretation of its mandate, many cases it heard ultimately ended up in the U.S. Court of Claims where the rulings were generally more favorable to tribes (Ibid: 263). One of the most important areas where there was a significant difference in rulings had to do with the recognition of aboriginal property rights. While the ICC rarely ruled in favor of aboriginal title to the land, the U.S. Court of Claims took the position that tribes held property rights in the lands under their control simply as a consequence of their prior occupancy, regardless of any government recognition (Ibid:263). By the 1960s, there was increasing dissatisfaction in Congress over the ICC s methods and rulings, and in 1970, it was closed (Ibid:264).

The Sioux s Black Hills claim represents a classic illustration of the problematic nature of the legal process under which tribes sought redress from the U.S. government for the illegal taking of their lands. At every step of the way in its sixty-year history, the claim was obstructed by delays, technicalities, and hairsplitting legal interpretations. Although the grounds on which the Sioux claim was pursued shifted over time, the two central questions underlying the claim were whether the Black Hills were improperly taken by the U.S. Government and whether conscionable consideration had been given for their taking (Wilkins 1997:226-227). The unwavering position of the Sioux Nation was that the Hills had been illegally seized and taken in the absence of fair compensation, while the U.S. Government s case rested on proving that it had acted in an honorable and fair manner in terms of its own treaty law.

Because this landmark case is so important and concerns the lands on which Wind Cave National Park stands, it needs to be given some consideration here. Three different but related questions will be addressed. First, what were the major court cases and rulings that led to the final Supreme Court decision on the Sioux s Black Hills claim? The complicated and protracted legal struggle of the Sioux and their counsel to reach a settlement on the Black Hills claim is covered in great detail by Edward Lazarus in his book *Black Hills, White Justice* (1998) and in a number of law review articles (Hanson, S. 1980; Shreves 1981; Pemberton 1985; Pommershein 1988), and it does not need to be reiterated here except to highlight and summarize chronologically the benchmark legal motions and rulings in what would become the longest running Indian claims case in U.S. history. Second, what was the legal theory behind the decision that led to the largest Indian land claim settlement in the history of the ICC? For some understanding on this question, reliance is placed on the work of Professor David Wilkins (1997), a political scientist, who is widely considered to be the leading expert on the history of Supreme Court decisions affecting Indian tribes. And finally, why did the Black Hills claim fail to reach a satisfactory conclusion for the two parties, namely, the Sioux and the United States government? In addition to the sources referred to above, Alexandra New Holy s recent article, The Heart of Everything That Is: Paha Sapa, Treaties, and Lakota Identity, in the *Oklahoma Law Review* (1998) is especially helpful in the discussion of this question.

A. The Historical Chronology of the Case

The Sioux Nation claims case on the Black Hills took sixty years to reach a resolution, starting with the passage of a special jurisdictional act by Congress in 1920 that authorized the U.S. Court of Claims to consider a motion on the matter and ending with the final judgment of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980 that led to a monetary settlement of more than 106 million dollars for the illegal seizure of the Black Hills. This sixty year history is divided into seven segments, which cover the events that led the Sioux to pursue a claim, trace the major court holdings in the case, and describe unsuccessful litigation pursued by the Sioux after the Supreme Court handed down its ruling.

1. The Beginnings of the Claim: 1903-1920

Hardly had the seizure of the Black Hills been ratified by Congress in 1877 when leaders from the Lakota, Arapaho, and Cheyenne nations petitioned to see the President of the United States over the irregularities that surrounded the proceedings of the Black Hills Commission in 1876 (Price, C. 1996:157-158). The date when the Sioux and their allies first attempted to organize and protest the seizure of the Black Hills is not known, although John Brennan, the agent at Pine Ridge, reported that a group of over three hundred older leaders started to meet and press their claims at the agency in 1891 (Lazarus 1991:119-120).

Little more than a decade thereafter, when many of the older leaders began to organize around the Black Hills question, a meeting was arranged in 1903 with Eben W. Martin, the Senator from South Dakota, to discuss Sioux claims regarding the Black Hills. This meeting not only included many of the younger and more educated leaders of the Sioux nation, but it also involved representatives from the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho tribes. At this meeting, Red Cloud reiterated what he told the commissioners sixteen years earlier and complained that his people were not receiving what he believed had been negotiated in 1876. As Edward Lazarus (1991:121) wrote, Red Cloud understood perfectly that he had been cheated, but he still did not know just how in terms that were either accurate or that whites could comprehend. Some of the younger and boarding-school educated Lakota did have a sense of this, including Edgar Fire Thunder who was cognizant of the fact that three-quarters of the tribe had never consented to or signed the 1876 agreement (Ibid:122). Martin counter-argued, however, that this agreement was valid not only because the leaders who signed represented three-quarters of the adult male population, but also because the government had already compensated the Sioux with more than enough in food and provisions for the taking of the Black Hills and other lands under Article 19 of the 1889 Agreement. American Horse then challenged Martin by arguing that the later agreement, governing the break-up of the Sioux reservation, had nothing to do with the Black Hills or any other earlier treaty to which the Sioux were a party (Lazarus 1991:122-123).

Three years later in 1906, another boarding-school educated Sioux, Charles Turning Hawk, sought counsel from the Washington, D.C. attorney, R.V. Belt, who advised the Pine Ridge Sioux that any claim for the Black Hills had to revolve around the federal government s failure to secure the signatures of three-fourths of the adult male population, but even then, there was no guarantee that a case would lead to a judicial ruling in their favor. Nevertheless, the Pine Ridge Sioux Tribal Council chose Belt to oversee their legal affairs on the matter. He was never retained, however. At this point in history, the Indian Bureau still reserved the prerogative to determine who would represent tribal interests, and tribes did not retain the right to sue the government independently (Lazarus 1991:123-125) As defined by congressional legislation enacted in 1873,

tribes were required to secure special jurisdictional acts from Congress in order to press their land claims in the U.S. federal court system (Lazarus 1991:124-126).

In 1911, five years after the Pine Ridge Sioux first sought legal counsel, representatives from the various Sioux, Northern Arapaho, and Northern Cheyenne tribes, who were either parties to the 1876 Black Hills Agreement, or who were present at the deliberations, met at the Cheyenne River Reservation for what had now become an annual gathering on the issue of the Black Hills treaty. At this meeting, a formal resolution was passed that claimed the treaty was executed illegally because it had not secured the required signatures of three-quarters of the adult male population. Also present at this meeting was the state of South Dakota s highly respected historian, Doane Robinson, who became sufficiently convinced of the legitimacy of the tribes claims to write about them in an article that appeared in Deadwood s *Pioneer Times*. Needless to say this brought about a rash of rebuttals from government officials denying the legitimacy of any such claim (Lazarus 1991:130-131).

Without the financial support of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Sioux raised their own monies to travel to Washington, D.C. and lobby Congress to get a jurisdictional act passed so they could pursue their claim in court. They also began to secure depositions from tribal elders who had been at the 1875 and 1876 proceedings. All of these elders concurred that they and others who participated in the negotiations were under the impression that they only signed a lease for the Hills not a settlement for their outright sale (Lazarus 1991:137). It would take many more years for Congress to pass the Sioux Jurisdictional Act on June 1, 1920, a statute allowing them to pursue their Black Hills case in court (Lazarus 1991:138).

In the meantime, the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes were also trying, but less successfully, to gain legal standing to pursue their case through the federal court system. In the same year that the Sioux received a jurisdictional act to pursue their claim, Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos met at a joint meeting on December 15-17, 1920 to propose their own separate claim. The next year the Northern Arapahos formally withdrew themselves from any association with the Sioux claim (Fowler 1982:327n3), and the following year, 1922, the chairman of the Northern Arapaho Business Council, Henry Lee Tylor, tried to get federal support to send an Arapaho delegation to Washington, D.C. to seek some sort of redress on their Black Hills claim (Fowler 1982:134). In 1926, Congress apparently authorized the Arapahos and Cheyennes to intervene in the Sioux case before the U.S. Court of Claims, but over the next decade, they decided not to do so (U. S. House of Representatives 1939:77). Nonetheless, the Northern Arapahos were still optimistic about gaining the necessary government support to pursue their claim independently, and in 1939, they appealed to the U.S. Senate for passage of a separate jurisdictional act to get a hearing on the Black Hills before the U.S. Court of Claims, but this effort appears not to have moved beyond the hearing stage (U.S. House of Representatives 1939, 1940). By the 1940s, it was apparent that their efforts would not be rewarded (Fowler 1982:165, 173). Although the Northern Arapahos and Northern Cheyennes were parties to an ICC claim over lands inside the border of their territory as designated in the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, there is nothing we could find to suggest that they attempted to pursue a separate ICC claim relating to their proprietary interests in the Black Hills.

2. The Case Before the U.S. Court of Claims: 1921-1949

A year after the Sioux received their jurisdictional act, the federal government retained a group of prestigious New York attorneys to review the Sioux s case (Lazarus 1991:140). In their expert legal opinion, the jurisdictional act, which the Sioux had fought so hard to secure, was

weak because it did not empower the Court of Claims to consider the Sioux s case on the moral grounds they wished to pursue it. Moreover, the lawyers argued that even if a decision had been favorable to the Sioux, the award would be too small to merit pushing the case any further. They also advised them against the value of their claim, asserting that an Indian tribe s rights in the land were not those of outright ownership but rather similar to the rights of a tenet for life (Ibid:140-141). These attorneys also asserted that even though their 1868 treaty gave them an absolute and undisturbed right of occupancy to the Black Hills, it did not grant them outright ownership. Finally, even if the court accepted life tenancy as a form of ownership, they argued that any expenditure the government claimed it had spent on the Sioux would far outweigh any award the Sioux might conceivably win (Ibid:141). In their expert opinion, the Sioux needed to return to Congress to obtain a new or amended jurisdictional act, excluding government offsets and authorizing the U.S. Court of Claims to inquire into the legality of the 1876 agreement. The attorneys the government retained withdrew themselves from the case, leaving the Sioux without legal representation (Ibid:142).

In their search for new legal counsel, the Sioux found themselves embroiled in bitter disputes over what course of action they should take on their claim. No less divided in deciding how to pursue the claim were the attorneys the Sioux were attempting to retain. On December 21, 1922, the lawyers reached an agreement, but in the meantime, one of them had dropped out of the case (Lazarus 1991:132-145). The lead attorney for the Sioux, Ralph Hoyt Case, was confident that the Sioux s original jurisdictional act was adequate enough to take their claim to court, but he was also mindful of the fact that the only redress the Sioux could hope to receive from the Court of Claims was a monetary settlement (Ibid:147). In his initial meetings with the Sioux, Case informed them that they had no hope of regaining any of their lands in the Black Hills because the Court of Claims was only empowered to make a judgment for restitution on monetary grounds. He also told them that the federal government had the constitutional right of eminent domain as long as it provided fair compensation for its takings (Lazarus Ibid: 147-148). From Case s perspective, the key issue in the case was not that the government had taken the Hills from the Sioux, but that it had not paid them for the seizure (Ibid:147-149). Although Edward Lazarus (Ibid:150) claims the Sioux had not anticipated anything different at the outset of their long legal struggle, and merely desired to get the best price for the Hills as expeditiously as possible, it is hard to know what most of them really expected or even wanted at this point in time.[6]

On May 7, 1923, Case filed the Sioux s claim with the U.S. Court of Claims on the grounds that the United States had not given the Sioux adequate compensation for a Fifth Amendment taking of lands guaranteed to them in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty (Lazarus 1991:169). The claim was divided into three different categories of land, which included under Class A the lands of the Black Hills and their surrounding area. These lands totaled 7,345,157 acres, which Case valued at $172 million plus interest from the date of taking (Ibid:158). The claim was accompanied by a five hundred page Statement of Fact, in which Case meticulously presented the testimonies[7] of Sioux elders who were present at the 1875 and 1876 negotiations that led to the seizure of the Black Hills. Over the years, according to Lazarus (Ibid:175, 191), this document

[6] Like most other Americans in the 1920s, and even today, few Sioux had the necessary legal background and expertise to take an informed stand on their rights and options on this matter.

[7] These testimonies revealed in varying, and at times inconsistent, ways the Sioux were misled and deceived by the government during the negotiations in 1875 and 1876 (Lazarus 1991:175, 191). The illegality of the so-called 1877 Agreement was raised not only by the Lakotas but also by some of the whites that attended the deliberations. Ben Arnold (in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:209-210), for one, knew the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty and what had been said in the negotiations in the 1875 and 1876 negotiations. He revealed that the original offer to the Sioux in 1875 was a land lease, not an outright sale, and that the negotiations in 1876 took place under considerable duress.

took on a sacred status among the Sioux, and while it clearly reflected the moral sentiments and views of the Sioux litigants, it did not stand up in court against government challenges that it was a record of hearsay without any objective grounding (Ibid:175).

After eighteen years of legal maneuvering, delays, and audits, the oral arguments on the Sioux case were heard before the U. S. Court of Claims in October of 1941 (Lazarus 1991:150-175). Eight months later on June 1, 1942, the court dismissed the case (*Sioux Tribe of Indians vs. The United States* (97 Ct. Cl.]) on the grounds that it did not have the jurisdiction to decide a moral claim. The court, however, held conflicting opinions that led to inconsistent readings of its ruling by later courts. In its Finding of Facts, the court rejected the central thesis of the plaintiffs that the Sioux had been coerced into signing the 1876 Black Hills Agreement. It determined that the government had conducted itself properly given the circumstances. This led a 1975 court to rule that the case had been adjudicated. Yet, in 1974 and 1979, two other courts took the position that the 1942 court holding had explicitly dismissed the case and refused to give a legal opinion on what was construed as a moral issue (Ibid:175). More specifically, the 1942 court stated that it was not given authority under the provisions of the Sioux Jurisdictional Act to rule on whether the Black Hills were seized as a Fifth Amendment taking, and therefore, it did not have jurisdiction to decide whether adequate consideration was given under the 1877 Agreement (Ibid:179-180). Seven years later, Sioux legal counsel appealed the case to the Supreme Court, but the high court declined to review it (Ibid:188).

3. Case Before the Indian Claims Commission: 1950-1956

The following year on August 15, 1950, Ralph Case, the Sioux s principal attorney, filed the Sioux claim before the Indian Claims Commission. In his thirty-five page petition to the commission, the Fifth Amendment legal theory he had originally advanced in the case before the U.S. Court of Claims was abandoned; and instead, his argument rested solely on the claim that the compensation paid to the Sioux under the 1877 Act was inadequate and unconscionable. In other words, the Sioux had not received just consideration for the taking of their lands by the government (Lazarus 1991:191). The justice department s counsel, of course, vigorously denied the allegations that the government had coerced, misled, or acted unfairly in its dealings with the Sioux on this matter (Ibid:193-195).

On April 5, 1954, the ICC in *Sioux Tribe of Indians v. United States* (2 Ind. Cl. Comm:646) denied the claim and sided with the government that the Sioux had not demonstrated unconscionable consideration under the 1877 Agreement. Quite the contrary, the ICC in its Findings of Fact and Opinion wrote that under the circumstances the federal government treated the Sioux fairly and provided them just compensation (2 Ind. Cl. Comm:673, 682-683). In reaching their decision, the ICC completely sidestepped Article 12 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, requiring permission of three-quarters of the adult Sioux male population to amend any of its provisions. Since the necessary signatures were not secured in the 1876 agreement, the government taking was theoretically illegal. This important issue, however, was never ruled on because the Sioux s attorney, Ralph Case, had not pursued it in the claim before the ICC (Lazarus 1991:204-205). A year later on March 11, 1955, the ICC denied the Sioux s petition for a rehearing, and seven months later it was returned to the U.S. Court of Claims.

Once again, on November 7, 1956, the Court of Claims affirmed the dismissal of the Sioux claim in *Sioux Tribe of Indians, et al. v. The United States* (146 F. Supp:229). Siding with the ICC and the Department of Justice, the court ruled that the Sioux had received conscionable consideration under the terms of the 1877 Agreement. It also argued that even though the govern-

ment had breached the 1868 treaty, the Sioux had no legal standing to make a claim against the United States and no basis for recovery either (Lazarus 1991:211-212).

4. The Second Time Around: 1957-1974

Realizing that their attorney, Ralph Case, had botched their case, the Oglala Sioux Tribe requested that one of their own tribal members, Helen Peterson.[8] the Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, seek other legal advice. A year later she recommended the tribe seek new counsel and a reconsideration of their claim (Lazarus 1991:211-215). On October 4, 1957, the Sioux s new legal counsel, Sonosky, Schifter, and Lazarus, filed a motion before the Court of Claims to vacate its 1956 ruling on the grounds that the tribe s former attorney, Ralph Case, was incompetent (Ibid:228-229). The response of the government on the Motion to Vacate was predictable, asserting that the problem had not been the Sioux s legal representation but rather the lack of merit in their case (Ibid:233).

On November 5, 1958, the Court of Claims (182 Ct. Cl:912) granted the plaintiff s motion, returning the case to the ICC to determine whether there were sufficient grounds to reconsider it. After two weeks, the ICC (33 Ind. Cl. Comm:151, 152, 153) gave the order to have the case re-opened (Lazarus 1991:234-235). Two years later, on November 4, 1960, the Sioux filed their amended claims with the ICC. Unlike their former counsel, the new attorneys divided the case into two petitions, one dealing with the lands surrendered under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 (Docket-74A), and a second covering lands taken in the 1877 Black Hills Agreement (Docket 74B) (Ibid:238). In relation to the second petition, the Sioux claimed that the land surrendered under the 1877 Agreement constituted a Fifth Amendment taking and that the United States had not given them adequate compensation for this seizure (Ibid:204). The government objected to the Sioux s petitions on the grounds that they represented new claims, but the ICC denied the government s objections (Ibid:242).

Following its earlier dilatory tactics, the government delayed its response to the plaintiff s petitions, raised dubious technical issues, and moved to dismiss the claim entirely. Again, the ICC denied the government s motions (Lazarus 1991:242-244). The new trial started on June 25, 1962 with the plaintiffs presenting 535 exhibits with over 10,000 pages of evidence to prove Sioux title to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty lands (Ibid:248-249).[9] By February 1964, all papers in the case had been filed (Ibid:260), but it was not until May of 1966 that the ICC ordered the Sioux claims be tried separately: 74A was assigned to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty claims, and 74B was the docket for claims relating to the Black Hills. The commission also required the government to reply to the tribe s amended Black Hills petition (Ibid:264). As Lazarus (Ibid:264) wrote: The sleeping giant was about to be awakened. [10]

After two more years had passed, the ICC set down for determination three questions:

> First, what lands and rights did the United States acquire under 1877 Act? Second, was there any consideration for the acquisition by the United States of these lands and rights, and if so, what constituted that consideration? Third, if there was no consideration (an agreed-upon

[8] She was one of the members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe of Cheyenne ancestry.

[9] Copies of these papers are held on microfilm in the collections of the South Dakota Historical Society, and these were reviewed as part of the research underlying this report.

[10] Although Lazarus use of this popular expression is no doubt coincidental, it is worth noting here that the Black Hills have long been associated with a figure of gigantic stature in Sioux traditions (see, Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen for a detailed discussion of this association).

> price) was there any payment (compensation for a unilateral appropriation) to the acquisition? (*quoted from* Lazarus 1991:267).

Earlier in the same year, 1968, plaintiffs requested the commission to consider these very same questions (Ibid:267).

On March 16, 1969, Sioux counsel filed two briefs. One of these defined Sioux rights to lands that were lost under the 1877 agreement, including the Black Hills (Lazarus 1991:267). In this brief, the attorneys claimed that the United States had not provided adequate consideration for the relinquishment of Black Hills lands under the 1877 Agreement, and they further asserted that the compensation the tribe received represented a gratuity rather than a payment for the sale of the land. The defense objected to the plaintiffs assertions and argued that government compensation represented adequate consideration, adding that it had paid the Sioux a total of $52,139,223.93 between 1877 and June 30, 1951, and that, in addition, it had transferred 900, 000 acres of land back to the Sioux. It also raised the defense of res *judicata*[11] (Ibid:156).

On February 15, 1974, the ICC handed down its ruling in *Sioux Nation of Indians v. United States* (33 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974:151). The first principal holding ruled the United States had taken the Black Hills under the 1877 Agreement in violation of the 5th Amendment, and the second held the land appropriated under this act was worth 17.1 million dollars (33 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974:217, 357; Lazarus 1991:317). The ICC justices further argued that the Sioux claim rested on moral rather than legal grounds; and therefore, it stood outside the scope of the 1920 Sioux Jurisdictional Act and had not been adjudicated as the government claimed in the 1942 court (Lazarus 1991:319). Thus, the ICC rejected the government s *res judicata* claim (33 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974:209; Lazarus 1991:319). The ICC also found that the government had made no effort to give the Sioux the full value of their land and were required to offer fair compensation for the taking (33 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974:216-220; Lazarus 1991:323). In other words, the 1877 Black Hills Agreement had constituted an illegal taking as defined by the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The ICC also held that the time of taking was November 17, 1875, the date President Ulysses S. Grant secretly ordered the Army to stop upholding Sioux rights as set forth in Article 2 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, not the later date of 1877 when the act relinquishing Sioux title to the lands was passed by Congress (33 Ind. Cl. Comm. 1974:227). The commission awarded the Sioux $17.1 million for a Fifth Amendment taking of the Black Hills and $450,000 for the gold seized by the settlers. It also held the government liable for paying interest on the entire 17.5 million in the amount of 5% per year from the 1875 date of taking (Lazarus 1991:359). The downside of the ICC ruling, according to Lazarus (Ibid:324), was the government was allowed to collect its offsets from the award; it was able to claim reimbursement for the expenditures it had made on behalf of the Sioux in fulfilling any obligations it incurred under the 1877 Act.

Since the government s credit would substantially reduce the monetary settlement the Sioux would actually receive, the attorneys turned to Congress to seek an amendment to the ICC Act which would bar offsetting, that is, exclude food, rations, and provisions from the category of allowable offsets the government was able to deduct from a claims settlement (Lazarus 1991:330-332). The amendment was brought before the Senate by James Abourezk, the Senator from South Dakota. On May 28, 1974, it was passed by the Senate (S.3007) and approved by the

[11] *Res judicata* bars a rehearing on an issue previously adjudicated in a civil court. It was the government s position that the Fifth Amendment taking had been decided by the 1942 Court of Claims, and therefore, the issue could not be retried.

House (H.R. 16170) on October 15, 1974. President Gerald Ford signed the amendment into law on October 27 (Ibid:332-336).

5. Back to the U.S. Court of Claims: 1975-1977

Meanwhile, the United States appealed the ICC s 1974 rulings, and once again, it was referred to the Court of Claims on the grounds of *res judicata* and *collateral estoppel*.[12] On June 25, 1975, in *United States v. Sioux Nation* (207 Ct. Cl. 1975:234), the government asked the court to consider whether the Black Hills were relinquished by the power of eminent domain or by the course of unfair and dishonorable dealings not amounting to a constitutional taking. In this case, the Court of Claims affirmed the ICC award for 17.5, but denied any government liability for interest on that amount, stating that the Sioux s Fifth Amendment Claim was barred by *res judicata* (207 Ct. Cl. 1975:234). In reaching this decision, the court argued that while it did not agree with the 1942 decision, it was compelled by the technical requirements of the law to rule that the 1942 court had decided the Fifth Amendment question (Lazarus 1991:344). In its evaluation of the historical record, the court found the government s dealings with the Sioux reprehensible, but ruled that the Sioux could only seek compensation on the ground of dishonorable dealings. This meant an award for 17.5 million, not an added 85 million in interest. On December 4, 1975, the Supreme Court denied a petition from Sioux counsel for *a certiorari*, so the maximum allowable recovery on the claim remained at 17.5 million (Lazarus 1991:344-345).

6. On to the Supreme Court and the Final Judgment: 1978-1980

Meanwhile, Sioux counsel tried to get Senator Abourezk to introduce another amendment to the original 1946 ICC Act, whereby Congress would instruct the ICC to consider the Black Hills claim solely on its merits without regard to the defense of *res judicata* and *collateral estoppel* (Lazarus 1991:347). The statute (92 Stat. 153) was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on March 13, 1978 (Ibid:365), and it gave the Sioux another legal reprieve -- the chance to finally prove their claim of a Fifth Amendment taking. The Black Hills claim was argued before the U. S. Court of Claims for the fourth time on November 28, 1978. On June 13, 1979, the court handed down its final ruling in *United States v. Sioux Nation*, in which it affirmed the 1974 ICC ruling that the Sioux were entitled to $17.1 million plus interest at 5% from the date of taking, determined by this court to be February 1877 (the date the Black Hills Act was passed into law) and to $450,000 for the gold stolen from the Hills but without interest on this amount for a grand total of 106 million dollars (220 Ct.Cl. 1979:442; Lazarus 1991:373-375).

On October 17, 1979, the Solicitor General filed a petition for a writ of *certiorari*, asking the Supreme Court to overturn the 1979 Court of Claims decision, and a month later on November 21, 1979, the high court considered the petition for *a certiorari* in the Black Hills Claim as United *States v. Sioux Nation of Indians, No. 79-639* (Lazarus 1991:378-379). Oral argument for case began on March 24, 1980 (Ibid:386), and on June 30, 1980, in *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians* (448 U.S. 371, 100 S.Ct. 1980), the Supreme Court affirmed the 1979 Court of Claims ruling, voting 8 to 1 in favor of the decision. Justice Blackmun wrote on behalf of the majority in the case, while Justice Rehnquist presented the dissenting opinion.

[12] *Collateral estoppel* refers to a situation where an issue of fact cannot be relitigated between two parties once it has been decided upon in a valid legal judgment.

7. The Legal Aftermath of the Supreme Court Decision

After sixty years, the long legal battle was seemingly over. The victory was bittersweet, however. Even though the Sioux s attorneys had won the largest Indian claims award for their clients, the political grounds on which the claim was being staked had shifted. The Sioux were no longer interested in a monetary settlement for the Black Hills; they wanted their illegally confiscated land returned.

One day after the Supreme Court decision, Mario Gonzalez, a Sioux attorney from Pine Ridge, sought an injunction against Sioux counsel to prevent them from pursuing a monetary claim. The complaint asserted that the lawyers in the Sioux Nation case did not represent the Oglala Sioux Tribe (Lazarus 1991:403, 408). Two weeks later, on July 18, Gonzalez filed a case with the Federal District Court in South Dakota, requesting, among other things, the return of the Black Hills to the Sioux. He argued that the 1877 Black Hills Agreement was null and void on the grounds that the U.S. had seized the Black Hills for private rather than public purposes, thereby violating the Fifth Amendment. The tribe sought the return of their proprietary rights to the Hills and monetary damages for the extraction of minerals. He moved to stop any payment on the Sioux Nation settlement to the plaintiffs and their attorneys (Ibid:408-409; Pemberton 1985:310). A year later, the court dismissed the case and ruled in *Oglala Sioux Tribe v. United States* [650 F.2d] that it lacked jurisdiction over such matters. It also declined Gonzalez s move to appeal the case (Pemberton 1985:310). Subsequently, the Oglala Sioux Tribe sued the Homestake Mining Company to revoke their title to five acres of property in the Hills, to secure damages from the company s trespass on Oglala land, and to prevent the company from furthering its operations (Pemberton 1985:311, Lazarus 1991:412). In 1983, the court dismissed the case of *Oglala Sioux Tribe v. Homestake Mining Co.* [722 F.2d] on the grounds that it had disposed of the issues raised in a previous ruling on the Oglala Sioux Tribe v. United States. While Edward Lazarus (Ibid:412-413) dismissed Gonzalez s legal efforts as frivolous, Richard Pemberton Jr. (1985:312) took a more measured view of the situation and argued that the United States was not legally equipped to address the issues of real importance to the Oglalas and other Sioux people. As a result, and in the end, the court system served as no remedy at all for the Sioux in their quest for justice on the matter of the Black Hills.

B. The Legal Interpretation of the Case

Throughout its long history, the Sioux Nation s Black Hills claim never really pivoted, as some other Indian claims cases have, on the issue of whether or not the Sioux had property rights and interests in the Black Hills. These had been acknowledged in two treaties with the United States. First, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 clearly established that the Black Hills were located within the territorial boundaries of the Sioux Nation, and second, under the terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Black Hills were included within the lands set aside for the exclusive and undisturbed use and occupancy of the Sioux and any other tribes who they permitted to reside there. Sioux rights and interests in the Black Hills prior to 1851 were carefully documented by ethnohistorical evidence assembled for the Justice Department by Wesley Hurt (1974) in 1953, and they were also evident in the prodigious body of material Sioux counsel assembled for its litigation after 1957. Aboriginal entitlement was never really at issue in the Sioux Black Hills claim, What was open to question was whether the court would recognize this form of entitlement. It was never seriously addressed, however, because the United States had effectively acknowledged Sioux ownership in the 1851 and 1868 Fort Laramie treaties.

According to Professor David Wilkins (1997:226-227), the Black Hills case hinged throughout its long history on the question of the government s right of eminent domain and its authority to exercise its claimed plenary power. More specifically, it hinged on the reading of these rights as they applied to earlier Supreme Court rulings over Fifth Amendment takings of Indian lands. Several cases served as precedents in the Supreme Court decision, but the two most important ones were: *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* [187 U.S. 23 S. Ct.] and *Shoshone v. United States* [299 U.S. 57 S. Ct.]. In addition, the high court considered certain lower court decisions, including *Three Tribes of the Fort Berthold Tribe v. United States* [182 Ct. Cl. 543].

Ever since Supreme Court Justice John Marshall s famous 1830s rulings in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and in *Worcester v. Georgia*, tribes have been viewed as distinct, independent political communities and as domestic dependent nations with certain sovereign rights in their lands. Under American law, however, the United States retains dominion over and claims title to all lands within its borders as the ultimate sovereign body (Lazarus 1991:169-170). Notwithstanding the acknowledgment of the nation s highest court that tribes have rights in their lands, especially when these are protected by treaty,[13] U.S. courts have read these rights differently and ruled inconsistently on the extent to which and the conditions under which this property can be seized by the United States through its right of eminent domain and its authority to exercise plenary power.

In the *Lone Wolf* Case, the Kiowa, Kiowa Apache, and Comanche tribes of Oklahoma brought suit against the U.S. government on the grounds that it had illegally disposed of their lands by selling them without their consent. The high court ruled that Congress had plenary power over Indian land, and that it had the power and authority to abrogate treaties and alter their provisions. It further held that the government, as the guardian of Indian affairs, maintained paramount power over Indian proprietary interests. In its role as trustee, the government had the right to exercise its plenary power in making good faith decisions on behalf of tribal interests. The court construed this power as political and not under the jurisdiction of the judicial arm of the government (Wilkins 1997:105-117; Lazarus 1991:169-170).

In the *Shoshone* Case, the Wind River Shoshone Tribe of Wyoming sued the government on the grounds that they had not received any compensation when another tribe, the Northern Arapahos, was admitted to and settled on their reservation. In this case, the Supreme Court reaffirmed congressional power over Indian property, but it also held that such power does not extend beyond its obligation to provide a fair return for its takings. The court ruled that the government had the right to seize tribal property under its power of eminent domain, but that it could not appropriate tribal lands for its own purposes or transfer them to others without giving tribes just compensation. The *Shoshone* Case was construed by the court as a Fifth Amendment taking because the tribal parties had not been offered any fair or just return (Wilkins 1997:91-104; Lazarus 1991:172-173).

Until the 1970s, decisions in the Sioux Nation case were cast, often in contradictory ways, in relation to these two precedent cases. From the very beginning, Sioux counsel believed that the proper precedent case was *Shoshone*, and that the 1877 Black Hills Agreement constituted a classic Fifth Amendment taking. The 1942 court, which presumably did not adjudicate the case, nonetheless, read the plaintiffs claim as lacking merit because the *Shoshone* Case did not apply. Instead, they argued that in passing the 1877 Act, Congress was exercising its plenary power to make decisions on behalf of its guardians, and so *Lone Wolf* was the proper case. The 1974 court,

[13] At all levels, the courts have not always seen fit to protect Indian property rights in situations where their aboriginal title was never recognized in a treaty, agreement, or other statutory contract with the U.S. government.

by contrast, took a different position and argued that *Lone Wolf* did not apply. Instead, the precedent case was *Shoshone* (Wilkins 1997:266-227; Lazarus 1991:211, 322).

Conflicting opinions on the applicability of these two cases had dogged other tribal claims as well. So in 1974, the U.S. Court of Claims created what it identified as a good faith test in *Three Tribes of the Fort Berthold Tribe v. United States* to determine which of the previous precedents, *Lone Wolf* or *Shoshone*, properly applied to claims involving federal takings of tribal lands. It set forth guidelines to determine whether Congress was acting in its plenary capacity as trustee over tribal property or in a sovereign role with powers of eminent domain. It argued that Congress could not invoke both at the same time but must chose which of its hats it intends to wear in carrying out particular actions (Lazarus 1991:319-321). In its 1974 decision on the Sioux Black Hills claims, the Indian Claims Commission held that Congress had not functioned in its capacity as a trustee because it had not simply substituted tribal lands for money, but instead, it acted as a sovereign and seized tribal assets without making a good faith effort to fairly compensate the tribe for its taking (Ibid:321-323). On appeal, higher courts confirmed the application of the Fort Berthold guidelines in the Sioux Black Hills claim (Wilkins 1997:227; Lazarus 1991:367-369, 379-382). The Fort Berthold standard has its own problems, however, not the least of which is that a trustee/beneficiary relationship does not apply to a case unless Congress assumed such an obligation under a treaty or other statute (Wilkins 1997:227; Lazarus 1991:321-323). Congress assumed no such obligation in the 1877 statute that authorized the seizure of the Black Hills from its tribal owners.

In its final ruling on the matter in 1980, the Supreme Court in *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians* (448 U.S. 371, 100 S. Ct:409-410, 412-413) took the position that *Lone Wolf* did not apply because the government had never attempted to give the Sioux adequate compensation for their lands. The court s majority also discredited the applicability of *Lone Wolf* on the grounds that the circumstances under which the Black Hills were seized did not lead to the conclusion that the taking was a change in its form of investment in tribal property (Ibid:413). It also struck down the government s claim that the case was political and, therefore, not subject to judicial review. The court dismissed this argument and asserted that when Congress passed the 1920 jurisdictional act allowing the Sioux to pursue their claim in court, it had sanctioned a judicial review (Ibid:414). It also held that Congress had not acted in good faith because it had not applied appropriate measures for protecting and advancing tribal interests when it appropriated the Black Hills (Ibid:415). Finally, it determined that there had been a taking under the Fifth Amendment, and that even though the government had provided the Sioux with rations, this was not a consideration but rather a form of coercion to pressure the Sioux into signing the 1876 Agreement upon which the 1877 Act of Congress was based. Therefore, the court ruled that the United States was obligated to pay the Sioux an award with interest for the illegal taking of the Black Hills (Ibid:419-424; see also Wilkins 1997:225-233; Lazarus 1991:389-401).

While the court s holding may have led to some measure of success in gaining for the Sioux a larger settlement (5% interest on the 17.5 million or 106 million) for the government s Fifth Amendment taking of the Black Hills, it did little to resolve the ambiguous nature of the relationship between tribal nations and the federal government. David Wilkins (1997:229-234) has argued that the possibility of tribes receiving full redress for illegal takings is precluded because they do not stand on equal grounds as sovereign powers before the U.S. judiciary. Their sovereignty is stripped, *ipso facto*, once they enter the legal system; here, they must assert their rights under conditions defined and restricted by the exercise of U.S. sovereignty, not on their own terms. Edward Lazarus (1991:401) also concluded that the resolution of the Supreme Court and earlier ruling bodies was flawed because it did not take into consideration tribal forms of jurisprudence and because the judges were ill-equipped to examine the history of the case in a fair

and impartial way. In his dissenting opinion, Justice Rehnquist asserted that Justice Blackmun had taken a revisionist position in representing the history of the case. Rehnquist s reading, however, was no less subjective and politically motivated. The masking of justice, as Wilkins (1997) puts it, has been inevitable in U.S. Supreme Court rulings on tribal sovereignty because the U.S. Constitution is generally interpreted on grounds that are legally and politically biased in ways that favor the laws and interests of the United States over those of the tribal nations with whom it has historically litigated cases over land and religion.

D. Why the Supreme Court Decision is No Settlement At All

To the present day, the Sioux remain adamant in their refusal to accept any monetary compensation for the Black Hills. There is no end to the explanations of why the Sioux continue to refuse the settlement awarded them by the Supreme Court in 1980 for the illegal seizure of the Black Hills. Historical, economic, political, and cultural reasons have been advanced for the refusal of the Sioux to accept a monetary award, and some of these are described here, albeit in an abridged fashion.

1. Historical Perspectives

Many of the attempts to explain the Sioux s refusal to accept a monetary settlement for the Black Hills pivot in one way or another on historical events and circumstances. A subtext of Edward Lazarus (1991) treatise on the Sioux s Black Hills claim is that by prolonging the case and failing to reach a positive outcome for the Sioux prior to 1960, the U.S. government missed the propitious historical moment when a monetary settlement would have been acceptable to the Sioux for the taking of the Hills. He also blamed the ineptness of Sioux counsel, Ralph Hoyt Case, and his mishandling of the case for the failure of the tribe to reach a favorable legal resolution and settlement at an opportune historical moment. Notwithstanding internal political differences among the Sioux during the history of the case, there was a time, before 1970, when it would have been conceivable for Sioux leaders, inside and outside of tribal government, to accept a monetary settlement without political risk. After the Sioux treaty-rights movement gained momentum in the 1970s, advocating the return of the Black Hills, it was no longer politically practical or possible for Sioux leadership to even argue the merits of a monetary settlement (Lazarus 1991:349-357; New Holy 1998). By 1974, the political winds had changed direction, and the only resolution the Sioux would accept for their claim was the recovery of the Black Hills, themselves. Vine Deloria, Jr. (in Lazarus 1991:404) asserted that so many Sioux had now taken a hard-line view on the matter that it would be political suicide for any tribal leader to push for anything but a land return.

There is no question that the legal conclusion of the Sioux Black Hills claim could not have come at a more inopportune moment in history, at least from the standpoint of those who wanted the Sioux to accept a monetary settlement. A strictly historicist account, however, is not sufficient to answer the question of why this settlement was no longer acceptable to the Sioux in 1980. This question needs to be answered in other ways. On the one hand, attention must be given to the reasons why the monetary compensation was rejected. And on the other hand, the conditions under which an acceptance of the settlement was foreclosed require consideration as well. Both of these are well beyond the scope of this report, and, therefore, they can only be addressed very briefly here.

2. Economic Reasons

By the early 1980s, the power of Sioux tribal governments was considerably weakened by the treaty rights movement and the politicization of the Sioux people. None of their leaders was in a strong position to advocate on behalf of a monetary settlement, but more than that, most of them probably did not wish to be identified with a decision that directly challenged the rising tide of Sioux nationalism and its emphasis on traditionalism and sovereignty (Lazarus 1991:403-405). As Vine Deloria (in Lazarus 1991:406) argued, if the settlement money had been accepted, it would have been rapidly dissipated in communities that faced some of the highest levels of poverty in the United States. Pressures to make per capita payments and/or to support programs that attended to the tribes ongoing needs would have siphoned off the funds. The compensation would have quickly evaporated, leaving only ephemeral effects. It could not have contributed to any lasting solution to the Sioux s vast economic needs. In the end it was not worth it for the Sioux or their leaders, to sacrifice their continuing sense of entitlement to the Black Hills in exchange for a fleeting sum of money. As Sioux leaders had recognized a century earlier, the Hills held a lasting and irreplaceable storehouse of resources that could provision their people for seven generations to come. Even though much of the Hills resource value had already been extracted since 1874, contemporary Sioux still saw them as capable of providing some measure of economic independence as evidenced in the plans they put forth in their 1985 land recovery bills (see below).

3. Cultural Rationale

Many Sioux believe that the Black Hills are beyond any price because they are sacred, standing at the very heart of their culture and traditions. They proclaim that the Black Hills can never be sold, and that the only acceptable settlement for their theft by the United States is the return of the land (U.S. Senate 1985; Black Elk, C. in Doll and Deloria 1994:29; Clifford in Doll 1994:60; Gonzalez in Doll and Deloria 1994:92; Gonzalez 1996; Lazarus 1991:351-353). In the face of such beliefs, the elected leaders of the various Sioux tribes who were parties to the Black Hills litigation and potential beneficiaries of the settlement were placed in a quandary, which Edward Lazarus (1991:405) describes as follows:

> Sioux leaders faced a choice that was really no choice at all. On the one hand, if they voted to use the Black Hills money, they faced certain accusation of having repudiated their heritage and having accepted as justly resolved the tribe s grievances against the United States that for a century had served to explain and excuse four generations of shattered lives. On the other hand, if they voted to reject the Black Hills money, they could don the mantle of traditionalism while in fact sacrificing nothing.

Befuddled by why, after all these years, the Sioux were apparently no longer willing to accept a cash payment for the Hills, some writers began to explore the origins of the cultural rationale behind the change. Richmond Clow (1983) offered one of the first attempts to account for the cultural grounds on which the settlement was being rejected. He argued that the Black Hills claim had become a tribal symbol, which united the Sioux people and provided them a common purpose after they were dispossessed of their lands and moved onto reservations. He maintained that the Sioux rejected the monetary compensation for the Black Hills because to admit that their struggle over the Hills had ended would have been to lose the symbol that unified them and given them a cultural identity as Sioux people (Clow 1983:315-316). As discussed in more detail in Chapter Thirteen, Clow, among other writers (Parker, W. 1985; Feraca 1990; Chirinos 1991; Worster 1992; Bordewich 1996), also took the position that the symbolic and sacred significance of the Black Hills had been invented by modern Sioux to maintain their sense of identity and to

justify their present political aspirations, which included, most predominately, the recovery of the Hills themselves.

Alexandra New Holy (1997, 1998) offers a more complex and compelling interpretation of the connection of the Black Hills to a modern Sioux identity and culture. In contrast to many other non-Indian writers, New Holy asserts that the Sioux have long held the Black Hills as sacred. She argues that for the Sioux the Black Hills, as Nicholas Black Elk once put it, are the heart of everything that is. They have remained one of the most significant and concrete manifestations of Sioux (more specifically, Lakota) culture and identity from pre-reservation times to the present (New Holy 1998:317-321). Before 1877, New Holy (1998:322-323) argues the Black Hills were a place of shelter, a source of sustenance, a site of trade and political negotiation, and, above all, a religious sanctuary. They were a place, as she puts it, to which the Sioux maintained a lived relationship (Ibid:322). This was an area they entered freely for their own material, social, and spiritual purposes. The importance of this relationship, she contends, was well recognized by Sioux leaders in speeches they gave during the 1875 and 1876 deliberations over the sale of the Hills (New Holy 1998:325-330). After their seizure by the U.S. government in 1877 and until 1970, the Sioux reasserted their claim to the Hills through the only remedy they saw available to them, the federal court system. They pinned their hopes on a lucrative cash settlement that would end their poverty and promise them a better life (Ibid:331-334). New Holy (Ibid:334-335) points out that as early as 1964, some of the Sioux, who had moved to the cities of California, began to study the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and used the terms of Article 6 as grounds for the occupation of Alcatraz. A decade later, other Sioux activists would rely on this treaty to mobilize their movements including the protest at Mount Rushmore in 1970, the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, and the takeover of lands in the Black Hills in 1981 (see also, Chapter Six). In alliance with traditional elders from the Pine Ridge Reservation, including Frank Fools Crow and Pete Catches, the activists rekindled their commitment to Lakota culture, language, and traditions. They began to learn about and participate in the Lakotas long-standing spiritual relationship to the Hills and to use this connection to shift the grounds on which they were staking their claims to the Hills (Ibid:336-339). By the time of the Supreme Court ruling in 1980, the old grounds were no longer a culturally viable place to stand in relationship to the Hills, and the only acceptable course was to reclaim ownership of the area, or at the very least, unfettered access to the places of sacred importance (Ibid:339-352).

Elsewhere, New Holy (1997) offers an in-depth analysis of how the spirituality and politics surrounding the Black Hills evolved over time into a much more encompassing and holistic sense of Lakota identity, nationhood, and cosmology (see Chapter Thirteen for further details). At the crux of New Holy s interpretation is the position that the Lakota s relationship to the Hills is multistranded, woven from many complex and intersecting threads. In their attachment to the Black Hills, religious ties cannot be separated from social, political, and economic ones because they are all joined together as one. The Black Hills, as the quintessential center of all that is, represents the Lakotas idea of cosmic singularity, which stands at the foundation of their traditional religious precepts. The Hills are the people, the land, the resources, and the sacred universe wrapped into a single space. Because so much is embedded in their presence, the Sioux s claim to them cannot be settled in any singular or unilateral way. While a monetary settlement might address at least one of the threads that tie the Sioux to the Black Hills, it will never be sufficient to compensate for all the threads that make up the complex cultural tapestry that is the Black Hills.

4. Political Terms

The Sioux s religious connection to the Hills cannot be dismissed, reduced, or explained away simply by politics, as some non-Indian writers have tried to do (Clow 1983; Parker, W. 1985; Feraca 1990; Chirinos 1991; Worster 1992; Bordewich 1996). Whatever concurrent religious motivations lie behind the Sioux s modern quest to reclaim the Black Hills, they are closely linked to their understanding of sovereignty. As defined in its broadest sense, sovereignty represents a nation s right to control and determine the destiny of its people on political, economic, social, cultural, and religious grounds. Since the 1850s, the struggle between the United States and the Sioux has boiled down, in one-way or another, to questions of sovereignty. The Black Hills has stood at the center of this struggle because they have been a supreme symbol of Sioux sovereignty in its broadest sense. The Sioux never relinquished the Black Hills by their own volition; these lands were appropriated from them through congressional action. The Sioux knew the 1877 Act was illegal from the beginning, and they started organizing in the 1880s to challenge its terms. With the hope that the U.S. court system would give them some measure of justice, they became increasingly embittered when ruling after ruling did not end in their favor. Over time, many were beginning to believe that legal avenues were futile because they were forced to play by rules to which they had never been a party and to which they never consented. Although their first attorney Ralph Case may have bungled their claim on legal grounds, he at least had the moral side of their story correct. Even though the Sioux lost their legal battles under his counsel, they continued to support him not because they were naive, as Edward Lazarus (1991:180-181, 187, 206) implies, but precisely because he understood the grounds on which their case rested. That these grounds had little standing in U.S. courts only confirmed Sioux suspicions that the American justice system would never give them a fair hearing on their case. Their growing lack of faith in the American legal system helped to nurture the growth of a movement that would ultimately refuse settlement on any terms that did not include land recovery.

Today, there is a fundamental difference between how the federal government interprets its sovereign relationship to the tribal nations of this country, and the way these nations understand their sovereignty *vis vis* the United States. The Sioux see themselves as members of a sovereign nation, possessed with its own plenary powers and rights of eminent domain. When they negotiated treaties with the federal government, they were doing so, not as the subjects or wards of the United States, but as one sovereign to another. Some might argue that when the Sioux signed the 1825 peace treaty with Atkinson and O Fallon, they effectively surrendered their sovereignty to the United States. By the terms of this treaty, however, they merely pledged their loyalty to the United States and its trade interests, something they normally did with one another without acceding any sovereignty. What the Sioux continue to assert is that they were recognized by the United States as a sovereign nation under the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. From their viewpoint, this is the only legally binding treaty they entered into with the government, and as a result, they have never deferred their sovereignty to the United States. To reject the Supreme Court settlement of 1980 is more than a matter of money, it is a question of sovereignty. By accepting the terms on which the court ruled in their case, the Sioux would be granting the United States the right to exercise its plenary power and eminent domain over them. In effect, what many Sioux are saying is that they are not willing to relinquish their *de jura* sovereign powers to the United States, even though these have been severely compromised since 1877 on *de facto* grounds. The Black Hills are not for sale because the Sioux as a sovereign people have never given the government their consent to purchase them. In the end, there remains the understandable fear that in selling out the Black Hills, the Sioux would not only be sacrificing the very soul of their nation but also its promise of sovereignty.

It can be easily argued that such claims are idealistic and lack any grounding in political or legal reality, but however they are perceived, the fact of the matter is that the status of the Black Hills will stay in political limbo for some time to come. It will remain the grounds on which the Sioux continue to stage their sovereign struggles, and it will remain a flash point for contestation and confrontation between the Sioux peoples and the federal government.

III. CONGRESSIONAL LAND RECOVERY ACTS

Although the Supreme Court s 1980 decision vindicated the Sioux position that the taking of the Hills constituted an illegal Fifth Amendment taking, the political ground on which the Sioux staked their struggle over the Black Hills had shifted. By the time of the settlement, many Sioux began to recognize that their attempts to acquire compensation for the Black Hills stood in conflict with a strict adherence to the terms of the 1868 treaty and their ideas about sovereignty (Lazarus 1991:325). On the 18th of March in 1974, the Black Hills Sioux Nation Council (hereafter referred to as the BHSNC)[14] rejected any sort of monetary settlement and proclaimed that the Black Hills were not for sale (Lazarus 1991:326-327). By the time the Supreme Court reached its decision, many Sioux held the position that taking settlement money was, as Lazarus (1991:325) put it, not only logically absurd, it represented a capitulation to U.S. treaty breaking, a sellout to white and capitalist notions that land and money were interchangeable or more crassly, that Sioux lands could be bought .

Two years after the Supreme Court ruled on the Sioux claims, and one year after the failed occupation at Wind Cave National Park, some Sioux started to mobilize support for the passage of a land recovery bill in Congress. Pursuant to this effort, Sioux leaders agreed to establish a committee to draft legislation for the recovery of lands in the Black Hills and to organize a campaign to lobby on its behalf (Lazarus 1991:414). A year later in January of 1983, the Black Hills Steering Committee chose Gerald Clifford to head this legislative effort, and they voted unanimously to secure the return of all their Black Hills land (Ibid:415). Working with Mario Gonzalez, counsel for the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Charlotte Black Elk, an educator; and other tribal members, Clifford began the daunting task of drafting legislation that would simultaneously achieve widespread approval from the various and often divided constituencies within the Sioux Nation, and at the same time, gain support from politicians in Washington, D.C. (New Holy 1998:342-343).

From the beginning, the land recovery efforts were disrupted by personal and political conflicts within the Sioux s own ranks, most notably the split between Gerald Clifford and Oliver Red Cloud of the BHSNC (Lazarus 1991:415). As Alexandra New Holy (1998:343) observed, the conflict between these two men had roots in a long-standing division within the Oglala tribe that reached back to the generation of Oliver Red Cloud s famous great-grandfather and the non-treaty leaders, Little Big Man and Crazy Horse, who were the direct ancestors of Gerald Clifford and Charlotte Black Elk. In the midst of this internal conflict, several years passed before a compromise was reached among contending Sioux political groups and before eight tribal governments passed resolutions in support of a land recovery bill. In the meantime, efforts were taken to secure congressional sponsorship for the bill. Bill Bradley, a Senator from New Jersey,

[14] Black Hills Sioux National Council (BHSNC) was organized in the 1920s to pursue the Sioux s Black Hills claim in court. Throughout its long history, there has always been a measure of tension between its interests and those of the IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) tribal governments. In the 1970s, the BHSNC was one of the first Sioux political bodies to oppose a legal remedy for the taking of the Black Hills and to consider new strategies for seeking redress.

agreed to bring the bill before Congress, and on July 17, 1985, he introduced the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act in the Senate. Lacking support of the South Dakota delegation, the bill died quickly without even a subcommittee vote (Lazarus 1991:418-419).

The Sioux Nation Black Hills Act (U.S. Senate S. 1453, 1986:2-28) proposed the creation of a new Sioux reservation, in which the Sioux would gain title to all federal lands in the Black Hills, except for Mount Rushmore (U.S. Senate S. 1453, 1986:11). Wind Cave National Park, for example, would have become part of a newly formed Sioux Park, which would be open to everyone, Indians and non-Indians. Certain sacred locations in the newly created park would have been kept off limits to outsiders, however (U. S. Senate S. 1453, 1986:16-19). The bill allowed private citizens and the state of South Dakota to keep their properties with the proviso that the Sioux tribe would retain a first right of refusal to purchase these lands (U. S. Senate S. 1453 1986:13). It also included monetary compensation for lost use of the land rather than just compensation for expropriation, and it proposed measures for the tribe to receive revenue from the administration of grazing and timber leases, but it prohibited all forms of commercial mineral extraction (U. S. Senate S. 1453 1986:19-22). It also included provisions for the management of the area through the Black Hills Sioux National Council (U. S. Senate S. 1453, 22-28; Lazarus 1991:418; New Holy 1998:342).

While the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act may have been the most politically realistic compromise in the face of tribal politics, it had little chance of success on practical grounds (Lazarus 1991:420). Years earlier, Richard West, now director of the Museum of the American Indian and formerly a partner in the law firm that represented the Sioux in their Black Hills claim, met with Robert Fast Horse, one of the leaders of the occupation at Wind Cave National Park, and suggested, according to Lazarus (1991:414), that the Sioux would have to identify provable sites of religious significance, mount a national and international public relations campaign, and secure the support of the South Dakota congressional delegation. He also went on to write: West believed that with good strategy and a little luck, the Sioux might be able to recover all federal lands except for those existing inside national parks (Lazarus 1991:414). While the Black Hills Steering Committee compiled and presented an impressive, although controversial, body of evidence to Congress on the sacred significance of the Hills and its various sites, and while they were able to generate some degree of support in the national media, they had little success in securing any support from South Dakota s congressional delegation.

After hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs in 1986 (U.S. Senate:29-86), where the Sioux presented their religious case on the sacred significance of the Black Hills, Senator Bill Bradley reintroduced his bill, the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act [S. 1453], in the Senate on March 10, 1987 with the support of Daniel Inouye of Hawaii and Stewart Udall of Arizona (Lazarus 1991:422-423). Whatever progress the Black Hills Steering Committee had made in getting their bill before Congress, however, was soon undermined by the Sioux s own internal politics. With the support of an association of the elderly, known as the Grey Eagle Society, the BHSNC headed by Oliver Red Cloud opposed the Bradley Bill and publicly voiced its opposition within a week of the bill s reintroduction in Congress (Lazarus 1991:423).

Oliver Red Cloud and his supporters stood behind a successful Sioux businessman from California, Phil Stevens, who argued that the Bradley bill offered insufficient compensation to the Sioux (Lazarus 1991:423). After convincing many Sioux that they could realistically gain a 3.1 billion compensation package over the 106 million provided in the Bradley Bill, Stevens shifted the tone of Sioux land recovery efforts from their religious foundation to more pecuniary grounds (Lazarus 1991:424; New Holy 1998:343-345). In the face of strong political disagreements

among the Sioux, Clifford reluctantly asked Bradley to hold his bill until the Sioux ironed out their differences (Lazarus 1991:424).

Meanwhile, stringent opposition to the Bradley Bill from the South Dakota Congressional Delegation was mounting. The lead Senator from South Dakota, Tom Daschle, extracted a promise from Daniel Inouye that no further hearings or other actions would take place on the bill unless Daschle supported them. The other senator from South Dakota, Larry Pressler, successfully lobbied to block any land return bill. Daschle also supported the formation of a citizens committee in South Dakota under the leadership of David Miller, a historian from Black Hills State College, called the Open Hills Committee, which rapidly gained the support of the most conservative South Dakotans (Lazarus 1991:425).

After wrecking any chance the Sioux might have had in getting the Bradley Bill on the floor of the Senate, Stevens funded the drafting of another bill with the assistance of Mario Gonzalez and used his influence with Matthew Martinez, a Representative from California, to introduce it in the House of Representatives on September 19, 1990 (Lazarus 1991:427). It failed to achieve any action in Congress, and Martinez refused to reintroduce it because of strong opposition within Sioux ranks (New Holy 1998:345). In 1992, several Sioux tribes rescinded their endorsement of Phil Stevens (Lazarus 1991:426; New Holy 1998:346-347). A year later, another effort was made to get support for a third bill, the *Sioux Nation Black Hills Restoration Act of 1993,* but it never received formal approval from any of the Sioux tribes. In the face of the continuing and bitter polarizations between the Clifford-Bradley and the Stevens-Martinez camps, any further action to get congressional support for the return of the Black Hills became futile (New Holy 1998:347; Hill 2000). No further attempts have been made to approach Congress for the return of Black Hills lands to tribal ownership, although some Lakotas were still working on these efforts through 1995 (Melmer 1995).

Over the past century and a half, the political, economic, and cultural tides have waxed and waned on both the Sioux side of the ledger and on the side that represents the interests and sentiments of the U.S. government and the American public at large. Only rarely has the pendulum of history swung in tandem with the interests of both parties. The 1980s was a period when the two sides might have been able to reach a just and fair solution to the impasse over the Black Hills through some form of congressional legislation, but this did not happen. Presently, we are at a juncture in time when the two sides are standing farther apart than they did even a decade ago. This is not the moment for the Sioux to push a bill in Congress for some form of land reclamation. Nor is it a propitious time for them to consider how they might accept a monetary settlement to achieve the return of some of their Black Hills lands, as judged by the anger generated when the Santee Sioux tribe considered seeking their portion of the award money from the 74A claims docket, which included lands the Sioux lost in 1877 but outside the Black Hills (Little Eagle 1996: A1, A2; Melmer 1996c: A1, A6). Even if the Sioux decided to use their settlement monies to purchase land inside the Hills, they would only be able to procure private holdings, not some of the public lands that are the most important to them. Only through congressional action would they be able to secure title to and sovereignty over lands of sacred and cultural significance, including Bear Butte Lodge, Craven Canyon, Bear Butte, Reynolds, Slate and Gilette prairies, Harney Peak, Wind Cave, and the Race Track, and such action is not likely in the near or foreseeable future. Meanwhile, the Sioux and other tribes are pursuing other avenues to gain access to and protection for sites on public lands that are culturally and spiritually significant to them.

IV. LEGAL STATUS OF TRIBAL ACCESS TO FEDERAL LANDS

While the Sioux were not successful in having their specific interests in the Black Hills addressed by Congress, tribal concerns of nationwide importance were receiving widespread congressional support. In the 1970s and 1980s, important pieces of legislation were passed that acknowledged tribal sovereignty in diverse areas from taxation and economic development to child welfare and health-care delivery. In addition, Congress passed laws that recognized tribal religious freedoms, their interests in certain forms of cultural properties, their rights to access public lands for traditional cultural purposes, and their concerns over the handling of funerary remains.

A. Congressional Statues and Executive Orders

Four congressional statues and two executive orders have specific relevance to national park lands, and these need to be briefly described here. The first four became law through congressional action, while the last two were enacted in the Office of the President as Executive Orders.

1. National Historic Preservation Act

In 1966, Congress passed legislation known as the National Historic Preservation Act (hereafter, NHPA) that protects sites of historic interest. Subsequently and through 2000, this act has been amended on numerous occasions. Today, NHPA protects any of a variety of historic and prehistoric sites of local, regional, and national importance. The cultural properties of American Indians come under the provisions of this law in several ways. The law provides protection for places associated with important individuals, natural landforms with religious significance, and locations associated with traditional cultural practices. It requires federal agencies to inventory and evaluate cultural properties on the lands they administer. Under Section 106 of the Act, the agencies must notify the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation of any actions that might impact eligible properties, and they must carefully evaluate the consequences of issuing licenses to users that may affect properties already listed on the National Register (Parker and King 1990).

2. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act

This act, Public Law 95-341 [92 Stat. 469] (hereafter, AIRFA) of 1978 establishes the rights of American Indian people to access public sites for the practice of their religious observances, to use and possess sacred objects necessary to the conduct of their religion, and to freely worship according to the dictates of their religious beliefs. Under the provisions of this legislation, federal agencies are required to consult with tribes whenever their management practices might endanger sacred sites, burials, and other ethnographic resources or restrict access to such sites.

3. Archaeological Resources Protection Act

A year later, Congress enacted another piece of legislation Public Law 96-95 [16 Stat. 470] (hereafter, ARPA), which governs all cultural and spiritual sites over fifty years of age. It restricts the issuance of permits by federal agencies that might endanger a site, and it requires consultation with tribes who consider it significant on religious or cultural grounds. Additional amendments to this statue were enacted in 2000 to strengthen its enforcement.

4. Native American Graves and Repatriation Act

This statute [Public Law 101-601] (hereafter, NAGPRA) which was passed by Congress in 1990, governs the proper protocol for handling skeletal and funerary remains from unmarked graves, and it covers the return of objects of cultural patrimony, sacred or otherwise. It also requires consultation with tribes with whom a cultural affiliation can be established for funerary remains.

5. Indian Sacred Sites Executive Order 13007

This directive passed on May 24, 1996 directs all agencies responsible for federal lands to provide accommodations to protect sites of sacred significance to American Indians and to permit access to and use of these sites by the religious practitioners of federally recognized tribes.

6. Consultation with Tribal Governments Executive Order 13084

Passed in May of 1998, this is the most recent of a string of executive orders that affirms the special sovereign status of federally recognized tribes. It directs all federal agencies to work with tribes on a government-to-government basis and to institute measures whereby tribes may collaborate in consultation processes surrounding the formulation of regulatory policies and practices affecting the interests of their communities.

B. The Court Litigation

Since the creation of these statues and directives, federal agencies and local administrators of public lands and properties have taken very different steps in implementing them in relation to their own management policies. They have also responded in very different ways to the attempts of tribal peoples to assert their various rights under these laws, and in some cases, their management policies have collided with tribal interests, leading to litigation in the courts. In the case of the Black Hills, several cases have gone to court that revolve around the rights of tribal people to access and use public lands for religious purposes.

Most of these cases have been tried under the provisions of AIRFA, which in Section 2 of the statute, directs federal agencies to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with native traditional religious leaders in order to determine appropriate changes necessary to protect and preserve Native American religious cultural rights and practices. In recent years, a number of scholars have written about the impact this law has had on the use of public lands for the practice of tribal religious observances, and they have analyzed various cases where the courts have not ruled in favor of tribal interests. The rulings indicate a number of things, and paramount among these is a basic conflict between congressional intent and the legal interpretation of the meaning of a statute. While Congress desired protection for Indian religious beliefs and practices, and even required federal agencies to make accommodations for them, the courts have trampled on the spirit of the law by empowering federal agencies with the authority to determine how much freedom, in fact, can be exercised (Ensworth 1983:172-175; Pemberton 1985:328; Wilkins 1997:274). In this regard, it is worth quoting Richard Pemberton (1985:322-323) at some length:

> The court has said agencies may not deprive persons of constitutional protected rights or liberties without giving them a substantive evidentiary hearing. Assuming federal agencies have the authority to decide whether Indians first amendment rights are violated, courts must subject

> agency legal conclusion to the appropriate standard of review. Under that standard, the reviewing court must independently determine whether the agency s proposed action conflicts with Indian people constitutionally protected religious freedom. By empowering executive agencies to decide with finality the legitimacy of a tribe s religious claims to public land, our courts offend the constitutional rights of tribal members. As presently interpreted, the Act restricts the court s inquiry into first amendment issues once an executive agency has ruled that its decision conforms to the Act. The agency is, of course, inclined to so rule since it has itself initiated the action of which the Indians complain. Thus though Indian litigants may still bring actions under the free exercise clause against executive agencies and private developers in federal court, the agency s self-determined compliance with the AIRFA will serve as prima facie evidence that it has not violated the Indians constitutional rights. This interpretation of AIRFA restricts rather than enhances the religious freedom of American Indians. Though the courts insist that the Act has no teeth, they interpret it in such a way that it gnaws at the liberty of those whom it is designed to protect.

One of the earliest and most famous cases testing the strength of AIRFA (Pemberton 1985:329-330) is United States Marshals Service v. Means, 724F.2d 642 [11th Cir. 1983], in which the U.S. Forest Service denied a group of Lakotas an extended permit for the establishment of the Yellow Thunder Camp at Victoria Creek in the Black Hills, ordering them to vacate the site they occupied on September 8, 1981. Camp members filed an administrative appeal to the forest service s eviction notice, but on September 9, 1981, the United States filed a suit against the principals of the camp on the grounds that they were occupying the land illegally. Six days later, the camp principals filed a countersuit, in which they alleged that the Forest Service s decision to deny them a special use permit was arbitrary, racially motivated, and violated their rights under AIRFA and the Constitution. The actions were consolidated into a single case, which ended up in the 11th Circuit Court, where the presiding District Judge, Donald O Brien, ruled in favor of the Lakotas, ordering the forest service to grant the campers a permit on the grounds that its decision was indeed arbitrary and that it violated that the campers rights under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. O Brien also held that access to the Black Hills was fundamental to the practice of the Lakota religion. In 1988, the Eighth Circuit Court, in *The United States vs. Means,* 858 F.2d 404, overturned the ruling of the district judge in Sioux City, reasserting the right of the Forest Service to evict the campers and upholding what had become a long line of precedent cases privileging the policies of public agencies and even private developers over tribal religious interests (Pemberton 1985:329-330; New Holy 1998:339-342).

Another famous case testing the strength of AIRFA is *Crow v. Gullet* , 541 F. Supp. 785, in which Frank Fools Crow, Pete Catches, and other spiritual leaders from the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes sued the state of South Dakota on the grounds that the state s actions had desecrated Bear Butte, a site vital to tribal religious observances, by allowing tourists to defile the site and disrupt ceremonies conducted there (Pemberton 1985:325-326). The court ruled that because the Lakota, Cheyenne, and other tribal religionists have no property interest in a state park, as sanctioned in federal or state law, they have no grounds on which to restrict how it is managed by the state. The court further held that the actions of the state did not infringe on their beliefs and practices, and that the state was not required to accommodate its management policies to tribal religious interests. It also held that the integrity of the butte and its landscape had no relation to tribal religious practice. Indeed, the court concluded that the state held the right to restrict tribal religious practice in the interest of keeping the park open to tourists (Pemberton 1985:325-327).

In the same year, the state of South Dakota sued a Lakota religionist, Dewey Brave Heart, in *South Dakota v. Brave Heart* 326 N.W. 2D 220, for burning a ceremonial fire in the Black Hills without a permit. Although Brave Heart and other plaintiffs had applied for a permit to build a

ceremonial fire for their Sun Dance, their application was denied by the forest service (Pemberton 1985:328). A South Dakota law enforcement officer arrested Brave Heart and the other worshippers, who were subsequently convicted. On appeal, South Dakota s Supreme Court ruled that the Forest Service was justified in denying a permit to the Lakotas given the dry weather conditions in the area (Pemberton 1985:329). The court denied the Lakota s First Amendment right to practice their religion on the grounds that they had failed to prove that an open fire, rather than a stove or other fire-making enclosure, was necessary and central to the practice of their religious observances (Pemberton 1985:330).

The most recent case addressing AIRFA issues in the Black Hills is *Bear Lodge Multiple Use Association v. Babbitt*, 2 F. Supp. 2d 1448, where the 10th District Court ruled in 1998 against a mandatory ban on commercial climbing at Devil s Tower National Monument during the month of June in order to permit tribal religionists to practice their ceremonial observances. It allowed, however, a voluntary ban on the climbing. Although National Park Service staff, climbing organizations, environmental groups, and tribal representatives had worked together to achieve some compromise in formulating a workable management plan, which was finalized in 1995, the proposed restrictions on climbing brought the plan to court (Melmer 1996: A1, A3; 1996b: A1, A2). The 10th District Court s ruling only confirmed other court decisions that have denied tribes any kind of exclusive protections and rights of access to their sacred sites. Indeed, most of the final court decisions on AIFRA, including those that have reached the Supreme Court, have not ruled favorably on behalf of tribal interests. Many have argued that these rulings have denied tribes the free exercise of their religious rights because AIFRA fails to detail the conditions under which tribal religious sites require access and protection. One of the frequent criticisms of current judicial rulings on AIFRA cases is that they apply Judeo-Christian standards of religious observance to tribal beliefs and practices. But even if the law had greater specificity, it still would not address the issue of who determines compliance to the law and on what grounds the compliance rests. As David Wilkins (1997:255-261) argues in his analysis of a Northern California case, the Supreme Court s ruling privileges federal administrators in making decisions about public land use and the rights of tribes to access them for religious purposes. What this ruling and others clearly imply is that, while tribes have a legitimate interest in protecting religious sites and have a right to access these places, they can only do so as long as their concerns and practices do not infringe on other user groups and/or federal management policies. Even in the face of the First Amendment and AIRFA, a tribe s religious sovereignty is ultimately constrained by the people who hold title to the land whether they are private developers or federal agencies. So far, court rulings, including those of the highest judicial body in the land, have favored the protection of property over religious freedom. In response to a spate of unfavorable rulings, tribes are now actively lobbying Congress to amend AIRFA or pass new bills that will afford their religious sites and practices greater protection under the law.

V. THE STATUS OF WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK LANDS

Although many different tribal nations historically occupied lands in the southeastern Black Hills, including the lands that make up Wind Cave National Park, only three tribes, the Sioux, Arapahos, and Cheyennes, ever entered into treaties with the United States government that covered these lands. All of the treaties concerning the Black Hills were concluded at Fort Laramie in Wyoming Territory; one was negotiated in 1851 but never ratified by Congress, and the other two [15 Stat., 635 and 15 Stat., 655] were enacted in 1868. One of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaties [15 Stat., 635] included the Black Hills in a reservation for the undisturbed use of the Sioux, but it contained language that permitted some of the Arapahos and Cheyennes to occupy the area as well. This arrangement was confirmed in another 1868 treaty [15 Stat., 655]

with the northern divisions of the Arapaho and Cheyenne nations. The reservation established by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat., 635] includes lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park.

Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos were also present at the deliberations in 1875 and 1876 that led to the 1877 Agreement and the relinquishment of tribal title to the Black Hills and the lands of Wind Cave National Park. The Arapahos were specifically named in this agreement, but the Cheyennes were not. Parties from both tribes, however, were signatories to

TABLE 1. FEDERAL TREATIES AND ACTIONS WITH TRIBAL NATIONS THAT COVER THE BLACK HILLS AND WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Year	Legal Document	Action
1825	Atkinson and O Fallon Treaty	Trade, peace, and friendship with United States and its traders.
1851	Fort Laramie Treaty	Peace and friendship with United States and its citizens. Tribal boundaries demarcated. Black Hills placed within the borders of the Sioux Nation.
1868	Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat. 635]	The creation of the Great Sioux Reservation for the use and occupancy of the Sioux Nation. Black Hills situated inside this reservation.
1868	1868 Fort Laramie Treaty [15 Stat. 655]	Northern Arapaho and Northern Cheyenne accorded the right to settle on Great Sioux Reservation, which includes lands in the Black Hills.
1877	Black Hills Agreement	Congress authorizes seizure of the Black Hills and other Sioux lands. The land area of the Great Sioux Reservation reduced accordingly.
1980	Sioux Black Hills Claim	Supreme Court rules that the 1877 federal seizure of the Black Hills was illegal. The Sioux Nation awarded a monetary settlement, still unclaimed, for the taking.
1985	Sioux Land Recovery Act (Bradley Bill)	Testimony heard before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs regarding a proposed bill to return Wind Cave National Park and other federal lands in Black Hills to the Sioux. No further action taken on this bill.

the negotiations in 1876. This agreement, however, did not secure signatures from three-quarters of the Sioux s adult male population as stipulated in the provisions under Article 12 of the 1868 treaty with the Sioux [15 Stat., 635]. Nonetheless, Congress passed the statute in which the Black Hills and adjoining lands were taken from the Sioux without their full consent. Less than a decade after its enactment, all three tribes believed they had been robbed of their lands in the Black Hills and challenged the legality of the agreement and the deceptive and confusing manner in which it was presented. In the early decades of the twentieth century, all three tribes attempted to get Congress to pass jurisdictional acts on their behalf so they could take their cases to the U.S. Court of Claims. Only the Sioux, however, succeeded in this effort.

From 1920 to 1980, the Sioux s Black Hills case was heard several times before the U.S. Court of Claims and the Indian Claims Commission. Finally, it went before the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled in favor of the Sioux s claim that the Black Hills had been seized from them as a Fifth Amendment taking and awarded them $17.5 million as settlement for the value of the Hills and its gold at the time of the taking plus interest for a total of 106 million dollars. The Sioux have never accepted the settlement, and it remains in the U.S. Treasury accruing interest.

From the perspective of United States legal system and many of its citizens, the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court, has settled the Sioux s Black Hills claim. However immoral or unfair the government s taking of the Black Hills may have been from a Sioux (and their Arapaho and Cheyenne allies) standpoint, the U.S. Constitution grants the nation the right of eminent domain over the lands within its territorial boundaries. Federal courts have also determined that Congress has plenary power to execute land-takings but only if their owners are given fair and just consideration for the taking. The Supreme Court s decision acknowledged this and ruled that Sioux lands had been taken without adequate consideration. It offered its only available remedy for the federal government s illegal seizure, a cash settlement for the value of the lands plus interest from the date of their taking.

The lands of Wind Cave National Park, although certainly not acquired fairly from the Sioux, have been given consideration in terms of U.S. law through the settlement awarded by the U.S. Court of Claims and affirmed through a *writ* of *certiorari* by the Supreme Court. Whether or not one believes that this settlement ultimately represents a morally sound and fair solution, it is the only one available under U.S. law. No final legal determination or settlement, however, has ever been made on behalf of Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos treaty interests in the Black Hills. Both tribes also have historic treaty rights and claims to park properties, but neither tribe was ever able to get their Black Hills claims heard before the U.S. Court of Claims or the Indian Claims Commission.

Although the Sioux ultimately received a favorable ruling and settlement on their behalf, they have refused any compensation for the Black Hills on a number of different grounds. The most significant of these revolves around their sense of sovereignty as a nation. This sovereignty finds expression not only in politics but also in religion, and even more specifically, it is enacted and symbolized in their struggles over the Black Hills. Sacred areas in the Black Hills, including Wind Cave National Park, became a site of this struggle in the 1980s. The Sioux pushed to reclaim park lands and other federal properties in the Black Hills, and to this end, they tried to get land recovery legislation passed in Congress from 1985 to 1993. Their efforts did not succeed.

