

TRIBAL CONCERNS & ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORT:
NATIVE AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES
FOR THE
SD15726-B RAPID CITY 5
COMMUNICATIONS TOWER

Pennington County, South Dakota

T2N, R7E, Section 25

By

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Abstract

This document provides an ethnographic and archeological overview of the state of South Dakota with an emphasis on the county in which the proposed project is located. It summarizes a century of ethnographic, archeological, and oral traditional research.

The proposed project was reviewed by *Quality Services, Inc.* Native American Liaison and Oglala Sioux Tribe of South Dakota member Reuben Weston. This consisted of contacting representatives of local tribes regarding their potential concerns, assessing information about traditional use plants in the project area, attempting to identify cultural and spiritual locations near the project, reviewing known cultural resource site data, and obtaining Native American perspectives on the proposed project based upon traditional oral history.

Based upon the response from tribal contacts and document research, this study did not identify any tribal concerns regarding this project.

- No Native American cultural resources are within the direct area of potential effect (APE).
- No effect to Native American cultural resources within the visual APE.
- No effect to Native American cultural resources within the three mile record search radius.
- No Native American traditional use plants are present in the direct APE.
- No Native American traditional use animal species will be adversely affected.
- All work will occur in a previously disturbed area within the town of Rapid City.

This study indicates there are no identified potential tribal concerns regarding this project.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Table of Contents.....	ii
List of Tables.....	ii
List of Figures.....	iii
Purpose of This Report.....	1
Project Information.....	1
Determination of Effect.....	1
Project Description.....	1
Cultural Resources Records Search.....	3
Maps.....	5
Tribal Involvement and Measures Taken to Identify Potential Tribal Concerns.....	7
Plants and Animals.....	8
Introduction to Environment and Culture History.....	8
Prehistoric Cultures of the Black Hills of South Dakota.....	9
The First Americans ca. 15,000 B.P.	9
Clovis, Folsom, & Paleo-Indian: ca. 13,400[cal]-7600 B.P.	10
Early Plains Archaic: 7600 to 5000 B.P.	11
Middle Plains Archaic: 5000 to 3000 B.P.	12
Late Plains Archaic: 3000 to 1500 B.P.	13
The Late Prehistoric: 1500 B.P. to 16th Century A.D.	13
The Protohistoric Period: 1600-1804.....	15
The Historic Period: 1804-1950: European Contact and Black Hills Gold.....	15
Arapaho.....	16
The Assiniboine.....	20
The Cheyenne.....	22
Crow Nation.....	27
Kiowa.....	28
Ponca.....	31
The Sioux.....	33
Sutaio.....	45
Historic Period Native Americans in Pennington County.....	46
Results and Recommendations.....	49
Photographs.....	50
References Cited.....	51

List of Tables

Table 1. Archeological resources in the direct APE.....	3
Table 2. Archeological resources in the visual APE.....	3
Table 3. Archeological resources between ½ and 3 miles from proposed tower.	3
Table 4. Previous inventories in the direct APE.	4
Table 5. Tribal contacts.....	8

List of Figures

Figure 1. General location of proposed project within South Dakota.	2
Figure 2. Project plan.	2
Figure 3. Proposed project location (pink dot)	5
Figure 4. SD15726-B Rapid City 5 Communications Tower Ethnographic Map.....	6
Figure 5. SD15726-B Rapid City 5 Communications Tower.....	7
Figure 6. South Huron SD17286-B Communications Tower Location Map	7
Figure 7. Native American reservations in South Dakota and surrounding area.....	9
Figure 8. A delegation of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa Chiefs in Denver, Colorado,.....	18
Figure 9. Assiniboine Territory (DeMallie and Miller 2001).	21
Figure 10. Early locations of the Cheyenne and related tribes (from Jablow 1994).	23
Figure 11. Flow of European commodities into tribal areas (from Jablow 1994).	24
Figure 12. Ponca territory in the late eighteenth century.	32
Figure 13. Photos of the direct APE.	50

Purpose of This Report

This report has been prepared based on the request of both the Northern Arapahoe Tribe and the Ft. Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes, contained within the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Tower Construction Notification System (TCNS) responses. As much as possible it attempts to follow their intent and concerns, and is produced to facilitate dialogue and to determine any potential tribal concerns about this project.

Mr. Youpee, Ft. Peck and Assiniboine THPO wants future generations to know that tribal people participated in the process for the benefit of the youth, as well as to educate non-Indians about Native American lifeways in order to promote understanding and reverence for the earth (personal communication 2009).

Fort Peck Reservation is home to two separate Indian nations, each composed of numerous bands and divisions. The Sisseton-Wahpeton, Yanktonai, and Teton Hunkpapa are all represented. The Assiniboine bands of Canoe Paddler and Red Bottom are also represented.

The Northern Arapahoe are located at the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming.

This study was developed in compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act Section 106. This document is designed to identify types of Native American resources potentially impacted by proposed telecommunications undertakings and to allow Native American peoples the opportunity to be more involved in this process.

Project Information

- a. Site address: 1565 North Haines Avenue, Rapid City, SD 57701
- b. Nearest Crossroads: Lindbergh Avenue and Haines Avenue
- c. Tower height above ground level: 100 ft. with 10 ft. lightning rod
- d. Tower type: Monopole
- e. Current status: Construction has not yet commenced

Determination of Effect

Previously disturbed

No archeological resources in direct area of potential effects (APE).

No effect to archeological resources in the visual APE.

No effect to Native American cultural resources in the three mile records search radius.

Project Description

A 100 ft. monopole tower with a 10 ft. lightning rod will be located in a previously disturbed urban area. The tower lease area measures 12 ft. x 26 ft. and will contain a fenced compound including the tower and equipment shed. Utilities exist on the lot and will be routed to the tower lease along an existing utilities easement on the lot line. Access will be across an existing paved

surface. The entire project area has been disturbed by construction for the existing businesses adjacent to the project area. The project area is located to the east of Goodwill Industries parking lot along a landscaped slope below a retaining wall.



Figure 1. General location of proposed project within South Dakota.

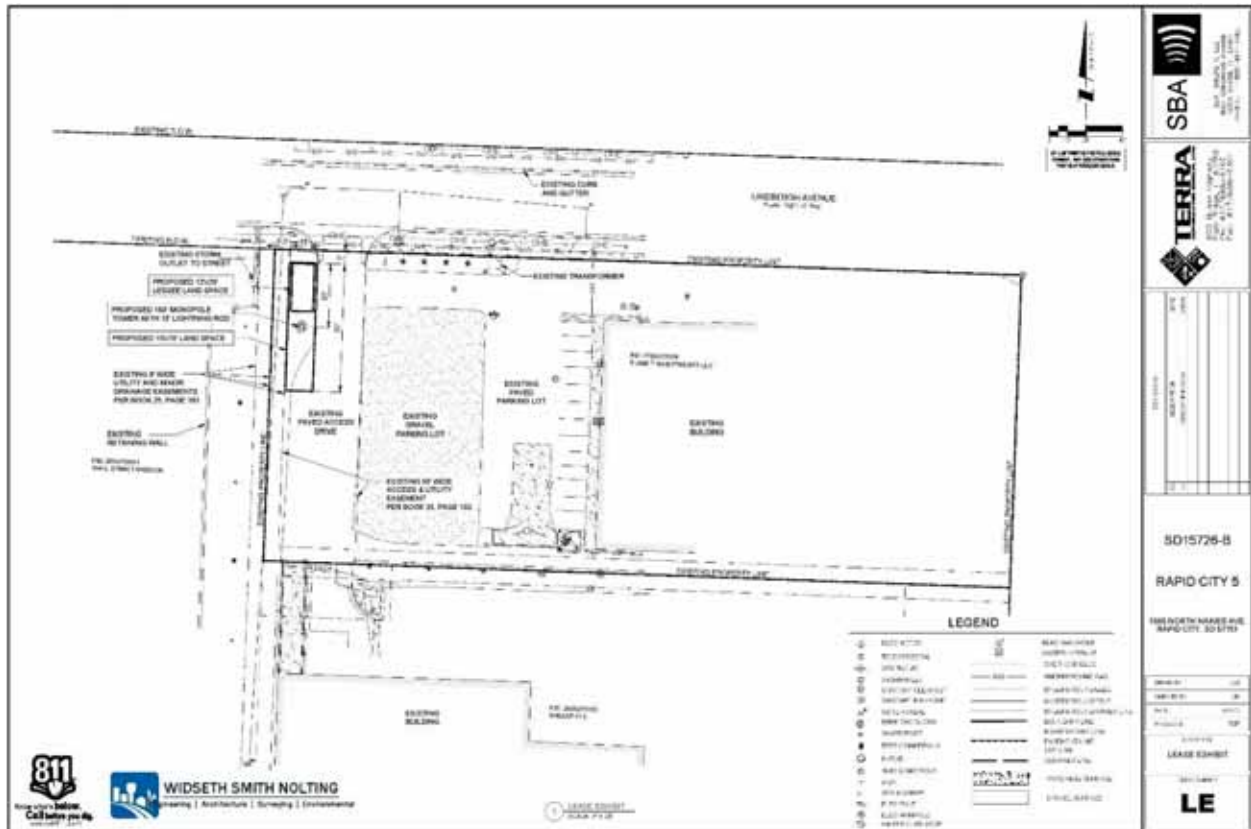


Figure 2. Project plan.

Cultural Resources Records Search

Records search was conducted by *Quality Services, Inc.* GIS staff and archeologist Shawn French with the South Dakota State Historical Society on June 11, 2015. The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmark online databases were also checked. The results are listed in the tables below.

Table 1. Archeological resources in the direct APE.

ID#	Name/ Type	NRHP	Potential Effect
None	N/A	N/A	N/A

Table 2. Archeological resources in the visual APE.

ID#	Name/ Type	NRHP	Potential Effect – Relationship to Project
39PN0855	Native American Isolated Flake	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 0.17 mi. northwest

Table 3. Archeological resources between ½ and 3 miles from proposed tower.

ID#	Name/ Type	NRHP	Potential Effect – Relationship to Project
39PN0001a	Native American Quarry; Artifact Scatter	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 1.18 mi. southwest
39PN0658	Native American Quarry	<i>Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.45 mi. northwest
39PN0773	Native American Quarry	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 1.45 mi. northwest
39PN0855	Native American Isolated Find	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 0.17 mi. northwest
39PN2724	Native American Isolated Find	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.75 mi. northeast
39PN2756	Native American Isolated Find; Euro-American artifact scatter; dump	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 2.10 mi. northeast
39PN2855	Prehistoric Isolated Find	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.40 mi. northeast
39PN2857	Prehistoric Artifact Scatter	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.80 mi. northeast
39PN2987	Native American Rock Art; Euro-American Monument; Rock Art	<i>Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.30 mi. southwest
39PN2989	Native American Isolated Find	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.20 mi. southwest
39PN3185	Native American & Euro-American artifact scatters	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 1.45 mi. southwest
39PN3187	Native American Artifact Scatter	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 1.40 mi. southwest

ID#	Name/ Type	NRHP	Potential Effect – Relationship to Project
39PN3208	Unknown Cairn	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 2.50 mi. southwest
39PN3215	Native American Artifact Scatter	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 2.55 mi. southwest
39PN3376	Native American Isolated Find	<i>Not Eligible</i>	No Effect – 1.90 mi. southwest
39PN3379	Native American Artifact Scatter; Euro-American Artifact Scatter; Faunal/ Paleontology Remains	<i>Unevaluated</i>	No Effect – 0.95 mi. southwest

Table 4. Previous inventories in the direct APE.

Resource#	Author(s)	Year	Title
None	N/A	N/A	N/A

Maps

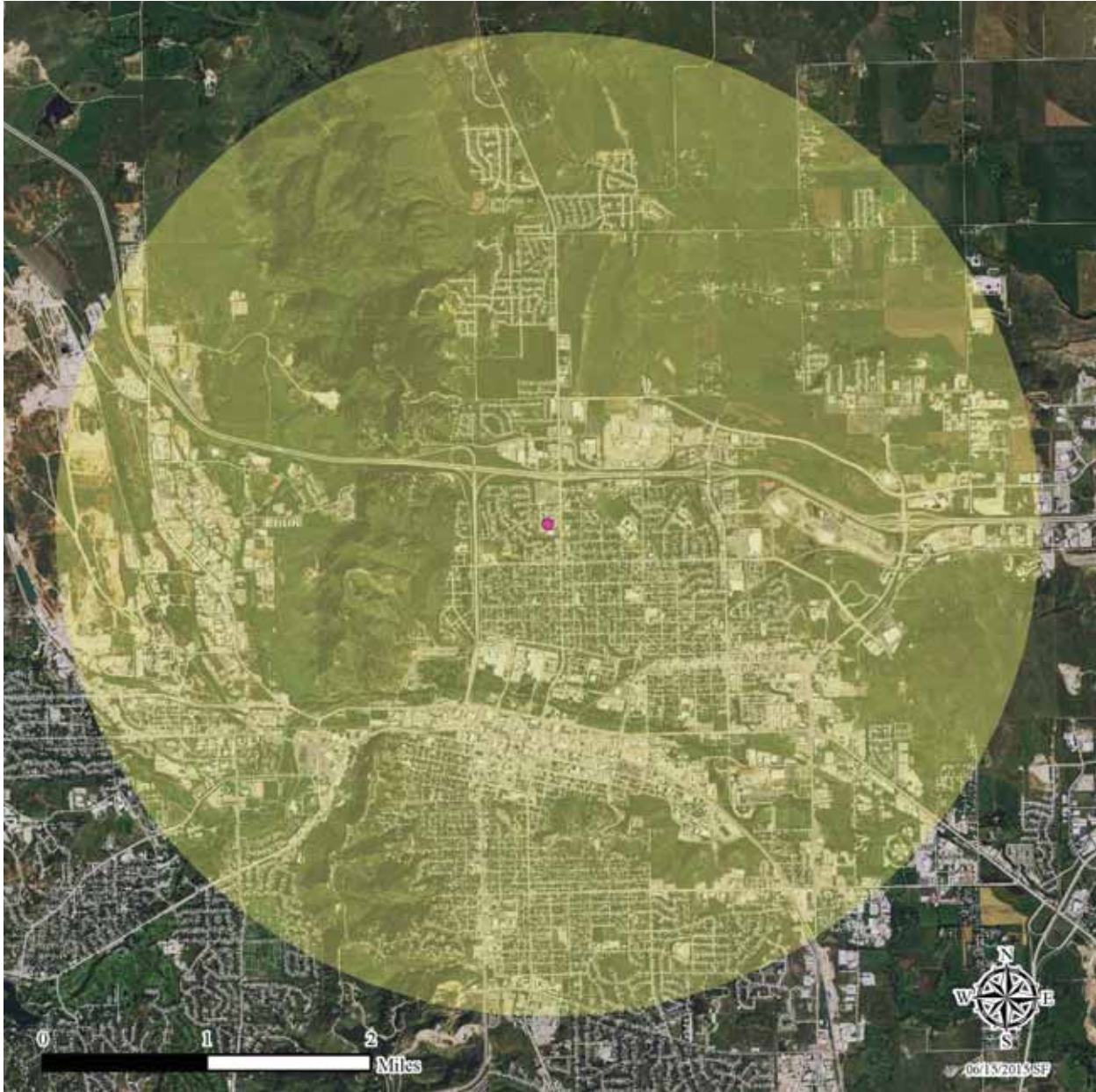


Figure 3. Proposed project location (pink dot) and three mile records search radius (yellow highlight).