The conflict over the Black Hills is more than just a fight over real estate. It is a struggle over who ultimately defines a human relationship to the land. In the absence of title to the Black Hills, the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos have fought to gain protection for and access to areas they hold sacred. Some of their efforts have been accommodated, at least in part, on lands under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Interior and the National Park Service at Devil s Tower National Monument and at Wind Cave National Park. Tribes have been less successful, however, in securing protections and accommodations necessary to the practice of their religion on state lands in South Dakota, notably at Bear Butte, and on federal lands in the Black Hills supervised by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Forest Service. In both instances, litigation took place that favored state and federal managerial policy over tribal religious interests.

So far, Wind Cave National Park has escaped litigious encounters over federal laws that now give tribes certain protections for their sacred sites and rights to access them in ways consistent with traditional religious practice. Whether due to flexible policy or thoughtful administration,

the U.S. Park Service appears to have had a more open-minded attitude towards accommodating tribal religious interests on the lands they manage in the Black Hills than the U.S. Forest Service. Few of the traditional access issues that the Park Service has faced over the past twenty years have required court intervention. In the one that did at Devil's Tower National Monument, National Park Service management took a position that was respectful of tribal religious concerns. Park managers, however, still face the prospect of having to develop policies and make managerial decisions that are responsive to the congressional intent of new federal laws, and doing so in ways that accommodate tribal interests, minimize potential conflicts with other user groups, and avoid legal adjudication. Since the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, court rulings have not been very helpful in this regard. Indeed, as Richard Pemberton (1985:322-323) has rightly argued, the courts have put public administrators in difficult and often untenable positions, which require them to make final determinations on religious matters they are ill-equipped or ill-prepared to take on. On the one hand, the courts have given public administrators the right to make decisions on religious matters pursuant to their land management policies, but on the other hand, they have denied them the jurisdictional authority to decide issues of constitutional rights under the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. As Pemberton (1983: 321) aptly puts it, the courts "place bureaucrats in the classic position of standing between a rock and a hard place".

Once again, sacred land issues have come to the forefront in tribal politics. These are now a primary topic of concern before the National Congress of American Indians, and it is the focus of a major lobbying effort to get Congress to enact stiffer laws to protect sacred sites and accommodate tribal religious practices. Mount Graham in Arizona has drawn considerable media attention over the past year in relation to tribal efforts to stop the building of astronomical observatories. Closer to the Black Hills, the Lakotas are becoming more involved in the deliberations over management of public properties, where the landscapes hold cultural and religious significance. Recently, a group of Lakotas staged demonstrations at Badlands National Park, protesting the removal of fossil remains on park properties in which they have joint management responsibilities.

Presently, it is safe to say that Wind Cave National Park and all other public lands in the Black Hills still remain in a state of moral, if not legal, limbo because no final and acceptable resolution has been reached on their status *vis a vis* tribal claims of ownership. Whether one supports these rights or not is irrelevant to the fact that they are contested, and will remain so as long as the claims are not settled to the satisfaction of the parties involved in the dispute, which includes the federal government, state agencies, and private land holders on one side and the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos on the other. In the meantime, the administrators of public lands in the Black Hills will need to develop management policies in ways that consider tribal rights and interests pursuant to the free exercise of their religion, to their rights to access sites and properties of cultural, historical, and religious significance, and to the protection of these sites and the cultural properties affiliated with them. The need for park officials at Wind Cave National Park to involve Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos in policy-making pertaining to cultural properties over which they have significant interests is no longer a matter of choice: it is the law.

Part 3

Part Three

THE BLACK HILLS AS A FOOD PACK AND A SAFE

> *... I heard Sitting Bull say the Black Hills was just like a food pack and therefore the Indians should stick to it. At that time I just wondered about what he had said and I knew what he meant after thinking it over because I knew that the Black Hills were full of fish, animals, and lots of water, and I just felt that we Indians should stick to it. Indians would rove all around, but when they were in need of something, they could just go in there and get it (Henry Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:163-164).*
>
> *Our Great Father has a big safe, and so have we. This hill is our safe. That is why we can t come to a conclusion very quick...(Spotted Bear in Allison 1875:188).*

Before the Lakotas and Cheyennes were removed from the Black Hills, these mountains were considered to be their food reserve. The Lakotas euphemistically called them their meat pack, *oiyhpeye talo* (Hassrick 1964:75,165; Utley 1993:115). In 1875, during deliberations with members of the Allison Commission over the sale of the Black Hills, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho leaders would echo Spotted Bear s words that the Hills played a central role in the provisioning of their peoples. As Dead Eyes (in Allison 1875:189) put it, it is not a very small thing to take the whole of our safe. In later years, Henry Standing Bear, quoted above, and other Lakotas as well as Cheyennes would recall the importance of the Hills to their former livelihoods (Hyde 1961:20; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Powell 1981:1:112). In conversations with John G. Neihardt in the 1930s, Iron Hawk (in DeMallie 1984:171-172) reiterated the same sentiment, when he said:

> Sitting Bull said: How! Brother, it is well that you have said that; these hills are a treasure to us Indians. That is the food pack of the people and when the poor having nothing to eat we can all go there and have something to eat, and it is well that you have said this.

Many years later on March 6, 1966 Joseph Black Elk (in Edward and Mabel Kadleeck 1981:81) had this to say:

> In the center of this vast country the mystic Black Hills were the thriving hunting grounds of the Sioux, where the deer, elk, antelope, and buffalo nibbled the sweet mountain grass, watering on the streams of water that ran noisily down through the high walled canyons, with colored cliffs sheltering the valleys. They said animals were the Sioux supermarket, on the hoof, furnishing them with food, clothing, shelter, and even medicine.

When oral histories were collected by the American Indian Oral History Project at the University of South Dakota, Moses Circle Bear (1971:14) remembered how the elders spoke about the Hills as a place they could always find food because it never failed the people.

Many of the region s early traders and explorers also recognized the Hills as a primary location for the Lakotas and the Cheyennes to procure their livelihood. Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939), Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (in Moulton 1983:3:482), Maxmilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:246, 346-347), and Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:16), among others, recognized their importance to the subsistence of the tribal nations in the region. Later, U.S. government officials, military personnel, and journalists would also remark on their value to local tribes (Twiss 1856b:95; Hayden 1862a, 1862b; Edmonds, Guerney, and Reed 1866:168; Knappen in Krause and Olson 1974:28; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:69). From his experience on the Black Hills Expedition, newspaper correspondent, William Curtis (in Krause and Olson 1974:149) wrote on July 13, 1874 in the *New York World*:

> The Black Hills enclose what may be called the earthly paradise of the Sioux, and from the mingled influences of superstition and selfishness they have guarded it with the utmost jealousy. The abundance of game is insisted upon by all competent witnesses. Bears, panthers, antelope, elk, deer, and of fish there are many. It is this quantity of game which I think, after due examination of all the facts of the case, induces the Sioux so highly to prize and jealously guard the Black Hills. They sacredly preserve the game found within their boundaries so making of the country a combined deer park and Mecca.

Even observers, like Lt. Richard Dodge, who otherwise denied the Lakota s use of the area, described the Hills as the Lakotas nursery for game & a fine one it is. Two early settlers, Jeese Brown and A.M. Willards (1924:16), wrote: This region has long been the favorite hunting ground of the Indians where they always find plenty of game, and Annie Tallent (1899), the indefatigable pioneer of white settlement in the Hills, entitled her famous book, *The Black Hills and The Last Hunting Ground of the Dacotahs.*

In historic times, the Black Hills represented a veritable storehouse of animals, plants, and minerals. Local tribes drew on these resources in different ways and degrees, but one thing is clear: the Black Hills were well known as an important and highly valued location for various kinds of resource procurement. Although one important species, the bison, abandoned the Hills after the 1860s, others remained abundant enough to provision local tribes. Even after tribal title to the Hills was extinguished in 1877, Native people continued to return to the area to hunt and find plants, stones, and other resources important to their daily needs and spiritual well-being, and they continue to do so to the present day.

After European American explorers and settlers arrived in the area, they discovered the abundance of the Hills various natural resources, and they quickly grasped the economic opportunities offered by their vast mineral, grass, and timber reserves. By imposing new forms of relationship to the land, European Americans dramatically altered the region s fauna and flora. By the early decades of the twentieth century, some species were extirpated from the area and others were substantially reduced, but many remained relatively untouched in the face of new patterns of extraction and use.

Today, the Hills remain the location of more than one-thousand different plants, over three hundred species of animals, and countless rocks and minerals. It is a unique region not only because of the varieties of its life forms, but also because it is a location where various eastern and western species meet and reach their farthest geographic reach. It is also a place where

species typically associated with northern boreal environments occur as isolates and where species commonly found in more southerly locales reach their northern limits. As Sven Froiland (1978:78) writes:

> Here several biomes meet and overlap...a Cordilleran element, the Great Plains element, the Northern Coniferous element, and the eastern Deciduous Forest element. This overlapping of ranges of organisms belonging to several different geographic elements has resulted in the creation of a whirlpool effect of distributions involving many taxonomic groups, both plant and animal.

The Black Hills' unique and diverse biological features did not go unnoticed by the tribal nations who lived and traveled in their midst. In most tribal perspectives, the abundance, uniqueness, and diversity of the Hills' life forms were a telling testimony of their importance and sacredness. Indeed, the two went together in the sense that the region's geological/biological complexity was embedded in, constituted by, created for, and a sign of their spiritual power.

While the Hills as a whole have long been acknowledged as a primary area for various kinds of tribal procurement activity, the region where Wind Cave National Park now stands occupied a very special place in the relationship of local tribal nations to the Black Hills. The area of Wind Cave National Park has long held sacred significance to the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and probably the Araphoes too.[1] In Lakota beliefs, the area inside the Buffalo Gap is the winter home of the buffalo and other game animals, and Wind Cave the birthplace and origin site of humans and the *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation]. Wind Cave is also associated with *Tate*, the Wind, and his five sons, the Four Winds and the Whirlwind, and as such, it has a special bearing on the origins of movement, hunting, and also plants used in herbal medicine. For both tribal nations, this area is the location where a great race took place in cosmic time that determined the nature of human-animal relationships and where the buffalo first performed the Sun Dance. The importance of this area as a sacred landscape is discussed in greater detail in Section Four. In order to understand the sacredness of the area, it is necessary to give some attention to the practical and spiritual aspects of the life forms located in the area of Wind Cave National Park that were and have remained so pivotal to the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos' sense of this place in their universe, and more specifically, in defining their own relationship to the Black Hills. The discussions that follow focus largely on the traditional cultural contexts, uses, and meanings of faunal, floral, and mineral resources located in this area. They give attention primarily to the tribal nations known to have lived here in the nineteenth century, but some consideration is also paid to the cultural interests of the European American peoples who lived in the area in later times.

[1] Again, little about this region s cultural significance to the Arapaho peoples has been recorded in published accounts of their oral/written traditions.

Chapter Nine

NATURE AND THE COSMOS

Besides its famous subterranean landform, Wind Cave National Park is well known for its wildlife, native flora, and distinctive mineral formations above ground. As a protected enclave, a central function of the park is to preserve and steward its unique geological and biological resources for the viewing and appreciation of its visiting public. Many different groups come to this park each year, and they carry with them diverse sets of understandings about the park s landscape that are influenced by their respective cultural origins. Two of today s largest user groups are European Americans and American Indians, each of whom approaches the park and its natural world from very different philosophical perspectives.

One perspective is based on a philosophy steeped in a tradition of empiricism that grew out of the European Enlightenment. It is situated in a physical world where nature represents the sum total of its observable material properties, processes, and conditions. It has no existence beyond what is given in its corporeal appearances as these are observed through rigorous scientific observation. It is the tradition within which the natural history of the Black Hills, their fauna, flora, and mineral formations, are typically described and analyzed in natural history studies and popular guidebooks (Pettigrill and Whitney 1965; Turner 1974; Larson & Johnson 1999). It certainly stands at the foundation of the way in which the area of Wind Cave National Park is represented to the public (see, for example, WICA websites).

This perspective stands in marked contrast to the philosophical traditions of the tribal nations who historically occupied the area. While tribal approaches to the park s landforms, animals, plants, and other natural resources involve empirical observation as well, they are nested in an ontological framework with very different premises about the relationship between nature and the human world. This framework is connected to a material universe of practical observation, but it does not end here. In Lakota and Cheyenne schemes, for example, the material world is ultimately rooted in a metaphysical universe where the concrete appearances of things are manifestations of a spiritualized cosmos. As William Powers (1986:153) describes the difference:

> The Lakota see a continuous relationship between nature and culture, and as Indians they do not seem themselves as having the same privileged position as the white man affords *Homo sapiens.* If there is any difference, humans are the last arrivals of the created world, and they must do whatever they can to learn *as much* as other life forms that preceded them. And here one of the great differences between Indians and non-Indians is underscored. Whereas Euro-Americans science and theology understand humans to be the sine qua non of all living things, the Lakota see humans as the most humble. For whites, the humans were the last to inhabit the earth, and are therefore the crowning glory of all that preceded them. For the Lakota, humans were the last, and that makes them the newest, youngest, and most ignorant. When Lakota seek knowledge about their present state of affairs, they seek it through instructions imparted to the medicine men from animals, birds, and other animate and inanimate forms that serve as his helper.

These two very different ways of seeing the natural world have contributed historically to distinctive approaches to nature. One emphasizes the separation of humans from nature, indeed, the

domination of the human species over other life forms, animate as well as inanimate, whereas the other gives priority to the connections and indivisibility of all life forms (Brown1989a:181-182). In this perspective, humans stand on equal grounds in a natural world, on whose beneficence they depend for their lives and well being.

How European American and American Indian philosophies have articulated and competed in our understanding of Wind Cave National Park and the multitude of natural resources that reside there is an important subject but one beyond the scope of this work. A more pressing objective of this and subsequent chapters is to give some understanding of how the tribal nations who once lived in and around the Black Hills, especially the Lakotas and Cheyennes, understood the life forms that make up this world.[1] It is an understanding that must be approached through all of its nuances and complexities if we are to understand why Wind Cave National Park and the region that surrounds it continue to occupy such an important place in the cultural traditions and practices of today s Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal peoples too.

I. INDIVISIBILITY OF THE COSMOS

Although the Lakotas and Cheyennes share much in common regarding their understandings of the cosmos and its workings, there are both obvious and subtle differences in their philosophical perspectives. In the cultural traditions of both tribes, there is a basic belief in the existence of a unifying cosmic force or principal. The workings of this force are largely influenced by spiritual figures that represent and embody basic elemental properties in nature, including the Sky, the Sun, the Earth, the Winds, and the Thunders. These forms impart life, both in a material and immaterial sense, to all humans, plants, animals, and other living forms, including waters and mountains, and they exert their influences in manifold ways. All of the resources which make up the geophysical world, from rocks and minerals to soils and clay, exist as living entities in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, and they are believed to possess a form of agency in the same way that plants, animals, and humans do.

A. Cheyenne Concepts of Oneness

In Cheyenne philosophy, according to Karl Schlesier (1987:7), cosmic power, *exhastoz*, permeates and maintains the universe. It is a life force or energy that is invisible except by its quantum-like effects; it both resides within and is generated by *Ma heo*, the Blue Sky, and the various spiritual figures or potentialities, the *Maiyun* and *hematasoomao,* who have free access to it (Schlesier 1987:190). It is the *Maiyun* spirits whose actions restore and concentrate this energy for the purpose of regenerating all life forms (Moore, J. 1996:212). Schlesier (1987:190) describes these spiritual potentialities and the workings of *exhastoz* as follows:

> In Tsistsistas understanding, they are causal (they can be brought about by specific Tsistsistas behavior) and noncausal (they may manipulate themselves without a trigger. They are nonlocal (i.e., they are everywhere) and local (i.e., they may appear in a specific locality or in a specific physical form). They are fissionable. They may be local at a number of places at the same time. They are outside, or, outside *and* within the construct of time and therefore represent universal information .

[1] The discussions about Cheyenne and Lakota cosmologies in this and the following chapters are abridged and very elementary. The nuances and rich complexity of these two tribal cosmological systems can only be alluded to here. What is presented is only a very partial picture of a much larger body of knowledge carried by many respected Lakota and Cheyenne intellectuals and religious leaders today.

Humans may partake of this power by establishing partnerships with spiritual figures and through the observance of sacred ceremonies (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001:873; Moore, J. 1996:212-213). Indeed, ceremonial observance is necessary to renew this power because, according to John Moore (1996:213), it is exhausted by the end of winter and needs to be regenerated in the spring.

Ultimately, everything in the Cheyenne universe comes from and returns to its source in *Ma heo,* which is the cosmic singularity. When Cheyennes refer to that which is sacred, they describe it in reference to *Ma heo*. Thus, the word for sacred power is *ma heno. Ma heonetano* means to think in a spiritual or sacred way, while *ma heoneve* refers to a state of being sacred and *ma heono eetahe* expresses the action of doing sacred things (Leman 1987:415).

B. Lakota Views on Cosmic Singularity

Lakota philosophy is also permeated by the idea that the universe embodies a oneness, a unifying principle or singularity, in which everything is interconnected (DeMallie 1987:27-28). *Wakan Tanka* embodies this notion of oneness.[2] It is the universe or cosmos in its totality. It is the creator of all things that have been and will always be: it is both everything and one at the same time. *Wakan Tanka* embraces all life: it is omnipresent and omnipotent (Powers 1986:118-126; DeMallie 1987:28-29).

Within this universe, the Lakotas distinguish between what is common and uncommon, ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and incomprehensible, profane and sacred (DeMallie 1987:27-28; Fools Crow in Mails 1991:46-57). In the Lakota language, *wakan* is the word used to describe that which is sacred. Anything, including animals, plants, places, people, objects, and actions, is *wakan* when it expresses and exhibits extraordinary or incomprehensible qualities. The word *wakan*, according to George Sword (in Walker 1980:96-97), is derived from the word *kan*, which means ancient or a strange and wonderful thing or that which cannot be comprehended. *Kan* with a gutteralized k can also mean nerves or arteries, implying metaphorically an old, incomprehensible interconnectedness and unity (Buechel 1970:282). Father Eugene Buechel (1970:525) in his *Lakota-English Dictionary* defined *wakan* as sacred, consecrated; special; incomprehensible, possessing or capable of giving *ton*, i.e., an endowed spiritual quality which is received or transmittable to beings making for what is especially good or bad. [3] *Wakan* is also sometimes glossed as a state of power, a vitalistic energy or presence in the early English sense of this word, not in its modern meaning as a force opposing, manipulating, acting upon, and controlling its surroundings (DeMallie and Lavenda 1977:154-166). William Powers (1986:120), however, questions the use of *wakan* to mean a form of power. From his perspective, the best translation and gloss of *wakan* is incomprehensible, mysterious, or simply sacred (Powers 1986:109-114, 126).

As I interpret various texts on Lakota spirituality and cosmology, *ton* (*tun,* or *tunwan*) appears to be the Lakota word that most closely approximates the idea of a numinous cosmic energy or vitalizing power, while *wakan* describes the manifestation of its presence. *Wakan* is an incomprehensible or mysterious state made so by the presence of a numinous essence called *ton*, although the distinction between the two is often conflated in the literature (Buechel 1970:499; Powers 1977:52; DeMallie 1987:30). *Ton* is related to the Lakota word for creation or birth

[2] In the representations of some Lakota religionists or *wakan wicasa* [holy men] (Black Elk in Brown 1971; Fools Crow in Mails 1972, 1991; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984), *Wakan Tanka is* sometimes personified and represented as a masculine, godlike figure. But in other instances and in other depictions (Walker 1980, *Wakan Tanka* is represented in a more gender neutral manner as a cosmic singularity.

[3] See also, Stephen Rigg s definition in his *Dakota-English Dictionary* (1968:507-508).

tonpi (Powers 1977:52), and therefore, it might be likened to a quantum-like, animating presence behind existence that pervades the universe and that makes certain things and events exceptional or *wakan* (Walker 1917:153).[4] Everything is believed to have this spiritual essence or force, which ultimately resides with *Wakan Tanka* and the sacred figures who represent aspects of this cosmic unity (Black Elk in Brown 1971: xx). According to Frank Fools Crow (in Mails 1991:48-49):

> Power is not everywhere present, but it is where they[5] are and so it surrounds us. It is above, below, and on all four sides. Also some power was given to each thing in the universe when it was created --Sun, Moon, stars, rocks, animals, birds, fish, plants, people.

In the Lakota scheme of things, there are many different spiritual figures of varying importance, the *wakanpi,* whose *ton* influences the appearance and workings of supernatural things (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:95). *Ton* is not singular but differentiated qualitatively and quantitatively according to the spiritual figures that impart it. Thus, the spiritualized essence or *ton* of *Wi*, the Sun, appears in fire (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:95). By imparting their *ton*, certain spiritual figures create a state of *wakan* in other phenomena (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:95; Walker 1980:220-221, 225, 230). This power or energy is contained in the *wakanpi* who comprise different kinds of spirit potentialities that exert their influence on the workings of the universe and the course of human destiny.

II. THE ORDER OF THE UNIVERSE

Many tribes in the northern Plains, including the Arapahos,[6] Cheyennes, and Lakotas, order their worlds in terms of two interconnected elliptical spheres, one crossed by a vertical axis with a zenith and nadir and the other by a horizontal axis with two intersecting lines. In these spheres, time and space are not separate categories but indivisible aspects of each other (Powers, W. 1977:4, 169, 175; Moore, J. 1996:203-206; New Holy 1997:30-31; Anderson, J. 2000:91-118). The seasons and the directions, for example, are organized by the same system of classification represented by the four winds, which also symbolize stages in the life cycle and points on the landscape. Notwithstanding some fundamental similarities among these three tribes in their basic model of the world, they differ in how they prioritize particular universal coordinates for purposes of understanding and organizing the many phenomena that make up their worlds.

A. The Cheyenne s View of Cosmic Order

In Cheyenne traditions, the universe is divided into a spiritualized feminine principle, *Esceheman*, The Earth or Our Mother, and a masculine one, *Heammawihio* or *Ma'heo*, The Sky or Our Father. According to George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:88-91), the Sky was the Supreme Being and creator of all other spiritual and material forms including the Earth. As Karl Schlesier

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[4] One of the Lakotas that Bucko (1998:201) interviewed, however, used the Lakota word, *w okiye* , to express the idea of a life force or energy. This is derived from the word *okiye*, which means, to help (Buechel 1970:606).

[5] This refers to major spiritual figures in the Lakota pantheon.

[6] There is an important body of published work on Arapaho cosmology and Arapaho relations to the worlds of animals (Kroeber 1900, 1902; Dorsey and Kroeber 1903; Anderson, J. 2000, 2001). While we make note of some of this here and in the following chapters, the material is not as systematically developed as that on the Lakotas and Cheyennes simply because there is not much about their historic or modern cultural affiliations to the area of Wind Cave National Park that we could develop in a way comparable to the Lakotas and Cheyennes.

(1987:7) explains, *Ma'heo* created the universe, *Emamanstoon*, by opening the ground at the location of his fingerprint with the use of a digging stick. In the Cheyenne Sun Dance or New Life Lodge [*Oxheheom*][7] and Animal Dance [*Maussam*], an earth painting is made that mimics the creation of the universe from its cosmic center and creator, *Ma'heo*, to its four directions, which are represented by four colored mounds that signify four sacred mountains, the pillars of the universe, at the corners of the world. The Four Winds are known as the *Ma heyuno* (Powell 1969:2:434; Schlesier 1987:93, 120). After this, the *Maiyun*, who work in the seven planes of the universe were formed, including *Esceheman*, the Earth, *Atovsz*, the Sun, *Nonoma*, the Thunder, *Nemevota*, the Rain, and all the *hematasoomao*, the immortal spiritual essences of all life forms (Schlesier 1987:8).

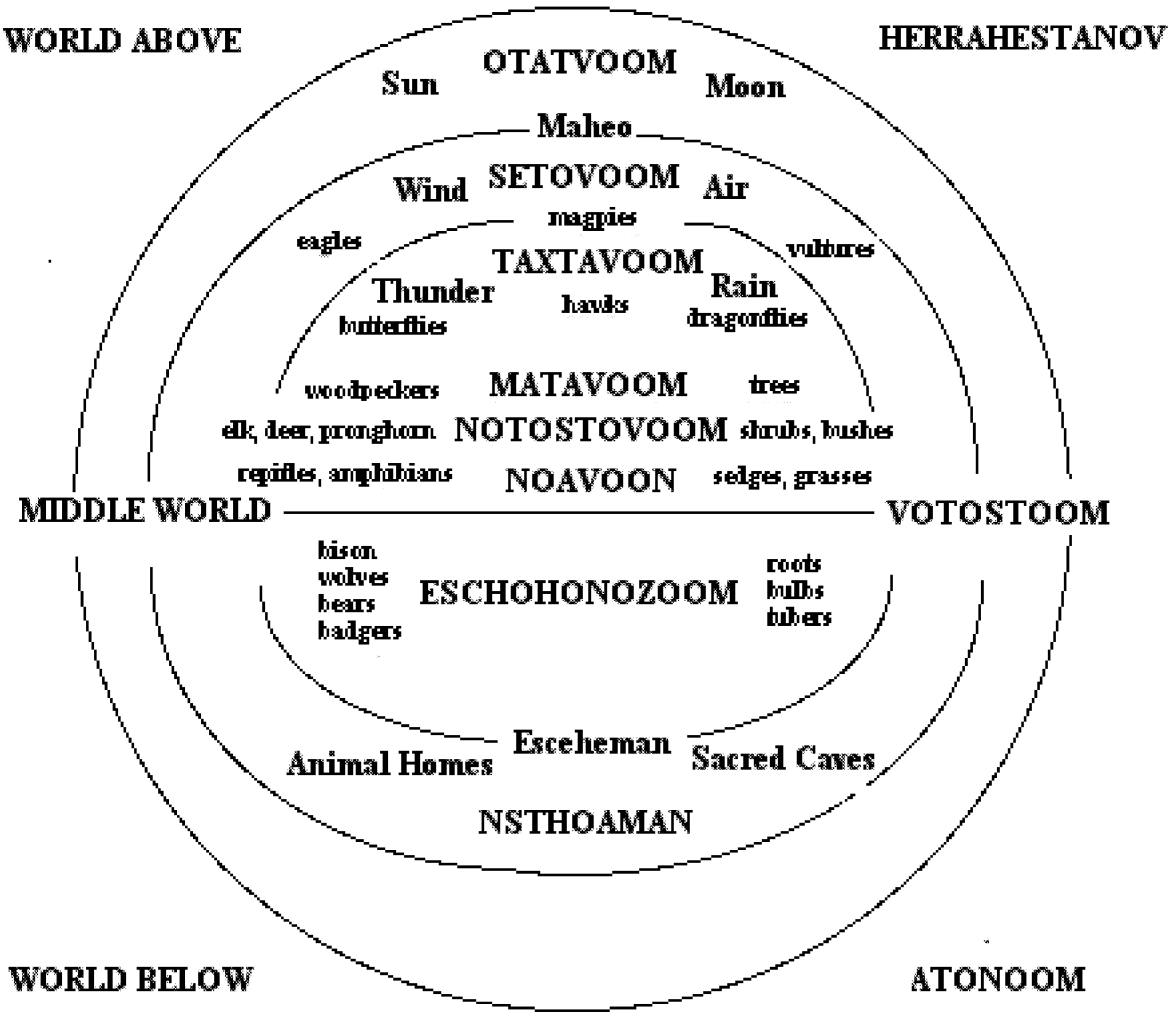
On the horizon, where the sky and earth meet, the universe takes its directional form. The *Ma heyuno*, the four sacred persons who guard the four directions, only have personal spirit names because of their sacredness (Schlesier 1987:8), and they often appear either as men on horseback or as men with horns (Powell 1969:2:435). Rudolph Petter (1913-15:422-423) related what Lefthand Bull told him as follows:

> There was a time when there was no earth, only the Great-Mysterious ruled in the wide space. It was all like fog in a dreary evening when one cannot distinguish objects. The Great-Mysterious one had four great servants, the ones whom he has set to watch the four quarters. He told these beings that he would make the earth and also human beings. Go about and you will soon find that earth , said he to his servants. They went about for quite a time but came back and reported that they could not find anything. Go again and look carefully, he told them. But in spite of their efforts they found nothing. Four times they were sent and came back without having seen or found anything. The fifth time the Great-Mysterious told them now you will see something. And it happened, as they were floating about, they noticed a shapeless and dark mass looking like one about to give birth to a child. They returned and reported what they had seen. Go again and see what I have created, you will find a new being there, bring it to me. the Great-Mysterious told them. They went and found the earth shaped and on it a new being they had never seen before. They brot (*sic*) this being to the Great-Mysterious who took it in his arms and said: This being is a man whom I have made to inhabit the earth, it is my child and I shall love him. After that the man was brot (*sic*) back to the earth to inhabit it and live on it.

When the four winds came upon the earth and stayed, their homes or pillars were situated at sacred mountains. *Hesenota* (or *Esseneta he*), whose color is white, symbolizes morning and spring (Petter 1913-15:424; Powell 1969:2:436; Moore, J. 1974a:150, 1996a:206). This is the direction from which the light and life originate. He is the one who lives in the southeast where the sun rises. In other accounts, however, his color is red or yellow, and the animals and plants with which he is associated include redheaded woodpeckers, yellow-shafted flickers, and red willows. *Onoxsovota* (or *Onoxsovon*), whose color is yellow (Powell 1969:2:436) or black

[7] Other words for Sun Dance in the Cheyenne language include: *Hox he-voho ? ehestotse* or *Evoneenehestotse* (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:109).

FIGURE 21. The Cosmic Tiers in the Cheyenne's Universe



**Adapted from Moore 1986:182, 183, 1996:205; Schlesier 1987:5

(Moore, J. 1974a:151-152; 1996:207), stands at the northwest where the sun sets. He is associated with death and darkness, with the moon, with the deep waters where water monsters live, and with predatory birds with crescent shaped claws. *Sovota* (or *Sovon)*, whose color is red (Powell 1969: 2:436) or green (Moore, J. 1974a:154-155, 1996a:206) brings thunderstorms, rain, and the grass of summer, and he resides at the southwest corner of the world, while *Notomota*, whose color is black (Petter 1913-15:745; Powell 1969:2:436) or white (Moore, J. 1974a:154, 199a6:206) represents cold, snow, inertia, and disease and dwells in the northeast. The *Ma heyuno* help humans: they appear in visions and give knowledge of the workings of the universe in many sacred contexts (Powell 1969:2:435). The *hematasoomao*, the spirits of animals, are believed to have their abode at the homes of the four directions (Petter 1913-15:211).

The Sacred Persons, *Ma heyuno*, exercise influence over the Sacred Powers, the *Maiyun*, who reside above and below the earth in the form of natural forces (Powell 1969:2:435, 437). The most important Above Person is the Sun, *Niesehaman*, a messenger of the Southeast, and he is closely followed by the Thunder, *Nemevonam*, an associate of the Northwest (Powell 1969:2: 436). Other Above Persons include the Moon, the Stars, and the Rain. The most significant Listener Under the Ground is Grandmother Earth, *Esceheman.* These *Maiyun* may appear and reveal themselves to humans in other forms, including as wolves, bison, bear, elk, and swifthawks (Powell 1969:2:439). Along with the *Ma heyuno*, they exercise control over the *hematasoomao* of lesser life forms among animals, plants, and minerals (Powell 1969:2:435).

Besides its horizontal divisions, the universe was divided along a vertical axis. The zenith of the world above was the place of the creator, *Ma heo*, and the spiritual universe, while the nadir of the world below was the home of the female generative principle, *He?estostse*, and the material world (Moore, J. 1996:208-211). The *Maiyun*, as the messengers of the Sacred Persons, have spiritual and material forms (Schlesier 1987:8). They hold positions in the sky, but they also occupy sacred caves, *Ma'heonoxsz*, on earth where they once imparted sacred knowledge to the Cheyenne s two prophets, *Motsiuiv* [Sweet Medicine] and *Tomsi vsi* [Stands on the Ground or Erect Horn]. From caves and other locations they frequent, the *Maiyun* guard and take care of the homes of the animals whose spirits, *hematasoomao*, reside in other cavern formations under the earth (Schlesier 1987:4-7).

The *Maiyun* are able to access *exhastoz,* the cosmic energy and the source of breath, *omotome*, which gives material form its life energy. The *hematasoomao* are the immortal spirits, souls, or shadows of all living forms (Grinnell 1972:2:93; Schlesier 1987:4-13; Moore, J. 1996:209), and they are released in their mortal or physical forms at the behest of the *Maiyun* who fulfill the cosmic plan of *Ma'heo* (Schlesier 1987:4, 8). Each species or distinct life form has a limited number of *hematasoomao*, which according to Cheyenne belief are disappearing because of the ways humans are domesticating and exploiting the world (Schlesier 1987:4-5, 10-11). Thus, when the bison nearly became extinct at the end of the nineteenth century, the Cheyenne believed that the *Maiyun* were keeping the *hematasoomao* or spirits of the bison in their subterranean homes, awaiting a propitious time to release them again in their physical form (Schlesier 1987:4-5; Moore, J. 1974a:163, 1996:211).

B .The Lakota s View of the Cosmic Order

Lakota religionists differ in how they conceptualize the spiritual figures or potentialities that constitute or make up the cosmic singularity that is *Wakan Tanka*. Some of the knowledgeable men who consulted with James Walker in the late nineteenth century (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:94-95; Lone Bear in Walker 1980:127-128) thought of *Wakan*

Tanka, the divine oneness, as embodying the *Tobtob*, the 4 x 4, or sixteen discrete yet integrally related spiritual presences or potentialities. Ten of these spiritual presences constitute natural forces or elements whose relationships with one another can be understood, in part, through Lakota stories of creation as rendered and interpreted by James Walker (1983). Creation began when *Inyan*, the oldest spiritual presence, made through its own motion, first *Maka* [Earth], her land and water (the blue blood of *Inyan* s veins). Part of the water was then transformed into a blue dome that covered the earth and became the Sky or *Skan* [*Taku Skanskan*] (Melody 1977; Walker 1983:194-195). Through this division, the *tanton* or material and the *tanton sni*, the immaterial essences of the universe, were created (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh and Tyon in Walker 1980:95). Aspects of these three spiritual figures, in turn, went into the creation of the Sun, *Wi* (Walker 1983:195). In Walker s interpretation, Stone, Earth, Sky, and Sun constitute the superior spiritual presences in the universe, each of which has an associate. The Sun s partner is the Moon, *Hanwi*, the Sky s helper is the Wind, *Tate,* the Stone s associate is the Thunder, *Wakinyan*, and the Earth s helper is the Meteor, *Wohpe,* who also appears as the White Buffalo Calf Woman, *Pte San Winyan* and gifts the Lakota with their sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe (Densmore 1918:63-66; Hassrick 1964:217-219; Finger in Walker 1980:109; Powers, W. 1977: 54; Powers, M. 1986:43-49; Looking Horse 1987:68-69; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:38-41).

There are four additional sacred presences, who appear later in cosmological time: the Four Winds [*Tob Kin*] and the Whirlwind [*Yamni*], the sons of the Wind [*Tate*], and the Face [*Ite*], who is the daughter of the first Buffalo People [*Pte Oyate*], the Old Man [*Waziya*] and the Old Woman *Wakanka*]; the last three are not part of the *Tobtob*, however. The other two lesser sacred figures are the Bison Bull [Tatanka] and the Bear [*Hununpa*] (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh and Tyon in Walker 1980:94; Powers 1977:54). Although James Walker (1917:79-81) personified and ranked these figures hierarchically as superior, associate, and inferior deities, the Dakota ethnographer and linguist Ella Deloria concluded in her correspondence with Franz Boas that these figures were not grouped in a hierarchy. Generally, they were not envisioned in anthropomorphized terms. Nor were they represented, according to Deloria, in the kind of Greek-like dramas in which Walker often cast them (Jahner in Walker 1983:17-27).

In some of the narratives of more recent Lakota religionists, the divisibility of the cosmic singularity -- that is, *Wakan Tanka* -- is depicted in other ways. Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:312), as one example, represented it in his version of the story of the Great Race. After the people were dispersed over the earth from its center in the Black Hills, he tells how Slow Buffalo said:

> Up in the heavens, the Mysterious One, that is your grandfather. In between the earth and the heavens, that is your father. The earth is your grandmother. The dirt is your grandmother. Whatever grows on the earth is your mother. It is just like a sucking baby on a mother (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:312).

In another context, Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:238-239, 392-393) described it on a four directional plane composed of the spirits representing the North, South, East and West that bisected a vertical axis at its center where all of the divisions come together as one. In a parallel fashion, Fools Crow (in Mails 1991:49-59) envisions the cosmos as forming a plane or disc with four quarters, the sacred persons of the Four Directions, who come together in a center that is linked to a circular dome above, the domain of *Tunka sila* [Grandfather], whose ceremonial color is blue, and another dome below, the realm of *Maka Un i* [Grandmother Earth], whose color is green. The vertical aspects of this ordering are also manifested in the representation of the ceremonial articles used in the *Yuwipi*, which according to Louis Kemnitzer (1970:41-43), must represent the *Wakinyan* [Flying Ones] in bird feathers, skins, plumes, and bones; the

Wamakaskan [Those Who Move about on the Earth] in skins, tails, claws, and quills; the *Wahutkan* [Those who have Roots] in wood, tobacco, and other plants; and *Makah sitomni* [All the Earth] in stone and soil.

Generally speaking, the differentiation of the universe along its vertical axis is not as well articulated in the published literature on the Lakotas as it is on the Cheyennes. It is clearly implicit in Lakota texts but not explicitly elaborated upon. Whether the differences in Cheyenne and Lakota orderings represent significant cultural distinctions between the two tribal nations or whether they are a function of how tribal narratives were interpreted by outsiders is difficult to know.[8] Drawing on William Powers, Joseph Eppes Brown, and Arthur Amiotte s interpretations, Alexandra New Holy (1997:138-139) suggests that a hierarchical ordering of the universe is largely ephemeral and undifferentiated in the Lakota scheme of things. It appears to be inseparable from and collapsed into their ideas of directionality, which are organized within a circle where time and space are united. The *axis mundi* of their universe is simultaneously conceptualized as a line on a horizontal plane linking north and south, or east and west, and as a line on a vertical plane connecting the nadir and zenith. This is why the direction north and the nadir (or underworld) are often seen to occupy the same space in Lakota cosmology.

In liturgical texts and in the interpretations of Lakota spiritual leaders, as these appear in many different published sources, the meaning of the horizontal disc represented by the Four Directions or Four Winds is described in great detail. The Four Winds are considered highly *wakan* among the pantheon of the Lakota s most influential spiritual beings, and as such, they are appealed to in most every major ceremonial observance, including *Hanbleciya* [fasting or vision seeking] (Densmore 1918: Black Elk in Brown 1971:49-50; Walker 1980:131, 133; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:122-135), *Hunkapi* [making relatives] (Walker 1980:124, 210, 221; Black Elk in Brown 1971:103-104) and *Yuwipi* (Kemnitzer 1970:71; Powers 1982:54; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163; Bucko 1998:184, 196, 200, 208). The stories about them tell how they brought order, direction, and movement to the world. Through their actions, the world is renewed, plants are created, the birds and animals are assigned their places in the universe, and humans given their basic orientations too. Indeed, a great deal about Lakota cosmology is revealed in their sense of *Tate,* the Wind, and his sons, the Four Winds, *Tob Kin*, and the fifth, the Whirlwind, *Yamni* (Jahner in Walker 1983:200-203).

Each of the Winds is represented by a particular color, is the source of specific life functions and behaviors, and is associated with certain animals, birds, and plants. There are differences among Lakota people, however, in which of the birds, mammals, and plants they may associate with a particular direction. There are also significant differences in how the basic colors are matched with these figures. Some of this variability is probably a result of the inversion of symbols in the ritual thinking of *Heyoka* [Contraries], but in other instances, it is a function of local cultural differences or even individual interpretation. Very briefly, the North Wind, *Waziyata* or *Yata*, is most commonly associated with the color red, the buffalo, the wolf, the magpie, pine, and kinnikinick; he is described as stingy and morose but is also seen as a source of procreation and health. Sometimes his color is white and inverted with his brother s, the South Wind, *Itokagata* or *Okaga*. The South Wind is typically represented by the colors white or red, linked to the elk, the meadowlark, the crane, waterfowl, and sage. He plays the flute and wins the heart of *Wohpe*. He is a symbol of bravery, kindness, generosity, creativity, industry, romance, and renewal. The West Wind, *Wiyohpeyata* or *Eya*, generally has black for his color. The blacktail deer, swallows, lizards, hawks, flickers, bats, and butterflies are his messengers, and

[8] Lee Irwin (1994:30) observes this difference too and suggests that the elaborate vertical distinctions the Cheyenne make may be related to their Algonkian cultural heritage.

cedar is his favorite plant. He is responsible for purifying the world through rain and thunder. Finally, the East, *Wiyhiyanpa* or *Yanpa* is most often linked to the color yellow, associated with the whitetail deer, the nighthawk, the owl, the redheaded woodpecker, and sweet grass. He is characterized as discontented, foolish, lazy, and noisy but also stands for wisdom and understanding. He sleeps by day and travels at night (Dorsey, J. 1894:442; Curtis 1907-30:68, 71-73, 77; Densmore 1918:196-197; Wissler 1912:6, 19-20; Beckwith 1930:407-408; Kemnitzer 1970:71; Black Elk in Brown 1971:19-20, 103-104, 119-120, 133-136; Walker 1917:172-173, 1980:84, 125, 126, 127, 173, 197, 232, 1983:61, 71, 72, 81-82, 84, 159, 161,162, 183, 184, 300, 301, 309, 313, 321-322, 340; Powers, W. 1977:75-77, 191-193, 198-199, 1982:54, 1986:81-82, 138-140; Black Elk, W. and Lyon 1990:39; Fools Crow in Mails 1991:59; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163).

The remaining four *Tobtob* represent sacred presences which make-up the domain of spirituality that is necessary for sustaining life in each and every living thing (Amiotte 1989c:164). These are *Niya,* the breath of life; *Nagi*, the spirit; *Nagila*, the spirit-like; and *sicun,* a spiritual potency (Powers 1977, W:52-53). There has been considerable discussion in the literature regarding their meanings and precise applications in Lakota thought and practice, and some of it is confusing because each of these concepts gets conflated. Arthur Amiotte (1987:86-88, 1989c:164-172), a Lakota scholar and artist, provides the best and most straightforward explication.

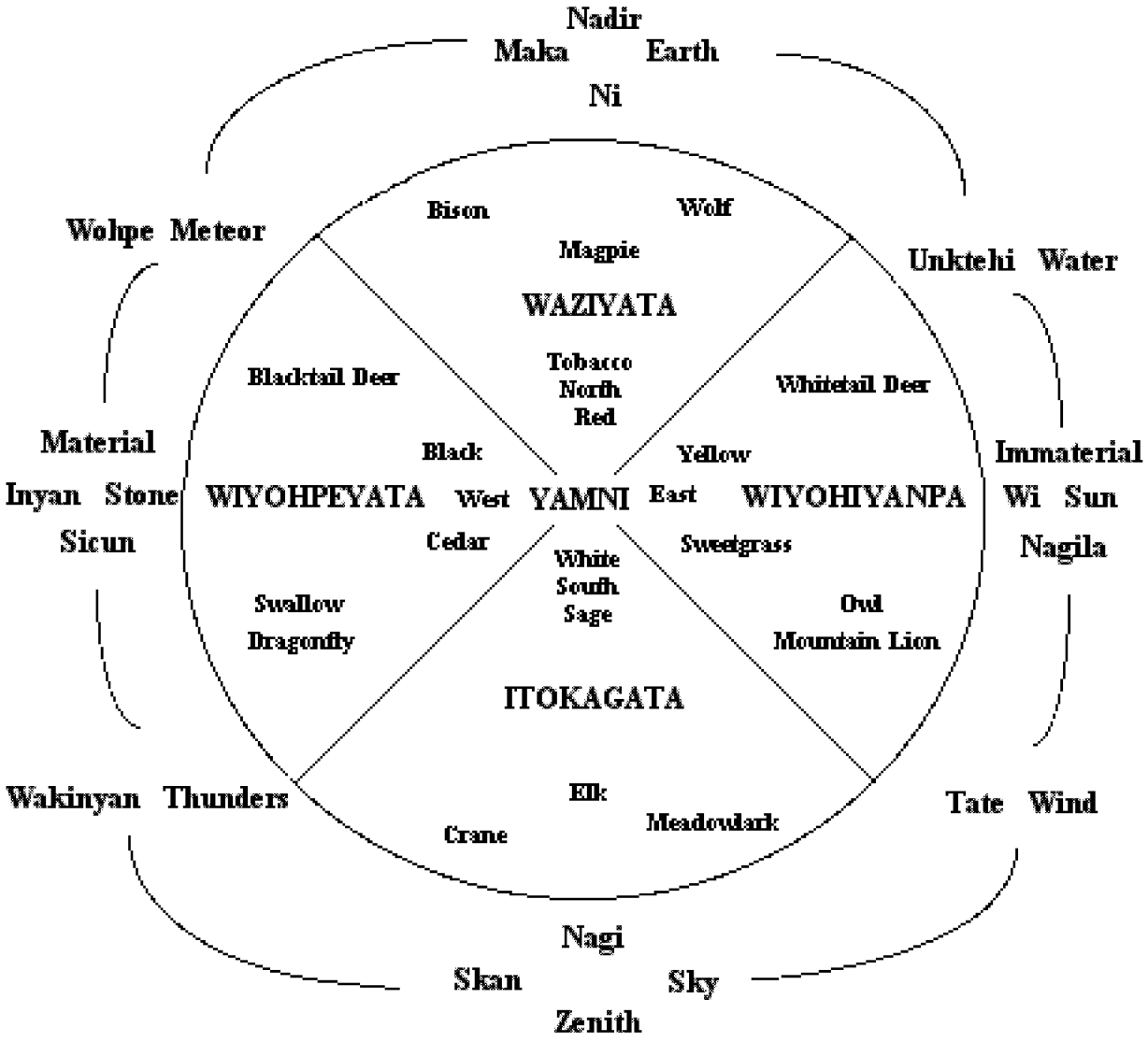
One soul is the *niya* or *ni*, which is the breath that gives rise to *woniya,* life (Amiotte 1987:86, 1989c:164-165). It is the soul or spirit that imparts substance to a living form and contributes to its materialization. It is closely associated with the Earth, the Wind, and the bison (Densmore 1918:67-68). It is also linked to the stars, which are sometimes understood as the *woniya* of *Wakan Tanka* (Goodman 1992). When *ni* ceases to exist at death, the physical remains of a person deteriorate into nothingness (Good Seat in Walker 1980:70-71, 72; Sword in Walker 1980 83; Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:95).

Another soul, the *nagi*, is the immortal shadow or ghost spirit, a spiritual template that mirrors the physical form of being (Buechel 1970:342, 771; Powers, W. 1977:53; Amiotte 1987:87, 1989c:165-166; Goodman 1992:40-41). The *nagi* remains with the body, but it can also travel, encounter, and communicate with the *nagi* of other life forms (Good Seat in Walker 1980: 70-71,72; Amiotte 1989c:87-88). It can warn a person of impending danger, but it can also abandon an individual, leaving him/her vulnerable and requiring ritual intervention to call the soul back. After death, when the breath ceases to flow, the *woniya* or life of a person is gone and the only soul that remains is the *wanagi.*[9] After death, when the *wanagi* is released and travels to the spirit world, the body becomes nothing (Good Seat in Walker 1980:70-71; Sword in Walker 1980:85).

The *nagila*, the little ghost or shadow, according to Amiotte (1987:87, 1989c :171-171), is the soul that from the time of conception brings motion to the formation of life and its growth. It is an aspect of the life force that originates with *Taku Skanskan*, the spiritual presence that ignites all forms of movement. The *nagilapi* of humans and all other life forms have a *ton*, force, potency, or energy that is necessary to life, but different from the *ton* of the *Taku Wakan* or the

[9] This expression is used to identify the soul after the death of its living, materialized form.

FIGURE 22. Cosmic Coordinates in Lakota Universe



** Adopted from Dorsey, J. 1894; Walker 1917, 1980, 1983; Densmore 1918; Beckwith 1930; Black Elk in Brown 1971; Fools Crow in Mails 1972; Powers, W. 1977; Amiotte 1987, 1989c.

**NOTE: The association of animals, plants, and colors with specific winds varies, and so do the connections with the figures on the edge of the circle, some of which make up the *Tobtob*.

most sacred spirit forces (Good Seat in Walker 1980:73; Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:98; Goodman 1992:40-41).

The final soul, or *sicun*, is an aspect or clone of another and often greater spiritual presence, the *Taku Wakan*, whose potency, or *ton*, can be embodied in a stone, a song, a prayer, or an animal part and activated or called into service when it is needed. The *sicun* is the essence of a spirit who has appeared to a person in a dream or who has been invoked by a holy person and then transferred to other people for their use and protection. The Sun s *ton*, for example, can be imparted to a stone and made into a *sicun* (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:95-96). All the major spiritual figures have a *ton* that can influence the workings of humans, animals, plants, and other living forms (Good Seat in Walker 1980:72-73). When something is invested or reinvested with the spiritual force, *ton*, of the sacred, it becomes a *sicun* (Powers, W. 1982:11). The *sicun* gives its holder the potencies and abilities of the spiritual helper or partner it embodies (Powers 1977:52-53; Amiotte 1987:87-88, 1989c:170-171; DeMallie 1987:30; Goodman 1992:40-41). The *sicunpi*, according to Frank Fools Crow (in Mails 1972:49-52, 93-94, 186), constitute 405 qualitatively distinct spiritual potencies, all of which represent different aspects of *Wakan Tanka*. Everything that exists in the universe has a *sicun,* which William Powers (1982:14) describes as forming the immortal spirit species of the universe. The *sicun* are somewhat like the *hematasoomao* of the Cheyenne, insofar as they are shared across different living forms and reincarnated from one generation to another. Over their lifetime, spiritually gifted people may accumulate many different *sicunpi* who not only assist them in their own life endeavors but can also be called upon to help others. *Sicunpi* protect those who hold them from discord, danger, and ill-health, and when one person shares or gives away their *sicun* to another, their own protections and potencies are depleted (Powers, W. 1982:11-14; DeMallie 1987:30).[10]

III. THE ELEMENTS

In the Cheyenne and Lakota scheme of things, the sun, moon, thunders, and stars that make up the sky, and the stones, soils, and waters that make up the land are living beings. Like humans, animals and plants, they possess physical and spiritual properties (Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh and Tyon in Walker 1980:95; Schlesier 1987:6, 11). The elemental spiritual figures in tribal cosmologies impart life, both in a material and immaterial sense, to all humans, plants, animals, and other living forms, including caves and mountains, and they exert their influences in many different ways.

All of the resources that make up the geophysical world from rocks and soils to water and wind are believed to possess a form of agency. This world is especially important in understanding tribal ideas about the Black Hills and the area of Wind Cave in particular. In many Lakota understandings of the Black Hills, for example, they are known to be highly sacred because they contain all the elemental aspects of the cosmos. As the highly revered spiritual leader, Pete Catches (in Parlow 1983a:2) once said: All of the Black Hills is sacred. It unifies the whole thing. Its force, its cliffs, its rock formations, its streams and lakes, rivers and what vegetation, fruit and everything that exists and grows in the Black Hills are sacred to the Lakota people. In at least two publications (in Parlow 1983a :2-3; in Gonzalez 1996: 67), Catches elaborates on this unity by describing how the Black Hills are ruled by seven spirits who govern everything that makes the world as we know it. He stated:

[10] The Cheyenne also believe in the existence of four souls, whose spiritual forces are attributed to each of the four *Ma heyuno* or Four Directions (Moore 1974a:166).

> To the Indian spiritual way of life, the Black Hills is the center of the Lakota people. There ages ago, before Columbus came over the sea, seven spirits came to the Black Hills. They selected that area, the beginning of sacredness to the Lakota people. Each spirit brought a gift to the Lakota people.
>
> The first spirit gave the whole of the Black Hills to the Lakota people forever and ever, from this life until the great hereafter life.
>
> The next spirit that came told the Lakota people there is an external fire deep in the bowels of the earth, which we know as volcanoes, the fire, the everlasting fire-so the Black Hills belong to the Lakota people, and from it, that eternal fire in the bowels of the Black Hills is the life-giving heat.
>
> The next spirit brought water, commonly known to us now as Hot Springs. We went there ages ago, together healing -- which became Evans Plunge, commercialized-where we, Indians, go for our healing in the healing waters of life.
>
> The third spirit brought the air that we breathe. You ll see that -- you go to *Wind Cave* and the Earth breathes air in and out. That s very sacred. It s needed for life. Without it, we cannot live, nothing can live. The plants need air, all creation needs air.
>
> The fourth spirit brought the rock people, which includes the gold, as mentioned here a while ago, and the minerals. That is why the Black Hills [are] sacred to the Oval Office.
>
> The fifth spirit brought medicine. In the area of the Black Hills --that today s pain and disease has to do with AIDS --if we were left alone and if we can go there, we can develop our way of healing -- even to the end of time, which is AIDS now, today, We can do that because the Black Hills [are] sacred, because that is life itself.
>
> The next spirit brought animals, the buffalo, the deer, all the small animals from which we get body parts. From the eagle, we get eagle feathers, from many of the smaller animals, we get parts of their body, transform it into our way of life --because all of creation is one unit, one life. We are them and they are us. This is his creation.
>
> The seventh spirit brought the Black Hills, as a whole --brought it to the Lakota, forever, for all eternity, not only in this life, but in the life hereafter. The two are tied together. Our people that have passed on, their spirits are contained in the Black Hills. That is why it is the center of the universe, and this is why it is sacred to the Oglala Sioux. In this life and the life hereafter, the two are together.
>
> Why should we part with the Black Hills? Land is not for sale.
>
> I d like a life to look forward to after this life. Generations and generations ago, our people have looked upon the Black Hills as the center of the world, and it s a circle. We began from there and we make a complete circle of life, and we go there after our demise from this world. That is why it is sacred to us (in Gonzalez 1996:67, *italics ours*).

Wind, water, fire, and stone are four elemental properties that Catches associates with the Black Hills, with two linked to very specific landscapes -- the thermal waters of Hot Springs and the air movements of Wind Cave. Bear Butte, an outlier of the Black Hills, is also identified as sacred because it contains all levels and/or basic elements of the universe (Schlesier 1987:5; Forbes-Boyte 1996:104,1999:28).

A. Stone

In Lakota perspectives, as already described, *Inyan* is the first presence in the universe, out of whose initial motion the sky and the earth were created.[11] *Inktomi*, the Spider, and the *Wakinyan*, the Thunders, are also his offspring, and he is directly implicated in the origin of the *Pte Oyate*, Bison People, who come from underground caves in the realm of *Inyan*, the mountains (Walker 1917:82, Little Wound in Walker 1980:124). According to James Walker (1917:82), *Inyan* is the patron of authority and vengeance, of construction and destruction, and of implements and utensils. His potency can be imparted to anything that is hard as stone; his symbolic color is yellow (Walker 1980:186). *Inyan*, who exists in a materialized form (George Sword in Walker 1980:99), is invoked more than any other spiritual figure in the Lakota pantheon.

Offerings and sacrifices, which may include pieces of skin, are made to *Inyan* on things that most closely resemble him, usually stones (Blunt Horn, Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:102-103). The stones used in invoking *Inyan* are not ordinary but special in their shape and composition. Unlike common rock, which is called *imniza* (Buechel 1970:183), these are known as *tunkan*, an abbreviated and respectful address for *tunka sila* [grandfather] (Densmore 1918:205; Powers, W. 1982:13). Ella Deloria (1944:52) suggests that the term *tunkan* refers to eternity or an endless chain of ancestral relationship going back in time. As Lone Man told Francis Densmore (Densmore 1918:214):

> The earth is large and on it live many animals. This earth is under the protection of something that at times becomes visible to the eye. One would think this would be at the center of the earth, but its representations appear everywhere, in large and small forms--they are the sacred stones. The presence of a sacred stone will protect you from misfortune.

And as Chased-By-Bears told her:

> The outline of the stone is round, having no end and no beginning; like the power of the stone, it is endless. The stone is perfect of its kind and is the work of nature, no artificial means being used in shaping it. Outwardly it is not beautiful, but its structure is solid, like a solid house in which one may safely dwell. It is not composed of many substances, but is of one substance, which is genuine and not an imitation of anything. (Densmore 1918:205).

The round stones that met these specifications are formed from the brown colored sandstone typically located in the area (Densmore 1918:205). They are often found in the bed of a lake, stream, or river (Powers, W. 1982:13), although Brave Buffalo (in Densmore 1918:208) explains that the most suitable spherical stones are found atop buttes in the direct light of the sun. Another kind is made from the crystallized sand that ants push up from their mounds (Powers, W. 1982:13).

Today, according to William Powers (1982:11), Lakotas who have faith in *Wakan Tanka* and traditional religious precepts wear a tiny round stone in a small bag made of buckskin on their person. Besides the stones that people carried on their person, large stones and boulders could

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[11] Although *inyan* is identified as masculine in Walker s works, this spiritual figure appears to be gender neutral or bisexual (Powers, M. 1986:36-38). In some contexts, *Inyan* may be considered feminine as one of the two progenitors of *Inktomi*, the other being *Wakinyan*, who is almost always seen in masculine terms. Yet, in relation to *Inktomi s* half brother, *Iyo*, whose other parent is *Unk* or *Unktehi*, a masculine ascription may be appropriate since these water deities are often described in feminine terms.

also be a subject of veneration. These were sites where offerings and sacrifices were made. Historically, the stones were typically decorated with stripes painted red, *Inyan s* favorite color (Densmore 1918:208; Little Wound in Walker 1980:197; Walker 1980:118, 231, 232, 233; Catches and Catches, Sr. 1990:81). Such acts were believed to bestow endurance and perseverance on those who venerated and showed respect to *Inyan* (Walker 1980:235).

Stone also possesses an immaterial and immortal essence that is capable of renewing life. In the sweat lodge, hot stones are connected to the creation of *ni* [breath] when water is applied to them, and as a result, they are directly implicated in restoring a person s health (Black Elk, W. and Lyon 1990:67-86; Catches and Catches, Sr. 1990:81-84; Bucko 1999:82). More specifically, stones on which lichens grow are considered ideal for use in a sweat lodge because they don t crack (Fire and Erdoes 1972:177). These are sometimes called *inyan waksupi* [stone beadwork] (see Appendix B under lichens for other names].

In James Walker s rendition of the Lakota creation cycle (1983:220-221, 222-223, 227-228), the spirits were invited to feast on the *icage*, white fruits, that grew under the earth, suggesting the crystalline formations in caves. *Taku Skanskan* made entrails from these fruits and molded a masculine father and feminine mother figure from them, the first *Pte Oyate,* and gave them the fruits as their source of eternal nourishment (Walker 1983:225-226, 249). At the end of the nineteenth century, the Lakota scholar, George Bushotter (in Dorsey 1889:153-154) wrote about mysterious stones, including one that was white and looked like ice or glass. Three decades later, Rufus Pilcher (1964) recalled that a group of Lakotas requested crystalline stones from Wind Cave to use in healing. In this regard, it should also be noted that quartzite stones from the Black Hills are kept in the Plains Apaches most sacred religious bundles (McAllister 1965).

According to Francis Densmore (1918:205), the Lakotas believed it was highly significant when people dreamed of stones, and in her text on Lakota music, she recorded numerous accounts of stone dreamers and the songs they had learned in their dreams (Densmore 1918:204-244). Luther Standing Bear (1978:215-216) wrote about these dreamers as follows:

> The stone dreamer sang a song about the night sun or moon, and also one about the day sun, which was taught to him by stones. The stones were possessed of extraordinary knowledge, for they were on the earth, in the earth, and in the sky visiting the sun and moon, so they taught the following song to the dreamer, that he might derive power from these heavenly bodies...Whenever horses or articles were lost, the Stone medicine-man was called, for he could send out his flying stones and they would locate the missing things. The medicine-man was always called with the pipe for the best results.

The power of the stone to move and locate things, however, was the work of *Taku Skanskan* [That which creates movement] (Dorsey, J. 1894:445), a figure often equated with *Skan* [Sky]. As Francis Densmore (1918:205-206) describes this:

> It is said that a medicine man in demonstrating his power to acquire information by means of the sacred stones sends them long distances. After a time the stones return and give him the desired information. He is the only one who understands what they say. It is said that stones sometimes fly through the air in a darkened healing tent and strike those who have refused to believe in them. The power of stones to move through the air comes from Takuskanskan. His symbol is the boulder. He also lives in the four winds.

Louis Kemnitzer (1970:63) states that stones refer to the earth, to permanence, to lightning, to genuineness, and to the power transmitted to living things on earth. They have power to move by themselves, and they may serve as messengers for spirits as well as exerting their own power.

Stone dreamers are called *Yuwipi* (Tyon in Walker 1980:153), and even though they were prohibited from practicing by the federal government in the early reservation era (Densmore 1918:245), they represent the most prevalent class of religious practitioners among the Lakota today. There is a rich published literature on *Yuwipi* and the ceremonies they perform that does not need to be elaborated upon here (Densmore 1918:204-244; Feraca 1961; Kemnitzer 1970, 1976; Powers W. 1982; Lewis 1990:90-93). What needs to be said, however, is that stones received in dreams could be used for many different purposes. Besides being called upon to assist in locating lost objects (Densmore 1918:205), they also helped to predict the outcome of a raid or battle (Densmore 1918:231-236). They were used in hunting and considered especially effective in summoning bison (Densmore 1918:210; Walker 1980:118, 232). But their most prevalent application was in treating the sick and in making medicines to protect people from harm and injury (Densmore 1918:246-250; Tyon in Walker 1980:153-155; Walker 1980:232).

Among the Lakotas, communicating with stones was considered sacred talk, demanding the same reverence and gravity required when enlisting the aid of other major spiritual figures, such as the Thunders or the Bear (Densmore 1918:206). Their use also required truthful speech (Walker 1980:197), as in the practice of swearing on the knife. Stones were present at major ceremonies, along with other significant objects of reverence such as bison skulls and eagle feathers (Walker 1980:224, 262, 269-270).

The Cheyenne s understanding of stone, which is called *hohona* (Petter 1913-15:1015), has not been elaborated upon in the same way as it has been for the Lakota.[12] Although stone was not among their principal spiritual figures, the Cheyennes believed that stones held inherent life powers: they had animism and were capable of movement (Petter 1913-15:1015; Moore, J. 1974a:175; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54). Stone is strongly identified with eternity and immortality (Powell 1969:1:27). As John Moore, (1974a:175) points out, a common liturgical phrase in Cheyenne songs and ceremonies is only stones live forever.

The Cheyennes organized stones and soils primarily in terms of their colors and shapes. Red colored rock and earth was associated, for example, with the sunrise or the blood of slain beings (Moore, J. 1974a:174), as in the red earth of the Race Track in the Black Hills. Stones covered with green lichen, as another example, were linked to green hailstones and the power of the thunders to renew the earth (Ibid:171). White stones, such as gypsum or selenite, were tied to white hailstones and the powers of winter (Ibid:174). The Cheyennes also employed stones in healing, but there is very little detail about their specific uses (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54). Beyond this, we were unable to uncover any other information about Cheyenne beliefs regarding stone in a more abstract and spiritual sense, even though there is a good deal of material on its utilitarian functions.

Inyan Kara Mountain on the western side of the Hills is closely associated in Lakota thought with the creative potentialities of *Inyan* (Black Elk, C. in Goodman 1992:51). However, the entire Black Hills are evocative of stone and the formative role it plays in all creative processes, and this may be why so many Lakota and Cheyenne origin stories are located in this region.

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[12] The variable amount of information about stone appears to mark a significant difference between these two tribes that is not a function of the focus of ethnographic studies on their cultures.

B. Earth

Whereas stone is typically identified with a masculine generative principle, the earth is feminized and understood as generating a materialized form of sustenance. The earth is called *maka* (Buechel 1970:328) in the Lakota language, and she is addressed respectfully, either as mother, *Maka Ina* (Walker 1980:234), or grandmother, *Maka U i* (Sword in Walker 1980:102; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995*:*74, 97, 110; Bucko 1999:208). According to Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:312), the Earth itself was the Grandmother, while the things that grew on her surface were the Mother. No matter what particular kinship term was used to address her, she was one of the superior spiritual presences in the Lakota pantheon, the *Tobtob*, and considered highly *wakan* (Little Wound in Walker 1980:70; Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:94; Sword in Walker 1980:99). As James Walker (1917:82) described her:

> The earth is a material God, whose substance is always visible. She ranks third of the superior gods, though she existed next after the first in existence. She is most often addressed as the All-mother, for she is an ancestor of all material things, except the rock. Her domain is the world and she is the patron of all things that grow from the ground, of drink, of food, and the tipi. Her potency may be imparted to anything that has grown from the ground. Her color is green.

The belief that *Maka* is the source of the animals and plants on which people depend for their livelihood is a persisting and vital tradition in Lakota worldviews. As Luther Standing Bear (1988:194) wrote in the 1930s:

> In talking to children, the old Lakota would place a hand on the ground and explain: We sit in the lap of our Mother. From her we, and all other living things, come. We shall soon pass, but the place where we now rest will last forever. So we too learned to sit or lie on the ground and become conscious of life about us in its multitude of forms...

More recently, another Lakota, Joseph Rockyboy (in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:74) put it this way:

> Some people focus on the Sun Dance and the male power of the sky, but it is to bless Mother Earth with new life that the dance is held. When we pray in the sweat lodge or in our ceremonies, we always remember *Maka Ina* [Mother Earth]. We get our health from Mother Earth and the herbs that grow from her. We use some for food and others for doctoring.

The Earth is often imagined in the figure of a bison, since she is the chief patroness of the animals as *Tatanka*, the bison bull, is the chief of the animals (Short Bull in Walker 1980:144; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110). She is also seen in the image of the turtle (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). Finally, she is closely linked with plants, as both food and medicine, and according to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:120), she governs their productivity and gives them their potency. In various Lakota stories and liturgical texts, she is sometimes envisioned as an old woman (*wakanka*) who manifests herself near caves and springs, but she may also be represented interchangeably with her associate *Wohpe* [Meteor] as the young bison woman who also appears near cave openings (Left Heron in Walker 1917:183-190; Black Elk, H. in Thiesz 1973:16-18; LaPointe 1976:80-84; Melody 1977:152-164**).** Or she reveals herself in the guise of *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman (Powers, W. 1977:169).

Pulverized earth is present in all major Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonies. When the Lakota make a ceremonial altar or *hocoka*, a process called *makagapi* [making the earth], special soil is used. According to William Powers (1982:42) in reference to Yuwipi:

> Vole dirt is used because voles are members of a sacred, omniscient community of creatures endowed with knowledge of both the surface of the earth and its subterranean parts. Like ants, which push earth and stones to the surface, moles, prairie dogs, wolves, coyotes, and other burrowing animals bring clean earth from the underground. This subterranean earth has not been contaminated by humans and is thus preferred for sacred rituals.

Louis Kemnitzer (1970:54) adds that every *Yuwipi* man has his own supplies of earth that are kept in special containers for the purpose of building an altar s sacred space. Indeed, in most major ceremonies, including the Sun Dance and vision quests, the location where the altar is built is cleared and specially pulverized earth is applied to the spot (Densmore 1918:218, 222; Kemnitzer 1970:70). The same also applies to the Cheyennes who excavate the sod and apply pulverized soil in building a new ground for their ceremonial altars, a process that Schlesier (1987:6) likens to the reenactment of creation.

The Cheyennes have several different names for the earth. One name, *nathoe,* refers to the land or country where people live, and another, *hestec*, is used for soil or ground (Petter 1913-15:422). *Notostovoom* refers to the surface of the earth, and it is closely related to *votostoom*, which means a habitable area (Petter 1913-15:422). The Cheyennes respectfully called the earth, *Esceheman* [The Earth or Our Mother] (Powell 1969:2:437; Schlesier 1987:5, 8, 82; Moore, J. 1996:208-211). She is associated with *He?estostse*, the deep center of the earth, the nadir of the world below. She is linked with land animals, especially bison. From her earthly home, she protects the spirits of the animals and oversees their emergence from a spiritualized essence to a material form, a process that takes place in their underground cavern homes, which Cheyennes believe are located in the Black Hills and at Bear Butte (Moore, J. 1974a:163, 1996a:208-211; Schlesier 1987:4-7). *Esceheman* and the buffalo, as Father Peter Powell (1969:2:443) puts it, are the living symbol and source of female power. Her goodwill insures the abundance of food and game for the Cheyennes, and her essence takes expression in materialized forms (Powell 1969:2:444; Moore, J. 1996a:208-211). John Moore (197a4:162) argues that the deep earth represents stability; it is the substance out of which all living things are created but it does not create life itself without the intervention of the sun and rain. The substance of the earth is found in caves, but it also appears above ground on rocky surfaces without vegetation. The earth where plants grow represents the interactions between the sun, rain, and the earth (Moore, J. 1974a:161, 164).

Various manifestations of the earth mother figure in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions are associated with many stories connected to several important places in the Black Hills, including Bear Butte and Wind Cave.

C. Sun/Fire

In both Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, the Sun, *Wi* in Lakota and *Eehe* or *Atsovsz* (its sacred name) in Cheyenne, is typically associated with the winds and cardinal directions of the East and/or South (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:126; Moore, J. 1996:206). Its appearance in the spring sparks the renewal of life and the greening of the earth (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:287-288). The Sun is addressed as father or grandfather, and Red Cloud told James Walker (1980:140) that the Sun and

Wakan Tanka were one and the same. The Cheyennes carry a similar notion and believe that the Sun is the quintessential representation of *Ma heo* (Grinnell 1972:2:89) and the greatest life-giver among the Above Powers (Powell 1969:2:437; Moore, J. 1996:207).

In Lakota thought, fire embodies the essence of the Sun (Walker 1980:186, 230), and all ceremonial fires carry the rays of the Sun and its spiritualized *ton* or power (Walker 1980:220; Black Elk in Brown 1971:32). Like the Sun, fire is highly sacred (Bucko 1998:203), capable of sparking or renewing life. It is a potent purifying force (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:284). In Lakota traditions, as told by Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:300, 311, 313), Moves Walking brought knowledge of fire and the ceremonial pipe to the people from the North.

In Lakota traditions, the Sun is closely connected to the bison and their progenitor, *Tatanka*, with whom he stays at night in the underworld (Little Wound in Walker 1987:67; Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a: 42-43; Hall 1997:133-134). Bison also come from the North and thus are linked to the North Wind, *Waziyata*, who is driven away by the Sun s helper, fire, so that life can be regenerated as evidenced in the liturgical texts from the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Buffalo Sing), a ceremony celebrating a young girl s passage into womanhood (Walker 1980:245). When a ceremonial fire or pipe is lit, just like the arrival of the Sun, it brings the return of the bison (Black Elk in Brown 1971:314; Goodman 1992:7). In both Lakota and Cheyenne traditions, the Sun represented by the East or the South and the spiritual embodiment of the North stand in an inverted, and sometimes antagonistic, relation to each other. The old man of winter and frost, known as *Waziya* in Lakota and *Hoimaha* in Cheyenne is represented respectively as the North Wind, *Waziyata* or *Notamota* (Moore, J. 1996:208). The Cheyennes believe that he arrives in a white cloud and tells the Sun to back away (Grinnell 1972:2:94-95). At the time of the vernal equinox, the Sun reasserts its power, and as it gets higher in the sky, it orders the old man of the north to return to the place from which he comes (Grinnell 1972:2:95; Moore, J. 1996:207). Grinnell (1972:2:95) points out that in the winter the Cheyennes held a feast and offered a pipe to the old man, requesting him to withhold the snow so that the people might hunt and live.

Among the Lakotas, red is the color representing the Sun but paradoxically it also represents the direction of *Waziyata*, the North Wind (Walker 1980:231, 232, 233). Insofar as blood stands for the unity of life and death, it makes sense the spiritual figures that stand for life-taking and life-giving potentialities would be represented by the same color. Not coincidentally, red is also the color associated with the bison that stand for the totality of all that exists (Black Elk in Brown 1992:13).

At least in Cheyenne traditions, and perhaps in Lakota as well, there appears to be particular and important connections of the Buffalo Gap area to the Sun, not only because the Sun Dance is believed to have originated at this location but also because this is the place where the quill workers guild, the *Me e no ist st*, is believed to have originated (Grinnell 1972:1:159-169). Like eagle feathers, porcupine quills are believed to hold the sun s rays (Brown 1992:102, Sundstrom 2002:108). Also, the yellow hair of bison calves in Cheyenne teachings is closely associated with the sun, who gifts the bison to humans (Moore, J. 1974a:163). In fact, the Lakotas hold a special ceremony at the Buffalo Gap around the time of the vernal equinox to light their ceremonial pipes (Black Elk, C. in Goodman 1992:49-50), and they once followed this route to reach locations near Harney Peak where they performed additional ceremonial observances in the spring (Looking Horse 1987a: 42-43).

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes set up their ceremonial calendars according to the position of the sun and its relation to other celestial bodies. Places in and around the Black Hills, notably Bear Lodge Butte, the Race Track, and the Buffalo Gap, were believed to mirror certain

constellations in the sky, and as a result, they were locations where important and highly sacred transformative processes were known to take place at certain times of the year (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42-43; Goodman 1992:7; see also, Chapters 14 and 15 for further details).