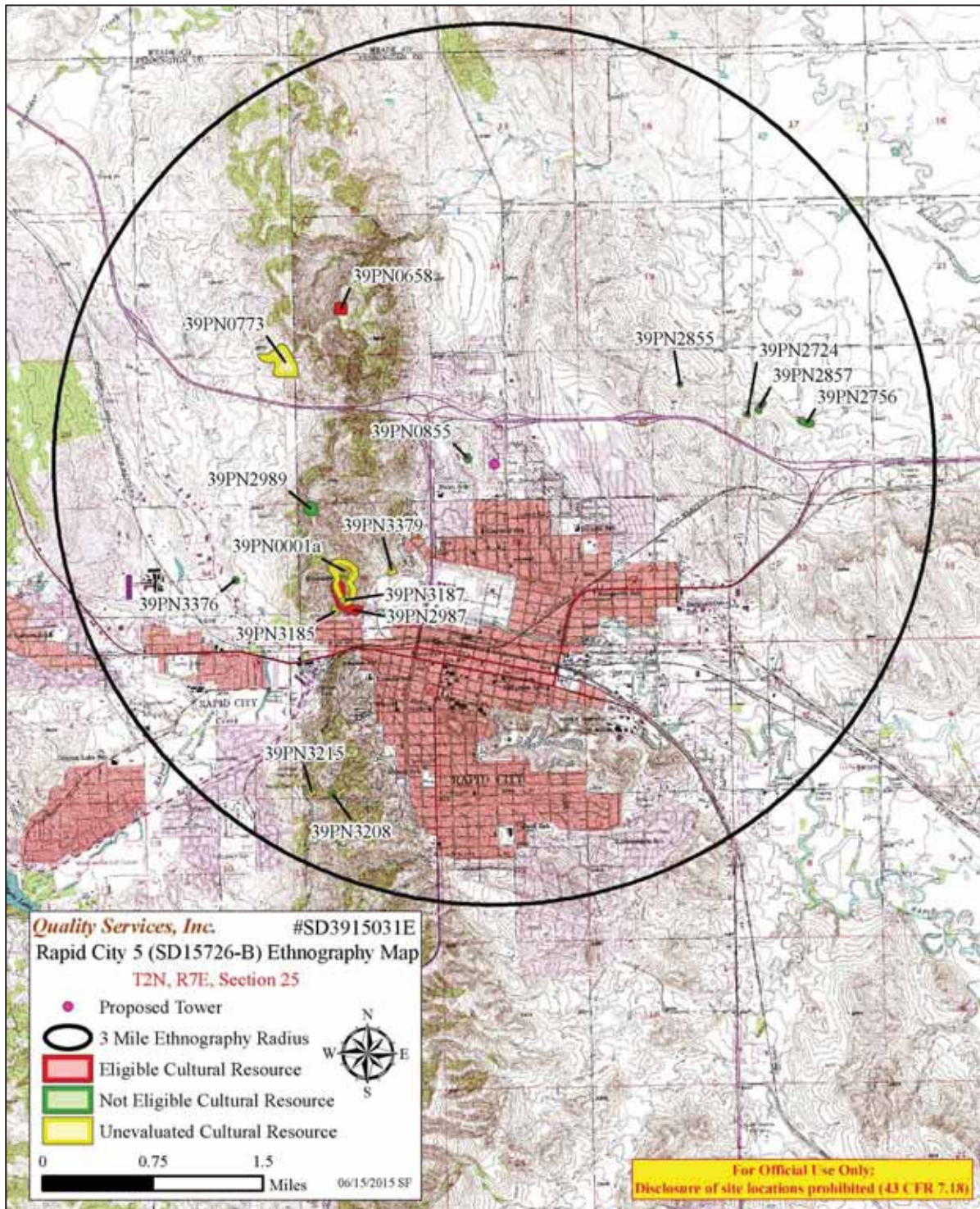


Figure 4. SD15726-B Rapid City 5 Communications Tower Ethnographic Map.
T2N, R7E, Section 25, Pennington County, South Dakota
USGS 7.5' Rapid City East, South Dakota topographic quadrangle 1953 revised 1978

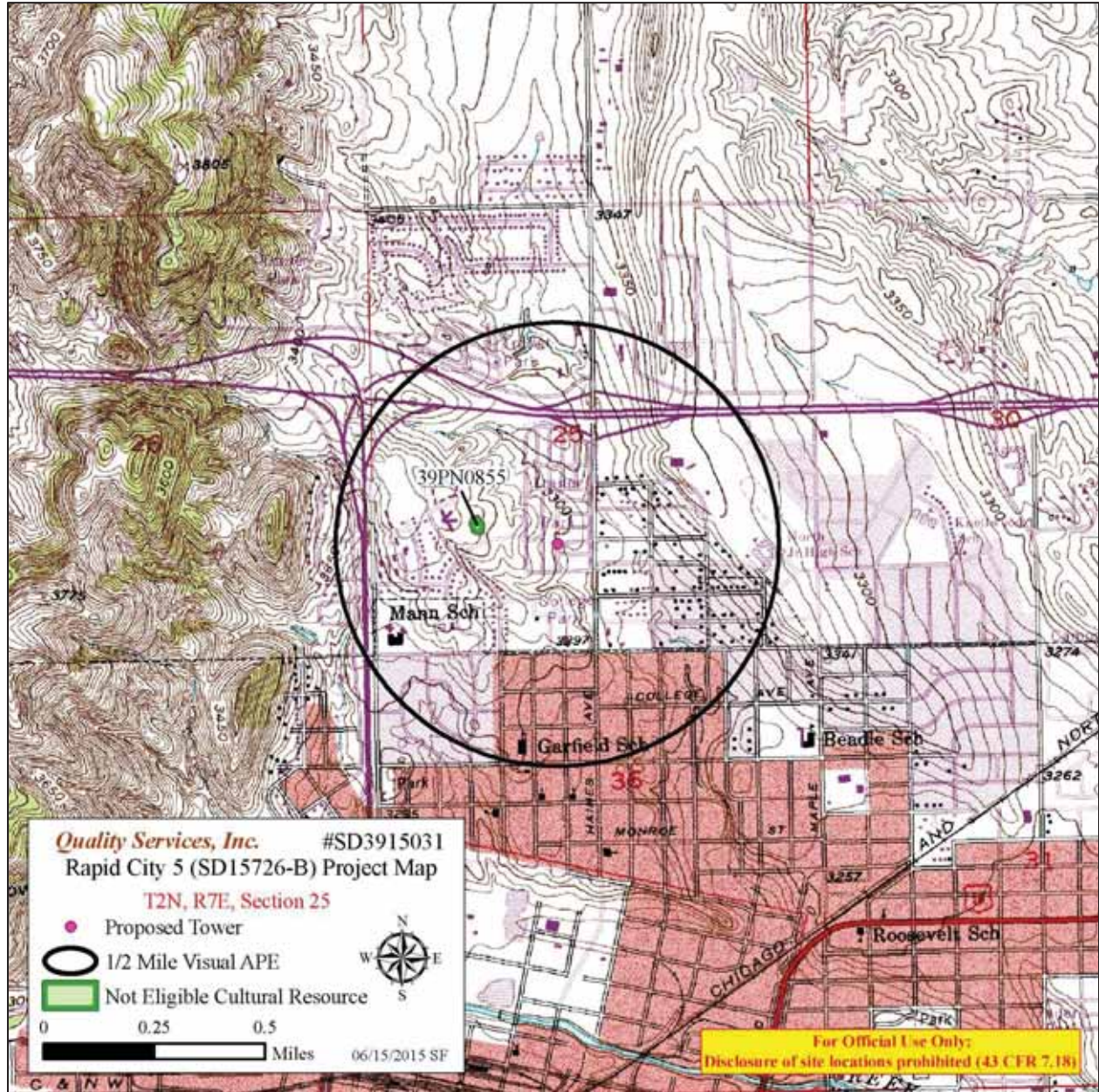


Figure 5. SD15726-B Rapid City 5 Communications Tower.
T2N, R7E, Section 25, Pennington County, South Dakota
USGS 7.5' Rapid City East, South Dakota topographic quadrangle 1953 revised 1978

Tribal Involvement and Measures Taken to Identify Potential Tribal Concerns

Project information was entered into the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) Tower Construction Notification System (TCNS) by Ramaker Associates, Inc. They will conduct follow up contacts according to FCC procedures.

Quality Services, Inc. Native American Liaison Reuben Weston contacted Tribal Historic

Preservation Officers (THPOs) in the area. Results are listed in the table below.

Table 5. Tribal contacts.

THPO	Contact & Attempted Contact Dates	Results of Contact/ THPO Requests
Santee Sioux Tribe THPO Rick Thomas	6/11/2015	THPO has no concerns with the current project due to the disturbed context of the project area.
Oglala Sioux Tribe THPO Dennis Yellow Thunder	6/11/2015	No answer
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe THPO Steven Vance	6/11/2015	No answer
Crow Creek Sioux Tribe THPO Daryl Zephier	6/11/2015	No answer
Yankton Sioux Tribe THPO Perry Little	6/11/2015	THPO requested information on the current tower via email.
Rosebud Sioux Tribe THPO Russell Eagle Bear	6/11/2015	No answer

Plants and Animals

Plants are referred to in kinship terms by the *Lakota*, and are endowed with spiritual energy called *skan*, e.g., grandfather sage, grandmother sage, mother sage, father sage, children sage, grandchildren sage (Albers 2003). Each plant and animal species is an extension of the family and a descendent of the original family, yet remains part of the whole. Animals are endowed with energy and movement. This is called *Taku Skan Skan* (pronounced dah koo shkan shkan) which literally means the energy that allows it to move by itself, and are neither better nor worse than plants. They are merely different parts of the whole universe (*Wakan Tanka*/ creation).

No Native American traditional use plants are present in the direct APE.

No Native American traditional use animal species will be adversely affected.

Introduction to Environment and Culture History

South Dakota is located in the Missouri Plateau. This area was once covered by an inland sea that deposited layers of limestone sandstone and shale. South Dakota is divided in to three geological areas, the Central Lowlands east of the Missouri, the Western Plains, west of the Missouri, and the Black Hills, formed by tectonic pressure that forced subsurface rock to emerge from beneath the layers of sediment deposited by the ancient sea and create this 60 by 125 mile region (Slattery et al. 2003). The project area is located in the Red Valley, the foothills of the Black Hills (Bryce et al. 2005).

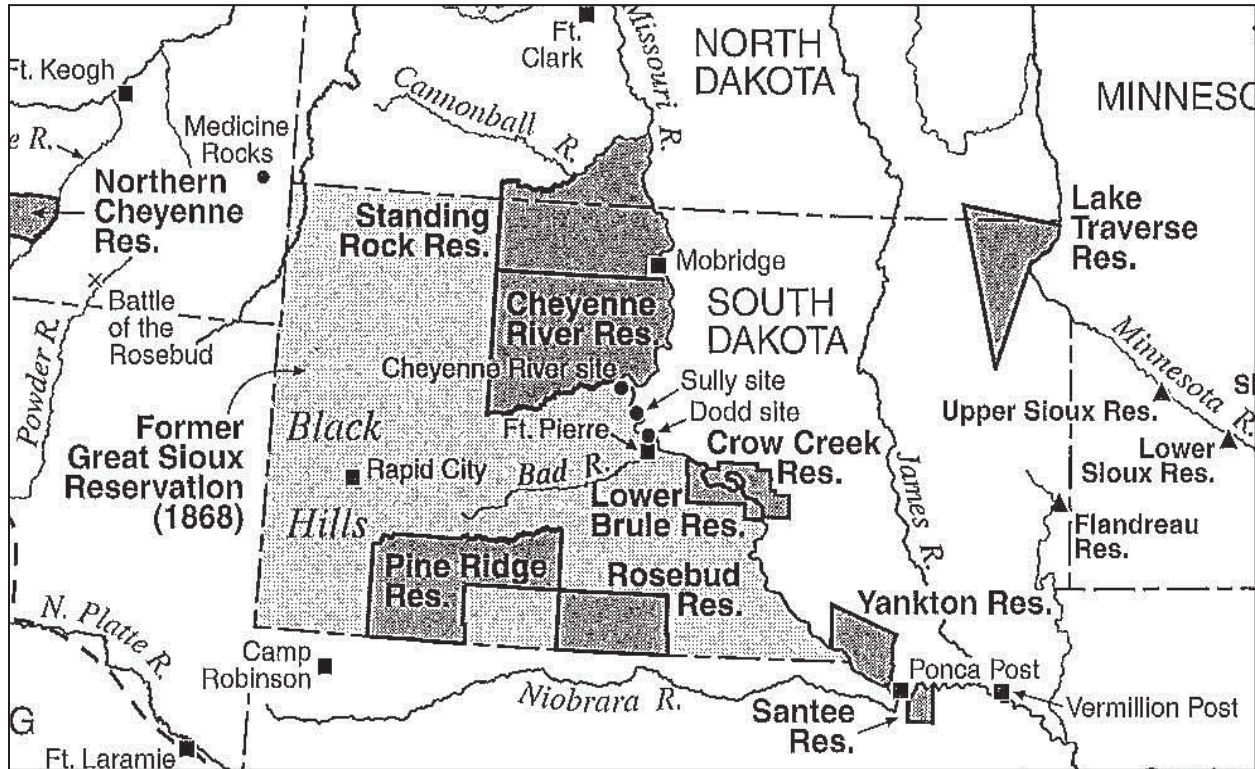


Figure 7. Native American reservations in South Dakota and surrounding area.
From Swagerty 2001.

Many Native American tribes have resided in or traveled through South Dakota, including the Arapaho, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Crow, Dakota Sioux, Lakota Sioux, Nakota Sioux and Kiowa. Lands have since been divided with reservations established for Native Americans.

Prehistoric Cultures of the Black Hills of South Dakota

The First Americans ca. 15,000 B.P.

Between 25,000 to 11,000 years ago, bitter cold temperatures during the late Wisconsin glaciation caused water to become trapped in advancing ice sheets. The result was a drop in world sea levels that effectively exposed low-lying landmasses, and the original immigrants to the Americas are believed to have arrived by means of an exposed land bridge connecting Siberia with Alaska.

The pathway for further migration south is still under debate. Since the 1950s, conventional understanding was that an “ice-free corridor” existed between the Cordilleran and Laurentide ice sheets. This theory states that the corridor was created as these two glaciers retreated north when warmer temperatures returned around 15,000 years ago. Without this pathway, many scholars felt that migration into the New World would have been impossible. However, currently available evidence indicates that the corridor did not exist and may not have opened until centuries after the Clovis arrived in the continental United States (Dixon 1999).

Another recent and popular hypothesis is that Early Americans migrated to the New World via a Pacific Ocean coastal route. Recent work by archeologists and paleontologists has shown that the Northwest coast of North America was not always covered by ice as once thought (Dixon 1999; Dixon and Heaton 2000). In fact, there is evidence that ancient life existed along this coast for tens of thousands of years. Jim Dixon and Tim Heaton's excavation of the coastline has uncovered a continuous record of caribou, fox, and bear bones dating back 50,000 years (Dixon and Heaton 2000). Furthermore, the western coastline was likely more extensive during ice ages. Sea levels were significantly lowered as much of the earth's water was trapped in glacial ice. This, along with the isostatic effects on land masses from the weight of the glaciers, would have exposed substantial tracts of land along coastline providing a route further south.

Archeological sites dating to such antiquity are extremely rare in the Americas, and only a handful of these sites are known to exist. The most notable and intensely investigated site is Monte Verde in Chile (Dillehay 1997). This site contained wooden huts, hearths, a wish-bone-shaped structure, and several bone and stone artifacts that date to between 14,050 and 13,600 years ago [cal]. Other sites include the Chesrow Complex in Southeastern Wisconsin (Overstreet 1993, 2000), the La Sena and Jensen site in central Nebraska (Holen 1994, 1995; Holen and May 2002), the Meadowcroft Rockshelter site in southwestern Pennsylvania (Adovasio et al. 1978; Adovasio and Page 2002), sites from the Old Crow Basin in Canada's Yukon Basin (Bonnichsen 1979; Irving et al. 1989), and the Cactus Hill Site in southern Virginia (Dixon 1999; Monastersky 2000; Adovasio and Page 2002).

Although many of these sites have not received complete scientific acceptance, the archaeological evidence appears to support regional adaptation underway 12,000 years ago, and the Early Americans emphasized the local environments for subsistence, which included both a variety of floral and faunal resources (Dixon 1999). Furthermore, both genetic and linguistic studies are providing mounting evidence that there were multiple migrations of people, and they were not of a shared, single biological or cultural stock (e.g. Schurr and Wallace 1999; Nichols 1990). In other words, the first Americans were likely made up of several people and cultures that migrated from the Old World, and they adapted to many different environments in several different ways.

Clovis, Folsom, & Paleo-Indian: ca. 13,400[cal]-7600 B.P.

Towards the end of the Wisconsin glaciation, the Plains environment harbored big-game species such as the mammoth and Ice-age bison. During this time a new culture, named Clovis after the early archaeological excavations in Clovis, New Mexico, began in the Americas. Based on the lack of any definite occurrence of the Clovis material culture, such as the Clovis projectile point, north of the ice sheets or in the Arctic, Clovis is believed to be the first truly indigenous North American culture.

Archaeological evidence associated with the Clovis time period is rare and usually consists of isolated surface-find projectile points. No Clovis sites have been found in the Black Hills to date, although there are a few Clovis sites found nearby. These include the Carter-Kerr McGee Site near Gillette, Wyoming (Frison 1998), and the Lange-Ferguson Site in the White River

Badlands of South Dakota. Clovis remains have also been found in the Agate Basin vicinity, located just west of the Black Hills Region.

Toward the end of the Clovis came the Younger Dryas cold snap, characterized by a worldwide cold interval lasting between 11,000 and 9650 B.C. [cal]. The drier climatic regime resulted in the retreat of spruce forest and the expansion of grassland on the northern plains. Many of the Ice-age megafauna died due to the changes. Bison, however, adapted well to this environment and the size and mobility of the herds likely increased significantly. Similar to the landscape today, the Black Hills were covered in pine forests while the surrounding areas became arid grasslands.

As a result of the adaptation to the environmental change, the Folsom complex emerged. This complex is identified by lanceolate points fluted entirely up to their tips, and a reliance on bison and other big game for subsistence. Bamforth (1988) hypothesizes that as bison herds grew in size, this food resource became more predictable. Folsom groups reacted by using regular hunting locations. They also engaged in communal hunts and concentrated into larger social groups. This may have led to greater social complexity.

Like Clovis, Folsom archeological remains are rare, although surface finds of Folsom have been reported throughout the Black Hills (Tratebas 1979). The South Dakota State Archeological Research Center identified the Jim Pitts Paleoindian site, 39CU1142, northeast of Elk Mountain. This site contained Goshen, Folsom, Agate Basin, Cody Complex, and terminal Paleoindian artifacts (Williams 1993). Noisat (1990) also recorded a possible Folsom occupation at site 48CK1317 in the central Bear Lodge Mountains. Miller (1992) recorded the distal end of an Angostura projectile point four miles east of Jewel Cave National Monument. Tratebas (1979) identified an Alberta point at 39PN0097. *Quality Services Inc.* located Paleoindian sites near Fanny Peak including the first Midland projectile point in the Black Hills (Rom et al. 2000).

Early Plains Archaic: 7600 to 5000 B.P.

The Plains Archaic is defined by a distinct subsistence focus on both hunting and gathering. Ground stone tools, such as manos and metates used for processing and grinding seeds, become an important part of the material culture and are indicative of the more generalized subsistence strategies. Frison (1998) writes that the term ‘Archaic’ denotes an adaptation dominated by hunting and gathering and temporal changes are better linked to changes in projectile point styles rather than life ways.

The Early Plains Archaic coincides with an extremely warm and dry climatic episode known as the Hypsithermal, a.k.a. Altithermal. Though the effects of this episode on plants, animals, and people are still debated, Frison (1998) suggests that severe droughts caused plant communities to shift to higher elevations. As a result, many Early Plains Archaic people occupied foothill-mountain areas where plants were more abundant. Frison (ibid.) points to the presence of several Early Archaic sites in low elevation intermountain settings in addition to Early Plains Archaic bison kill sites in the Wyoming Black Hills to support this hypothesis.

Likely due to the shift to hunting and gathering, Buffalo kill sites become smaller during the early archaic, evidence of small game and plants are common as people’s resource base becomes

more generalized. New tool technology emerges and the use of a projectile point with distinct side notches begins. The side notches allow for a better bond to the fore shaft of the spear (Howard 1995).

Early Plains Archaic archaeological sites are fairly rare. As of 1996 there were a total of 13 Early Archaic sites identified in the Black Hills (Noisat 1996). SARC site database lists 27 Early Archaic sites on the South Dakota side of the Black Hills as of April 2005. Specific sites include the Hawken sites, 48CK0303 and 48CK0304, in Wyoming and the South Dakota Jim Pitts site, 39CU1142, the South Spring site, 39LA0377, and Yellow Butte, 39CU0932.

Middle Plains Archaic: 5000 to 3000 B.P.

The end of the Altithermal and the return to modern climatic condition marks the beginning of the Middle Archaic Period. In addition to a refinement in bison hunting strategies, the Middle Plains Archaic period witnessed an even greater emphasis on plant foods. Reused sandstone plant grinders as well as roasting pits are common at sites dating to this time period. While small bison kill sites are the most typical of the period, Middle Archaic people continued to use bison jumps. One noteworthy innovation by Middle Archaic hunters was the use of bison corrals like that seen at the Scoggin Site in Wyoming. This strategy is very different in that it likely needed much a fewer people to operate relative to the other strategies. Overall, Middle Archaic groups developed a carefully planned scheduling of economic activities based on seasonal plants and movements of game.

Habitation features, known as pit house features, also first appear during this time (Frison 1998). They date toward from the Middle Archaic in to the end of the Late Archaic. These features “usually appear as deep, circular stains, sometimes with central post molds. Cache pits, fire pits, and grinding stone are commonly found in the pit houses. Extremely rare in the Black Hills, most of these features are found in the intermountain basins of the northern plains. The presence of these fairly significant habitation features may be associated with some level of sedentism.

During this time period, the Plains also witnessed the widespread appearance of stone circles. The features typically measure between 13 and 23 feet in diameter. Although the function of them has been debated, it is generally agreed that most represent a circular anchor “to hold down the cover of a conical (or some other type) lodge” (Frison 1998).

The McKean Complex is the most notable Middle Archaic archeological manifestation. These site types are most readily recognized by the lanceolate McKean point with an indented base and convex blade edges. However, there are many variations of the McKean point, which include side-notched and stemmed forms. Nevertheless, the McKean sites have an extremely wide distribution across the Plains.

The Beaver Creek site, 39CU0779, is a streamside rock shelter located just south of Custer State Park in Wind Cave National Park (Alex 1991). The site contained 17 occupation levels dating from the Early Archaic and Middle Archaic and included several roasting pits and hearths. Domesticated dog was also found at the site (Martin et al 1993). It is interpreted that the site represents a warm season occupation where maintenance and production of stone tools as well as hunting and food processing were the primary activities. It was likely used periodically over

thousands of years. Other short term camps located in the interior of the Hills are likely associated with single use sites for procurement of lithic material or other resources. At camps like these the lithics would be reduced to a smaller size and then further refined elsewhere (Noisat and Sundstrom 1996).

Middle Archaic appears to be mountain orientated subsistence in the Black Hills and many of the innovations are considered diagnostic of the Mountain Tradition cultural pattern occurring in the Rockies and intermountain West. Most are not true innovations, but are adaptations of technologies already in use in mountain foothill zones. This suggests that the Black Hills Middle Archaic represents an expansion of the Mountain Tradition pattern into the Black Hills or perhaps more accurately, a florescence of preexisting Mountain Tradition cultures in the area. Sites of this period are much more common than previous period, about 144 components assigned to each of the Middle Archaic and Late Archaic periods have been identified in the Black Hills uplift and foothills (Noisat and Sundstrom 1996).

Late Plains Archaic: 3000 to 1500 B.P.

The Late Plains Archaic is marked by the appearance of corner-notched points on the Plains. This notching technique produced flared edges with sharp points where the base and edge intersect. In general, Late Archaic people appeared to shift back to a focus on large, upland game and there is an increased emphasis on communal bison hunting (Deaver and Deaver 1988, Noisat and Sundstrom 1996). Near the current project area, site 39CU0819 is an identified Pelican Lake site, one of the earlier manifestations of the Late Plains Archaic.

The later Besant phase (2000 B.P.) represented a highly sophisticated bison hunting culture. Besant bison kill sites often consist of complicated, skillfully constructed bison corrals similar to modern cattle corrals. The use of these corrals would have required great knowledge and understanding of stampeding animals (Fagan 2000). At the Ruby site along the Powder River in Wyoming, a structure at the southern end of this bison corral site is interpreted as ceremonial which would suggest a spiritual component to the hunt. The Avonlea phase, part of the Late Plains Archaic begins to show itself around 2000 B.P. as well and is characterized by the side-notched and slightly concave bases of the Avonlea point. It is believed that the Avonlea people were the first to use the bow and arrow on the Plains, Ceramic Styles of the Avonlea include net impressed, spiral channeled and smooth decoration (Dyck 1983).

The Late Prehistoric: 1500 B.P. to 16th Century A.D.

The early Late Prehistoric Period is essentially an arbitrary division that terminates the Late Archaic Period. It was defined to indicate a technological transition where all cultural groups are believed to have placed a strong emphasis on bison hunting and were aided by the widespread use of the bow and arrow. The use of bows in hunting is indicated by the use of small, delicate projectile points. The Besant and Avonlea phases are considered by many to have extended in to the Late Prehistoric (Deaver and Deaver 1988). Avonlea sites in South Dakota consistently indicate a date of post 1500-B.P., and the Avonlea complex is typically and exclusively associated with the Late Prehistoric Period in this state. Despite the change in the name of the general period, Late Prehistoric groups still continued to live Archaic-based hunting and gathering subsistence strategies although probably with a greater focus on bison hunting. In the

Black Hills, however, Avonlea evidence is rare. The material culture in the Black Hills house an almost identical small triangular point from the same time period and some researchers have assigned the separate Beehive Complex to this time period and area (Greiser 1994, Noisat and Sundstrom 1996).

The Besant and Avonlea complexes in the Dakotas are often discussed in conjunction with Woodland Period of the Late Prehistoric. The Woodland period is typically associated with the beginnings of horticulture around 2000 years ago along the Middle Missouri in the Dakotas of the Plains. These Woodland groups are characterized by fixed settlements, more complex societies, seed horticulture, pottery/ceramic production, and the construction of burial mounds. Whether the presence of pottery indicates Plains Woodland occupation of the Northwestern Plains (perhaps during seasonal hunts), and/or contact between Archaic-based cultures with horticulture groups has yet to be fully understood.

The Plains Village period supplanted the Woodland culture in the Middle Missouri around 900 A.D. The transition is generally marked by larger villages and horticulture produce including corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. Sites attributed to the Plains Village Period are found around the peripheries of the Hills such as 39FA0023 near the Angostura Reservoir, 39CU0206 southeast of Rapid City on Battle Creek, and the Smiley-Evans Site 39BU0002 on the Belle Fourche River. While evidence of horticulture is not present at these sites, common Plains Village characteristics such as similar or identical ceramic types, house depressions, fortification ditches, and bell-shaped storage pits were found at some or all of these sites. It is believed that the “interior occupations were primarily orientated to hunting and post-hunting game processing (Noisat and Sundstrom 1996). Noisat and Sundstrom (1996) also mention the Pacific Drought of A.D. 1200-1550 may have forced the Plains Village groups of the Middle Missouri to abandon horticulture and seek refuge in areas such as the Black Hills.

Other Late Prehistoric archaeological complexes in and around Black Hills area are the Powder River Ceramic Tradition, the Shoshoneans, and the Prairie/Plains Side Notched Complex. The Powder River Ceramic Tradition people are believed to be descendants of Late Plains Archaic in the Bighorn Mountains of Wyoming. While they continued to be nomadic foragers, the presence of pottery resembling specific Plains Village ceramic wares may indicate that these Powder River groups had contact with Plains Villagers, and “this contact resulted in the establishment of trade in horticulture produce, meat and hides, lithic raw material, and ceramic technology” (Noisat and Sundstrom 1996). The Shoshonean intrusion in the region is evidenced by Intermountain Ware ceramics, carved steatite vessels and Shoshonean petroglyph styles in North Dakota's Cave Hills area of northwestern South Dakota (Beckes and Keyser 1983).

The Prairie/Plains Side Notched Complex is recognized by two varying types of small triangular side-notched arrowheads. This complex relied heavily on bison hunting, although pottery resembling Plains Village wares is also found in these archeological assemblages. Perhaps the most well-known site from this complex in the Black Hills is the Vore Bison Jump Site in the Red Valley of the Wyoming Black Hills (Reher and Frison 1980). At this site 10,000 to 20,000 bison were driven into a sink hole measuring only 30 meters wide every 25 years for 300 years.

The Protohistoric Period: 1600-1804

The Protohistoric Period marks the beginning of great change on the Plains. The term Protohistoric is associated with the onset of Euro-American presence on the Plains, although this does not imply there was full-scale or even frequent direct contact with Euro-Americans. Certainly the greatest impact was the arrival of trade goods, including horses and firearms. Horses were provided indirectly by the Spanish from the southwest. Horses were traded to other tribes in the Black Hills area by the Kiowa around 1730-1750, as well as via the Missouri River tribes such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (Secoy 1953).

Firearms came around the same time, through trade with other tribes, including the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara and Ojibway. A short time later, guns were also acquired through French, English, and American fur-traders from the northeast (Secoy 1953).

Both of these greatly increased the ease of bison hunting and influenced once semi-sedentary horticulture groups, such as the Cheyenne, Crow, and the Lakota/Dakota, to become Plains equestrian nomadic bison hunters.

The Protohistoric Plains groups were highly mobile focusing intensely on bison hunting with only a supplemental emphasis on other resources. The need to cover the large migration ranges of bison coupled with the influx of other groups competing for the same resources created much competition between tribes. As a result intertribal conflict became more common, and the power of tribes as well as individuals became defined by the accumulation of European trade goods. The Kiowa, who inhabited the Black Hills and the surrounding Plains, were able to develop a powerful three way trade with the Mandan and Hidatsa.