It is important to remember that in many American Indian traditions, including the Lakotas , openings to the underworld are also portals to the sky. In the daytime, the night sky is underneath the earth, and during the nighttime, the sun travels to the subterranean world (Hall 1997:133-134**)**. This helps to explain why certain elemental figures in tribal cosmologies are envisioned simultaneously as having sky and earth origins or homes, which are accessible at the highest pinnacles on the earth s surface such as mountain peaks and also from its lowest depths where these homes are approached through the openings to caves (see, again, Chapters 14 and 15 for more details).

D. Air/Wind

Taku Skanskan or *Skan,* the spiritual figure that presides over movement represents the Sky and the Blue Dome (Walker 1917:84, 1980:272), but his presence is also manifest in the stone that gave him birth and in the Four Winds (Densmore 1918:205-206) The Wind, *Tate*, is a close associate of *Taku Skanskan* and is one of his direct descendents. *Tate* is also, according to Red Rabbit (in Walker 1980:127), the younger brother of the Sun and a spiritual figure who has little interaction with humans. The Wind is a spiritual presence without material manifestations, except in its effects, and it is directly associated with the hunt and the meat of ruminant species (Buechel 1970:472; Sword in Walker 1980:99). Little is known about this spiritual figure, however, because his powers are part of the secret knowledge of Lakota holy men, *wicasa wakan* (Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:124-127). His essence or *ton* is revealed in the smoke of sage (Little Wound 1980:197). He is the father of the four winds or directions and the whirlwind, and it is through them that *Tate* s action is manifested. The idea that the Wind and his sons are part of the central integrating and ordering principals in the universe is something the Lakotas and Cheyennes share (Jahner in Walker 1983:200-203; Moore, J. 1996: 206-208).

The dwelling place of the Wind is associated with the air and the northern lights where the *wasicunpi* [spirits] stay (Little Wound in Walker 1980:197), but he is also known to reside at certain underground locations, notably caves. Indeed, the element of the wind is closely associated in Lakota traditions with the area of Wind Cave (Campbell 1937), known in sacred language as *Tate Waxun* [Cave of the Wind] or *Tatoye Oyurlokapi* [The Opening of the Four Winds] (Black Elk, C. 1986a:209).

In Lakota traditions, wind is equated with the breath of life, *ni*, and it is a foundation for all movement. This is made explicit in Pete Catches description (in Gonzalez 1996:67), quoted earlier, that clearly connects the Black Hills and Wind Cave, in particular, with the wind and the breath of life. *Ni* is connected simultaneously to caves and bison because both emit visible vapors in the wintertime (Densmore 1918:67-68; Sword in Walker 1980:100), the quintessential physical sign of the presence of breath.[13] This connection, which is elaborated upon in much more detail in subsequent chapters, also underlies certain Lakota understandings of what happens in sweat lodges. Indeed, in many ways, as alluded to earlier, the interactions of stone, water, and fire in sweatlodges, mimic broader elemental relationships that are manifest in particular landforms and landscapes, including Wind Cave and the areas that surround it.

[13] The Cheyennes also make this connection (Moore 1974a:160).

E. Water/Thunder

Water, *mni* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:337) or *map* in Cheyenne (Petter 1913-15:1095), is another basic element. The Cheyennes and the Lakotas understand water as a life-giving force (Kemnitzer 1970:73; Grinnell 1972:2:134-135). According to the Lakota intellectual, George Sword (in Walker 1980:100), water is also closely linked to breath. As he puts it:

> The spirit of the water is good for the *ni* and it will make it strong. Anything hot will make the spirit of the water free and it goes upward. It is like the *ni, which* can be seen with the breath on a cold day...

The Lakotas and Cheyennes had at least two kinds of spiritual figures, usually identified as potentially dangerous, that were associated with water in its land-based form. Among the Cheyennes, they were known as *mih n* and described as large lizards with horns, or as giant snakes (Grinnell 1972:2:96). These water spirits and their underwater people were known to possess buffalo, and they were also believed to play a role in their appearance and disappearance on earth (Grinnell 1972:2:97). According to John Moore (1974a:164), the waters of lakes and rivers come from underground water that swells up out of the deep earth, and it is conceptually different from the water that falls from the sky. The creatures that inhabit these waters are known to bring harm to humans when offended, but they are not seen as particularly dangerous. When respected and gifted, they are known to be of assistance to humans (Grinnell 1972:2:96-97). In addition, the Cheyennes believe that a class of diminutive beings, *Ho ho tama itsi hyo ist*, that live in the ground and travel by night, commonly inhabit bluffs near springs, whose source is also the deep earth. Like the other spirits connected to the water, they can bring harm to people if offended and not propitiated (Grinnell 1972:2:126).

In Walker s rendition (1983) of the Lakota creation story, the female figure *Unk* is identified with the spiritualized essence of water (Walker 1980:50-51). Along with her offspring, the *unk-tehi, unkcegila, miniwatu, wamnitu, or mini wasicun* [water spirits], she is an ambiguous figure, sometimes reviled and feared, characterized as a monster and a harbinger of evil and bad luck. In other cases, however, she is respected and petitioned (Dorsey, J. 1894:438-441; Good Seat in Walker 1980:72; Sword, No Flesh, Bad Wound and Tyon in Walker 1980:194, Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:108, Short Feather in Walker 1980:115-116; Walker 1980:118, 122, 123, 208). The Lakotas envision the *Unktehi* and *Unkcegila,* as giant reptiles with horns, four legs, and a ridged backbone, and they believe that their remains are encased in the badlands of Nebraska and South Dakota and also at spots along the Race Track (Dorsey, J. 1894: 440-441; La Pointe 1976:17-20; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:108, Tyon in Walker 1980:122).[14]

The Lakota also have spiritual figures known as little people, who are c alled by several different names, including *Wiwila*[15]*, Ca otila*, *Unglagica*, *Gicila*, or simply *Gica*. They are known to occupy caves, rocky outcroppings, and forested areas near springs and other sources of water. They can be potentially dangerous to humans if the places where they live are not treated with respect, but they can be benefactors too, gifting humans in a wide variety of different ways (Dorsey, J. 1894:473; Howard 1955:462-472; (LaPointe 1976:45, 84; Powers, W. 1977:52-53;

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[14] Generally speaking, the cosmological beliefs surrounding the *unktehi* and other water spirits are much more elaborate among the Dakota who resided in regions east of the Missouri River than they are among the Lakotas who resided near the Black Hills.

[15] *Wiwila*, a name David White (2002:217) reports for Little People, is also the word for a spring, and it can be translated as little life .

Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Tyon in Walker 1980:94; Tyon, Garnett, Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:107; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:148; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:113-114). These figures are commonly associated with the Hot Springs area, but as described in Section Three, they also appear in stories of Wind Cave.

In its airborne manifestation, water is associated with the Thunders in Lakota and Cheyenne thought. The Thunders, *Wakinyan* in Lakota and *Nonoma* in Cheyenne, are envisioned as huge birds, which bring the rain and the storms that green and revivify the earth in the spring (Powell 1969:2:436, 438; Black Elk in Brown 1971:31; Grinnell 1972:2:95; Moore, J. 1974a:157-158; Schlesier 1987:8). The Cheyennes and the Lakotas once held ceremonies and offered the pipe in the spring to celebrate the Thunders return (Grinnell 1972:2:96; Goodman 1992:50). The Thunders stand in perpetual conflict with the spiritual embodiments of water on earth, the *Unktehi* or *Mih n* in Cheyenne (Moore, J. 1974a:165; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105, 108; Walker 1980 118). In Lakota traditions, the home of the Thunders is commonly associated with Harney Peak in the Black Hills. They are also typically linked in Lakota thought with the West Wind and in Cheyenne worldviews with the South Wind. The West Wind is connected in Cheyenne traditions to water spirits.

Water is understood as the elemental medium by which medicines are transported in Lakota healing (Kemnitzer 1970:73), and this is also true for the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:134-135). Water figured prominently in Nicholas Black Elk s visions and healing treatments (in DeMallie 1984:119-121; 123-124, 138-140, 179, 215, 217, 223, 237-239, 240, 244; Standing Bear 1978:52. Luther Standing Bear (1978:50-52) wrote extensively about how water was taken as a preventive health measure. Lakota children were admonished never to eat food until they had a generous drink of water in the morning, and adults were reported to drink copious amounts of water, often flavored with mint, to maintain their health.

The spiritual essence of water is also embodied in the Black Hills, and, according to Pete Catches (in Gonzalez 1996:67**),** it is especially apparent in the thermal waters of the Hot Springs region. Catches (in Parlow 1983a: 2) talked about these thermal waters as follows:

> And you look at Hot Springs and its perpetual warmth, it was a place very sacred to the Lakota people. They go there to bathe and were doctored. The water, a spiritual gift that he brought to the Black Hills and to the Lakota people.

In general, the spiritual strength of water is revealed anywhere springs issue forth from underneath the earth s surface. Since springs are found throughout the Black Hills, including locations within Wind Cave National Park, there are many places in this region where the spiritual power of water is revealed.

IV. WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND THE ELEMENTS

It is through the relationships and interactions of the elemental forces described here that *Ma heo* of the Cheyennes and *Wakan Tanka* of the Lakotas reveals its totality and brings about the perpetuation of the cosmos. There are special landscapes that typify these relationships, and one of these encompasses the Black Hills, including the region where Wind Cave National Park is located. As argued in Section Four, the Lakotas and Cheyennes practice what Yi-Fu Tuan (1978) calls geopiety, that is, they have a special reverence for the geography of the places in which they live. This reverence involves a totalistic way of viewing a landscape, one in which land forms and their associated elements, plants, animals, minerals, and soils are synergistically related

as a synecdoche, where each phenomenon stands and speaks for the other as interchangeable representations of various spiritual essences or forces.

Certain landforms function as hierophanies, that is, they stand as physical representations of the cosmos. Bear Butte, as one example, represents and encapsulates a complex set of ideas about the workings of the universe. Known as *Nowah wus* [The Teaching Mountain], it is spiritually important to the Cheyennes because it contains within its reach areas accessible to humans that represent all seven levels of the universe, from the *Nsthoaman*, the deepest level of earth, to the *otatavoom*, the blue sky. It holds the *Ma'heonoxsz,* the sacred caves of the *Maiyun,* and it houses the *heszevoxsz*, the subterranean cavern homes where the spirits of the animals reside (Schlesier 1987:4-6). The *Ma'heonoxsz* are places where some humans, such as the Cheyenne culture heroes, Sweet Medicine and Stands on the Ground, were given extraordinary knowledge about the workings of the cosmos, and as a result, these caves serve as models for the ceremonial lodges where the Cheyennes conduct some of their most important ritual observances. Although for different reasons, *Mato Paha* [Bear Butte] or *Paha Wakan* [Sacred Mountain] also possesses hierophanic meanings for the Lakotas (Forbes-Boyte 1996, 1999). Indeed, it is one of the places in the Black Hills that many tribes hold sacred, including the Arapahos (Trenholm 1970:80), Kiowas (Mooney 1979:322-324), and Plains Apaches (McAllister 1937:162, 1964). It is widely recognized by several different tribal nations as a place where the borders between the physical and spiritual world intersect and where animals and humans can reveal their spiritual essences to each other, and as a consequence, it is highly sacred.

Although the region of Wind Cave National Park is not explicitly referenced in this way in the existing literature, the information presented in the next two sections can be used to build a case that shows how this area served to convey important cosmological understandings for both the Lakotas and the Cheyennes and probably for other tribes too, including the Arapahos, Poncas, Arikaras, and Apaches. In the following chapters, the significance of the area is described in terms of the particular mix of animals, plants, minerals, and soils that make up its landscape. Some of these, notably bison, kinnikinick, and gypsum, also manifest metaphoric imagery. In Section Four, the importance of the park s two major landforms, Wind Cave and the Race Track, are described, and some of their symbolic imagery is revealed. When related to the neighboring Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs, these landforms constitute an integrated totality that reveals certain essential ideas about the workings of the cosmos. Together with the animals, plants, minerals, and soils that make up their respective landscapes, they speak to and speak for each other; they form an inseparable and unique totality that makes this a distinct place in the Lakotas and Cheyennes universe and in their conceptualization of the Black Hills. It is a place that teaches, as Bear Butte does, certain fundamental cosmic precepts. But in order to understand how and why this is so, it is necessary to first give some attention to the cultural uses and meanings of the different kinds of animals, plants, minerals, and soils that represent the biology and geology of Wind Cave National Park.

Chapter Ten

THE HOME AND GATHERING PLACE OF THE ANIMALS

In the lives and cosmologies of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the two tribal nations most closely associated with the area of Wind Cave National Park, one of their most powerful and persistent cultural attachments to the region involves the animals. From some of the earliest to the most recent accounts, the Black Hills have always been known as the home, shelter, and gathering place of the animals. Where the drainages of local waterways cut through the sandstones of the Hogback, there are a series of gateways that once allowed the easy passage of animals from the grasslands to the Red Valley or Race Track. In the late fall, animals sought winter shelter at various locations inside the Hogback, and in the spring, they passed through these gateways to reach their feeding grounds on the surrounding grasslands. Humans followed their migrations. They sought the accessible and lower elevation recesses of the Hills for their winter campsites and left them in the spring as they began a cycle of travel that led in the late summer to the open plains for their large communal hunts. In the Black Hills, this transhumance pattern of migration for animals and humans is not only well known through written documents and oral traditions, but there is also considerable evidence for its occurrence in the prehistoric record.

In her important writings on the prehistory of the southern Black Hills, Linea Sundstrom (1989, 1990, 2000) has shown how the canyon passageways of the Hogback were used in prehistoric times. Some of her most interesting findings have to do with the rock art of the area, located most commonly in the canyon gateways of the southern Hills. The earliest rock art panels, which date from the Middle Archaic, some five thousand years ago, depict animals and the shamanistic activity associated with their hunting. Although rock art styles changed over time, many of them appear to have had something to do with ritualized practices bearing on the fertility and hunting of hoofed animals. In Craven, Red, and Whoop-Up Canyons, where the highest concentrations of rock art are found, most of the species depicted are members of the Cervid family, elk or deer. Since most rock art sites are located in and around major gateways to the Hills, Sundstrom (2000) argues that these may have been locations where various ungulate species were corralled and hunted in prehistoric and historic times.

Although not a major site for rock art, the passageway created by Beaver Creek, known as the Buffalo Gap, leads directly to Wind Cave, which is located west of the Race Track along the southeastern shoulder of the Limestone Plateau. Because so much of the cultural importance of this area and the related thermal waters at Hot Springs, are tied to the animals, especially bison, it is important not only to describe the habits of the species who historically resided here but also to explain their cultural place in the practices and worldviews of local tribes, especially the Lakotas and Cheyennes.

I. SOURCE MATERIAL

There is a rich body of material on animals in the histories and traditions of the tribal peoples of the northern Plains. The early nineteenth century trader Antoine Pierre Tabeau (in Abel 1939:76-87) offered detailed descriptions of the habits and habitats of some of the animals

associated with the Black Hills, and he also described some of the ways in which they were procured by the tribal nations who traveled in the area, especially the Arikaras. Nearly fifty years later, in 1854, another trader, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:xxiii, 5-6) would add to this knowledge and write very specifically about the Lakota s relationship to the fauna of the Black Hills. In the intervening years, many explorers and travelers in the region, including Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (in Moulton 1983-87), Maxmilian, Prince of Wied (in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347), Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969), and E. De Girardin (1936:62) offered insights about the region s animals and the ways in which they were procured. Most of the early discussions about the fauna of the Black Hills took place at some distance from the area, along the Missouri or Platte River, and much of it was based on secondhand knowledge derived from the eyewitness reports of traders and trappers who wintered in the Hills. In 1823, John Clyman (in Camp 1969), who accompanied a trapping brigade under the leadership of Jedediah Smith, was the first eyewitness observer to write about the Hills. Although his party probably entered the Hills at the Buffalo Gap and crossed the area at its southern reaches, he offers little detail about the animals other than the party s infamous encounter with a grizzly bear.

It wasn t until after the 1850s, when government sponsored expeditionary parties traveled the area, that we get a more detailed record of local animal populations and their whereabouts (Hayden 1862b; Hinman 1874; Grinnell 1875; Jenny 1875; Ludlow 1875; Dodge 1965; McLaird and Turchen 1973, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c; Krause and Olson 1974; Frost 1979; Dodge in Kime 1998). By this time, however, the region s animal demography had changed considerably: bison, for one, no longer held a dominating presence in regions east of the Black Hills. Generally speaking, and with a few notable exceptions (Warren 1875:15-16), these writings offer little direct observation on tribal hunting practices in and around the Black Hills. In later years, a succession of naturalists and biologists came to the Black Hills to study the habits and habitats of the region s fauna. Many of their observations are chronicled and reviewed in Ronald W. Turner s important monograph, *Mammals of the Black Hills of South Dakota and Wyoming* (1974). This is one of several sources (Seton 1929; Pettigrill and Whitney 1965; Froiland 1978; Melius 1995) that this report drew upon in reconstructing the faunal history of the region and also in understanding European American relationships with and attitudes towards various species.

Much of what is known about tribal connections to the animals of the Black Hills comes from Lakota and Cheyenne writings, oral traditions, and winter counts, most of which were published in the twentieth century. Within this literature, there is a rich body of material on tribal knowledge about the region s fauna, on tribal patterns of procurement, and on the symbolism associated with animals in tribal cosmologies and ceremonialism. There are several general references to tribal hunting in and around the Black Hills, and even some statements regarding the specific locales where certain kinds of procurement took place. There is also a good deal of information about Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of the metaphysical significance of the Black Hills and its relationship to local animal populations. Some of the major sources on these subjects for the Cheyennes include George Bird Grinnell s classic ethnography *The Cheyenne Indians* (1972) first published in 1923, Wooden Leg s autobiography (in Marquis 1931), George Bent s (in Hyde 1968) recollections, and John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967) historical and ethnographic commentaries. Karl Schlesier s publications (1974, 1987 1990), John Moore s writings (1974, 1981, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1996), and Linea Sundstrom s recent article (2001) on pronghorn procurement are basic sources on these subjects for the Cheyennes as well. For the Lakotas, Francis Densmore s monumental text *Teton Music and Culture* (1918), Royal B. Hassrick s ethnography (1964) *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society,* James Walker s various writings (1905, 1917, 1980, 1982, 1983), William Bordeaux s account (1929), and Henry Standing Bear s texts (1975, 1978, 1988) are essential sources. Also of importance are Joseph E. Brown s book *Animals of the Soul* (1992), and William Power s work *Sacred*

Language: The Nature of Supernatural Discourse in Lakota (1986). In addition, there are Nicholas Black Elk s important accounts as told to John Neihardt (1961; in DeMallie 1984) and Joseph E. Brown (1971). Finally, many other sources, too numerous to mention here, provide additional information on Lakota and Cheyenne relationships to the world of animals.

It must be emphasized that most of the information that exists on the tribal use of animals in the Black Hills is very general. In relation to the vast body of data that exists on the hunting practices of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, and in terms of an equally extensive literature on tribal cultural attitudes towards the many animal species known to have existed in the Hills, only some of the sources actually specify the particular geographic locales where game was taken for food, clothing, shelter, medicine, and other purposes. Nonetheless, there is still a strong enough body of material to reconstruct some general aspects of procurement practices that would have taken place in and around the Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. There is an even more impressive body of material on tribal attitudes towards the animals that were historically associated with the region. Thus, the following discussion focuses largely on the general material about the animals that tribes of the area sought to procure with special attention given to the Lakotas and Cheyennes. It identifies the species historically located at the park, the cultural meanings that were attached to them, the ways in which they were used, some of the contexts in which they were taken, and equally important, the place they occupied in tribal cosmologies and ceremonies. The identification of animals presently located in the park comes from the park s own website, and unless otherwise indicated, all references to animals populations at the park come from its website (Pisarowicz 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d). Since specific information on tribal relationships with animals is enormous, much of it, including the tribal names for different species, is placed in an appendix at the end of the report (Appendix A).

II. FAUNAL DIVERSITY AND CHANGE

In historic times before 1877, the Black Hills contained most of the mammalian species known to local tribes with the possible exception of the raccoon, which had not reached much farther than the mouth of the White River when Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:143) wrote about the fauna of the region in the 1850s. Local tribal peoples saw the Hills as a home and meeting place of the animals, an observation reflective of the region s overall faunal diversity and also the movements of animals in and around the Hills. The area of Wind Cave National Park is especially significant in this regard because part of its land covers a race course where all the animals once gathered and raced against each other to determine who would be the hunter or the prey (see Chapter Fourteen for a detailed discussion of the story).

A. Contemporary Animal Populations

Most of the species present in the Black Hills when European Americans arrived are now part of the panoply of animals that make up the Hill s fauna. Many of these animals are also present at Wind Cave National Park. Today, the Black Hills embrace a large and highly varied number of animal species. More than sixty different varieties of mammals have been reported in the Hills. Over the past century, many of these animals, especially the smaller ones, appear to have maintained their numbers, but some of the larger game disappeared and had to be reintroduced in the early twentieth century. Two species, grizzly bears and wolves, were extirpated from the Black Hills by the early twentieth century and have not been reintroduced. In more recent times, the black bear has disappeared from the Hills as well. Other species always existed here in small numbers, and one, the blackfooted ferret, remains in such small numbers that it is now regarded

as an endangered species (Turner 1974:129-132). The last reported sighting of one at Wind Cave was in 1977 (Ferrell 2002: Personal Communication).

More than two hundred species of birds are also reported in the Black Hills. Of these, one hundred and thirty-nine appear regularly as permanent year-round residents or regular seasonal inhabitants. Eighty-seven other species are described as occasional in the reporting of experienced observers. As with plants, this is an area of hybridization for a number of species from different parts of the continent. The Hills are western and eastern limits for several birds and also outlier zones for some boreal species that nest in the region (Froiland 1978:106-108). Most of the birds found in the Hills have been sighted at Wind Cave National Park, but many of them are uncommon or rare in their appearance. Only forty-one species, or approximately twenty percent of the varieties reported in the Hills, are commonly found inside park boundaries.

There are also at least twenty different species of reptiles and amphibians in the Hills, and some of these are present at Wind Cave National Park (Froiland 1978:97-105). Only a few varieties of fish, crustaceans, and mollusks, however, were ever common in the streams and waterways of the Black Hills. Today, some of the native fish species, or closely related ones, are being restocked in streams managed by government agencies. In the waterways that traverse Wind Cave National Park, including Beaver, Highland and Cold Spring creeks, six species are reported, including one, the brook trout, which is not native to the region (Pisarowicz 2001d).

B. Historic Animal Populations

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, Pierre Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939:77), a French fur-trader, was one of the first European American observers to link the Black Hills with the migrations of game and with the movements of the human populations who followed them. He wrote about the abundance of buffalo, deer, and pronghorn along the waterways surrounding the Hills (in Abel 1939:76, 87), including the Cheyenne and White rivers, and he reported on the bear and bighorn that occupied their interiors. In the same decade, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:133-135, 179-180, 182, 222, 482, 4:16, 6:338), based on information they secured from local traders, also described these migrations and some of the distinctive species of animals known to frequent the Hills, notably, the pronghorns, the bighorns, and white booted turkeys. As Clark (Moulton 1983-87:3:482) wrote: The Black hills is Said to abound in Bear of every kind, and in addition to all those animals common on the Missouri an Animal with verry large horns Curved about the Size of a Small Elk, and a Booted Turkey commonly white... Over the next three decades, other observers would continue to report on the abundance of game in the Black Hills. Based on his twenty years of experience as a fur-trader on the upper Missouri, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:5-6) described the large numbers of bighorns, mountain lions, and bears of the Hills interiors and the rich herds of buffalo, elk, and blacktail deer at their base. In the 1840s, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:154, 271-272) gave evidence of the richness of game in the general area,[1] and so did E. De Girardin (1936:62). From these and other early reports, there is no question the Black Hills was an area rich in game and a destination to which local tribal nations traveled on a regular and recurring basis to hunt.

Until the 1840s, the Black Hills stood above some the best bison country in the northwestern plains. As John Ewers (1938:12), one of the Smithsonian Institution s most highly respected

[1] Again, even though some of his descriptions of the Black Hills actually refer to the Laramie Mountains, they provide good evidence of the transhumance migrations of local tribes in pursuit of game from the open grasslands to the higher elevation interiors of local mountain ranges.

ethnologists, put it: The Black Hills furnished the favorite winter home for the buffalo. In subsequent decades, European American observers began to report declines in bison populations, especially in areas east of the Hills and also at locations in the south towards the Platte River (Twiss 1855b:83; Denig in Ewers 1961:22, 25; Hyde 1961:29; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; Hurt 1974:242; Price, C. 1996:46-50). Curiously, when E. De Girardin (1936:62) lists the mammals associated with the Hills in 1849, he omits the bison. Elk, bighorns, and antelope, however, were on his list of the species that abound there. Although bison could still be found around the Black Hills in the 1850s, as evidenced by Warren s description (1875:15-16) of a Lakota bison hunt on the western side of the Hills near Inyan Kara Mountain in 1857, and General William F. Raynolds sighting of bison near the northern Hills in 1859 (Turner 1974:144), it is clear that the Hills were no longer at the center of the best bison hunting ranges in the plains. In 1862, Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:274) wrote that along the Cheyenne River: Game is also quite abundant, as elk, deer, and antelope, and in former years, vast herds of buffalo roamed over this region, though at the present time, only now and then a stray bull is seen along this river from mouth to source.

Much has been written about the diminishment of the bison herds on the Great Plains (Bamforth 1987; Flores 1991; Krech 1999). Andrew Isenberg s recent historical synthesis (2000) indicates that a complex set of factors were involved in the bison s decline. In his perspective, a combination of forces, including overkilling by humans, predation from wolves and other carnivores, long periods of drought, severe winters, competition from cattle for good grazing land, and disease brought about their near demise in the 1870s (Isenberg 2000:27). As he observes, populations of bison and other wild ungulates follow erratic cycles of rapid growth and sudden collapse. In the Plains, drought was one of the major forces leading ungulate populations to crash (Isenberg 2000:28-29). By the 1870s, bison had probably overreached the carrying capacity of the grasslands when a sequence of dry years, followed by especially severe winters, reduced available forage. In a situation where bison numbers were already declining from natural forces, an expanding commercial market for their hides contributed even more to the animal s demise.

Before commercial market forces influenced tribal procurement strategies, Isenberg (2000: 85-86) maintains that native hunting practices resulted in sustainable production cycles, in which a tribe s annual take rarely exceeded the predation of their fellow carnivores, notably wolves and bears. He also argues, however, that the increased hunting of local tribes to meet market demands was not an inconsequential part of the bison s eventual decline. When Plains Indians became engaged in a market-oriented production of hides, the scale and intensity of their production increased substantially over what was required for subsistence and indigenous forms of trade (Albers 1996:123-124).

One writer (Krech 1999:142-143) suggests that Plains Indians may not have held a conservation ethic as popularly assumed, or their traditional ethics were compromised by market demands because many bison were wasted in some of the large kills reported in the nineteenth century. It is true that many of the bison taken in large surrounds were not consumed. Cows lean from lactation would not have been selected for food when hunted in the spring because their meat was unpalatable and even toxic, although at this time of the year their hides were desirable for certain purposes (Grinnell 1972:1:226; Geist 1996:48). Other cultural factors may also explain why tribes did not take all of the animals at a kill site. For example, there was a belief among many northern Plains tribes that all of the animals surrounded at a communal kill site had to be slaughtered in order to prevent them from warning others what had happened (Geist 1996:45-48; Krech 1999:147-148).

Although the forces of nature and tribal hunting for the market were certainly necessary conditions in the demise of Plains bison herds, these were probably never sufficient to bring the bison to the brink of extinction. The pivotal last straw for the bison was the work of the professional bison hunters who moved into the plains in the 1870s to make a livelihood off the animal s hide. Facilitated by the arrival of the railroads, and with the assistance of the U.S. military,[2] bison were slaughtered in mass killings until only a few straggling herds remained in isolated areas of Montana and South Dakota. It was from these herds that most of today s bison descend (Geist 1996:70-99; Isenberg 2000:123-163).

Whatever the ultimate cause of the bison s decline, their ranges began to constrict dramatically after the 1850s. Although shortages of bison were reported in earlier decades, this was a local fluctuation caused by unusually mild winters and the failure of some of the bison to return to their favorite winter haunts along the valley of the Missouri River (Clow 1995:260-260). By the 1860s, however, the large herds had largely disappeared from the Missouri River and the eastern flanks of the Black Hills, and in subsequent decades, only a few stragglers remained. Ronald Turner (1974:144) claims that 1866 was the date when the last sighting of bison was reported around the Black Hills (Turner 1974:144). In the spring of 1879, Valentine McGillacuddy, the agent at Pine Ridge, wrote in his diary that there is no buffalo to amount to anything around the Black Hills, which suggests that some strays were still to be found in the area. Indeed, early settlers in the Black Hills remember the last bison being killed at the Buffalo Gap in 1881 (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:221), at Hot Springs in 1882 (Clark, B. 1983:22-23), and at Custer in 1884 (Sundstrom, J. 1994:110).

When military posts were abandoned along the Platte River in regions directly west of the Hills in the 1860s, bison were still abundant, but by 1871, they had largely disappeared from eastern Wyoming and the western edge of the Black Hills (Turner 1974:144). Members of the 1874 Black Hills Expedition did not sight any bison on their long march from the Missouri River to the Black Hills, even though a small number of stragglers still inhabited the country north of the Hills towards the Grand River (Turner 1974:144). Large herds, however, could still be found along the Tongue, Powder, and Yellowstone rivers, and they also remained plentiful along the Arkansas and Republican rivers until professional non-Indian hunters exterminated them in the late 1870s. It was to these regions that many of the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and Arapahos gravitated, often traveling hundreds of miles from some of their winter camps at the base of the Black Hills (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:154-165).

Even though bison were well on the road to their precipitous decline by the 1850s, other species of game especially deer, pronghorn, and elk were still reported as plentiful in the Black Hills through the mid-1870s (Twiss 1856b:95; Hayden 1862b:138-151; Hinman 1874:93; Grinnell 1875:79-84; Saville 1875:250; Tabeau in Abel 1939:76, 77, 87; Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6, 19-20; Dodge 1965:12, 123; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Knappen in Krause and Olson 1974:28; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:63, 64, 69; Curtis in Krause and Olson

[2] Valerius Geist (1996:75-77:83-94) argues that the United States military contributed in no small way to the demise of the bison. He presents evidence to show how this arm of the federal government actively aided and abetted the work of professional bison hunters in bringing the bison to the brink of extinction. In fact, General Philip Sheridan traveled to Washington, D.C. in 1875 to oppose a bill introduced the previous year to save the bison from extinction. In his address before a joint assembly of Congress, he claimed that the professional bison hunters were national heroes who had done more in their actions to settle the vexed Indian question, than the entire regular army has done in the last thirty years (*quoted in Geist* 1996.:91). The military not only thwarted congressional legislation to save the bison but they actively assisted professional bison hunters in their work by providing them free arms and ammunition (Geist 1996:90). Indeed, Geist (1996:90-94) argues that the destruction of the bison was a basic strategy in the U.S. Army s Total War against the tribal nations of the plains.

1974:136, 149, 192; Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:133-135, 179-180, 182, 222, 482, 6:338; McClintock 2000:33). In 1862, Hayden (1862a:274), based on his observations in the 1850s, wrote that: In the vicinity of the Black Hills, the clear, beautiful streams that flow from the mountains swarm with beaver, the prairies are covered with antelope and the wooded valleys and hills are favorite resorts for elk and deer. Like observers six decades earlier, Hayden (1862b:150) described the relationship of the Black Hills to the migratory patterns of certain animals, especially pronghorn, when he noted:

> In the beginning of the winter they may be seen for days following each other in files (if not disturbed) on their way towards the Northwest, leaving the prairie for the more rugged portions of the country near the Black hills, or the foot of the mountains. In the spring, usually about March, they may be seen returning again, and distributing themselves over the open prairie.

In later years, George Bird Grinnell (1875:164) reported the same pattern, and Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:2:421) wrote, ...those on the open country about the Black Hills flock thither from all points of the compass. After the arrival of miners and cattle in 1875, the famed movements of the pronghorns between the Hills and the surrounding grasslands were reduced and ultimately curtailed.

Most of the other large ungulate species, including elk, mule deer, and bighorn, which had been abundant in the region, also started to decline. Early European American settlers commonly hunted all of these animals for sport and subsistence (Bingham 1973:4; Fall River County Historical Society 1974:176, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 298, 1994:31; Friggens 1983:88-89). Some of the settlers even earned their livelihood from hunting and selling the meat and hides of large game animals (Parker, W. 1966:149; Bingham 1973:6-8; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:164; Sundstrom, J. 1994:29-30). By the end of the nineteenth century, the once plentiful herds of elk had been extirpated from the Hills (McAdam 1973:17; Progulske 1974:123-124; Turner 1974:136, 137, 144). Bighorn were rare, and the numbers of antelope and mule deer were declining too (McAdam 1973:17; Turner 1974:137, 147-148). The fact that one of the park s early superintendents reported a single mule deer sighting suggests that this was once a rare occurrence (WCNP Annual Reports, June 3, 1919). Of the major ungulate species, only the whitetail deer appear to have held its own (Turner 1974:139).

Another diminishing species was the beaver (Froiland 1978:143). Some of the first European American trappers who arrived in the Black Hills at the turn of the nineteenth century came in search of this animal. Many stream names in the area, notably French Creek and Beaver Creek, give evidence of their presence. The relative abundance of this fur-bearing animal in the Black Hills, however, was a subject of some debate. Tabeau (Abel 1939:83-84), for one, was not very optimistic about the success of beaver trapping in the Hills when he wrote:

> The Ricaras, to whom mice are mountains, say, of course, that in all the little rivers and on the land which separates them from the Black Hills, the beaver is plentiful; but it is evident that, when asked to enter into details, they regard as an immense number dwellings which they meet with, scattered here and there, and that if they knew and wished to hunt there they would destroy in a year all those that exist in a circle of two hundred leagues (in Abel 1939:84).

Around the same period of time, Lewis and Clark were told by a trader named Jon Vall , who wintered and spent considerable time in the area, that even though there were few beaver on the Cheyenne River, many were to be found in the Black Hills (Moulton 1983-87:3:133). Whatever their supply, it is clear that a number of traders and their *engages* trapped in the Black Hills

during the early part of the nineteenth century. After the mid-nineteenth century, beaver were described as abundant along many of the western streams that fed the Missouri River (Grinnell 1875:77; De Girardin 1936:62; Progulske 1974:122; Turner 1974:88). Hayden (1862b:146) wrote: The streams that issue from the Black Hills are favorite resorts of them, and I have often known them to strip the streams of all the timber which skirted their borders. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, a new wave of European American commercial trappers, who included homesteaders and their children, led to the extreme decline of local beaver populations (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:402, 419; Turner 1974:88-89). In the 1930s, several streams in the region, including Cold Spring Creek at Wind Cave National Park, were restocked but with populations from outside locations (Turner 1974:88-89). By the 1950s, they had become so numerous they were in danger of starvation, having denuded much of their riparian food base (Progulske 1974:124).

Carnivores were also abundant in the area (Grinnell 1875:74; De Giradin 1936:62; Tabeau in Abel 1939:78, 81, 163; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Dodge 1965:123). William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition wrote in 1804: The Black hills is Said to abound in Bear of every kind... (Moulton 1983-87:3:482), and Thaddeus Culbertson (in McDermitt 1952:57), a Missouri River fur trader wrote in 1851:

> Last night we had a good deal of talk around our fire about the Black Hills. Joe, an experienced hunter, tells me that they are covered with the finest pine timber so thick that a person on horseback cannot pass through it in some places. There is an abundance of fine water but no fish; plenty of other game. Grizzly bears are found there sometimes in bands like buffalo; they live on fruit, meat, and ants; to get to these they turn over the largest logs and eat them off the underside if there.

George Bird Grinnell (1875:75) ,while traveling with the Black Hills Expedition in 1874, commented about wolves that hardly a day passed without my seeing several. Early European Americans recalled their presence in and around Wind Cave National Park, and they also remembered seeing coyotes, mountain lions, and bobcats (McAdam 1973:18; Smith, A. 1973:16).

Since many carnivorous species were considered a threat to the livestock of incoming European Americans, they were subject to bounties and systematic policies of extermination (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:253-254, 347, 676; Turner 1974:125). Wind Cave National Park participated in this process too, and the reports of park superintendents reveal that they authorized, participated in, or, at the very least, sanctioned the removal and eradication of wolves, coyotes, skunks, ferrets, and bobcats (WCNP Annual Reports, Dec. 22, 1913, Feb. 2, 1917, Feb. 4, 1918, June 3, 1919, Nov. 1, 1919; Bohi 1962:437). Wolves were extirpated from the area by the early twentieth century and grizzlies at the end of the nineteenth. Black bears had largely disappeared from the region by the 1950s. While cougars, lynxes, bobcats, and several *mustela* populations still remain in the Hills, they do so in small numbers (Bohi 1962:437; Turner 1974:125, 127, 129-132, 134). Only the coyote, skunk, badger, and some of the fox populations escaped the threat of extinction in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park (Turner 1974: 124, 126, 132).

Many of the smaller herbivorous mammals appear to have maintained their numbers because most of them were not generally taken for sport or food (Turner 1974:59, 63-64, 71, 76, 83, 105-118, 143, 144). Rabbits were widely hunted, however, and they were an important source of food for some European American settlers (Sundstrom, J. 1977:261). It is hard to judge how other animal populations, notably birds, reptiles, and amphibians, fared over time, since they were rarely singled out or described in the writings of early European American observers, or with the

exception of the wild turkey, specifically identified with the Black Hills. Even though early naturalists (Hayden 1862b; Grinnell 1875), who accompanied the expeditionary parties that traveled the Hills from the 1850s to the 1870s, listed a wide variety of species, they provided very little detail on their habits or habitats. One of the park s early superintendents noted in 1919 that sixty species of birds stayed in the park at different seasons, and that bobwhites and grouse were actually increasing in numbers. Magpies, although prevalent in the park, were viewed with some disdain, and like other carnivores, their extermination was encouraged (Bohi 1962:436-437).

By the turn of the twentieth century, what had once been the grand gathering place of the animals and a destination to which tribes from all four directions came in pursuit of game, had become a shadow of its former self, a place where only memories sustained the former glory days of the animals and their predatory human companions. It was not until 1911, when the state of South Dakota began to legislate game laws and when game preserves were established a few years later at Wind Cave National Park and Custer State Park, that the Black Hills could begin to reclaim its former identity as the home and gathering place of the animals.

After being extirpated from the Black Hills for nearly half a century, bison were returned to the area of Wind Cave National Park in 1913 as a gift from the National Bison Society. Seven bulls and seven cows were purchased from the New York Zoological Gardens whose stock had been acquired a decade earlier at the Berkshire Hills Game Preserve in Massachusetts (Turner 1974:144). The game preserve adjacent to Wind Cave National Park became one of five federally owned locations where bison were preserved in 1914. At this point in time, ten percent of the total bison population in the United States was located on federal lands (Isenberg 2000:185). In the coming years, the nation s bison population would expand not only on public lands as protected herds but also on private properties as commercially raised stock. Today, bison are no longer a novelty. Their meat, which is low in fat, has become a popular replacement for beef (Giest 1996:120-127; Isenberg 2000:164-192;). Many ranchers in South Dakota, including those who own properties near Wind Cave National Park, now raise bison commercially for food and/or sports hunting (O Brien, D. 2002). Today, the largest portion of the bison population in the United States is privately owned and managed.

Bison native to the region of South Dakota were saved through the efforts of Frederick Dupree from the Cheyenne River Reservation. He captured some bison in 1881 and began to domesticate them. Some of these bison were sold to James Scotty Philips, originally a mining prospector in the Black Hills, who took up ranching and married an Oglala woman who encouraged her husband to raise bison. Before Philips died in 1919, he managed to build the largest herd of bison in North America on his West River ranch (Casey 1949:17; Schell 1961:247-248; Sundstrom, J. 1977:112; Isenberg 2000:176). His stock formed the base for Custer State Park s bison herd, and one source (Casey 1949:17) claims that some of these ended up at Wind Cave National Park. There is no evidence in park records for the direct acquisition of bison from Philips stock; however, there is evidence that bison from the two parks sometimes intermingled when the fences separating these parks were not secure (Bohi 1962:462-463). Also, it should be noted that in the summer of 1939, the park donated several live bison to local tribes, including the Oglalas, adding yet another dimension to the close and long-standing connection of this area to the bison in Lakota traditions (Bohi 1962:459-460).

Through the reintroduction of extirpated species and a wide range of conservation efforts, the large game populations of the Black Hills rebounded in the twentieth century. Now, only a few of the carnivores, notably the wolf and the bear, remain absent from the panoply of mammalian species represented in the Black Hills ecosystem (Turner 1974). Today, even though game is still pursued in the Hills, much of the hunting is done as a sport or as a conservation measure rather

than as a means of sustaining peoples livelihoods. Much of the contemporary appreciation of the region s game by European Americans has evolved out of a tradition of spectatorship associated with the culture of modern tourism. Even more specifically, this industry has been a central component of historical developments at Wind Cave National Park, which draws large numbers of tourists each year not only to the cave, its most prominent attraction, but also to its wildlife, especially its bison, elk, pronghorn, and prairie dogs. In fact, by 1920, some of the park s animal populations were drawing more park visitors than the cave (Bohi 1962:437).

For American Indian people, particularly the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the Black Hills are no longer a major hunting ground. Even though tribal members from the Pine Ridge Reservation continued to pursue game in the Hills through the early decades of the twentieth century (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Clark, B. 1983:68-69), there is little published documentation on the legal or illegal continuation of this practice. By contrast, an impressive body of evidence exists on the persistence of Lakota and Cheyenne cosmological and ceremonial attachments to the Black Hills, which center in one way or another around the animals historically associated with the area and Wind Cave National Park in particular. Today, as in the past, the Hills are still equated with game animals, and they remain a quintessential symbol of nourishment and well-being for the Lakotas as well as the Cheyennes.

III. THE BLACK HILLS IN TRIBAL SUBSISTENCE CYCLES

During the deliberations over the relinquishment of the Black Hills, Red Cloud proposed to sell the Hills interiors to the federal government (although some people argue his intention was to lease them), but he wanted to retain the area extending between the Race Track and the surrounding plains. As he put it, Now I will tell you how much of the country I give you. Around the hills is a race-track, (trail) and I sell to the Government inside of that trail (in Allison 1875:189). Iron Nation gave the same message a year later, in 1876, when he agreed to give up the Black Hills but only that part from the Racing Ground [meaning the road that runs along the eastern base of the mountain] (in U.S. Senate 1876:79). Red Cloud and Iron Nation s words are worth remembering because, while the interiors of the Hills inside the Race Track played a role in the annual procurement cycles of local tribes, it was the area extending from the Race Track, through the Hogback, to the surrounding grasslands that was of prime importance in tribal subsistence practices. Commenting on the Cheyennes probable reaction to Red Cloud s words Father Peter Powell (1981:2:931) wrote:

> Little Wolf and other Ohmeseheso Chiefs present must have been struck by Red Cloud s statement. The racetrack around the Black Hills was sacred to the People, for it was there that Magpie won the Great Race for the People, so that ever afterward the People ate buffalo, instead of the buffalo eating people, as they had done before the Great Race.

Historically, the Race Track and Hogback zones of the Black Hills were the locations where the most abundant populations of game were found, especially during the winter season when Lakota and Cheyenne bands typically encamped at the base of the Hills or in the recesses of their lower elevation valleys. This was the area where some of the richest prehistoric sites are found that give evidence of the importance of the Hills in Native livelihoods (Sundstrom, L. 1990). Importantly, some of the land area that makes up Wind Cave National Park is situated in these zones.

A. Specific Hunting Locations in the Black Hills

In the nineteenth century, many Lakotas and Cheyennes frequented the rich grasslands near Alliance, Nebraska, where bison that wintered inside the Buffalo Gap were known to feed in the summer (Crow Dog in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96). These were the bison that Luther Standing Bear s *tiospaye* followed when he was a child, and it was their pattern of migration that probably led his family to winter at the Buffalo Gap and to do so even after bison had been extirpated from the region (Standing Bear 1975:3, 17-23). The area behind the Buffalo Gap is known in Lakota as *Tatanka makalhpaya* [The Stomping Grounds of the Bison Bull][3] (Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:95; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:242). And this land, which includes Wind Cave National Park, is commonly referenced in stories about hunters and hunting during the winter months (Curtis 1907-1930:3:111-118; Wounded Horse in Koller 1970:1-2; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Black Elk, H. in Theisz 1975:16-18; LaPointe 1976:80-84; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:24-36, 95; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:242; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:401-402).

Probably as late as the 1840s, large herds of bison, deer, elk, and pronghorn pressed through the Buffalo Gap to winter inside the Hogback at the foot of Wind Cave, and today, the depression encircling the Hills, known as the Race Track or Red Valley, is a location the National Park Service s bison, elk, and pronghorn herds still frequent (Turner 1974:19-20). Other gateways to the Race Track, near Inyan Kara Mountain, Devil s Tower, and Bear Butte, were also important entries and exits for game and the humans who hunted them, but the Buffalo Gap remains the most famous and the one most often associated with human-bison relationships (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Vestal 1934:5-6; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:106; Odell 1942:24-25; McKelvie 1960:92-93; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Powell 1982:112; Walking Bull 1980:25; One Bull and White Bull in Stone 1982:23-25; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107; White, D. 2002:23).

The Black Hills were also the area where local tribes traveled to hunt elk and bighorn, even from locations as far away as the Missouri and Platte rivers (Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:482; Bettelyouan and Wagonner 1988:21; White, D. 2002:23). Like other ruminant species, elks follow well established trails in their seasonal movements, and this makes them easy to hunt through driving techniques (Turner 1974:137). At one location, just west of the Black Hills, is a cliff over which the Arapahos were known to drive elk. It was also the Arapahos practice, and possibly the Cheyennes , to stack elk horns in ritually arranged ways (Grinnell 1972:1:277). One of these stacks was reported by several members of the Black Hills Expedition at Reynold s Prairie, also known as Elkhorn Prairie, in 1874 (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250). David White (2002:23), based on information gathered by Max Knowles in 1919, writes that elk migrating between the Black Hills and the Badlands were hunted in the vicinity of Rapid City. Bighorns were also taken in the Hills, especially around Bear Butte (Vestal 1934:161-162; Powell 1981:1:112; Grinnell 1972: 1:277). Although there is no documentation of tribal elk or bighorn hunting at Wind Cave National Park, locations along its portion of the Race Track were probably ideal winter-feeding

[3] The word, *makalhpaya* refers to a place where the earth has been compressed.

grounds for elk (Turner 1974:19-20). The park s numerous rock shelters and caves may have also offered protection for bighorn, which typically seek out such places during winter storms,[4] and these would have been good spots for local tribes to pursue them in the wintertime.

Deer were also hunted in the Black Hills. The upper reaches of the Cheyenne and White rivers were singled out as two of their favorite haunts in the nineteenth century (Tabeau in Abel 1939:76, 87; Hayden 1862b:149). When members of the 1874 Black Hills expedition encountered one Stab s party in Floral Valley, deer were undoubtedly the game this Lakota group was pursuing (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis in Krause and Olson 1974:173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250; Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255-256; McAndrews 1974:81). On the same expedition, George Bird Grinnell (1875:78) met a group of Lakota hunting whitetail deer at the head of Elk Creek, and he reported that they waited for deer near this place because it was a spot where these animals eat the ground --- in other words a salt lick. Black Elk remembered sighting deer near the Buffalo Gap in May of 1874 while hunting there with his father, and he noted other instances of deer hunts in the region when he was a child (DeMallie 1984:155-156, 335, 342, 357, 369). Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:47-48), a Cheyenne, recounted an incident where a man was bitten by a snake while hunting deer in the Black Hills. Finally, rock art evidence suggests that the Black Hills, especially the southern Hogback, was a popular site for hunting various cervid species in prehistoric times (Sundstrom, L. 1990).

Pronghorn, according to White Bull (Vestal 1934:161), were found in such abundance on the plains that a single herd might stretch more than thirty miles. Several sites for hunting this animal were located at the edges of the Black Hills. In 1851, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:17, 18) remarked about Sicangu Lakotas hunting them on the upper reaches of the White River at a location directly east of the Buffalo Gap. In the same area, near Cache Butte, Samuel Hinman (1874:93) described the remains of antelope and deer at a large abandoned pit and corral. George Hyde (1961:19) also mentioned this area in his history of the Sicangu leader Spotted Tail. Northwest of the Black Hills at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River and on the outskirts of Belle Fourche, South Dakota, is another antelope hunting location commonly mentioned in the oral traditions of the Cheyennes (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12). In addition, several pronghorn kill sites have been reported in the archaeological literature on the Black Hills, including a number in Fall River County, South Dakota (Sundstrom, L. 2000:126-128).

The Hills were also associated with the hunting of carnivores, especially cougars and bears. Historically, both animals were listed among the animals typically found in the Black Hills (Denig in Ewers 1961:6). White Bull (in Vestal 1934:162) remembered mountain lions in the Black Hills as a child, and another Lakota was reported to have killed four of these animals in the area during the year 1845 (Swift Dog in Praus 1969:16). James Howard (1965a:41) reports that the Poncas recalled hunting bears in the Black Hills over the winter months. White Bull (in Howard, J. 1998:36) talked about hunting bears in the Hills during his early twenties, and Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:157) remembered people eating bear meat near Rapid Creek. Finally, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:7), the Cheyennes hunted wolves in the Black Hills on horseback.

[4] Ernest Thompson Seton (1929:3:556) observed: The Sheep and the White Goat are the only horned ruminants herein treated, that habitually use caves for shelter. Elk, Antelope, and buffalo might seek the lee side of a cliff during a blizzard; but the Sheep have well-known selected caves in the rocks, into which they crowd in bad weather.

Of all the species of birds found in the region, eagles are the ones most consistently associated with the Black Hills in tribal cultural traditions. Indeed, the Hills were considered a prime location to trap eagles. The Mandans and Hidatsas considered the Hills one of their favorite locations for eagle trapping (Bowers 1963:209-210). John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:51-52) and Father Peter Powell (1969:415, 427) reported that areas near Bear Butte were favored by the Cheyennes for this purpose. Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:171-172) mentions the Hills as a general location for Lakota eagle trapping but does not cite specific locations for the activity. However, the John Colhoff winter count (in Powers, W. 1963:29) mentions Bald Mountain as a site for this activity, and Samuel Hinman (1874:93) sighted pits for eagle trapping on his journey between the White River and the southeastern Hills.

Another bird with a connection to the Black Hills is the junco. It is a common and permanent resident of Wind Cave National Park, and one variety is known to breed in the Hills. In 1875, George Bird Grinnell (p. 84) described them as the most common bird in the more elevated portions of the Black Hills. The Lakotas took this bird as a source of food. It had important symbolic value as well, although none of the sources studied for this report give any direct evidence of the bird being hunted in the Black Hills.

For the most part, the Black Hills were linked with the taking of eagles and big game, although smaller avian and mammalian species were undoubtedly hunted here too. Other than fishing, which Luther Standing Bear (1988:65-66) and Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 156-157, 161) fondly recalled taking place in Black Hills streams during their childhood, we were unable to find any specific references to the procurement of these and other small species of animals in this area.

B. Transhumance Movements of Animals and Humans

There is a varied body of information, both historic and ethnographic, that gives evidence of tribal procurement activity in the Black Hills at different seasons and locations. Yet, until recent times, it was the conventional wisdom of many European American writers that the Cheyennes and Lakotas did not use the interiors of the Black Hills. This idea first appeared in Edwin Denig s writings (in Ewers 1961:5-6), but it did not dominate European American observations until the years of military exploration in the 1870s, as revealed, for example, in the writings of Richard Dodge (1965, in Kime 1998). There is no question, as already discussed, that this idea was much influenced by the historical conditions under which these observations were made. But there is also another consideration, and that is, that most of these writers had little understanding of tribal patterns of transhumance movement, much less an appreciation of how local tribes adapted to and made use of the Hills different environmental zones in the course of their annual, seasonal production cycles.

It is true that the higher elevation locations of the Black Hills, including the crystalline core and limestone plateau, had the most restricted seasonal use. During the Middle Archaic period, these regions were inhabited on a year-round basis. By the historic era, however, they were utilized mostly in the late spring and early summer months on a regular and recurring basis. Small family and band groups customarily entered these regions to secure lodgepoles, to gather medicinal plants, and to perform ceremonial observances including eagle trapping (Hinman 1874: 95; Jenny 1875:182; Newton and Jenny 1880:323; Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Bushnell 1922:70; Chittenden 1935:728; DeGirardin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Hassrick 1964:155; Dodge 1965:137, Dodge in Kime 1998:105; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:270-271; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; Moore, J. 1981:14; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161, 173; Brown 1992:12; Good-

man 1992:11-12).[5] In this season, fishing commonly took place along some of the Hills higher elevation waterways (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161; Standing Bear 1988:65-66). In the summer of 1846, according to Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:270-271), the Hills were thickly populated by people securing lodgepoles. By the 1870s, when military expeditions started to enter the Hills in the summer months, the number of tribal people sighted in the area was small. As already reported, members of the 1874 Black Hills Expedition encountered a small band in the Floral Valley led by the Lakota leader One Stab (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250), and the following year, Dodge s party (in Kime 1998:79) came across the remains of a recent encampment near this location. At many of these camps, there was evidence of lodgepole processing and other procurement activity. Since skins were being dried and processed at One Stab s camp, we can also presume that animals were being taken at this time of the year, but this was not the prime season for hunting in the Hills (Hassrick 1964:154-155).

The period between late fall and early spring was the time of the year tribes typically hunted in the Black Hills. The higher elevation interior areas of the Black Hills were probably systematically hunted for bighorn, elk, bear, mountain lion, and other animals when their hides and furs were in prime condition. In 1875, Henry Newton and Walter Jenney (1875:302) reported that the interiors were traveled when snow covered the ground because stones placed in the forks of trees marked the main trails. In commenting on Cheyenne use of the interior Black Hills, Father Peter Powell (1981:2:932) reports that the Cheyennes did not typically camp in this region, although they frequently entered it to hunt. Much of this hunting, however, was conducted by hunters operating alone, with a companion, or in small parties (Howard, J. 1965:41). The hunting probably included the French trappers, who sometimes remained over the winter months in the interiors of mountainous areas, such as the Black Hills, with their American Indian wives, families, and companions (Parkman in Feltskog 1969:272).

It was the lower elevation areas of the Hills, between the edge of the limestone plateau and the Hogback perimeter, that were the most important locations for hunting game over the late fall and early winter months. This includes the region where Wind Cave National Park is now located. These were the places where some bands typically wintered and where hunters from near and far commonly came to procure deer and elk (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 1, 7, 20, 33, 47-48, 58; Vestal 1934:5-6; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:106; Odell 1942:24-25; McKelvie 1960:92-93; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13, 164; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Powell 1982:112; One Bull and White Bull in Stone 1982:23-25; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107). They were also the locations where herds of bison and pronghorn once sought shelter during wintertime, and again, it is not insignificant that most of the Lakota traditions about Wind Cave involve hunters and hunting. As described earlier in Chapter Seven, the bands with localized relations to the Black Hills would have drawn on this area s game resources from early November through March, a span of time covering much of their yearly subsistence cycle. But even small hunting parties from bands that wintered some distance from the Black Hills still traveled to the area and spent significant amounts of time there during some of their late fall and early winter hunts (Howard, J. 1965a:41; Maxmilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Clark in Moulton 1983-87:3:482; Bettelyoun and Wagonner 1988:2).

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[5] This is deduced from the fact that eagles were commonly trapped in the Black Hills (see earlier discussion) and the common seasons for carrying out this activity were spring and fall (Grinnell 1972:1:299-300).

The best time of the year to hunt bison and other game animals for meat is from August through December when their body mass contains a high proportion of fat (Binnema 2001:50-51). After January, the fat is rapidly depleted, and by early spring, the meat is unpalatable and even toxic because of the reduction in fat (Binnema 2001:51). Animals might have been around at this time of the year, but they were probably not taken for their meat. Early spring was the season when the Lakotas were reported to procure elk, deer, and pronghorn for their skins (Hassrick 1964:154-155). The Cheyenne told George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:226) that bison were taken at this time of the year for making tipis because their hides were easier to dress.

Surrounding the Hills, the upland prairies and sagebrush steppes, or the flats as they are called in the contemporary English vernacular of the Lakotas, held rich bison and antelope hunting ranges until the 1840s. These were also the locations where tribes moved to hold their annual or semiannual communal hunts, but they were rarely occupied for more than a few months in the late summer and early fall (Hassrick 1964:156). The river valleys of the Cheyenne and the neighboring White River were utilized on a more sustained basis, however. These were popular spots for the winter encampments of some bands, and the locations where the Cheyennes and possibly the Lakotas practiced casual forms of horticulture. They were areas where hunters pursued deer, especially the whitetails, which were known to frequent their wooded valleys, and they were also the places where tribes built corrals and pits to drive pronghorn in historic times (Hinman 1874:93; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Ewers 1938:4; Denig in Ewers 1961:17, 18; Hyde 1961:19; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12; Sundstrom. L. 2000:126-128).

Once again, it is important to stress the fact that historic tribal economic adaptations were associated with nomadism and the ability to quickly and constantly relocate settlements according to the migrations of local game (see Chapter Seven). Tribal movements were closely attuned to the seasonal routes the game followed, and many of these involved transhumance migratory patterns. But they were also influenced by broader and more long-lasting shifts in game locations. Over long spans of time, the ranges covered by bison in the plains underwent dramatic expansions and contractions due to long-term climatic changes and also the effects of contagious disease on their human predators (Geist 1996:38-41; Isenberg 2000:27). There is good evidence that epidemic diseases swept the plains and reduced local tribal populations well before European Americans actually arrived in the area (Geist 1996:38-41). In the short-term, local bison populations fluctuated in their appearance (Epp 1988). Sometimes the animals failed to return to their customary wintering grounds during unusually mild winters. In 1832 and 1833, many of the Lakotas encamped along the valley of the Missouri River faced hunger and starvation when bison failed to return and remained on the high plains (Clow 1995). Periodic and localized shortages of bison were also reported along the Platte River in the 1840s during drought years. Tribal populations needed to be prepared for these eventualities, and Andrew Isenberg (2000:39) argues that one way they did so was by following flexible land use patterns and multiple game strategies that provided safety nets in the face of the bison s unpredictable movements. Reliance on a wide spectrum of game and other food sources made tribes, as he put it, less vulnerable to fluctuations in environment and food resources (Isenberg 2000:3 9). One of the reasons why the Black Hills and the area of Wind Cave National Park were so highly valued is that they provided local tribes with a broad spectrum of game and plant food. They were, indeed, an emergency reserve or safe as Spotted Bear (in Allison 1875:188) once put it, a place groups could always rely on and periodically return to when other areas failed to provide sufficient supplies of food (cf. Circle Bear 1971:13).

Food was not the only consideration in determining tribal movements. As suggested by some of the evidence presented in previous chapters, the accessibility of good pasturage for a tribe s

growing herds of horses was also a factor. In addition, the locations of traders influenced patterns of movement. In the early part of the nineteenth century, tribes living in the area of the Black Hills regularly traveled to the Missouri River to trade, and after 1830, many started to trade at posts along the Platte River. These trips usually took place in the fall after the communal bison hunts, when tribes had bison robes and dried berries to trade, but they also appear to have taken place in spring and early summer, a time when horses were often bartered. Whatever the case, the Cheyennes and the Lakotas covered large stretches of territory in their annual travels. In doing so, they drew on different kinds of economic partnerships, including intertribal ones, and they relied on multiple kinds of environments in which the Black Hills played an important role in their lives. While most of the bands never lived inside the Hogback year-round, many certainly spent enough time in this area over certain seasons, notably late fall to early spring, to classify this as their home and homeland.

As documented in earlier chapters, some of the groups who customarily wintered at or near the Black Hills and/or who used them in the spring for subsistence and ceremonial purposes moved away from the area to find locations where productive bison hunting ranges still remained and/or where there was adequate pasturage for their expanding horse herds. Nonetheless, they still returned to the Hills for specialized kinds of procurement and/or to conduct religious observances (Moore, J. 1981:14). Even after the Black Hills were taken in 1877, there is evidence that Lakotas continued to procure small game (e.g., grouse) in some parts of the Hills during the fall through the early decades of the twentieth century (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). In later years, there is little information on the utilization of the Hills for this purpose, although there is considerable evidence that the Lakotas and the Cheyennes continued to return to the Hills in the late spring and summer to cut their lodgepoles, to gather plants for food and medicine, and to collect stones for healing and religious observance (see Chapter Eleven).

IV. METHODS OF TAKING ANIMALS

The Cheyennes and Lakotas followed a wide range of techniques for taking animals, and it is best to describe these according to the kinds of animals they pursued, beginning with the most important ones, the ungulates, followed by carnivores, small herbivores, birds, reptiles/amphibians, and then, fish/mollusks.

A. Ungulates

Of the ungulates, bison were of paramount significance in the livelihoods of local tribes. This animal provided materials for many functions and served as a primary, but probably never an exclusive, source of meat (Wedel and Frison 2001:56). Other large ruminants, bighorn, pronghorn, deer, and elk, occupied a substantial place in tribal diets as well. Indeed, some scholars (Ewers 1938:17; Hassrick 1964:164; Grinnell 1972:1:276) argue that these species were probably as important as bison during the winter and early spring, and this would have been especially true after 1840 when bison ranges became contracted and restricted to areas away from the Hills.

When deer and elk were the principal source of game in late fall and early winter, solitary hunters or small groups used stalking or snaring techniques to capture them (Vestal 1934:160-161; Hassrick 1964:167; Grinnell 1972:1:272, 277; Standing Bear 1988:55-56). Bison and pronghorn were pursued more opportunistically as well at this time of the year. Lone hunters were reported to hunt them on foot, but the animals were difficult to take this way (White Bull in Vestal

1934:161; Grinnell 1972:1:262; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156). The small hunting parties that prevailed in the late fall and winter seasons were known in Lakota as the *tate* (Hassrick 1964:166), the same name used for one of the spiritual patrons of the hunt, the Wind. Importantly, the season of elk and deer hunting was the time of the year when Lakotas and Cheyennes were geographically dispersed at camping sites in and around the Black Hills and other mountainous locations or wooded river valleys (Hassrick 1964:166; Grinnell 1972:1:262).

Deer, elk, and other game were also taken during the wintertime using communal hunting methods. Throughout the Plains region, Native peoples drove game over cliffs and banks or into snowdrifts, natural enclosures, and specially constructed corrals or pounds to kill them. Most of the hunts that relied on these methods appear to have taken place on the grasslands and in the river valleys surrounding the Hills, but there is evidence that some of the Black Hills narrow canyon gateways were a location for this kind of hunting prehistorically, and so were sites inside the Hogback, including the Sanson bison jump (CU02) on lands adjoining Wind Cave National Park and possibly inside park properties near the modern day bison corrals (Sundstrom. L. 2000: 127-128). As described in various accounts (Hayden 1862b:150; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 88; Ewers 1938:42-43; Hassrick 1964:167, 176, 177-178; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:1:264-265, 268, 277-290; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Schlesier 1987:52-61; Sundstrom, L. 2000:119-121), pens or corrals for impounding game were typically constructed under a bluff or cutbank with at least one wall serving as a side for the enclosure. The opposite side was constructed of brush and sticks. The two sides were fashioned into a v-shaped chute formation, with the opening of the enclosure facing the prairie. The animals were both enticed and driven into this space with the participation of all members of the camp, men, women, children, and the elderly. Once the herd was in the enclosure, they were killed with lances or arrows.

Another technique involved driving animals over cliffs or steep embankments. Here animals were driven between parallel lanes constructed of stones and brush and forced to plunge over the precipices to which they were directed. Although this method has been mentioned in the writings on Lakotas and Cheyennes (Ewers 1938:42-45; Grinnell 1972:1:267-268), there are no detailed descriptions of it in the literature. William Bordeaux (1929:122), however, describes a practice where bison were driven into bogs and marshes. The absence of detailed descriptions of this hunting method might suggest that it was used less frequently than among tribes living on the high plains of Montana. Another very common method, reported in historic sources on the Lakotas and Cheyennes, was to drive bison into snowdrifts (Bordeaux 1929:122; Ewers 1938:42; Grinnell 1972:1:268; Hassrick 1964:177-178; Clow 1995). This was accomplished on foot, usually with the use of snowshoes. In fact, during the winter season when the ground is covered with deep snow, horses are not very helpful in the pursuit of game (Binnema 2001:49).

Prior to the widespread adoption of horses, bison were typically hunted using various driving techniques during late fall and early winter. The early months of winter were the best time of the year to take bison because their robes were thick and the nutritional value of their meat was high (Binnema 2001:50-51). Unlike the far northern plains, where there are rich eyewitness accounts of communal winter hunts, using pedestrian driving and impounding techniques (Binnema 2001: 35, 37-54), little has been written about these methods of hunting in the Black Hills area. We can presume, however, that when bison were still prevalent in and around the Hills, prior to 1840, they were pursued in this way during the wintertime. Indeed, much of the area inside the Hogback and in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap would have been well suited to this type of hunting. Severt Young Bear (in Parlow 1983a:26-27), however, reports that there were strictures against hunting bison in the Black Hills during the winter months. This may very well have been the case in late historic times when bison were taken mostly through equestrian methods rather than on foot, and

it may very well have applied to interior locations inside the circular depression of the Race Track.

With the arrival of horses, the communal hunting of bison typically took place on the grasslands where the herds gathered in the late summer and early fall. After 1840, these areas were generally situated at some distance from the Black Hills, although Warren (1875:15-16) observed one of these hunts near Inyan Kara Mountain in 1857. Here bison were surrounded, or as some observers claim herded (Seton 1929:2:688) and hunted on horseback using lances, bows and arrows, and rifles as weapons. Large groups of hunters were assembled for the communal hunts, and they often traveled long-distances, five to seven days march, with their families and bands to reach the location of a large herd. According to Henry Crow Dog (in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96), the herds that wintered at the Buffalo Gap migrated to the grasslands around Alliance, Nebraska in the summer, a distance of more than one hundred miles, or five days travel, for the Lakota bands who wintered in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap. Before the 1840s, the grasslands east of the Cheyenne River in South Dakota and south of the White River in Nebraska, were the locations where Lakotas and Cheyennes who wintered in and around the southern Hills probably traveled to hunt bison in the late summer and early fall. In later years, when bison began to disappear from these regions, local tribes had to travel farther for their summer hunts to destinations south of the Platte River or northwest of the Hills in the country of the Powder and Tongue rivers. Over time, and as the distances to these hunting grounds became greater, many bands began to relocate their winter camps at sites in closer proximity to the bison. As a result, fewer people probably used the southern Hills and the area around the Buffalo Gap after 1850. As discussed in Chapter Seven, the bands that remained in the Black Hills were the ones who followed more variegated subsistence strategies, which included, besides bison, a heavy reliance on elk, deer, and pronghorn.

During the season of the communal bison surrounds, the hunters and their camps operated under strict marshal law. This law was in effect during the trip to the bison range, after they arrived at their destination and began preparations for the hunt, and during the actual chase. Detailed descriptions of these hunts among the Lakotas and Cheyennes are found in many different sources (Warren 1875:15-16; Densmore 1918:436-447; Curtis 1907-30:3:8-10; Bordeaux 1929:122, 124; Ewers 1938:42-44; Hoebel 1960:53; Hassrick 1964:174-178; Grinnell 1972:1:262-263; Standing Bear, L. 1975:49-53, 58-66; Walker 1982:74-94; Black Elk in DeMallie1984:147-148; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:143-147), and these are summarized in Appendix A. Over time, the surround hunts in the late summer supplanted the communal pursuit of bison in the wintertime. Among the Cheyennes, however, if a lone hunter or small party came upon a large herd of bison during the winter months, they could not chase them on their own. Instead, they had to make the herd s presence known to the entire camp, so the leaders and their marshals could organize a communal hunt, which usually involved drives and corrals (Grinnell 1972:1:262).

The older and more traditional methods of taking game by driving and impounding were highly ritualized, and according to Karl Schlesier (1987:53), the Cheyennes considered these to be the proper and most respectful way to kill game. When Cheyennes drove bison into pounds, they often left stacked piles of bison horn in a manner similar to the Araphoe practice of piling up elk horns. These stacks appear to be connected to a widespread pattern of propitiating the spirits of slain animals common among many of the tribal nations who spoke an Algonkian language. This custom has not been described for the Lakotas. Grinnell reported that numerous piles of bison horns were seen at locations west of the Hills when he traveled there with the Black Hills Expedition in 1874 (Grinnell 1972:1:268). He also reported the ritualized display of skulls, a practice of both tribes (Grinnell 1875).

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas relied on spiritually gifted people to attract game, to sanctify their communal hunts, and to offer gratitude to the spirits of the animal at its conclusion. This applied to hunts that followed surround as well as impounding procedures (Densmore 1918:436-447; Howard, J. 1980:50-51; Walker 1982:90-91; Schlesier 1987:53). Unlike bison, pronghorns continued to be commonly taken using some of the older and more traditional methods of impounding (Hayden 1862b:150; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Hassrick 1964:167, 176, 177-178; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:85; Grinnell 1972:1:277-290; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Schlesier 1987:52-61; Sundstrom. L. 2000:119-121). Mule deer were also sometimes captured in this manner, and the famous pound at Cache Butte, just east of the Buffalo Gap, contained the remains of deer as well as pronghorn (Hinman 1874:93).

B. Carnivores

As in European American taxonomic systems, the Lakotas and Cheyennes separated the carnivores from other species of mammals. Most of the larger carnivorous species these tribes hunted, including wolves, coyotes, cats, and bears, were not taken as food except under emergency conditions or for ceremonial purposes, although some of the smaller species, particularly badgers and skunks, were widely eaten. Generally speaking, carnivores were hunted mostly for their skins and rarely for their meat. Some of them, such as coyotes and wolves, were also kept as pets (Hassrick 1964:172; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:318). Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:318) recalled a Lakota named Moves Walking, who trained the wolf pups he reared to become pack dogs. Before and even after the arrival horses, dogs were vital to the Lakotas and Cheyennes as beasts of burden, a means of protection, and also for hunting smaller mammals (Hassrick 1964: 156-159; Grinnell 1972:1:55-56).

Most carnivorous species were taken by trapping them in deadfalls whose structure and size varied according to the animal. Coyotes and small wolves were caught in this way, and among the Lakotas, young boys sometimes did the trapping (Vestal 1934:7). Larger wolves were trapped by the Cheyennes in deep holes, baited with meat and covered with leaves and twigs (Grinnell 1972: 1:297-299). They were also hunted them on horseback (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:7). Bears were taken by both tribes (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:290), and among the Lakotas, they were typically captured in deadfalls (Hassrick 1964:167). The Lakotas and Cheyennes used pens and a variety of other trapping devices to catch foxes (Vestal 1934:7; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:167, 168; Grinnell 1972:2:298-299). Badgers were also captured in pens, or they were taken by jumping on the animal s back and crushing its backbone (Hassrick 1964:169, 172). Mountain lions, lynxes, and bobcats were pursued as well, but none of the sources we reviewed describe how they were taken (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Praus 1962:16; Hassrick 1964:1 68; Grinell 1972:1:256; Walker 1980:169). The same is true for skunks (Beckwith, M. 1930:380-381, 420; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964: 168).

C. Small Herbivores

Many of the smaller herbivorous mammals were a common source of food pursued mostly by women and young boys. In fact, Standing Bear (1988:13-15*)* writes, it was not only a common practice for boys to pursue rabbits, prairie dogs, and other small game, but also a fundamental part of their educational training to become adult hunters. Lakotas and Cheyennes captured all species of rabbits (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Denig in Ewers 1961:13). The typical mode of taking a rabbit was to surround the animal and kill it with clubs (Hassrick 1964:168; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:158-159; Standing Bear 1988:13-15). Squirrels were also important in the

hunting forays of young Lakota boys, who killed them with bows and arrows (Black Elk in De Mallie 1984:158-159; Standing Bear 1988:15). Lakota boys shot prairie dogs with arrows as well (Hassrick 1964:168), although White Bull told Stanley Vestal (1934:7) that he usually snared these animals with a noose. Cheyenne women hunted prairie dogs by surrounding and clubbing them (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9).

Most of the smaller herbivores were hunted opportunistically, although adult men pursued some of them systematically. Beaver, for example, were one of the smaller mammals commonly trapped by men (Standing Bear 1978:34). The Cheyennes used dogs to drive them out of their dams, after which they shot or clubbed them (Grinnell 1972:1:296). The Lakotas smoked the animals from their holes and then clubbed them to death (Hassrick 1964:168). Porcupines were also widely hunted by both tribes (Lyford 1940:42; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:204-205). John Ewers (1938:59) maintained that capturing porcupines was men s work. Later ethnographic descriptions, however, reveal that both men and women took porcupines by twisting and tangling their fur with sticks and killing them with clubs after they were dragged from their dens (Hassrick 1964:168). Men, however, appear to have been the only ones who pursued them with bows and arrows (Ewers 1938:59; Lyford 1940:42).

The smallest species of mammals, including mice, voles, shrews, and gophers, were not usually taken by the Lakotas and Cheyennes for food, although some of them were captured and used for manufacturing purposes. One species, the pocket gopher, was widely avoided because it was believed to cause scrofulous swellings.

D. Birds and Insects

Traditionally at least, the animals associated with the sky, which also includes bats, were viewed as a source of protection rather than an object of consumption. Nevertheless, a few species of birds were hunted and trapped for food (Hassrick 1964:168), but a greater number were captured for their feathers, which played significant symbolic and ceremonial roles in Lakota and Cheyenne cultures. Some culturally significant insects were taken for healing and ceremonial use as well, and during times of starvation, the Lakotas were reported to have eaten grasshoppers (Kelly 1933:123-124).

Birds were commonly clubbed, snared, and trapped but rarely shot (Bordeaux 1929:200; Hassrick 1964:169, 170-171; Grinnell 1972:1:247-248, 299-307). Lakota hunters captured crows by hiding under pine boughs to which small pieces of fat were affixed, and they trapped magpies for food in the same way (Hassrick 1964:172). Young boys often took small land and game birds in mimicking adult hunting (Vestal 1934:7; Hassrick 1964:168; Grinnell 1972:1:114-115). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:278), the taking of birds by boys not only supplied added food, even delicacies, to the diet, but it also gave a child a feeling of good service to his family. Luther Standing Bear (1975:10-11) details the important role that bird hunting played in the lives of young boys when he was a child. The Lakotas and Cheyennes also kept certain species of birds, notably crows and hawks, as pets (Hassrick 1964:172; Grinnell 1972:2:108).

Eagle trapping was considered a sacred endeavor and conducted with careful ritual preparation. Among the Cheyennes, as described by George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:299-302), only older men with experience as warriors were allowed to catch eagles. After weeks of ritual preparation, the trapper dug a pit large enough to sit down in, covered it with sticks and grass, and baited it with wolf skin and a bit of meat. During the night just before sunrise, the trapper entered the pit and waited until the eagle arrived, at which point he grabbed its feet and strangled the bird.

Similar ritual preparations surrounded eagle trapping among the Lakotas as described by Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:171-172), William Bordeaux (1929:199-200), and Luther Standing Bear (1988:79-84). Eagles were usually caught in the spring at the time of their arrival in tribal territories and in the fall before their departure to warmer climates (Grinnell 1972:1:300). Plains Apaches considered the spring the best time to trap eagles because their feathers were less likely to be blemished (Blackbear in Schweinfurth 2002:68).

E. Amphibians and Reptiles

Most amphibians and reptiles were not procured for any practical purpose. Instead, they were valued as a source of protection, and when taken, they were used in healing and religious observances. The only animal that was routinely captured for food was the turtle. Adults and children of both tribes caught turtles by waiting for them to surface and then diving into the water to catch them with their hands, or else, they watched for them to sun themselves in the early morning on the shores of lakes and rivers (Bordeaux 1929:200; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:07; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Standing Bear 1988:63-65).

F. Fish, Mollusks, and Crustaceans

The northern plains region is not typically associated with fish, and at least historically, some observers claim that certain tribes were loathe to eat them. Although fishing was not a major subsistence pursuit for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, it was a routine activity that supplemented and added variety to local diets (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:89; Hoebel 1960:64; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:114; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9). It was also another common occupation for young boys (Grinnell 1972:1:114; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 156-157, 161; Standing Bear 1988:65-66). The Lakotas and Cheyennes fished for suckers, dace, and catfish, and they used a variety of different techniques to do so. Some of the more popular methods entailed seining fish (Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:48, 308) and catching them with bone hooks, some of which were made from the ribs of mice. The hooks were attached to a long line made of bison sinew or horsehair (Bordeaux 1929:130; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931: 89; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Standing Beaar 1988:66-67). The Cheyennes and Arikaras also caught fish in pens made of willow saplings, which were built under the supervision of a medicine man. Such traps were commonly used to capture suckers (Curtis 1907-30:6: 156; Gilmore 1924; Grinnell 1972:1:311). The Lakotas speared fish and often used spiritually talented people to call them to the sites where they were taken (Hassrick 1964:173; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:156-157, 161). Both tribes also collected mollusks and crustaceans, but there are no reports of how this was done (Bordeaux 1929:334).

V. ANIMAL HUMAN-RELATIONSHIPS

The relationship of local tribal nations to the animals of the Black Hills was a source of their sustenance, tools, and shelter, but more critically, it was a foundation of their spiritual strength and protection. Importantly, Lakota and Cheyenne understandings of the animals, and by extension, their relationship to the Black Hills, was not merely about their access to animals in a pragmatic sense; it was also about their relationships to the spirits of these animals whose places of origin and regeneration were located in the Hills. Historically, the Black Hills were understood as the place where the very nature of tribal relationships to the animals was defined and codified. Even today, the Black Hills remain a very special area to the Lakotas and Cheyennes because they speak to and engage broader cosmological questions that stand at the very heart of the way

these tribal nations see their place in the universe. As such, it becomes especially critical to gain a more particular appreciation of how the Lakotas and their closely related allies, the Cheyennes, saw themselves in relationship to the various animal species which historically inhabited their worlds and the Black Hills in particular.

A. Conceptualization and Classification

In Cheyenne and Lakota worldviews, animals are categorized not so much by their anatomical properties and phylogenetic relationships as they are by their behaviors and spiritual potentialities. Consistent with their larger cosmological precepts, the Cheyennes tend to distinguish animals, plants, and other living things according to the particular strata they occupy in the universe from the highest Blue Sky position, *Otatavoom*, to the lowest depths of the earth, *Nsthoaman* (Schlesier 1987:4-6). By contrast, the Lakotas tend to organize much of their phenomenal world along directional lines (Powers, W. 1977:75-77, 191-193, 198-199, 1982:54, 1986:81-82, 138-140). The Lakotas have vertical divisions too, just as the Cheyennes have horizontal orderings. While the differences between the two tribes are clearly ones of emphasis, they are substantial enough to create very different sensibilities about the relationship of humans to their landscapes and the animals, plants, and other living beings that reside there.

The Cheyennes believe that all life forms are associated with seven different levels of the universe (Schlesier 1987:8-9; Moore, J. 1986:179-180; 1996a:203-206, 211). The highest point at the zenith, *Otatavoom*, the Blue-Sky, is occupied by the male spiritual presence, *Ma heo*, the Sun, Moon, and the Stars as well as the sacred or holy birds, vultures, magpies, woodpeckers, eagles, and butterflies. At the nadir or the deep earth, *Nsthoaman*, is the place of the female spiritual presence, *Esceheman*, and the sacred caves of the *Maiyan*, the spiritual guardians that steward and protect game animals. Below the blue sky are two spaces: the *Setovoom* is the tier occupied by clouds, mountain peaks, and great birds, the hawks and crows, and the *Taxtavoom* is the region of the atmosphere just above the earth, the source of air and wind, which is occupied by small, ordinary birds and most flying insects. The surface of the earth, the *Votostoom*, includes the land on which most animals and humans reside and the waters in which fish and various aquatic species dwell. The *Votostoom* and *Taxtavoom* are the tiers that ordinary creatures, who lack special powers, inhabit. The *Atonoom,* the area just below the earth s surface, is occupied by the animals who burrow in the ground and the bison, bears, badgers, and wolves who live in earth depresssions, caves, and dens (Schlesier 1987:8-9; Moore, J. 1986:179-180; 1996a:203-206, 211).

According to John Moore (1986:184), the Cheyenne s concept of species implies symbolic or religious rather than reproductive significance. So when the appearance of an individual animal changes, its symbolic importance changes, and therefore its species also changes. The Cheyennes divide avian species, for example, into three families (which also includes many insects) identified as the holy [*Ma heonevekseo*], the great [*Maxevekseo*], and the ordinary [*xamaevekseo*]. These three groups are considered to live in different tiers of the cosmos, the Blue Sky-Space [*Otovoom*], the Near Sky-Space [*Setovoom*], and the Atmosphere [*Taxtavoom*]. Each of these families of birds has a different function in Cheyenne religious observances. Holy birds are the ones used by the priests who conduct major ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and the renewal of the Sacred Arrows (Moore, J. 1986:178-179, 1996a:210-211). Under the category of holy birds is a special class called whirlwinds, which is made up of two insects, butterflies and dragonflies, two birds, eagles and vultures, and a meteorological event, the tornado. All five share the funnel-shaped configuration, which John Moore (1986:182) states is a very significant feature in Cheyenne religious symbolism. The four kinds of whirlwinds form a complete cosmological set: white and green represent the north and south axis, while red or yellow and black

symbolize the east and west. Great birds are used by people Moore (Ibid:178-179) calls war doctors, but they are also associated with healing and other kinds of religious practice. Ordinary birds, which are used by healers in treating various diseases and injuries, represent the largest class of birds. According to Moore (Ibid:181), the ordinary birds are divided, in turn, into three groups: the small birds, ground birds, and water birds. Most of the birds emphasized in the Cheyenne s taxonomic system represent species the Cheyennes observed when they still lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills.

Animals [*manston*] are divided into four groups (Moore 1996:210-211), distinguished by size, habitat, and forms of locomotion. Besides the birds [*zeevseossomo-tomevo*], there are the land animals [*zeevsohoeva*], which include the predators [*emhoneheo*], the game animals [*mevavon*], and small animals [*veshovan*]. Another group is made up of the crawling creatures [*zeamevonseo*], the snakes, reptiles, and amphibians, and the final consists of the water creatures [*zeevasomapeva*], the fish, mollusks, and crustaceans. Among the land animals, the most significant in religious terms are those who dwell in caves or dens. This includes the buffalo, the canines, the bears, and the badgers. The other species that inhabit the earth s surface, elk, deer, pronghorn, rabbits, mice, turtles, and fish have important spiritual and symbolic associations, but none have the powers of the animals that dwell below the surface of the earth (Moore, J. 1974a:239-240). The *Maiyun* spirits, who guard and steward the animals, usually appear in the guise of animals associated with the subterranean world, especially wolves and bison (Schlesier 1987:8-9, 53-54, 76-80, 90-92, 98).

Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas divided animals in several ways according to their actions, habitats, and/or forms of locomotion. Several different systems of categorization are found in James Walker s interpretation of the Lakota genesis story (1983). One of these is revealed in the story about how *Gnaski* [Crazy Buffalo] attempts to foment hostility among the animals by getting each of the animal communities or nations to choose chiefs. There are the diggers, which include the wolf, prairie dog, badger, and gopher; the builders, which consist of the raccoon, beaver, squirrel, and mouse; the hoofs, made up of elk, deer, antelope, and bighorn; and finally the claws, which contain the cats (Walker 1983:269-271). In another story *Gnaski* and *Inktomi* (Spider) trick the animals into gathering for a feast (Walker 1983:358-362). Here the animals are grouped into birds, reptiles/amphibians (turtles, frogs, lizards, snakes), small fur-bearing mammals (otters, beavers, muskrats, weasels), small mammals who burrow in the ground (badgers, gophers, prairie dogs, rabbits), predators (wolf, coyote, fox, cats, skunks, raccoons), and big game (antelopes, deer, elk, bighorns). Significantly, two mammals, bison and bear, are not included in their expected categories. This is due no doubt to their status as members of the *Tobtob,* the Lakota pantheon of sacred beings (see Chapter Nine). There are other and more conventional classificatory systems. William Powers (1986:162) describes one of these, which includes four classes: (1) *wakinyan*, things that fly , (2) *washloan*, things that crawl , (3) *wahutopa*, things that walk on four legs , and (4) *wahununpa*, things that walk on two legs . Father Eugene Buechel (1970:663, 699, 701, 718) orders living creatures into a different set of classes, which include: (1) *wakinyanpi* winged creatures , (2) *hogan* marine life, which includes fish, frogs, and turtles, (3) *wabluska* denotes bugs, most probably land-based insects; and (4) *wamakaskan* applies to mammals in general and also reptiles.

The Lakotas did not see animals, in either their spiritual or materialized form, as under the stewardship of master animals or guardians in the same way the Cheyennes did. There were particular animals, however, that were considered chiefs or leaders of other species because they had significant spiritual and symbolic powers, and these were usually white or albino in their coloration (Howard, J. 1979:3; Flying By in Parlow 1983a: 37-38). *Tatanka* [Bison bull] and *Hununp* [Grizzly], members of the *Tobtob,* were the leaders of animals associated respectively

with provisioning and healing. Another animal, *Wanbli* [Eagle], also occupied a chiefly position in relation to war and the creatures that fly, but it was not considered a member of the *Tobtob*. It often stood in an interchangeable relationship with bison, however, as in the symbolic equation of an eagle feather with the bison and the breath of life (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:240-241; Brown 1992:43). Finally, *Inktomi* [Spider] did not hold a chiefly position in relation to other animals and stood outside all systems of classification -- not only because he embodied features that linked him to all classes of animals but because he transversed different tiers of the Lakota cosmos (Brown 1992:47; Powers, W. 1986:155-156).

More significant in Lakota schemes for organizing animals, especially those used in religious contexts, was the figure *Tate*, the Wind, and his five sons, four of whom represent each of the four cardinal directions, and the fifth, *Yamni*, who signifies the Whirlwind. In the Lakota language, the name *Tate* is closely related, if not synonymous etymologically, to the verb *tate,* meaning to hunt or to chase. The word *ta* , according to Father Eugene Buechel (1970:472), is a generic reference to ruminating animals since it is prefixed to the word for fresh meat, *talo*, and three game species of special importance to the Lakotas, *tatanka*, the buffalo, *tatoka*, the pronghorn, and *tahca*, the deer.[6] Two of *Tate s* sons, the North Wind and the West Wind, are linked to *Taku Skanskan*, the spirit that presides over movement, hunts, and war (Walker 1917:84, 1980:272).

In Lakota cosmology, the Four Winds and their youngest brother, the Whirlwind, were begotten through the union of *Tate* and *Ite*, a member of the *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation], who resided in the subterranean world. As such, the Four Winds play an important mediating role in Lakota cosmology, connecting the celestial and subterranean spaces of the universe. Most of the major species of animals in the Lakota universe are ordered according to their partnership with one of the Four Winds and are variously described as their *akicita*, soldiers, helpers, or servants. In contrast to the Cheyennes, the Lakotas cosmological ordering stresses the directionality of the cosmos over its stratified layers. Animals are linked with the underworld, the earth s surface, and the sky too. And even though they are identified with different stratified levels of the cosmos, they are united because of their specific ties to the Four Winds. Several different families and species of birds and insects are linked together, for example, in one taxonomic class associated with the West Wind and the Thunders. Thus, blacktail deer, horses, lizards, dragonflies, and swallows, which represent sky and earth spaces, share an essential affinity to each other as the assistants of the West Wind. Speaking of this, Black Elk told John Neihardt (1961:133-134) about the species linked to the West Wind and how these were different from those connected to the North Wind:

> The eagle, hawk, swallow, dragon-fly, all possess great speed in flight and ability to strike swiftly and surely; and they seem to bear a sort of charmed life before bullets, arrows, hail and lightning, for one does not find them killed or injured by these forces, while buffalo, wolves, and magpies are united through their allegiance to the North Wind.

Besides the animals Black Elk spoke about, coyotes, juncos, and geese are also tied to the North Wind. Whitetail deer and owls are generally identified with the East Wind, while cranes and meadowlarks are the common associates of the South Wind (Powers, W. 1977:75-77, 191-193, 198-199, 1982:54, 1986:81-82, 138-140; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163). The association of major species of birds and land animals with the Four Winds appears repeatedly in Lakota

[6] This is an old connection in the Siouan language family. The Omahas and Poncas also prefix *ta* to major ungulate species as in *tachu ge* [antelope] or *ta xti* [deer], and they call dried meat ta (Fletcher and La Flesche 1972:1:279); in Lakota it s *talo*. The Omaha/Ponca name for the wind is *tad* (Ibid:110).

sacred stories and liturgical texts. Some animals, however, like the elk,[7] are multidirectional and identified with several different Winds. Although the Lakotas have other taxonomic schemes for ordering animals, the one with the greatest metaphysical importance appears to be the one connected with *Tate* and his sons.

Earlier in cosmological time, when the animals were actually created, they were made to serve as associates of other and greater spiritual presences in the universe. The fish, reptiles, and amphibians become part of *Unk* s domain, the flying birds with claws were the subjects of *Wakinyan*, and the water birds and land birds belonged to *Wohpe*. The land animals who became part of *Maka* s domain including the ones with horns and hoofs made by *Wi* and his associate, *Hanwi*; those with claws and pointed teeth were created by *Inyan* and *Wakinyan;* and finally, the mammals with claws and blunt teeth were shaped by *Maka* and *Wohpe* (Walker 1983:235-241).

B. Animal Partnerships

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes believe that humans and animals can communicate with each other, entering into mutually beneficial partnerships. Among the Cheyennes, the *hematasooma* [soul] of an animal and a human may form a relationship with each other. In dreams and visions, animal *hematasooma* reveal themselves to humans and give them knowledge of healing, protection for warfare, or talents in hunting. People who are spiritually partnered with specific animals are able to draw on their relationships to further various human needs and desires. People with spiritual antelope partners, for example, are able to call the animals of this species when hunting them. These special talents or abilities, however, entail obligations to propitiate their spiritual animal partners in reverent ways (Schlesier 1987:10-11). According to Schlesier (1987:12),

> Animals were celebrated as beautiful, mysterious, powerful, dangerous, and benevolent. In Cheyenne memories, animals talked with humans, took pity on them, protected and taught them, gave to them special power and knowledge, healed them from wounds and sicknesses, kept them alive with self-sacrifice, and finally, became human themselves to help them in great need.

In this kind of perspective, humans do not live simply by their own ingenuity, but by the grace of the animals that lend their spiritual assistance and their own materialized lives for the benefit of humankind.

Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas believed that the well-being of humans is dependent on their knowledge of and spiritual partnerships with the animals. As Royal B. Hassrick (1964:170) put it:

> Skill, knowledge, and diligence were not regarded as sufficient attributes in themselves to guarantee success in hunting. There must be an understanding of the animals, and a recognition of their spiritual qualities as well. The nations of animals, in permitting their members to be taken by the Sioux, demanded respect and specific propitiation in return...

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[7] As mentioned in Chapter Nine, there is considerable variation among Lakota religionists in how they match particular animals with each of the Winds. Some animals, however, are consistently tied to a specific wind, for example, bison are invariably linked to the North Wind and swallows with the West Wind. Elk, by contrast, have more flexible assignments. This species is sometimes linked to the East Wind (Densmore 1918:178; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163), but in other cases, it appears as an associate of the North Wind (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:114-115).

> To a degree, all animals were sacred because of their *wakan* character, and as a result, religious rites to propitiate them were an accepted prelude to hunting. The Sioux philosophy that conceived humans as an integral part of nature, yet dependent upon animals for spiritual power, made propitiation all important. As such, there was no joy in killing; instead, a sense of gravity prevailed. Hunting was a serious and mystical business--a combination of skill, organization, and power obtained from the supernaturals.

More than a century earlier, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:287) wrote something very similar about the Lakotas:

> To him all nature is instinct with mystic influence. Among those mountains not a wild beast was prowling, a bird singing, or a leaf fluttering that might not tend to direct his destiny, or give warning of what was in store for him; and he watches the world of nature around him as the astrologer watches the stars. So closely is he linked with it that his guardian spirit, no insubstantial creation of the fancy, is usually embodied in the form of some living thing, --a bear, a wolf, an eagle, or a serpent...
>
> The Lakotas believe that all living forms hold a spiritual or immaterial essence or *sicun* that can be transferred from one species or *oyate* [nation] to another. In dreams or visions, animals appear to humans enabling them to partake of their spiritual essences for any of a variety of life goals and functions.

In the rest of the discussion, attention is given to the particular characteristics of animals important in Lakota and Cheyenne cosmologies, especially those with whom humans enter into spiritual partnerships. For purposes of presentation, they will be organized into four sections:1) animals linked to the sky, that fly, primarily birds, insects, and bats; 2) animals associated with the earth, largely mammals, 3) those connected to water, mostly reptiles, amphibians, and fish; and 4) spiders because they transverse all tiers of the universe. Except for the bison, which hold a very special relationship to the area of Wind Cave National Park, most of the details on spiritual partnerships between humans and various species of animals are found in Appendix A.

1. The Creatures of the Sky

Birds and certain insects that fly occupy a pivotal place in the cosmologies of the Cheyennes and Lakotas, and conceptually, they are linked together by both tribes. As *Siya ka*, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1918:188):

> All the birds and insects which I have seen in my dream were things on which I know I should keep my mind and learn their ways. When the season returns, the birds and insects return with the same colorings as the previous year. They are not all on the earth, but are above it. My mind must be the same.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes consider birds the messengers of the spirits and often rank them among the animals with the greatest spiritual potentialities (Walker 1983:321, 327; Moore, J. 1984, 1986). Speaking for the Lakotas, Black Elk (in Brown 1992:199-200) said:

> The most important of all creatures are the wingeds, for they are nearest to the heavens, and are not bound to the earth as are the four-legged, or little crawling people. Their religion is the same as ours. They see everything that happens on the earth, and they never miss their prey.

For both tribes, the highest-ranking birds are raptors. John Moore (1984, 1986) described in great detail how and why raptors are classified by the Cheyennes as holy and great birds. Vultures are considered holy birds, along with eagles, dragonflies, and nighthawks, because they move in the fashion of a whirlwind, as evidenced by the funnel-shaped configurations they make when seeking thermals or when circling carrion (Moore, J. 1986:189). Hawks and falcons are generally identified among the great birds and strongly associated with predatory behavior and protective powers relating to warfare (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 107-108; Moore, J. 1984:298, 1986: 184-186).

Among the Lakotas, raptors are highly revered as well. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:41) writes: For Lakota raptors seemed to lead a charmed life not only because they possessed great speed and agility but also because they appeared to be immune to bullets, arrows, and lightening strikes. While vultures are relatively unimportant to the Lakotas, golden eagles are very significant, highly sacred, and ranked as the chief of the wingeds (Black Elk quoted in Brown 1992:42). According to Luther Standing Bear (1988:78), eagles symbolized the greatest power. They are among the most sacred birds, commonly linked to the West Wind, healing, war parties and battles (Sword in Walker 1980:103; Tyon in Walker 1980:122), but in some contexts to the North Wind or the East Wind (Curtis 1905-1930:3:77).[8] They are also identified as messengers of the sun, and the sun s *tonwan* is believed is to be carried in their tail quills (Walker 1980:230-231, 232). Hawks, associates of the West Wind, are linked to war and healing as well, and they are believed to be highly sacred, able to bring luck and to rule over endurance and swiftness (Dorsey, J. 1889:500; Densmore 1918:139; Bordeaux 1929:109; Black Elk in Neihardt 1959:133-134; Sword in Walker 1980:103; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125).

There are many visionary narratives of Lakota encounters with eagles and hawks, and several of these are associated with the Black Hills (Hassrick 1964:232-233, 234; Bordeaux in Kadlececk and Kadlececk 1981:90-91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:115, 117-118, 121, 136, 140-142, 216, 218, 228-229, 261, 263, 265; Lewis, T. 1990:93-94; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30-31, 142-143, 147). Peter Bordeaux (in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:90-91), for instance, told the following story in 1969:

> There were some white eagles, twice as large as the ordinary eagles,that increased and existed in the air and space above the vast country and nestled on the land of the Black Hills all the time prior to the year 1875. A warrior observed the ceremony of the fast on the top of one of the Black Hills; on his third day, one of the said white eagles flew down and landed on the altar hill by the fasting warrior and talked to him in plain Sioux language. He said that the white men will invade your Black Hills in the very near future and will take over the resources under their possession and give you a bad time. Then the white eagles relinquished their roaming from the vast country of the Black Hills.

Eagles figured prominently in many of Black Elk s visions (in DeMallie 1984). When he saw an eagle and heard it piping while hunting with his father at the Buffalo Gap, he was reminded of the spirit eagle that once came to him in a dream (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156). Among the Lakotas, eagle dreamers often became healers, practicing in a manner not dissimilar to *Yuwipi* doctors (Bordeaux 1929:109; Lewis, T. 1990:93-104).

Nighthawks are also considered sacred by both tribes. The Cheyennes place the bird in their highest and most sacred class and associate it with the West Wind, death, and twilight (Moore, J. 1986:182-184). The Lakotas link this bird to the West Wind too, the *Wakinyan* or Thunders, and

[8] Bald eagles are also identified with the East Wind.

the *Heyoka* [Contraries] (Hassrick 1964:214). The Lakotas consider all species of swallows sacred, and like nighthawks, they are messengers of the Thunders and the West Wind and associates of the *Heyoka.* They are commonly appealed to in visions and healing (Sword in Walker 1980:102; Bordeaux 1929:109 Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:84). Although much has been written about swallows among the Lakotas, little appears in the literature on the Cheyennes, except that they are considered ordinary birds with connections to war and thunders (Moore, J. 1986:184; Grinnell 1972:1:201).

Owls are highly respected by the Lakotas for their wisdom, courage, and gentleness, and as a result, they are linked to healing and the visions of healers (Densmore 1918:181; Fire and Erdoes 1972:136; Standing Bear 1988:72; Brown 1992:44, 61; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:30, 31, 109, 111, 134-135, 139, 142, 143, 187). They are commonly associated with the East Wind and believed to bear messages of death (Walker 1980:118; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; Brown 1992:44). In Cheyenne culture, owls are not considered a natural bird, but a *mista* or night spook (Moore, J. 1986:186). They are widely feared, but, as with the Lakotas, they are known to have healing powers (Grinnell 1972:1:125, 2:109, 156). In both tribes, owls were historically linked to warfare too (Wissler 1912:41-42; Grinnell 1972:2:105). There are a number of stories in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions that associate owl-like figures with locations in the high elevation interiors of the Black Hills (Marriott and Rachlin 1974:43-47; Deloria E. 1978:113-116; LaPointe 1976:89-91).

Other birds associated with healing and visions among the Lakotas are water birds and shorebirds, especially ducks, geese, and cranes (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:95, 98, 114; Standing Bear 1988:70-71). Ducks, along with cranes, also symbolize fertility and are frequently seen as associates of *Wohpe* and *Itokagata*, the South Wind (Densmore 1918:139; Standing Bear 1978:158; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:217-218, 252). These birds are similarly connected to reproduction and healing among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 110, 205), but some also have strong associations with war (Moore, J. 1986:178, 184, 186, 187). Many other water birds and shorebirds are named in Lakota and Cheyenne taxonomies, but seem to have had little symbolic value. Similarly, most game birds do not appear to have occupied any significant position in Cheyenne cosmology, perhaps because, as Moore (1986:184) argues, they are edible birds, existing in a stable state rather than full of energy and drive like the species that are important symbolically. Among the Lakotas, however, grouse are symbolically linked to war and the dances and songs associated with this endeavor (Wissler 1912:15; Standing Bear 1988:57, 60; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:31-33). One example of a visionary contact with this bird took place in central interiors of the Black Hills (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:31-32).

The closely related families of kingfishers and woodpeckers represent another group of birds highly respected and admired by both tribes. Kingfishers are associated with healing and protective medicine in war (Buechel 1970:186; Grinnell 1972:1:120; Moore, J. 1974a:244; Tyon in Walker 1980:161; Moore, J. 1986:178, 186). The Cheyennes associate the redheaded woodpecker with great power, male fertility, and blood paint (Moore, J. 1986:182-184). The Lakotas link this bird to the East Wind and associate it with strong family ties (Densmore 1918:70-71; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:398). Yellow-shafted flickers are linked to war, thunders, and the West Wind in Lakota beliefs (Densmore 1918:111-112). Contrastingly, the Cheyennes see the flicker as a bird of peace, healing, and associate it with female symbolism (Grinnell 1972:2:232; Moore, J. 1986:182-184). These birds occupy an important position in the Sun Dance of both tribes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 232-233, 265, 268; (Black Elk in Brown 1971:78). There is nothing in the published literature, however, that specifically associates these species of birds with any area in the Black Hills.

In contrast, the magpie, and in some stories, the crow are very important symbolically and spiritually because they are believed to have won the Great Race, which took place on lands at Wind Cave National Park (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:24; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404). Crows and magpies are believed to be able to communicate with humans and warn them of danger (Densmore 1918:186-188; Grinnell 1972:2:107; Walker 1982:43; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:385-386; Moore, J. 1986:3). The magpie is included in the Cheyenne s Holy class of birds: it is associated with war and viewed as the messenger of *Ma heo* , the holiest of holies (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 124; Moore, J. 1986:182-183). It is also considered the chief of the birds that the Cheyennes designate as blue, which includes jays, kingfishers, and the blue-winged teals (Moore, J. 1974a:238). Lakotas associate this bird with the North Wind, and their attitudes towards it appear highly ambivalent (Beckwith, M. 1930:388, 434; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397, 403-404; Powers, W. 1977:191; Walker 1983:335-336). By contrast, the crow, which is associated in Lakota beliefs with either the North or East Wind, is generally admired and believed to be of great assistance in matters of war (Densmore 1918:181; Walker 1980:260, 1982:32, 37; Powers, W. 1986:139-140; Brown 1992:43). One of the Lakota *akicita* or soldier societies was known as the *Kangi yuha* (Crow Owners), and its defining symbol was the crow (Blish 1924:87). The Cheyennes associate the crow with war too, and in addition, they consider it helpful in locating bison (Grinnell 1972:2:105, 110; Moore, J. 1986:183).

Many other species of land birds found in the Black Hills are neither named nor symbolically marked in Lakota and Cheyenne ornithological nomenclatures. Among the Cheyennes, most land birds are ordinary and in the subclasses *vekseohes*, which includes small birds who build tree nests and inhabit riparian forests and *hoevekseo*, which refers largely to edible ground birds (Moore, J. 1986:184-186). Even when these birds are named, they are generally not associated with any complex symbolic meanings (see Appendix A). There are a few exceptions, however. One is the meadowlark. This is another bird the Lakotas believe can speak intelligible words in their language (Buechel 1970:267, Powers, W. 1986:28; Standing Bear 1988:60; Brown 1992:45). It is a symbol of fidelity, clarity, courage, and goodness, it is connected to the South Wind and the elk, and it is thought to have the gift of prophecy (Walker 1917:129, 249; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Powers, W. 1986:28, 139-140; Rice 1993:99, 154, 156-157). It is also associated with the Sun Dance because of the sunflower painted on their breasts (Dorsey, J. 1889a: 157). The snowbird or junco is also important to the Lakotas because it was the bird that led the first man, *Tokahe*, and his followers to meat and safety when they emerged out of a cave, which many Lakota identify today as Wind Cave (Hassrick 1964:214; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Walker 1983:371). This bird has a high degree of symbolic importance for the Lakotas. Historically, it was also a source of food. Among the Cheyennes, the scarlet tanager [*Piranga olivacea*] was associated with the thunders and played an important role in the symbolism of the Contraries.

Both the Lakotas and Cheyennes classify bats with birds because of their ability to fly. The Lakotas viewed them as helpers of the West Wind and the Thunders (Walker 1980:125; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). Like other flying creatures that are linked to these two spiritual entities, bats are associated with war. Warriors commonly wore bats on their heads as a talisman, or *wotawe* as these are called in Lakota, when they entered battle (Buechel 1970, 196; Grinnell 1972:1:120).

Certain flying insects, notably butterflies, moths, and dragonflies, are highly sacred to both tribes. The Lakotas and the Cheyennes associate butterflies, dragonflies, and moths with whirlwinds because of their quick, erratic, and darting movements (Moore, J. 1986:178; Brown 1989:177-187; Powers, W. 1986:159). As William Powers (1986:160) writes:

> All three have capacity to avoid danger quickly through making abrupt motions and deceiving those who follow them. Therefore they served as appropriate protectors of warriors ...The Lakota link them on the basis of these most observable behavioral qualities, quickness of flight and erratic movement through space, all diagnostic of the devil duster, the dragon and butterfly.

In fact, the Cheyennes consider the butterfly and the dragonfly to be types of birds in the class of their most holy animals known as messengers (Moore, J. 1986:178, 182). Since butterflies are often observed by the Cheyennes to swarm around sites where animals are butchered and to drink their blood, they are strongly associated with killing and warfare (Moore, J. 1986:182). Not surprisingly, butterflies are also linked with the Thunders. According to George Bird Grinnell (1972:1:96), these insects are often seen in association with thunderstorms. The Cheyennes believe that when the thunders are angry, they shake themselves causing the butterflies, which are their parasites, to fall off of them. The Lakotas also link these flying insects with the thunders and war (Blish 1934:185; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Brown 1992:46; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:111). Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas believe that butterflies and dragonflies are able to escape injury by humans, animals, and even the thunders because of their rapid, whirlwind-like movements (Wissler 1905:258-259). Dragonflies are also significant because of how they change color during their lifecycle, and their dual association with the thunders and the deep waters of the earth from which they hatch (Moore, J. 1974a:158).

Whether other flying insects have importance is difficult to determine because there is little direct evidence about them in the ethnographic and linguistic sources we reviewed. Grasshoppers, for example, must have had some significance because their images are painted on the bodies of Cheyenne Sun dancers and on the tipis that held the Sacred Arrows and the Sacred Hat (Powell 1969:2:833; Grinnell 1972:1:89), but exactly what they meant has not been reported in the literature. One unidentified species helped Cheyennes and Lakotas locate bison (Holy Elk 1937: 44; Grinnell 1972:2:264). Another cicada-like species was known to assist in the ripening of berries (Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:21). Either of these roles may help explain why this class of insects is painted on Cheyenne Sun dancers and associated with a ceremony whose purpose is to increase the fertility of the earth and renew life (Powell 1969:795, 833, 843; Grinnell 1972:2:264). But there is also another possible reason. Some early naturalists reported that the Black Hills were the breeding grounds of local grasshopper species, which left the Hills in huge swarms every spring to cover the surrounding grasslands (Progulske 1974:123). If this is the case, it would certainly have reaffirmed tribal observations about animals originating in the Hills.

Most of the cultural associations of birds and other wingeds with the Black Hills center around the high elevation interiors at places like Harney Peak, Castle Rock, and the Cathedral Spires. Many of these flying creatures, including eagles, hawks, dragonflies, butterflies, swallows, and nighthawks, have very specific ties to the Thunders and the West Wind in Lakota traditions. Owls, also associated with locations in the interiors, are usually connected to the East Wind. In the area of Wind Cave National Park, there are only a few specific links to avian species. The snowbird (Junco) appears in the story of *Tokahe* and the emergence of the first humans from Wind Cave. However, to the extent that all birds participated in the Great Race and were the first to arrive in the Hills when the race was announced, all of them have a connection to the Race Track, a portion of which crosses park properties. Two birds, however, stand out in this story: the crow and the magpie, because they won the race for humans. Even though other birds are often named in different versions of the Great Race story, including the sparrow, blackbird, meadowlark, and swifthawk, the crow and magpie are clearly the most important (Marquis and

Limbaugh 1973:30-31; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:94-96; Ant in Lehman 1987:245-250). Curiously, the birds that have important connections to the area of Wind Cave, notably the snowbird, the magpie, and the crow, are generally associated with the North Wind, *Waziyata*, in Lakota stories and liturgical texts, confirming again the connection of this region with winter and breath.

2. The Creatures of the Land

The animals associated with the land, mostly mammals, are the most important class of animals in terms of their practical importance to the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, but many are also highly significant in symbolic and spiritual terms. In Lakota traditions, many mammals are associated with the earth s surface, but certain species, including badgers, bears, wolves, bison, badgers, prairie dogs, and gophers, are connected to the subterranean world because they sleep in burrows, dens, caves, or other depressions and come to the earth s surface to feed. The ability of certain animals to transverse more than one plane of the universe makes them highly significant to the Lakotas on spiritual grounds (Powers, W. 1986:113).

Among the Cheyennes, mammals are believed to originate from cavern homes in the deep recesses of the earth (Schlesier 1987:4-5; Moore, J. 1996a:211). In their subterranean sanctuaries, mammals exist in a spiritual form awaiting their materialized reappearance on the earth s surface (Schlesier 1987:4-5). As Karl Schlesier explains:

> Plant, animal, and human physical forms originate from reproduction processes as given in each species. The initiation of new life is not simply the result of biology but also the infusion of spiritual forms that remain with the organism until death. The spiritual forms of every living being under the laws of *venom* consist of the immortal gift of breath, *monotone*, which comes from *exhausted*, cosmic power and the immortal, *hematasooma*, the spiritual potential consisting of four separate forces (Schlesier 1987:9).

The Cheyennes also believe that the *hematasooma* of an animal, including the human species, is released at death to travel to the sky spaces of the universe, but the *monotone* remains in the bones, teeth, claws, and feathers until these parts have decayed, at which point it rejoins its respective *hematasooma* to await the process of rematerialization that begins in the underworld. It is from the subterranean depths of the earth that animals and humans receive the immortal gift of breath and are reborn (Schlesier 1984:9). The Lakotas similarly believe that animals and also humans are transmogrified from a spiritualized state to their material form through the acquisition of *ni* or breath, a process usually associated with the underworld and its vast cavernous spaces (Walker 1917:91).

a.Bison

Of all the mammals, the bison was clearly the most important historically to the Lakotas and Cheyennes, both as a provisioner of their life necessities and as an important spiritual presence. The Lakotas considered the bison the chief of all the animals, and a penultimate metaphor for the workings of the cosmos. As Nicolas Black Elk (in Brown 1992:13) said: The buffalo is the chief of all animals and represents the earth, the totality of all that is. It is the feminine, creating earth principle which gives rise to all living forms. In a similar vein, Lame Deer (in Fire and Erdoes 1972:130) speaks about the close link between humans and bison:

> We Sioux have a close relationship with the buffalo. He is our brother... the buffalo is very sacred to us. You can t understand about nature, about the feeling we have toward it, unless

> you understand how close we are to the buffalo. That animal was almost like a part of ourselves, a part of our souls.

The near extinction of bison was experienced as a great loss to the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Expressing a sense of tragedy for his people, the famous Oglala leader Red Cloud (Walker in 1980:138-139) said in his abdication speech:

> We told them [the commissioners] that the supernatural powers, *Taku Wakan*, had given to the Lakotas the buffalo for food and clothing. We told them that where the buffalo ranged, that was our country. We told them that the country of the buffalo was the country of the Lakotas. We told them that the buffalo must have their country and the Lakotas must have the buffalo.
>
> Now where the buffalo ranged there are wires on posts that mark the land where the white man labors and sweats to get food from the earth; and in the place of the buffalo there are cattle that must be cared for to keep them alive; and where the Lakota could ride as he wished from the rising to the setting of the sun for days and days on his own lands, now he crosses the bounds the white man has set about us, the white man says to us Indians, You must not be on the lands that are not on the road.

Among the Cheyennes, where predatory mammals and birds occupied some of the highest spiritual positions in the cosmic order of things and stood in control over game animals (e.g., pronghorn), bison were an exception (Moore, J. 1974a:240). The buffalo, according to Karl Schlesier (1987:8), was regarded both as a game animal and a powerful spiritual being.

Although bison held a much-revered place in the cosmologies of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the spiritual figures representing bison were conceptualized and interpreted in different ways. In Lakota and Cheyenne cosmology, there were several masculine and feminine benevolent spirits who were represented in the image of bison. At least as reported in the ethnographic literature, the Cheyennes placed much greater emphasis on feminine bison representations and very little on masculine imagery. The Lakotas, by contrast, had prominent male and female bison figures. Both tribes had many lesser spiritual figures envisioned as bison too, and both knew of dangerous bison spirits who killed and consumed humans.

Among the Lakotas, *Tatanka* [Bison Bull] was a member of their *Tobtob*, the group of the highest ranking spiritual figures (Walker 1980:50-51, 94). He symbolizes the masculine spiritual presence most responsible for provisioning and prosperity and for insuring good health and harmony (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Walker 1980:50, 225, 232). As Black Elk told Brown (1971:72):

> He represents the people and the universe and should always be treated with respect, for was he not here before the two-legged peoples, and is he not generous in that he gives us our homes and our food? The buffalo is wise in many things, and thus, we should learn from him and should always be as a relative with him.

Along with *Tate* and *Taku Skanskan*, two of the other *Tobtob*, *Tatanka* ruled over the hunt; he was addressed and propitiated in all rituals associated with hunting (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Walker 1982:75, 76, 91). He is a figure of industry and generosity (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Tyon in Walker 1980:121, Brown 1992:25). Historically, *Tatanka* was one of the major spiritual figures addressed during the Lakota *Hunka* ceremony, and it is his spirit that resided in the skull at this and indeed all other major Lakota ceremonies. He served as a model of parental duty and domestic harmony (Takes the Gun in Walker 1980:214; Walker

1982:75, 76, 91).[9] *Tatanka* is also linked to the fecundity of women and guards over their pregnancies and menstrual cycles (Hassrick 1964:207, 214; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124; Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Finally, *Tatanka*, who is often envisioned in the image of a white buffalo, stands for cosmic regeneration (Flying By in Parlow 1983a:37-39). Consequently, he is a major figure to whom appeals are made and offerings given during the Lakota Sun Dance and many other major ceremonies (Densmore 1918:98-125).

The feminine representation of the bison in Lakota thought is complex. On one and probably an older level, there is an elderly spiritual female figure whose home is under the earth; she sometimes appears in stories that unfold at springs or caves (Haflen and Haflen 1956:268-272). There are many stories in the oral and written traditions of the Lakotas of a benevolent old woman who assists people in need, and they bear a remarkable resemblance to a number of Cheyenne, Arikara, Pawnee, and Kiowa narratives. The Lakota tradition is not as well developed as it is among some of these other tribal nations, and when it appears, as discussed in greater detail in the next section, it is more often connected to a younger female figure who lives underneath the Black Hills and guards the animals. Some of the stories about her also take place at springs and openings to caves, including Wind Cave (Herman in One Feather 1972:149; Black Elk, H. in Theisz 1973:16-18; LaPointe 1979:79-80). In many respects, as among the Cheyennes, female bison figures are really manifestations in animal form of the highly revered earth, *Maka*, who ranks with the sky, stone, and the sun as one of highest spiritual presences in the Lakota s pantheon of spiritual beings.

In Lakota traditions, another prominent female spiritual figure, understood as an associate or companion to the earth, is *Wohpe* [Falling Star or Meteor]. In the Lakota creation story, as given to James Walker (1983:229-244) by George Sword, she is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and comes to earth to live with *Tate*, the Wind and his sons. She is a mediator who is behind many creative actions, including the making of vegetation and other life forms (Walker 1983:229-244). Later in cosmological time, she is reincarnated as *Pte San Winyan*, the White Buffalo Calf Woman, who brings the sacred pipe to the Lakotas and advises them in the performance of their seven sacred rituals (Black Elk in Brown 1971:3-9). There are numerous stories about how she appeared to the Lakotas (Densmore 1918:63-66; Hassrick 1964:217-219; Finger in Walker 1980:109; Black Elk in Brown 1971:3-9; Powers, W. 1977:54; Powers, M. 1986:43-49; Looking Horse 1987:68-69; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:38-41), but today, as in the past, she remains a highly signficant figure, a model of female generosity, nurturance, and everything else that represents the highest virtues of womanhood (Powers, M. 1986:70-72; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:41-42). She is one of the primary protector figures in Lakota traditions, and many Lakotas believe that she appeared to them near Bear Lodge Butte a.k.a. Devil s Tower (Bird Horse in U. S. Senate 1986:168, 207; Looking Horse 1987:67-68; Goodman 1992:2, 12-13).

The Cheyennes represent the spiritual essence of bison in a predominately feminine form (for example, the lead bison in the story of the Great Race was a cow, Slim Walking Woman), but it is the bison bull that talked to them (Grinnell 1972:2:104). Whatever this means, and Grinnell does not elaborate upon on it, bison are the supreme symbols of the family, fecundity, and regeneration for the Cheyennes as they are for the Lakotas. In comparison to female bison figures, very little has been written about the Cheyennes spiritual understandings of the bull. As noted in the last chapter, *Esceheman* [Our Grandmother], the deep spirit of the earth, is identified with game animals and is their protector (Powell 1969:2:437; Schlesier 1987:5, 8, 82). Her helpers, and the ones through which she usually reveals herself, are the badger, buffalo, bear, and

[9] The protective behavior of bison bulls when predators threaten calves and cows, as reported in ethological studies of bison, conforms to some of the paternalistic images that the Lakotas have of them (Geist 1996:54-58).

wolf (Schlesier 1987:8). She is present in the sacred buffalo skull at the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Powell 1969:2:335-336, 422, 425, 597). The Sacred Woman of the Sun Dance may also represent an impersonation of *Esceheman* (Ibid:448). In this ceremony, she is ceremonially impregnated by the man power, represented in the image of the Thunder (Ibid:449-459).

The *Is siwun* or *Esevone*, the Sacred Hat, one of the two most important sacred symbols of the Cheyennes (the other being the Sacred Arrows), is an embodiment of the female spiritual presence of *Esceheman* and the buffalo (Ibid:443), or as Father Peter Powell (1969:2:443) puts it, the living symbol and source of female power. He further describes her power as follows:

> The Sacred Hat emanates power for renewing and attracting the buffalo — the great sources of food and life. The Buffalo continues to symbolize the good life for the Cheyennes. Is siwun s power continues to assure food for the people, even though the great herds are gone. The Sacred Cap was given to Standing on the Ground or Erect Horns, the Suhtaio culture hero, at Bear Butte, but it is also closely associated with the origin of the Sun Dance, which is traced in some Cheyenne stories to the Race Track and the Buffalo Gap, the place where the Buffalo People promised to turn their dance over to the people (Powell 1969: 2:444).

The interpretation of its origins and its relation to the Great Race vary among the Cheyennes with significant differences between the northern and southern branches of the tribe. Most of the connections made to the Buffalo Gap come from Northern Cheyennes, who were settled on the Tongue Reservation in Montana and who are descended from the Suhtaio division of the Cheyennes, whose people lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills until the U. S. government seized them in 1877.[10] It is probably not surprising that this story and the Sun Dance are associated with the Buffalo Gap area because this is the location where bison emerged onto the grasslands every spring with their newborn calves. The yellow coloration of a bison calf s coat at birth is strongly associated in Cheyenne beliefs with sun symbolism (Moore, J. 1974a:163).

Esceheman s daughter, *Ehyophstah* (Yellow Hair on Top Woman), comes from a union with the Thunder, *Nonoma* (appearing in the *Maussam* as a coyote or wolf) (Schlesier 1987:78). She is represented as the figure in the story of Sweet Medicine and his friend s journey to Bear Butte. She is the one who marries the friend and brings the buffalo to his people (Grinnell 1907, 1926: 244-251; Schlesier 1987:76-79). She also manifests herself in the form of a bison. *Ehyophstah* is viewed as the patroness of one of the Cheyenne s most important sweatlodges (Anderson, R. 1956; Schlesier 1987:62), and she is an important figure in the *Massaum* where she plays a role similar to her mother as a guardian of the animals. In this ceremony, she impersonates a kit-fox, who symbolizes Rigel, known in Cheyenne as the *Voh kis* [Blue Star] (Schlesier 1987:12, 84, 104-109), and thus, she has a dual positioning in Cheyenne cosmology and may exist simultaneously as an earth and celestial or star figure.[11]

Besides the beneficent bison in Cheyenne and Lakota cosmology, there is a group of hostile figures, male as well as female, who prey on humans. In Lakota traditions, *Gnaskiyan* (Crazy Buffalo), in his various manifestations, represents the spiritual antithesis to the giving and

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[10] Although the instructions for the Sun Dance were learned by the Cheyennes at Bear Butte (Powell 1969:2:467-471) and the first dance held by the people took place near Sundance, Wyoming (Ibid:477), the place where the buffalo first performed this ceremony and made a compact to turn it over to humans was located at the Buffalo Gap, the site where the Great Race begins and ends (Powell 1969:2:477; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:72) (see more detailed discussion of this subject in Chapters Twelve and Fourteen).

[11] The same is true of Esceheman who is linked to the star Sirius and is represented by *Evevsev Honche* or the Horned Wolf in this ceremony (Schlesier 1987:82-83). In some respects, *Ehyophstah* is also the cosmic equivalent of the Lakotas figure, *Wophe* a.k.a. *Pte San Winyan.*

protective qualities of *Tatanka* (Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). From the conversation of George Sword, Bad Wound, No Flesh, and Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:94), *Gnaskinyan* is the most feared of the evil spiritual beings. He is the grand artist of deception, appearing in a benevolent guise but persuading the people to do terrible things (see also, Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). In many ways, he symbolizes the life-taking side of the bison and is the alter ego of *Tatanka*, who stands for the bison in their life life-giving aspects.[12] Crazy bison figures appear in at least one story linked to Wind Cave (Swift Bird in Kadlececk and Kadlecek 1981:147-148).

The Cheyenne have a figure remarkably similar to the Lakotas Crazy Bull, called *Histo-wunini hotu a* [The Double-toothed bull] or *Hestovonenehota*, who is male and known to eat people (Petter 1913-15:193; Grinnell 1972:2:99). Grinnell (1972:1:269) suggests that he was modeled after the actual behavior and pugnacity of bulls, which are known to suddenly charge humans during their rutting season in June and July. There were female bison figures who attacked and ate humans too. Although they are not as well defined as the males, they appear in many Cheyenne and Lakota stories, the most famous of which is in the role of the mother-in-law of the human man who marries a buffalo woman (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24).[13]

In addition to these more personified spiritual figures, there are many generalized ideas about the nature of the bison s spiritualized essence. Notwithstanding variations of interpretation in Lakota traditions, bison are typically linked to the wind and cardinal direction of the north, *Wazi-yata*, in a multitude of different oral traditions and sacred liturgical texts (Curtis 1907-1930:3: 68:11-118, 159; Wissler 1912:19-20; Black Elk in Brown 1971:133; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:127; Walker 1980:232; Powers 1986:139; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163). If not identified with *Waziyata* directly, bison are certainly linked to his season, winter, as recounted in some Lakota visionary accounts (Vestal 1934:109-110), and they are also linked to his grand-father, the old man *Waziya*, who symbolizes frost and snow. The association of bison with the North Wind and winter also holds true for the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1910:567).

In Lakota traditions, bison are not only associated with the procreative powers of the earth, *Maka*, but also the formative powers of stone, *Inyan* (Short Bull in Walker 1980:144, 229; Little Wound in Walker 1980:124; Brown 1992:25; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110). Bison come from the subterranean world; their tipi, or home, is made of stone, located inside the earth, and frequently identified with caves (Bushotter in Dorsey 1894:476-477; Little Wound in Walker 1980:67; Bad Wound in Walker 1980:124). The Lakotas also associate bison with the Sun, who stays in the underworld at night with his close bison companions (Little Wound in Walker 1980:67). Stone, earth, and fire are fundamentally connected to the creation of *ni* [breath] (Curtis 1907-30:3:159; Brown 1992:111-115). The breath of life, as revealed in the last chapter, is strongly associated in Lakota traditions with winter, the season of *Waziya* and *Waziyata*. Bison symbolize the breath of life, and it is the major game animal that stands metaphorically for the entire cosmos (Black Elk in Brown 1971:72). Bison, like golden eagles, also symbolize the sun and its generative power (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42).

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[12] Some of the Dakota divisions, including the Yanktannai, Sisseton, and Wahpeton, considered the appearance of a Crazy Bull near camp a sign of good fortune and successful bison hunting (Howard 1976:31).

[13] Valerius Geist (1996:30-31, 34-35) even suggests that stories of killer bison may represent ancient cultural memories of a time when larger and more aggressive bison, *Bison antiquus* and *Bison occidentalis*, roamed the American Plains. If this is so, then the Race Track story, described in Chapter Fourteen, marks the transition of bison to their modern form as *Bison bison.*

The *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation] represent the spirits of the bison who dwell underground and who materialize when they reach the surface of the earth. These spirits may also take on human forms. It is worth quoting James Walker s interpretation (1917:91) of them:

> The Buffalo People...have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.
>
> The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

Some Lakota believe that the original transformation of the buffalo people into humans took place at Wind Cave. Originally, the *Pte Oyate* were created to act as the messengers of the Lakotas highest sacred beings, the Earth, *Maka*, the Sky, *Skan*, the Stone, *Inyan*, and the Sun, *Wi*. They were molded out of crystalline structures under the earth. The first *Pte Oyate* [Buffalo Nation or People], *Waziya* [Old Man] and *Wakanka* [Old Woman], have a daughter *Ite* [Face], who marries *Tate* [Wind] and mothers the Four Winds and the Whirlwind. The *Pte Oyate* appear throughout the Lakota origin cycle after their creation (Walker 1983), and they are specifically referenced in the sacred liturgy of the *Hunka* as kinspeople who come from the underworld where they live in the midst of the Sun during the night (Walker 1980:229). The buffalo are believed to be the closest spiritual relatives of humans (Black Elk in Brown 1971:117; Flying By in Parlow 1983a:38-39).

In Cheyenne cosmology, the animals that come from zones beneath the earth typically occupy a lower spiritual status than the animals associated with the blue sky, notably golden eagles, magpies, and vultures. These and other birds are associated with the supreme *Maiyun* (Moore, J. 1984). Although many animals of the earth are considered sacred and sources of beneficial spiritual power, only bison and wolves are appealed to and propitiated in the context of major Cheyenne ceremonies such as the *Massaum* or Sun Dance as representatives of the *Maiyun* (thunder, sun, rain, and earth), the superior sacred potentialities of the universe. Indeed, the *Maiyun,* representing the earth and the thunder, generally reveal themselves either through bison or wolf impersonations (Dorsey, G. 1905; Grinnell 1972:2:211-336; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967, 91-114; Powell 1969:2:481-858; Schlesier 1987:43-109).

The Buffalo People, who represent the spirits of the materialized bison, were the ones against whom humans raced in the Black Hills, forming the circular depression known as the Race Track. These people are sometimes identified interchangeably with the Suhtaio division of the Cheyenne nation and their culture hero, *Tomsi vsi* [Stands on the Ground or Erect Horns], who is most closely associated with the origin of the Sun Dance. The Suhtaios are also associated with the *Vonhaom*, an older healing lodge whose origin is tied to bison and was run largely by buffalo dreamers (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:2:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408).

Historically, among the Cheyennes, dreams of bison gave people protection in war, assistance in hunting, and/or the gift of healing (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:324-327, 341, 343, 344, 388, 408; Grinnell 1972:1:196, 151; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:34). Some of the shamans who were able to call game and properly propitiate them had partnerships with bison spirits associated with *Esceheman*. Also, many of the people who had spiritual partnerships with bison served as leaders for major religious observances, including the Animal Dance and the

Sun Dance (Grinnell 1919; Anderson, R. 1956; Powell 1969:1:341-344; Grinnell 1972:2:104; Schlesier 1987:15-16, 52-58).

This was also true for the Lakotas, who strongly associated bison with herbal medicine and healing (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:128-129; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:134-135). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:153) that men who dreamed of buffalo knew about the medicines and all other things for doctoring. Indeed, Walker (1980:62) claimed that these dreamers were considered to be the most reputable healers. The *tatanka kagapi* [bison makers or imitators] and *tatanka inhanblayaci* [bison dreamers] also played very important roles in calling the bison, and they acted as the chief intercessors over many major ceremonies (Hassrick 1964:253; Tyon in Walker 1980:153; Walker 1980:249; Powers, W. 1986:185). One important Lakota story about the life-giving and healing powers of the bison took place at the Buffalo Gap (Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:94-96). The *Hunka Lowanpi*, the *Pte San Lowanpi*, and the *Tapawanka Yeyapi* are three of the ceremonies where the bison figure *Tatanka* is the most important spiritual benefactor, and all of these are described in great length in a number of different sources (Brown 1971:116-126, 133-136; Hassrick 1964:113, 257, 260-264; Walker 1980:249). These men also presided over Spirit Keeping rites, *Wanagi cagapi*, which are also detailed elsewhere (Densmore 1918:77-83), and they generally led the *Wiwanyan Wacipi* [Sun Dance], the most significant Lakota ceremony with spiritual connections to bison. Men with bison power were the ones who led the Buffalo dance at the Sun Dance and who blessed the feast on the day the center tree was felled (Hassrick 1964:242). Indeed, a major focus of this ritual involves the propitiation of the bison, the central figure in Lakota cosmology that brings prosperity, harmony, and life to the people.

Bison are also revered in the Cheyenne s Sun Dance, the *Oxheheom* [The New Life Lodge] (Schlesier 1987:3). Offerings and propitiations are made to them and their guardian, *Esceheman*, in the renewal ceremonies that take place in the Lone Tipi, a symbolic representation of Bear Butte (Dorsey, G. 1905:91, 97; Hoebel 1960:13). At these ceremonies, the assistant Chief Priest and the Lodge Maker smoke a sacred pipe to bring the buffalo (Dorsey, G. 1905:100), and other rituals are performed in this dance to symbolize their regeneration (Hoebel 1960:15; Powell 1969: 2:614-645). A second major ceremony where bison symbolism played a prominent role was the *Massaum* or Animal Dance, which Grinnell (1972:2:287) asserts is associated with the Cheyenne s arrival on the plains in the country of the buffalo. This ceremony, which is no longer practiced, reveals the dual positioning of bison as game animals and spiritual beings in Cheyenne cosmology. In the ceremony, which is described in greater detail in the discussion of wolves, a buffalo skull was placed in a bed dug in the ground because originally the bison came out of the earth (Grinnell 1972:2:330-334). Grinnell (1972:2:296) states that this is a reference to the buffalo s emergence from the underworld after the visit of their two culture heroes to the old woman in the hill, *Esceheman.*[14] More than that, according to Karl Schlesier (1987:7), the ceremony reenacts the creation of the world and all of its life forms that lead up to the ritual hunt where humans slay the game on whose lives they depend.

In concluding, it cannot be emphasized enough how much bison were, and still are, revered by the Cheyennes and Lakotas, not only in a practical way as source of food, shelter, and medicine, but spiritually as a presence embodied in the very essence and workings of the cosmos. In the traditions of both tribes, bison are especially associated with the breath of life, winter, and the North Wind, but they are also associated with the sun, spring, and the East or South Wind. Many of the most sacred stories about them are located at sites in and around the Black Hills,

[14] Among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, Grandmother Earth is frequently represented in the guise of an old women who inhabits springs and caves. Indeed, this is a common theme in many of their sacred stories.

including the Race Track and Wind Cave. In its various Cheyenne and Lakota renditions, the story of the Great Race, which started at the Buffalo Gap, determined the nature of relationships between humans and animals, especially bison (Kroeber 1900:161-162; Grinnell 1926:252-254; Randolph 1937: 189-192; Odell 1942:168; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:2:472-477; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:30; LaPointe 1976:18-19; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell and Buechel 1978:94-96; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309-310; Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:390-392; Black Elk, C. 1986d:200; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:72; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:29; Moore, J. 1996:29). Just above the course where this race took place is Wind Cave, another sacred site related to bison in Lakota traditions (Walker 1917:181-182; Koeller 1970; Herman in One Feather 1972:149; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Black Elk in Theisz 1975:16-18; LaPointe 1976:79-80; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148). Although bison largely disappeared from the Hills by the 1860s, Cheyennes and Lakotas continued to associate them with this region. And even though bison are no longer a principal source of food for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, they remain a central part of their cultural traditions and identities and pivotal to their religious life as well.

b. Other Ungulates

The Cheyennes and Lakotas held other large ruminant species in high regard for food, the materials of life, healing, and spiritual protection. However, unlike the bison, none of them rank among their most influential spiritual figures, the *Tobtob* of the Lakotas or the *Maiyan* of the Cheyennes.

For both tribes, the elk is the cervid species held in highest regard. The Lakotas consider it among the most *wakan* of the animals (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). The male of the species is admired for its strength, endurance, and courage, but particularly for its ability to attract and protect members of the opposite sex (Wissler 1905: 261-266; Fire and Erdoes 1972:165; Walking Bull 1980: 18-20; Standing Bear 1988:58; Brown 1992:16; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110; Walking Bull 1980:18-21). Indeed, the *ton* of the elk is believed to preside over sexual relationships, passion, and desire (Wissler 1905:261; Blish 1934: 199; Standing Bear 1978:216; Walker 1980:121). Historically, much of the symbolism associated with the elk represented the epitome of Lakota ideas of maleness and manhood, and as a result, the elk was a favorite animal for young men to emulate (Densmore 1918:176). In many ways, the elk stood metaphorically as an embodiment of *Itokagata*, the South Wind, also connected with love and romance. Like *Itokagata*, the elk is associated with the flute, with the crane, and with the south cardinal direction, although in many visionary contexts the elk is linked to other directions (Wissler 1905; Brave Buffalo in Densmore 1918:176-178; Hassrick 1964:116, 146; Black Elk in DeMallie 1983:119, 126, 218; Powers 1986:139; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:163; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25-27). The multidirectionality of the elk is probably tied to *Yamni*, the Whirlwind, an associate of the South Wind, and it may be related to what early naturalists called the elk s circle dance, where elk are reported to rapidly trot behind each other in a circular formation, kicking up dust like a whirllwind (Seton 1929:2:42). Lakota elk dreamers, *Hehaka inhanblapi*, were obligated to impersonate their spiritual benefactors in public performances, *Hehaka kaga*, which reminded people of life s origins (Wissler 1912:85).

The Cheyennes viewed the elk with considerable reverence as well, although the symbolic meanings they attached to this animal are not as fully detailed in the ethnographic literature. Elk were seen to have a strong power, which like deer, had good as well as evil ends. They were admired for their ability to endure and escape capture (Grinnell 1972:2:104; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Men who dreamed of elk found their spiritual gifts to be of great assistance (Grinnell

1972:2:104), and in earlier times, they appear to have given special dance performances, *Mo he-tanio*, imitating the powers of elk (Hayden 1982b:281). In later years, these impersonations were performed on the fifth day of the Cheyennes *Massaum* ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:335-336). In the dance, the animal men representing all of the important species in the Cheyenne universe danced and entered an enclosure where they were ritually hunted by members of the Bowstring Society or Contrary Warriors (Hoebel 1960:17). The Cheyennes also had a military organization called the *Himoweyuhkis*, Elk-Scrapers, which, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:56), ranked among their three most important soldier societies. The Cheyennes appear to have associated elk mostly with warfare; they do not appear to have linked this animal to romantic attraction in the same way the Lakotas did. Some of the sexual attributes the Lakotas associate with the elk, the Cheyennes identify with deer.

As is the case with bison, there are no stories, at least in the published literature, that connect elk to any specific areas in the Black Hills. It is likely, however, that elk are strongly associated with Reynold s Prairie in the central hills, not only because a ritually arranged stack of elkhorns was noted there in the 1870s by members of the Black Hills Expedition (Grinnell 1875:78; Ludlow 1875:17), but also because one of the Lakota names for this prairie refers to elk.

Lakota and Cheyenne attitudes towards deer are highly ambivalent (Brown 1992:29-30; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Among the Lakotas, blacktail or mule deer are generally considered sacred messengers of the thunder beings and linked to war (Densmore 1918:195; Beckwith 1930:12n2; Powers 1977:139), but in a few sources (Dorsey, J. 1894:422; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:114-115, 119, 127, 218), they are associated with the North or the East Wind. These deer are identified with endurance and the ability to withstand thirst and deflect bullets (Densmore 1918:125; Standing Bear 1988:56). Blacktail deer dreamers, much like elk dreamers, were able to capture the reflection of others through mirrors or their sacred hoops, and they were also able to strike people dead by their glance (Wissler 1912:90; Powers 1977:58). These dreamers, *Sintesapela inhanblapi*, received medicines for use in healing too (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:137), and they could be either women or men (Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:251-253, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:429-434]). Like elk dreamers, those who dreamt of a blacktail deer held special dances, *Sintesapela kaga* (Wissler 1912:90; Hassrick 1964:239, Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82).

In Lakota traditions, blacktail deer were also connected to the Double-Woman, *Winyan Nupakapika,* a spiritual deer figure able to transform herself into a human form and often appearing as twin sisters (Wissler 1912, 92; Hassrick 1964:191, 230; Howard, J. 1976:42; Sundstrom, L. 2002:102-106). When women dream of this spiritual figure, they are sometimes gifted with exceptional artistic talents in quillwork, beadwork, and quiltmaking (Albers and Medicine 1983; Sundstrom. L.2002). One story about the Hot Springs region and another about Wind Cave allude to this figure (Herman, n.d.; La Pointe 1976:80-84). There are rock art sites in nearby regions of the Black Hills that depict her as well (Sundstrom, L. 2002).

Whitetail deer, on the other hand were linked to the East Wind and sexual danger in Lakota thought (Wissler 1912:94-95; Powers, M. 1986:39-40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:51). They were specifically linked to the figure of the Deer Woman, *Tahca Winyan* (apparently different from the Double-Woman deer), who appears first as a human female but then transforms herself into a deer and disappears. She is featured in a well-known story recorded by Ella Deloria (1978:74-76). Unwary men who encountered this woman subjected themselves to grave danger (Dorsey, J. 1994:450-451; Wissler 1912:94-95; Howard, J. 1976:26; (Ghost Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:273-274 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:468-472]; Tyon in Walker 1980:166-167; Swan in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:52).

Despite some of their ambivalent attitudes towards deer, the Lakotas did hold them in high regard. Deer were associated with the origin of the bow and arrow, which the Lakota learned about at the Race Track (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:310-311, 314). When *Takohe*, the first human to emerge from Wind Cave, makes a young man a *hunka* [relative] and calls him *sunk* [younger brother], he explains the sacred stories and rituals that involve the use of deer hoofs and skins. He shows the young man how to place deerskins on an altar and make them sacred, and he tells him that only certain people who have undertaken special deeds have the privilege to have their hands painted red (Walker 1983:377-378).

The Cheyennes also carried ambivalent attitudes towards deer, whose power, they believed, could be used for good or evil. Wesley Whiteman (in Schwartz 1988:55) described them as tricky because they can turn themselves into other forms including humans. Another Cheyenne, Wooden Leg, told Thomas Marquis (1931:52) that all deer had strong spirit powers. Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes associated blacktail deer with rocky ledges and springs where the females of the species sometimes transformed themselves into twin women (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:49-50). The Cheyennes also believed a whitetail doe could appear as a seductress (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:50-51), but unlike the Lakotas, it was this deer, rather than the elk, that was associated with love medicine (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:104, 135-137). At one time, there was a special medicine society of deer dreamers similar to the Oglalas, but no information has been published on it (Anderson, R. 1956:93).

Pronghorn were highly esteemed by the Cheyennes and frequently identified as spiritual partners (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152-153; Grinnell 1972:2:104), even though few of the spiritual attributes of this animal were ever recorded in the ethnographic literature. There is little on what the Lakotas thought about this animal either. The same holds true for bighorn, which were associated with war medicine among the Lakotas and seen as a source of visionary power (Dorsey, J. 1894:497; Wissler 1912:95; Powers, W. 1977:59). The Cheyennes considered bighorns half mysterious, and they were animals with which people might enter into spiritual partnerships (Petter 1913-15:131). Most of the spiritually significant associations of pronghorn with sites around the Black Hills are reported for the Cheyenne and located to the north in areas along the Belle Fourche River (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Grinnell 1972:1:277). However, a large historic pronghorn hunting pound for the Sicangu Lakotas was reported less than fifty miles due east of the Buffalo Gap at Cache Butte (Hinman 1874:91; Denig in Ewers 1961:17, 18).

c. Carnivores

As with the ungulates, the carnivores are ranked in terms of their relative spiritual importance. While the wolf is the most important and revered species for the Cheyennes, the bear ranks as the highest among the Lakotas. Next to the bison, the bear, especially the grizzly or *Hununpa* [Two-Legged], as he is addressed in sacred discourse (Walker 1980:50, 94), is the most revered land animal in Lakota culture. The Lakotas associate him with numerous qualities including wisdom, courage, and strength (Walker 1980:50-51, 53, 116, 121, 128, 227; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:109-110). Indeed, he is considered the principal guardian of wisdom (Walker 1980: 50-51, 94). With respect to courage, Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:53) had this to say: The bear is not only a powerful animal in body but powerful in will also. He will stand and fight to the last. Though wounded he will not run but will die fighting. The bear is associated with success in warfare, and he is the one to whom appeals are made to insure the proper conduct of most sacred ceremonies (Walker 1980:227, 231, 232).

In James Walker's (1980:50-51, 128) interpretation of Lakota cosmology, the bear was listed with the third ranking Lakota deities of the *Tobtob* (4x4), which included *Tatanka*, the Four Winds, and the Whirlwind. The bear is considered highly *wakan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Lone Bear in Walker 1980:128), a friend of the great spirit (Short Feather in Walker 1980:116), and one of the messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith 1930:12n412). The bear is another animal that embodies the power of the whirlwind (Wissler 1905:262). Although the bear is associated in some contexts with the Thunders and the direction of the West Wind, he is also mentioned as coming from the direction of the North Wind (Densmore 1918:197). Bears, especially the grizzly, were closely linked to herbal medicine and healing (Dorsey, J. 1894:495; Siyaka in Densmore 1918:195; Walker 1980, 116, 161).

Establishing a spiritual relationship with bears is highly regarded by the Lakotas because it allows healers to treat most ordinary forms of sickness. In addition, it enables them to treat the wounded (Wissler 1912:88; Sword in Walker 1980:90, 91; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:178-179, 278; Ingram 1989:182). Indeed, historically, only people who received bear medicine were allowed to treat most kinds of wounds (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Tyon in Walker 1980:161). There are many narratives of Lakota bear dreamers, *Mato inhanblapi*, in the literature and also descriptions of their ceremonial performances, *Mato kaga*, and their spiritual powers (Curtis 1907-30:3:63-64; Densmore 1918:196-197; Hassrick 1964:237, 239, 250; Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:235-238 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:404-407]; Standing Bear 1978:215; 1988:52; Sword in Walker 1980:91-92; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:105; Red Hawk in Walker 1980:136; Tyon Walker 1980:157-159; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 178-179; Powers, W. 1986:187-188; Ingram 1989:182-183; Lewis, T. 1990:106-108). Women, according to Clark Wissler (1912:88) never dream of bears, although Mark St. Pierre and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:21, 138, 144-145, 147, 194, 195) provide several stories of contemporary female bear dreamers. Today, Lakota bear dreamers still practice their healing powers. Although some appear to do so independently, most apply their spiritual talents in making herbal remedies or in conducting *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Feraca 1960:40; Fire and Erdoes 1972:153-154; Lewis 1990:108). Fools Crow, the famous Lakota medicine man, had spiritual partnerships with bears (Mails 1978:165).

More so than the Lakotas, who associated the bear mostly with healing, the Cheyennes appear to have placed more emphasis on its relation to warfare. The bear s strength and courage and its death-defying abilities were much admired by Cheyenne warriors who painted their shields with bear imagery and covered them with bear skins too (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 193). Still, Cheyennes received medicine from bears for healing (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:152-153; Powell 2002a:69). Like bison, bears were associated with caverns and the powers of the deep earth (Moore, J. 1974a:163). The bear was believed to be a great medicine animal because it was not only able to heal itself but also heal other bears (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:105).

In relation to the Black Hills, bears figure mostly in stories that relate to locations in their northern reaches, especially the two outlier formations, Bear Butte and Bear Lodge Butte. They are largely absent in the traditions associated with the southern Hills where Wind Cave National Park is located. This may not be entirely coincidental because, with the exception of Jedediah Smith s encounter with a grizzly, which probably took place in the southern Hills, most of the historic reports, either from European Americans or American Indians, of bear sightings take place farther north in the high elevation interiors or at the base of the Hills or its surrounding outliers, Bear Lodge Butte and Bear Butte.

Wolves and coyotes are highly revered by the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, both of whom envision these carnivores as scouts or spies who are able to communicate with humans in various ways, warning of danger and death and predicting the direction of enemies and bison (Densmore 1918:180; Grinnell 1972:2:17-18, 106-107; Walker 1982:160, 1982:95; Powers 1986:187; Brown 1992:34). Considered highly *wakan* by the Lakotas, wolves were known as messengers of the North Wind, *Waziyata* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980: 101; Red Rabbit in Walker 1980:125; Tyon in Walker 1980:160). Wolves were emulated because they were hardy, fast, and agile (Densmore 1918:71). They were able to produce wind or fog when they howled (Wissler 1912:91; Brown 1992:35). Those who dreamt of wolves were given powers to create foggy weather conditions. A day of dense mist and fog was known as a wolf s day (Wissler 1912:54, 91). Wolves are closely connected to kinnikinick, or bearberry, a plant widely associated with the Black Hills; it was from a spiritual wolf that the Lakotas learned of its use (Standing Bear 1988:103). Historically, wolves were valued for their stealth and ability to come upon a camp unseen (Tyon in Walker 1980:160). According to the Lakota Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:121), the wolf presided over the chase and war parties. In the past, wolf dreamers were especially important to the Lakotas in helping to locate bison because wolves often traveled in the shadows of the herds; these men also played an important role in guiding war parties (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Members of the *Hanskaska*, Chief Society or Big Bellies, were also reported to receive special warnings and directions from wolves in military matters (Wissler 1912:38-39). Wolf figures were highly respected as spiritual helpers, especially by warriors (Densmore 1918:179-183; Hassrick 1964:84; Tyon in Walker 1980:160). The men who dreamed of wolves constituted an informal association, *Sunkmanitu ihanblapi* [wolf dreamers] or *Sunkmanitou kaga* [wolf imitators], and they performed ceremonies to demonstrate their visionary power (Dorsey, J. 1894:480-481; Powers 1977:58; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:82). Wolf Society members were able to cure various sicknesses, but they were most well-known for preparing war medicines and making remedies to remove arrows (Powers, W. 1977:158; Walker 1980:90-91; Standing Bear 1988:103). Wolf dreamers were also known to make highly effective *wotawi* [war amulets] and shields (Wissler 1912:90-91; Walker 1982:95).

In Lakota traditions, the wolf is seen as an ally and partner of *Inktomi* (Walker 1980:129), the Trickster. Indeed, he played a very important role in helping *Inktomi* entice the *Pte Oyate* to the surface of the world in the *Tokahe* story, which is associated with Wind Cave (Walker 1917:181-182). In the past, Lakota sentiments about wolves were often ambivalent. On the one hand they could be associated with nefarious activities as servants of *Anog Ite*, the Double Face woman, or as helpers of *Inktomi* (Walker 1983:376). *Tatanka* and the *Pte Oyate* are often represented in perpetual conflict with wolves and coyotes (Tyon in Walker 1980:121). Wolves and coyotes are depicted as dangerous to humans in sacred liturgical texts associated with fertility and making kin (Walker 1980:222, 229, 231-232, 242, 249). Yet, at the same time, wolves could be represented as a guardians and protectors of people, as in the different renditions of the famous story of the Lakota woman who lived with the wolves (Deloria 1932:121-122; Hassrick 1964:138-139; Pijoan 1992: 66-70; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:115-117). One version of this story takes place in the Black Hills (Herman 1965b:6).