Protohistoric sites are recognized by the occurrence of both native artifacts such as stone tools mixed in with European trade goods such as gun parts, trade beads, metal projectile points, and other metal items.

The Historic Period: 1804-1950: European Contact and Black Hills Gold

A few French fur traders such as Francois and Louis-Joseph Verendrye likely visited the Black Hills peripheries prior to the 19th Century. However, it was Lewis and Clark's arrival in the Dakotas in 1804 that is considered the beginning of the Historic Period in the area. This expedition began full scale interaction between Native American groups and Europeans.

Euro-American fur traders and trappers were the first to enter the region after Lewis and Clark. In the early half of the 19th century, permanent forts and trading posts began to be set up along the Missouri River. The first well documented party to travel through the Black Hills was 12 men led by Jedediah Smith in 1823 (Rowe 1961). Tribes associated with the Black Hills at this time of contact included the Crow, Kiowa, Suhtai/Cheyenne, Lakota, Arapaho, and Ponca.

The expansion of Euro-Americans into the west was accomplished at the expense of the Plains tribes. Though tribal boundaries and reorganization had already taken place in protohistoric

times, European diseases decimated Native American populations. Conflicts between the tribes and Europeans escalated. Though the Black Hills were within the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation and were closed to settlement, rumors of gold there were spreading as early as the 1830s and fed into these conflicts. Lt. G. K. Warren in 1857, and Captain William Reynolds in 1859, both led expeditions that reported the gold in the Black Hills area and in the south central portion of Montana. Geologist Ferdinand Hayden traveling with Reynolds confirmed the reports (Gardner and Flores 1989). Neither the tribes nor the United States government could stop those seeking gold, and conflicts such as the “Red Cloud” War of 1866-68 erupted as a result.

General Custer’s 1874 expedition into the Black Hills was officially a reconnaissance expedition assigned to find a suitable fort location. The group included a military band, the Seventh Cavalry, a “scientific corps,” topographers, engineers, reporters, and two gold miners (Grafe & Horsted 2002). The miners discovered gold on French Creek, near what is now the city of Custer. Upon his return to Fort Lincoln, Custer mentioned that gold had been discovered and actually minimized it in his report. However, he had sent a scout to Ft. Laramie to telegraph this news back to Ft. Lincoln and newspapers caught wind of the report. These newspapers showed no restraint in spreading word of the discovery and the rush to the Black Hills began (Grafe & Horsted 2002).

The Black Hills experienced rapid growth in the following years. The Hills drew thousands of settlers, and extensive gold mining began in the late 1870s. The illegal settlement of the Black Hills sparked further conflicts, which included the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. The U.S. forced a treaty on the Native American tribes with claims to the Black Hills in 1877 and annexed the area. The treaty also established reservations for the tribes and the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho were forced to leave the Hills.

The mining of gold necessitated service industries such as merchandise centers, transportation networks, lumbering facilities, smelters, and sources of energy to fuel the mines and smelters. Initially, lumber served as a means of fueling these facilities, but later when coal was discovered nearby, smelters and mine machinery were operated using this hotter burning fuel (Gardner and Flores 1989).

The gold camps also created the need for a variety of agricultural products. Many of the Euro-Americans who came to mine gold realized that the Hills provided other opportunities. Farms and ranches sprang up in the valleys in and around the Black Hills. Logging, farming, ranching, and retailing quickly became a cornerstone of the local economies. By the time South Dakota became a state in 1889, the regional financial structure, which had centered on mining, evolved into one where agriculture and commerce helped provide diversity and stability (Gardner and Flores 1989).

Arapaho

The Arapaho are part of the Plains cultural tradition group. They call themselves the *Iñunaina* or *Inuna-Ina* which means “our people.” The word “Arapaho” is thought to come from the Pawnee word for “trader.” Historically they lived in Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, South

Dakota and Oklahoma. The Arapaho currently have one reservation located in central Wyoming called the Wind River Reservation which is shared with the Shoshone (Fowler 2001; 840-3).

Historically, the Arapaho were closely associated with the Cheyenne, and tended to limit their contact with Euro-American settlers and explorers. As a result, there is a very limited written record of their history. Instead, much of it has been acquired and preserved through the tribal oral history.

Arapaho oral tradition indicates that they came from the Great Lakes region in or near the Red River Valley in what is now Minnesota. Arapaho speakers were encountered by fur traders in the Saskatchewan River country in the 17th Century, but how long they had been there is uncertain (Fowler 2001). Formerly a sedentary agricultural society of the Late Woodland cultural tradition, they migrated west and south to follow the buffalo herds, eventually becoming a nomadic hunter-gatherer society of the Plains cultural tradition. Horses quickly became essential to their nomadic life. Before horses, the Arapaho would trap buffalo in a corral, or utilize a “jump” and run them off of cliffs (Salzmann 1988).

There were originally five distinct bands of Arapaho, each with their own separate dialects of Arapaho Algonquin. The five groups were the Southern group, the Rock group, the Arapaho proper, the Shelter Men group, and the Gros Ventres. The different groups eventually banded with the Arapaho proper, with the exception of the Gros Ventre (Kroeber 1902). According to Chief Left Hand of the southern bands of the Arapaho, the split between the Gros Ventre and the Arapaho came about during the crossing of the frozen Missouri River, when the ice broke apart and separated the people.

Between 1700 and 1800, the Arapaho moved southwest into South Dakota, likely displacing resident mobile populations such as the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache. They settled in northwest South Dakota by 1775. The earliest written record of the Arapaho is in 1795, by Jean-Baptiste Truteau. By this time, the Arapaho had already acquired a wealth of horses, through trade with other tribes and Spaniards as far south as New Mexico (Fowler 2001). In the late 18th Century, the Arapaho occupied southeast Montana, eastern Wyoming, the Black Hills area of South Dakota, and western Nebraska. They utilized this strategic location to trade goods between Tribes to the south and villages on the Missouri River to the east (Shumway 1921).

In 1820, the Arapaho formed an alliance with the Cheyenne to fight against Sioux encroachment, and the two tribes remained closely associated from then on. As the Sioux continued to push southwest into their territory, the Arapaho moved further west and south, so that by the mid-1800s they occupied the area between the North Platte and Arkansas Rivers in Wyoming, Nebraska, Colorado, and Kansas, in turn driving the Kiowa and Comanche further south (Fowler 2001).

During the 1840s and 1850s, when Euro-Americans began intruding into Arapaho lands and settling there, leaders of the Arapaho bands maintained the strategy of “distance,” referred to as “low-profile invisibility as defensive strategy.” Subsequently, the Arapaho bands remained distant from whites and thus are generally only mentioned as an aside, implicated by association with significant events involving the Lakota and the Cheyenne.

On September 17, 1851, they signed the Fort Laramie Treaty with the U.S. As part of this treaty, they selected Little Owl of the Arapaho, and Cut Nose and Big Man of the southern Arapaho bands to be their intermediary chiefs, to serve as their representatives to the U.S. (Fowler 1989).



Figure 8. A delegation of Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa Chiefs in Denver, Colorado, September 28, 1864 (Smithsonian Institution 2012).

After setbacks and clashes with settlers and the Shoshones in Wyoming, the northern bands of the Arapaho became dependent on rations obtained from Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska. In 1876, they had no choice but to agree to the cession of the Black Hills and surrounding areas, including northwestern Nebraska, due to increasing pressure from white settlers and the government (Fowler 1989).

In 1876-1877, Black Coal and other Arapaho leaders had their warriors sign on as army scouts, assisting the army in fighting Sioux and northern bands of the Cheyenne that refused to settle on reservations. This earned the trust of the U.S. and its army. Subsequently the Arapaho delegation in Washington convinced President Hayes to allow the Arapaho to settle with the Shoshone on the Wind River Reservation. The Shoshone did not agree with the decision and would later seek and receive compensation because of this (Fowler 2001).

Members of the Arapaho Nation fought in both World War I and II and every conflict since. Members who have military service are now regarded like the warriors of the old days, and today they are usually those who are elected to the tribal council. The Arapaho in 1955 filed a suit with the Indian Claims Commission for the 1851 Treaty claiming they were insufficiently compensated for the land they ceded. In 1961 they won the suit and were awarded additional monies for the lost land (Fowler 1989).

In the Arapaho world, when a young boy began to be of age, he joined the Kit Foxes and from there he would join the Stars. There are four adult lodges which occur in order of Tomahawk, Spear, Crazy Men, and the Dog. In the later years of a man's life he would then join the Stoic and then the Seven Water Pourers. Chiefs were chosen out of the Dog group of men. For a male who became of age to move onto the next stage of the hierarchy of the Arapaho world, they would need the guidance and sponsorship of another male who either was already a member of the next level or had gone through the ceremonial process. Women progress through the Arapaho society along with their husband's rank within the society. The women's societies are the Seven Old Women and the Buffalo Lodge (Kroeber 1902).

The Arapaho traditional religion is based around the Sacred Pipe ritual, the Sun Dance (or the offering lodge, as it is also known), and vision quests. The Sacred Pipe ritual is derived from the creation history of the Arapaho, and involves the Tribe's sacred flat pipe which would have its own tipi located in the center of the encampment. The Arapaho Sun Dance or offering lodge is the main ritual performed by the Arapaho; as with many Tribes of the Great Plains, it was the major feast or dance of the Tribe. In the Sun Dance, people would make offerings to the Great Spirits and the ceremony would be a time of prayer and celebration. Vision quests involved men of adult age going out into the wilderness where they would fast and give blood or flesh offerings to the great spirits in order to obtain a vision of supernatural powers. Today other religious traditions have been adopted by the Arapaho such as the Ghost Dance, Christianity, and the Native American Church or the Peyote ritual.

The Arapaho believe in the Four Hills which represents the four stages of life. The first hill is childhood, and involves developing skills needed for later in life. This begins by entering into the Stars and Kit Fox stages. The second hill is associated with being a warrior and hunter, and involves the Tomahawk, Spear lodges, and Crazy Men lodges. For women, this stage is associated with the Buffalo lodge. The third hill is the age of chiefs and old men like those in the Dog lodge. The fourth and last hill is the Seven Old Men and women lodges of those who carry the seven sacred medicine bags of each gender and regulate the rituals and ceremonies, as well as the creative workings of the Tribe (Fowler 2001).

The Arapaho today have a more democratic style of governing body with the Tribal Council at its head and a constitution at its core. Members are elected to the various executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government. Currently there are around 7,000 federally and tribally recognized members of the Arapaho Nation. In 2005 the northern bands of the Arapaho won a court case that allowed them to establish a casino on the Wind River Reservation. The casino was opened on April 29, 2008, and three other casinos are currently operated by the Tribe in Clinton, Canton, and Watonga, Oklahoma. The reservation today encompasses 2.2 million acres of land and is the cultural center point of the Arapaho nation.

Limited information is available concerning the Arapaho in South Dakota. The Arapaho lived near the Cheyenne River in western South Dakota close to the Kiowa, who they were friendly with. While they mostly lived in Wyoming around 1800, they traded into South Dakota near the Missouri River until the Sioux arrived. According to fur trader Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, the Arapaho attended a trading event with the Kiowa and the Arikara in the Black Hills around 1800. Around 1806, the Arapaho became allied with the Cheyenne mostly to prevent the Sioux from

moving further west. By the mid-1800s, however, the Arapaho, like the Southern Cheyenne, had moved south into Colorado, Nebraska, and Kansas (Fowler 2001).

The Assiniboine

The Assiniboine people are today located on the Fort Peck and Fort Belknap reservations in Montana and eight reserves in Saskatchewan. Early historic accounts from the 17th century suggest they lived in a vast territory west of Lake Winnipeg, including portions of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and continuing south of the international boundary to include portions of Montana and North Dakota.

The Assiniboine are linguistically related to Siouan-speaking peoples. It is commonly asserted that they broke away from the Yanktonai Sioux before 1640 at the headwaters of the Mississippi River. An elder Assiniboine chief, known to the traders of Fort Union as Le Gros Francois and to his people as Wah-he' Muzza "Iron Arrow-point" recalled the time of the separation from the Sioux as occurring about the year 1760 (Denig 2000).

Although two Assiniboine groups are distinguished in various anthropology and archaeology texts, this references the seasonality of lifeways rather than identification of two separate peoples. Woodland Assiniboine subsisted largely on fishing and hunted waterfowl from late spring to early fall at the many lakes evident in forested areas. Alternatively the Plains Assiniboine hunted buffalo on the prairies. Both groups followed the buffalo and other big game into the parklands during the winter (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

During the early 18th century the Assiniboine and Cree positioned themselves as middlemen of European wares with northern Plains tribes. Various scholars contend that the Assiniboine expanded their territory to include the pelt rich forests between the Churchill and Saskatchewan rivers (DeMallie and Miller 2001). This expansion resulted in conflict with the Chippewa, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and other groups. Trader-explorer Pierre-Charles Le Sueur provides the earliest mention of Assiniboine hostilities with the Sioux in 1700 (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

The introduction of the horse during the second half of the 18th century resulted in great changes in Assiniboine lifeways, perhaps encouraging more intensive participation in the Plains buffalo culture. The establishment of Hudson's House post in 1777 near Gros Ventre territory affected the relationship the Assiniboine had enjoyed as middlemen to British commodities. The Assiniboine previously obtained the majority of their horses from the Gros Ventre and Blackfoot; however, Hudson's House eliminated their position within this trade network (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

Assiniboine economic focus quickly transitioned from the pelt trade to that of provisions supply. Dried pemmican, grease, and other food commodities were essential to the expansion of European trading posts. The Assiniboine were undoubtedly aware of this dependence on the part of the Europeans and took actions to maximize their advantage when possible (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

During the late 18th century, the Assiniboine may have abandoned eastern portions of their territory including the region surrounding the Red River and the Assiniboine River (DeMallie

and Miller 2001). The migration south occurred for several reasons including the population decline from smallpox epidemic, attraction of trade goods, and access to horses through trade with the Mandan. The value of buffalo in the vicinity of the Missouri river was likely a further consideration. In the 1790s western Assiniboine bands were also noted in eastern Alberta near Fort George by Northwest Company trader Alexander Mackenzie (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

Alexander Henry the Younger, Canadian fur trader employed by the Northwest Company, described Assiniboine lands in 1808. Henry catalogued eight bands in a broad territory roughly extending west from Lake Winnipeg through central Saskatchewan, including portions of Alberta, Montana, and North Dakota. Only one of the bands mentioned in his writings was within the boundary of the United States, along the Souris River in North Dakota (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

Denig's mid-19th century account places the northern Assiniboine in the region proceeding from the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg, and continuing west to include the drainages of the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers and terminating at the "small spurs" of the Rockies (Denig 2000). His account includes a map drawn by an Assiniboine warrior depicting the war trail on the north side of the Missouri River to Blackfoot lands (Denig 2000).