This stands in marked contrast to Cheyenne worldviews where wolves and coyotes are not only seen as companions and helpers to bison, but they occupy some of the more exalted positions in the Cheyennes cosmological order. The Cheyennes regard them as the primary animals that the spiritual masters of game impersonated (Grinnell 1972:2:334-336; Moore, J. 1974a:175-176; Schlesier 1987:98). It was in the Cheyenne s *Massaum* or Animal Dance that the wolf figured most prominently. This ceremony, historically practiced in the Black Hills, was a symbolic recreation of the Cheyenne origin story, where the spirit of a male wolf saves the culture heroes, *Motseyoef* [Sweet Medicine] and *Tomosivsi* [Erect Horn/Stands on the Ground] and instructs

them in the teachings of life (Grinnell 1972:2:285; Schlesier 1987:53-54, 76-80). The ceremony, which lasts five days, involves the making of a wolf lodge that represents the universe before creation and the home of the wolves and their assistants, the foxes, who signify the spirit masters of the animals, released from *heszevoxsz* (the underworld), and who control the hunting of predators, including humans (Grinnell 1972:2 287-291; Schlesier 1987:80-83, 90-92, 98).

George Dorsey (1905:34) stated that the Cheyennes believe the wolf is the most tricky and cunning of all the animals and the friendliest one as well (Grinnell 1972:2:125). Wolves are much respected as spiritual guardians (Ibid:112-113), and historically, it was considered an honor for wolves and their brothers, the coyotes, to eat the flesh of dead warriors left on the prairie (Ibid:163). In the past, wolves were also strongly associated with warfare in Cheyenne traditions (Ibid:72), and Cheyenne men, who were able to interpret the howling of wolves, turned back on a war party if a wolf was killed (Ibid:105). Wolves were important spiritual partners not only in warfare but also in hunting, and they played a role in medicines associated with love and courtship (Moore, J. 1974a:175-176).

The coyote is also highly venerated by the Cheyennes. It is an animal that *Ma heo* sent to wander over the earth (Dorsey, G. 1905:20). This animal is believed to talk to people, and some men have the ability to interpret the coyote s howl (Dorsey, G. 1905:20; Grinnell 1972:2:105). George Bird Grinnell (Ibid.) states that coyotes have always been considered more sacred than wolves, possibly because they are more intelligent. The Cheyennes once prayed to coyotes, asking them to lead, guide, and warn them of danger (Ibid.). Coyotes are also one of the animals that assist the Cheyennes in doctoring (Ibid:151). In earlier times, they were also associated with warfare because of their intelligence and powers of endurance (Dorsey, G. 1905:19).

Lakota attitudes towards the coyote are highly ambivalent. The coyote is considered by some to be a cunning and sly animal. In the past, their howls and droppings were reported to reveal the presence of enemies (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:213-214, 217, 335-336). Coyotes were known to give information on the whereabouts of bison and sacred plants in visions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:208, 225), and today, they are seen as a source of healing power (Fire and Erdoes 1972:135-136; Ingram 1989:189). The coyote is also described as the symbol of singers (Young Bear and Theisz 1994:73) and as a bearer of good news (Curtis 1909-1930:3:74). Joe Flying By, a well-known Lakota religionist from Standing Rock (in Ingram 1989:190) talked about them as follows:

> The coyotes are part of the *Sunka oyate*, the Dog nation. Dogs, foxes, wolves, coyotes, prairie dogs -- these are all relatives in the *Sunka oyate.* They were the last of the sacred people who came to the world.

But according to James Walker (1983:350-351), the coyote was considered mischievous, associated with theft, cowardice, treachery, and other shameful behavior. In two important Lakota ceremonies, the *Hunka* and the *Pte San Lowampi,* the officiates warned participants against befriending the coyote because he would cause trouble (Walker 1980:231-232, 249).

Among many tribal nations of the West, the coyote is the central figure of their trickster stories. Ella Deloria (1978:29) noted that he played this role in certain Lakota stories too, including one she collected entitled, The Coyote and the Bear , (Ibid:27-29). When coyote is not playing the role of *Inktomi*, the Lakota s central trickster figure, he is often depicted as *Inktomi s* companion. Coyote and the wolf once entrapped *Inktomi* in his nefarious schemes, but *Inktomi* eventually made them his allies with the promise that he would do nothing to make them

ashamed (Walker 1983:296). Indeed, Old Horse told Walker (1980:129) that *Iktomi*[15] rides wolves and coyotes. Coyote stands opposed to *Itokagata*, the South Wind, and like the bison and the wolf, he serves as an associate of *Waziya*, the giant, the old man, and/or *Waziyata,* the North Wind.

In contrast to coyotes, the Lakotas consistently respected foxes. They were revered for their persistent strength and courage, wily, clever, and cunning nature, as well as their gentleness, nimbleness, and swiftness (Wissler 1912:14; Standing Bear 1978:143, 215; Brown 1992:27). The fox was the symbol of one of the most important military societies among the Lakotas, the *Tokala* or Kit Foxes. This society was formed to keep order and harmony in Lakota camps and to protect and oversee their movements, and in some Lakota traditions, the origins of this society and its regalia are associated with Red Canyon in the southern Hills and Warbonnet Creek at the southern base of the Hills (Wissler 1912:72; LaPointe 1979:54-55). Its members also policed some of the hunts, and they went out against tribes who invaded Lakota lands (Wissler 1912:14-23; Standing Bear 1978:143-147; No Flesh in Walker 1980:193; Tyon in Walker 1980:268). Foxes were commonly associated with warriors and warfare, but they were also known to have knowledge of medicine and healing. Like other members of the canine family, the fox was regarded as highly *wakan* (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980: 101).

The fox was also much admired by the Cheyennes. John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:60) described the swift fox as a beautiful animal, fleet of foot, who never lets his prey get away from him. As among the Lakotas, these qualities recommended the fox as a guardian for warriors (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 374; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:60). Indeed, the fox served as a symbol for one of the Cheyenne s military societies, the *Wohkesh hetaniu*, originally created by Sweet Medicine (Grinnell 1972:2:48, 374; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:60). No evidence was uncovered on any connection of foxes to medicine and curing in Cheyenne traditions or to any specific landform and region in the Black Hills.

Another highly regarded carnivore was the badger. The Cheyennes and the Lakotas view the badger as a very powerful animal (Grinnell 1972:2:105; Walker 1980:169). Iron Shell, a Lakota, told Royal B. Hassrick (1964:168):

> The badger is very strong. When a man kills a badger, if he turns it on its back, cuts open its chest and carefully removes its insides so that no blood is lost, when the blood thickens, by looking in the hunter can see his image. Should he see himself as he is, he knows he will die young. But if he sees himself as an old man with white hair, he cries, Hye, hye, thanking the spirits. Now he knows he can risk getting many coup and will live long to die with a cane in his hand.

Other Lakotas report the same kind of divination practice (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133; Tyon in Walker 1980:170), and the Cheyennes have described this as well (Petter 1913-15:74; Grinnell 1972:2:26-27; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:29). Among the Lakotas, badgers, like bears, are closely associated with herbs and healing, especially for children (Brown 1997:23). Eagle Shield told Francis Densmore (1918:266) that whenever he dug for certain kinds of roots, he left some tobacco for the badger. This was another animal that stood as a symbol for an important Lakota military organization, the *Ihoka*, which was entrusted with policing communal buffalo hunts, supervising the distribution of meat, and keeping order in the larger hunting encampments (Hassrick 1964:16, 173, 203; Walker 1982:32). When Cheyennes offered a pipe to the earth, it was

[15] *Inktomi* is also known as *Ikto* or *Iktomi.*

dedicated in part to the badger (Grinnell 1972:2:105). The Cheyennes associated the badger with the feminine principal and the deep earth (Moore, J. 1974a:163), and they believed that badgers cleansed the blood spots from their Sacred Arrows when they were renewed. They also thought of the animal as a wise counselor (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

Members of the feline family, including mountain lions, lynxes, and bobcats, were considered very powerful by the Lakotas and Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:256; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101), but there is hardly any information about them in ethnographic sources for either tribal nation. Also, most of the species in the mustelid family have not been identified with any elaborate system of beliefs. Other than the badger and also the skunk, who was also associated with warfare and healing in the cultural traditions of these two tribes (Grinnell 1972:2:104; Brown 1992:34), little has been reported on the other species in this family, including weasels, ferrets, and minks, except that they were regarded as sacred and powerful (Bordeaux 1929:113; Buechel 1970:242; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Tyon in Walker 1980:168). David White (2002:160) notes that modern Lakotas place these small carnivores in high regards because of their fighting spirit and associate them with military matters. In the case of the Cheyennes, John Moore (1974a:240) argues that they classify most members of the mustelid family (excepting badgers and skunks) with the felines because of the strong odor of their urine. He also reports that they do not have any special religious significance. None of these carnivores are reported, at least in published sources, to have any special links with particular sites in the Black Hills, although some may very well be connected to locations where more private, individual spiritual encounters take place.

d. Small Herbivores

Among the smaller species of herbivorous mammals, only some appear to have occupied a special place in tribal cosmological traditions. The Lakotas respected rabbits for their industry and their ability to travel at night, and thus, they were sometimes associated with warfare (Beckwith, M. 1930:380). Among both the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, rabbits were connected to the Sun Dance because they symbolized the humble qualities people must exhibit when seeking spiritual gifts (Black Elk in Brown 1971:81; Grinnell 1972:1:218). The Lakotas considered them sacred (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101) and guardians of work, provision, and of domestic faithfulness (Black Elk in Brown 1971:121; Standing Bear 1988:61-63, 104). Historically, beavers were identified as messengers of the Thunders (Beckwith 1930:12n412) and probably connected to the West Wind. Although porcupines appear throughout the storytelling traditions of the Lakotas and Cheyennes, not much has been written about their particular spiritual qualities either. The only information found on the Lakotas is the association of the porcupine with the East Wind (Walker 1983:354, 404 n72), and its connection to the Sun (Brown 1992:102, Sundstrom. L. 2002:108). Like the tail feathers of an eagle, porcupine quills were identified with the Sun s rays (Brown 1992:102). For the Cheyennes, there is an important and sacred story of the origin of quillwork that can be linked, at least indirectly, to the Buffalo Gap; the origin of quillwork came from the same man who married a buffalo woman and followed her to her people (Grinnell 1972:1:160-164:2:385-391). The Buffalo Wife story comes from the Suhtaio division of the tribe, and in some renditions (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-480), it is related to the Great Race of the animals which started at the Buffalo Gap and crossed lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park.

Because of their burrowing habits, the Lakotas considered prairie dogs especially sacred (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). As one unidentified Lakota shaman put it, Everything has a spirit. A prairie dog has a spirit. A prairie dog has two

spirits: one the spirit like a tree and one the spirit like the breath of life. The breath of life is given by *Wakanskanskan* (in Walker 1980:118). This power of movement, which the prairie dog shared with the deer and the grouse, prevented hunters from hitting them (Standing Bear 1988:57). Standing Bear (1988:158-159) described some of their habits:

> Prairie dogs were known as little farmers, for they cleared the ground about their dwelling places and soon after there began to grow a plant upon which they lived. Whether they had a system of planting or not we never found out, but it was noticeable that wherever these little animals took up their abode their food plants soon took the place of weeds. Neither did we ever see a prairie dog town in the process of changing location though it was done quite often. If these animals traveled overland they left no trails, though within their towns the trails were numerous, so it was supposed that they dug tunnels through which they traveled in a body. Yet at that we were mystified when they moved their towns from one side of a stream to the other. The deserted towns of the prairie-dog seemed to be refertilized, no doubt on account of the air and water that got into the soil, for they soon were covered with grass that afforded excellent feed for our stock. These grassy places we traveled with care, for when the prairie-dogs moved out, the rattlesnakes moved in.

He also observed that the clean soil found around their towns was used to heal wounds (Standing Bear 1978:215). The Cheyennes also linked the prairie dog to cultivation. They saw a relationship between corn and prairie dogs, both of which emerged from under the ground on small mounds. Prairie dog teeth were likened to kernels of corn because of their yellow coloration — a color also connected symbolically to a newborn bison s coat (Anderson 1958; Moore, J. 1974a: 164).

William Bordeaux (1929:108) reported that prairie dogs were closely associated with herbal medicine among the Lakotas and that people who dreamed of this animal possessed secret medical knowledge on the use of certain plants. William Powers (1982:13) explains that soils brought up from underneath the earth by prairie dogs and badgers contain the purifying properties of the underworld, and as a result, they are considered especially efficacious for healing and religious activity. Elsewhere, he notes that animals who burrow in the earth are held sacred because they transverse the space between subterranean environments and the earth s surface in a manner that mirrors the Lakotas own story of their emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986: 113, 162). Insofar as prairie dogs, badgers, voles, and other burrowing animals dig up earth connected to the Race Track or the subterranean world of the bison at Wind Cave, they would be especially significant to the Lakotas. The soils they bring to the earth s surface from these locations would also have considerable cultural importance, especially for use in the making of ceremonial altars.

The smallest of the herbivores, the squirrels, chipmunks, voles, mice, rats, and shrews are mentioned in Lakota and Cheyenne stories told to children (Gilmore 1919:96; Ewers 1961:11; Hassrick 1964:179; Grinnell 1972:1:149, 254; Standing Bear 1978:57; Walker 1983:271, 371), and some are reported to serve as spiritual partners (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:116-117). Whatever special symbolic or spiritual significance is attached to them has not been elaborated upon in the sources we reviewed, although many of the stories about mice are associated with the value of generosity and reciprocity. One notable exception is the pocket gopher. Pocket gophers were considered sacred and feared because they were believed to shoot people with the tip of a certain grass that causes scrofulous lesions (Dorsey, J. 1894:496; Standing Bear 1988:62; Tyon in Walker 1980:169). Possibly related to this belief, the pocket gopher was strongly associated with warfare. The pulverized dirt found around gopher holes was used as a war medicine. Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:135 n25, 337, 340) reported that the famous Lakota medicine man Chips gave some of this dirt to Crazy Horse for protection in battle, and he also told about his own

vision of a gopher that transformed itself into a herb used in war and able to destroy a nation (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:135, 137). The Cheyennes believe that the loose soil around the gopher s hole is highly dangerous and capable of causing cancer and other diseases (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Historically, they avoided the places where these animals built their mounds (Petter 1913-15:519). The idea that the dirt around gopher hills is powerful is connected with a wider belief applied to other animals who burrow in the ground that was discussed briefly in relation to prairie dogs and that also applies to voles (Powers, W.1992:160).

e. Crawling Insects

Like mammals that burrow in the ground, ants are held in high regard by the Lakotas because they constantly move between the subterranean world and the earth s surface (Powers, W. 1986:113). Ants are known to afflict people with disease, but they are also strongly associated with healing in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions (Grinnell 1972:2:138; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:195). An ant appears in one of the Lakotas Falling Star stories and provides the hero protection in his travels (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:400, 405, 409). Little material exists on other crawling insects in either the Lakota or Cheyenne sources reviewed for this report.

3. Creatures of the Water

The Lakotas, along with the Cheyennes, hold the idea that certain insects, amphibians, and reptiles were especially sacred because they were able to transverse more than one tier of the cosmos (Powers, W. 1982:13). All of the creatures that swim and many of those that crawl on the land including reptiles, amphibians, fish, and mollusks, were associated with the powers of water. Reptiles, which are typically identified as land rather than water animals, were believed to have aquatic origins. Rather than being associated with the ground water of lakes, rivers, and springs, they were connected to water through the action of thunder, lightning, and rainfall. Lizards, frogs, and turtles for example, were simultaneously linked to the earth and the sky because, according to William Powers (1986:162), it was believed...that these species fell to the earth during rainstorms. This idea was also recorded in the ethnographic writings of George Bushotter (in Dorsey, J. 1889: 136). A similar belief also exists among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1974a:157).

In Lakota traditions, lizards are the *akicita* of the Thunders, and in information given by Thomas Tyon, William Garnett, Thunder Bear, George Sword, and John Blunt Horn (in Walker 1982:104), they are associated with increase, nourishment, and growth. They are also linked with healing (St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:183). In some references, however, the lizard is considered the messenger of the Thunders enemy, the *Unktehi*, a class of water spirits (Seven Rabbits in Walker 1980:118; Dorsey, J. 1894:482). The Cheyennes admire the small quick moving lizards for their swift motion and ability to kill snakes. Lizards are considered powerful war charms, giving courage to their wearers and the power to move quickly and escape bullets and arrows (Grinnell 1972:2:110, 111). The Lakotas also admire them because they are known to kill snakes (Bordeaux 1929:113). The Cheyennes do not kill lizards, and if they do so accidentally, they make offerings to them. The Cheyennes also believe that the power associated with lizards is a source of protection but a danger too. In earlier times, certain doctors specialized in treating afflictions caused by this animal (Grinnell 1972:2:131).

Pouches in the shape of a lizard are made by the Lakotas to hold the umbilical cord of male infants in order to protect them from danger, especially the malevolent, *Anog-Ite*, the Two Faced Woman, who is seen as an enemy of the *Wakinyan* or Thunders (Standing Bear 1978:184; Tyon,

Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword and Blunt Horn in Walker 1982:104; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). William Powers (1986:162) elaborates further on the symbolism associated with lizards:

> The lizard can disappear easily into small crevices and therefore represents not only areas above the earth and the earth s surface but also places beneath the earth. The word t elanuns e means almost dead and refers to the fact that the lizard can deceive enemies by holding itself very still. It is also regarded as capable of living to an old age, which is also true of the other creatures in this category.

Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes make pouches in the shape of a lizard and also a salamander to hold an infant s umbilical cord (Grinnell 1972:2:110; Rockroads in Leman 1987:214), a practice followed by the Arapahos, who also make small paint bags in the likeness of lizards (Trenholm 1970:60, 73).

Turtles are associated with protection in Cheyenne and Lakota traditions too. In contrast to lizards, which are typically linked to male symbolism, turtles are generally connected to female imagery. The turtle s simultaneous link with earth and water imbues it with feminine and procreative symbolism in Lakota cosmology (Meeker 1901:163; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:112). The Lakotas believe that the turtle spirit is a wise protector of life. Its shield protects it from being wounded; thus, it is associated with powers over surgery, accidents, conception, birth, infants, and illnesses specific to women (Walker 1917:147; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Walker 1980:249). In the *Pte San Lowanpi*, the turtle was held up as an animal for young women to emulate because it hears many things and does not tell anything (Walker 1980:249). As with lizards, pouches to hold an infant s umbilical cord are often made in the shape of a turtle (Wissler 1904:241). The Cheyennes also consider the turtle a sacred animal because it is difficult to kill (Marriott and Rachlin 1975:78; Grinnell 1972:1:193). Like the Lakotas, the Cheyennes connect the turtle to the womb and birth (Petter 1913-15:1072), and they place an infant s umbilical cord in pouches made in the form of a turtle (Grinnell 1972:2:110). The Cheyennes consider it a very sacred animal, and link it to the time when the earth was still shrouded in a primordial mist (Petter 1913-15:489, 1072; Northern Cheyenne Language and Culture Center 1976:116). Cheyenne doctors also appeal to turtles in some of their healing treatments (Grinnell 1972:1:146).

Unlike other reptiles, which are highly valued by the Lakotas, snakes are generally feared and avoided (Brown 1992:40; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:113). Snakes are seen as sly and deceitful (Tyon in Walker 1980:122), and dreams of them generally portend death and disaster (Dorsey, J. 1894:479-80). In the past, they were considered the messengers of the much reviled water creatures, the *Unktehi* (Tyon in Walker 1980:118). Indeed, Good Seat (in Walker 1980:71) claimed that the spirits of this bad animal did not move on to the spirit world. In a Falling Star story, a snake is asked to raise the hero, but he declines saying No, I am the most unliked and most pitiful animal of all. I have no legs and have to crawl on my stomach and I eat dirt and can t get around much. I am not liked and I am not fit to raise him (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:397). In contrast, the Cheyennes and the Arapahos hold the snake in much higher regard. In the Arapaho creation story, the garter snake sacrificed itself by becoming the circumference of the universe. The outer rim of the Arapahos sacred Wheel has one end tapered like the tail of a snake and the other fashioned into its head (Trenholm 1970:56; Harrod 1997:51). The Cheyennes believe the blue racer, which came from the sun, possesses great power (Grinnell 1972:1:150).

According to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:122), frogs were closely associated with occult powers among the Lakotas. They were also viewed as the soldiers of the Thunders, *Wakinyan*

(Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear Sword and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101). The Cheyennes probably linked frogs to the thunders too because tadpoles were painted on the ankles of the blacktail deer dancers in their Sun Dance (Powell 1969:834). William Powers (1986:162) notes that the Lakotas view frogs as mediators between earth and water. Along with toads, they are linked with certain methods of healing among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Densmore 1948: 179; Grinnell 1972:1: 111, 150-151, 2:135; Tyon in Walker 1980:161; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:197).

Finally, Lakotas consider fish *wakan*, a patron of abolition, and a source of healing power connected to water (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, and Sword in Walker 1980:101; Tyon in Walker 1980:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:139). The Cheyennes also linked fish to healing (Grinnell 1972:2:151). Although both tribes have respect for the powers of fish, there are few details on what these entail in the ethnographic materials consulted for this report. Unlike mammals, there is little in the literature that connects water creatures to the area of Wind Cave National Park. There may very well be links to some of the park s springs or the neighboring Hot Springs, but none of these are reported in the sources we covered for this report.

4. Spiders

The spider is one of the most significant spiritual presences in Lakota cosmology and important to the Cheyennes as well. In both tribal traditions, the spiritual figure of the trickster is revealed in the form of a spider (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:35). The trickster is seen, according to Thomas Tyon (in Walker 1980:122), as the presiding genius of pranks and practical jokes with power to work magic over persons and things. Spider is the first animal of creation, the first to develop language and thus the one to name all other animals. He is cunning yet hapless, deceitful yet naive, arrogant yet cowardly; he is a creator and a destroyer, a quintessential symbol of cosmic foible and contradiction (Brown 1992:47-48). The spider appears in a wide range of traditional stories, many of which were used to instruct children (Grinnell 1926; Deloria 1978). But he also appears among the Lakotas as a central figure in their creation narratives (Walker 1983).

In many ways, the spider defies easy categorization in tribal cosmologies and naming practices. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:47) notes in reference to the Lakotas, the spider is special because it transcends classification because it carries features that tie it to all categories of animals. The spider is also powerful because it can move across all of the spaces in the Lakota and Cheyenne cosmos from the underworld to the sky, and because it makes a web that replicates the universe and reaches out to the four directions (Wissler 1904:248-249; Grinnell 1972:2:88-89; Powers, W. 1986:156). Luther Standing Bear (1978:26-27) told a story that reflects the spider s ubiquitous presence as follows:

> A Lakota brave was once holding his vigil and fasting. In his vision there came to him a human figure all in black. The person in black handed to the brave a plant and said, Wrap this plant in a piece of buckskin and hang it in your tipi. It will keep you in good health. When the brave asked who was speaking to him, the figure answered, I can walk on the water and I can go beneath the water. I can walk on the earth, and I can go into the earth. Also I can fly in the air. I can do more work than any other creature, and my handiwork is everywhere yet no one knows how I work. I am Spider. Go home and tell your people that the Spider has spoken to you. This happened long ago, but the Lakotas still use the Spider s medicine.

Spiders are also described as mysterious and spiritually wise (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101; Powers, W. 1986:155-156); they are among a select group of spiritual figures that are appealed to in most major Lakota ceremonies (Walker 1980: 208). They are also widely associated with healing power (Powers 1992:156-157; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110-111, 156). George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:111) also wrote that the spider was an animal the Cheyennes associated with medicine, although he did not specify the nature of the connection.

Another source of the spider s power is its link to the Thunders, also descended from *Inyan*. According to William Powers (1986:156), the Thunders are the only living beings that can attack spiders without fear of retaliation. There are a couple accounts about the dangerous consequences of killing spiders without offering them prayers (Dorsey, J. 1894:479; Tyon in Walker 1980:170). Historically, at least, the Lakotas believed the spider s web to be indestructible, and they often imitated its design to ward off the dangers of the Thunders (Wissler 1904:44). The design was also used to deflect other sorts of danger too (Powers, W. 1986:159). Generally speaking, the spider was appealed to and imitated in a wide variety of contexts where people required protection.

The Lakotas also attached other symbolic associations to the spider, notably its connection to technology and industry. Oscar Howe (in St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:49-50) told a story of how the spider design, *tohokmu*, came to the people. In this story, a young hunter, while searching for game, took shelter in a cave and fell asleep. When he awoke the next morning, he saw a beautiful web above his head. Because he admired it and did not bring harm to its maker, the spider gifted him with knowledge of a hill where stones for making arrowheads could be found. She also instructed him how to make the arrowheads, a technology that the Lakotas believe was invented by spiders. In Lakota traditions, there is a fundamental connection between the spiritual powers of spiders and stones (Powers, W. 1982:12-13). Arrowheads and stone clubs abandoned on the prairie are commonly attributed to the work of spiders (DeMallie 1984:311n6; Brown 1992:47). In *Yuwipi* ceremonies, spiders and stones are often addressed simultaneously and even interchangeably in prayer and song (Powers, W. 1986:156-157).

The industry of the spider was not only linked to the making of arrowheads, but it was also associated with women s work. In the buffalo sing for a young woman, the intercessor says, A spider, a turtle, the voice of the lark, a brave man, children, a smoking tipi (Walker 1980:249). According to Walker (1980:249), the spider served as a model for an industrious woman who pvides adequate food and shelter for her children. Indeed, women who excel at quillwork often linked their abilities to the spiritual influence of the spider (Sundstrom. L. 2002:106).

There is still another symbolic association and that is, the connection of the spider s web to the Four Winds and the Whirlwind. Like the whirlwind and its associates, the dragonfly and butterfly, the spider is understood to emerge from a cocoon, which holds the power that gives rise to its own movement and life force. In many ways, cocoons and caves are symbolic equivalents in so far as they both represent enclosed spaces where life is incubated, awaiting rebirth and regeneration (Brown 1992:49).

Finally, the spider s web, *tawogmunke*, [meat trap] or *tawokaske* [to tie or imprison meat][16] was also associated with trickery and entrapment in Lakota traditions, especially in matters of romantic interest (Buechel 1970:485; Powers, W. 1986:152). Like the hoop of the elk dreamer, the spider s web had the power to attract and catch a member of the opposite sex (Brown 1992:

[16] In these two words, ta is a contraction of *talo* or meat. In the first word, *wogmunke* means a trap: thus, the translation meat trap. In the second, *wokaske* refers to a tie (or knot) or the action of something being tied.

49), and so the spider s image was often painted on the lower corner of a courting robe (Wissler 1905:267).

Spider symbolism is connected to the area of Wind Cave National Park in several different ways. First, and perhaps most importantly, it is the spider that uses its guile and trickery to bring *Tokahe* and other humans to the earth s surface from their underground home at Wind Cave. Secondly, spiders are connected to the power of the Four Winds, whose life force is enveloped within and emerges from a chrysalis formation, which like a cave connects the spiritual and physical side of all life. And finally, the spider is closely linked to art and manufacture, especially the making of objects from flint found in many outcroppings in the park.

In concluding, the Lakotas and Cheyennes imbue the animals in their respective universes with diverse spiritual attributes, which are of considerable significance to humans as a source of protection, health, and general well-being. Their whereabouts, but especially their spiritual homes of origin, many of which are associated with the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park in particular, remain a matter of great importance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes in the practice of their religions and other cultural traditions. Today, it is the spiritual side of the human connection to animals that is most strongly upheld in their relationship to Wind Cave National Park and its environs.

VI. UTILIZATION PATTERNS

The importance of animals to the well-being of local tribes is not only evidenced in their reverential attitudes towards them, but also in the considerable knowledge they hold about their physical features, habits, and habitats. The Lakotas and Cheyennes hold complex naming systems for important species. This is especially true for the bison, for which they had as many as twenty different names that distinguished this animal by its sex, age, size, and other significant characteristics (see Appendix A). They also had an elaborate system of knowledge about animal anatomy and the uses to which different body parts could be put (see Figure 2). The Cheyennes and Lakotas used the body parts of animals for a wide variety of different purposes such as food and medicine, for shelter and tools, and in ritual and ceremony. Although some of these uses are described here, the reader is advised to consult Appendix A for more detailed information on this subject organized by the order and species of various animals.

A. As Food

A wide range of animals were taken as food by the tribal nations who lived in the region of the Black Hills, but the flesh of ruminant species was their main staple. Of the different ungulates that the Lakotas and Cheyennes consumed, bison provided a major source of meat, and nearly all parts of the animal were consumed (Curtis 1907-30:3:38; Ewers 1938:16; Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:255). In reference to the Lakotas, James Walker (1982:74) wrote:

> Some products of the buffalo were used in almost everything that the Oglalas did in their daily life, but the most important was the supply of food. They ate every part of the animal which could be masticated; for instance, they considered the testicles of the bulls a choice part and the fetus boiled in the water from the gravid uterus a great delicacy.

The tongue and the gristles around the nostrils were considered delicacies and often served at ceremonial feasts (Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255). The raw liver soaked in gall was highly prized and believed to enhance courage and bravery, while the equally de-

sirable raw kidneys were seen as necessary for good health (Bordeaux 1929:126; Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Standing Bear 1978:54; Walker 1982:64, 93-94; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Pancreas and tripe were favorite dishes too (Grinnell 1972:1: 255; Standing Bear 1978:54). The flesh from the hump of the buffalo was relished and served on ceremonial occasions; the elders favored this meat because of its tenderness (Ewers 1938:16; Hassrick 1964:190; Walker 1982:64; Brown 1992:14). Other pieces of meat desired by the elders included the layer of meat that lies along the stomach and another that follows the hide along the back (Brown 1992:14). The brains were used to thicken soups (Standing Bear 1978:54), and the small intestines were made into sausages with bits of boiled or roasted meat, blood, and/or tallow (Bordeaux 1929:126; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). The bones were split and the contents eaten, or they were boiled to release the marrow, a necessary ingredient in the making of pemmican (Grinnell 1972: 1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). The lungs were cut open, dried and roasted over coals (Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255), and the many plies, testicles, eyes, and glands of the calf envelope were also consumed (Bordeaux 1929:126; Ewers 1938:16). The shavings from scraped hides were used as thickeners in making soups and puddings. Hide scrapings were also consumed during difficult times, and even rawhide containers could be boiled and eaten under emergency circumstances (Ewers 1938:16). As John Ewers (1938:16) wrote: But in times of food shortage all parts of the buffalo, save the glands of the neck, the sinews, bull s pizzle, horns, hoofs, and hair were eaten. The salivary glands were probably not eaten because a number of tribes in the northern plains believed that the light-colored tissues of these organs retained the remnants of human flesh from the time the bison were the predators and humans their prey (Grinnell 1926: 93; Geist 1996:35).

Bison meat was butchered and prepared in many different ways. Some of the internal organs were eaten raw, but most food parts were either boiled in soups or roasted over hot coals (Bordeaux 1929:126; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386). Much of the meat from the loins and back of the animal was cut into long slices and dried in the sun on large racks, or it was smoked over hot coals inside the lodge. After being dried, it was usually pounded and combined with dried fruit and tallow in small cakes, commonly called pemmican (Grinnell 1972:1:255; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:386; Brown 1992:14). Some of the Lakotas favorite cooked bison dishes, as reported in Ferdinand Hayden s early writings (1862:370), included a boiled mixture of blood, brain, rosebuds, and rawhide scrapings and a stew of wild turnips or beans combined with beaver tail and the dried paunch of a bison. In modern times, a soup made from the intestines of bison, mixed with wild turnips and corn, is still served on special occasions (Albers 1966-1976).

For the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the three species of *Cervidae*, elk, mule deer, and whitetail deer provided important meat staples too. From the late fall through the early months of spring, their flesh was consumed as much as bison (Densmore 1918:447; Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257). Indeed, next to bison, elk and deer were the major sources of meat for the Lakotas who lived in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Ewers 1938:17; Hassrick 1964:164). Deer flesh was the meat that the Lakotas favored most after buffalo, and they considered it especially healthy because of the fresh leaves and berries on which this animal fed (Brown 1992:16, 30). Studies of browse utilization by deer in the Black Hills confirms this: ground juniper, bur oak, ponderosa pine, hop hornbeam, Oregon grape, bearberry, chokecherry, buffaloberry, blue aster, pussytoes, wild rose, and yucca are among the nutritious plants they consume (Turner 1974:140).

Pronghorns were a significant source of meat for the Cheyennes and Lakotas, and once again, they were probably as important in local diets as buffalo during certain seasons (Hoebel 1960:64; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Grinnell 1972:1:257). Big-horn flesh was

highly valued in tribal diets as well, but it was probably not eaten as often as the meat of other ungulates (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Grinnell 1972:1:272, 277; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Hoebel 1960:64; Brown 1997:17).

In Lakota and Cheyenne cultures, with the exception of a few species, carnivores were not usually taken as a source of food. The young puppies of coyotes and wolves were sometimes eaten by the Cheyennes (Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:256, 2:198). Yet, George Bird Grinnell (1972:2:105) claims that in earlier times no one killed coyotes. The Cheyennes, however, occasionally hunted adult wolves for their meat (Hoebel 1960:64; Grinnell 1972:1:256, 2:198). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9), an elderly Cheyenne woman, reported that their meat was desirable, but Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:90) claimed that the flesh of older wolves was unpalatable and eaten only when other food was scarce. Although the Lakotas commonly ate the puppies of domesticated dogs on ceremonial occasions, only one source (Bordeaux 1929:126) mentions the consumption of wolves. There are no reports of foxes being hunted for food by either tribe.

The cubs of various wild cats were eaten by the Cheyennes, but only in times of starvation (Grinnell 1972:1:256). Some Lakotas were also known to eat feline flesh, but, as Hayden (1862b: 140) reported, their consumption was considered very dangerous (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168; Walker 1980:169). Thomas Tyon told James Walker (1980:169):

> Whoever mutilates *(wicayupxun)* a mountain lion or a wild cat or even a house cat will have terrible things happen to him, it is said. That man s hand leg or foot becomes completely dislocated (iataya napxunpsun), it is said. Therefore, nobody eats cats, they believe. They are very afraid of them, all cats. This is the end of information on cats. So it is.

Royal B. Hassrick (1964:199) also reported that people had to take care when butchering wildcats and not tear their joints. Otherwise, they would suffer joint pain. The Cheyennes also ate bear meat (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90), and the Lakotas did so too, especially on ceremonial occasions (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:157).

The Cheyennes and Lakotas considered badger flesh a delicacy (Beckwith, M. 1930:381; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:169; Grinnell 1972:1:256), and both tribes consumed skunk meat was as well. In fact, the Lakotas thought skunk was good for making people fat (Left Heron in Beckwith 1930:380-381, 420; Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Hassrick 1964:168; Grinnell 1972:1:256). Other mustelids, such as ferrets, weasels, and minks, are not reported as a food source. William Bordeaux (1929:126) claimed the Lakotas never ate these small animals.

Several of the smaller herbivorous species were also believed to be a good source of meat. All species of rabbits were eaten and considered good food (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Denig in Ewers 1961:13). Porcupines were widely hunted not only for their quills but also their flesh (Denig in Ewers 1961:13; Lyford 1940:42). As Standing Bear (1975:16-17) wrote referring to his childhood: In those days we used to eat porcupine. Every portion of the body was used. The meat of the beaver was highly prized by both tribes as well (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Grinnell 1972:1:296), and again, Standing Bear (1988:63) wrote: The meat of the beaver is quite good, the tail being entirely of fat. When cooked, this tail tastes something like cheese, and we ate it with our lean meat like bread. Squirrels were also a favorite food, especially of elderly Lakota women who boiled the meat until it was so tender it did not have to be chewed (Hassrick 1964:168). Finally, prairie dogs were

TABLE 2. Selected Lakota Names for the Body Parts of Bison and Other Animals

Bladder	*Waloh egnaka*
Brain	*Tanasula*
Breast	*Tatahpa*
.....(breast-bone)	*Tamakuhu*
Colon	*Tascup owotanla*
Diaphram	*Tapa ga*
Dung	*Tacesli*
.....(bison)	*Ptece*
Ear (bison)	*Ptenakpa*
Eye (bison)	*Pteista*
Fat	*Cesiksice*
Flank	*Tucuste*
Flesh (in general)	*Talo*
(near knee)	*Tahuwapahpa*
(below knee)	*Tanapkan*
(foreleg)	*Tanawicite*
Gall	*Tapizi*
Gullet	*Tawinapce*
Hair	*Tahin*
Heart	*Tacanta*
.....(A piece of fat attached to the heart)	*Tacantopazan*
Hide	*Tahuka*
Intestines	*Tasupa*
Kidney	*Tajontka*
Kidney fat	*Tapaksin*
Liver	*Tapi*
Mouth (roof of)	*Tacaka*
Muscle	*Tahpiyogin*
Neck	*atahu*
Nerve	*takan*
.....(nerve running over back)	*Tacankasluta*
Paunch (bison)	*Taniga Nige*
.....(thin layer of fat covering paunch)	*Tacejiksica*
Pericardium	*Tacanta ogin*
Rib	*Tucuhu*
Shoulder	*Tablo*
	Tahinyete
Shoulder Blade	*Tablohu*
Shoulder Sinew	*Tablokan*
Spleen	*Tapisleca*
Spine .....(first bones of bison s spinal column)	*Tacan hahake*
Stomach	*Tapo*
Tail	*Tasinta*
Tendon	*takan*
Tongue	*Taceji*
Udder	*Taza*
Urine	*Talejaf*
Wind-Pipe	*Taglogloska*
Womb	*Tatamani*

[*Drawn from Buechel 1970: 472-486, 663, 675]

taken for their meat, which was considered very tasty (Vestal 1934:7; Hassrick 1964:168; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Moore, J. 1974a:164; Standing Bear 1988:158-159). The smallest herbivorous mammals, mice, gophers, voles, and shrews, are not reported as a source of food in either tribe.

Traditionally at least, animals associated with the sky were viewed as a means of protection rather than a source of nourishment. All game birds, many species of shorebirds and waterbirds, and some small land birds, however, were taken as food. The eggs of these and other kinds of birds were relished, commonly collected by women and children, and boiled for consumption (Bordeaux 1929:131; Hassrick 1964:169; Grinnell 1972:1:248). Different varieties of grouse, for example, were considered fine birds to eat by the Lakotas and Cheyennes; they were often taken in the fall when they fed on ripened buffaloberries and rosebuds (Bordeaux 1929:129, 200; Moore, J. 1986:184, 186; Standing Bear 1988:68). Ducks, geese, and wild turkey were also hunted at this time of the year (Moore, J. 1986:181, 186). The Lakotas sometimes took crows and magpies, but, normally, they did not eat either bird unless facing starvation (Bordeaux 1929:129; Hassrick 1964:172). The Cheyennes captured crows in times of hunger, but they never ate magpies, not even when starving, because they were so highly respected (Grinnell 1972:1:256). The snowbird or junco [*Junco hyemalis*] was another bird eaten by the Lakotas. It is significant because of its association with Wind Cave in the Lakota origin story (Hassrick 1964:214; Walker 1983:371). The Lakota call this bird *cantku sa pela*, (Buechel 1970:799), and according to Iron Shell (in Hassrick 1964:169):

> To catch snowbirds, we took several horsehairs with nooses at one end and tied them to a stick, about six inches apart. This we laid on a bare spot of earth from which the snow had blown away. Then from a distance we waited to watch a flock settle. When one little bird would fly up, he would get caught and as we approached the others would fly, but several would catch their feet in the tiny nooses. Snowbirds were good boiled or roasted on coals.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes probably ate other kinds of small land birds as well, but there is little information on this in the ethnographic sources we reviewed.

The Lakotas and Cheyennes ate none of the amphibians, and only one group of reptiles: turtles. Turtles were considered a delicacy by both tribes (Bordeaux 1929:129; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:90; Hassrick 1964:173; Grinnell 1972:1:256). When turtles were killed by the Cheyennes, their entrails were removed. Standing on the edges of their shells, they were placed around a fire and roasted. Sometimes, they were boiled in their shells (Grinnell 1972:1:308). The Lakotas usually boiled their turtle meat in soups (Hassrick 1964:173; Standing Bear 1978: 64; Walking Bull 1980:11-12). The Cheyennes and Lakotas also consumed several varieties of fish, including suckers, catfish, and redfins. Both tribes collected crayfish and mollusks from local waters too (Bordeaux 1929:131; Buechel 1970:334, 501; Grinnell 1972:1:221), but this source of food did not rank very high at least among the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1974a:208). Insects were normally not taken for food, although the Lakotas are reported to have consumed grasshoppers in times of starvation (Kelly 1933:123-124).

TABLE 3. List of Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Taken As Food by the Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates
Bighorn
Bison
Elk
Mule Deer
Pronghorn
Whitetail Deer

Carnivores
Badger
Bear
Mountain Lion
Skunk
Wolf

Small Herbivores
Beaver
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Rabbit
Squirrel

Birds
Crow
Duck
Geese
Grouse
Junco
Turkey

Reptiles, Fish, and Crustaceans
Crayfish
Mollusks
Redfin
Sucker
Turtle

B. In Medicine and Hygiene

Animals were very important in Lakota and Cheyenne medicinal treatments. Besides the wider spiritual and symbolic roles they played in healing (see Appendix A), their various body parts were used in making medicines and hygienic products. Associated as they were symbolically and practically with nourishment and reproduction, the ungulates provided many different products for medicinal use, but unfortunately, only a few of these have been documented in ethnographic sources on either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes. The internal organs of various ungulates were highly valued as remedies because they were considered to have properties necessary to good health. Deer liver, for example, was considered a good medicine to keep an infant from continuously crying (Beckwith, M. 1930:390). The liver, pancreas and kidneys of bison were especially prized and were eaten to maintain good health (Ewers 1938:16; Freeland 1938:4; Hassrick 1964:190; Grinnell 1972:1:255; Standing Bear 1978:54; Walker 1982:64, 93-94; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). Undoubtedly, they were used in treatments for specific illnesses and injuries as well. The bones of ungulates were certainly employed for these purposes. Bison horns and hoofs were reported in Lakota remedies for blood diseases (Goose in Densmore 1918:251), and rawhide from this animal went into the manufacture of splints to heal bone fractures (Densmore 1948:178). Also, fragments of elk bones were mixed in medicines for treating fractures (Densmore 1918:252-253; Bordeaux 1929:157).

One organ widely used in the making of bags for keeping medicines and sacred objects was the bladder (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86, 87; Densmore 1918:71, 77, 79, 103; Ewers 1938: 60; Grinnell 1972:1: 212-213; Walker 1982:100; Brown 1992:122). In fact, the Lakotas considered the bladder of the bison to be sacred because as Black Elk (in Brown 1971:104) states, it could contain the whole universe. A deer bladder functioned as a nipple to feed broth to Lakota infants (Brown 1992:16), while deer or antelope udders were used for this purpose among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:106). The skins of various ungulates also went into the making of bags that held medicines and ceremonial objects (Curtis 1905-1930:3:100, 102, 105, 140-141; Densmore 1918: 79; Ewers 1938:51, 53; Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:81; Brown 1992:122). The entire skin of various carnivores were also valued for making bags, coverings, or wrappings for medicines and other sacred objects The Cheyennes and Lakotas commonly put their medicines in pouches made from the skins of skunks and other mustelid species (Densmore 1918:253; Grinnell 1972:2:104; Lewis, T. 1990:110; Brown 1992:17). Bear, wolf, and coyote skins were especially prized for this purpose (Wissler 1912:57-58; Grinnell 1972:2:188, 193, 194, 198-199, 290, 2:74). Some skins were also rubbed on patients when doctoring. One Cheyenne healer doctored with a skunk skin, and badger skins were employed in the same way too (Grinnell 1972:2:134, 146). Even the hair of carnivores might be used in healing as in the Cheyenne practice of treating childbirth complications with hair from a yellow wolf (Moore, J. 1974a:176).

Other bodily parts had important medicinal functions too. The claws of certain birds and carnivores were used to mix medicines. The Cheyennes relied on badger claws for this purpose (Grinnell 1972:2:146), while the Lakotas employed bear claws to clean wounds (Densmore 1918:253, 1948:179; Standing Bear 1978:215). Lakotas used eagle claws in medicinal treatments, and in one application, flakes were scratched from their surface and mixed in a decoction as a remedy for scrofulous sores (Densmore 1918:253). The Cheyennes used turkey beards in making certain unidentified medicines (Grinnell 1972:1:134). The tails of mule deer were employed by Lakotas to apply ointments in healings performed by bear doctors (Powers, W. 1986:187), and the Cheyennes used them in medicine-making as well (Grinnell 1972:1:134, 2:123-124). Turtle hearts went into remedies for infertility and menstrual disorders (Wissler 1904:241-242; Walker 1917: 147). Louise Plenty Holes, a Lakota woman, told Mark St. Pierre

and Tilda Long Soldier (1995:83) how a deer tendon, *takan,* was used to tie off an infant's umbilical cord. Finally, eagle and kingfisher feathers had a variety of different medicinal applications (Grinnell 1972:2:151; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:240-241; Standing Bear 1988:90; Brown 1992:43). Finally, the Lakotas fashioned pronghorn ears and badger paws into medicine bags (Densmore 1948:178, 179). The well-known Hunkpapa leader Sitting Bull was reported to have owned a medicine bag made from the ears of a pronghorn (Densmore 1918:252).

The bodily secretions of animals had specific medicinal uses as well. The Lakotas made a paste from buffalo fat, red clay, and ash that served as a skin cream and cleanser (Standing Bear 1978:118). Among the Cheyennes, animal tallow was a compound in the making of salves for a variety of medicinal purposes (Grinnell 1972:2:142). The Lakotas used extracts from various parts of an elk s body to make love potions (Wissler 1912:88; Densmore 1918:178-179; Hassrick 1964:114, 116; Standing Bear 1978:217; St. Pierre and Long Soldier 1995:110; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:25). Skunk musk was smeared on the chest to treat colds and other respiratory complications (Beckwith, M. 1930:420; Standing Bear 1978:34; Grinnell 1972:2:104), and in some applications, it was mixed with elk fat (Bordeaux 1929:109). The Lakotas made medicines out of badger fat to treat baldness and to heal scrofula (Fire and Erdoes 1972:172; Walker 1980:169-170).

Even the excrement of some animals had medicinal or hygienic applications. Because of their absorbent properties, buffalo chips were used in lieu of diapers. As Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984: 379-380) describes this:

> With diapers, if it is wet, you have to take it off and put on a clean one. But we used buffalo chips [dried dung]. The women packed them--the old [dried] pieces--and used them for diapers. First they powdered them up and put the powder into the skin. Whenever they wanted to change it, they took out the buffalo chips, which had absorbed everything, and the baby was never wet. Of course we greased them, so they were not irritated. Later the women had cloth and would take it and made a little pad and put the powdered buffalo chips in it and use it in that way. Babies were never wet. They used the softest part of a buffalo hide for the diapers.

This practice has also been reported for the Arapahos (Trenholm 1970:60). Standing Bear (1978:118) wrote about a talcum-like powder made from buffalo chips that was applied to skin irritations. Bison dung was part of a Cheyenne remedy to draw out snake venom (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55). The Plains Apaches applied dried rabbit feces on skin lesions (Schweinfurth 2002:141).

Many species of birds, insects, lizards, and amphibians were widely associated with healing and protection, and as result, amulets were commonly made from them and worn by people or attached to their wands, lances, or spears. Lakota *Heyoka* [Contraries] tied the cones of the kingfisher at the ends of their spears *(*Buechel 1970:186*),* and Cheyenne warriors put the skins of this bird, bats, butterflies, and dragonflies in their hair when they went to war (Grinnell 1972:2:111-112, 120). They also tied stuffed magpies to the headdresses of warriors (Ibid:124), and they attached prairie falcon, short-eared owl, tanager, and oriole feathers on the lances and bows of Contrary warriors (Powell 2002a:69). The Lakotas tied snakeskins around the bows of their Contrary warriors and sometimes used them as a protection against danger (Blish 1934:183; Powers, W. 1986:160).

Some insect species were crushed and mixed with other substances for medicinal applications. Red ants went into medicines to heal wounds when people were shot (Buechel 1970:483; Grinnell 1972:1:134), and butterfly parts comprised a medicinal remedy used by the

Plains Apaches for heart trouble (Schweinfurth 2002:141). Lizards, newts, and salamanders were occasionally killed by the Cheyennes and rubbed on the legs for treating certain types of pain (Grinnell 1972:2:111; Leman 1987:214; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

C. In Manufacturing

The dependence of the Lakotas and Cheyennes on the bison and the nearly exhaustive use of its parts for much of their food and many of their life necessities is widely reported in the literature. Both tribes also relied on other animals for many of the same purposes. Most of the major body parts of mammals, including skins, bones, teeth, hoofs, claws, organs, blood, cartlidge, fat, and even dung were used historically by these two tribes for a wide variety of manufacturing purposes. Other animals, including birds, turtles, mollusks, and crustaceans, also had utilitarian functions as well.

1. Skins, Feathers, and Shells

The skin and fur of a wide variety of ungulates and small herbivorous species went into the manufacture of clothing, shelter, containers, ropes, and a host of other utilitarian objects. Similarly, the feathers of game and land birds and the shells of turtles and mollusks were used for practical purposes .

The intensive labor required to prepare and tan skins was the work of women in Plains tribes, and there are a number of good descriptions of this work in the literature on the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Ewers 1938:50-51; Densmore 1948:172-174; Hoebel 1960:62; Hassrick 1964:182-183; Grinnell 1972:1:213-217; Standing Bear 1974:19-21). Women who excelled at this work kept counts of the number of hides they tanned, and among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, they could become members of guilds dedicated to excellence in the performance of this craft (Hassrick 1964:42-43, 191-194; Grinnell 1972:1:159-169; Schneider 1983). Until the 1820s, most of the labor women performed was for domestic use or for exchanges with neighboring horticultural tribes who traded corn and other agricultural goods in exchange for tanned hides. In later years, when a commercial market developed for bison hide and the skins of other ungulates, much of their work went into supporting this trade. There is considerable disagreement, however, among scholars on how women fared under this trade. Some scholars (Klein 1983), following the observations of people like James Walker (1982:43), claim that men retained control over the hides and were the ones who traded them and benefited from the exchange. Others, however, suggest that the situation was much more complex, not only varying from one tribal nation to another but also within single nations (Foster 1993).

The tanned skin, rawhide, and the detached fur or hair of the bison had the most versatile uses. Many articles of everyday clothing, including dresses, leggings, moccasins, and loin cloths were made from bison skins (Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122), although the Cheyennes and Lakotas generally favored the hides of other ungulates for these purposes. Among the Cheyennes, some of the clothing of elderly women and men was fabricated out of well-smoked tipi-liners (or dew cloths), typically made from the skin of a bison cow (Curtis 1907-30:6:155; Grinnell 1972:1:217). At the other end of the life cycle, clothing for Lakota infants was commonly made out of skins from unborn calves (Standing Bear 1978:4). Entire skins with the hair left on one side were used in the making of robes worn as blankets (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:151) reported that every man, woman, and child needed one to three robes each year for their personal use. The soles of

moccasins were generally cut from a dried bison hide (Wissler 1910; Ewers 1938:22; Grinnell 1972:1:219).

Probably the most well-known and widely reported use of soft-tanned buffalo hide was the manufacture of tipis and tipi-liners (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 25, 6:156; Bordeaux 1929:183; Ewers 1938:56; Grinnell 1972:1:226-234; Standing Bear 1975:19-21; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1982: 121-122). Grinnell (1972:1:226) notes that Cheyenne women preferred to make their tipis from the hides of cows that had just shed their winter coats in mid-spring because these were the easiest to dress. Depending on their use and size, one Cheyenne lodge required anywhere from eleven to twenty-one hides (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:226; Moore, J. 1996a:33-40). Robes with the hair left on one side were used in the making of blankets and other bedding for everyday use (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). This was common practice when warm coverings were needed during the winter months; in the summer months, tanned robes with the hair removed were preferred as blankets and bed covers (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:82; Grinnell 1972:1:87; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:121-122). A wide variety of pouches for storing pipes, gambling stakes, sewing equipment, and paints were fabricated from soft-tanned bison skins too (Wissler 1904; Ewers 1938:51, 53; Grinnell 1972:1:134; Brown 1992:121-122).

Rawhide went into the making of parfleches, the large rectangular envelopes in which dried food and other materials were stored. This hide also provided material for the fabrication of eating bowls, cooking containers, knife sheaths, and quiver cases (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Wissler 1910:79-82; Ewers 1938:51; Grinnell 1972:1:244-245; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Boats, mortars, and cradleboards were shaped out of dried hides and various kinds of horse gear were constructed out of this material too (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-35; Grinnell 1972:1:210-211; Standing Bear 1978:3; Walker 1982:80; Brown 1992:121-122). Saddles of wood and elk horn were covered with green hide, which was then dried in place, and various kinds of ropes and lariats were plaited with strips of rawhide (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89; Ewers 1938:33-34; Grinnell 1972:1:206-208:2:197; Walker 1982:8). The Lakotas pounded their meat in hollows they dug in the ground and lined with hide from a bison s head (Densmore 1948:174). Finally, both tribes made glue from the shavings scraped off a bison hide when it was thinned (Grinnell 1972: 1:175; Brown 1992:121-122).

Once removed from the hide, bison hair was used to stuff pillows (Grinnell 1972:1:189; Walker 1982:74, 103; Brown 1992:122). It also functioned as a stuffing for dolls, war shields, and game balls. It was attached to war bonnets, belts, and horse gear and used to pad saddles and make paintbrushes (Grinnell 1972:1:175, 189; Walker 1982:72 Brown 1992:121-122). The long hairs from a bull s neck were spun and braided to make lariats and ropes (Walker 1992:74; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:88-89).

The hides of other ungulate species were the ones most desired for making garments, however. The skins of bighorn sheep were much in demand because of their fineness. Lakotas and Cheyennes used them in making dresses and leggings for women and war shirts for men (Curtis 1907-30:6:155; Bordeaux 1929:182; White Bull in Vestal 1934:162; Grinnell 1972:1: 217,221). Elk hides were highly valued for their durability and suppleness (Standing Bear, 1988: 59). After the hair was removed, elk skins were soft tanned by the Lakotas and Cheyennes to make moccasins, breechclouts, shirts, belts, leggings, and gowns for everyday wear as well as garments worn on ceremonial occasions (Walker 1982:101, 103, 104; Lyford 1940:33; Grinnell 1972:1:274). Pronghorn skins were typically soft-tanned and used in making women s dresses and leggings, men s breechclouts and war shirts, and the upper parts of moccasins (Grinnell

1972:1:217, 221; Walker 1980:101).[17] Finally, deerskins were soft-tanned after the hair was removed, and they were used to fabricate women s dresses and leggings, moccasins, and men s ceremonial clothing in both tribes. (Curtis 1907-1930:3:15, 27-29, 87, 94, 137, 5:155-156; Lyford 1940:33; Walker 1982:52, 101). The rawhide of mule deer and elk went into making Lakota drumheads (Brown 1992:16; Young Bear and Thiesz 1995:47).

Deerskins also went into the making of receptacles for holding various objects and belongings, and they were used for saddle skirts and shield covers (Walker 1982:101, 103, 104; Lyford 1940:33; Grinnell 1972:1:58, 189, 217, 221). The Cheyennes covered the shafts of their lances and the handholds of bighorn sheep bows with deer hide, and both tribes used antelope skin to make their shield covers (Grinnell 1972:1:175, 187, 189-190, 223; Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101).

Rabbit fur was commonly used as a decorative ornamentation on clothing among the Lakotas (Lyford 1940:3), and so was beaver fur among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:296). Elderly Lakota women tanned squirrel skins, and when they acquired enough, they sewed them together to make robes to sit on (Hassrick 1964:168). Additional uses for the skin and fur of these and other small herbivores may have existed, but these have not been recorded in the ethnographic sources studied for this report.

The skins of carnivores were rarely used in utilitarian ways, except in association with men s work in warfare and hunting. The Lakotas and Cheyennes, for example, valued the skins of wildcats, coyotes, and otters for making quivers (Curtis 1907-30:3:29, 105, 137; Lyford 1940:33; Hassrick 1964:199; Grinnell 1972:I:184, 196, 222; Standing Bear 1988:23,60).

The most common historical and practical use of bird feathers was for fletching arrows. Vulture and turkey feathers were considered the best for this purpose because they were not damaged by blood (Densmore 1918:438-439; Grinnell 1972:1:181, 187; Brown 1992:18). Standing Bear (1988:19) wrote that the Lakotas considered turkey feathers among the best for making arrows, but since these were hard to acquire, only adult warriors and hunters used them. He also indicated that grouse and crow feathers were good for fletching arrows (Standing Bear 1988:19). While the Lakotas used hawk feathers in their hunting arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Standing Bear 1988:19; Brown 1992:18), the Cheyennes put them only on their ceremonial arrows. They were not attached to Cheyenne hunting and war arrows because it was believed they were easily damaged by blood (Grinnell 1972:1:181). The small feathers of eagles were also used in making arrows (Densmore 1918:438-439; Stars in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978: 346, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:592-593]), an application also practiced by the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:306).

Turtle shells were fashioned into bowls by the Cheyennes and Lakotas and sometimes spoons too (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:171; Standing Bear 1975:15). The Lakotas also made paint pots from them (Standing Bear 1975:21). The shells of various freshwater mollusks were used for spoons, paint pots, incense containers, scrapers, and ornamentation (Densmore 1918:399, 1948:172, 195, 200; Grinnell 1972:1:221; Wedel and Frison 2001:52), while the claws of crayfish were used as ornaments on clothing (Buechel 1970:334).

[17] In the late nineteenth century, Lakotas often acquired their pronghorn skins from non-Indian hunters, like Matthew Bingham (the brother of the first white men to come across Wind Cave), who lived in town of Hot Springs (Jones 1904; Bingham 1973:3-7; Bingham in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:33).

2. Teeth, Bone, and Quills

Some of the most highly prized animal parts were the elk s two ivory canines. These symbolized longevity, and as Shooter, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1992:176):

> In observing the carcass of an elk it is found that the teeth remain after everything else has crumbled to dust. These teeth will last longer than the life of a man, and for that reason the elk tooth has become the emblem of long life. We desire long life for ourselves and our friends. When a child is born its parents desire long life for it, and for this reason an elk tooth is given to a child if its parents can afford the gift.

Elk teeth often decorated the deer or antelope skin bodices of Lakota and Cheyenne women s dresses (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Grinnell 1972:1:221, 223; Standing Bear 1978:102, 188; Walker 1982:52). The Cheyenne fringed their leggings with them, and made necklaces out of them. So valuable were elk teeth that the Cheyennes were willing to trade a good horse for one hundred of them. Deer teeth also went into the making of Cheyenne necklaces (Grinnell 1972:1:221, 223, 224).

Needles, awls, and scrapers were fabricated from bison bones (Brown 1992:121). Runners for sleds, toys, and game parts were made from ribs and jawbones (Vestal 1934:7; Grinnell 1972:1:314; Standing Bear 1978:53-54). Knives, arrow straightners, and arrowpoints were carved from shoulder blades or the dorsal spine (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Densmore 1918:443; Grinnell 1972:1:185,213-214). Finally, the Cheyennes fashioned a specialized tool to abrade hides from the proximal end of a bison humerus (Grinnell 1972:1:185, 213-214).

Other animal bones were also employed to make many different tools and objects. Straight pipes were fashioned from the shank bones of deer and antelope (Grinnell 1972:2:208). These were used in calling buffalo, based on a tradition the Cheyennes learned from their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, when he returned from his journey to their Sacred Mountain, Bear Butte (Stands In Timber and Liberty 1967:38). The Lakotas made dice the metatarsal bones of deer, and they used phalangeal bones in their cup and pin game (Densmore 1948: 191; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:325). The Cheyennes embellished the sheepskin shirts of leading men with these bones (Curtis 1907-30:6:156). Finally, the pizzle bone of a badger was made into an awl that was highly valued by the Lakotas (Fire and Erdoes 1972:133).

The Lakotas and the Cheyennes made combs and hairbrushes from the tail of a porcupine (Grinnell 1972:1:211, 2:255, 310; Standing Bear 1978:34, 188; Walker 1982:52), and they used the animal s hair to make head roaches (Standing Bear 1978:34). The most important part of this animal were its quills. These were used in embellishing a wide range of material objects. Among the Lakotas, they included: moccasins, cradleboard covers, war shirts, armlets, hair ornaments, buffalo robes, moccasins, saddle bags and blankets, navel amulets, pipe bags, pipe stems, bladder cases, knife cases, and gauntlets (Wissler 1904:234-235, 242-245, 250-251, 1910:235, 238,242, 244, 252, 260, 265; Ewers 1938:61; Lyford 1940:14,21, 27, 29, 41-55; Standing Bear 1975:16-17; 1978:3). The Cheyennes ornamented dresses, war shirts, hair wrappings, robes, baby cradles, moccasins, saddles, lodges, backrests, flutes, buckskin bags, and pipe stems with quills (Grinnell 1972:1: 56, 60, 99, 147, 161, 168, 204-205, 207, 224, 243, 245, 346). The preparation of quills for embroidery or wrapping is described in detail in Carrie Lyford s work (1940:41-55), but there are other good descriptions too (Ewers 1938:59-61; Hassrick 1964:191-193; Grinnell 1972:1:164, 166-167, 218-220).

Cheyenne women formed a quilling society, the *Me e no ist st*, which included only the most prolific and talented quillers. The society was divided into grades, reflecting the quillers levels of accomplishment. George Grinnell (1972:1:159-169) describes this society in great detail, and the prestige accorded its members. Women of the Lakota s *Wipata Okolakiciye* [Quill Society] also derived great prestige for their talents and accomplishments in quilling (Powers, M. 1987:73-74). These women held quilling displays and contests where they exhibited their creations and competed with each other on the skill, productivity, and artistic excellence of their work (Sundstrom. L. 2002:102-111). They kept counts of their accomplishments on robes and on the dew cloth of the Red Council Lodge (Wissler 1910:92-94; Hassrick 1964:42-43, 272; Sundstrom, L. 2002). According to Royal B. Hassrick (1964:191), quilling was probably the highest attainment in the female arts and a primary area of female artistic contribution.

Bird bones were also used for a number of utilitarian purposes, but most of the uses were ceremonial. The Lakotas reportedly made the wing bones of the eagle into awls for sewing the buffalo hides that went into the construction of tipis (Standing Bear 1975:21), and the Cheyennes constructed war whistles out of the wing bones of sandhill cranes (Grinnell 1972:2:109, 110).

3. Horns, Hoofs, and Claws

The horns and hoofs of ungulates were prized for many different purposes. Bison horns were made into dishes, spoons, ladles, scrapers, and a wide variety of other utensils and tools (Curtis 1907-1930:3:138; Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:64, 211; Standing Bear 1978:53-54; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:12). They also went into the manufacture of bows and arrow straighteners (Curtis 1907-30:6:156; Ewers 1938:37; Grinnell 1972:1:173, 179; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973: 27). Spoons and ladles were also fabricated from the horns of the bighorn (Hoebel 1960: 62; Grinnell 1972:1:211; Standing Bear 1975:22).

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas preferred to use elkhorn for making fleshers to scrape hides (Grinnell 1972:1:213; Standing Bear 1975:19). Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:25), a Cheyenne woman, tells how valuable these were among her people:

> This hide-scraper I have is made from the horn of an elk my husband killed just after we were married. He cut off the smaller prongs and polished the main shaft. The Indian men of the old times commonly made this kind of present to their young wives. Besides using them in tanning, the women made marks on them to keep track of the ages of their children. The five rows of notches on this one are the age-records of my five children. Each year I have added a notch to each row, for the living ones. Any time, I can count up the notches and know the age of any of my children. Throughout the seventy-four years it has always been a part of my most precious pack. There were times when I had not much else. I was carrying it in my hands when my husband was killed on the upper Powder River. It was tied to my saddle while we were in flight from Oklahoma. It was in my little pack when we broke out from the Fort Robinson prison. It has never been lost. Different white people have offered me money for it. I am very poor, but such money does not tempt me. When I die, this gift from my husband will be buried with me.

The Cheyennes also used elkhorn to knap flint, and they made fleshers out of the hind legs of elks and bears (Curtis 1907-30:6:158) They sometimes made bows from elkhorn as well (Grinnell 1972:1:173-174; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27). The Lakotas fashioned the porous portion of an elkhorn into implements for applying their paints (Walker 1982:100).

Among the Lakotas, deer hoofs were worn as ornamentation in armlets and necklaces (Brown 1992:16), and they served as cuplike utensils to hold paint (Walker 1982:100). In both tribes,

bison hoofs were used as hatchets for butchering (Densmore 1918:443), they were boiled to make glue (Standing Bear 1978:53-54), they were employed in arrowmaking (Grinnell 1972:1:183), and they were made into pendants, rattles, and decorative cylinders (Grinnell 1972:1:221; Brown 1992:122).

4. Organs, Fat, Blood, and Cartilage

Various organs from mammals were used for making bags and containers. Among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, the paunch or stomach of a buffalo was washed, cleaned, and suspended on sticks over a fire to serve as a receptacle for boiling water and cooking meat (Curtis 1907-30:3:138, 6:156; Hassrick 1964:189; Grinnell 1972:1:170, 212; Standing Bear 1975:21; Brown 1992:122; Black Elk in DeMallie 1994:335, 386). The Cheyennes also made temporary cups from the paunch (Grinnell 1972:1:170). Bladder bags held water, quills, tobacco, and paint (Ewers 1938:60; Grinnell 1972:1:212-213; Walker 1982:100; Brown 1992:122). The heart lining or pericardium served as a water container for Cheyenne children and infants, and it also went into the making of cases to hold porcupine quills (Grinnell 1972:1:213, 219). The Lakotas employed the pericardium for similar purposes (Brown 1992:123) and for storing tallow (Stars in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:347-348, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:594-595]). The Cheyennes fashioned dried bison aorta into pipes (Curtis 1907-30:6:108). Another organ used by the Cheyenne was the tongue: the rough skin at its tip was once made into a comb (Grinnell 1972:1:211). Finally, the brains and liver of bison and also deer were mixed together and applied to skins and robes as a tanning solution (Hoebel 1960:62; Grinnell 1972:1:216; High Dog in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:332-334, [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:568-571]; Standing Bear 1975:19).

The ligament, fat, and blood of animals had many diverse uses as well. The sinew from a bison s hind legs was dried and cut into small arrow points, and the sinew from the neck went into the construction and reinforcement of handles for needles, knives, and pipes (Densmore 1918:436; Grinnell 1972:1:208). Sinew from the bison s dorsal spine was made into sewing thread, bowstrings, rope, and cordage (Curtis 1907-30:6:158; Bordeaux 1929:183-184; Lyford 1940:38; Grinnell 1972:1:218; Walker 1982:74; Brown 1992:122). Deer sinew was used in arrowmaking and for sewing (Densmore 1918:438; Standing Bear 1988:23; Brown 1992:16). Bison fat was the common medium for mixing paint pigments (Walker 1982:100), and the blood of this animal was applied to arrows and mixed with paints. Fat was also employed in sealing pipes and in making glue (Densmore 1918:103, 439; Grinnell 1972:1:19; Brown 1992:123).

5. Dung

Finally, dried bison dung, or buffalo chips, had important practical functions. Buffalo chips, according to Wooden Leg (in Marquis 1931:91), in their natural chunks make good wood. They were used as a popular and widely accessible form of fuel, and when pulverized, as a form of tinder (Densmore1918:436; Wooden leg in Marquis 1931:91; Brown 1992:123; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:55).

TABLE 4. Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Whose Body Parts are Used in Practical Manufacturing Among the Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates
Bighorn, Bison
Elk
Mule Deer, Whitetail Deer
Pronghorn

Carnivores
Badger
Bear
Coyote
Mountain Lion
Skunk
Wolf

Small Herbivores
Beaver
Mice
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Squirrel
Rabbit

Birds and Insects
Duck, Geese
Eagle, Falcon, Hawk, Vulture
Grouse, Turkey
Crane

Reptiles, Fish, and Crustaceans
Crayfish, Mollusk
Fish
Turtle

D. Symbolic and Ceremonial Uses

The body parts of many different animals were found in a wide range of Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonies, and they functioned in these contexts in complex, symbolic ways. Animals were also represented on dancers, ceremonial tipis, and other sacred objects, and references to some of this imagery and the ceremonies themselves are discussed in more detail in Appendix A.

1. Skins and Feathers

For most of the tribal nations in the Great Plains, animal skins and furs symbolized shelter, warmth, and protection. In wearing animal skins, Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:17) said: The Oglala preferred to cut the hides as little as possible, as if they wished to retain their integrity, and thus the power, of the whole living animal. In a similar vein, Karl Schlesier (1987:12) wrote:

> The Cheyenne dressed as animals because their clothing consisted of skins and furs. They fashioned themselves after animals of their choosing or rather the animals who had chosen them. The person who selected wolves became a wolf without changing physical form. He or she dreamed wolf dreams, possessed wolf skills and power, acted like a wolf, immersed himself or herself in wolf lore, protected wolves, painted himself or herself as a wolf, was taught by wolves, and wore wolf on his or her body and in a bundle. Here the border between the wolf and the human had been cracked in the physical world, but in the spirit world, *matasoomhestanov*, the two had become the same.

While the skins or feathers of animals were widely worn to emulate the species they came from, there were special restrictions for handling many of them. The skins and furs of carnivores and white buffalo were subject to restrictions. Similarly, the feathers of raptors and other powerful birds were handled with special care and only used in certain contexts. At the outset, a few words need to be said about the special ways some skins and feathers were handled.

a.Restrictions on the Handling of Skins and Feathers

James Howard (1979:31) writes that albino animals were highly regarded and thought of as chiefs of their species. Accordingly, the white buffalo skin, a rarity, highly venerated by the Lakotas tribe and Cheyennes, could not be touched by the hunter but had to be handled ceremoniously by qualified men who had a spiritual partnership with bison (Densmore 1918:446; Grinnell 1972:2:202-204). According to Francis Densmore (1918:446), The skin was not treated like an ordinary buffalo hide. The animal had to be skinned in a special way to prevent the spilling of blood, and only women with certain qualifications were allowed to dress it (Densmore 1918:446). This was also true for the Cheyennes, whose women had to undertake a special ceremony in order to prepare a white buffalo hide (Grinnell 1972:2: 202-204). The Lakotas kept the robes of this animal in special rawhide cases (Densmore 1918: 446), and they displayed them on certain ceremonial occasions such as the place of honor in a spirit keeping lodge or the altar of an adoption ceremony. Edward S. Curtis (1907-30 3:110) wrote that at the close of a spirit keeping ceremony, the white buffalo skin was carried to the north or west and buried in a cave or hole as an offering to *Wakan Tanka*. The Cheyennes hung them up as offerings to *Ma heo* and the *Maiyun* (Grinnell 1972:1:272, 2:201). In later years, according to Grinnell (Ibid:1:273), these hides were not treated with the same respect, sold to white traders, and tanned by captive women.

The skins of many carnivores were also treated in special ways. The Cheyennes would not allow women to handle wolf hides in earlier times, but in more recent times, women underwent a

special ceremony that enabled them to tan them without getting palsy (Grinnell 1972:1:105, 2:198-200). The Lakotas insisted that only virgins tan wolf hides for ceremonial purposes (Walker 1982:95), and they also prohibited menstruating women from tanning bear hides less they get hairy or acquire scabs and black splotches on their faces and hands. It was only after menopause that women took on this task (Hassrick 1964:249; Tyon in Walker 1980:159). Similarly, Cheyenne women were prohibited from dressing the hide of a bear. It was believed that the soles of a woman s feet would crack or her face would become hairy should she engage in such activity. This task was done either by men or women from other tribes (Grinnell 1972:1:198, 2:105).

Many restrictions surrounded the handling of some of the mustelid species. Although there is some debate whether or not otters ever existed in the Black Hills, they certainly lived in the larger rivers fed by this mountain range. Regardless, they were highly sacred and important to the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Indeed, otter skins were so powerful that Lakota women who touched them while they were menstruating were said to become ill and even die (Tyon in Walker 1980: 168). The Cheyennes had no prohibitions against women preparing otter skins, although they did prevent them from processing the peltries of a rodent species, the beaver (Grinnell 1972:2:104, 198). There appears to have been no prohibitions among the Lakotas on women handling beaver skins, however. By contrast, the skins of ermines, weasels, and other mustelids had to be handled and worn with great care among the Lakotas. Men could not handle them after being with a woman, and women were not allowed to touch them while menstruating; if they did, they would suffer pain or serious illness (Tyon in Walker 1980:168-169).

The feathers of eagles and other sacred birds were handled with great care, and generally, only certain people were allowed to touch or use them. Among the Lakotas, only men who achieved distinction in battle were permitted to wear eagle feathers (Curtis 1907-30:3:23, 30; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:389-390). Individuals with an exceptional record of war deeds wore a warbonnet made with these feathers (Walker 1982:103). Women carried or wore eagle feathers in two sets of circumstances. First, they were allowed to use the feathers of kinsmen who died in war. There was a special society of Lakota women whose male relatives had been lost in battle. In addition to the plume of an eagle, which these women wore upright at the back of their head as a badge of their status, they also wore the feathers their deceased kinsmen would have been entitled to wear (Walker 1982:63, 106). Secondly, women for whom a *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremony had been conducted were wore eagle plumes in their hair (Standing Bear 1988:88). Among the Cheyennes, according to John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:52-53), eagle feathers were the insignia of chiefs, and they were worn only by leaders and noted warriors. By the mid-twentieth century, he noted that everyone, even women, took to wearing them for dances and parades. His remark suggests that in earlier times restrictions were placed on a woman s use of these feathers.

b. The Contexts of Their Use

Except for ordinary land birds and insects as well as some of the smallest herbivores, virtually every species of animal was represented in the regalia and equipment the Lakotas and Cheyennes used in their ceremonies.

As in the world of everyday manufacture, the rawhide, tanned skins, and hair of the bison were ubiquitous in Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonialism. George Dorsey (1905:12) wrote that the Cheyennes made a point of fabricating every article that went into the renewal of their Sacred Arrows with material drawn from the bison, including hides, glue, sinew, blood, and so on. In the Cheyenne Sun Dance, the lodge maker priests and the pledgers carried bison robes (Dorsey, G.

1905:93; Hoebel 1960:15). Valuable robes donated by warriors covered the roof of their Sun Dance lodge (Hoebel 1960:14). The Cheyennes also used bison hair during the Sun Dance to wrap their pipe bowls, stems, and tampers (Dorsey, G. 1905:74; Grinnell 1972:2:240-241). In their Animal Dance [*Mussuam*] tufts of bison hair were tied to the sacred wheel and used symbolically in other parts of the ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:314- 315, 318-319).

The Lakotas used bison skin and hair in their Sun Dance performances (Curtis 1907-30:3:95; Densmore 1918:118, 123, 125; Walker 1980:97-98; 179, 186, 188, 189, 190, 192; Brown 1992:121, 123). Bison hair and skins were also handled in various symbolic ways in the *Hunka* (Curtis 1907-30:3:72, 73, 86; Densmore 1918:77) and in the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Densmore 1918: 97-98; Walker 1980:179-180, 189, 246, 249, 1982:106; Brown 1992:122). Bison hair, which signified the breath of life, was wrapped around the umbilical cords of boys before these were inserted into their protective, lizard-shaped pouches (Standing Bear 1978:154), and it was stuffed into the balls used in the Throwing the Ball Ceremony (Curtis 1907-30:3:138; Brown 1992: 122).

Beyond the Sun Dance and other important ceremonies, there were also other formal and ceremonial uses for bison skins. The Lakotas painted their winter-counts and war deeds on soft-tanned skins (Walker 1982:100-101; Brown 1992:121-122). These skins were hung on poles with scalp locks as war banners (Brown 1992:123). After a successful raid, Cheyenne warparties painted battle images on these skins, and displayed them as they made a victorious entry into their villages (Grinnell 1972:2:18-19). The Cheyennes kept their Sacred Hat in a bag made of bison skin (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:75), and their Contraries kept their lances wrapped in bison hides (Grinnell 1972:2:81).

The Lakotas also wore robes with the fur still attached for special occasions, such as the courtship trysts of young couples (Walker 1982:51) or for ceremonial events, such as the *Hunka,* where female children wore robes made from the skin of a buffalo calf (Curtis 1907-30:3:76, 78, 80; Densmore 1918:77). Many of these robes were embellished with elaborately painted or quilled designs to signify the prestige and honor of the wearer and worn on public occasions (Ewers 1938:22, 58; Hassrick 1964:191-193), something the Cheyenne did as well (Grinnell 1972:1:159-160). Finally, they were used as coverings and wrappings for the deceased (Curtis 1907-30:3:100-102; Brown 1992:121-122)

The soft-tanned skins of cervids appeared in many different ceremonial contexts. Lakota men wore deerskin aprons, *nite iyapehe*, when they participated in the Sun Dance, and they wore balls of sweetgrass wrapped in a deerskin and tied to end of their braids at marriage (Curtis 1907-1930:3:19, 28-29, 95, 139; Densmore 1918:125; Walker 1982:52, 101). Soft-tanned deerskins were also used in mortuary practice, and they were fashioned into a special wrapping, *wi caske*, to hold a spirit bundle and into a decorated case, *pan,* which held the gifts to be given away at a spirit-keeping ceremony (Curtis 1907-30:3:100, 102, 105; Densmore 1918:79). They also provided material for the lodge coverings and regalia of some of the warrior societies (Wissler 1912:46, 72). Cheyenne warriors wore deerskins and tails, enabling them to outrun their enemies (Grinnell 1972:1:124). The skins were also displayed in the Sun Dance because the Cheyennes believed that this animal belonged to the ceremony (Grinnell 1972:2:232, 266-267).

Rabbit skins were widely worn in ceremonial contexts. Strips of jackrabbit fur were tied to the robe of the Cheyenne Sun Dance leader (Grinnell 1972:2:218, 232, 263; Powell 1969:2:859), and they were wrapped around the hoops used in their antelope hunting ceremonies (Grinnell 1972:1:284). In the Lakota Sun Dance, bands of this animal s fur were tied around the wrists and ankles of the dancers as a symbol of humility (Densmore 1918:125; Black Elk in Brown 1971:

85). The Lakota *Wic iska* [White Marked] Society wore a headdress with strips of rabbit fur, and the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* [Mandan] Society adorned their sashes with rabbit ears (Wissler 1912:34, 46).

The skins of most carnivores were restricted to use in military and ceremonial settings and most of them could only be handled and worn by men. Elaborately painted canine skins were an important part of the Cheyenne s *Massaum* or Animal Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:296-309; 323-334; Schlesier 1987:96-103). Canine skins also played an important role in the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:231, 249, 250, 344). In this ceremony, fox and wolf skins were worn to imitate the roles these animals played in the story of the Great Race (Grinnell 1972:2:300-301, 323-334). Most of the other ceremonial contexts for the use of canine skins by the Cheyennes were associated with the performances and activities of warriors and the military societies to which they belonged (Dorsey, G. 1905:19, 25, 55, 56-57; Grinnell 1972:1:300, 2:24, 72).

In contrast to the Cheyennes, the skins of canines do not appear to have been worn or displayed at most of the Lakotas major religious ceremonies, and this may reflect some of their ambivalent attitudes towards these animals. Canine skins were worn by the Lakotas but primarily in military contexts, especially in the rituals of their soldier societies. Lakota men who dreamed of wolves had the right to carry or wear their skins and act as scouts on war parties (Wissler 1912: 15, 16, 35, 38, 54, 72, 90-91; Walker 1980:268-269, 1982:95; Brown 1992:17). Indeed, among the Lakotas, some skins, such as those of bears and wolves, could only be worn and carried by people who dreamed of these animals (Wissler 1912:90-91; Tyon in Walker 1980:159, Walker 1982:95; Powers, W. 1977:58).

The otter was a sacred animal to the Lakotas (Tyon, Garnett, Thunder Bear, Sword, and Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:101), and its pelts adorned many different kinds of sacred implements and regalia. Sun Dancers wore otter skin capes that signified the power of water and land (Tyon in Walker 1980; 177; Bad Heart Bull and Blish 1967:183), and so did the members of various military socities (Wissler 1912:24, 26, 34-35, 47, 72, 76; Walker 1980:182, 272, 274 277, 280; Brown 1992:17). Among the Cheyennes, otter skins covered some of the vikuts that Cheyenne warriors used for carrying water (Grinnell 1972:2:24), and the *hohktsim* or wheel lance shaft was decorated with this fur as well (Grinnell 1972:1:187).

Among the Lakotas, weasel skins were worn by spiritual intercessors, such as the *walowan* or singer, who conducted a *Hunka* or the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Walker 1980:223, 246). They also adorned the regalia of the sash bearers of the *Miwatani* Society (Wissler 1912:46). Outside of religious and formal contexts, ermine, mink, and weasel skins were sometimes cut into strips as decoration for men s shirts, dresses, and headdresses (Lyford 1940:33; Brown 1992:18), but these had to be handled with great care because of the dangers they posed to the wearer and others (Tyon Walker 1980:168). Cheyenne Dog Soldiers wore the skins of another mustelid species, the skunk, with heads intact, and the tails of this animal were tied to horses going into battle (Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:9; Dorsey, G. 1905:21).

Feathers were widely taken by the Cheyennes and Lakotas for ceremonial purposes. For both tribes, there was a complex language of feathers, in which the wearing or use of specific feathers designated war achievements, religious roles, and other positions of distinction. Feathers also adorned many different sacred items, and they were associated with all of the most important tribal ceremonies (Standing Bear 1975:85-88; Moore, J. 1986:188). Eagle feathers and plumes, which symbolized the breath of life for Cheyennes and Lakotas, were clearly the most revered and widely used (Powell 1969:2:796, 806, 833, 834, 344; Brown 1992:43). They were associated symbolically with the valorous accomplishments of their wearers particularly in warfare (Brown

1992:43). Luther Standing Bear (1975:85-88; 1988:84-88), James Walker (1980:232, 263, 270-272, 273, 274, 275-276, 277, 278, 280, 281, 1982:103-105), and Royal B. Hassrick (1964:90) describe in some detail how the number and positioning of eagle feathers worn on the head marked different kinds of honors among the Lakotas. The Cheyennes placed a high value on the feathers of the golden eagle too (Grinnell 1972:2:107). Historically, they traded them to other tribes (Ibid:1:299). The straight quills from the tail were especially valued in adornment and commonly worn by older men who tied them to their hair at the base of the scalp lock (Ibid: 1:222, 299). The Cheyennes gifted warbonnets at marriage, consecrated and carried them into battle, and displayed them at the funeral rites of a warrior (Ibid:1:138, 2:10, 27, 121, 161).

The feathers of owls, turkeys, woodpeckers, crows, magpies, tanagers, and hawks were not only worn by members of various Lakota and Cheyenne military associations, but they adorned their pipes, clubs, shields, lances, vikuts, and other war paraphernalia. Hawk feathers decorated the lances of the Lakota *Cante Tinza* [Brave Hearts], and they adorned the war regalia of other societies too (Wissler 1912:72). Owl feathers were worn in the headdresses of the Lakota *Wic iska*, and they served as insignia for the *Miwatani* (Dorsey, J. 1894:463; Curtis 1907-30:3:139; Wissler 1912:35, 41-42, 58, 71; Walker 1980:273; Standing Bear 1988:72). The Cheyennes attached turkey feathers to lances used in ceremonies or in battle to count coup, they ornamented war clubs with redheaded woodpecker feathers, and they tied the heads and feathers of sandhill cranes to their shields (Grinnell 1972:1:187, 2:195). Crow feathers were the ones most widely used by Lakotas in connection with war and warriors (Wissler 1912:15, 46, 58, 72; Buechel 1970:283; Walker 1980:262, 266; Walker 1982:95), and the same holds true for the Cheyennes, who also used magpie feathers for these purposes (Dorsey, G. 1905:25; Grinnell 1972:2:105; Moore, J. 1986: 183).

Feathers appeared in a wide range of ceremonial contexts. In their antelope hunting ceremony, the Cheyennes used a pole-like implement called an antelope arrow to which crow and magpie feathers were attached, and they also tied these feathers to the seams of the ceremonial rattles that were a part of this ritual too (Grinnell 1972:1:203, 284). Among the Lakotas, eagle feathers and plumes as well as the feathers of woodpeckers and mallard ducks were attached to ceremonial equipment in the *Hunka* and the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Curtis 1907-30:3:74, 75, 78, 81, 82, 87, 94, 95; Densmore 1918:70, 71, 72, 74; Walker 1980:187, 190, 191, 202, 213, 217-218, 230-231, 234, 244, 245, 251-252, 1982:106).

The eagle is one of the birds that belongs to the Sun Dance, and so its feathers are widely used in this ceremony, not only to adorn the dancers and intercessors but also the pipe and other sacred objects associated with it (Densmore 1918:104, 125-126; Powell 1969:2:796, 806, 833, 834; Grinnell 1972:2:215, 232, 233, 234, 243-244, 262, 265, 267, 268). Two woodpeckers are also associated with the ceremony. The feathers, skin, and body of the redheaded woodpecker and the northern flicker appear in the performance of the dance in both tribes (Dorsey, G. 1905:95; Grinnell 1972:2:109, 232-233, 265, 268; Brown 1992:45).

2. Skulls, Bones, and Quills

The skulls of animals have considerable spiritual significance and are found widely in ceremonial contexts. The Lakotas and Cheyennes believe that skulls hold the spiritual potency of the animals from which they come. Historically, the Lakotas believed that bison skulls were sacred dwellings for *Tatanka*, the principle spiritual representative of the buffalo (Walker 1980:216, 224). Takes the Gun told Walker (1980:214) that in the *Hunka* ceremony:

> the spirit of the buffalo comes to its skull. *The* spirit of *Tatanka* is pleased to see the skull of a buffalo. The buffalo skull is at the ceremony because *Tatanka* is pleased.

Indeed, in most Lakota ceremonies for hunting, healing, celebrating a girl s passage into womanhood, and honoring an adoption, bison skulls were painted and their orifices filled with sage as an act of propitiation and respect for the spirit of the buffalo (Curtis 1907-30:3:75, 78, 82, 84, 86, 87, 94, 95, 98; Densmore 1918:72, 99, 122, 275; Walker 1980:179, 216, 224, 227-228, 238, 245, 247-248, 251, 255, 1982:74, 75-76). Similarly, the Cheyenne held the skull of the buffalo in high regard and filled its orifices with sage, sedge, and other sacred plants at their Sun Dances and Animal Dances (Dorsey, G. 1905:91, 97; Hoebel 1960:13, 16; Grinnell 1972:1:82-83, 2:125, 223, 231, 235, 270, 291, 300-306; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:97; Schlesier 1987:6). John Moore (1996a:67) also mentions that the Cheyennes collected ancient skulls of *bison antiquus* and *bison occidentalis* that were found near prehistoric jumps because the horns are more impressive than those of the living bison. Given the importance of bison skulls in historic and modern ceremonial practice, it is not surprising that modern tribal members have requested these from the park (Terry 1999, Personal Communication).

The wing bones from eagles were made into Sun Dance whistles. Commonly believed to symbolize the Thunders, these whistles were also used in war and for certain kinds of healing (Curtis 1907-30:3:54, 91, 95, 97; Dorsey, G. 1905:124; Densmore 1918:161; Blish 1934:185; Walker 1982:95, 98; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:42).

The only information on any special ceremonial use for quills was found on the Lakotas. Sun dancers wore an eagle feather wrapped with red dyed porcupine quills (Walker 1980:179), and invitation wands for their *Hunka* ceremonies were made of eagle feathers decorated with dyed porcupine quills (Walker 1980:221).

3. Hoofs, Horns, and Claws

Just as the skeletal remains of an animal were believed to hold its spiritual strength and potency, so hoofs, horns, and claws were believed to be the repositories of an animal s spiritual essence (Walker 1982:103). The Cheyennes had a military society called the *Himoweyuhkis*, Elk-Scrapers, whose members carried a piece of elk horn carved in the image of a snake (Grinnell 1972:2:57-62). This horn could create a sound capable of being transmitted over long distances, and it was used to attract game to camp when food was needed. The members of this society also carried rattles made of the dewclaws from elk, deer, and antelope (Dorsey, G. 1905:18-19). The Cheyennes attached bear and wolf claws to their war shields (Grinnell 1972:1:188, 193, 194, 198-199, 290, 2:74; Moore, J. 1974a:176), and tied them on the head of the yellow-painted dancer in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:280). Finally, the Cheyennes valued fossilized horns, tusks, and teeth from prehistoric animals, which were often kept in their medicine bags and used in ceremonial contexts (Moore, J. 1996a:67).

Among the Lakotas, the horns and hoofs of bison were worn on the headdresses of officiates who conducted the *Hunka* and *Pte San Lowanpi* ceremonies (Walker 1980:223, 246). Deer hoofs were made into rattles for *Miwatani* members (Curtis 1907-30:3:172; Wissler 1912:48), and they served as ornamentation on armlets and necklaces worn for various ritual occasions (Brown 1992:16). The Lakotas used bear claws in association with rituals surrounding warfare and in other ceremonial contexts as well (Densmore 1918:267; Powers, W. 1977:58; Walker 1980:159; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 167, 178-179, 230, 278).

4, Fat, Cartilage, Organs, and Blood

The Lakotas place fat from the heart of a buffalo in the hole where their Sun Dance tree is placed, and it is used to seal the pipe smoked in this ceremony (Black Elk in Brown 1971:88; Brown 1992:123). Eagle fat is mixed with paints applied to dancers and sacred objects at the Cheyenne Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:262).

The Cheyennes roll bison sinew and cover it with red cloth in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:240-241, 292). They also attach a buffalo windpipe to the headdress of the lodgemaker at this ceremony (Dorsey, G. 1905:95), while the Lakotas make offerings of bison larynges in their spirit keeping rites (Curtis 1905-1930:3:106, 109, 110). The scrotum of a bison bull is dried and made into rattles for various ceremonial performances in both tribes (Curtis 1905-1930:3:78, 79, 86; Grinnell 1972:1:203; Walker 1980:213, 1982:74; Brown 1992:213). Historically, bear guts, which have an iridescent quality, were cut into strips to tie eagle feathers on the lower end of bows owned by members of the Lakota s Sacred Bow Society (Blish 1934:183; Brown 1992:18), and among the Cheyennes, they were tied to the bows carried by the Contraries (Grinnell 1972: 1:81).

5. Dung

Among the Lakotas, buffalo chips were widely used in ceremonial contexts whenever a pipe was being smoked. At ceremonial altars, pipes were customarily placed on a buffalo chip in conjunction with vision seeking, during communal bison hunts, at the final ceremony in a spirit-keeping lodge, in the *Hunka* Ceremony, and during the Sun Dance (Curtis 1905-1930:3:66; Densmore 1918:72, 79, 83, 441;Walker 1980:36-37, 76,77, 103, 180; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984: 145). Dried and pulverized buffalo dung was also mixed with tobacco to help light a pipe, and it was burned ceremoniously as incense (Curtis 1907-30:3:186; Brown 1992:123).

Bison dung appears in a wide range of Cheyenne ceremonial contexts. In healing rites, pipes rest on a piece of buffalo chip (Grinnell 1972:2:137). At the Sun Dance, pieces of dried dung are positioned at the points of the sacred root-digger and arrow as well as near the skull that contains the spiritual essence of Grandmother Earth (Grinnell 1972:2:238, 245). During the *Massaum*, a piece of buffalo dung is wrapped in red flannel and placed on the altar next to the sacred skull. Buffalo chips are used in other parts of this ceremony too (Grinnell 1972:2: 292, 295, 323, 333). Dried buffalo dung played a part in the ritual preparations for driving antelope into pits (Grinnell 1972:1:280). In former times, a mound of buffalo chips was placed outside the ceremonial lodge of the Fox Soldiers who ritually surrounded it each morning (Grinnell 1972:2:57). Finally, war parties burnt buffalo chips to celebrate a victory and to purify enemy scalps taken in battle (Grinnell 1972:2:32, 37). At least among the Cheyennes, bison dung is symbolically significant because it changes color from bright green to white under the rays of the sun, a process that mimics the seasonal transitions (Moore, J. 1974a:171).

This discussion has covered only a sampling of the practical and spiritual uses to which the various body parts of animals were put among the Cheyennes and Lakotas in historic times. Today, while few of the practical applications still stand many of the ceremonial uses continue to be carried on, especially in the context of healing, renewing sacred objects such as the Cheyennes Sacred Arrows and Sacred Hat or the Lakota s Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe, and in the context of both tribes Sun Dances, sweat lodges, and fasting observances.

TABLE 5. List of Animals Historically Located at Wind Cave National Park Whose Body Parts Used In Healing and Religious Observance By The Cheyennes and Lakotas

Ungulates

Bison
Bighorn and Pronghorn
Elk
Mule Deer and Whitetail Deer

Carnivores

Badger and Skunk
Wolf, Coyote and Fox
Bear
Weasel
Mink, Weasel, and Otter

Small Herbivores

Beaver
Porcupine
Prairie Dog
Rabbit

Birds and Insects

Ant
Bat
Butterfly and Dragonfly
Grasshopper
Crow and Magpie
Duck and Geese
Eagle, Hawk, Falcon, and Vulture
Owl
Grouse and Turkey
Nighthawk and Swallow
Kingfisher, Flicker, and Woodpecker
Oriole, Meadowlark, and Tanager
Lark Sparrow and Yellow Warbler

Reptiles, and Amphibians

Frog and Turtle
Lizard and Salamander
Snake

VII. WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND THE ANIMALS

The land on which Wind Cave National Park stands occupies a significant place in Lakota and Cheyenne traditions about animal-human origins and relationships. This location has long been known as an important wintering ground for various ungulate species, most notably, the bison. The Buffalo Gap, a canyon ten miles due east of the cave s entrance, is formed by Beaver Creek as it makes its descent to the south fork of the Cheyenne River. It is widely recognized in European American and tribal historical documents as a passageway that ungulates used to enter the protective shelter of the Hills during the winter and a gateway they followed to leave the Hills for their feeding grounds on the open grasslands in the spring. Although pronghorn and deer certainly used it, and probably elk and bighorns too, it is most closely associated with the migratory patterns of the bison before they were extirpated from the area in the late nineteenth century. When ruminants wintered in the Hills, they typically fed on the rich grasses of the geologic depression known as the Red Valley or the Race Track, which encircles the Hills and crosses Wind Cave National Park. Today, this remains a favorite winter grazing location for the animals that were reintroduced to the park in the twentieth century (Turner 1974:16).

Prehistorically, the Race Track and the gateway canyons to the Black Hills contain some of the heaviest concentration of settlement sites. Their milder climate, sheltered recesses, available water and forage, not to mention their abundant supplies of game, made these locations highly desirable for establishing campsites from November to March. The advantages of these areas were well recognized in the historic era too, and there are scores of accounts (see Chapters Five and Seven) of tribes camping at these spots over the winter months. Once again, it needs to be pointed out that the Buffalo Gap was the place that Spotted Tail wanted for his agency in 1874, and the Race Track was the area that Red Cloud did not wish to cede in negotiations over the sale of the Black Hills to the U.S. Government in 1875.

The winter months were the time when the tribal nations of the Plains were the most sedentary and when their constituent bands remained in one location for the longest period of time. During this season, tribes broke up into smaller groupings, called *tiospaye* in Lakota and *manhao* in Cheyenne, that were large enough to offer protection but small enough to provide reliable and steady access to water, timber, food, and forage. This was the season for small group hunts that the Lakotas called the *tate*, and it was typically the time of the year that they relied on elk, mule deer, and whitetail deer as much as bison. At least in historic times, winter was not the season when the *wanisapa* or communal modes of hunting typically took place. These usually occurred during the late summer at locations some distance from the Black Hills. Before surround techniques on horseback dominated the bison hunting strategies of Plains Indians, however, a wide variety of communal driving techniques using enclosures and jumps were practiced during the late fall and early winter in pre-horse times. Some of them were implemented at locations inside the Hogback and at the canyon gateways into the Hills. Indeed, one site, the Sanson bison jump (CU02), is located on lands just south of the park.

Most of the animals that the Lakotas and Cheyennes depended upon for food, shelter, clothing, and tools and for spiritual protection and guidance frequented the lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park. With a few exceptions, the wolf and grizzly, which were extirpated from the area by the early twentieth century, most of the species these two tribes respected and relied upon for significant utilitarian or spiritual purposes are located on park lands today. In South Dakota at least, some of the most significant animals to tribal peoples, such as the elk, are rarely seen outside the Hills and their protected spaces. Thus, the Hills remain among the limited

number of places where local tribes are able to encounter certain species and the spirits that represent them.

There are many important stories, including some with sacred significance, about the area of Wind Cave National Park in the cultural traditions of the Lakotas and Cheyennes. Although the details of these stories are explored in greater depth in the next section, they all reveal in varying ways and degrees the fundamental dependence of the Lakota and Cheyenne peoples on the bison, not simply as a source of food, health, and protection, but as a source of their identity and as a model for understanding the workings of the universe. As pointed out earlier, even though bison (except for a few stragglers) had largely disappeared from the environs of the park by the 1850s, the area was indelibly inscribed in Lakota and Cheyenne beliefs as a place where the bison remained in a spiritualized state in their subterranean cavern homes, awaiting a propitious times to reappear on the earth s surface. This was *Tatanka makalhpaya,* The Stomping Grounds of the Bison Bull, one of the most revered figures in Lakota cosmology. Even after the disappearance of local bison, the Lakotas continued to rely on this area as a winter camping ground because of the abundance of elk, mule deer, and other ungulates, all of which were under the patronage of the chief of all the animals, the bison and its spiritual representative, *Tatanka*.

What distinguishes the area of Wind Cave National Park and its environs, which also includes the Buffalo Gap and the Hot Springs, from other regions of the Hills is its cultural emphasis on the bison as a source of human well-being and regeneration. Some of the other animals of cultural significance to the Lakotas and Cheyennes are more closely identified with other regions of the Hills. Bears, for example, were connected in Lakota culture to Bear Butte, while wolves and other canines tend to be associated with this site in Cheyenne traditions. In the Wind Cave area, animals other than bison were important too, but only because they were connected to the drama of human-bison relationships.

Insofar as every species of mammal and bird found at Wind Cave National Park was represented among the animals that attended the famous race that formed the Red Valley or Race Track, the area continues to be thought of in relation to all animals (see Chapter Fourteen for more details on this story). Indeed, each animal present in the area has a potential symbolic connection to the story. In Cheyenne traditions, the magpie, flicker, crow, coot, and falcon are singled out as birds of special importance because they are the ones who actually ran against the bison and their teammates, winning the race for humans. Other animals mentioned in various versions of Cheyenne and Lakota traditions include the antelope, deer, elk, wolf, coyote, and eagle (Kroeber 1900:161-162; Densmore 1918:319; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-477; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:30; Grinnell, 1926:252-254; Randolph 1937:189-192; White Bull in Odell 1942:168; Mariott and Rachlin 1968:120-123; LaPointe 1976: 18-19; Little Cloud in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1977:94-96; Walking Bull 1980:6-7; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:309-310; Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:390-392; Moore, J. 1984:296-297, 1996: 189-190; Black Elk, C. 1986d:200; Schwartz 1988:72; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:29).

In Lakota culture, there is another significant and highly sacred story about the area of Wind Cave National Park, and this is the story of their emergence from the underworld to the earth s surface through the opening at Wind Cave (Walker 1917:181-182; Dooling 2000:119-122). Besides the *Pte Oyate*, the Bison People, from whom humans originate, there are three other representations of animal nations in this highly sacred story: the wolf, the spider, and the snowbird. The wolf is an accomplice of the spider, *Inktomi*, in leading *Tokahe* and his followers out of the cave to the earth s surface. Once on the earth s surface, *Tokahe* receives a vision from a snowbird [*Junco Hyemalus*] that leads him and his followers to another cave with a spring and an ample supply of food stored by chipmunks, woodpeckers, and squirrels. The other humans, how-

ever, follow the deceptive magpie that only leads them to more hunger and misery (Walker 1983: 370-372).

Although not specifically linked to the major sacred stories of this particular area, the golden eagle might be culturally connected to the park area as well because this and the neighboring region of Custer State Park are areas in the Black Hills where this bird is most abundant. Historically, the Black Hills were identified with locations for trapping eagles and a place where visionary encounters with these birds typically took place. A more specific connection to the park area can be made on the grounds that bison and eagles are symbolically interchangeable and can stand for one another in Lakota thought. In addition, the eagle is closely connected to the sun, a companion of the bison, traveling at night to visit with them in their underground cavern home. Other flying nations are typically connected with other locations in the region, including, as one example, Harney Peak with the West Wind, hawks, and swallows.

Nor is there a great deal in Lakota or Cheyenne traditions that specifically connects most of the other carnivores and small herbivores to the area around Wind Cave. One possible exception is the porcupine. Some Cheyenne narratives about the Buffalo Gap and the Great Race (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:19-24; Powell 1969:472-477) are connected to the story of the origin of quillwork and the founding of their *Me e no ist st* Society, the prestigious quillworkers guild (Grinnell 1972:1:163-164, 2:385-391). Also, one Lakota story in the *Tokahe* emergence cycle tells how a man named *Pahin* [Porcupine] received instructions on how to make an altar and use deer skins in a sacred way (Walker 1983:378-379).

In Lakota traditions, there are also more general associations linked to the habits of burrowing animals whose behavior mimics the Lakota s own emergence from the underworld (Powers, W. 1986:113, 162). Soils and stones brought up from under the earth by prairie dogs, voles, ants, and badgers are believed to hold the purifying and life-generating properties of the subterranean world (Powers, W. 1982:13; 1986:113, 162). The location of their burrows, near the very site where the Lakota s own emergence is believed to have taken place, is highly significant, and as a result, the soils and stones brought up by the burrowers around Wind Cave would likely be sacred because they originate at the home not only of humans but also the bison -- the animal who represents the entire cosmos and who holds the mysteries of the universe. Also in Cheyenne traditions there are important symbolic connections between prairie dogs, corn, and bison and their mutual ties to the sun, which might, as argued in Chapter Fourteen and Fifteen, be connected in a special way to the Buffalo Gap (Moore, J. 1974a:164).

In relation to the animals that make up its landscape, the Lakotas and Cheyennes have a strong twofold relationship to the park and its environs. On the one hand their tie is based on a long history of occupation in the area, which was closely related to the habits and movements of the ruminant species they depended upon for their livelihood, especially the bison. On the other hand their connections to this area rest on a sacred understanding of the place as a site of animal/human origin and rebirth and a location where the very nature of human-animal relationships were set down.

The wildlife of the park has also drawn the interest of European Americans but often for vastly different reasons. In the early years of European American settlement local residents hunted the region s game for their own subsistence and for commercial reasons, purposes not very different from those of the area s original tribal occupants. After years of unmonitored killing, European Americans helped to drive many ungulates to the edge of extinction. The decline, especially of elk and mule deer, was not simply the result of over-hunting but also a consequence of competition from the animals European Americans introduced to the area.

Livestock often destroyed the forage on which local game survived. The negative impact of cattle eventually led, as described in Chapter Six, to growing restrictions on the release of grazing permits to ranchers by all federal agencies which managed public lands in the Black Hills and to the establishment of game preserves in the region where pronghorn, elk, and bison were reintroduced and protected from human predators. After restrictions were placed on hunting and livestock grazing, many of the large game species eventually rebounded in the Black Hills.

In contrast to the large ungulates, most of the region s carnivores were considered a menace not only to local livestock but also to the game being restocked and preserved on public lands. Wolves and grizzlies were hunted to extinction and systematically taken by ranchers and professional hunters hired by state and federal agencies, including the National Park Service. These large carnivores were once an essential part of the Hills ecosystem, but neither has been reintroduced to the area. European American attempts to eradicate other large carnivores, including coyotes, bobcats, lynxes, and mountain lions, also took place with varying results. Over time, feline numbers were reduced, but the populations of the peripatetic coyote remained strong.

Today, the animals that remain on the lands of Wind Cave National Park primarily serve the interests of a spectating public. Although ungulate herds are culled and the meat donated to tribes and educational institutions, their presence no longer serves the interests of tribal or European American hunters. For European Americans, the animals are subjects of curiosity, either of a scientific or voyeuristic nature. They are certainly not an integral part of the religiosity of European Americans as they remain for local tribes, who continue to spiritually respect the animals that inhabit the park. Indeed, the park is a haven for a number of species that are rare or no longer exist on the lands where many of today s tribes live. As a result, the park and adjoining areas of the Black Hills remain an important location for some of these tribes to still encounter animals of considerable significance in their historic and modern cultural traditions.

Chapter Eleven

GOLD, GRASS, AND GYPSUM

California Joe Milner, who traveled with Walter Jenney's Expedition in 1875, is quoted as saying, in reference to the Black Hills: "There's gold from the grass roots down, but there's more gold from the grass roots up" (Newton and Jenney 1880:317). Gold was the metal of greatest interest to European Americans, and indeed, the primary reason for the United States to extinguish American Indian title to the area. Gypsum, however, was probably the most significant mineral to American Indians, particularly the Cheyennes and Lakotas. Next to gypsum and gold, the Hills' abundant and varied grasses were another important resource for American Indians and European Americans, but for vastly different reasons. For centuries, the abundance and rich variety of grasses in and around the Black Hills sustained many of the wildlife species on which local tribal nations depended for their livelihood, and they also provided good pasturage for their horses. When European Americans arrived in the area, these same grasses fed the growth and development of a way of life built around the raising of livestock. Over the long term, ranching equaled, if not exceeded, mining as a major producer of the region's wealth.

When European Americans evaluated the area for its monetary worth as a prelude to extinguishing American Indian title, they took into consideration its mineral wealth, the potential of its grasses for grazing, and its abundant timber resources, but they assigned little if any value to the other varieties of plants important to the tribal nations who resided there (Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:5). Although many other plants would have some importance to early European American settlers as food and medicine, they were largely ignored in government appraisals of the area because they showed little promise for commercial development in the U.S. economy of the late nineteenth century. More important in these evaluations was the value of the region for mineral extraction that had considerable commercial potential, the worth of its soils and grasses for farming and ranching, and the wealth of its timber for logging.

At least in the minds of European Americans, the history of the Black Hills has been most closely linked to its mineral wealth. Indeed, a large part of the romance and enchantment surrounding the Hills harks back to the frontier and gold rush years of the mid-1870s. The well-publicized discoveries of gold in the Hills by the Black Hills Expedition of 1874 led directly to the illegal invasion of the area by miners and entrepreneurs and eventually, to the extinguishment of Native American title to the area. Insofar as lands were prospected and mining claims were staked in the area of Wind Cave National Park, and insofar as the acquisition of park properties evolved out of a controversy surrounding titles to these claims, some of the park's cultural and historical legacy is tied to the region's gold boom. But for a wide variety of reasons already described in earlier chapters, this area was never developed for its mineral resources. Although sandstones were mined successfully over the years in canyon quarries in nearby areas of the Hogback, the land on which Wind Cave National Park now sits was not a location for mining. Instead, its development grew out of the "discovery" of a vast cavern structure in the limestone formations underneath some of its surface lands. Just to the south of park properties, development sprang from the mineral rich hot springs. In both cases, the cultural history of the region was tied to the preservation of geological resources supporting the growth of a leisure, recreation, and tourist industry. This contrasted with many of the regions in the central and northern portions of the Hills where the extraction of mineral resources fueled local economic growth.

For the tribal nations who inhabited the Black Hills area, it was an entirely different story. Beyond the animals, the Hills held a wealth of other life forms for them, revered for their properties as food and medicine and in manufacture and ceremony. In the minds of American Indian people, especially the Lakotas and Cheyennes, the Black Hills were historically associated with mineral wealth too. Native peoples are known to have extracted minerals in various parts of this region since prehistoric times for practical and spiritual purposes. The presence of the Black Hills as a massive body of stone evoked considerable awe and reverence, one that was tied to tribal cosmological tenets about how the universe originated and recreated itself. Even more impressive, in terms of sheer numbers and varieties, were the plant species found in the Black Hills, of which hundreds have been associated with culturally significant uses among the tribal nations who occupied the area. The Hills also held special importance because they contained many unique varieties of plants not found in other parts of the region where local tribes lived and traveled. Indeed, the diversity of the Hills' plants only added to tribal beliefs that this was a special place, which revealed in a multitude of ways the workings of the universe and "the heart of everything that is" (Black Elk, C. 1986a:205).

I. THE PLANT AND MINERAL LIFE OF THE REGION

As revealed in the introduction to this report, the geography of the Black Hills can be represented in terms of a series of rings that surround a central crystalline core. Each of these rings is associated with fairly distinct geological formations that exhibit recurring mineral properties as they encircle the Hills. Much of the diversity in the region's vegetation also follows these rings, although this variation is modified in significant ways by differences in moisture and temperature from the Hills' northern sections to their southern borders. Wind Cave National Park is located in an area that crosses all of the Hills' geological formations, the Hogback, the Red Valley, the Limestone Plateau, and the Central Core, but it is situated in the drier and warmer portions of these zones. As a result, its vegetation is significantly different from locations with moister and colder climates but comparable geological formations farther north.

A. Plants

In relation to its vegetation, Arthur McIntosh (1949:45) reported that over 1300 different flowering plants and ferns are located in the Black Hills. Of these, less than half are documented and described in Gary Larson and James Johnson's recent book, *Plants of the Black Hills and the Bear Lodge Mountains* (1999). The great numbers and varieties of common as well as rare plant species make the Hills a veritable herbarium. The Lakotas often referred euphemistically to the Hills as their meat pack, but they could have easily called them their "medicine bag" because of the abundance and diversity of plants they could draw from the Hills for medicine, food, manufacturing, and other purposes.

Although many different plants are found throughout the Black Hills, a large number are specific to certain biomes. The moist, high elevation locations in the northern and central Black Hills contain some of the most unique and variable plant communities in the region. Indeed, nearly fifty percent of the plants reported in Larson and Johnson's book are restricted to this area. Another ten percent are limited to the western sagebrush steppes. In the grasslands, ponderosa stands, and woodland riparian niches that make up the southeastern Hills, including the lands of Wind Cave National Park, there are only a few species unique to this area; most of the rest are located in other parts of the Hills or the neighboring grasslands.

In assembling the vast body of ethnobotanical material available on the tribal nations and European Americans who lived historically in the region of the Black Hills, only a few sources directly tie the Hills to specific kinds of plant gathering. Nonetheless, there is a great deal of circumstantial evidence that suggests what kinds of plants American Indians and European Americans would have gathered when they camped, settled, and traveled in the Black Hills. Indeed, some of the plants they relied upon are only found in the Black Hills and not on the surrounding grasslands.

Larson and Johnson's work (1999) was the basic source employed to identify the species of plants located in the Black Hills. Not all of the plants they identified, however, are associated with any use either by Americans Indians or European Americans. Of the plants they list, ethnobotanical material was uncovered on about half of them. In addition, a few other plants not listed in Larson and Johnson are covered here. These are reported at Wind Cave National Park (Pisarowicz 2001e, 2001f, 2001g, 2001h, 2001i, 2001j, 2001k, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c) or in nearby grasslands on the outer edge of the Hogback, and many of them are very important to local tribes.

The plants reported for the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park were matched with material in primary and secondary ethnobotanical and ethnographic sources on populations with known periods of occupancy in the Hills, most notably in the region of Wind Cave National Park. These populations include the Arapahos, Arikaras, Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Lakotas, and Poncas. Some data are also included on the Crows, Hidatsas and Mandans who made periodic use of the Hills but, generally, beyond the range of Wind Cave National Park and its environs. The plant list (Appendix B), which accompanies this report, contains a much more detailed body of information, organized by plant families and species with their names in Native languages and descriptions of their habitats.

1. Woody Plants

At least eighty different varieties of woody plants, trees and shrubs, are reported in the Black Hills (Larson and Johnson 1999), and of these, more than seventy-five percent have reported tribal names and uses. At least twenty-seven are listed at Wind Cave National Park, and the vast majority of them are associated with names in Native languages and important cultural uses. Box elder, elm, bur oak, Rocky Mountain juniper, paper birch, cottonwood, ponderosa pine, green ash, northern hawthorn, and quaking aspen are some of the species of trees listed at Wind Cave National Park. There are many other trees reported in the Hills with important cultural uses as well, and these include, among others, hazel nut, Black Hills spruce, and lodgepole pine.

A wide variety of woody shrubs are also found at Wind Cave National Park, including common juniper, rabbitberry (a.k.a. buffaloberry), skunkbush, buckthorn, leadplant, false indigo, currant, elderberry, coralberry, snowberry, raspberry, chokecherry, wild plum, bearberry, stinking elderberry, broom snakeweed, dogwood, willow, sagewort, and woodbine; all of these are associated with native names and uses, and many have been identified as historically important to European Americans as well. There are other shrubs in the Black Hills of significance but not reported at Wind Cave National Park. Among these, Oregon grape, American bittersweet, wild roses, and one woody variety of sage were used by local tribes and European American settlers.

2. Grasses, Rushes, and Sedges

Based on his observations in 1875, Henry Newton (and Jenney 1880:318) wrote: "The grasses in the Black Hills are almost endless in variety, every condition being so extremely

favorable to their growth." Indeed, more than forty different species of grass, sedge, and rush are found in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park. Nearly half of these appear in the ethnobotanical nomenclatures of the tribal nations who lived in the region, but less than a quarter of the species are associated with any specific use. Some of the grasses located in the park and identified in the ethnobotanical literature include indiangrass, dropseed, grama, foxtail barley, reedgrass, prairie sandreed, switchgrass, ricegrass, prairie cordgrass, porcupine grass, buffalo grass, stinkgrass, and red threeawn. Not reported at Wind Cave National Park or in the Black Hills is sweetgrass, regarded as sacred and important ceremonially to all of the tribes in the region. Softstem bulrush is the only sedge reported in the park; it had important uses among the tribal nations of the region. Nebraska sedge, located at lower elevations in the Black Hills, also had important ceremonial uses for the Cheyennes and probably the Lakotas, while various flatsedges found in regions east of the Hills were important medicinally to other tribes. The only member of the rush family reported at Wind Cave National Park is wiregrass, and there are no reported cultural uses for it.

3. Forbs

There are more than seven hundred different species of flowering forbs in the Black Hills with over one hundred and fifty reported for Wind Cave Park alone. Although approximately forty-five percent of the species reported in the Black Hills are mentioned by name or use in ethnobotanical sources on the region, nearly seventy percent of those found at Wind Cave have identified cultural associations. Some of the more important flowering forbs used for food and medicine are located on park properties, but many of them are not and appear to be restricted to the northern and/or central regions of the Hills. Soapweed, prairie turnip, milkvetch, Indian hemp, western ragweed, pearly everlasting, cowparsnip, groundplum, prairie clover, false gromwell, prickly pear cactus, pinedrops, cattail, beardtongue, wild onion, milkweed, red falsemallow, fetid marigold, downy paintbrush, purple coneflower, field mint, dotted gayfeather, sunflower, goldenrod, yarrow, pussytoes, sagewort, curley gumweed, tansy, pepperweed, fleabane, wood lily, and vervain are just a few of the park's many forbs with known cultural uses. There are several other culturally important plants, which surprisingly are not reported for the park, but likely exist at nearby locations. These include arrowhead, biscuitroot, bush morning glory, wild bergamot, lavender hyssop, and scarlet guara.

4. Nonvascular plants

Many different nonvascular plants, fungi, lichens, and moss, are also found in the Hills. Puffballs, elm cap, and bracket fungi were used for food, medicine, and other purposes by local tribes and early European American settlers as well.

B. Minerals and Soils

The mineral formations that encircle the Hills' follow a fairly regular pattern and do not substantially differ from the northern to the southern Hills. The high elevation interior of the Hills is composed of a Precambrian core made up of granite and pegmatite surrounded by schist, slate, and quartzite formations overlaid in some areas with sandstone, grit, and conglomerate. Layers of limestone, dolomite, shale, and some sandstone of varying complexion surround the interior. The Minnelusa sandstones and the Minnekahta limestones, both of which find expression at Wind Cave National Park, follow the Pahasapa limestone formations where Wind Cave was born. Along the Red Valley, also in the park, layers of red shale and sandstone interlaced with gypsum

mark the geology of the Spearfish formation. The variegated sandstones and shales of the Sundance and Inyan Kara formations dominate the Hogback's geological complexion. Between the Hogback and the Cheyenne River, various clays, shales, and sandstones support the soil beds of the outer grasslands (Froiland 1978:24; *Geological Map of South Dakota* #5 in Froiland 1978). The concentric distribution of geological formations in the Black Hills did not go unnoticed in tribal conceptualizations of the area. Indeed, as revealed later, the Lakotas and Cheyennes may have made connections between some of the unique geological characteristics of the gypsum formations in the area of Wind Cave National Park and those in the vicinity of Sundance Mountain.

II. THE SOURCES AND THEIR HISTORY

Most of what we know about the geology and botany of the Black Hills has been written by European Americans based on their dominant philosophical perspective, which rests, as mentioned previously, on scientific empiricism. Much less is known about American Indian knowledge and understandings of the Hills' botanical and geological landscape. There are several good sources on the ethnobotany of tribes who lived in the region, and these can be used to construct a picture of the probable nature of tribal relationships to plants and minerals in the Black Hills.

A. European American Views

The earliest reports of the Hills' mineral and plant resources extend back to the time when the Black Hills were under the domain of the Spanish. Reports of the Hills' vast wealth in gold and other minerals were contained in correspondence between traders and Spanish officials as early as 1804 (Nasatir 1952:738). Most of these reports were based on rumors, of which some early traders, who actually lived in their general vicinity, were highly skeptical. Antoine Pierre Tabeau (in Abel 1939:68), for one, wrote:

> I say nothing about the minerals, having seen no sign of them and not having been able upon this subject to draw any information from the Savages to whom all the glittering pebble-work is mineral. Nevertheless, the Chayennes let me see a bit of lead mineral which they had brought from the Black Hills.

He also reported that the local tribes used a kind of pumice stone from the Black Hills (Tabeau in Abel 1939:68). In addition, Tabeau (Ibid:93-98) wrote a great deal about the plant life in the region. Although nothing pertains specifically to the Black Hills, his writing provides valuable information on tribal uses of some of the more common plants widely distributed on the grasslands and in the river valleys west of the Missouri River. Another trader, Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:11-14), provided general information about Lakota plant use and knowledge based on his many years of service as a trader on the upper Missouri River. In the 1840s, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:270-271) and E. De Giradin (1936:63) were among other early writers to make specific connections between the Black Hills and tribal plant collection.

From the early nineteenth century until the time U.S. government expeditions began to explore the region in the 1850s, European Americans knew little about the geology or botany of the Black Hills. There were numerous unsubstantiated reports of traders receiving gold and other minerals in trade from local tribes, however, and some of these stories were passed down in tribal oral traditions (see Chapter Five). Between 1855 and 1857, military expeditions under the command of General William Harney skirted the northern end of the Hills, reporting on the general features of their topography and also making observations on their general mineral potential

(Warren 1875; McClaird and Turchen 1973:359-389). Two years later, in 1859, Capt. William Raynolds toured the northern edges of the Hills and reported on their geology (McLaird and Turchen 1974a:19-62). Accompanying some of these expeditions was the naturalist Ferdinand Hayden, who published extensive notes (1862a, 1862b) on the region's botany with some information on tribal plant use and knowledge.

The watershed expedition, however, was the one led by General George Armstrong Custer in 1874. Colonel William Ludlow (1875), Chief Engineer of the expedition, and the geologist, N. H. Winchell (1875), described in some detail features of the area's geology (McLaird and Turchen 1974c:281-319). A.B. Donaldson (in Krause and Olson 1974:41-77) wrote extensively about the area's botany as did other newspaper correspondents who accompanied the expedition. When the expedition arrived at Reynold's Prairie they were astounded by the diverse array of flora located there. A. B. Donaldson (*quoted from* McLaird and Turchen 1974c:296) described the flowering species as: "the gaudy sunflower and the delicate harebell, the fair lily and the bright blue daisy, the coarse elecampane and the modest violet, the gay larkspur and the fragrant peppermint, roses and pinks, asters and phlox, bellflower and caropsis, geraniums, golden rod, purple coneflower." Even General Custer (*quoted from* McLaird and Turchen 1974c:296-297) had this to say: "In no private or public park have I ever seen such a profuse display of flowers. So luxuriant in growth were they that men plucked them without dismounting from their saddle." In other areas of the Hills as well, early explorers described the abundant plant growth, the rich timbers, and the fine grasses (McLaird and Turchen 1974a:46, 48, 1974b:175, 1974c:295, 297, 303).

The following summer, two geologists, Walter Jenney and Henry Newton, toured the Hills and wrote detailed reports about their geology and the value of their mineral wealth, pursuant to pressuring the Lakotas to relinquish their rights to the area. They provided little information on the region's botany other than describing the varieties of wild fruit, recommending the grasses for cattle raising and describing the richness of the timber for logging (Jenney 1875; Newton and Jenney 1880:315, 316, 318, 320-323; McLaird and Turchen 1974d:402-438).

The gold boom and the rush of miners into the Hills in 1874 cast a particular history of development for the area, much of which has already been chronicled in Chapter Five. The area where Wind Cave National Park is located stood on the edge of these developments, and it was not systematically explored until Walter Jenney and Henry Newton traveled Beaver (a.k.a. Amphibious) Creek in 1875 and when growing numbers of European Americans began to settle the surrounding areas after 1878 (Tallent 1899:648-651; Clark, B. 1983:17-19). Although mining claims were staked afterwards in portions of the park, most of these remained undeveloped because the area held little potential for economically viable forms of extraction. Other than a limekiln and small gold processing operation at the southwest end of the park, no other mining appears to have taken place within the park's present-day boundaries (McAdam 1973). The mineral extraction that occurred locally took place at stone quarries in canyons near the Buffalo Gap, which, as previously reported, provided the masonry material for the construction of many old buildings in local communities (Tallent 1899:415; Stewart 1967-1970:70). Also, a gypsum plant was in operation near Hot Springs for some years (Schell 1961:376).

The only historical role the park appears to have played in the gold rush days was its location along a major trail that took early prospectors and settlers into the mining districts around Custer. As much of the mining in the Custer area was not profitable, except in the mica industry, the trails leading to this once bustling region of the Hills became marginalized. The centers of development were in the north, near Deadwood, Lead, and Rapid City, and the quickest access to these locations followed routes on the outer edge of the Hogback. Much of the nostalgia and romanticism that surrounds the gold rush days in European American histories of the area reside outside

the region where Wind Cave National Park is located. The history of the southeastern Hills, as described in Chapter Six, rests more on the early cattle business and on the development of a resort industry in the late nineteenth century around the thermal waters at Hot Springs. The European American discovery of Wind Cave, its original development as a commercial enterprise, and its later operation as a government run attraction, is also connected to the history of leisure travel in the area, much of which has already been discussed in Chapter Six as well.

In the early years of European American settlement, little was written about the area's botany, although in later years the first-generation descendants of pioneer settlers would recall the use of native plants by their own families and local Lakotas as well (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 40, 402, 425, 583, 585, 730; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72, 119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:227, 365, 379). The first systematic scientific studies of the region's plant life did not take place until the twentieth century when S.D. Visher (1912, 1913), H.E. Hayward (1928:353-412) and A. C. McIntosh (1926, 1927, 1928, 1929) began to write about the region's botany. Since the early "discovery" days in the Black Hills, much has been written about the geology and botany of the Hills in general and about the area of Wind Cave National Park from a scientific perspective. There are detailed descriptions (McIntosh 1949; Froiland 1978; Larson and Johnson 1999) of local mineral formations, soil compositions, hydrological features, and plant distributions, none of which need to be covered here.

B. Tribal Perspectives

Much less has been written about American Indian understandings of the region's botany, although some of it can be deduced from various ethnobotanical sources on the subject. In their 1939 study of Kiowa ethnobotany, Paul Vestal and Richard Schultes (1939:3-4) wrote that little was known about the uses of plants among the tribal nations of the Great Plains. Although additional material has been gathered during the past sixty years, much of their assessment still remains true today. In comparison to other regions of North America, where there are comprehensive and richly detailed studies of tribal ethnobotany, much of the information on the names and uses of plants for tribal nations of the Black Hills region is sketchy. Even though there are a number of general works on the medicinal uses of native plants by European Americans in the plains and intermountain west (Moore, M. 1979; Kindscher 1987, 1992; Tilford 1997), there is hardly anything that refers specifically to the Black Hills. Nonetheless, there is still an enormous amount of material for the general area as evidenced in the large list of plants attached to this report (Appendix B).

The material on the tribal nations who historically occupied the Black Hills is very uneven. Fairly good material can be found on the Kiowas (Vestal and Schultes 1939), Plains Apaches (Jordan 1965), Poncas (Gilmore 1919), and Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972; Hart 1981, 1992), but existing sources on the Comanches (Carlson and Jones 1939), Arikaras (Gilmore 1926, 1987), Hidatsas (Nickel 1974), and Araphoes (Nickerson 1966) are limited. There is also a substantial body of information on the Lakotas, but it is scattered over many different sources. Reverend Eugene Buechel's dictionary (1970) contains an exhaustive listing of Lakota plant names and some brief notes on their uses. A decade later Dilwyn Rogers (1980) reorganized much of this information in a manner more accessible for ethnobotanical study. Still, most of the richer and more elaborate descriptions on Lakota plant use, their preparation for culinary and medicinal purposes, and their symbolic and ceremonial associations are located in primary ethnographic sources (Densmore 1918; Gilmore 1919; Hassrick 1964; Walker 1980; DeMallie 1984). Red Cloud High School (2001) now has an excellent website for its course on Lakota Ethnobotany that contains information not found in other sources.

The overall lack of attention to plants in the literature on the tribal nations of the Black Hills reflects a bias about the nature of their local subsistence practices. Throughout much of the ethnographic literature, there is a pervasive idea that local tribes focused most of their subsistence efforts on hunting and spent little time on plant procurement. Since no ethnographers were in a position to actually witness historic procural practices, there is little to substantiate their claims that meat dominated tribal diets. This remains one of many unproven assumptions about the subsistence economies of the tribal nations who historically occupied the Black Hills. In 1851, the fur-trader Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:12), on the basis of his firsthand knowledge of the matter, wrote:

> Few can have any idea, without actual observation, of the immense quantities of cherries and berries eaten by them in season. The former are masticated stones and all, making a noise with their incomparable grinders not unlike and fully as loud as horses eating corn. These fruits and roots together with some others of minor note are a great resource to a people who depend entirely upon the chase for subsistence. They can be easily cured, packed, and carried, and are of much service, particularly to their children, when meat is not to be had.

More recently, Julia Ann Jordan's study (1965) of Plains Apache ethnobotany confirms Denig's observations and provides substantial evidence that plants were a much more important part of tribal subsistence economies than is commonly supposed.

In the twentieth century, much of the research on ethnobotany was severely constrained because tribal populations were living in environments considerably different from the ones they had occupied before their settlement on reservations. This was true because many groups were settled at locations far removed from their aboriginal territories, where they were unfamiliar with many of the plants in their new homes. But even when tribes were not relocated, many of the plants they once knew and relied upon had disappeared as a result of being overgrazed by cattle or plowed under by farmers (Jordan 1965:57).

In comparison to the information available on Native faunal and floral knowledge, the material written on their geological understandings of the area is slim, consisting mostly of brief and ad hoc references written in other contexts. Nonetheless, some information can still be gleaned from some of the classic ethnographic works on the Cheyennes and Lakotas (Densmore 1918; Hassrick 1964; Grinnell 1972; Walker 1980; Moore 1996).

III. HUMAN AND PLANT/MINERAL RELATIONSHIPS

In the Cheyenne and Lakota scheme of things, plants are living beings, and like animals and humans, they have physical and spiritual properties (Schlesier 1987:6, 11). As Karl Schlesier (Ibid:11) wrote in reference to the Cheyennes:

> Edible plants were regarded as powerful beings because they allowed animal and human life. Without the use of plant physical forms in artifacts and a wide range of cultural activities, human life would not have been possible. Plants could not be abused, and plants physically killed had to be propitiated.
>
> Through the ingestion of plant food, animals and humans were made part of the plant community. Plants sought by Tsistsistas shamans and herbalists could not be used without the consent of their *hematasoomao*. Often plants revealed themselves to a specific person and disclosed their healing properties. The Tsistsistas tradition retains examples where the

> *hematasoomao* of shamans identified with specific plant species. In their plant manifestations, some are celebrated in Tsistsistas ceremonies to the present. Because of their solidarity with plants, Tsistsistas shamans used their spiritual power to heal plant diseases or to change weather conditions harmful to vegetation growth. Because game animals sustain themselves with the original, powerful potency of plants, the Tsistsistas regard their flesh as sacred. The ingestion of animal flesh made the human a part of the animal community also.

Schlesier (1987:6) also points out that in Cheyenne cosmology plants are divided according to their locations in the seven levels of the universe. Domesticated plants, such as corn, and wild berries whose edible parts grow above ground are known as *zehoneo* (Moore 1996:211). Below the earth, at the level of the *eseohonozoom*, where animals have their dens, is the place where plants valued for their roots and collectively called *eseohonoz* are found (Schlesier 1987:6). The *noavoom*, which is above the surface of the earth, is linked to sedges, short grasses, and other plants that grow close to the ground, whereas the *nostostovoom* is the level of bushes and tall grasses. The *matavoom* is the region of forests and trees. Since trees straddle many different tiers, penetrating into the deepest level of the universe, the *nsthoaman*, they are considered very powerful (Schlesier 1987:6; Moore 1996:211). These and other plants with deep root systems are known as *maheonezehoneo* (Moore 1996:211). Plants from each of these levels were represented physically or symbolically in major Cheyenne ceremonies including the *Massaum* (Schlesier 1987:6).

Although there appears to be no parallel organization for plants among the Lakotas, except perhaps for the use of plant material in *Yuwipi* ceremonies (Kemnitzer 1970:41-43), we can infer from other contexts that one of the reasons they were revered is because they transversed more than one plane of the cosmos, existing both below and above ground. Large trees, such as cottonwoods, were held in special regard because their roots traveled underground, their trunks occupied the earth's surface, and their branches reached towards the sky. As William Powers (1982:13, 1986:113, 162) argues, any living entity that transverses multiple planes of existence is understood to have special properties. Like badgers and ants, which lead a subterranean life, the roots of plants are connected to the purifying properties of the underground. And as with eagles and hawks, which soar above the earth, trees that grow to great heights are able to reach the cleansing properties of the sky, clouds, and thunders. But as pointed out in Chapter Nine, the principal structural theme in Lakota organization is based primarily on direction rather than stratification.

Different from the Cheyennes, who order their world mostly by hierarchy, the Lakotas emphasize directionality in theirs and connect animals, and thereby plants to the Four Directions or Winds. Bearberry is linked to the North Wind, while sage is associated with the South Wind, cedar the West Wind, and sweetgrass the East Wind. In one of his visions, Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:128-129, 240-244) describes the integral connections between the North Wind, *Waziyata*, the buffalo, humans, and herbs. As already mentioned in the last chapter, all of the major animals in Lakota cosmology are linked in one way or another to each of the Four Winds. Each of these animals, in turn, is associated with specific medicines, some of which are named the *tawote* [food] or *pejuta* [medicine] of a particular species. *Pte tawote* [buffalo food] applies to a species of milkweed (Buechel 1970:440), *pispiza tawote* [prairie dog food] is the name of the fetid marigold (Ibid:444), and *hehaka tawote* [elk food] is known in English as wild bergamot (Ibid:172). The white prairie clover is called as *tapejuta hu bloka* [male kit-fox medicine stem], while the purple clover is identified as *tokala tapejuta hu winyela* [female kit-fox medicine stem] (Ibid:495). Not all plant names are linked to specific animals, but there is a general sense, as in some of Black Elk's visions (in DeMallie 1984:133-134), that the spirits of the animal species who "help" humans are the ones who "own" or steward certain plants. Bearberry [*Arctostaphylos*

uva-ursi], also called "kinnikinick," for example, was the gift of a spirit wolf according to Luther Standing Bear (1988:103).

The metamorphosis of animals into plants is a common occurrence in Lakota visionary narratives (Brown 1992:57). Stephen Feraca (1998:77) described what he learned from a Lakota female herbalist in the 1960s:

> According to Mrs. Fast Horse, practically every flowering plant and bush in the area has a medicinal use or property. This does not mean, of course, that anyone may gather and make use of them. She pointed out various plants as buffalo, elk, and bear medicine, but she never gathered them.

Generally, people must gain the permission of the animal that oversees a particular plant in order to use it, and they must also gain further instruction in its proper application from knowledgeable and accomplished healers. This permission and its accompanying knowledge are gifted by the animals and come ultimately through encounters in visions and dreams (Ibid:72).

Despite their differences, the Lakotas share with the Cheyennes a basic belief in the transubstantiation of spiritual essences across living forms such that humans are able to partake of the healing properties of plants either directly or indirectly through the consumption of the flesh of animals, who depended on various floral species for their own life and well-being. In this regard, the meat of bison and deer are considered especially healthy because of the kinds of plants they feed on (Brown 1992:16, 30; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:128). As Wallace Black Elk (1990: 40) wrote:

> Take, for example, the buffalo. He gave his life so we could wear his robe. We wear buckskins and moccasins. We use his sinews for thread and his bones for needles. He is a vegetarian and eats grass. But the same elements that are in that grass are also in our body. So the buffalo eats the grass and turns it into flesh and blood. We digest his flesh and blood. In turn, we get strength from this four-legged.

Comparable schemata for rocks, minerals, and soils are not developed in the literature on the Cheyennes or the Lakotas, although John Moore (1974:156-157, 171, 174, 175) writes a little about the colors of stones and soils and their connection to the four directions. Both tribes, however, believed that these natural phenomena had animate qualities.

IV. THE BLACK HILLS IN PLANT AND MINERAL COLLECTION

One of the major limitations of ethnobotanical studies is their failure to identify the specific geographic locations where tribal members traditionally procured their various plant and mineral resources. This is especially true for the tribal nations who once occupied the Black Hills. Indeed, most of the references to Native plant and mineral collection in the Black Hills are general to the area as a whole and rarely identify site-specific locations for this activity. References connecting the Black Hills to lodgepole procurement are widespread, however, and there are several citations that mention the Hills as a preferred location for the collection of medicinal plants and certain stones. Some even specify particular locations, such as Bear Butte, Harney Peak, Hot Springs, the Needles area, and Inyan Kara Mountain for the collection of plants and/or stones. Wind Cave National Park, however, has not been singled out in any of the sources examined for this study, except for Rufus Pilcher's recollections (1964) of Lakotas requesting stones from the cave in the early twentieth century. Nonetheless, it is a location where many culturally important plants grow, and several tribal cultural preservation officers specifically identified the plants of this area

as important. Given the sacred significance of the area and its association with bison, which are widely connected to herbs and herbal medicine, it would not be surprising, for reasons discussed below, to know that park properties, or the general area in which they are situated, are associated with certain kinds of plant and mineral collection.

Of the many tribal nations who were known historically to occupy the Black Hills, only the Lakotas and Cheyennes are described as using the Hills for plant and mineral procurement. Other groups certainly used it for this purpose too, but their occupation of the area took place long before ethnographers and ethnobotanists conducted research on the sujbect. One of the consistent themes in the literature is the Cheyennes' and Lakotas' high regard for the Black Hills as a location for securing plants and minerals, especially those used in healing and ceremonies.

The Black Hills achieved this stature for many reasons. One of the most important of these is that a number of plant species do not grow in the surrounding grasslands and sagebrush steppes. They are found only in the higher elevation environments of the Black Hills. Although some of them grow in the neighboring Laramie Range and the Big Horn Mountains, these areas were outside much of the Cheyennes' and Lakotas' customary territorial range until fairly late in the historic era. Cowparsnip (*Heracleum maximum)*, bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), snakeroot (*Polygala senega*), lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), and the wood lily (*Lilium philadelphium*) are just a few of the culturally important plants whose distributions are restricted to habitats in the Black Hills. In some cases, these plants grow in moister areas east of the Missouri River, and the Hills represent an outlier environment for their growth. Clearly, the metaphor of the Black Hills as an island is very appropriate here.

As early as 1846, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:270-271) specifically commented about the importance of the Black Hills for securing lodgepoles, and three years later, in 1849, E. De Giradin (1936:63) wrote about local tribes procuring kinnikinick (bearberry) from the Hills for their tobacco mixtures. According to Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:200), these tribes used the bark of the redesoir dogwood in their tobacco mixes only when bearberry was unavailable. Other historic observations (Hayden 1862b:199-200; Hinman 1874b:95; Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Chittenden 1935:728; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Dodge 1965:137, Dodge in Kime 1998:105; Power in Krause and Olson 1974:88-89; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250) also remark on the use of the Hills for collecting lodgepoles, and William Bordeaux (1929:191) reported that green ash trees used in bow making were historically procured along stream banks in the Black Hills.

At the end of the nineteenth century, early agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation routinely gave Lakotas passes to travel to the Black Hills to collect plants for food and medicine (Jones 1904:125-128; Mekeel 1932:278). Early settlers recall Lakotas coming to the Black Hills well into the twentieth century to acquire their lodgepoles, to pick berries, dig for turnips, and collect other plants for food and medicine (Stewart 1967-1970:71; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; McAdam 1973:6; Smith 1973:16; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293, 317, 379, 1994:75). In addition, Cheyennes were known to come to the Hills from as far away as Montana and even Oklahoma after the 1930s to collect plants and gather minerals and clays for ceremonial purposes (Hart 1981:33, 39; Moore 1981:14; Schlesier 1987:6).

There are also many species that grow outside the Black Hills, but the Hills are the preferred site for their procural due to their connection with the sacred character of the area. The elms (*Ulmus americanus)* and baneberries (*Actaea rubra*) growing at Bear Butte, for example, have special significance to the Cheyennes (Hart 1981:33, 39). John Moore (1981:14) described how

the historic Cheyennes always returned to the Hills to gather plants for their medicines. Three of the most important and sacred ceremonies of the Cheyennes, the *Massaum* (Animal Dance), the *Oxheheom* (Sun Dance), and the *Maxhoetonstov* (Sacred Arrows Ceremony), were conducted historically in the Black Hills and required the collection of native plants for their performances (Schlesier 1987:6, 88-104; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:68-70). The sacred food prepared at the *Massaum*, for instance, represents plants from three of the four growth regions that make up the middle level of the universe, the *votostoom.* This food symbolized all edible food and plants in general (Schlesier 1987:6). As Karl Schlesier (1987:81) points out, just as all of the animals that made up the universe were represented symbolically at the *Massaum*, so all of the plant species that comprised this world were part of the ceremony's complex material base. Although all plants are respected and implicated in the drama of the cosmos, those appearing in the Black Hills are especially revered because they come from the place where the spirits reside that created the universe and made life possible for the Cheyennes today

The strong spiritual association of the Black Hills with plants also holds true for the Lakotas (Catches in Parlow 1983:2). In reference to Bear Butte, for example, Kari Forbes-Boyte (1996: 104) wrote:

> Sacred plants grow at Bear Butte, and a number of Lakota mentioned the healing properties of these plants. Although many of these plants can be found at other locales, because of the affiliation between Bear Butte and doctoring, it is believed that plants are more powerful when gathered at this site. In addition, according to the Lakota, some plants are found only at Bear Butte. For example, one Lakota elder said only Bear Butte provides a type of herb traditionally applied to an infant's umbilical cord to ward off infection.

Fools Crow, a well-known spiritual leader of the Lakotas, had this to say about Bear Butte and its relation to healing and herbs:

> To all the different medicine men, or medicine powers, the bear is the most powerful. The bear holds the secret of the roots and herbs that can cure a lot of diseases the medicines [Euro-American pharmaceuticals] cannot. This is why Bear Butte is especially important and sacred for the medicine men who use herbs and roots and other forms of plant life to cure diseases and who have to go to Bear Butte regularly to renew their power to cure diseases and sickness (*quoted from* Forbes-Boyte 1996:106).

Bear Butte and the Black Hills proper are closely connected to healing because of their historic associations with bears, which are identified very specifically with medicines and root plants by the Lakotas (Dorsey, J. 1894:495; Densmore 1918:195; Lone Bear in Walker 1980:128; Lewis, T. 1990:108; Forbes Boyte 1996:106).

Similar comments have also been made in relation to the plants that grow at Harney Peak (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:230-231), in the Hot Springs area (LaPointe 1976:46; Catches in Parlow 1983a: 2), and for the Black Hills as a whole (Bordeaux 1929:191; Buechel 1970:116-117; Catches in Parlow 1983a:2-3; Loud Hawk in Parlow 1983a:46; Red Shirt in Parlow 1983a: 63; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:46, 98, 141, 253, 258-259; Flying By in Ingram 1989:181; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:30). Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:133-134) described one of these plants as follows:

> Then this gopher transformed into an herb. This was the most powerful herb of all that I had gotten. It could be used in war and could destroy a nation. (This was used in war and it was very destructive. If you touch this herb it will kill you at once. Nothing grows anywhere near it because it is killed immediately if it does). 'Behold him. There will be dispute of nations

> and you will defend your people with this herb' (I was not old enough when I was supposed to use this herb or else I could have used it and killed many enemies. It was too terrible to use and I was glad that I did not get use to it. This herb is in the Black Hills. Every animal that nears it dies. Although where it grows, there are many skeletons always. This medicine belongs only to me -- no one else knows what this herb looks like. It looks like a little tree with crinkly leaves, reddish in color. I call this herb soldier weed).

The story of the origin of kinikinick that Standing Bear (1988:103) tells is also probably connected to the Black Hills, as is the medicinal use of a herb associated with a story about bison that took place at the Buffalo Gap (Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:242-245).

Although there is nothing specific in the published literature that connects medicinal plants to Wind Cave National Park per se, there are explicit associations in the literature between the healing properties of plants and the thermal waters at Hot Springs (LaPointe 1976:46; Catches in Parlow 1983a:2) and the Buffalo Gap (Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:242-245). Several Lakotas and Cheyennes, however, identified the general area of the park as a location for the procurement of plants used in ceremonial observances, especially sage and kinnikinick (Albers and Kittelson Interviews 2002).

Since the lands of Wind Cave National Park occupy an area that has long been considered *Tatanka makalpaya* [the Stomping Ground of the Bison Bull] in Lakota (Lone Wolf in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:242), it is easy to imagine how powerful symbolic connections might be made between the park's land, its bison and plants. This is true in two ways. First, as revealed in Chapter Nine, there is a close association in Lakota cosmology between bison and healing herbs. Severt Young Bear (and Theisz 1994:128) expressed it this way:

> Even the buffalo meat the Oglala ate -- I don't know how many of the rest of the Lakotas were the same -- was especially healthy and even sacred because when those buffalo went into the Black Hills, they ate all the sacred herbs and medicines that are found there. Through the buffalo the Oglala then ate those same medicines.

Similarly, Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:128-129) revealed the following in one of his visions of bison:

> As I looked down upon the people, there stood on the north side a man painted red all over his body and he had with him a lance (Indian spear) and he walked into the center of the sacred nation's hoop and lay down and rolled himself on the ground and when he got up he was a buffalo standing right in the center of the nation's hoop. The buffalo rolled and when he got up there was an herb there in his place. The herb plant grew up and bloomed so that I could see what it looked like --what kind of an herb it was from the bloom. After the buffalo's arrival the people looked better and then when the buffalo turned into an herb, the people all got up and seemed to be well. Even the horses got up and stretched themselves and neighed. Then a little breeze came from the north and I could see that the wind was in the form of a spirit and as it went over the people all the dead things came to life. All the horses pulled up their tails and neighed and began to prance around.
>
> The spirit said: 'Behold you have seen the powers of the north in the form of man, buffalo, herb and wind. The people shall follow the man's steps; like him they shall walk and like the buffalo they shall live and with the herb they shall have knowledge. They shall be like relatives to the wind.' [From the man in the illustration they should be healthy, from the buffalo they shall get meat, from the herb they shall get knowledge of diseases. the north wind will give them strong endurance.

As discussed in Chapter Fifteen, the symbolic associations Black Elk made in this dream have relevance to Wind Cave, believed by some to be the home of *Waziyata* [the North Wind and/or his grandfather], a connection he in fact infers in another context (in Brown 1971:19-20).

Additionally, the creation of plants and a number of specific plant species are described in detail in the sacred story of the Four Winds and the Lakota genesis story that are also closely connected to Wind Cave (Walker 1983:220-228, 230-236). As Elaine Jahner (in Walker 1983:196) points out, James Walker's narrative synthesis of the Lakota genesis story tells how the *Wakinyan* [Thunders] instruct *Wohpe* to create seeds and plants by blowing dust on them. In order to create all the plants and foods for the gods to feast on, *Wohpe* needs help and so the *Pte Oyate* [the Buffalo People] are made to assist her. The process whereby plants and foods are created reveals "the way power works in bringing things into existence in the process of creation" (Jahner in Walker 1983:196). Even more specifically, it is the connection of Wind Cave with the North Wind, *Waziya* or *Waziyata*, and his relation to the buffalo and their rebirth that undoubtedly punctuates the special stature of the plants that grow in this region.

The general sense that one gets from the literature is that the Lakotas believe different varieties of plants are more potent and powerful when they grow in the Black Hills because of their connections to the home of the animals, the winds, and the place of human origin. As the medicine man Pete Catches (Parlow 1983a:2-3) put it,

> Another of the sacred spiritual men, brought yet another medicine. In the Black Hills, even of this day, we walk through the many canyons and deep recesses of the Black Hills and we see beautiful, powerful, potent medicine that grows no where else but the Black Hills. The medicine that grows there does not grow where I am talking now. I am talking in the reservation, near Pine Ridge. I know this territory very well. I go in the hills, looking for medicine. Many times I am sitting on top of the hill here looking towards the Black Hills. Oh how I want to go there in search of medicine.

Another Lakota, Stella Loud Hawk, also speaks about the relationship between plants and the Hills sacredness. As she says:

> The whites say they never heard the Black Hills is sacred. But way back, it's been sacred. It's very sacred. The Medicine men, he mentioned all things, they get from the Black Hills. The roots, the leaves. That's where they get all their medicine. The roots, the plants they use. And the barks. And these Medicine men travel very far to get their medicine. I have a grandfather that travels very far. He travels to North Dakota to get a certain plant for his medicine collection. And then into Montana and into Wayoming, Wyoming, Big Horn. And they always say that our Medicine men are wtich doctors. But they are not. They are using the same roots as our grandfathers used back in those days. And I always say the Creator made those plants to us. So, I can say he was a doctor. He was a doctor for our Indian people. And I can say these Medicies are very strong. And there are certains kinds of Medicine that he gets from the Hills. And that's why today the Lakota people say, 'sacred.' We use that word, 'sacred' (in Parlow 1983a:46).