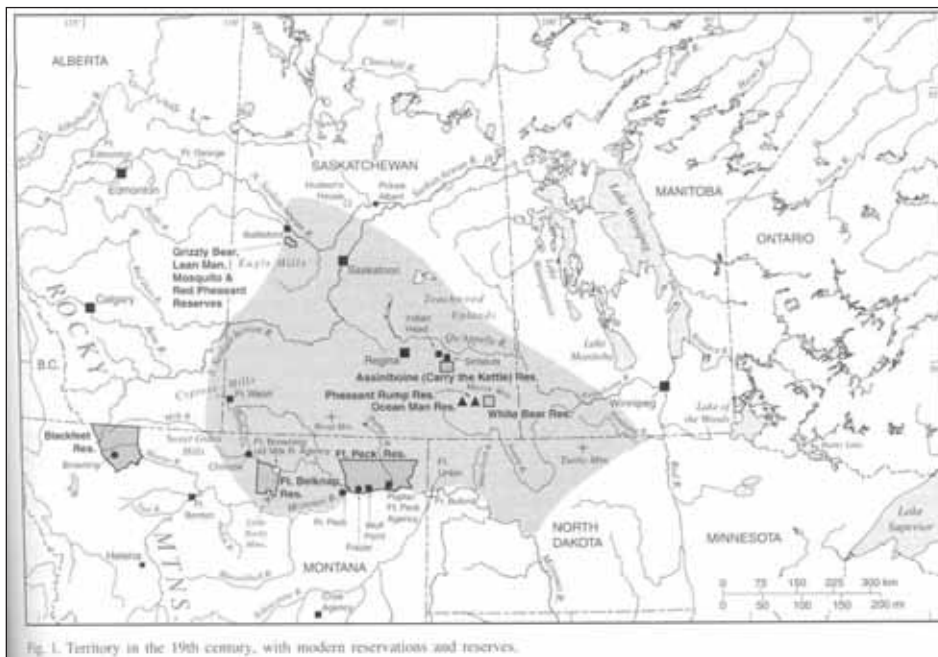


Figure 9. Assiniboine Territory (DeMallie and Miller 2001).

The extent of southern Assiniboine was more fully documented by Denig during his tenure at Fort Union. He notes the abandonment of the lands on the south side of the Missouri River along the Yellowstone River as a result of conflict with the Blackfoot, Sioux, and Crow (Denig 2000). By the mid-19th century their territory was bounded by the Cypress Hills to Wood Mountain (east-west) and from the North Saskatchewan River to the Milk and Missouri Rivers (north-south) (DeMallie and Miller 2001). The Laramie Treaty of 1851 formally identified

reduced Assiniboine lands, which reached to the northern Black Hills, and the Treaty with the Blackfoot (1855) acknowledged hunting lands reserved for common use with the Assiniboine.

The Red Valley through the Black Hills was a prehistoric and historic roadway used by various Native American Tribes including the Assiniboine. The Hunkpapa Sioux are also known to have utilized this area. It has since been modernized and developed for the 21st century (personal communication Curley Youpee 2015).

The Cheyenne

The Cheyenne people have a rich and deeply rooted cultural tradition that for centuries allowed the people to live off the land and to adapt most aspects of their daily lives to frequent changes in location and environment. There are ten main Cheyenne clans, each possessing their own traditions and customs within the larger Cheyenne tribal affiliation. These ten main bands are The Eaters, The Burnt Aorta, The Hair Rope Men, The Scabby, The Ridge Men, The Prognathous Jaws, The Poor, The Dog Men, the Suhtai and the Sioux-Eaters (Hoebel 1960). Leaders of these bands were strong and level-headed individuals, who were almost always members of the Council of Forty-Four (Hoebel 1960).

The Council of Forty-Four was the predominant political system in traditional Cheyenne culture. Chiefs were elected by fellow members of their band based on their extraordinary wisdom and their calm and level-headed nature, but could refuse the position if they felt they could not serve the Council as expected. The Council discussed matters such as tribal war strategy, camp locations and movement and also acted as a judicial branch in the case of a criminal act (Hoebel 1960). Another political organization took the form of military bands, without genealogical ties. These societies were band level organizations which were interested in the dealings of the tribe as opposed to the kin based issues. There was no stratification between clubs and each had their own set of customs, dress and songs. These military bands were in charge of regulating large tribal ceremonies and policing the buffalo hunt (Hoebel 1960).

The Cheyenne have many ceremonies they practiced to commemorate or prepare for various occasions. One of the most culturally significant is the Renewal of the Arrows. This ceremony takes place around the summer equinox every few years. The Renewal of the Arrows signifies the renewal of the Tribe itself and the treatment of the arrows were believed to be directly related to the future of the Tribe. This ceremony was specific to the Cheyenne. The Cheyenne believe that the four Sacred Arrows were given to the people's culture hero, Sweet Medicine, at Bear Butte near present day Sturgis, South Dakota and would serve as the protectors of the people (Marquis 1978). There are certain occasions in which the Arrows must be renewed, as in the case of murder within the tribe. In years when the ceremony was not held the Sun Dance or the Animal Dance was performed in its stead (Hoebel 1960).

The exact migration route of the Cheyenne tribe is not known. However, most ethnographers agree that the general migration trend of the tribe was west and south from the Algonquin territories in northeast North America. They moved through the Great Lakes region, eventually stopping in the Great Plains (Grinnell 1972). Cheyenne oral history indicates a long period of slow westward expansion in which they utilized several different subsistence strategies (Hoebel 1960).

It is believed that in the Cheyenne's early history, when they occupied areas east of the Great Lakes, they practiced traditional hunting and gathering, similar to that of other northeast Algonquian tribes (Jablow 1994). As the tribe migrated to the south and west in the early eighteenth century they came into contact with the semi-sedentary groups of Hidatsa, Mandan and Arikara (Hoebel 1960). Some Cheyenne bands settled for nearly a century, practicing small scale agriculture and building earthen lodges, while other groups continued moving westward (Grinnell 1972).

The reason for the westward expansion of the Cheyenne is believed to be attributed to hostilities from neighboring tribes, although which tribe was the cause is debatable. The Sioux, Assiniboine, Cree, Mandan and Ojibwa have all been accused of aggression towards the Cheyenne (Grinnell 1972).



Figure 10. Early locations of the Cheyenne and related tribes (from Jablow 1994).

Introduction of the horse to Cheyenne in the late eighteenth century transformed them to a nomadic buffalo-based subsistence strategy (Jablow 1994). From Spanish settlements in the south, the Cheyenne acquired horses through both raiding and by way of trade with Arapaho, Comanche and Kiowa (Jablow 1994). The acquisition of the horse had several immediate effects on the Cheyenne, including easing and quickening the process of moving camp, and the horse also proved to be a fantastic tool for hunting buffalo (Jablow 1994).

By the late eighteenth century the Cheyenne occupied an area that stretched from Missouri River to the Black Hills and from the mouth of the Little Missouri River south to the Arkansas River. In 1820 it is estimated the Cheyenne tribe to have approximately 3,500 members in several different camp locations, each home to a distinct band of the larger Cheyenne association (Grinnell 1972).

Prior to 1923, an inquiry of the oldest members of the Southern Cheyenne group revealed that no Cheyenne ventured south of the Platte River until after 1826. However, the erection of a white trading post, Bent's Fort, may have encouraged the movement of the tribe further to the south than previous travels had taken them (Grinnell 1972).

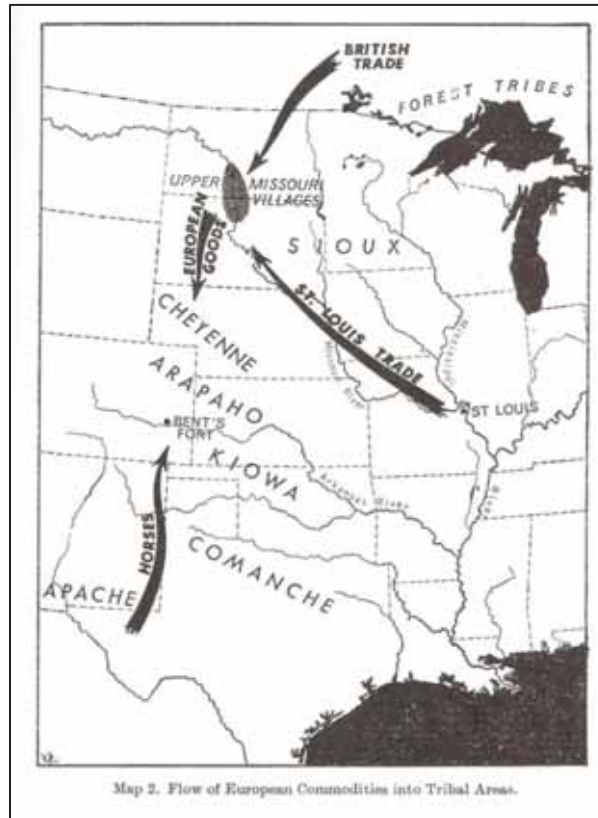


Figure 11. Flow of European commodities into tribal areas (from Jablow 1994).

The Sutaio tribe was closely related to the Cheyenne Tribe. They began camping near the Cheyenne circa 1833 after being displaced by white settlers. Oral history claims that the Cheyenne and the Sutaio tribes were at war with each other somewhere between the Missouri River and the Black Hills in South Dakota. Some of the Cheyenne overheard the Sutaio talking and realized that they were speaking the same language so the two tribes stopped fighting. They joined together around 1833.

It was not until the 1850s when they became one tribe, with the Sutaio accepting most of the Cheyenne lifestyle including dress, camps, and ceremonies (Dusenberry 1956). The Sutaio did make a significant contribution to the Cheyenne religion. Sutaio brought the Sacred Hat and it became incorporated into Cheyenne religion as one of their most sacred tribal possessions (Moore et al. 2001; Dusenberry 1956). This merging of tribes indicates the rapidly expanding white frontier and beginning of massive change for the Cheyenne versus the U.S. government.

Contact with white traders and settlers happened fairly late for the Cheyenne. Their earliest meetings with Europeans were likely with the Spanish (Grinnell 1972). It was not until the mid-

eighteenth century that the Cheyenne experienced a steady flow of European contact from the east. This was due to the tribe acquiring horses, which allowed for increased buffalo pelt trade (Jablow 1994). In 1802 Perrin du Lac reported meeting Cheyenne Indians at the mouth of the White River and claims that most had never see a white person before; however this is unlikely seeing as French trappers and traders had been within the area for years (Grinnell 1972). Jean Baptiste Trudeau was known to have had contact with the Cheyenne and Arikara as early as 1795. Lewis and Clark recorded in 1803 that they were told that the Cheyenne were spread all across the Black Hills (Grinnell 1972; Berthrong 1963).

By 1830 the Cheyenne had abandoned their sedentary villages and were completely nomadic, following the vast herds of buffalo across the Great Plains on horseback (Hoebel 1960). Cheyenne hunters used newly acquired guns to kill record numbers of buffalo which were used both in camp and for trade. Increases in the number of white traders and settlers through Cheyenne lands led to an increase in violence with Euro-Americans. However, the main conflicts in the area continued to be between resident native groups and disputes over trade goods, especially with the Arikara on their eastern borders, were common (Jablow 1994).

The United States government entered into the first major treaty with Northern Plains groups in 1851. This treaty attempted to end intra-tribal warfare, determine tentative tribal land boundaries, cease native raids on white caravans and establish forts and roads within tribal lands (Kapplar 1904; Marquis 1978). Another Treaty in 1868 tried again to prevent attacks on white wagon trains by promising to close the Bozeman Trail and various army trails through Cheyenne, Arapaho and Sioux lands if they kept the peace for 90 days. This treaty also established the land east of the Big Horn Mountains and north of the Platte River in the Powder River Basin as unceded Indian land (Kapplar 1904; Marquis 1978).

However, due to their nomadic tendencies the Cheyenne rarely kept to their government determined boundaries and encounters with white settlers and U.S. Army brigades continued. In 1874 gold was discovered in the Black Hills of western South Dakota and an influx of white prospectors flooded the region, occupying lands promised to both Cheyenne and Sioux by the 1868 Treaty. The U.S. War Department attempted in vain to keep white settlers out (Marquis 1978). In 1875 the Crow, Cheyenne and Sioux struck a peace agreement amongst themselves which resulted in the Crow ceding some of their lands east of the Big Horn River to the displaced Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux from the Black Hills (Marquis 1978).

On June 25, 1876 the Seventh Calvary attacked an Indian camp comprised of Cheyenne and Sioux Indians beside the Little Bighorn River in Montana. The ensuing Battle of Little Bighorn between General Custer and a large group of native warriors has mistakenly been attributed to the Sioux; however, modern historians believe that the battle was lead, in fact, by Cheyenne warriors (Marquis 1978). Only some of the white soldiers and civilians from detachments led by Custer's Lieutenants Reno and Benteen were left alive after the fighting ceased. Following this encounter the U.S. government waged a full-scale campaign to suppress the will of the Plains Indians. With goals to “civilize” the Indians and assimilate them into white culture, the government sought to force the Cheyenne into sedentary, agricultural communities on formal reservations.

In April of 1877 the Northern Cheyenne (Northern Cheyenne and Southern Cheyenne simply refer to the current location of the Tribe) surrendered at Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska. Standing Elk was chosen as the tribe's voice during negotiations and along with chiefs Morning Star, Little Wolf and Dirty Moccasins and with Generals Cook and Mackenzie, determined the new location for the Cheyenne Tribe. Against the will of most Tribe members who would have liked to have stayed in the north, Standing Elk announced that the Cheyenne would be willing to relocate to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. In the ensuing confusion he was not contradicted by any other tribal elder and the tribe's fate was sealed (Marquis 1978).

In August a reported 933 Cheyenne arrived at their reservation in Oklahoma. After their arrival the Tribe suffered from warm weather diseases such as malaria and measles, as well as insufficient rations (Marquis 1978). Many deaths occurred during the winter of 1877-78 and the following fall a large group of Cheyenne decided to alleviate the situation themselves, as the Indian Agents were useless in providing much needed help. In September 1878 approximately 300 Cheyenne, led by chiefs Little Wolf and Morning Star, set out to return to their homelands in the North (Marquis 1978). They were pursued heavily by armed forces; many Cheyenne were killed and the rest were taken into custody at Fort Robinson on charges of leaving the reservation without permission (Marquis 1978).

Several months after their incarceration at Fort Robinson the Cheyenne broke out of the jail and scattered into the night. Of the 149 Cheyenne who escaped under the direction of Morning Star, 64 were killed, 78 were recaptured and 7 were unaccounted for and believed to have made it to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota (Marquis 1978). The recaptured individuals were taken again to Fort Robinson and asked if they would return to the reservation in Oklahoma; they refused. The imprisoned Cheyenne were taken to the Pine Ridge Reservation where they lived among the Oglala Sioux for twelve years, and some descendants remain today.

In November 1884, the Tongue River Reservation was officially established by Executive Order from President Chester A. Arthur (Marquis 1978). The Cheyenne who had been living on the Pine Ridge Reservation had, in 1881 with permission from the government, moved to hunting grounds near the Tongue River. In 1883 and in 1891 they were joined by Cheyenne who had been living with the Northern Arapaho (Marquis 1978).

From the middle of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century, the different bands of Cheyenne united in the South Dakota Black Hills. It was in the Black Hills that their religion and oral histories became unified and reached their historical form. The Cheyenne had many ceremonies they practiced to commemorate or prepare for various occasions. One of the most culturally significant of these ceremonies is the Renewal of the Arrows which signifies the renewal of the tribe itself, and the treatment of the arrows are believed to be directly related to the future of the tribe. The Cheyenne believe that the four Sacred Arrows were given to the people's culture hero, Sweet Medicine, at Bear Butte near present day Sturgis, South Dakota and would serve as the protectors of the people (Marquis 1978). There are certain occasions in which the Arrows must be renewed, as in the case of murder within the tribe. In years when the ceremony was not held, the Sun Dance or the Animal Dance was performed in its stead (Hoebel 1960).