It is well known that plant species exhibit considerable diversity across their varied habitats, and this was certainly recognized by the Lakotas and Cheyennes. Variation is revealed not only in the relative productivity of particular plant patches, but also in terms of other qualitative criteria. Plains Apaches, for example, recognize variations in the aromatic qualities of different patches of wild bergamot, a plant widely used by plains tribes as a medicine and perfume. They jealously protected their knowledge of the best patches of this plant (Jordan 1965:143-147). Similarly, Utes recognize differences in buffaloberry stands by their productivity and the relative quality of their fruit. Again, the whereabouts of the highest yielding and best tasting berries is a closely guarded

family secret (Albers and Lowry 1995). Iron Teeth told Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:6) that the Cheyennes always searched for and returned to the best locations to collect berries, and Melvin Gilmore (1919:88) noted that the Lakotas often made special trips to find locations where fruits like chokecherries were abundant. Not uncommonly, chokecherry bushes are plentiful near Lakota rock art sites in the Black Hills and neighboring areas associated with female fasting and dreams of the Double-Woman, *Winyan Nunpapika* (Sundstrom, L. 2002:112).

There are a host of criteria one may use in selecting sites to collect plants, and their choice depends, in part, on a plant's use. Thus while taste may be among the primary considerations for food plants, color is more important for selecting plants that work as dyes, and durability for those with structural uses. It is also true that families often gather plants at preferred places whose whereabouts has been passed down over many generations and kept secret. Therefore, even though particular plant species may grow in abundance elsewhere, Lakotas and Cheyennes may still come to the Black Hills to gather them because of their association with a sacred space, because of family traditions of having gathered plants at locations in the Hills, or because of the productivity and special properties (e.g., fragrance, taste) of particular stands in this area.

Finally, one must be mindful of the fact that many of the rich native plant environments on the plains were destroyed because the lands were overgrazed, plowed under, or inundated by large dam projects. Some of the most valuable riparian environments in Lakota country were destroyed after the building of dams along the Missouri River and the South Fork of the Cheyenne. Plant habitats in the Black Hills were also despoiled through grazing, logging, and mining practices, but there are still many local environments where culturally significant plants not only survive but flourish (Larson and Johnson 1999:14). Paramount among these are state and federal lands with a protected status.

There is no question that the Hills were, and still remain, an important area for the procurement of plants, nor is there any doubt that this area also served as a prominent place for the collection of stones and minerals with practical as well as ceremonial uses. There is an abundant body of archaeological evidence for quarrying activity having taken place in the Black Hills during prehistoric and early historic times. Many of the minerals procured in the Hills, including gypsum and certain varieties of quartzite, flint, chalcedony, chert, limestone, and sandstone, are restricted to the Hills. Two of the most famous quarrying sites in the Black Hills are in close proximity to Wind Cave National Park. One is Battle Mountain, about five miles southeast of the park, at the top of which is a large outcropping of variegated colored quartzite found in association with numerous flaked pieces. Local whites have mistakenly interpreted this site as a battleground. While battles certainly took place near this location, as reported in oral histories and winter counts, the debris of worked stone found atop Battle Mountain reveals not a battle site but a quarrying area. Another is Flint Hill, just six miles south of Minnekahta Junction and approximately twenty miles southwest of the park, which also contains rich outcroppings of quartzite material. Tipi rings abound near both of these sites, and the stone material quarried at both was well represented in archeological sites submerged by the Angostura Reservoir on the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. Other stone, including agate, chalcedony, and chert, suitable for making projectile points, and hematite, for making paint, were also found in the general area of the Black Hills (Wedel 1959:272; Sundstrom, L. 1990:59-60; Wedel and Frison 2001:44-45, 49). Evidence for the prehistoric quarrying of chalcedony is found at a number of documented sites at Wind Cave National Park or in its immediate vicinity (CU0869, CU0870, CU0871, CU0872, CU0873, CU0876, CU1235, CU1236, CU1285).

As far back as 1804, traders wrote about local tribes taking and trading gold, lead, and other minerals from the Black Hills (Tabeau in Abel 1939:68). In 1874, Samuel Burrows (in Krause

and Olson 1974:208) reported that atop Inyan Kara Mountain "small pieces of white quartz were found. As they had no geological business to be there, they were no doubt left there by the Indians, who are fond of making offerings to their gods from these lofty altars." William Ludlow (1875:15), Chief Engineer of the Custer Expedition, reported a site on the northwestern side of the Black Hills where there were enormous quantities of gypsum that had been quarried by local tribes who left offerings there. Gypsum and other crystalline stone, as discussed momentarily, had important practical and spiritual uses for the Cheyennes as well as the Lakotas.

Several ethnographers and local historians described the Black Hills area as a preferred location for the collection of certain stones. According to Francis Densmore (1918:438), the Lakotas on the Standing Rock Reservation procured finely grained sandstones used for finishing off arrow shafts in the Black Hills. Thomas Odell (1942:23-24) reported a formation near Bear Butte where Lakotas collected a certain kind of stone. As he wrote:

> Many small concretions of burnish color, divisible into two pats, each of which forms a cup-like receptacle, abound in the vicinity of Bear Butte. The Dakotas, it is said, gathered and polished these stones, on which they engraved pictures of Bear Butte, together with those of the sun and moon. It is reported that some of these stone idols are still in existence.

John Moore (1981:14; 1996a:67-68) writes that Cheyennes continue to collect red hematite, coal, blue earth, and white clay from locations in and around the Hills to use as pigments in their ceremonial paints. He specifically mentions the area of Bear Butte as one location for the procural of blue clay and gypsum (Moore, J. 1974a:174, 259). Finally, Rufus Pilcher (1964) told a story about Lakotas requesting stone from Wind Cave for healing in the first decade of the twentieth century (see Chapter Thirteen for details).

Even after the United States took over the Hills, Lakotas and Cheyennes continued to gather their plants and minerals here. In fact, it appears to have been a customary practice in the early twentieth century to permit Lakotas to leave their reservations in order to gather plants in the Black Hills for food and medicinal purposes (Jones 1904:125-128; Mekeel 1932:278). In later years, there are many other references to Lakotas and Cheyennes continuing to make use of the Black Hills for collecting plants and minerals (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; Buechel 1970:116-117; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72; LaPointe 1976:46; Hart 1981:33, 39; Moore 1981:14; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:46, 98, 133-134, 141, 253, 258-259; Schlesier 1987:6, 88-104; Schwartz 1988:68-70; Ingram 1989:181; Born 1994:26-27; Forbes-Boyte 1996:104, 106). Over time, however, the Lakotas and Cheyennes' ability to procure the plants and minerals they needed for their religious observances was restricted in the Hills. As Pete Catches (in Parlow 1983a:3) explains:

> And I can't because it is being watched very closely and you cannot get off your car and get into the hills. You are told to get away from there. I done that once. We went to the Black Hills for the sole purpose of getting what is known as tobacco. No one knows that except a few people. I went there teaching a young man to show him what it looks like. And we were ordered away. 'Do not take anything, leave everything as it is,' they told us. So in the Black Hills there is many beautiful medicine that we wish we could have. And we go there and there area signs; we are ordered away from it. Medicine is very, very powerful there, blessed by the Great Spirit and given for the use of Lakota people. For 100 years we are kept from even entering the Black Hills. We go there fearing we will be chased out. We go there to be in the presence of the powerful Medicine sights there. When we walk in the region, we are strong.

Similar sentiments are expressed by Wallace Black Elk (and Lyon 1990:72) as follows:

> So it's hard for us to gather the materials we need. They are on the land but that land is federal or state or private land. So you can't walk these private lands. There's a *no trespass* there. If you go there and try to pick medicine, they will shoot at you. Sometimes they shoot us dead. Then the government comes and says, "Well, a dead Indian is a good one," like that. So it's really hard to go in any land. It used to be our land but it's like they pulled the rug out from under our feet. So we are a people without a land and without a law. The spirit told us, "Not even one law was made for the Indian." So investigate that, because that is what the spirit told us. So every law that was made for Indians was made to go against us. So there never was a law made for Indians. So these things happened to us.

Indeed, one very good reason tribal people have not identified the sites where they gather plants on public lands in the Black Hills is the legitimate fear that the discovery of such use will lead to restrictions and the prevention of future access (Melmer 2003: B1).

V. SEASONAL CYCLES IN TRIBAL PROCUREMENT

Historically, the collection of plants was seasonally specific, and as the case with animals, the Lakotas and Cheyennes came to the Hills at particular times of the year to procure them. The late spring and early summer months were the times most tribal nations would have used the Black Hills for specialized plant collection. This was the time when the bands that wintered at the base of the Hills split into smaller camp groups to carry on various plant gathering activities, and it was also the season when people from more distant locations traveled to and spent time in the area every year, specifically for the purpose of gathering their lodgepoles and medicinal plants. This period was also associated with intense ceremonial activity, much of it conducted at various sites in and around the Hills (Bordeaux 1929:191; Hassrick 1964:154-155; Looking Horse in Parlow 1943a: 42-43; Schlesier 1987:82-83; Black Elk, C. 1992a:49-51; Goodman 1992:8, 13, 16).

The early spring was the time groups tapped sap from the box elder tree (Hassrick 1964:155) or gathered the buds of American licorice (Grinnell 1972:2:178). Around the time of the vernal equinox bearberry, pasqueflowers, and milkvetch were collected. By the time of the summer solstice, berries were starting to ripen, leaves were becoming mature, and roots were reaching their highest potency in the Black Hills. The wild turnip, for example, was abundant here, and historically, it was commonly gathered in the foothills (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72). The opportune time for identifying and gathering turnips is limited because the plant's top breaks off and scatters its seeds soon after ripening in June, making it difficult to locate (Kindscher 1987:183-189). The most intense gathering of plants for food, medicinal, ceremonial, and manufacturing purposes occurred during the weeks following the summer solstice (Hassrick 1964:155). This was the time when many tribal groups encamped at higher elevation locations in the Black Hills, where they were able to find an abundance of berries and many medicinal plants, such as cowparsnip, not found on the surrounding prairies (Bordeaux 1929:191).

By the middle of August, people would make their departure from the Hills to gather into larger groups in preparation for their annual communal bison hunts, which historically took place on the grasslands surrounding the Hills or in the gaps and canyon spaces where herds of bison and other animals could be easily isolated, surrounded, and/or driven into pounds (Warren 1875: 15-16; Hassrick 1964:155-156; Schlesier 1987:55-59; Sundstrom, L. 2000). This was the season when wild plums and buffaloberries ripened and when sunflowers, curly gumweed, gayfeathers, and goldenrod bloomed. These plants would have been harvested in and around the Hills only when groups located bison in the immediate area, and this certainly would have happened before the 1840s and even after but with much less frequency.

Another season when groups came to the Hills was in the late fall after their large communal game hunts. Groups who typically over wintered here probably gathered hazelnuts[1] and oak acorns near the sites of their winter camps (Hassrick 1964:153, 156). Even buffaloberries[2] may have been procured at this time of the year because some tribal people believe they taste better after the first frost (Albers 1966-1976, Fieldnotes; Nickel 1974:73). Trips to collect lodgepoles are also reported to have taken place in the fall (Bordeaux 1929:45). Other populations who wintered elsewhere may also have engaged in some plant and mineral collection during this season in conjunction with specialized trips to the area for elk and bighorn sheep hunting or en route to other locales.

VI. PLANTS/MINERALS AND THEIR USES

In the remaining part of this chapter, the plants and minerals reported at Wind Cave National Park or in its vicinity are discussed in terms of their uses in subsistence, healing, hygiene, manufacture, decorative art, animal care, and in symbolism as well as ceremony. In this discussion, particular attention is given to the tribes with known histories of occupancy in areas at or surrounding the park. Again, the large plant list (Appendix B) attached to this report contains much more detailed information on these and other plants along with their uses. A more detailed discussion of the minerals and clays of importance to the Cheyennes and Lakotas is found in Appendix C.

It must be emphasized that the material presented here and in the accompanying appendices is not to be construed as exhaustive or complete. There are probably many plants, minerals, and clays whose use in healing and religious ceremonies is not public knowledge. Spiritually gifted people generally do not reveal or identify the plants and stones they use or the places they procure them. This kind of information is kept secret out of respect for a plant or stone's spiritual potency, the places it lives, and/or the spirit partners who revealed and gave instructions on its use. Even Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984), who talked about his own spiritual experiences in very detailed and candid ways, did not offer specific information on the identities of the plants he used in healing.

A. Plants Used in Food and Food Preparation

The Black Hills is a veritable produce market when it comes to the quality, variety, and productivity of their fruits and other edible wild plants. In historic times, the berries, nuts, seeds, saps, nectars, resins, stalks, flowers, leaves, barks, roots, bulbs, and tubers of a wide range of plants made up the diets of the tribal nations who lived in the region. Many of the plant staples in tribal diets are located in the Black Hills and at Wind Cave National Park.

1. Berries, Nuts, Seeds, and Pods

Some of the early fur traders in the region, especially Pierre Antoine Tabeau (in Abel 1939:93-94) and Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:11-14), wrote extensive narratives about the importance of fruits in native diets, including the chokecherry, serviceberry, currant, wild plum,

[1] Walter Jenney (in Newton and Jenney 1880:318) reported that two different varieties of hazelnuts were found in extensive patches in the southeastern Black Hills in 1875.
[2] These berries can be found on their bushes into late October and early November.

wild grape, strawberry, buffaloberry, gooseberry, cacti tuna, and rosebuds. Different members of the Black Hills Expedition described all of the fruits important in local tribal diets as growing in profuse quantities at various locations in the Black Hills in 1874. William Ludlow (1875:18), the chief engineer on this expedition, for example, described one such location at the base of Harney Peak: "Wild raspberries, unexcelled in size and flavor, abounded; and in the dark wet bottoms the june-berry bushes grew to a height of 10 or 12 feet, and hung full of fruit." A. B. Donaldson (in Krause and Olson 1974:64), the expedition's botanist, described the profusion of fruit there as well. Samuel Barrows (in Krause and Olson 1974:1974:250), one of the journalists, wrote that strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and serviceberries grew abundantly on the side of Inyan Kara Mountain, and another correspondent (Knappen in Krause and Olson 1974:23) wrote of the rich berry-producing vegetation of Floral and Castle valleys, where "thousands of acres" of raspberries, currants, gooseberries, huckleberries, and strawberries could be found. A year later, members of the Jenney Expedition also reported on the abundance of the Hills' fruit-bearing plants (Newton and Jenney 1880:316-38). Indeed, Walter Jenney (in Newton and Jenney 1880: 316) likened the richness of the Hills' vegetation to southern Maine and New Hampshire.

Of the numerous varieties of fruits found in the Black Hills, chokecherries [*Prunus virginiana*] were probably the most important and certainly among the most highly esteemed by local tribes (Hart 1992:42). The Lakotas and other tribal nations in the region made special trips to find locations where this fruit was abundant during the months of July and August (Gilmore 1919:88). Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:11-12) wrote about this fruit and the buffaloberry as follows:

> Choke cherries, *cham pah'* (Sioux), and grain de beouf, *mush tim' poo tah* (Sioux), grow on low bushes in great quantities along the coulees. These with the plumbs form the principal food for bears and wolves. Both the fruits last named are dried. The former is pounded with the seeds, and cooked in various ways, occasionally made into soup, but more often mixed with dried buffalo meat bruised and marrow grease added. This is what is known among the voyagers as pemmican. It is convenient to carry, nutritious and rather more desirable than most of their dishes. The grain de beouf is a small, red berry with an acid taste. When dried it is made into soup by boiling or enters as a component into pemmican instead of the cherries.

Historically, chokecherries were eaten fresh and prepared for later use. They were commonly ground with special mortars and pestles and made into small cakes and dried in the sun. These cakes, which contain a mixture of dried fruit, meat, and fat, are commonly known as pemmican in English or *wasna* in Lakota (Gilmore 1913b:364-365, 1919:88; Grinnell 1972:2:178; Nickel 1974:71; Standing Bear 1975:22, 1978:6, 59, 1998:111; Brown 1992:12). Many of the corn-producing tribes in the region also combined chokecherries with ground corn meal, a practice followed by the non-horticultural groups as well (Gilmore 1926b:14; Nickel 1974:71). In fact, chokecherries were an important part of the intertribal trade between the Arikaras and Lakotas (Gilmore 1987:90-91). The tribal nations of the region also mixed these berries in a variety of different soups and stews, and today, they are made into a popular pudding among the Cheyennes and the Lakotas (Lewis, L. 1980:252; Hart 1981:36; Hart 1992:35). Chokecherries remain a necessary food and/or offering at most contemporary feasts and religious events among contemporary Lakotas (Albers 1966-1976; Kemnitzer 1970:75; Nurge 1970:67, 82). In modern times, Lakotas continue to gather chokecherries; they prepare them using meat grinders and food processors and preserve them through drying, canning, and freezing techniques (Nurge 1970:82; Lewis, T. 1990:155). Chokecherries were also a popular fruit for early European American settlers, who processed them for jams and jellies (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J.

1977:227, 365, 379). The Lakotas also make jams and jellies from chokecherries (Albers 1966-1976).

Buffaloberries [*Shepherdia canadensis* or *S. argentea*] (also known as rabbitberries) ripened in the late summer and early fall. They were probably collected near tribal buffalo hunting grounds outside the Hills, but they may have been gathered along the Hills' margins when groups moved there to set up their winter encampments. The Arapahos, Cheyennes, Lakotas, Poncas, and Arikaras consumed the tart berries fresh but dried most of them for winter use (Gilmore 1919:106, 1987:54; Hassrick 1964:178; Nickerson 1966:49; Buechel 1970:333-334; Grinnell 1972:2:181; Nickel 1974:73; Hart 1981:25). Today, they remain a favorite fruit among local tribes who can and freeze them, prepare them in puddings for ceremonial occasions, or put them up in jams (Nickerson 1966:49; Kemnitzer 1970:75; Nurge 1970:67, 82; Standing Bear 1978:59). Early European American settlers in the region also consumed large quantities of these berries, and settlers garnished their meats with sauces and jellies made from the fruit (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:227).

Wild plum [*Prunus Americana*], which also ripens at the end of summer, from August to September, was another important fruit for tribal nations throughout the region. Again, Denig (in Ewers 1961:11) wrote:

> Red plums, *cauntah* (Sioux) grow on small bushes in many places on the borders of most of the rivers mentioned, but are found in great abundance high up on the White River and L'eau qui Court. They are best eaten ripe, but are dried and laid up by the natives, and when wanted are rendered eatable by boiling. The process of drying, however, extracts most of the fruit taste and leaves nothing but the rind.

Not only was this an important fruit historically, but it remains a valued one today (Gilmore 1919:87; Carlson and Jones 1939:523; Vestal and Schultes 1939:29; Jordan 1965:41; Grinnell 1972:2:177; Nickel 1974:70; Standing Bear 1978:59; 1988:111; Brown 1992:12). In modern times, wild plums are often made into jams and jellies or preserved by canning for use on ceremonial occasions (Kemnitzer 1970:75; Nurge 1970:67, 82; Lewis, L. 1980:252). This fruit has also been a popular food for European Americans living in the Black Hills (Sundstrom, J. 1994:75).

Another member of the rose family, the serviceberry [*Amelanchiera*], remains an important food for tribes throughout the region. Like the chokecherry, it was eaten fresh or dried and pounded into bison meat to make pemmican cakes (Gilmore 1919:87, 1987:35; Bordeaux 1929:132; Hassrick 1964:179; Nickerson 1966:48; Grinnell 1972:2:176; Hart 1981:34, 1992:8). It is a popular ingredient in puddings and soups served today on ceremonial occasions (Albers 1966-1976). Historically, this was a popular trade item that tribes exchanged with European Americans (Gilmore 1919:91), and today, it remains a popular wild fruit among European American residents of the Black Hills (Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:227, 379).

Many other fruit-bearing woody plants located at Wind Cave National Park were a source of food in earlier times, and they remain important in tribal diets today. Local tribes eat raspberries [*Rubus idaeus* or *R. occidentalis*] and various species of currant and gooseberry [*Ribes americanum, R. aureum, R. cereum, R. hertellium, R. oxyacanthoides, and R. missouriensis*], fresh or dried for long-term use (Gilmore 1919:85; Hassrick 1964:179; Grinnell 1972: 2:175, 177; Nickel 1974:72; Jordan 1965:49; Standing Bear 1978:59, 1988:11-12; Brown 1992:12; Hart 1981:26-27, 36). The berries of the skunkbush or fragrant sumac [*Rhus aromatica*] are important

to the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and various Numic speaking tribes in the area, but other tribes do not appear to have collected them systematically (Vestal and Schultes 1939:39, 40, 72 Jordan 1965:48). In earlier eras, the Plains Apaches and the Lakotas often made hackberries [*Celtis occidentalis*] into candy or a condiment for seasoning meats (Gilmore 1913b:362; Jordan 1965: 63). Nannyberries [*Viburnum lentago*] were once eaten too but not in great quantities (Gilmore 1919:115; Nickel 1974:75), and elderberries [*Sambuicus racemosa*] were eaten raw and used in a beverage tea (Gilmore 1919:115; Vestal and Schultes 1939:52). The Lakotas and Poncas dried the fruits of sandcherries [*Prunus pumila*] for later use and also made them into a sauce when fresh (Gilmore 1913b:364). The Lakotas and Cheyennes believed that if a person approached sand-cherries from the windward side they would be bitter but coming from the opposite direction, they would be sweet (Gilmore 1919:88; Buechel 1970:97; Grinnell 1972:2:177; Eastman in Graeber 1978:88, 101; Standing Bear 1988:12). Rosebuds [*Rosa* spp.] are eaten too, but more often, along with bearberries [*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*], they are taken as an emergency food (Gilmore 1919:85; Hassrick 1964:156; Kemnitzer 1970:73; Nurge 1970:82; Nickel 1974:73, 74; Hart 1981:31, 36; Wilson 1981:106-107; Kindscher 1987:200-204; Standing Bear 1988:11; Brown 1992:12). Wild strawberries [*Fragaria virginiana*] were taken fresh by all of the tribal nations of the northern Plains when they ripened in June, and they were also desired and sought after by early European American travelers and settlers (Sundstrom, J. 1977:227). River grapes [*Vitis riparia*], which are not reported on park properties, are abundant in the general region, and they are still important sources of food for the region's tribal peoples (Gilmore 1919:102; Carlson and Jones 1939:523;Vestal and Schultes 1939:42; Jordan 1965:52-54; Hassrick 1964:179,190; Jordan 1965:52-54; Buechel 1970:135; Grinnell 1972:2:180; Nickel 1974:75; Standing Bear 1978:59; Hart 1981:41). Finally, European Americans ground the berries of the common juniper [*Juniperus communis*] to flavor their meats (Larson and Johnson 1999:504).

Many trees in the region provide food as well. One of the most important food staples was the acorn of the bur oak [*Quercus macrocarpa*], which was gathered in late fall (Gilmore 1919:75; Carlson and Jones 1939:524; Grinnell 1972:1:248; Hart 1981:26). The bitterness of the acorns was extracted through a leaching process (Gilmore 1919:75), and then the nuts were ground into a meal for soups and mush (Hassrick 1964:156, 180; Brown 1992:12). Ground acorns were also added to the ingredients that went into the making of pemmican (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:387). Notwithstanding the difficulties in collecting them, hazelnuts, which were reported as very abundant in the southeastern Hills in 1875 (Newton and Jenney 1880:316), were eaten raw or pounded into a meal for thickening soups (Gilmore 1919:74). In times of food scarcity, especially during the winter months, they became an important emergency food (Hassrick 1964: 156, 180). The fruits of the northern hawthorn [*Crataegus chrysocarpa/dissona*] were used as food, but these were eaten in moderation and taken mostly in emergency situations (Gilmore 1919:87; Carlson and Jones 1939:521; Jordan 1965:31; Grinnell 1972:2:176; Nickel 1974:61-62). The fruits of the Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus scopulorum*] are also edible, and even though they were widely procured for food by tribes in the Intermountain West, this was not the case for most of the tribes in the Plains who consumed them on an occasional basis (Carlson and Jones 1939:522; Smith, A. 1974:270). Finally, the seeds of the ponderosa [*Pinus ponderosa*] were eaten by the Cheyennes (Hart 1992:57).

Several species of flowering forbs provided fruits, pods, and seeds for consumption. The immature pods of the groundplum [*Astragalus crassicarpus*] were collected in the spring and eaten raw or cooked by Lakotas and Poncas (Gilmore 1913b:365; Gilmore 1919:91; Buechel 1970:440; Kindscher 1987:61). The Lakotas also ate the fruit of the pricklypear cactus [*Opuntia*], which they called *taspu* (Gilmore 1913b:366, 1919:104; Bordeaux 1929:130; Standing Bear 1978:59; Brown 1992: 12). Cacti tuna were eaten raw or stewed, and even the stems were

consumed when other foods were scarce. Royal B. Hassrick (1964:179) quoted a Lakota woman, who said:

> From the cactus we gathered the red tops or fruit and often brought them home, worked them around in a deerskin bag to remove all the thorns. Next we crushed them with a pestle and mortar in a rawhide bowl in much the same way we pounded cherries, and placed them in rows to dry. From this, we made mush, sometimes adding a little fat.

The Cheyennes dried the fruits as well, and they used them in meat stews and as a thickening agent for soups (Grinnell 1972:2:180; Hart 1981:16). The Comanches dried the unripe fruit, which they stored and eventually cooked with other foods (Carlson and Jones 1939:523), while the Plains Apaches ate them raw when they picked them in the fall (Jordan 1965:38). Early European American settlers in the West quickly learned the food value of these cacti, too (Kindscher 1987:158). Various *Physalis* species or groundcherries, also commonly known as tomatillo, Chinese lantern, and popweed, were picked opportunistically and eaten fresh by Lakota children. They were also made into a sauce and dried for the winter when quantities were sufficient (Buechel 1970:467; Red Cloud High School 2001).

The seeds of the sunflower [*Helianthus annus*], a plant commonly cultivated by the tribes who lived along the Missouri River, were gathered and eaten fresh, prepared by roasting and cooking, or dried and ground into a meal to make breads and thicken soups (Gilmore 1919:130-131; Grinnell 1972:2:189; Hart 1981:21; Kindscher 1987:124; Red Cloud Indian School 2001). Although some of the tribal nations along the Missouri River cultivated sunflowers, they preferred the wild varieties for making oils (Wilson 1917:18-19). Blue flax [*Linacea perenne*] seeds were used to flavor food as well (Kindscher 1987:244).

Another important food, but one not reported at Wind Cave National Park, was the wild bean or hogpeanut [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*]. Typically found on the lower elevation banks of rivers in and around the Black Hills, these beans were collected and stored in the dens of field mice or voles whose supplies were pilfered by the women of local tribes (Hayden 1862b:188; Gilmore 1919:95; Ewers 1961:11). Lakota women, however, left gifts of corn or other acceptable foods in exchange; there is a popular moral story in Lakota narrative traditions that tells of a woman who took beans from a mouse's storehouse without returning a gift and the calamity that befell her community as a result (Gilmore 1919:96). The underground seeds were gathered either in the early spring or in late fall, while the above ground seeds were harvested only during the fall (Kindscher 1987:38-41). The beans were eaten raw or boiled with meat fat to make a soup. According to Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:370), wild beans combined with dried beaver's tail was considered one of the Lakota's favorite dishes and often served to "distinguished visitors." The plant's smaller lentil sized seeds were cooked as well (Kindscher ibid.).

2. Bulbs, Tubers, and Roots

The prairie turnip, also known as breadroot scurfpea [*Psoralea esculenta*], was one of the most important foods for the tribal nations of the northern Plains, and it was also one of the most commonly reported in historic sources (Kaye and Moodie 1978:329-336). Pierre Antoine Tabeau (Abel 1939:98), for example, wrote:

> ...But the prairie turnip is the most common and is not only reserved for these occasions (famines) but is used much even in times of plenty. This root has almost the shape of a turnip. It is covered with a hard and very thick black skin which is easily detached and always removed whether the turnip is eaten raw or boiled. The women cut it in pieces, which they

> dry in the sun and afterwards pound and reduce to flour. They make of this flour a rich, nourishing, and palatable soup. All the wandering nations leave regretfully the districts where the prairie turnip grows abundantly and leave it, too, only after having dried great quantities of it. The Caninanbiches, Chayennes and others, who, independently of their chargers, have many horses not laden, are rarely without this flour and during the visit that they paid to the Ricaras, they bartered it for maize at a profit of three or four measures for one.

And Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:11) reported:

> The prairie turnip, called by the Sioux *teep se nah*, or by the French *pomme blanche*, is found everywhere on the high prairies. It is either eaten raw or boiled and is collected and dried in large quantities by the Indians for winter use. When dried and pulverized a tolerable substitute for flour can be made of it. In any state it will support life for several months without the assistance of animal food. This root is much sought after and devoured by the grizzly bears.

In fact, Ferdinand Hayden (1862b:188) claimed that local tribes subsisted "almost entirely" on this plant during the spring and early summertime. Notwithstanding its importance, the prairie turnip is not an easy plant to harvest because its roots are generally compacted in hard soil. Historically, women used specially carved digging sticks to pry the turnips from the ground, and today, Lakota and Cheyenne women and men often use crowbars to do the job (Albers 1966-1976; Kindscher 1987:185-186). Melvin Gilmore (1919:92-93) noted that Lakota mothers told their children to take note of the directions of the plants and follow these to find the whereabouts of other plants because it is said that the plants 'point to each other.'

The Lakotas and Cheyennes ate prairie turnip roots raw, and they also dried and braided them for winter use (Jordan 1965:46; Grinnell 1972:2:178; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:6; Hart 1981:29-30; Standing Bear 1978:57, 1988:111). They were boiled with meat and also with sweeteners for puddings (Gilmore 1919:92, Hassrick 1964:173-174). They are still gathered by women and men today and considered an important ingredient in soups served on ceremonial occasions (Albers 1966-1976; Lewis, T. 1990:59).

The Arikaras, Mandans, and Hidatsas frequently acquired their supplies of prairie turnip in trade with the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal nations who lived on the plains west of their villages. In fact, there are vivid descriptions in traders' accounts of Cheyenne and Arapaho horses laden with long strings of prairie turnip when they came to trade at the villages (Gilmore 1926:14; Tabeau in Abel 1939:98; Jordan 1965:47; Nickel 1974:72).

Gunnison's mariposa lily [*Calochortus gunnisonni*] and the closely related sego lily [*C. nuttali*] were also sources of food for tribal nations in the northern Plains and adjoining regions of the Intermountain West. Among the Cheyennes, for example, the flower buds were eaten, and the bulbs were dried, pounded and stored for winter use to make a sweet mush (Grinnell 1972:2:172; Hart 1981:12).

Wild onions [*Allium*], which contain micronutrients such as vitamins C and A, were an important nutritional supplement to the buffalo meat diet of the tribal nations who lived in the central and northern Plains (Kindscher 1987:16, 1992:222-23). They were a popular food, eaten alone or as a condiment to enhance the flavor of meats and soups among all tribes in the region (Gilmore 1919:71; Carlson and Jones 1939:520; Jordan 1965:27; Nickerson 1966:46-47; Buechel 1970:447; Grinnell 1972:2:171; Standing Bear 1978:58; Hart 1981:12). Royal Hassrick (1964:179), quoting a Lakota woman, writes: "Wild onions were larger and sweeter than turnips.

It was time to pick them when the prairie grass was thickest. Mixed with meat, either fresh or jerked, onions were extremely good."

Although not listed for the Black Hills, the Jerusalem artichoke [*Helianthus tuberosus*] was also a major food staple, particularly for the tribal nations living on the eastern side of the Hills (Gilmore 1913b:369; Gilmore 1919:130-131; Buechel 1970:38; Standing Bear 1978:57; Walker 1982:128). According to the trader Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:11), "*Pangi* grow in abundance along marshy spots of the river banks. They are eaten raw, roasted or boiled, but are not dried and preserved." Also found in locations farther east is the wild potato or groundnut [Apios americana], another important food in local tribal diets (Buechel 1970:111; Hart 1981:28).

The arrowhead plant [*Sagittaria cuneata*], widely found in the Black Hills, but not reported at Wind Cave National Park, was another significant source of food (Gilmore 1913:358, 1919:65; Nickerson 1966:46; Grinnell 1972:2:170; Standing Bear 1978:58; Hart 1981:7). Christina Little Horse (in Lewis, L. 1980:251), a Lakota woman, recollected her grandmother gathering these. As she described it:

> When she would go out to pick the berries and wild food she had been used to eating, she would take me along. Usually the first place we'd go would be the creek. There was a plant growing there she called "spetola." That word meant beads. She'd take the plant out of the muddy, slushy water where the leaves would be floating on top of the water. She'd reach into the water with her hands and dig around and she would come up with a white, cordlike root with little bumps on it from about the size of a walnut down to the size of small beans. The root and the bumps together looked just like a string of beads. She would take all those beadlike things off the cordlike root and wash them in water. Then she'd boil them and they tasted just like mashed potatoes. She said they were Indian beans.

There were many other roots of importance in the diets of the tribal nations who lived around the Black Hills. The Lakotas, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches ate the bulb-like root of the dotted blazingstar, which is reported to have a carrot-like flavor (Vestal and Schultes 1939:61; Jordan 1965:34; Red Cloud High School 2001). The Plains Apaches also consumed the rootstalks of the cattail [*Typha latifolia*] (Jordan 1965:50). The roots of the American Licorice [*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*] were peeled and dried in large quantities for winter use by the Lakotas (Gilmore 1919:92), while the young shoots of the licorice plant were eaten raw by the Cheyennes when they budded in the early spring (Grinnell 1972:2:178). Various species of biscuitroot or wild parsley [*Lomatium* spp.] are reported in the Black Hills but not at Wind Cave National Park; these plants were gathered for food in the spring (Hassrick 1964:179-180; Buechel 1970:460; Grinnell 1972:2:182; Hart 1980:40; Kindscher 1987:147-148). Finally, the Poncas, Lakotas, and Comanches, chewed the roots of both the white and pink varieties of wild prairie clover [*Dalea* spp.] (Gilmore 1919:94; Carlson and Jones 1939:523; Buechel 1970:495; Kindscher 1987: 111).

3. Leaves, Stalks, Barks, Buds, and Flowers

Field Mint [*Mentha arvensis*] was widely used by European Americans and the tribal nations of the region for culinary purposes (Kindscher 1992:152-155). The Cheyennes, Lakotas, and Poncas boiled the dried leaves as a beverage tea (Bordeaux 1929:131; Grinnell 1972:2:186; Standing Bear 1978:58; Hart 1981:27). This tea is still served today at Lakota feasts (Albers 1966-76; Nurge 1970:67, 82). The Lakotas flavored their cooked meat with mint and packed the plant with their dried meat as well (Gilmore 1913b:363).

TABLE 6. List of Food Plants at Wind Cave National Park Used by Lakotas, Cheyennes, and/or Arapahos

common name	taxonomic name
Woody Plants	
American elm	*Ulmus americanus*
Bearberry	*Arctostaphylos uva-urs*
Box elder	*Acer negunda*
Buckthorn	*Ceanothus fendleri*
Bur oak	*Quercus macro*
Buffaloberry	*Sheperdia Canadensis*
Chokecherry	*Prunus virginiana*
Cottonwood	*Populus deltoides*
Currant	*Ribes aureum*
Elderberry	*Sambuicus racemosa*
Hackberry (found near Hot Springs)	*Celtus occidentalis*
Hazelnut (reported in area, circa 1875)	*Corylus cornuta*
Leadplant	*Amorpha canescens*
Nannyberry	*Vibrum lentago*
Northern hawthorn	*Crataegus Chrysocarpa*
Ponderosa pine	*Pinus ponderosa*
Rasberry	*Rubus* , spp.
Rocky Mountain Juniper	*Juniperus Scopulorum*
Sandcherry	*Prunus pumila*
Serviceberry (Juneberry)	*Amelancheria alnifolia*
Wild plum	*Prunus Americanus*
Willow	*Salix,* spp.
Grasses and Sedges	
Bulrush	*Scripus validus*
Flowering Forbes	
American licorice	*Glycyrrhiza lepidot*
Breadroot scurfpea	*Psoralea esculenta*
Dock	*Rumex,* spp.
Downy paintbrush	*Castilleja sessilifora*
Dotted blazingstar	*Liatrus punctata*
Field mint	*Mentha arvensis*
Flax	*Lincea* spp.
Groundcherry	*Physalis, spp.*
Groundplum	*Astragalus crassicarpus*
Mariposa lily	*Calochortus gunnisonni*
Milkweed	*Asclepiadaceae speciosa*
Pigweed	*Chenopodium,* spp.
Prairie clover	*Dalea,* spp.
Pricklypear cactus	*Opuntia polyacantha*
Rush skeletonplant	*Lygodesmia juncea*
Soapweed	*Yucca glauca*
Sunflower	*Helianthus annus*
Thistle	*Cirsium,* spp.
Wild onion	*Allium,* spp.

Table 6, cont.

	Fungi, Lichens, and Moss	
Puffballs		*Marshallia caespitosa*

Many other plants were also used to make culinary beverages. The Lakotas used raspberry, buckthorn, and leadplant leaves, white clover roots, and chokecherry bark in beverage teas (Gilmore 1919:85, 89, 93, 94; Buechel 1970:507), while the Poncas steeped the leaves of blue vervain [*Verbena stricta*] for the same purpose (Gilmore 1919:111). Cheyenne beverage teas were also brewed from the barks of the cottonwood, aspen, and elm tree (Hart 1981:36, 37, 39).

Pigweeds [*Chenopodium* spp.] were an ancient food plant on the plains (Kindscher 1987:79-83). The Lakotas boiled the immature plant greens for food or prepared them as a mush, and the Kiowas also consumed them, even though they believed that the plant was put on the earth "to bother Indians or drive them away from dangerous places" (Vestal and Schultes 1939:25; Buechel 1970:117, 574). They were also a popular source of greens for European American travelers and immigrants in the nineteenth century (Kindscher 1987:82). Other species of plants called pigweeds that come from the amaranth family, including the prostrate variety [*Amaranthea graecizians*], were also used as a source of greens by the Kiowas, who often cooked them in soups (Vestal and Schultes 1939:26).

Various parts of local milkweed species, *Asclepiadaceae*, were used as food too. The Lakotas and Cheyennes used the flowers of *A. speciosa* to thicken soups (Gilmore 1913b:363; Buechel 1970:519). The Cheyennes ate the inner layer of the stalks when the fruit was still green, and they used the dry milk as a chewing gum (Grinnell 1972:2:183; Hart 1981:14). They also consumed the inner stem of thistles [*Cirsium edule*] raw and considered this a prized food (Hart 1981:20), while the Comanches consumed *C. undulatum* (Carlson and Jones 1939:521) and the Kiowas, *C. ochrocentrum* (Vestal and Schultes 1939:85). The Kiowas and Plains Apaches ate the flower stalks of the soapweed [*Yucca glauca*] plant (Vestal and Schultes 1939:17; Jordan 1965:54). Although the Cheyenne knew them to be eatable, they did not consume them in any measure (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:53). The inner bark of young cottonwoods and the buds of willows were a source of food for the Lakotas (Bordeaux 1929:131). The inner stems of the softstem bulrush [*Scripus validus*] were common foods for both the Cheyennes and the Lakotas (Gilmore 1913b:359; Hart 1981:8; Red Cloud High School 2001). Standing Bear (1978:58) wrote about the bulrush as follows:

> A food that had an interesting history for us was the tall plant that grew in the swamps, commonly called bulrush. The duck, who brought many good plants and roots to the tribe, told the Duck Dreamer medicine-man about it and named it psa. In the early spring and summer we welcomed this plant which was pulled up by the roots, and the white part eaten like celery.

4. Saps, Nectars, and Resins

The box elder was a primary source of sugar for tribal nations in the Black Hills region. Its sap was used to make beverages and candies (Gilmore 1913b:366; Gilmore 1919:101; Grinnell 1972:1:249; Vestal and Schultes 1939:40; Hassrick 1964:150; Nickel 1974:57; Standing Bear 1988:98-99; Hart 1981:13, 1992:5). Luther Standing Bear (1978:59), a Lakota, said: "We had no

sugar, but notched the boxelder and caught its juice in our horn spoons, drinking it like water." In early spring, gathering the sap from this tree was a major productive activity for women. Other trees also furnished sweet saps too. The Ponderosa pine, aspen, and cottonwood exuded palatable saps favored by tribes in the Intermountain West, and although the Lakota are reported to have eaten the inner bark of some of these trees (Bordeaux 1929:131), there is no published evidence that they or other tribes in the Black Hills collected the sap.

The Kiowas allowed the sap of Indian Hemp [*Apocynum cannabinum*] to harden and used it as a chewing gum (Vestal and Schultes 1939:47). The Lakotas chewed the latex from the roots of the Rush skeletonplant [*Lygodesmia juncea*] (Gilmore 1919:136), and the Cheyennes used the pitch of the ponderosa pine as a gum (Hart 1992:57). Finally, the Lakotas and the Cheyennes gathered the nectar of the downy paintbrush [*Castilleja sessilifora*] in the spring and consumed it as a food (Buechel 1970: 521; Hart 1981:39).

5. Grasses, Fungi, and Lichen

The tribal nations who lived in the region of the Black Hills did not consume any of the abundant species of grass reported in the area, although tribes in the neighboring Intermountain West region were known to eat the seeds of rye [*Elymus*] and other grass species. Grasses, however, were critical in maintaining the health of their principal source of meat, the bison, and in providing forage for their horses. The short-grass gramas and buffalograsses are noteworthy, and in some ways, they are inseparable from the species that grazed on them. Bison grazing facilitates their growth by increasing the uptake of nitrogen, and the dung of this animal fertilizes the soils in which they grow (Isenberg 2000:22). These grasses are thickest and most nutritious in late summer. Since they are able to store their nutrients through the winter months, they provide good forage in some of the sheltered areas tribes overwintered, including the Race Track and the lands of Wind Cave National Park (Isenberg 2000:23; Binnema 2001:28-29).

The tribal nations who lived in the Black Hills ate a variety of fungi, but, except for puffballs [*Marshallia caespitosa*], the identity of many of these non-vascular plants is unknown or not consistent with modern scientific nomenclatures (Gilmore 1919:61-62; Vestal and Schultes 1939:12; Jordan 1965:136; Grinell 1972:2:168-169; Standing Bear 1978:58, 62; Hart 1981:2-4; Little Horse in Lewis, L. 1980:253).

B.Plants/Minerals Used in Medicine and Hygiene

The plants of the Black Hills also constituted a veritable pharmacy for the tribal nations who lived within their reaches, and many were standard ingredients in the medicinal remedies of early European American settlers too. Although other areas of the of the Black Hills, especially the parks and grasslands of the central limestone plateau, hold the greatest variety of plants with medicinal uses, more than fifty different species of plants reported at Wind Cave National Park provided remedies for a wide range of ailments and injuries in American Indian and European American healing traditions.

1. Colds and Respiratory Ailments

The purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] is probably the most well known of the park's healing plants. The Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Lakotas, Comanches, and the Cheyennes treated colds with teas and decoctions made from its roots and leaves (Densmore 1918:389; Carlson and Jones 1939:521; Vestal and Schultes 1939:58; Jordan 1965:110; Buechel 1970:397;

Grinnell 1972:2:188; Hart 1981:20-21; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:53; Lewis, T. 1990:135). Early European American settlers in the region quickly learned the medicinal value of the purple coneflower and applied it widely as a folk remedy (Tilford 1997:52-53). Today, it is sold commercially as a popular antidote and remedy for colds, and recent scientific research has documented many of its medically active components (Kindscher 1992:84-93).

Fetid marigold [*Dyssodia papposa*] is eaten by prairie dogs and commonly found near their towns: thus, its Lakota name, *Pispiza tawote,* or prairie dog food (Buechel 1970:444). The Lakotas and the Poncas powdered and administered the plant for pulmonary troubles (Gilmore 1919:132), while the Kiowas Apaches used the crumbled flowers as an inhalant for respiratory complications (Jordan 1965:135).

The rush skeletonplant [*Lygodesmia juncea*] was considered to be one of the Cheyenne's most important medicinal plants, and it was used to treat a whole range of illnesses (Hart 1981:22). John Stands in Timber (and Liberty 1967:110) indicated that it was an essential ingredient in nearly all medicinal mixtures and decoctions. The roots were used primarily in treating colds and tuberculosis.

Other members of the composite or aster family employed in the treatment of colds and respiratory ailments include sunflowers [*Helianthus annus*] (Gilmore 1913b:369; 1919:130; Red Cloud High School 2001) and goldenrod [*Solidago*] (Jordan 1965:131-133; Tilford 1997:66). Different varieties of sagewort, including *Artemesia ludovicina*, were also popular remedies for sinus problems and pulmonary illnesses (Gilmore 1919:135; Vestal and Schultes 1939:56; Jordan 1965:99-103; Hart 1981:19; 1992:44-45). Of the many different medicinal applications the Lakota had for the wild bergamot [*Monarda fistulosa*], not found at Wind Cave National Park, was a tea brewed from the plant's blossoms to soothe sore throats and to treat colds and fevers. In another application, the roots were used to doctor whooping cough (Buechel 1970:172).

Many tribal peoples also made teas from the needles and berries of the Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus Scopulorum*] to treat colds and respiratory illnesses (Gilmore 1919:63; Kemnitzer 197:66; Vestal and Schultes 1939:13; Grinnell 1972:2:170; Hart 1981:5; 1992:37; Standing Bear 1988:96, 102). The Cheyennes and Comanches boiled the leaves of the skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*] in decoctions to treat head colds (Carlson and Jones 1939:524, 534; Hart 1981:14, 40), while the Kiowas relied on them to treat influenza (Vestal and Schultes 1939:40). The broom snakeweed plant [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] was taken by the Lakotas and the Plains Apaches in teas for coughs and colds (Jordan 1965:65; Buechel 1970:440), while pinedrops [*Pterospora andromedea*], the common juniper [*Juniperus communis*], shepherd's purse [*Capsella bursa-pastoris*], and ragweed [*Ambrosia artemisiifolia*] were included in various Cheyenne remedies for colds and pulmonary complications (Grinnell 1972:2:169-170, 174, 183, 188; Hart 1981:18, 25). The Cheyennes and the Lakotas utilized common yarrow [*Achillea millefolium*] to stimulate sweating and to alleviate the symptoms of colds and other respiratory ailments (Buechel 1970:192; Grinnell 1972:2:189; Hart 1981:17; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988: 53). Cowparsnip [*Heracleum maximum*] was considered one of the Arapahos' primary medicines, and it was used widely in their treatments for colds and pulmonary disorders (Nickerson 1966:49). The Poncas depended on the curlycup gumweed [*Grindelia squarosa*] as a medicine for treating tuberculosis (Gilmore 1913b:368, 1919:133), and the Lakotas relied on it for treating respiratory difficulties (Red Cloud Indian School 2001). Finally, the Kiowas prepared various varieties of willow for treating pneumonia (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19).

Rocky Mountain juniper and the common yarrow were widely recognized for their medicinal properties among European Americans, and they were used in teas or infusions to treat coughs

and sore throats (Kindscher 1992:20-21; Tilford 1997:84, 166). European American settlers also collected goldenrod for respiratory treatments and horseweed [*Conyza canadensis*] for bronchitis (Kindscher 1992:237). The common mullein [*Verbascum thapsus*], introduced from Eurasia, and now a ubiquitous roadside plant throughout the Black Hills, was frequently included in European American folk medicine as a remedy for the treatment of asthma and bronchitis (Tilford 1997: 102). Finally, curlycup gumweed [*Grindelia squarosa*], wild onions [*Allium*], the scarlet globemallow [*Sphaeralcea coccinea*], and willows [*Salix*, spp.] were widely employed by early European American settlers to treat asthma, bronchitis, colds, and pneumonia (Hart 1992:34, 38; Kindscher 1992:30, 192; Tilford 1997; 94, 160, 164).

2. Gastrointestinal, Liver, and Kidney Ailments

To treat illnesses of the liver, kidneys, and gastrointestinal tract, tribal peoples procured an even greater array of plants found at the park. Various composite plants were used for these purposes. Sageworts, including *Artemesia compestris, A. filifolia,* and *A. ludoviciana*, were considered potent remedies for digestive and urinary complaints (Vestal and Schultz 1939:56; Buechel 1970:117, 439, 519; Fire in Erdoes 1978:172). The root of the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] was chewed by Lakotas to treat lower intestinal pain (Densmore 1918:270, 389), and pepperweed [*Lepidium densiflorum*] was brewed in a tea for kidney ailments (Buechel 1970: 659). Many tribes relied on the western ragweed [*Ambrosia psilostacya*] to treat intestinal disorders too. The Cheyennes concocted a tea from the stem and leaves to use as a remedy for constipation, bowel cramps, and bloody stools, while the Lakotas took the plant's top and leaves and made a medicine to relieve vomiting (Gilmore 1913b:369; Grinnell 1972:2:184; Hart 1981:18). The Cheyennes also brewed willow [*Salix amygdaloides*] in a tea for relieving diarrhea and other ailments (Hart 1981:38).

Fruit-bearing plants were also widely applied in treatments for gastrointestinal complaints. The Poncas brewed the roots of ground cherries in a tea for stomach complications (Gilmore 1919:113), and many tribal nations brewed a tea made from chokecherry bark to treat diarrhea and dysentery (Gilmore 1919:89; Hart 1981:36, 1992:43).

Several plant remedies were earmarked for children's gastrointestinal ailments. The Poncas and Plains Apaches used raspberry roots in treatments for childhood diarrhea and bowel problems (Gilmore 1919:84; Jordan 1965:129). The Lakotas treated intestinal complaints in children with a tea made from the bark of the bur oak (Gilmore 1919:75), while childhood diarrhea and dysentery were doctored with remedies concocted from horseweed [*Conyza canadensis*], the rush skeletonplant [*Lygodesmia juncea*], goosefoot [*Chenopodium album*], thymeleaf spurge [*Euphorbiaceae serpyillifolia*], and various milkweeds [*Asclepiadaceae pumila, A. viridiflora, A. stenophylla*] (Densmore 1918:266-267; Gilmore 1919:99; Buechel 1970:132, 192, 329, 440, 489, 520, Fire and Erdoes 1978:171-172).

Various species of milkweeds and spurges were employed by the Plains Apaches, Lakotas, and Poncas to treat adult stomach complaints too (Gilmore 1919:109-110; Jordan 1965:104). Many different tribes relied on field mint [*Mentha Arvensis*] for stomachaches and other intestinal ailments (Vestal and Schultes 1939:49; Hart 1981:27; Fire and Erdoes 1978:170). The Lakotas prepared soapweed [*Yucca glauca*], western wallflower [*Erysimum asperum*], and blue vervain [*verbena hastata*] in teas for intestinal distress (Gilmore 1913b:363; Fire and Erdoes 1978:170). Poncas and Lakotas took cowparsnip [*Heracleum maximum*] for stomachaches (Gilmore 1919: 107), while the Cheyennes used the dried pulverized root of the cattail [*Typha latifolia*] in a medicine to relieve abdominal cramping (Hart 1981:40). The Cheyennes also took the dried

leaves and roots of American licorice [*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*] to prepare a medicinal tea for intestinal distress (Hart 1981:28-29, 1992:35). Kiowas used skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*] leaves and the roots of the beardtongue [*Penstemon grandiflorea*] for this purpose (Vestal and Schultes 1939:40, 51). Finally, the Plains Apaches prepared a tea from the gromwell species [*Lithospermum incisum*] to treat diarrhea and other stomach complaints (Jordan 1965:118).

The Lakotas brewed teas from wild buckwheat [*Eriogonum annum*] and the pricklypear cactus [*Opuntia*] to promote urination (Buechel 1970:227). The pulverized roots of milkvetches [*Astragalus canadenis* and *A. racemosus*] were also used for this purpose (Buechel 1970:440), and wild lettuce [*Latuca oblongifolia*] was an ingredient in a decoction the Lakotas prepared for kidney ailments (Densmore 1918:262-263).

European Americans relied on many of the same plants for treating their gastrointestinal complaints. Field mint has a long history as a stomach remedy in European American folk medicine, and today, it is one of the most popular herbal teas in the United States (Kindscher 1992:153-154). Milkweeds, fetid marigold, blue vervain, and chokecherry bark were also commonly taken for a wide range of intestinal ailments (Moore, M. 1979:106-107; Kindscher 1992:212, 241; Tilford 1997:34, 97). The common juniper and bearberry were ingredients in remedies to treat diarrhea and inflammations of the digestive and urinary tracts (Kindscher 1992: 132-133; Tilford 1997:86), while the evening primrose [*Calylophus serrulatus*] was administered in diuretic, laxative, and antispasmodic applications (Moore, M. 1979:75; Tilford 1997:56). Finally, the soapweed plant [*Yucca glauca*] served as an anti-inflammatory agent in treating maladies of the digestive and urinary tracts (Tilford 1997:118).

3. Obstetrical and Gynecological Applications

Several different plants found at Wind Cave National Park were employed in treating gynecological complaints, obstetrical complications, and postpartum distress. Sageworts were widely used for these purposes. *Artemesia filifolia* is the sage the Lakotas identified as "women's medicine," and it served as a remedy to treat irregular menstruation (Gilmore 1913b:369-370; Buechel 1970:587). The Lakotas also made a decoction with *A. frigida*, which was taken internally to treat menstrual irregularities, as did the Cheyennes (Gilmore 1930:80; Hart 1992:45). *A. frigida* was utilized by the Lakotas to cleanse women after menstruation (Gilmore 1913b:369-370; Buechel 1970:587), and they brewed a tea from the roots of *A. compestris* to treat complications in childbirth (Buechel 1970:117; Fire and Erdoes 1978:172). The Arikaras depended on *A. ludoviciana* to ease delivery (Gilmore 1930:74). Rocky mountain juniper also had multiple gynecological and obstetrical applications for many of the tribal nations in the region (Jordan 1965:118; Grinnell 1972:2:170).

The Lakotas mixed pricklypear cactus with soapweed in obstetrical treatments too. Reverend Eugene Buechel (1970:190) points out, however, that yucca was known to have dangerous side effects when used obstetrically because it could cause a fetus to be aborted. As the medicine man Lame Deer (Fire and Erdoes 1978:172) noted, "This medicine is *lila wakan* -- very sacred, working two ways." The Poncas used currant roots to treat uterine disorders (Gilmore 1919:84), while the Arikaras took chokecherry juice to stop postpartum hemorrhaging. The Arikaras also combined the scarlet globemallow [*Sphaeralcea coccinea*] with resin from the chokecherry tree to relieve postpartum bleeding (Gilmore 1930:74).

A wide variety of plants were known to promote milk production in nursing mothers. The Lakotas drew on milkweed [*Asclepiadaceae verticillata*], snow-on-the-mountain [*Euphorbiaceae*

margenta], and milkvetch [*Astragalus gracilis*] for this purpose, and they employed the curlycup gumweed [*Grindelia squarosa*] to treat colic in infants (Buechel 1970:117, 133, 440, 520). The Cheyennes, Poncas, and Lakotas relied on the rush skeletonplant [*Lygodesmia juncea*] to stimulate the milk flow in nursing mothers (Gilmore 1919:136; Hart 1992:27). The Cheyennes also relied on lanceleaf bluebells [*Mertensia lanceolata*] and the powdered root of the locoweed [*Oxytropis sericea*] for this purpose (Grinnell 1972:2:179; Hart 1981:16). The Poncas made a concoction from spurge [*Euphorbiaceae serpyillifolia*] for the same purpose (Gilmore 1919: 99).

European American settlers administered horseweed [*Conyza canadensis*] to accelerate contractions in childbirth (Kindscher 1992:237), and they brewed raspberry and sage leaves in teas to treat female reproductive disorders (Tilford 1997:122). As among the tribal nations of the Intermountain West, the common juniper [*Juniperus communis*] was a popular folk remedy for treating menstrual ailments and for expelling the afterbirth (Kindscher 1992:132-133).

4. Anti-inflammatory and Paralytic Treatments

A variety of plants in Native pharmacopeias had anti-inflammatory applications for reducing various kinds of swelling or for treating rheumatic and arthritic complaints. A number of plants have also been reported in treatments for numbness and paralysis. Many plants with these applications grow at Wind Cave National Park.

The Lakotas used a variety of plants to reduce external swellings, including false boneset [*Brickellia eupatoriodes*], western ragweed [*Ambroisia artemisiifolia*], pussytoes [*Antennaria*], snow-on-the-mountain [*Euphorbiaceae margenta*], soapweed [*Yucca glauca*], and false gromwell [*Onosmodium molle*] (Buechel 1970:117, 190, 445, 520; Walker 1980:93). They treated swollen glands with salves made from the roots of the milkweed [*Asclepiadaceae incarnata*] (Buechel 1970:517). The Cheyennes drew on the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] in some of their remedies for rheumatism (Hart 1981:20).

Arthritis, neuralgia, and rheumatism were diseases that Plains Apaches doctored with moxa treatments using the leaves of sagewort [*Artemisia ludoviciana*] (Jordan 1965:99-103). The Poncas drew on the twigs of the leadplant [*Amorpha canescens*] for this kind of therapy (Gilmore 1919:93). The goldenpea [*Thermopsis rhombifolia*] was used in a smoke treatment for rheumatism by the Cheyennes, who also relied on the gromwell (*Lithospermum ruderale*) for this condition (Grinnell 1972:2:185; Hart 1981:16, 30). The Lakotas administered the low fleabane [*Erigeron pumilus*] in one of their treatments for rheumatism (Densmore 1918:389) The crushed leaves of the pasqueflower [*Pulsatilla patens*] were applied as a counter irritant in the treatment of rheumatism by the Lakotas, Arapahos, and Poncas (Gilmore 1919:81-82; Nickerson 1966:47). Finally, the Kiowas depended on willow [*Salix*, spp.] in some of their treatments for rheumatism (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19).

The Cheyennes rubbed the finely ground leaves, roots, and stems of the narrowleaf gromwell [*Lithospermum incision*] on parts of the body affected by paralysis, and they mixed the pulverized leaves and stems of the false gromwell [*Onosmodium molle*] with grease to treat numbness (Grinnell 1972:2:185; Hart 1981:15).

European Americans included soapweed [*Yucca glauca*] and false solomon's seal [*Smilacina racemosa*] in their treatments for rheumatism and arthritis (Kindscher 1992:221-222; Tilford 1997:58, 172). They also employed the cottonwood in various anti-inflammatory applications. Surprisingly, this tree has not been reported in medicinal applications for the tribal nations who

lived in the plains, although it is widely used as an anti-inflammatory by tribes in the Intermountain West (Albers and Lowry 1995: 67; Tilford 1997:114; Larson and Johnson 1999:554).

5. Dermatologic Remedies

The Kiowas used ragweed [*Ambrosia artemisiifolia*] leaves to heal sores (Vestal and Schultes 1939:55), and the Plains Apaches also applied them to lesions but considered them too strong for persistent use (Jordan 1965:97). The Lakotas prepared a salve from the roots of the scarlet globemallow [*Sphaeralcea coccinea*] to treat skin eruptions (Gilmore 1977:55; Buechel 1970: 174; Lewis, T. 1990:149), while the Arapahos made poultices for sores from the common yarrow [*Achillea millefolium*] (Nickerson 1966:50). The Cheyennes pulverized the roots of soapweed [*Yucca glauca*] to make a powder to treat sores, rashes, and other skin ailments (Hart 1981:12), and they made poultices from the ground roots and stems of the wild onion [*Allium,* spp.] to heal carbuncles (Grinnell 1972:2:171-172). Plains Apache used broomsnake [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] in an external remedy for skin rashes and fungi (Jordan 1965:11), while the Kiowas applied sagewort [*Artemesia filifolia*] in a decoction to treat scalp diseases (Vestal and Schultes 1939:55).

The Cheyennes sprinkled the powdered leaves and stems of the milkvetch [*Astragalus adsurgens*] on parts of the body afflicted by poison ivy and other plant toxins (Grinnell 1972:2:179). The Kiowas relied on poison ivy [*Taxicodendron rybergii*] as a healing remedy to treat boils, skin eruptions, and other sorts of running sores; they rubbed it over the surface of the affected area to trigger a dermatitis that disappeared when the sores were healed (Vestal and Schultes 1939:39). Even though Reverend Eugene Buechel (1970:586) wrote that poison ivy had no medicinal value for the Lakotas, its name, *wikoskat tape'juta* [root, vagina of a loose woman a.k.a. women's venereal disease], does suggest that the root may have been used by the Lakotas to treat venereal disease in women.

Lakotas healed burns with the roots of the scarlet globemallow [*Sphaeralcea coccinea*] (Buechel 1970: Gilmore 1977:55), while the Cheyennes used the breadroot scurfpea [*Psoralea esculenta*] as an ingredient in decoctions for treating burns (Hart 1981:29). The Cheyennes also applied the resin from the ponderosa pine in an ointment for burns, and they mixed skunkbush berries in a decoction to protect the hands from being scalded in hot water (Hart 1981:6, 14). The Hidatsas and the Lakotas made dressings for burns from the fuzz of the cattail (Gilmore 1919:64-65; Nickel 1974:75), and so did European American settlers (Tilford 1997:29). Lakotas ingested purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] during ceremonial sweats to help them endure extreme heat, and they used juices from this plant to bathe burns (Gilmore 1913b:368).

European settlers relied on a wide range of plants in treating dermatologic disorders. The resin of the curlycup gumweed [*Grindelia squarosa*] was applied to poison ivy rashes to relieve itching (Hart 1981:21), and the mucilaginous juice of the soapweed plant was used as an emollient to soothe dry skin (Tilford 1997:118). The scarlet globemallow was administered to treat skin irritations, and the mucilaginous juice of the spearleaf stonecrop [*Sedum lanceolatum*] was applied to burns and other skin damage (Tilford 1997:94, 140). *Asclepiadaceae speciosa* and other milkweed species were used in remedies to eliminate warts and skin parasites (Moore, M. 1979:106-107; Tilford 1997:97). Finally, wild comfry [*Cynoglossum virginianum*] and hound's tongue [*C. officinale*] were ingredients in salves and poultices for treating burns and skin inflammations (Tilford 1997:78).

6. Wounds, Injuries, and Bites

The Lakotas, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches applied the mucilaginous juice from the stems of the pricklypear cactus [*Opuntia*] as a dressing in the treatment of wounds (Gilmore 1919:104; Vestal and Schultes 1939:45; Jordan 1965:125). The Plains Apaches made poultices out of strips of soapweed [*Yucca glauca*] leaves to wrap around injuries (Jordan 1965:54), while the Lakotas applied a poultice out of common yarrow [*Achillea millefolium*] for treating wounds (Densmore 1918:254; Fire and Erdoes 1978:171-172). The root of the pasqueflower [*Pulsatilla patens*] was one of the most highly esteemed medicines of the Poncas and their close relatives the Omahas; it was prescribed for wounds and many other ailments, but the right to use it was confined to members of the *Te-sinde* gens. (Gilmore 1919:82). In their various treatments for wounds, the Lakotas made several other remedies: one combined the roots of ground cherries and meadow anemones (Gilmore 1913b:362; Lewis, T. 1990:135), another drew on the roots of the narrowleaf gromwell [*Lithospermum incision*] (Buechel 1970:440; Fire and Erdoes 1978:71), and a third relied on a pipe smoke treatment where bearberry [*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*] was a central ingredient (Walker 1980:93; Standing Bear 1988:103). The Cheyennes made a salve out of the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] to treat a wide variety of external injuries and swellings (Hart 1981:20; Schwartz 1988:53), while the Lakotas used it in treatments to heal putrefied wounds (Smith, H. 1928:212; Fire and Erdoes 1978:171). Standing Bear (1978:60) said of this plant: "The long, slender black root of this plant, which grew abundantly on the plains, was chewed and applied to the injured place. Though not pleasant to taste, it eased pain and almost magically cured cuts and bruises." Finally, the Cheyennes, Lakotas, Poncas, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches moistened the dry spores of puffballs [*Marshallia caespitosa*] for use as a styptic to treat sores and scratches (Gilmore 1919:63; Vestal and Schultes 1939:12; Jordan 1965:136; Grinell 1972:2:169; Hart 1981:2-4; Lewis, T. 1990:134).

The Omahas (and Poncas) relied on the roots of the wild plum tree [*Prunus Americana*] to treat abrasions, and they heated the leaves of the plantain [*Plantaginaca patagonica*] to draw out thorns and splinters from the foot (Gilmore 1919:87, 115). The Plains Apaches made a decoction from the roots of the blazingstar [*Liatris punctata*] for healing cuts (Jordan 1965:118), while the Cheyennes gathered the flowering culms of junegrass [*Koeleria*] to treat abrasions (Hart 1981:10; Schwartz 1988:53).

Snake and insect bites were doctored with a variety of different plants. The Lakotas made a remedy for snake bites from the beardtongue [*Penstemon gracilis*], the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] and the ground cherry [*Physalis*] (Buechel 1970, 659; Fire and Erdoes 1978:171; Red Cloud High School 2001), while the Kiowas used currant roots and the Plains Apaches milkweed species [*A. speciosa*] as antidotes for snake bites (Vestal and Schultes 1939: 29; Jordan 1965:104). The Lakotas applied the wood lily [*Lilium philadephicum*] as an antidote for the bites of small poisonous brown spiders, and they used the slimflower scurfpea [*Psoralea tenuiflora*] in a smudge to repel mosquitoes (Gilmore 1919:71; Buechel 1970:487). European Americans employed bruised wild onions [*Allium,* spp.] in their treatments for bee stings (Kindscher 1992:29).

7. Heart, Back, and Chest Pain

Common yarrow [*Achillea millefolium*] was brewed by the Cheyennes in a tea for heart trouble and chest pains (Grinnell 1972:2:189; Hart 1981:17-18; Schwartz 1988:53). The Cheyennes also used the berries, stems, and leaves of the bearberry in a treatment for back pain (Grinnell 1972:2:183; Hart 1981:25). The Lakotas dried and powdered the blazingstar [*Liatris*

punctata] for heart pain (Densmore 1918:389; Fire and Erdoes 1978:170), and they also pulverized the roots of milkvetch [*Astragalus canadenis* or *A. racemosus*] and chewed them for heart and back pain (Buechel 1970:440; Lewis, T. 1990:134).

8. Headaches, Dizziness, and Psychogenic Complaints

Only the Cheyennes are known to have named and used the hairy golden aster [*Chrysopsis villosa*], which they called *mis ka tsi* [chickadee plant]: they made a drink from the plant's top and leaves to help a person sleep and also to exorcise evil influences (Grinnell 1972:2:81; Hart 1981:20). The Cheyennes also made a tea from the roots, leaves, and stems of the narrowleaf gromwell [*Lithospermum incision*] that was rubbed on a patient's head and face to treat delirium and to prevent a person from excessive sleeping (Grinnell 1972:2:185; Hart 1981:15). Hyperactivity was treated by the Cheyennes with a vapor treatment using Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus Scopulorum*] (Grinnell 1972:2:170; Hart 1981:4), while bearberry [*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*] was used to smudge people who were acting "crazy" (Hart 1981:25). For sinus problems and headaches, the Cheyennes crushed the leaves of sagewort [*Artemesia ludoviciana*] and administered them as a snuff (Hart 1981:19, 1992:44-45).

The Lakotas had numerous remedies for headaches. They powdered and inhaled the fetid marigold [*Dyssodia papposa*] (Buechel 1970:444; Fire and Erdoes 1978:171), and they administered the roots of the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia]* in a smoke treatment (Densmore 1918: 270, 389; Buechel 1970:200, 397). Headache remedies were also prepared from several other plants, including field mint [*Mentha arvensis*] (Buechel 1970:131), the slimflower scurfpea [*Psoralea tenuiflora*] (Ibid:487), the woodbine [*Partheocissus vitacea*] (Ibid:119), western virgin's bower [*Clematis ligusticifolia*] (Ibid:117), and sagewort [*Artemesia frigida*] (Densmore 1918:259). Finally, the Lakotas treated dizziness with broom snakeweed [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] (Buechel 1970:440).

The sagewort [*Artemsia ludoviciana*] was one of the most important plants in the Kiowa Apache pharmacopoeia, and it was believed to be especially potent in curing depression and restoring harmony. It was typically prepared as a moxa in headache treatments (Jordan 1965:99-103). Plains Apache took pollen from the cattail [*Tyhus latifolia*] and gave it to children to make them goodnatured (Jordan 1965:35).

9. Treatments for Eye, Ear, Nose, and Mouth

The Cheyenne included milkweed [*Asclepiadaceae speciosa*] in a remedy to treat various forms of blindness (Hart 1981:15, 1992:66), and they prepared the flowering tops of the curlycup gumweed [*Grindelia squarosa*] in a treatment for eye inflammations (Hart 1981:21). The Plains Apaches made teas from the rush skeletonplant [*Lygodesmia juncea*] to soothe sore eyes (Jordan 1965:262), and so did the Poncas, who also relied on the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] for this purpose (Gilmore 1919:131, 136). The Lakotas used the leaves of the snowberry [*Symphoricarpus occidentalis*] in a solution to ease eye inflammations (Gilmore 1913b:367; Buechel 1970:172). Sideoats grama grass [*Bouteloua*] was employed in a Plains Apache procedure to remove cataracts (Jordan 1965:105), and the ashes from burning willow stems were applied in a Comanche eye treatment (Carlson and Jones 1939: 524, 533).

The Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and Lakotas chewed the roots of the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] to relieve toothaches and sore gums (Densmore 1918:389; Carlson and Jones 1939:521; Vestal and Schultes 1939:58; Jordan 1965:119; Buechel

TABLE 7. Medicinal & Hygienic Plants and Minerals at Wind Cave National Park Used by Lakotas, Arapahos, and/or Cheyennes

common name	taxonomic name
Woody Plants	
American elm	*Ulmus americanus*
Bearberry	*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*
Broom snakeweed	*Gutierrezia sarothrae*
Bur oak	*Quercus macrocarpa*
Chokecherry	*Prunus virginiana*
Leadplant	*Amorpha canescens*
Northern hawthorn	*Crataegus Chrysocarpa*
Poison ivy	*Taxicodendron rybergii*
Ponderosa pine	*Pinus ponderosa*
Redosier dogwood	*Cornus Stolonifera*
Rocky Mountain juniper	*Juniperus Scopulorum*
Serviceberry	*Amelanchiera alnifolia*
Skunkbush	*Rhus aromatica*
Snowberry	*Symphoricarpus occidentalis*
Western virgin's bower	*Clematis ligusticifolia*
Wild plum	*Prunus americana*
Willow	*Salix,* spp.
Woodbine	*Partheocissus vitacea*
Grasses and Sedges	
Big bluestem	*Andropogon,* spp.
Gramma	*Bouteloua*, spp.
Junegrass	*Koeleria*
Little bluestem	*Schizachyrium scoparium*
Flowering Forbs	
American licorice	*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*
Beardtongue	*Penstemon,* spp.
Blazingstar	*Liatris punctata*
Blue vervain	*Verbena hastate*
Breadroot scurfpea	*Psoralea esculenta*
Cattail	*Typha latifolia*
Cleavers or Catchweed bedstraw	*Galium aparine*
Common yarrow	*Achillea millefolium*
Cowparsnip	*Heracleum maximum*
Curlycup gumweed	*Grindelia squarosa*
Dock	*Rumex*, spp.
Evening primrose	*Oenothera biennus*
False boneset	*Brickellia eupatoriodes*
False gromwell	*Onosmodium molle*
Fetid marigold	*Dyssodia papposa*
Field mint	*Mentha arvensis*
Fleabane	*Erigeron*, spp.

Table 7, cont.

common name	taxonomic name
Goldenrod	*Solidago*, spp.
Goosefoot	*Chenopodium*, spp.
Gromwell	*Lithospermum ruderale*
Groundcherry	*Physalis*, spp.
Hairy golden aster	*Chrysopsis villbsa*
Horseweed	*Conyza*, spp.
Lanceleaf bluebells	*Mertensia lanceolata*
Locoweed	*Oxytropis sericea*
Mariposa lily	*Calochortus gunnisonni*
Milkvetch	*Astragalus* , spp.
Milkweeds	*Asclepiadaceae,* spp.
Milkwort	*Polygalaceae* spp.
Narrowleaf gromwell	*Lithospermum incision*
Pasqueflower	*Pulsatilla patens*
Pepperweed	*Lepidium,* spp.
Pinedrops	*Pterospora andromedea*
Prairie goldenpea	*Thermopsis rhombifolia*
Pricklypear cactus	*Opuntia polyacantha*
Purple coneflower	*Echinacea angustifolia*
Pussytoes	*Antennaria*, spp.
Rush skeletonplant	*Lygodesmia jpuncea*
Sagewort	*Artemisia,* spp.
Scarlet globemallow	*Sphaeralcea coccinea*
Shepherd's purse	*Capsella bursa-pastoris*
Soapweed	*Yucca glauca*
Spurge	*Euphoriba,* spp.
Sunflower	*Helianthus annus*
Sweetclover	*Meliotus*, spp.
Tansy	*Tanacetum vulgare*
Western ragweed	*Ambrosia psilostacya*
Western wallflower	*Erysimum asperum*
Wild buckwheat	*Eriogonum* spp.
Wild lettuce	*Latuca oblongifolia*
Wood lily	*Lilium philadephicum*
Fungi, Lichens, and Moss	
Puffballs	*Marshallia caespitosa*

1970:397; Grinnell 1972:2:188; Hart 1981:21; Lewis, T. 1990:35; Schwartz 1988:53). The Cheyennes also chewed the fruits of the skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*] to treat toothaches (Hart 1981:14, 40), and they mixed crushed wild plums [*Prunus americana*] with salt to treat a sore mouth (Hart 1981:35). The Lakotas relied on American licorice [*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*] as a remedy for toothaches and earaches (Densmore 1918:263; Gilmore 1913b:365). Known for containing "salicin," a derivative found in aspirin, willow was an ingredient in treatments the Kiowas and other tribes depended on to relieve toothaches (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19; Kindscher 1992:194-198). Finally, the Cheyennes relieved nosebleeds with a braid woven from sagewort [*Artemesia frigida*] that they wore around their heads (Hart 1981:18), and they treated

illnesses of the teeth and the whites of the eye with the berries from the white juniper (Moore, J. 1974:171).