In the early nineteenth century, the Cheyenne separated into two divisions: northern and southern. They moved away from the Black Hills, entering Wyoming. The Northern Cheyenne moved into Montana while the Southern Cheyenne continued to Colorado and eventually into Oklahoma (Moore et al. 2001). The Cheyenne now reside as two separate tribes; the Northern Cheyenne on a reservation in Montana, and the Southern Cheyenne on a reservation in Oklahoma.

Crow Nation

The Crow Nation is now located in Big Horn County, Montana. The Crow call themselves Apsáalooke, which means “Children of the large bird.” They are a people known for their horses, beads, regalia, celebrations, nomadic homes, and beliefs. The name Crow came from a misunderstanding, when other Tribes were giving a visual representation of the raven which symbolized the Crow people, to European explorers and traders (Frey 1987).

Crow history is mainly comprised of oral histories and traditions, until early European explorers and frontiersman began to write down their observations about the Tribe. They speak of coming from a land with many lakes and forests. In the mid-sixteenth century the Apsáalooke and the Hidatsa were closely related and lived in a place known as the land of the lakes. It is believed to be present day Winnipeg and southeastern Manitoba (Frey 1987).

The Crow are believed to have split from the Hidatsa, around 1700 to 1750, although it is believed the split may have started earlier, possibly sometime around 1500 to 1600 (Voget 1998). Sometime around 1600, the Crow drove the Comanche from the Yellowstone region. This area would be their homeland from then on (Voget 1998). They roamed from the Black Hills to Yellowstone and Missouri rivers and from Canada to central Wyoming.

Crow society was, and still is, divided up into three separate groups, with each group having their own areas within the larger Crow territory. The Mountain Crow and River Crow divided sometime around 1800 and the Kicked in Bellies separated from the Mountain Crow sometime around 1850. The River Crow were located in the northern portion of the Crow territories and centered on and around the Missouri River. The Mountain Crow were located in the center portion of the territory in and around the Yellowstone River. The Kicked in Bellies were located in the southern portion of the Crow territories in and around the Powder and Bighorn Rivers (Voget 1998).

On May 7, 1868 the Crow signed a treaty at Fort Laramie that ceded 38 million acres of land, of which 8 million acres would be set aside specifically for them in the form of a reservation. This would mark the beginning of reservation life for the Crow. Because of the treaty, they received modern services and an Indian Agency. In 1870 the Mountain Crow were to assemble at Fort Parker near Livingston Montana to start their lives on the reservation and the River Crow were to assemble at the Milk River Agency in Chinook, Montana. The Crow Nation was finally consolidated at Rosebud Creek in 1875, and marked one of the first times the entire Crow nation was consolidated since the division of the Tribe in the early 1800s (Voget 1998).

The Crow language is part of the Siouan language family and is closely related to Hidatsa. But the way the Crow talk to each other is different than in other Native American languages, the Crow talk in a circumlocution way with each other, talking around the subject (Voget 1998).

Crow society has a matrilineal kinship system and is matrilocal. In the Crow society women are extremely important in social aspects. The horse is one of the most important elements in the Crow way of life even in modern times. The horse allowed the Crow to become more efficient hunters and warriors, along with the added carrying capacity of the horse, allowing for more food production and larger homes. The horse is very important in social status and religious theology, as horses were essential to warriors who wanted to become chiefs (Voget 1998).

The Crow have an unstructured religious system. Their religion is based on revelations in dreams and through certain spiritual medicines that are kept in medicine bundles, plus the medicine men that healed people and organized certain dances and ceremonies. They would also, up to recent history, self-mutilate, on either the hands or more sensitive portions of the body, while on quests to gain visions or dreams that would guide or give them certain powers or status within their group and in society. A Crow individual would go out into the wilderness, where they would fast and make flesh offerings to the great spirits for guidance and power. Sometimes if none of the spirits would give power to the Crow individual they would make several visions quests to ask the spirits for help.

Modern day clans consist of the Whistle Water and Bad War Deed, Greasy Mouth and Sore Lip (Burned Lips), Ties the Bundle (Filth Eating Clan) and Brings Game without Shooting, Big Lodge and Newly Made Lodge, Piegan and Treacherous Lodge. The Crow reservation today consists of 2.2 million acres and currently houses over 8,000 official Crow members. The Crow Fair, which began in 1904, is today said to be one of their biggest gatherings and marks one of the cultural highpoints of Crow society (Crow Nation 2014).

Kiowa

The Kiowa are speakers of an isolated language diverged from the Tanoan language group some 2,000 years ago. They possibly roamed the Plains throughout that time (Sundstrom 1996).

Kiowa tribal history describes the creation of the plains environment as well as their origin. According to a version of their origin story, massive floods covered the land and were followed by dramatic climate change. When the waters went away, lush grass lands began to replace the spruce and cottonwood forest which had been present before the flood. Bison, antelope and other animals migrated into the North American Plains as the grassland spread. The Kiowa believe that their great tribal migration onto the plains began when “they emerged from a sunless world.” They originally called themselves the *Kwu’da*, which means “pulling out.” They also referred to themselves as *Tepda*, or “coming out” (Wunder 1989).

A supernatural being, Saynday, called the first Kiowa ancestors, one at a time, from a hollow cottonwood log. As Saynday tapped on the log the Kiowa emerged until a pregnant woman became stuck and blocked the way, which prevented any more Kiowa’s from emerging. This event is traditionally believed to have occurred near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River near what is now western Montana. Saynday provided the Kiowa with the sun, and separated

day and night. He taught them how to hunt bison and various other arts before leaving to live among the stars.

After Saynday left, the Kiowa began living in the “Gai K’op,” or Kiowa Mountains, and survived by hunting small game. The exact identity of the Kiowa Mountains is unknown but they are believed to be the Gallatin or Madison Mountains in southern Montana. Tribal history further relates that in the early 1700’s, the Kiowa moved from this region due to a trivial quarrel over the division of spoils between two chiefs. This quarrel developed over who should have the udders of an antelope. Both chiefs desire over this prize split the tribe into dual fractions, the loser moving northwest never to be heard from again, while the victors moved southeast and became the Kiowa (Wunder 1989).

The migration southeast brought the Kiowa to the Black Hills of South Dakota, near their future friends and allies the Crow, Comanche and Arapaho peoples. The Kiowa quickly became friends and students of the Crow, learning how to survive in the prairie environment of the western Great Plains. This friendship led to a permanent alliance between the tribes. The Kiowa adopted many of their vital cultural elements from the Crow. Scholars believe that the Crow showed the Kiowa how to hunt and utilize buffalo on the open plains. From the bison, the Kiowa were able to obtain food and material for shelter, clothing, tools, fuel, medicine and weapons (Wunder 1989).

In 1765, the Crow also gave the Kiowa the *Tai-me* an object that represents the Sun Dance Medicine. The *Tai-me* was the central figure during the *Kado* or Sun Dance. It acted as a mediator between the Kiowa people and the Sun, *dwdw*, or power. The Kiowa believed that the Sun Dance warded off sickness, brought happiness, prosperity, children, and success in war. They also felt that performing the Sun Dance replenished the buffalo for the upcoming year.

History suggests that multiple peoples made a series of migrations in and out of the Black Hills, some as early as 7000 B.C. The patterns and timeframes of the total number of tribes that called the Black Hills home before 1700 is not well understood. It is believed that the Kiowa may have lived in the area for several centuries before the 1700’s. Lakota historic records indicate that they consider the Kiowa the original occupants of the Black Hills and that the Kiowa occupied the northwestern and southeastern parts (Sundstrom 1996).

Horses became a major part of Kiowa life while they lived in the Black Hills. They likely obtained them from the Crow. Kiowa traditional stories, however, tell of how the tribe made the first horse, which was uncontrollable and could not be ridden. It was thrown away and became *mankiah*, (the whirlwind). Since the Kiowa made the *mankiah*, they have no fear of tornados or storms on the Great Plains. On their second attempt, they succeeded by fashioning a horse from the hide of prairie dogs, a deer’s ears, a turtle’s hooves, and an elk’s teeth. A turkey’s beard was used for a tail and hair from the *mankiah* for the mane (Wunder 1989).

The Kiowa maintain strong traditions about Devils Tower, despite their removal from the area by other tribes over two centuries ago. The area near Devils Tower may have been settled by the Kiowa around 1690. A common Kiowa story about Devils Tower is that a child turns into a bear, when others in his group violate a bear taboo. One version of the story relates:

Eight Children were there at play, seven sisters and their brother. Suddenly the boy was struck dumb; he trembled and began to run upon his hands and feet. His fingers became claws, and his body was covered with fur. Directly, there was a bear where the boy had been. The sisters were terrified; they ran, and the bear after them. They came to the stump of a great tree, and the tree spoke to them. It bade them climb upon it, and as they did so it began to rise into the air. The bear came to kill them, but they were just beyond its reach. It reared against the tree and scored the bark all around with its claws. The seven sisters were borne into the sky, and they became the stars of the big dipper (Sundstrom 1996).

In another story, the bear is chasing the children and a girl impedes the bear by ordering a small hill to “turn into a buffalo’s entrails,” forming a great barrier between her and her pursuer, before seeking refuge at Devils Tower. This story seems to relate to the old Kiowa name of the Black Hills, *Sádalkáñi K’op*, meaning “entrails mountains.” In yet another version of the story, Devils Towers saves not a girl or a group of children but the Kiowa hero Sun-boy (Sundstrom 1996).

Another important area of the Black Hills to the Kiowa people is believed to be Bear Butte Lake. A story relates that the Kiowa hero Sun-boy or Half-boy, while playing one day, threw a gaming wheel into the air, which came down upon his head and cut through his body without killing him. Instead of one boy there were now twin brothers. After many adventures, in the course of which they rid the world of several destructive monsters, one of the brothers walked into a lake and disappeared forever under its waters. The other transformed into “medicine” and gave himself in that shape to the Kiowa, who still preserve it as a pledge and guardian of their national existence. This “boy medicine” has ten parts, each under care of a medicine man (Sundstrom 1996).

In an older version, the lake the boy disappears into is near the Black Hills. This is supported by a Kiowa-Apache tradition that suggests this lake is at Bear Butte (Sundstrom 1996).

Bear Butte is another sacred geographic site in the Black Hills for the Kiowa. According to Kiowa stories, Bear Butte was thought of as a giant Bear kidney that had turned to stone forming the Butte. It is traditionally thought that the Bear Kidney *Tai-me*, a Kiowa religious object, was acquired at Bear Butte (Sundstrom 1996).

In the 1700s, the Kiowa were engaged in periodic hostilities with the Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapahoe and Shoshone Indians which resulted from competition over the Black Hills. Around 1775, the Lakota, a division of the Sioux that comprised the four western tribes in this alliance, sought to drive all other tribes out of the Black Hills area. The Lakota had obtained guns in through trade with the French, which provided an edge over the Kiowa and the other tribes in the area, who were still armed with bows. However, the Kiowa were able to hold out until, in 1781, a small pox epidemic weakened the Kiowa’s fighting strength. This epidemic and increased pressure from all of their enemies convinced some of the Kiowa bands to evacuate to the Black Hills around 1785. The others soon followed (Sundstrom 1996; Wunder 1989).

Nineteenth Century Euro-American encounters and reports illustrate this migration further. Zebulon M. Pike stated in his book about his travels that the Dakota had pushed the Kiowa to the head waters of the Platte and Arkansas just north of Comanche territory. Pike describes the Kiowa as numbering about a thousand around 1803 and states that they still fought and hunted

with bows, arrows, and lances. Pike also states that the Kiowa were at war with the Dakota, Pawnee and Utes from the north and apparently the Comanche to the south due to their encroachment on Comanche lands (Mayhall 1962).

Other accounts indicate that around 1790, the Kiowa formed an alliance with the Comanche, in order to defend themselves from the northern tribes. This mutual alliance resulted in the southern plains eventually being secured for both groups. From 1790 on the Kiowa and Comanche shared the same hunting grounds and joined together on many raids. Their joint territory ranged from the Arkansas River in western Kansas down to the Texas Panhandle (Wunder 1989).

On Lewis and Clark's 1804-1806 expedition map the Kiowa camps are located on the Platte River. Lewis and Clark had meet informants that described the Kiowa as occupying the North Platte River, in what is now western Nebraska. Lewis and Clark were told that the Kiowa had 70 tipis with an estimated population of around 700 people. Approximately 200 hundred of the tribal members were warriors. Also, around 300 Kiowa-Apache were described as living in 25 lodges located just north of their Kiowa allies (Wunder 1989).

By this time, the Kiowa were masters of the horse culture, with huge herds. They were raiding as far south as Matagorda Bay in Texas, Sonora and Sinaloa in Mexico, and as far west as the Gulf of California. These raids provided food, horses, trade goods and slaves for the Kiowa and Comanche. The Kiowa had more horses per person than any other Plains tribe in the early 1800s (Mayhall 1962).

A small pox epidemic decimated the plains tribes in 1801. It is believed that a Pawnee war party was responsible for spreading the epidemic when their party returned from raiding northern Mexico. The epidemic spread from Missouri to the Texas coast and is speculated to have killed over half of the Plains Native American populations. Another epidemic spread in 1816 ravaging the Kiowa and Comanche from the Red to the Rio Grande River (Mayhall 1962).

The Kiowa gained many friends during their time on the Great Plains. They ended up being allied with the Mescalero Apache, Wichita, Taovaya, Tawakoni, Waco, Crow, Arapahoe, Arikara, Hidatsa, Mandan, Shoshone, Flathead and Pueblo. Enemies of the Kiowa included the Caddo, Cheyenne, Tankawa in Texas, Dakota, Pawnee, Utes, Navahos, Jicarilla Apache and the Osage (Mayhall 1962).

Ponca

Sometime in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the Ponca separated from the Omaha tribe and moved upriver along the Missouri River. After moving around frequently and encountering other tribes, they moved along the Platte River back to the Missouri and joined with the Omaha yet again. Around 1735, possibly in northeastern Nebraska at Bad Village, the Ponca made a final separation from the Omaha. The Ponca then moved to the Ponca Creek near the Niobrara River. When the Ponca were encountered by Europeans, they held land from the Missouri River to the Black Hills and from the White River to the Niobrara River (Brown and Irwin 2001).

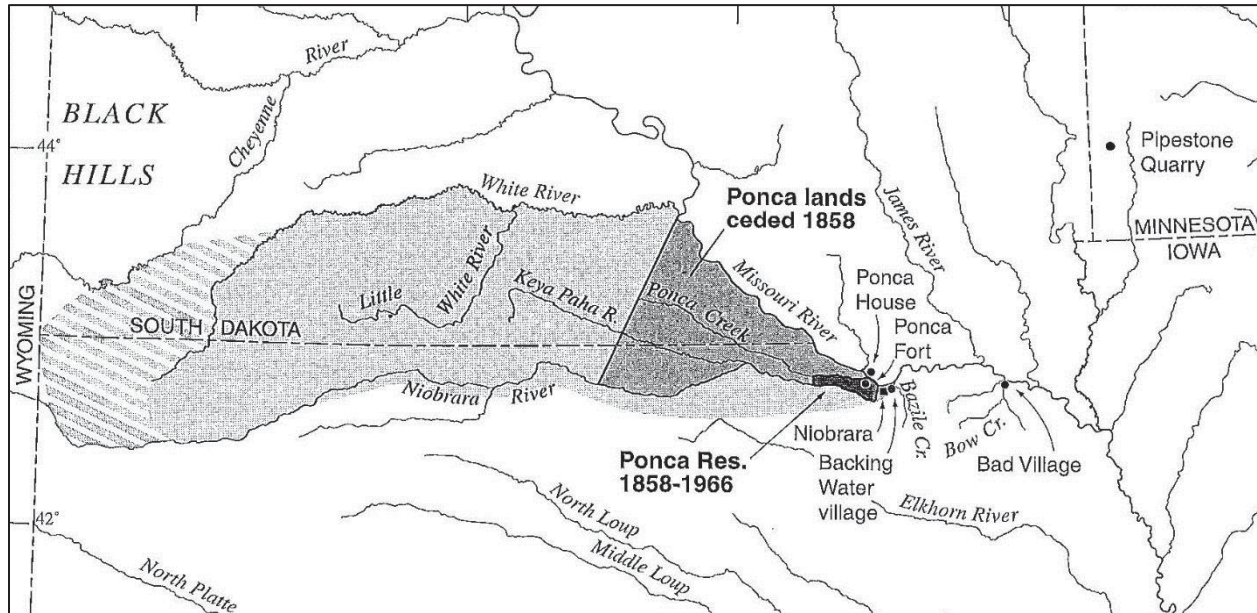


Figure 12. Ponca territory in the late eighteenth century.

Also showing subsequent land transfers and reservations. From Brown and Irwin 2001.

In 1789, Jean Munier was the first known European to contact the Ponca. He was presented with a peace pipe from the Ponca chief who asked for Munier to have traders sent to the Ponca every year. Another trader, Jean-Baptiste Truteau and his Missouri Company expedition wintered near the Ponca from 1794 to 1795. They traded together in the spring of 1795 at what later became known as Ponca House (Brown and Irwin 2001).

Thinking strategically, the Ponca confiscated goods from traders along the Missouri so they would not reach their enemies, the Sioux and Arikara. In 1801, the Ponca were at odds with the traders as a result of their confiscation of goods. Additionally, in that same year, the Ponca were devastated by a smallpox epidemic that affected both the Ponca and the Omaha tribes. By 1804, according to fur trader Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, only 40 Ponca warriors remained. The following spring, about half were killed during a Brule Sioux attack. To protect themselves from their enemies, the Ponca moved in with the Omaha, but hostilities continued. In 1824, 18 Ponca were killed by a group of Teton Sioux who attacked them after the Ponca had a friendly visit with the Oglala Sioux (Brown and Irwin 2001).

The first treaty between the Ponca and the United States was signed on June 25, 1817, in Saint Louis. This treaty acknowledged the protection of the Ponca peoples by the United States. On June 9, 1825, the Ponca signed a second treaty with the United States, this time in a Ponca Village on Bazile Creek. This treaty intended to bring peace to the tribes along the upper Missouri River. The treaty also designated the mouth of the Niobrara River to be the place for the Ponca to trade (Brown and Irwin 2001).

United States government attempted to remove Native Americans east of the Mississippi River in the 1830s. This effort resulted in many tribes, including the Ponca, to suffer from intertribal warfare and encroaching tribes and white settlers. Teton Sioux began settling in the Black Hills which reduced much of the Ponca's western hunting grounds. Additionally, the Ponca were in

between the Sioux and Pawnee tribes who were enemies. In 1848, the buffalo population in the Ponca hunting grounds was so depleted that they were forced to hunt on Sioux lands, resulting in increased competition among the tribes for buffalo (Brown and Irwin 2001).

In 1855, the Ponca experienced their last successful buffalo hunt after destroying a party of Pawnee hunters. The Sioux continued to interfere with the hunting and agricultural practices of the Ponca. Encroaching white settlers also made life more difficult for the Ponca. On March 12, 1858, the Ponca signed their third treaty with the United States, this time in Washington D.C., which ceded most of their hunting lands to the west. The treaty was supposed to protect the Ponca from the Sioux; however, in 1859, a war party of Sioux and Cheyenne attacked the Ponca, killing 15 and capturing three children. They sent a message to the Ponca that they were being punished for giving land to the whites. The Sioux continued to attack the Ponca in the 1850s and 1860s. When the United States entered into a treaty with the Sioux in 1868, they mistakenly ceded the Ponca reservation land to the Sioux. As a result, the United States removed the Ponca from South Dakota and into Indian Territory in present-day Nebraska and Oklahoma (Brown and Irwin 2001).

The Sioux

So often called the Sioux Nation, a tripartite set of tribes including the Dakota (East), Nakota (Middle) and the Lakota (West) were living in the woodlands of southern-central Minnesota when Hernando DeSoto first mentioned the Sioux by name as early as 1541 (Clowser 1974). Later, the French designated the east-west division of the Sioux in relation to their location along the Mississippi River (DeMallie 2001). Other French and English traders would laud this group for their upstanding demeanor and noble physical features. Their chronicles showed a great respect, likely due to the codes of bravery, dignity and reserve, generosity, and wisdom the Sioux lived by (Utley 1963). Early notable mentions of the Sioux are by Father Louis Hennepin in 1680, and Pierre Charles La Sueur in 1700 (Ewers 1938).

Prior to historic period and contact with Euro-Americans, the origins of the Sioux are still under academic and traditional debate. It is difficult to attribute prehistoric archeological sites with any group due to their mobility and mutable culture traits throughout time. However, linguistics shed light on the group. It is hypothesized that the proto-Siouan language began to split up around 500 B.C. (Gibbon 2003). This means that an original Sioux homeland could have been in the Central Mississippi Valley and associated with the Havana-Hopewell culture (Gibbon 2003).

The term “Sioux” derives from the Algonquin word *Naduesiu*, is a diminutive meaning snakes or enemies. This name was applied to them by their enemies, the Chippewa (Meyer 1967). It eventually was Anglicized as the name Europeans used to designate all Sioux bands spanning from the Mississippi to the Powder River. The French did break down the divisions and began referring to the two groups of Sioux Indians, west and east, depending on their location to the Missouri River (DeMallie 2001). By the 19th century the three divisions were rightly recognized based on their commonalities and differences in regards to geography, linguistics, and subsistence strategies (DeMallie 2001). The three names Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota all have similar meaning of “an alliance of friends.” (Marshall 2001).

The Dakota, which include the Santee, Wahpeton and Sisseton, archeologically and historically favored a more "Eastern Woodlands" style of life that included gardens, fishing and the hunting of woodlands adapted animals, such as deer, elk, rabbits, etc. At the time of European contact, the Dakota were located in central and southern Minnesota, northern Iowa and parts of southwestern Wisconsin (Kehoe 1992, Gibbon 2003).

The Yankton and Yanktonai form the cultural division referred to as the Nakota, or "Middle Sioux." Linguistic evidence along with Yankton and Yanktonai oral tradition indicate that the Yanktonai are the older of the two tribes, and that they are both related to the Lower Assiniboine, who appear to have left the Yanktonai while they were still in Minnesota. At some, slightly later point, the Yankton became a separate group (DeMallie 2001; Access Genealogy.com 2014a).

The early history of the Yankton and Yanktonai is very sparsely documented. The earliest documented clue that the Yanktonai were a separate tribe comes from the Jesuit Relations, where in 1640, the Assiniboine are mentioned as a distinct tribe. While this does not directly refer to the Yankton and Yanktonai, it does imply that the split between the Assiniboine and Yanktonai had occurred by that date, and thus infers that the Yanktonai are a distinct tribe by the same time (Access Genealogy.com).

It was the Lakota who were to migrate as far as the Black Hills and make their home in the forested corner of South Dakota. The Lakota themselves are broken down into seven sub-tribes. These are the Brule, Oglala, Blackfoot, Minneconjou, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Hunkpapa (Gibbon 2003). The Brule were located at the headwaters of the White and Niobrara rivers. The Oglala roamed from Fort Laramie to the Black Hills and the sources of the Teton River, and to the fork of the Cheyenne River. The Minneconjou band could be found from Cheery Creek to Slender Butte on the Grand River. Two Kettle peoples could be located near the Cheyenne and Moreau Rivers. The Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, and Sans Arc shared the area along the Moreau cannonball and Heart Rivers (Ewers 1938). However, even with these amorphous boundaries stated, the Teton bands could hunt and roam where they pleased, and would often unite to carry out larger hunting expeditions, having personal contact quite often (DeMallie 2001; Goldfrank 1943).

Although some of the sub-tribal nomenclature has been Anglicized, the Sioux words and definitions for the bands will be related here. The word Oglala means "to scatter", while the Hunkpapa means "those that camp on the end." The Minneconjou Tribe means "those who plant by the water and the Oohenunpa mean "two boilings or two kettles." The Itazipacola band means "without bows, while the Sihakapa means "black feet or black soles." Lastly the Sicangu means "burnt thigh" (Marshall 2001). The Sicangu are apparently called "burnt thigh" because during a prairie fire that the people could not outrun, they decided to turn back and run into the fire to escape — they succeeded (Marshall 2001). These seven tribes comprising the Lakota were the most populous of all the three Sioux bands, numbering around 20,000 — half of the entire Sioux nation (Sitting Bull Biography, Ewers 1938).

Acclimating themselves to a new ecological strategy on the Plains proved to be difficult for a short while, as hunting buffalo on foot was an arduous task. After acquiring the horse from southwest Indian tribes around 1740-50, left by Hernando Cortes in 1519, and contemporaneous with their move to the western banks of the Missouri, Lakota life changed dramatically (Ned

Eddins Website). Subsistence strategies in Minnesota were more balanced, requiring hunting and gathering, and a much more sedentary lifestyle. However, the plains contained bison that would almost immediately become their main source of food, shelter, artwork, and religion. Hunting buffalo in the plains would undoubtedly have been extremely dangerous work, and likely unsuccessful in regards to maintaining large bands of people. With the introduction of the horse, however, more food and goods could be attained creating a surplus that fueled the fur trade and the success of the Lakota people. However, along with the economic expansion also came violence and competition over hunting grounds (Goldfrank 1943).

A Lakota medicine man described the vital importance of the buffalo stating that they are brothers (Catches 1999). He told a story in which a buffalo bull heard a distant cry on a cold and windy day exclaiming, “I am cold. I am hungry. I am weak. I am thirsty.” Upon investigating the weeping, the buffalo saw a blood clot. This blood clot was the Lakota people. Seeing that the clot would die, the buffalo decided to give itself to ensure that life would continue for the blood clot. This is why the buffalo are such a large part of Lakota ideology, and the reason that they use every part of the buffalo in some way (Catches 1999).

Chronologically subsequent to this story, the buffalo continues to play a role in the spiritual life of the Lakota. The Buffalo-Calf Pipe, is “the only artifact resembling a tribal medicine bundle known to the entire Lakota people,” and was given to them by a deity (Feraca 1998). The legend states that two men were hunting when their attention turned to a beautiful young woman in a flowing white robe. One man attempted to become intimate with her, however, when he touched her he was transformed into a pile of bones. The other man kept his distance, understanding the power of the spirit and led her to his people. There she gave the sacred pipe, the Sun Dance, and other ceremonies to the Sans Arcs tribe of the Lakota (Feraca 1998). In general, the buffalo sets a moral example of selflessness, and are capable of speaking to people in visions or dreams (Ostler 2010). The Lakota commonly smoked before and after the hunt, usually offering a piece of meat to the spirit in thanks (Ostler 2010).

The shift to a nomadic buffalo-hunting lifestyle was soon firmly in place. The Lakota lived in a way that would become the stereotypical image of an Indian to the western mindset which still persists even today (Gibbon 2003). However, the surreal times of prosperity and tradition did not last long. Because of their push west, the Dakota had to consistently fight for or defend their favorite hunting grounds. In the late 1700s, the northern sedentary agricultural tribes, the Mandan, Arikara and Hidatsa, suffered a massive small pox epidemic debilitating their power within the northern Dakotas and Upper Missouri. As the Missouri River was attracting much trade and western interest, the Lakota saw an opportunity to expand further westward while continuing to be influential in the trade market. The Sioux began raiding these sedentary tribes.

Trade in beads and furs was extremely profitable in this region. In fact, one of the oldest factories in America was built for the trading of beads in the Indian Trade (Ewers 1938). Nevertheless, the Teton soon broke the river tribe’s power in 1792 (Ostler 2010; Ewers 1938). Beginning in 1811, the Sioux became well equipped with Western weaponry and began to war with the Crow over the control of the Powder River basin in Wyoming (Gibbon 2003). They were soon also at war with the Kiowa, Crow, Shoshone, Assiniboine, and Skidi Pawnees for increased hunting areas, and “by 1850 the Lakotas along with their Cheyenne and Arapaho Allies controlled much of the vast region between the Platte and the Yellowstone” (Ostler 2010).

With their territorial expansion, the Sioux increased trade relations with the Euro-Americans. However, to break into the tightly knit social framework of the Lakota Indians in order to exchange, traders would have to spend much time in the camps, earning trust, and often times being adopted into a Sioux family (Gibbon 2003). The relationship was semi-symbiotic and profitable until 1841 (Ewers 1938).

During this time, “in the 1830s and 40s, the US Army built Fort Leavenworth, Fort Atkinson, and other forts on the Missouri River, and eventually Fort Kearny and Fort Laramie on the Platte River” (Gibbon 2003). The Platte River was a favorite route for fur traders moving between the Rocky Mountains and St. Louis, a route that ran through the southern parts of Lakota territory. However, the most profitable fort in the Dakota Territory was Fort Pierre which was occupied from 1831 to 1855. Fort Pierre was located three miles north of Bad River (Ewers 1938). It was at Fort Pierre that Lewis and Clark first met the Brule Teton in the early 1800s (Anderson 2005).

The Euro-Americans did not only bring goods to trade however, but engendered multiple small pox outbreaks throughout the plains. One in particular in 1837 killed 2000 Lakota Sioux (Marshall 2001). The number of dead from this outbreak pales in comparison when compared with the sedentary tribe’s losses. The nomadic movements of the Lakota necessitated smaller bands of people making it harder for the disease to spread.

Tensions began to rise in 1812 as immigrants began to trickle westward on the Oregon Trail (Ewers 1938). As the Pacific coast became more desirable and numbers of wagon trains increased, so did the anger of the Lakota Sioux. The travelers were beginning to alter the usually consistent migrations of the buffalo, putting the Natives in a position of uncertainty (Gibbon 2003). To understand the catastrophic effects of such movements, the simple statistic of 157,717 people migrated to the west coast from 1841 to 1852 reveals the ecological disturbances that were possible (Ewers 1938). Discovery of gold in California in 1849 only furthered the migrations (Goldfrank 1943). It should be no surprise then that a sharp decrease in buffalo numbers were contemporaneous with the increase in Oregon Trail usage.

The Oglala regarded the diminishing buffalo as a mysterious or incomprehensible event. To them the disappearance was *wakan*, or part of the inexplicable supernatural elements that sometimes reify themselves on earth (Ostler 2010). They were convinced that the buffalo were scared of the smell of white people, as they cooked their coffee and bacon—regarded as foreign smells (Ostler 2010). As the Civil War ended in 1865, homesteading became an increasingly threatening problem as buffalo were being killed in record numbers (Gibbon 2003). By 1859, more than a million buffalo were killed a year (Goldfrank 1943). To grasp the effort that was involved in these massive hunts it can be stated that it required two horses to transport the meat of one buffalo (DeMallie 2001). In the pre-Columbian era buffalo ranged from Mexico to Georgia, and into northwestern Canada (Ewers 1938).