10. Elixirs, Stimulants, and Compounds

There were also a number of plants found in the area of Wind Cave National Park that were relied upon to improve overall health, to fight off illness, or to use as compounds to make other medicines palatable. The Lakotas pulverized the roots of the dotted blazingstar [*Liatris punctata*], which they claimed were hardened like the intestinal contents of a deer, to treat a loss of appetite (Buechel 1970, 389). They also took sagewort [*Artemisia carolinianus*] to strengthen the appetite (Densmore 1918:257; Gilmore 1913b:365), and they consumed ground cherries [*Physalis*] for the same effect (Buechel 1970:97). They mixed hawthorn berries with other medicines to make them palatable (Buechel 1970:482), they used the roots of the sagewort [*Artemesia compestris*] to promote sound sleep (Gilmore 1919:118), and they made an infusion from shepherd's purse [*Capsella bursa-pastoris*] to treat anemia (Sword in Walker 1980:93).

Cheyennes steeped elm bark in a tea as an elixir for children and pregnant women (Hart 1981:39), and they brewed wild mint [*Mentha arvensis*] leaves and stems to stimulate the heart and other vital organs (Grinnell 1972:2:188; Hart 1981:27). They also made a tea from the leaves and flowers of tansy [*Tancetum vulgare*] to treat fatigue (Grinnell 1972:2:190-191; Hart 1981:23). Finally, they mixed the berries of redosier dogwood [*CornussStolonifera*] with chokecherries to treat a wide variety of ailments (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:53), and they mixed the leaves of serviceberries with medicines to make them more palatable to children (Hart 1981:34).

11. Hygienic and Cosmetic

Many plants found at Wind Cave National Park also performed various hygienic functions. Different varieties of sagewort were important for these purposes among tribes throughout the northern plains. The Lakotas still use *Artemisia cana* and *A. tridentata* to freshen the air in their dwellings (Kemnitzer 1970:64), and they pulverize the roots of *A. campestria* for a perfume (Buechel 1970:117). They put *A. frigida* in their bathing solutions (Gilmore 1919:134), and they rely on *A. ludoviciana* to brush and purify the body, especially in preparation for ceremonial functions (Gilmore 1919:135). The Kiowas and Plains Apaches also bathed with this sagewort and with *A. filifolia* (Vestal and Schultes 1939:56; Jordan 1965:99). Several tribes used field mint [*Mentha arvensis*] to deodorize the body and to freshen the air in their living quarters (Grinnell 1972:2:186; Hart 1981:27-28, 1992:64; Kindscher 1992:153-154). The Cheyennes even made hair pomade by boiling dog meat with mint (Hart 1981:27-28).

Another plant commonly employed for hygienic purposes was soapweed [*Yucca glauca*]. The Lakotas, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches extracted a sudsy lather from the roots to make soap for cleaning hair. Some tribes, such as the Cheyennes and the Lakotas, also believed it promoted hair growth. Luther Standing Bear (1978:65), a Lakota, wrote of this plant:

> The pride of both Lakota men and women was a splendid head of hair, and especial attention was given to its care as a mark of good breeding. The women were especially proud of long hair and brushed and smoothed their long braids to keep them from breaking. Frequent washings in hupestola kept the hair glossy. Every morning a married woman had her hair brushed and her face painted for the day by her husband. This was a mark of respect that every Lakota brave paid his spouse.

The foamy juice of soapweed served as a tonic to treat dandruff and lice infestation as well (Gilmore 1913b:358; Carlson and Jones 1939:524; Vestal and Schultes 1939:19; Jordan 1965:150; Nickerson 1966:47; Hart 1981:53; Kindscher 1987:226; Buechel 1970:190; Fire and Erdoes 1978:172; Schwartz 1988:53). The Plains Apaches and Arapahos even used this plant to wash clothes and blankets (Nickerson 1966:47, Jordan 1965:151).

There were many other plants that served hygienic and/or cosmetic needs. The seeds of the evening primrose [*Oenothera biennus*] were considered by the Lakotas to have aromatic properties (Buechel 1970:116). Cleavers or Catchweed bedstraw [*Galium aparine*] was a popular fragrance among Lakota men (Buechel 1970:520), and the dried and pulverized flowers and leaves of the pineapple weed [*Matricaria matricaridos*] were included in a Cheyenne perfume mixture (Hart 1981:23). Although European Americans introduced white and yellow sweet-clovers [*Melilotus alba* and *M. officinalis*] to the plains region, local tribes quickly adopted them because their scent reminded them of sweetgrass. Lakotas hung the plant in their homes as an air freshener (Gilmore 1919:91). Finally, the down from the common cattail [*Typha latifolia*] was widely used as an absorbent or "diaper" for infants and a menstrual pad for women (Gilmore 1919:64; Buechel 1970:177; Powers, M. 1986:66).

12. Other Applications

The Cheyennes and the Lakotas used soils and stones in healing. The clean soil that prairie dogs brought up from underneath the earth was a remedy to heal wounds (Standing Bear 1978:215). William Powers (1982:13) explains that these soils and those raised by badgers, voles, and ants contain the purifying properties of the underworld, and as a result, they are considered especially efficacious for healing and religious activity. The soil that gophers dig up is considered dangerous, however; and the Cheyennes, at least, believe it causes disease (Grinnell 1972:1: 140; Whiteman in Schwartz 1955:55).

Although the spiritual importance of stones has been described elsewhere, they had many specific applications in healing. Stones are often rubbed on patients to treat sickness (Densmore 1918:246-250; Tyon in Walker 1980:153-155; Walker 1980:232). The stones ants bring to the earth's surface and other crystalline stones are believed to have potent effects in healing (Bush-otter in Dorsey, J. 1889: 153-154; Powers, W. 1986:160). Rufus Pilcher (1964), one of the early superintendents of Wind Cave National Park, reported a request from the Lakotas for stones to heal a woman who was lame. The Cheyenne are known to have used stones in healing too (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54), but little has been written about their applications.

C. Veterinary Uses of Plants

After the tribal nations of the northern plains adopted horses, they were faced with two important considerations: one, how to adequately feed their stock, and two, how to keep them in good health, both of which required knowledge of the varieties of plants that could serve either as forage or as medicine. In this regard, one of the most surprising features of ethnobotanical writings on the tribal nations associated with the Black Hills is an almost complete absence of information on the kinds of grasses that were considered good fodder for their horses. Historically, this would have been a major consideration in choosing campsites to occupy for extended stays. Except for the Kiowas and Plains Apaches, who had largely abandoned the region at the dawn of the nineteenth century, we know little about the kinds of grasses local tribes sought out for their horses. Of the grasses located at Wind Cave National Park, the Kiowas and Plains Apaches considered several of them good fodder. Other tribes probably valued them as well.

The little bluestem grasses [*Schizachyrium scoparium*] and Indian grass [*Sorghastrum nutans*] were considered among the most nutritious for horses (Vestal and Schultes 1939:13, 16; Jordan 1965:62). Sideoats grama [*Bouteloua curtipendula*] and hairy grama [*B. hirsute*] as well as sand dropseed [*Sporobolus cryptandrus*] (Vestal and Schultes 1939:14, 17) were also believed to make desirable fodder. In contrast to the information on grasses, there are widespread references in the literature to the use of cottonwood or elm boughs as food for horses during the winter months when the ground was covered in deep snows (Gilmore 1913b:360, 1919:72; Grinnell 1972:1:94-95; Hart 1981:37; DeMallie 1984:165, 209; Standing Bear 1988:94-95). The Lakotas told Father Buechel (1970:470) that horses eat and even dig out the roots of the crazyweed [*Oxytropis lamberti*], which is why the plant is called *sunkta peju'ta* [horse root] in their language.

Although there is little information on the varieties of fodder that local tribes selected for their horses, there is much more material on some of the plants they used to keep them strong and well. Among the plants found at Wind Cave National Park, the Lakotas made a decoction of juniper [*Juniperus scopulorum*] (Gilmore 1919:63) or fetid marigold [*Dyssodia papposa*](Gilmore 1913b:369, 1919:132) to treat coughs in their horses, a remedy from the broom snakeweed [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] to cure diarrhea (Gilmore 1913b:368, 1919:133), a treatment for distemper from the purple coneflower [*Echinecea angustifolia*] (Buechel 1970:200), a stimulant from the root of the sliver scurfpea [*Psoralea argophylla*] (Ibid:487), and a poultice of American licorice [*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*] for a horse's sore back (Gilmore 1919:92). The Lakotas also believed that soapweed [*Yucca glauca]* had *wakan,* or sacred qualities, when smoke from its burning roots was used to control horses. As Lame Deer (Fire and Erdoes 1978:172) said: " Let these animals smell its smoke and they slow up, quiet down enough for you to catch them." The Cheyennes put pearly everlasting [*Anaphalis margaritacea*] on the soles of their horses' hooves to make them endure, and a powder from this plant was blown between their animals' ears to

TABLE 8. Plants at Wind Cave National Park Used in Veterinary Applications By the Arapahos, Cheyennes and/or Lakotas

common name	taxonomic name
Woody Plants	
Broom snakeweed	*Gutierrezia sarothrae*
Cottonwood	*Populus deltoides*
Rocky Mountain juniper	*Juniperus Scopulorum*
Skunkbush	*Rhus Aromatica*
Flowering Forbs	
American Licorice	*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*
Dotted gayfeather	*Liatris punctata*
False gromwell	*Onosmodium molle*
Fetid marigold	*Dyssodia papposa*
Locoweed	*Oxytropis lamberti*
Mariposa lily	*Calochortus gunnisonni*
Milkweed	*Astragalus crassicarpus*
Prairie coneflower	*Ratibida columnifera*
Purple coneflower	*Echinecea angustifolia*
Silver scurfpea	*Psoralea agrophylla*
Soapweed	*Yucca glauca*

make them long-winded (Grinnell 1972:2:187; Hart 1981:18). The Cheyennes prepared a decoction from skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*] to prevent their racehorses from getting tired and also to promote urination. They also used the milkweed [*Astragalus crassicarpus*] in an ointment to relieve urinary tract problems in their horses (Hart 1981:14, 28). Many other plants found at Wind Cave National Park are also reputed to have had positive benefits for horses, including western ragweed [*Ambrosia psilostachya*] (Vestal and Schultes 1939:55, Jordan 1965:97), the dotted gayfeather [*Liatris punctata*] (Densmore 1918:389), the prairie coneflower [*Ratibida columnifera*] (Buechel 1970:92), and the false gromwell [*Onosmodium molle*] (Buechel 1970:445).

D. Plants and Minerals Used for Art and Manufacturing

The tribes who occupied the Black Hills in historic times relied on a wide range of plants for producing their dyes and paints, for making utensils, tools, weapons, and bedding, and for fuel and tinder. Among these plants, many were located at Wind Cave National Park.

1. Lodgepoles and Other Structural Uses

One of the few areas of consistency among historic documents, ethnographic sources, and tribal oral histories is the importance of the Black Hills as a location to find lodgepoles for tipis and poles to make runners for travois (Hinman 1874:95; Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Chittenden 1935:728; De Giradin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6 ; Dodge 1965:137, Dodge in Kime 1998:105; Bordeaux 1929:43,. 191; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; Moore 1981:14; DeMallie 1984: 173; Brown 1992:12). One early eyewitness observer, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:270-271), described the movements of Lakotas into the mountainous regions to cut lodgepoles in July of 1846 as follows:

> After having ridden in this manner six or eight miles the scene changed, and all the declivities were covered with forests of tall, slender spruce and pine trees. The Indians began to fall off to the right and left, dispersing with their hatchets and knives to cut the poles which they had come to seek. I was soon left almost alone; but in the stillness of those lonely mountains, the stroke of hatchets and the sound of voices might be heard from far and near.

Even writers (Hinman 1874:95; Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:323; Dodge 1965:137) who otherwise denied the presence of Indian people in the Black Hills reluctantly acknowledged their use of the Hills for this purpose. The lodgepole pine [*Pinus contorta*] has a fairly restricted distribution in the Hills, but other pines, particularly ponderosa [*Pinus ponderosa*], were employed for this purpose as well. Luther Standing Bear (1975:6-17) offers one of the best descriptions of how the Lakotas gathered and processed ponderosa for tipi poles, and Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:157) described this process in the Black Hills above Rapid Creek. The Lakotas, however, used the forked stems of the box elder [*Acer negundo*] for bracing their tipi poles (Standing Bear 1988:98, 99). The Kiowas and Plains Apaches also valued the durability of Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus scopulorum*] for making tipi poles, and they utilized bur oak [*Quercus macrocarpa*] as a supporting frame for their brush arbors, meat drying racks, and cooking tripods (Vestal and Schultes 1939:13; Jordan 1965:113).

Cottonwood [*Populus deltoides*] was another tree taken for structural purposes; it provided the support poles for summer arbors, earthlodges, fish traps, corrals, the runners for travois, and the frames for saddles (Gilmore 1924:120-121, Vestal and Schultes 1939:19, Jordan 1965:75,

Grinnell 1972:2:229-32, 259, 287; Nickel 1974:70; Standing Bear 1978:222, Hart 1981:37; Walker 1982:97; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:287). The Lakotas made their stirrups and saddles out of elm [*Ulmus americanus*], and they manufactured their drum bands from this wood as well (Standing Bear 1978:21; 1988:95, 98). The structural timbers of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara earthlodges were fastened with the fibers of elm or basswood (Gilmore 1987:55). The Hidastas employed the inner bark of this tree for the binding sections of their willow fences (Nickel 1974:75). European Americans relied on elm wood for making tools, furniture, flooring, barrels, and boxes (Larson and Johnson 1999:571). Finally, several tribes used wood from the green ash to make meat drying racks, tipi pins and pegs, and travois hoops (Gilmore 1919:108; Nickel 1974:64; Hart 1981:20).

The Poncas and other semisedentary tribal nations gathered two of the grasses found at Wind Cave National Park, the big bluestem and prairie cordgrass, for constructing their earth lodges (Gilmore 1919:66, 68). Cordgrass was also used by early European Americans as thatching for the roofs of their sod houses.

Willow [*Salix, spp.*] probably had the most ubiquitous structural uses (Kindscher 1992:192). Cheyennes, Lakotas, Plains Apaches, and Poncas relied on willow for the frames of their sweatlodges (Gilmore 1919:73-74; Jordan 1965:79, 81; Grinnell 1972:1:210; Standing Bear 1988:80; Lewis, T. 1990:47). The Kiowas and Plains Apaches constructed their summer arbors out of willow (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19; Jordan 1965:81-82). Arikaras and Pawnees laid willows on the timbers of their earth lodge roofs before adding a thatch of dry grass and a covering of earth (Gilmore 1987:55). Plains Apaches utilized willow bark as lashing material for a wide variety of purposes (Jordan 1965:81-83). Finally, the Cheyennes made their fish weirs, tipi pegs and pins, animal traps, baby carriages for travois, and meat drying racks from willow (Hart 1981:37-38).

2. Mats, Containers, and Utensils

Several different plants found at Wind Cave National Park were woven into baskets and mats. Paramount among these was the softbulstem rush [*Scripus validus*], which was used by many tribes in the region to make mats for use as blanket coverings, mattresses, and tent drops (Gilmore 1919:69; Buechel 1970:446; Grinnell 1972:1:170-171). The Hidatsas wove stems of the snowberry [*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*] and willows [*Salix interior*] into mats (Nickel 1974:73, 74), while the Kiowas made bedding material from the straight stalks of the false indigo [*Amorpha fruitcosa*] (Vestal and Schultes 1939:31). The Comanches used sagewort [*Artemesia frigida*] to make their mattresses (Carlson and Johnson 1939:520). The Lakotas' buckskin pillows were filled with down from cottonwood pods (Standing Bear 1978:21) or with the fuzz of the common cattail [*Typha latifolia*] (Gilmore 1919:64; Buechel 1970:177, 584), and their tipis were lined with big bluestem grass [*Andropogon gerardii*] for insulation (Red Cloud High School 2001). The Hidatsas depended on the seeds of the cattail as an all-purpose padding for packing and pillows (Nickel 1974:75). Among the Plains Apaches, tall bluestem grasses [*Andropogon girardii*] served as material for stuffing mattresses (Jordan 1965:56), The Lakotas pounded the dried culms and leaves of the little bluestems [*Schizachyrium scoparium*] into soft fibers to line and insulate their moccasins (Buechel 1970:440). The Cheyennes constructed bedding for their Sun Dancers from a species of wild rye grass [*Elymus*] because it was reputed to keep the dancers cool (Hart 1981:8). Finally, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches made backrests and mats out of willow (Vestal and Schultes 1939:19; Jordan 1965:81-83; Hart 1981: 37-38).

The leaves of the false indigo [*Amorpha fruitcosa*] and various species of milkvetch [*Astragalus spp.*] as well as goldenrod [*Solidago* spp.] were spread on the ground when local tribes butchered their meat to keep it clean (Gilmore 1919:91, 93; Buechel 1970:117, 336, 447, 519). Edward Freeland (1938:4), the Superintendent of Wind Cave National Park described how the Lakotas butchered buffalo meat on a pile of psoralea leaves (probably *Psoralea argophylla*), and how they used the leaves to purify the water before the meat was boiled. The Lakotas and the Cheyennes also wove the plant's tough green stems into baskets to transport meat (Buechel 1970:487; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:53).

The Kiowas made the dried pods of milkweed [*Asclepiadus speciosa*] into spoons (Vestal and Schultes 1939: 47). The Cheyennes and Lakotas manufactured bowls from the burls of the box elder [*Acer negundo*], and they also used this wood or elm [*Ulmus americanus*] to make mortars and pestles for grinding medicines and perfumes (Gilmore 1919:75; Grinnell 1972:1:249). The stems and shoots of the skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*] served as materials in Hidatsa basketry (Nickel 1974:48). The Hidatsas and Lakotas made cordage from the stems of Indian hemp [*Apocynum cannabinum*] (Nickel 1974:49; Buenchel 1970:353).

The broom snakeweed [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] was a popular material for making brooms among the Comanches and Plains Apaches (Carlson and Jones 1939:522; Jordan 1965:65), while the stems of the snowberry [*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*] were commonly used for this purpose among the Hidatsas (Nickel 1974:74). The Lakotas and Hidatsas made brooms from various species of sagewort, including *Artemesia frigida* and *Artemesia dracuncalus,* (Gilmore 1919:87; Nickel 1974:70). Plains Apaches also fabricated brooms out of big bluestem grass [*Andropogon gerar-dii*] (Jordan 1965:56).

Porcupine grass [*Stipa spartea*] was bound into a bundle and the pointed grains burned by the Poncas to make a brush for combing their hair (Gilmore 1919:67). The Poncas called the dried inflorescence of the purple coneflower [*Echinechia angustifolia*] *mika-hi* [comb plant], and the Lakotas named it *on'glakcapi* [hair comb] (Gilmore 1919:131; Buechel 1970:397). The Kiowas (Vestal and Schultes 1939:57) also used the plant to brush and comb the hair.

3. Tools and Weapons

By the time ethnographers began to consult with tribes in the Plains region, materials and items of European manufacture had replaced many traditional uses for stone (Ewers 1938:37-38). This change is reflected in what White Hawk, a Lakota, told Francis Densmore (1918:437-438) about arrowpoints. He recalled three different kinds of arrowpoints for hunting bison: the flint arrowpoints his grandfather flaked, the bone ones his father fashioned, and those he had made from steel. What is interesting about his historical commentary is that it shows that within three generations, the materials and knowledge for producing certain tools had changed substantially. As a result, our understanding of the Native uses and meanings of specific lithic material is much more limited than it is for other faunal and floral resources.

Flint was the preferred material for arrowheads among the Cheyennes and the Lakotas before Europeans introduced trade metals (Hayden 1862:312; Grinnell 1972:1:184), although other related quartzites were valued too. The Cheyennes once armed their elkhorn scrapers with a piece of flint, and they made other scrapers from this mineral too (Grinnell 1972:1:213-214). The Lakotas and Cheyennes employed various grades of sandstones to make mauls, hammers, axe-heads, grinding stones, warclubs, and knives (Buechel 1970:336; Grinnell 1972:1:211). The fine-ly grained varieties were used in making knives and for finishing off arrowshafts (Densmore

1918:438; Buechel 1970:336; Grinnell 1972:1:179). Some of the rougher varieties went into the making of war clubs, axeheads, hammers, mortars and pestles (Buechel 1970:266, 744). Slate, however, was the favored material for constructing axeheads (Buechel 1970:228; Grinnell 1972: 1:186, 214).

In making their arrowshafts, the Lakotas and Cheyennes relied on several different plants located at Wind Cave National Park. These include the stems of chokecherry, serviceberry, currant, dogwood, and snowberry (Densmore 1918:438; Hassrick 1964:196; Buechel 1970:108, 399, 577, 589; Grinnell 1972:1:179; Hart 1981:23-24, 35; Standing Bear 1988:18, 20). The Lakotas also utilized the straight stalks of the leadplant [*Amorpha canescens*] for this purpose (Buechel 1970:658), and the Cheyennes relied on green ash for making arrowshafts (Curtis 1907-30:6:156).

The Lakotas favored the green ash tree for manufacturing their bows (Gilmore 1919:108; Hassrick 1964:198; Standing Bear 1988:20). When ash was unavailable, they made their bows from the wood of the plum or chokecherry tree (Standing Bear 1988:20). Elm bark went into the making of Lakota bowstrings (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:310). The Cheyennes fabricated bows from Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus Scopulorum*] because of its durability (Hart 1981:5). At one time, they made fiber for bowstrings from the milkweed [*Asclepiadus speciosa*] (Hart 1981: 14). Finally, skunkbush wood was one of the Kiowa's primary materials for making bows (Vestal and Schultes 1939:40).

The Lakotas made awls from the thorns of the buffaloberry bush [*Shepherdia* (Lyford 1940:38, 42), and they made needles from the sharp point of the soapweed plant [*Yucca glauca*] (Gilmore 1919:71). The Plains Apaches did the same (Jordan 1965:90). The Kiowas took the sharp thorns of the prickly pear cactus, [*Opuntia polyacantha*] to fabricate small arrows for hunting birds and other small animals (Vestal and Schultes 1939:45).

4. Musical, Recreational, and Ceremonial Items

For the Lakotas and most other tribes in the northern plains, green ash was the primary wood for making pipe stems (Gilmore 1919:108; Buechel 1970:446; Gilmore 1987:106; Standing Bear 1988:99). The Lakotas, Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches used the heartwood of the Rocky Mountain juniper or red cedar in making love flutes, and they applied its resin as glue (Vestal and Schultes 1939:13; Jordan 1965:113; Hart 1981:5; Standing Bear 1988:97, 173). Lakotas carved grass dance whistles from box elder and ashwood (Densmore 1948:189-190). The Cheyennes also made courting whistles from the hollow stems of the cowparsnip [*Heracleum maximum*] (Hart 1981:40), while the Lakotas made whistles for children from this plant (Buechel 1970:622). The false solomon's seal [*Smilacina racemosa*] was one of several different plants whose leaves the Lakotas drew on to make musical tones (Buechel 1970:626). Willows were another material that went into the making of whistles (Standing Bear 1988:171-172). The Cheyennes and Lakotas used ponderosa pine gum in manufacturing war and Sun Dance whistles (Grinnell 1972:1:204; Schwartz 1988:53; Standing Buffalo 1988:172).

Lakotas, Hidatsas, and Cheyennes used plum pits in a popular game of chance (Gilmore 1913b:364; Densmore 1948:190-191; Grinnell 1972:1:332; Buechel 1970:284; Nickel 1974:70; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:325). Soapwood [*Yucca glauca*] leaves went into making basketry for a Cheyenne game called *i ko koe has in e ya,* and the root stems of the redosier dogwood were woven into this basketry as well (Grinnell 1972:1:246, 332). The Plains Apaches used soapweed leaves in a puzzle game (Jordan 1965:89-90). Lakota children made toys from cottonwood leaves (Gilmore 1913b:364; Standing Bear 1988:95).

TABLE 9. Plants and Minerals at Wind Cave National Park Used by Lakotas, Cheyennes, and/or Arapahos in Manufacturing

common name	taxonomic name
Woody Plants	
American elm	*Ulmus americanus*
Box elder	*Acer negunda*
Buffaloberry	*Sphepherdia*, spp.
Bur oak	*Quercus macrocarpa*
Chokecherry	*Prunus virginiana*
Cottonwood	*Populus deltoides*
Currant	*Ribes*, spp.
False indigo	*Amorpha fruitcosa*
Hackberry (found near Hot Springs)	*Celtis Occidentalis*
Leadplant	*Amorpha canescens*
Ponderosa pine	*Pinus ponderosa*
Redosier dogwood	*Cornus Stolonifera*
Rocky Mountain juniper	*Juniperus scopulorum*
Sagewort	*Artemesia frigida*
Serviceberry	*Amelanchiera* spp.
Snowberry	*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*
Smooth Sumac	*Rhus glabra*
Western virgin's bower	*Clematis ligusticifolia*
Wild plum	*Prunus Americanus*
Willow	*Salix*, spp.
Woodbine	*Partheocissus vitacea*
Flowering Forbs	
Beardtongue	*Penstemon angustifolias*
Cattail	*Typha latifolia*
Cowparsnip	*Heracleum maximum*
Crested pricklypoppy	*Argemone polyanthemos*
Dock	*Rumax* spp.
False Solomon's seal	*Smilacina racemosa*
Fleabane	*Erigeron pumilis*
Indian Hemp	*Apocynum cannabinum*
Indian paintbrush	*Castilleja sessilifora*
Milkweed	*Asclepiadus speciosa*
Northern bedstraw	*Galium borale*
Pricklypear cactus	*Opuntia polyacantha*
Purple coneflower	*Echinechia angustifolia*
Sagewort	*Artemesia* spp.
Silver scurfpea	*Psoralea agrophylla*
Soapweed	*Yucca glauca*
Spiderwort	*Tradescantia reflexa*
Wild buckwheat	*Eriogonum* spp.

Table 9, cont.

Grasses and Sedges

Big bluestem	*Andropogon,* spp.
Bulrush	*Schoenoplectus,* spp.
Gramma	*Bouteloua*, spp.
Junegrass	*Koeleria*
Little bluestem	*Schizachyrium scoparium*
Porcupine grass	*Stipa spartea*
Prairie cordgrass	*Spartina pectinata*
Wild rye	*Elymus*, spp.

Minerals and Soils

Flint
Gypsum
Hematite
Limestone
Quartz
Red Clay and Earth
Sandstone
Slate
White Clay and Earth

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5. Dyes, Paints, and Tanning Agents

Among the plants the Lakotas relied upon to color their paints and dye their porcupine quills red was the buffaloberry (Lyford 1940:42). Red colorations were also achieved by combining snowberries [*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*] with the root of the curlydock [*Rumax crispus*] (Lyford 1940:42; Hassrick 1964:191). The Lakotas also mixed the leaves of curlydock with the fruit of the wild grape [*Vitis riparia*] to make a red dye (Standing Bear 1988:100). The Arapahos and Shoshones made a red-tan dye from the Indian paintbrush [*Castilleja sessilifora*], a red dye from northern bedstraw [*Galium borale*], and they used the paper birch to make an orange colored dye (Nickerson 1966:47, 50).

Yellow dyes were produced by the Lakotas when the prairie sunflower [*Ratibida columnaris*] or purple coneflower [*Echinacea augustafolia*] was boiled with cattail roots [*Tyha latifolia*] or decayed oak bark (Lyford 1940:42). Yellow dyes were also made from the musk thistle [*Cardus nutans*] (Standing Bear 1988:101), the crested prickly poppy [*argemone polyanthemos*] (Buechel 1970: 494), the roots of the huckleberry (Hassrick 1964:191), and the bark of pine trees, which according to Carrie Lyford (1940:42) were only found in the Black Hills (this was probably the Black Hills Spruce). The root of the curlydock [*Rumax crispus*] also went into the making of yellow dyes among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Lyford 1940:42; Grinnell 1972:2:2). Another dock used by the Cheyennes, Hidatsas, and Arapahos for making yellow or red dyes was the veiny dock [*Rumex venosus*] (Grinnell 1972:2:2; Nickerson 1966:47; Nickel 1974:69). The lichen [*Usnea barbata*] and the resin from the ponderosa pine produced yellow dyes that the Lakotas relied on for coloring porcupine quills (Gilmore 1919:63; Buechel 1970:134, 593), while wolf moss [*Evernia vulpina*] went into the making of another yellow dye among the Lakotas and the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:2; Lyford 1940:42).

The Cheyennes are reported to have used the roots of the ponderosa pine in making a blue dye (Hart 1981:6). The flowers of the spiderwort [*Tradescantia reflexa*] made a blue, jelly-like paint that the Lakotas applied on their moccasins (Buechel 1970:117). The Lakotas also relied on the beardtongue [*Penstemon angustifolias*] to make a blue dye for moccasin painting (Buechel 1970:167). The Shoshones and Arapahos made a green dye from the leaves of the sagewort [*Artemesia frigidia*] and also the sunflower [*Helianthus annus*] (Nickerson 1966:50).

Woodbine [*Partheocissus vitacea*], wild grapes [*Vitis riparia*], and wild rye [*Elymus cinereus*] were among the plants that went into the making of black dyes (Vestal and Schultes 1939:42; Lyford 1940:43; Hassrick 1964:191; Hart 1981:28). Charcoals from the bur oak [*Quercus macrocarpa*] were used by the Plains Apaches in producing a black pigment for painting designs on artifacts (Jordan 1965:77), and the Lakotas employed burnt green ashwood for this purpose (Bordeaux 1929:182). Finally, black dyes for dying feathers, arrows, and robes were produced from boiled cottonwood buds (Gilmore 1919:73; Grinnell 1972:2:7, 19; Hart 1981:37, 1992:69),

In addition to the use of plants for dyes, some were added to tanning solutions. The roots of the soapwood [*Yucca glauca*] were employed in this way (Gilmore 1913b:358; Kindscher 1987:226), and the blossoms of the fleabane [*Erigeron pumilus*] were combined with brains, gall and spleen to produce a substance that bleached hides in tanning (Buechel 1970:399). The mucilaginous juice of the pricklypear cactus [*Opuntia polyacantha*] served as a sizing among the Lakotas and the Kiowas to fix colors painted on hides (Gilmore 1919:104; Vestal and Schultes 1939:45).

Besides plants, various stones and clays were used in the tanning process and as pigments for ceremonial paints. Gypsum [*Selenite*], commonly called "mica" by local tribes, was an important mineral for the Cheyennes and Lakotas. The Cheyennes whitened the backs of their bows with gypsum (Grinnell 1972:1:175) and made glue from it to attach tiny red feathers to the tips of eagle feathers (Ibid:2:222). Women rubbed white gypsum on their hands to prevent robes from being soiled when they were decorating them with quills (Ibid:1:164; Moore, J. 1996:67). The Cheyennes employed gypsum or white clay to draw the patterns for quilling a robe, they applied it to the skins and heads of birds worn as talismans in war, they rubbed it on men's bodies when war shields were painted and on women when they tanned a white buffalo robe. White clay, *makasan* in Lakota (Buechel 1970:329), was the substance for painting horses because it purportedly produced a "genuine color" (Densmore 1918:353), and ground limestone went into the production of white paints as well (Bordeaux 1929:182). Blue, red, and yellow clays served as the mediums for paints applied to dancers in various Lakota and Cheyenne ceremonies (Densmore 1918:116; Blish 1934:186; Moore, M. 1979:14). The Cheyennes and Lakotas also made red paints from hematite, and some of their black paints were produced from coal (Moore, J. 1981:14; Buechel 1970:330).

6. Fuel and Tinder

Another important function of plants was fuel and tinder. Indeed, as Royal B. Hassrick (1964:153, 156) noted, one of the major reasons the Lakotas preferred to establish their winter camps along waterways at the base of the Hills was their easy access to abundant supplies of timber for winter fuel. The tribal nations of the plains had a sophisticated knowledge of how the different trees in their environment burned, and they frequently chose specific woods as fuel for designated functions. Tribes differed among themselves in which woods they preferred, how-

ever. The Cheyennes and Hidtasas favored box elder [*Acer negundo*], which is known to produce hot and long burning coals, for everyday purposes (Nickel 1974:57; Hart 1981:13, 1992:5). The Lakotas, Arikaras, and Plains Apaches reported that green ash was an excellent and long-lasting source of heat (Bordeaux 1929:155; Jordan 1965:155; Nickel 1974:64). Cottonwood [*Populus deltoides*] was the Kiowas and Lakotas' wood of choice for everyday fires, tanning hides, and firing paints, although elm and aspen were popular multipurpose fuels also (Gilmore 1919:75; Vestal and Schultes 1939:40; Walker 1980:244; Standing Bear 1988:94, 122; Hart 1992:5). The Plains Apaches, in contrast, disliked cottonwood, believing that it burnt too fast and popped badly (Jordan 1965:156). They preferred to use bur oak [*Quercus marcrocarpa*] as their major fuel source because it burned well and produced good coals (Jordan 1965:155). They also considered elm good firewood (Jordan 1965:156). The various species of pines abundant in the Black Hills were undoubtedly taken to fuel fires as well, but they were probably not considered the most desirable because pine has a tendency to burn rapidly and spark excessively.

Tribes also relied on different kinds of tinder to start their fires. The Plains Apaches used bunches of tall bluestem grass [*Andropogon girardii*] and little bluestem [*Schizachyrium scoparium*] as well as the stalks of the sunflower [*Helianthus annus*] to start their fires (Jordan 1965:66, 156, 157), while the Cheyennes employed the dried leaves of the sagewort [*Artemesia ludoviciana*] as tinder (Hart 1981:19). The Cheyennes made their hearth fire-sticks out of cottonwood, and their upright, or twirling, stick from greasewood [*Acrobats vermiculatus*] (Grinnell 1972:1:53). They also made punks out of dry, rotten agave [*Yucca glauca*] roots to transport fire, and so did the Lakotas (Grinnell 1972:1:53-54; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:311). The Poncas took the knarled roots of buckthorn [*Ceanothus*] to start fires on their buffalo hunts when timber was scarce (Gilmore 1919:10). The Lakotas employed dried, rotten elm roots for this purpose (Mallery 1893:291; Gilmore 1913b:358). Although not reported at Wind Cave National Park, the bush morning glory [*Ipomoea leptophylla*] is a widespread plant in the region and especially prevalent in the dry sandy grasslands at the south end of the Red Valley (Larson and Johnson 1999:192). The Lakotas set a fire in the roots, which were wrapped and hung outside. This fire could be transported and lasted up to seven months (Buechel 1970:440). Lame Deer (in Fire and Erdoes 1978:172) said about this plant, "In the old days, before we had matches, when you lit this herb it would keep smoldering for months. It used to be hung up before the tipi. If you needed a fire you just blew on it until it glowed, then you hung it up again to smolder some more." Finally, the Lakotas made sticks from the branches of the chokecherry tree [*Prunus virginiana*] for poking coals (Buechel 1970:123).

Flint was used to produce sparks that ignited fires. This is probably the stone that *Itokagata* gave Wohpe in the Lakota creation story because it was described as a stone that could be rubbed to make a fire (Sword in Walker 1983:68).

7. Fumigants

The Lakotas made a fluid out of the powdered and boiled needles of the Rocky Mountain juniper [*Juniperus scopulorum*] to eradicate insects (Buechel 1970:192). Melvin Gilmore (1919:88) reports that Ponca trappers boiled the bark of chokecherry, [*Prunus virginia*] in a solution to clean their traps and to remove the scent of former captives. Modern Lakota hunters rub sagewort [*Artemesia*] on traps, guns, and themselves to disguise their own scent (Kemnitzer 1970:64).

E. Plants and Minerals in Symbolism and Ceremony

Most tribal nations consider all plants and minerals sacred, but some are especially significant because of their distinctive spiritual meanings and uses. Certain plants occupy a central place in the conduct of important religious observances. Some are used for ritual smoking, smudges, and petitions, while others attract love, fertility, and good fortune to their users, and still more help to protect people from danger or to repel enemies and malevolent influences. Many minerals also have multiple ceremonial uses. Some of the most widely used sacred plants for the Cheyennes and Lakotas are located at Wind Cave National Park, and at least one very important mineral is found here too. Several of the tribal cultural preservation officers we spoke with identified the park as an important location for plants with significant spiritual properties, and one Lakota officer urged that non-Indians be advised not to pick the sage that grows in the park (Albers and Kittelson 2002).

1. Plants/Stones with Ubiquitous Meanings and Uses

Two groups of plants, the sages and junipers, have ubiquitous spiritual uses among the tribal nations of the plains. According to Louis Kemnitzer (1970:65), these plants do not die off in the winter, a fact that is noted by some Lakotas in their discussions of the important ceremonial roles they play. According to Melvin Gilmore (1913b:369), the *ton* (immaterial essence) of sage was believed by the Lakotas to be repugnant to malevolent forces, and so was the *ton* of cedar or juniper. Both of these plant groups were considered potent spiritual purifiers and occupied a significant place in the spiritual life of many different tribal nations.

The sage, *Artemisia ludoviciana*, is especially revered and is still found at most of the Lakota's major religious ceremonies. It is used extensively in their Sun Dance, not only on the arm and ankle bracelets of the dancers, but also to smudge the dance ground and altar (Dorsey, J. 1894:454; Densmore 1918:93, 122; Buechel 1970:439; Rogers 1980:36; Walker 1980:176-177, 184, 187-188, 190-192). It also appears in the *Hunka*, an adoption ceremony (Buechel 1970:439; Walker 1980:94, 197, 214, 224), and in the performances of *Hehaka Inhanblapi* [Elk Dreamers] (Fletcher 1887a:284). It is used as a smudge in sweatlodges, in hunting, and in homes to counteract evil forces (Gilmore 1919:135; Fire and Erdoes 1978:170). It is often identified as man's sage in contrast to *Artemesia frigida*, which is known as women's sage and used in the *Pte San Lowampi*, a girl's coming of age ceremony (Fire and Erdoes 1978:172; Walker 1980:244, 247-248, 250-251). The Cheyennes similarly identified sage along gender lines (Moore, J. 1974:174). *Artimesia ludoviciana* is probably the most important ceremonial plant for the Cheyennes who use it extensively in their Sun Dance and other major ceremonies as a ritual border. Like the Lakotas, they depend on it it as incense to ward off malevolent influences (Hart 1981:18-19; 1992:44-55). The Arikaras once placed a wisp of this sagewort in placenta bundles, which were hung on fruit trees as an offering to ward off diseases in their children (Gilmore 1930:75). This variety of sage also holds a significant position in Kiowa and Plains Apache sweat lodges and many other ceremonial contexts (Vestal and Schultes 1939:56; Jordan 1965:99).

Artimesia tridentata, a woody variety of sagewort, is also considered another potent purifier for many ceremonial activities among the Lakotas. It is very important in *Yuwipi* where, among its many different roles, it covers the floor at the sacred spot where the ceremony is performed. It serves as a plug for the pipe, it is attached to the knots of thongs that tie up the medicine man, and it is placed on the water dish and on the kettle of dog soup (Kemnitzer 1970:64). This variety of sage is also spread on the floor of sweatlodges, and it is used in the Sun Dance to fill the orifices

of the buffalo skull, to plug the pipes of dancers, and as a medicine to heal the wounds of those who make sacrifices (Kemnitizer 1970:65).

Juniper [*Juniperus scapulorum* or *J. virginiana*] is considered highly sacred as well. Its twigs are burnt as a smudge for spiritual purification in many healing and religious ceremonies among all tribes in the northern Plains (Carlson and Schultes 1939:522 Vestal and Schultes 1939:13; Walker 1980:93; Hart 1992:36; Kindscher 1992:132). The Arikaras considered juniper one of their three sacred trees, and like other tribes in the area, they believe it is especially efficacious in warding off evil influences. For the Arikaras, cedar is the great protector, and annually, a ritual was held to show gratitude to the grandmother cedar. In this ritual, pasque-flowers and baby moccasins were hung on a cedar tree to insure the health and long life of their wearers (Gilmore 1987:186-87). The Cheyennes associate green cedar berries with the green colored hailstones of summer thunderstorms, and this may be one of the reasons why this tree is connected in their cosmologies to the thunders (Moore, J. 1974:171).

The Lakotas believe that the *Wakinyan*, Thunders, find the smell of cedar appealing, and whenever Lakotas wish to petition them, they make a *wazilya*, or incense, out of cedar (Walker 1980:77). They also place cedar boughs on tipi poles and in their houses as offerings to the Thunders to ward off their dangerous lightning strikes (Gilmore 1919:74; Standing Bear 1988:96-97). The Cheyennes burn cedar incense for the same purpose (Hart 1992:36). In 1926, Oscar Good Shot, a Lakota, told Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:63) about this belief, which incidentally is widespread among tribal nations in the western United States. Referring to his grandmother, he said:

> She told me a cedar tree is the safest place when lightning is flashing. It never strikes a cedar tree. She always kept some cedar branches in the house, and if lightning began to play she sprinkled the twigs upon the hot stove. The odor was supposed to prevent lightning from entering the house.

Sweetgrass [*Hierochloe odorata*] is not reported in the Black Hills, but it is mentioned here because of its widespread importance to tribes in the region. For the Lakotas, while sage repelled bad influences, sweetgrass attracted good ones (Gilmore 1919:66). The Lakotas use it whenever the spirits are petitioned for assistance (Buechel 1970:512; Walker 1980:113, 119), and as a result, it appears in many different ceremonial contexts: whenever a pipe is consecrated or used in prayer (Walker 1980: 76-77, 81, 83, 87,89), whenever visions are sought (Walker 1980: 86), and whenever sweatlodges are held (Hassrick 1964:249; Walker 1980:94-95). It plays an important role in the adoption rituals of the *Hunka* ceremony (Walker 1980:194,197, 202, 209, 210, 214, 228-230, 235), in the Sun Dance (Hassrick 1964:244; Walker 1980:184), in the *Omaha Wacipi*, Grass Dance (Walker 1980:266), *Pte San Lowanpi* (Fletcher 1887; Hassrick 1980:266; Walker 1980:244-245, 247-248, 251), in the performances of Elk dreamers (Fletcher 1887b), in Spirit Keeping ceremonies (Densmore 1918:79; Hassrick 1964:262), and in the rituals that surround eagle trapping (Standing Bear 1988:79). It is also singled out in many sacred stories (Hassrick 1964:215). In modern times, sweetgrass continues to be used in a variety of ceremonial contexts including Sun Dances, vision seeking, and *Yuwipi* (Kemnitzer 1970:66). As James Walker (1980:76) wrote:

> In their ceremonies the Lakotas make smoke with the pipe and also of sweetgrass and sage, and of cedar leaves, and of buffalo chips. Making smoke with these things is *wazilya* (incensing). In all ceremonies that have to do with *Wakan Tanka,* after smoking the pipe an incense of sweetgrass should be made. This is because that spirit that is in the smoke of sweetgrass is pleasing to the *Wakan Tanka* and will incline him to hear the ceremony with aver.

In Cheyenne creation stories, sweetgrass is mentioned as the first plant that the Creator laid down when he made this world, and it is also the plant that Sweet Medicine, a Cheyenne culture hero, burned to purify the world (Hart 1981:9). It remains an important ceremonial incense in the Cheyennes' Sacred Arrow and Sacred Hat ceremonies, in the Sun Dance, in protecting warriors and contraries before they enter battle, in healing rituals, and in warding off evil influences in homes (Hart 1981:9-10).

The cottonwood [*Populus deltoides*] was held sacred by several tribal nations in the region as well. The trunk of a young tree served as the center pole for Sun Dances among the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:229-232, 259, 287; Hart 1981:37) and the Lakotas (Standing Bear 1978:222; DeMallie 1984:287; Walker 1982:97). According to Luther Standing Bear (1988:94), "for all ceremonial purposes the cottonwood was favored" by the Lakotas. The Lakotas also made a stick from the cottonwood tree for hanging the buffalo hump that was given as an offering in the Sun Dance (Densmore 1918:118). The posts of the lodges, in which the Lakotas' *Wanagi gele'pi* [Spirit keeping] ceremonies were held, were made from cottonwood (Densmore 1918:81). Cottonwood was a symbol of fidelity for the Lakotas, and young girls burnt twigs from the tree during the *Pte San Lowanpi* to ward off the scheming of *Anog Ite* [Double Faced Woman], who was believed to foment "infidelity, scandals and strife" (Walker 1982:52). Among the Lakotas, cottonwood was the preferred wood for other ceremonial fires too (Walker 1980:76). Its bark was used during the performances of Elk Dreamers and in the rituals of the Owns White Society (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:242-243, 340). Today, Lakotas use cottonwood saplings to construct their sweatlodges (Lewis, T. 1990:47). It was also featured in Black Elk's visions as the flowering tree (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:109, 130).

Willow [*Salix*] was another important and ubiquitous plant used in Cheyenne and Lakota ceremonies. The Cheyennes drew on willow stems in making hoops for antelope hunting ceremonies, willow wood to make ceremonial drums, and willow charcoal to paint their faces when going into battle. They also employed willow for a variety of ritual purposes in the *Massaum* ceremony and in the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:1:284, 2:20, 229-32, 328-29; Hart 1981:37-38). More specifically, willow stems were wrapped around the arms, waists, and legs of Cheyenne Sun Dancers because they were believed to help ward off thirst (Grinnell 1972:2:265, 268, 277). The Lakotas mixed willow bark in their ceremonial tobacco mixtures, including those used for the *Hunka* and *Pte San Lowanpi* (Walker 1980:111, 119, 194, 202, 209, 210, 227, 244, 245, 295; DeMallie 1984:372; Standing Bear 1988:107). Today, *can sa'sa*, red willow, remains a basic ingredient in tobacco mixtures used for smoking pipes at *Yuwipi* (Kemnitzer 1970:67). It was also used as a gift at the final feast of spirit keeping ceremonies (Densmore 1918:81). Red willow is also significant to the Cheyennes, who use it in their tobacco mixtures and associate it with male virility (Moore, J. 1974:173).

Another shrub used for ceremonial purposes is the chokecherry [*Prunus virginiana*]. Chokecherry stems are placed in a bundle and put in the fork of the cottonwood tree at Lakota Sun Dances, probably because of its associations with bison. The Lakotas also give Sun Dancers a tea prepared from the bark of this shrub (Densmore 1918:118; Walker 1980:178-179; Lewis, T. 1990:53). *Wasna*, a mixture of corn, tallow, and chokecherries, is typically served at Lakota naming ceremonies, and *cankpe ijapi*, a boiled pudding thickened with flour, is a popular dish the Lakotas serve at feasts and powwows (Albers 1966-1976; Kemnitzer 1970:73). A staff made of cherry wood was used in the *Pte San Lowanpi* (Fletcher 1887:266-267; Walker 1980:244). The Cheyennes also placed chokecherry branches in the crotch of their cottonwood center pole at the Sun Dance, and they used them in making their Sun Dance altar as well. In addition, chokecherry branches were part of many Cheyenne ceremonies, including the Sacred Arrows Ceremony,

where one branch was placed on the altar for each of the 145 songs sung in this observance (Hart 1981:36). The closely related wild plum [*Prunus americanus*] also had important ritual uses. Among the Lakotas, the stems were made into prayer wands, called *waunyanpi*, for healing the sick (Gilmore 1919:87). The sprouts of the tree were used in making spirit banners for vision questing (Sword in Walker 1980:85), and the branches to construct invitation wands for the *Hunka* ceremony (Walker 1982:65). The Cheyennes also placed this tree's branches on their Sun Dance altar (Hart 1981:35).

A mineral of widespread ceremonial importance is gypsum, particularly important because it is a distinctive feature of the Red Valley or Race Track. The ceremonial significance of this mineral was first recorded in 1874 by William Ludlow (1875:15), who came across an outcropping in the Redwater Valley where beads and other offerings were left by the tribes who quarried the mineral. Gypsum was used by the Cheyennes to mark the line surrounding the altar of their Animal Dance, and it is still utilized this way in their Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:292, Schlesier 1987:93; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54). It is also mixed with fat and painted on the small altar sticks that represent the Cheyenne people during the Sun Dance (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54), and it is used to whiten the feather plumes and buffalo robes worn in the dance (Grinnell 1972:1:163, 192, 2:202, 242, 262). In their Sacred Arrow ceremony, gypsum is ground into a fine powder and melted into a mold to represent the moon. This object is attached to a sacrificial bush outside the arrow tepee, which the Cheyenne call *vozem* or frost (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54). Gypsum is the mineral known as the "Sun Arrow," which gave birth to the culture hero, Stone Boy Grinnell 1926:179). The Lakotas appear to have associated gypsum and other crystalline formations with frost and ice too (Bushotter in Dorsey, J. 1889:153-154). In James Walker's rendition of the Lakota creation cycle (1983:220-221, 222-223, 227-228), the spirits were said to have been invited to feast on *icage*, "white fruits" that grew under the earth, suggesting the crystalline formations in caves.[3] *Taku Skanskan* made entrails from these fruits and molded a masculine father and feminine mother figure from them, the first *Pte Oyate,* and gave them the fruits as their source of eternal nourishment (Walker 1983:225-226, 249). Like the Cheyennes, the Lakotas sprinkled powdered gypsum on the ground to mark off the altar at their Sun Dance (Densmore 1918:122).

It is also important to reiterate again the importance of the pulverized soils that badgers, prairie dogs, and voles bring up from the earth (Grinnell 1972:1:140; Powers, W. 1982:13, 1986:113, 162; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:135n25, 137, 337, 340; Schwartz 1995:55). Cheyennes and Lakotas consider these soils very sacred and use them in the construction of their ceremonial altars.

2. Plants and Stones with Distinctive Ceremonial Uses

There are many other plants that played important ceremonial roles too, but many of these are only reported for one or two tribes. Baneberry [*Actaea rubra*], which is located in the Black Hills but not at Wind Cave National Park, is one of the most sacred plants for the Cheyennes who believe that their culture hero brought this plant "to help the people save and bring up their children" (Grinnell 1972:2:174). To the present day they keep its roots in their Sacred Arrow, Sacred Hat, and Sun Dance bundles. They also use the root in the 'throwing it at him' ceremony, in which a spiritual leader bites tiny fragments of the root and spits it on his hands and those of

[3] The lodge of the old man, *Wazi* or *Waziya*, which is associated with a cave in many Lakota texts, had icicles for poles and snow as its covering (Walker 1983:334). George Bushotter (in Dorsey, J. 1889:153-154) wrote about a "mysterious stone" that was white and looked like glass or ice.

others who conduct sacred tasks (Hart 1981:33). The Hidatsas also considered the root sacred and utilized it in their River Ceremony (Nickel 1974:57).

Besides the plants discussed earlier, the Cheyennes used many other species in their Sun Dance and *Massaum* ceremonies. Aspen logs went into the construction of their Sun Dance lodges (Hart 1992:37), and box elder wood was carved to make the ceremonial root digger for the Sun Dance (Grinnell 1972:2:260). This wood also went into the fabrication of ceremonial bowls (Grinnell 1972:1:249), and in the making spiritual fires for medicines, lighting tobacco pipes, and at the Sun Dance (Hart 1981:13,1992:5). The Cheyennes placed branches of the snowberry [*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*] at the four directions of their Sun Dance altar (Grinnell 1972:2:259; Hart 1981:17). Buffaloberry [*Shepherdia*] and woodbine [*Partheocissus vitacea*] branches were also laid at this altar (Hart 1981:25, 35). The flowering culms of June grass [*Koeleria*], which was named *naaseto-vo?estse*, "sacred plant," were used in the Cheyenne Sun Dance to give the dancers strength, and they also served as brushes to apply paint on the dancers (Hart 1981:10). During the dance, the dancers chewed the roots of the purple coneflower [*Echinacea angustifolia*] and American licorice [*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*] to quench their thirst (Hart 1981:21, 22). A bed of field mint [*Mentha arvensis*] was laid out to cool the dancers (Hart 1981:27). The Cheyennes also chewed the roots of field mint for their cooling effect during sweatlodges and Sun Dances (Hart 1981:28). Sun dancers were served the wild thistle [*Cirsium edule*] as food (Hart 1981:20). Bent redosier dogwood [*Cornus sericea*] sticks formed the rainbow at the Cheyenne Sun Dance altar because the tree symbolized the moisture needed to bring life to a dry land (Hart 1981:23-24).

The Cheyennes believed that the sedge, *Carex nebrascensis*, lived in waters that serpents inhabited, and they placed it in the cavities of the buffalo skull during the ceremonies of the Sun Dance and Animal Dance (Hart 1981:7). It was also inserted in the cavity of a yellow-faced wolf during the *Massaum* [Animal Dance]. Symbolically, it represented a prayer for an abundance of water and the growth of vegetation (Hart 1981:8-9). The sunflower [*Helianthus annus*] and the wild turnip [*Psoralea esculenta*] had a place in the *Massaum* along with a wide variety of other plants that represented four of the near earth planes in the Cheyenne cosmos (Hart 1981:29; Schlesier 1987:81-82).

Two plants of special signficance in the Lakotas' Sun Dances are the sunflower [*Helianthus annus*] and the wild bergamot [*Monarda menthafolia*]. Luther Standing Bear (1975:120) reports that the Lakotas used sunflowers in the Sun Dance because "it is the only flower that follows the sun as it moves on its orbit, always facing it." The leaves of wild bergamot were smudged around the dance enclosure and chewed by the singers and dancers (Dorsey, J. 1894:454; Gilmore 1919, 111; Buechel 1970:521).). In the Lakotas' *Pte San Lowampi*, a girl's coming of age ceremony, ceremonial plates were manufactured from hackberry wood (Fletcher 1887:266, 267; Walker 1980:244). Green ash wood went into the making of bowls used by Lakota hunting marshals; as James Walker (1982:31) writes:

> Once upon a time the people tried all the wood of every kind of tree and they found that the wood of the ash was the most durable and strongest. So they made the ash the emblem of the marshals and the marshals made all their wooden utensils and implements of ash.

Cheyenne Contrary Warriors and Lakota *Heyoka* rubbed the mucilaginous substance of the scarlet globemallow [*Sphaeralcea coccinea*] over their arms and hands to prevent them from being burned when plunged into boiling water to gather up pieces of hot meat (Densmore 1918:167-168; Hollowhorn in Beckwith 1930:415-416; Gilmore 1987:55; Buechel 1970:174; Hart 1981:31; Schwartz 1988:53. Lewis, T. 1990:149).

Besides cottonwood, other woods were favored for use in ceremonial fires. The Lakotas burned dried box elder wood for the fire at a young woman's coming of age ceremony (Walker 1980:244), and the Kiowas fueled most of their altar fires with it (Vestal and Schultes 1939:40). Hackberry [*Celtis occidentalis*], which is presently found in the neighborhood of Hot Springs, was also valued fuel among the Kiowas and Plains Apaches for ceremonial fires (Vestal and Schultes 1939:22; Jordan 1965:155).

a. For Warfare and Protection

Cheyenne and Lakota warriors used a wide variety of plants in protective ways. Baneberry [*Actaea rubra*] was employed in ceremonies to 'blind' the Cheyenne's enemies (Hart 1981:33), the sagewort, *Artemesia ludoviciana*, was gathered by Contrary Warriors to purify themselves, their horses and lances before battle (Hart 1981:18-19; 1992:44-55), and the arrowleaf balsamroot [*Balsamaorrhiza sagittata*] was tied to the lances of Bowstring Soldiers (Grinnell 1972:2:78). Pearly everlasting [*Anaphalis margaritacea*] was also employed as a war medicine. According to George Bird Grinnell (1972 :2:188):

> In one of his little medicine bundles, each man carries some of the dried and powdered flowers of this plant; and formerly, when going into battle, he chewed a little bit and rubbed it over his arms, legs, and body, for the purpose of imparting strength, energy, and dash, and thus protecting him from danger.

Women were not allowed to touch men who had this medicine on their body because this would nullify its effects.

Broom snakeweed [*Gutierrezia sarothrae*] was one of the major war medicines of Lakota warriors, who rubbed it on their body before battle (Densmore 1918:350), and the prairie sandreed [*Calamovilfa longifolia*] is associated with Crazy Horse, the famous Oglala war leader, who wore the top of this plant on his head as a *wotawe* [war charm] instead of a feather (Buechel 1970:452).

The Lakotas kept small stones for protection because these were widely believed to be capable of holding *sicun.* As William Powers (1982:11) writes:

> Inhering in each stone is a spirit called *sicun*, understood as that aspect of the soul that lasts forever and is capable of being reinvested in another object, human or non human, animate or inanimate, at one's death. Not all *sicuns* are reinvested, so there is always a surplus, some of which may be called upon in a ritual to perform certain acts dealing mainly with curing or to reveal information necessary for the welfare of the people.

The *sicuns* exert their own force. They are able to move on their own, but they can also function as messengers for spirits (Kemnitzer 1970:63). Each sicun has its own name, special rules for its care, and reveals itself to *Yuwipi*, who, under the proper circumstances, may transfer it to another for their protection and well-being (Kemnitzer 1970:63; Powers 1982:12). People who wish to acquire a stone may undergo a ritual called an *Inktomi Lowanpi* [Spider Sing] (Powers 1982:12).

Small stones were also carried as offerings and left at Bear Butte to memorialize the deceased, and this site was the origin of another stone that Lakotas quarried and kept for protection (Odell 1942:23-24). In 1874, Samuel Burrows (in Krause and Olson 1974:208), a journalist on the Custer expedition, reported small pieces of white quartz atop Inyan Kara

Mountain that had no geological reason to be there. Today, Lakotas still travel to this site to collect stones for use in the *inipi* (sweaatlodge) before the Sun Dance (Black Elk, C. 1992:51). Also spiritually important to the Lakotas and Cheyennes are the crystallized stones that ants bring up from under the earth (Grinnell 1972:1:223; Powers, W. 1982:160, 1986:113). Francis Densmore (1948:200) reported that the Lakotas made necklaces from stones gathered on ant hills. In general, most crystalline stones are considered sacred and good repositories for holding *sicun* (Bushotter in Dorsey 1889:153-154). Among the Lakotas, stones are ubiquitously present in a wide variety of ceremonial contexts, even though they are most often associated with *Yuwipi.* The Cheyennes employed stones in ritual ways too, but there is very little detail about their particular functions and meanings (Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:54).

b. Romance and Fertility

A variety of different plants are also associated with romantic attraction and fertility. The plant most widely linked to romance was the wild bergamot, especially the variety *Monarda menthafolia,* which is found in the Black Hills but not at Wind Cave National Park. The Plains Apaches believed this plant had properties that could attract and arouse the opposite sex (Jordan 1965:148-149), and the association of this plant with elk, known for its seductive powers, suggests a similar belief among the Lakotas (Densmore 1918:178). The Cheyennes used the stems and flowers of wild bergamot to make pillows for young girls to insure their health and fertility (Grinnell 1972:2:186), but there is no mention of it serving as a love medicine. Instead, the gum from the spruce tree [*Picea glauca*] was known to have powers to attract members of the opposite sex (Grinnell 1972:1:134), and field mint [*Mentha Arvensis*] was believed to have aphrodisiac properties (Hart 1981:27). Young Lakota women searched for four headed spears of grama grass [*Bouteloua*] to bring them good fortune in love and romance (Hassrick 1964:241).

Fruit-bearing trees, especially wild plums, chokecherries, and hackberries, were commonly associated symbolically with fertility and reproduction, not only in the Sun Dances of the Cheyennes and Lakotas, as already described, but also in many other ritual contexts. All of them occupied important symbolic places in the Lakota's *Pte San Lowanpi*, the celebration of a young girl reaching womanhood (Fletcher 1887:266-267; Walker 1980:244). They also appear to have played a role in Lakota women's rock art shrines connected with the Double-Woman, *Winyan Nunpa* (Sundstrom 2002:112). The Arikaras chose wild plum and hackberry trees to hang the bundles containing the placentas of their infants (Gilmore 1930:75).

c. Signs

Several plants are reported to have functioned as signs to mark important seasonal activities and movements in the lives of tribal people in the northern plains. Melvin Gilmore (1926:14) noted that when the dotted gayfeather [*Liatris punctata*] started to bloom, the bison-hunting tribes took this as a sign to travel to the Arikara villages because the corn would be ripe and ready for trade. When the goldenrod [*Solidago*] bloomed, it was time for the Poncas to return home from the buffalo hunts to tend to their ripening corn fields (Gilmore 1919:133). When the annual sunflower [*Helianthus annus*] was ripe, the Lakotas believed that bison were fat, and therefore, their meat was good (Gilmore 1919:130). The flowers of the pasqueflower [*Pulsatilla patens*] blossom on the high plains before the snows completely melt and were a harbinger of spring, renewal and rebirth for several tribal nations in the region. The Arikaras hung pasqueflowers each spring on their sacred cedar tree to mark the return of spring and the renewal of life (Gilmore 1987:188), and the Dakotas (and probably the Lakotas too) had many songs about this flower that they sang to celebrate its appearance in the early spring (Gilmore 1919:81, 1987:205-208).

Stones could also function as signposts. Jenney and Newton (1875:302) noted how stones were set in the forks of trees to mark trails in the interior regions of the Black Hills, and Odell (1942:152) wrote how the Cheyennes stacked stones in a special way to give directions to the locations of their camps.

d. Gifts and Petitions

Certain plants were singled out to use as offerings whenever spirits were petitioned. Besides sage, cedar, and sweetgrass, pearly everlasting [*Anaphalis margaritacea*] was one of the plants commonly used for this purpose by the Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:2:188). Many more plants, however, were dried and combined in tobacco mixtures to create a smoke that carried petitions to the spirit world. Redosier dogwood [*Cornus stolonifera*], bearberry a.k.a. kinnikinick or larb [*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*], and willow bark [*Salix humilis*] were among the more important plants used for this purpose (Gilmore 1919:108, 1987:106: Buechel 1970:123, 520; Kemnitzer 1970:67; Grinnell 1972:2:183; Finger in Walker 1980:111; Tyon in Walker 1980:119; No Flesh in Walker 1980:194; Blunt Horn in Walker 1980:202; Bad Wound in Walker: 1980:209, 210; Walker 1980 227, 244, 245, 295; Hart 1981:23, 40-41, 1992:20; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:372; Standing Bear 1988:107; Black Elk, W. and Lyon 1990:189; Lewis, T. 1990:46-47). Robert Hall (1997: 157-158) suggests that their importance is related to the fact that they maintained a distinctive coloration during the winter, a fact that led tribes to connect them with immortality. Dogwood stems turn bright red during the winter months, and it was only during this time of the year that they were taken by the Lakotas for their tobacco mixtures (Goodman 1992:7). The Cheyennes, Lakotas, Arikaras, and Poncas removed the inner bark of the dogwood from its outer bark to make shavings that were placed in tobacco mixtures for pipe-smoking on diplomatic and ceremonial occasions (Gilmore 1919, 1987:106, Grinnell 1972:2:183; Buechel 1970:123; Hart 1981:23, 1992:20; Lewis, T. 1990:46). The Lakotas also used it in their tobacco mixtures for fasting and seeking visions (Sword in Walker 1980:85; Walker 1980:132), in the consecration of their pipes (Sword in Walker 1980:87), and in the *Hunka* Ceremony (Walker 1980:209).

Bearberry was another important plant added to Cheyenne and Lakota tobacco mixtures (Hart 1981:25, 1992:40-41; DeMallie 1984:240, 334, 337, 339-340; Standing Bear 1988:103; Black Elk and Lyon 1990:189; Lewis, T. 1990:46-47), and like cedar and sage, it does not drop its leaves in the wintertime. The Lakotas used this plant as an offering when picking medicinal plants (Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:236). Luther Standing Bear (1988:103) explained its origin among the Lakotas, when he wrote:

> Long ago the wolf came to the medicine man and told him how to use the tobacco plant. The things that grow up from the soil, so he told the medicine man that if the tobacco plant was burned in the tipi, it would keep away disease and purify the air. The women threw the leaves of this plant on the fire and the smoke would rise up and fill the tipi. Long before pipes had been invented, the men would draw coals from the fire and sprinkle the dried leaves over the coals. As the smoke arose, they covered their heads with their blankets and bent over the coals so they could breathe in the smoke. A little later, men learned to smoke another way. Lying on the ground they drew the smoke into the mouth through a hollow reed. The next pipe was more convenient, for it was the small leg bone of the deer hollowed out. A piece of charcoal was put in one end of the bone and on this the tobacco. It was carried in the mouth and smoked like a cigar...

Surrounding the Lakotas' Sun Dance altar, an indented line is traced, where bearberry tobacco or larb is laid down, after which red clay paint is added, and on top of this, gypsum is sprinkled

TABLE 10. Plants and Minerals at Wind Cave National Park with Special Spiritual and Symbolic Significance to the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and/orArapahos

common name	taxonomic name
Woody Plants	
Bearberry	*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*
Broom snakeweed	*Gutierrezia sarothrae*
Buffaloberry	*Shepherdia*, spp.
Chokecherry	*Prunus virginiana*
Cottonwood	*Populus deltoides*
Hackberry (found near Hot Springs)	*Celtis Occidentalis*
Leadplant	*Amorpha canescens*
Redosier dogwood	*Cornus stolonifera*
Rocky Mountain juniper	*Juniperus scopulorum*
Sagewort	*Artemisia*, spp.
Skunkbush	*Rhus aromatica*
Smooth Sumac	*Rhus glabra*
Snowberry	*Symphoricarpos occidentalis*
Wild plum	*Prunus americana*
Willow	*Salix*, spp.
Woodbine	*Partheocissus vitace*
Flowering Forbs	
American Licorice	*Glycyrrhiza lepidota*
Blazingstar	*Liatris punctata*
Breadroot scurfpea	*Psoralea esculenta*
Dotted gayfeather	*Liatrus punctata*
Field Mint	*Mentha arvensis*
Pasqueflower	*Pulsatilla patens*
Pearly Everlasting	*Anaphalis margaritacea*
Purple Coneflower	*Echinacea angustifolia*
Sagewort	*Artemisia*, spp.
Scarlet Globemallow	*Sphaeralcea coccinea*
Sunflower	*Helianthus annus*
Grasses and Moss	
Grama Grass	*Bouteloua*, spp.
Junegrass	*Koeleria*
Juniper moss	*Polytrichum juniperinum*
Prairie Sandreed	*Calamovilfa longifolia*
Minerals and Soils	
Gypsum and Quartzite	
Stones on which lichens grow	
Red clay and earth	
Soils unearthed by prarie dogs, badgers, and voles	

(Densmore 1918:122). This is reminiscent of the appearance of the Red Valley where gypsum strata are laid down in this red sandstone formation, appearing as ribbon-like lines encircling the Hills where their tobacco (bearberry) was commonly gathered.

Two other plants were associated with ceremonial smoking by the Cheyennes, Comanches, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, and the Lakotas. One of these, skunkbush [*Rhus aromatica*], was widely used and considered an especially important ceremonial plant among the Kiowas (Vestal and Schultes 1939:40; Grinnell 1972:2:180; Jordan 1965:128; Hart 1981:14; Lewis, T. 1990:47). It is another plant that keeps some of its foliage and also its berries over the winter months. Another widely used and closely related shrub was the smooth sumac [*Rhus glabra*], whose leaves were combined in tobacco mixtures by many different tribal nations (Gilmore 1913b:367, 1919:48; Carlson and Jones 1939:524; Vestal and Schultes 1939:39; Jordan 1965:128; Buechel 1970:127 Grinnell 1972:2:180; Hart 1981:14). Finally, the Lakotas added the leaves from the leadplant [*Amorpha canescens*] to some of their tobacco mixtures too (Gilmore 1919:48).

It should also be mentioned that the descendants of European American settlers in the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park recall their families gathering kinnikinick and evergreens to make wreaths and other decorations for the Christmas holiday season (Sundstrom, J. 1977:379, 412). This is the only ritual and symbolic use of plants that we could find for the region's European American populations.

VII. WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK: PLANTS AND MINERALS

The Black Hills remain a renowned place for Lakotas and Cheyennes to seek plants, soil, earth, clay, and water for spiritual and practical uses. Historically, the incredible variety, richness, and abundance of these natural resources must have reinforced Lakota and Cheyenne ideas about the special and sacred nature of this place. This chapter has summarized information mostly on plants located today at Wind Cave National Park.[4] It reveals a number of things, the most important of which is that the park's flora represent a substantial proportion of the plants collected by the Lakotas and also the Cheyennes for practical and spiritual purposes.

With only a few exceptions, Wind Cave National Park contains most of the plant staples in the traditional diets of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. Even more impressive are the number and variety of plants on park properties used for traditional medicinal treatments. The park is a veritable pharmacy when it comes to healing herbs supplying remedies for injuries and ailments. Over fifteen different flora in the park treat colds and respiratory ailments, and more than twenty plants cure gastrointestinal, liver, and kidney problems. A similar number of species have obstetrical and gynecological applications. Many different plants have antiinflammatory uses. A large number of plants treat dermatological conditions, and at least fifteen handle headaches, dizziness, and psychogenic complaints. Wounds, injuries, and bites are doctored with more than twenty-five distinct plants. At least five separate plants attend to heart, back, and chest pains, more than ten heal inflammations of the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, and over five serve as elixirs and stimulants or work as compounds. A wide variety of the plants that grow on park properties are reported as fodder or remedies and stimulants for horses.

[4] Again, a more detailed body of information on plants and minerals for the Black Hills as a whole is found in Appendix B. The material presented in this chapter and the appendix does not represent a complete coverage of the knowledge that Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal people possess about plants in the Black Hills. What appears here is restricted to material found in published sources.

Virtually everything a Lakota, Cheyenne, or Arapaho might need to keep their person, dwelling, and articles of clothing clean and fragrant was available in the park's selection of plants, from sageworts and soapweed to bedstraws and cattails. Many of the flora at the park provided necessary materials for constructing lodges, making mats, containers, and utensils, fashioning tools and weapons, constructing musical instruments, toys, and recreational objects, and mixing dyes, paints, and tanning agents. Several grasses and woody plants also served as tinder and fuel, including sagewort, cottonwood, green ash, and box elder.

Some of the most important and sacred plants for religious observances grow in the park from cedar, bearberry, dogwood, and sagewort to the pasqueflower, cottonwood, globemallow, and broom snakeweed. Most of the specific locations where these and other plant resources were procured in historic times is not identified in the literature, but the southeastern area of the Hills, the region of Wind Cave and the Race Track and the neighboring Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs, played some role in this procurement because of their relationship to landforms associated with sacred stories of bison, an animal widely connected with healing herbs and spiritual renewal. The plants in theis area no doubt have significance because they grow on *Tatanka makalpaya* [the Stomping Ground of the Bison Bull] near the cave of the bison's origin. Lakota and Cheyenne cultural resource officers confirm the importance of this area in the collection of plants for medicine and religious observance.

It should also be noted that the plants associated with the North Wind, *Waziyata*, and his grandfather, *Waziya*, including dogwood and bearberry, are gathered in this area. Both plants were singled out by the tribal people we interviewed. In fact, most of the plants associated with these two spiritual figures either remain green over the winter months or else they take on a red coloration. As mentioned previously, they symbolize immortality because they do not die over the winter months. The name *Waziyata* is sometimes translated "towards the pine." *Wazi* is the generic word for pine, and it is used specifically in reference to the ponderosa pine. The land of the pines is commonly mentionned in Lakota stories about *Waziyata* and his grandfather, *Waziya*, and although many of the references (Afraid of the Bear in Walker 1980: 200-201; Blue Thunder in Walker 1980: 208; Bad Wound in Walker 1980: 210; Walker 1983: 125, 136, 194, 201, 208) may very well apply to locations in the northwoods of Minnesota and neighboring Wisconsin, where most historians agrue the Lakotas originated, they can easily apply to the pine-laden Black Hills, which after the late eighteenth century would have been the area that most Lakotas associated with pine.

Lakotas and Cheyennes link specific varieties of plants to particular animals and the landscapes in which they dwell. The plants (i.e., fetid marigold) that grow around prairie dog towns, for example, are important given the cleansing properties of the soils in which they grow. Park properties contain numerous springs, and they stand in proximity to the thermal waters at Hot Springs, which are highly valued for their healing properties. The plants that grow around these water sources are considered especially potent.

Historically, the area of Wind Cave National Park was probably a locale to find knappable stone. There is certainly prehistoric evidence of quarrying not only at nearby Battle Mountain, but also inside the boundaries of the park itself. The procural of flint for making arrowheads declined after the introduction of European trade metal, but it no doubt remained a prominent activity in tribal life until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the time when French traders began to stay in the area for extended periods. Also, the general spiritual importance of the region, described in greater detail in the next section, recommends it as a location to collect minerals, clays, and soils for ceremonial uses. Although present in other places, the dirt brought up from the deep earth near Wind Cave by prairie dogs, badgers, and voles would have special significance for

constructing ceremonial altars because the soil comes from the earth that is the home to the buffalo and the place of human emergence. The red soils and gypsum formations along the Race Track also have significance in the Sun Dance and other ceremonies linked to the story of the Great Race (see next section for a fuller explication).

Wind Cave National Park and its surrounding environments are resource rich areas for animals, plants, waters, minerals, and soils used in traditional culture contexts, and many of these resources continue to play a role in contemporary religious observances. It is little wonder that the general area of the park remains contested. In the past, it was a place where tribal nations once battled each other to acquire or protect their access to its riches and where, after 1874, the Lakotas and Cheyennes launched attacks on the incoming prospectors and settlers. It is also understandable that the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and Arapahos eventually came to share access to the lands, that it became a popular camping area for the Lakotas for short or extended stays, that Spotted Tail wanted his agency nearby, and that Red Cloud refused to part with this section of the Hills. Nor is it surprising that today it is one of many areas in the Black Hills where Lakotas continue to conduct some of their most sacred religious observances.