The dramatic fluctuations in both the Lakota economic and subsistence strategies provoked much infighting within Teton society. Prior to the expansion of the fur trade and the introduction of horses, the Lakota practiced an egalitarian system of kinship, hierarchy and respect. However, as wealth came into tribal hands, it was not distributed evenly causing jealous rivalries and a lack of camaraderie (Goldfrank 1943). Nevertheless, as white encroachment increased, the Lakota and

other tribes were able to band together and attempt to resist western notions of manifest destiny. Although “Indian sovereignty was acknowledged by law with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787,” diplomats would often renege on their promises (Graves and Ebbot 2006).

In 1851, members of the Dakota, Assiniboine, Arikara, Gros Ventres, Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie (Goldfrank 1943). This treaty was comparatively mild and fair when viewed side by side to later agreements. The treaty states that:

Article 2. The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

Article 4. The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

Article 6. The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

Article 7. [...] the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years [...] in provision merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements [...] (The Indian Question CD-Rom).

These articles from the Treaty of 1851 all became extremely relevant as an impetus for war in the latter half of the 19th century, and still pose a recalcitrant problem today. In 2007, the Lakota became increasingly dejected at the U.S. Government’s failure to adhere to their promises more than a century and a half ago. A 2007 *USA Today* article states that the Lakota are pushing to become their own country which would span over five states, in which “the new country would issue its own passports and driver licenses, and living there would be tax-free, provided residents renounce their U.S. citizenship [...]” (USA Today 2007).

By 1854, the United States government had constructed fifty-two forts in the western portion of the country (Gibbon 2003). The discovery of gold in Montana’s Rocky Mountains in 1862 increased the flow of white settlers moving into the region—on top of an already burgeoning Oregon Trail. The Oregon Trail only skirted along Lakota territory (Herndon 1991), however, settlers now could only travel to the gold-panning location through the heart of Sioux land. The Bozeman trail soon became the main thoroughfare.

Although building of roads, military posts and other infrastructure was “legal” under the Article 2 of the 1851 Treaty, the Lakota were unwilling to be swindled out of their land for nothing.

The encroachment sparked a period from 1850 to 1890, commonly known as the Sioux Wars (Gibbon 2003). The first Teton-White conflict came in 1854, and likely began as a

misunderstanding or an act of frustration. The Grattan Massacre occurred just east of Fort Laramie, in eastern Wyoming.

Important episodes in the Sioux Wars to follow the Grattan-Harney battles are the Dakota Conflict (also known as Little Crow's War) spanning from 1862-1864, the War for the Bozeman Trail (Red Cloud's War) which occurred in 1866-1868, and the War for the Black Hills (Sitting Bull's and Crazy Horse's War) which was fought in 1876 to 1877. The fighting ended with the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890 (Gibbon 2003).

In 1868, Red Cloud achieved his goal. The United States government shut down the three forts along the Bozeman trail, along with the trail itself (Fifer 2005). The year 1868 also represents a drastic change to the Sioux lifestyle, as the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 defined the western half of present day South Dakota as the new home for the Sioux. This treaty, pushed by General Harney and signed by Sitting Bull and Red Cloud (The Indian Question CD-ROM) among hundreds of others, made agreements as to the boundaries and rights that would be found amongst the reservation lands. The treaty also secured the Black Hills for the Native Americans, known in Lakota as *he sapa*, which is the most sacred area to the Lakota Sioux (Gibbon 2003; DeMallie 2001). Moreover the agreement included the Powder River Basin as favored hunting grounds, even though the buffalo were quickly dwindling.

Like many of the treaties and promises contrived by the expanding Americans, the treaty of 1868 was not honored. Six years after the treaty was signed, George Armstrong Custer led an expedition into the sacred Black Hills and discovered gold (Herndon 1991). Like the previous discoveries in California and Montana, the mention of gold in the Black Hills caused quite a stir. Rumors about the presence of gold in the Black Hills had been circulating for years prior to the actual discovery at French Creek on July 30, 1874 by Horatio Nelson Ross (Palais 1946). As the Mexican-American war came to a close many people found themselves unemployed who were all too enthusiastic for the chance to strike it rich (Palais 1946). Coming from all corners of the globe, the most popular jumping off places were: Bismarck, Dakota Territory; Cheyenne, Wyoming; Sidney, Nebraska; Sioux City, Iowa; and Yankton, Dakota Territory (Palais 1946). One of the popular thoroughfares was the North Pacific Railroad to Bismarck, completed in 1873, just one year before the discovery in the Black Hills (DeMallie 2001).

Greed overtook legality, as very few of the prospectors knew or cared that they were trespassing on reserved Indian grounds per the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The offenders could be fined up to \$1,000 if caught without a passport from an agent of Indian Affairs (Palais 1946). As miners flooded in, the Sioux raided camps and wagon trains, making the area extremely volatile. On July 29th 1875, General George Crook announced that all trespassers must leave the Black Hills—and most did. However miners would continue to evade the troops.

Trying to escape from the bind that the gold rush had created for them, the U.S. government attempted to buy the Black Hills for six million dollars, or if nothing else, lease the mineral rights for \$400,000 per year (Palais 1946). Because the area is so important spiritually, the offers were quickly turned down. The Indians now feared that their land would be taken without compensation, so many of them joined with Sitting Bull and his growing number of insurgents in the Powder River Basin. Fearing the worst, the government declared that any Sioux who were not at an agency would be considered hostile and be dealt with by the War Department (Palais

1946). Stewart (1966) writes that “the exact whereabouts and numbers of the [insurgent] Indians were unknown, but they were assumed to be in the wild and relatively unknown region west of the Little Missouri and south of the Yellowstone River, possibly on the upper reaches of the Powder the Tongue or the Big Horn rivers, as southern effluents of the Yellowstone.”

The first three battles in the War for the Black Hills were won by the Sioux, however the next five skirmishes following Custer’s Last Stand all went to the U.S. These last definitive wins put an end to the major Sioux resistance (Gibbon 2003).

As the U.S. government treated the Sioux as a conquered people, assigning reservations areas to them and providing them with little annuities; the pride of the Sioux warriors was beginning to diminish. In 1877 Crazy Horse acknowledged defeat and surrendered. Evidence that the Sioux had been largely broken mentally it is believed that other Sioux had spread false rumors regarding Crazy Horse. The jealous Natives declared that he was attempting to form a band of warriors to kill General Crook and lead another rebellion (Grimes 1999). This led to some seeing Crazy Horse, not as a great military leader, but a danger that threatened to ignite a war that could mean the extermination of the Sioux people (Grimes 1999). This fear may have led to his death after capture. He surrendered on May 6th at Fort Robinson, Nebraska and was going to be escorted to a prison in Florida (Gibbon 2003). However, Crazy Horse was under the impression that he would be heading to Washington D.C. to speak with the President when guards attempted to throw him in a cell. Reportedly he fought back, but the situation concluded with a bayonet in Crazy Horse’s abdomen.

Today Crazy Horse’s life has become legendary and larger than life. A sculpture of Crazy Horse has been in progress since 1948. It is located only eight miles from Mount Rushmore. In fact, its sculptor, Korczak Ziolkowski, worked under Gutzon Borglum, the lead sculptor of the presidential monument. If finished it will be the largest sculpture in the world measuring 641 feet long by 563 feet high. At present, only the face has been completed (Crazy Horse Memorial Foundation 2015).

The following period in Sioux history is often referred to as the Assimilation and Allotment period which stems from 1887 to 1934 (Gibbon 2003). In 1889 the Great Sioux Agreement was put into place, demarcating five Lakota Sioux reservations in the Dakotas. These reservations are Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Standing Rock, and Crow Creek. Similar to other early reservation attempts, the life that the U.S. government provided for the Lakota Sioux was dismal and tough. The plains ecosystem would not support agriculture, while the horse and cattle market could not support the large population (Gibbon 2003). Many warriors had the ability to leave the reservations, joining up with William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and his Wild West Show during the years of 1883-1933. Even Sitting Bull joined the traveling performers in 1885 (Utley 1993; Gibbon 2003).

Throughout this period whites attempted to push cultural assimilation and the destruction of traditional culture. Beginning in 1883 feasts and dances were banned, it was considered an offense to have more than one wife or “purchase” wives, and all practices of medicine men were deemed criminal. One could also not destroy property or do bodily harm to oneself even though this was the traditional way of mourning (Utley 1963).

While despair was overwhelming the newly limited Sioux reservations, hope was beginning to be kindled within the minds of a group of Northern Paiute, located in Nevada (Ostler 2010). The Ghost Dance Movement was founded by Wovoka (meaning “woodcutter” in Paiute), otherwise known as Jack Wilson (Legends of America). Wovoka’s father died when he was only a young teen, but was taken in by a white rancher named David Wilson. David Wilson was a devout Christian who relayed his beliefs and knowledge onto his adopted son (Wovoka).

Wovoka’s upbringing gave him the opportunity, esoteric knowledge, and faith to lead a messianic movement to its fruition. At an early age, Wovoka became known as a very capable shaman performing tricks like being shot with a shotgun, or levitating. On January 1st 1889 (Utley 1963) Wovoka had a revelation. Mooney (1991) describes the vision:

On this occasion the sun died (was eclipsed) and he fell asleep in the daytime and was taken up to the other world. Here he saw God, with all the people who had died long ago engaged in the old-time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling, and live in peace with the whites; that they must work and not lie or steal; that they must put away all the old practices that savored of war; that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in this other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age (Mooney 1991).

This general description of Wovoka’s prophetic event along with the eschatology that follows was often misconstrued—by both whites and Indians. The difficult reservation life was a ripe conductor for messianic, revolutionary, and reestablishing ideas which posited the Natives at the top of God’s list. Many delegations from tribes around the country began to visit the famed Paiute man, however, unable to communicate the complex symbolic and emic vision and doctrine, many tribes left with an incomplete or skewed understanding.

Tribes like the Walapai of Arizona returned believing that the eschatological events would lead to hurricanes, thunder, and lightning that would destroy all the whites as well as the Native non-believers (Mooney 1991). Before this narrative continues it is behoove the author and reader to grasp some of the main aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine (taken from Utley 1963 and Mooney 1991):

- One day the Indian people will live in “aboriginal happiness” again, free from death and disease.
- Intra and Inter-peace must be maintained between whites and Indians alike (this must have been especially difficult for the Natives because war was an intrinsic part of social identity and status.
- No one knows the date the worldly transformation will occur. The earth would shake when the time had arrived.
- Dancing for five days is the central practice of the movement. It benefits not only the participants but their friends and family as well.
- Special shirts known as ghost shirts were thought to make its wearer invulnerable to bullets (likely adapted from Wovoka’s days as a shaman).

- The dead will live again amongst the living.
- A derivation of the “Golden Rule”: Do not lie, do not harm, do right always.
- The movement must be kept secret from the whites.

Wovoka did attempt to suggest several dates which never materialized. God was supposed to visit the earthly plane within three to four years, a time in which the followers would wait patiently and peacefully. When the “redeemer” did come, the people of the earth are said to begin a deep sleep that would last for 5 days. When they awoke, a new world, complete with old life ways, would be presented to the Indians (Mooney 1991).

The Ghost Dance movement reached the Sioux in the fall of 1889, and was brought back by three delegates—Kicking Bear, Short Bull and Low Dog—who visited Wovoka (Mooney 1991; Steve Emery Translation). Known by different names, the Lakota call it *Wana’ghi wa’chipi* (Mooney 1991). Decimated by reservation life, the Sioux interprets a millenarian event that would be violent for whites who would be punished for their sins against the Native Americans. Deriving out of the Sioux’s new found hope was the advent of the “Ghost Shirt” which had no place within the original Paiute movement (Mooney 1991). The Ghost Shirt was “a sack like garment of cotton cloth or muslin ornamented, like the face with painted circles, crescents, and crosses, and with designs symbolizing the eagle, magpie, crow, sage hen, and other birds and animals having special significance in Sioux mythology. Many were fringed and adorned with feathers. The medicine m[e]n preached that the Ghost Shirt made its wearer invulnerable to rifle bullets” (Utley 1963).

The Ghost Dance movement is often cited as a direct cause of the Wounded Knee incident that occurred on December 29th, 1890 (Sievers 1975). There are two intellectual views regarding the causes that led to the carnage. Some believe that the Sioux, confronted by the army to stop dancing were hostile to the troops, while others believe that the Sioux were composed and did not antagonize the U.S. Army force. Others, including many of the Sioux, believe the Seventh Cavalry was seeking revenge for Custer’s defeat eleven years earlier (Sievers 1975). Professional historians and non-contemporaries have long been proponents of the non-hostile reaction of the Sioux, while amateur historians hold that even women and children participated in the fight when so many “innocents” being killed (Sievers 1975).

Although both sides of this debate have germane arguments, it is this author’s belief that another interpretation is relevant and may shed light upon the Wounded Knee Massacre. In *Historic Myths and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, Marshall Sahlins (1981) discusses the anthropological theme of the “structure of the conjuncture.” Sahlins defines this occurrence as “a set of historical relationships that at once produce the traditional cultural categories and give them new values out of pragmatic context” (Sahlins 1981).

“Structure” is a common anthropological term usually referring to the relationships between facets of a particular culture, such as the social, political, and religious spheres—as well as ones view of the “other.” These relationships are not static and are sensitive to the particularities of historical events and attitudes. Further, “conjuncture” refers to two separate cultural structures that meet to force a likely outcome dependent on each of the structures. “Conjuncture” can also

be seen as a temporal aspect—the time at which the structures meet to make unique historical events. But how does this relate to the Wounded Knee Massacre?

First it is necessary to define, or at least better understand the structures of the U.S. government and military, as well as the Sioux population around 1890. This ethnography has detailed the shifting attitudes of the U.S. government towards the Sioux people. At one time it was fairly peaceful and prosperous. However, as time went on these fruitful attitudes were spoiled with feelings of genocide, fear, manifest destiny and outright hatred. Events such as the Battle of Little Big Horn and numerous Treaty agreements fueled these sentiments, creating a unique structure of Americans on the western frontier.

These attitudes came to a juncture with the Sioux structure. The year 1889 marked the beginning of the contemporary reservation period, which posited the Sioux people in an emotionally dismal place, losing their religious and political customs. This blow to traditional “culture categories” were combined with numerous battles as the U.S. attempted to steal tribal land. Moreover, if the land was not lost it was finagled from the Sioux utilizing western bureaucracy.

Thus, historical events had generated a structure for the U.S. that was filled with superiority, fear, and hatred. On the other hand the Sioux’s traditional structure has been flipped upside down, and were currently attempting to better understand their new way of life in 1890. The structure is accompanied by feelings of nostalgia and desperation to return to the old ways. At this point, an added particular creates the catalyst for juncture—the Ghost Dance.

Due to the nostalgia of the Sioux and the promises the Ghost Dance offered, the movement quickly became accepted after its introduction. Immediately, dances were being held to prepare for the transformation of the old world into the new. However, the U.S. government feared an uprising not unlike the countless conflicts before. Thus, when the U.S. military attempted to disarm the dancing Sioux, violence inevitably erupted. It was a massacre where 153 people lost their lives (Michno 2003).

Since the turn of the 20th century, it is difficult to gauge if life on the Sioux reservations have improved. Before the modern era, the Oglala were the richest of the Sioux tribes. Their reservation life has been economically difficult (Goldfrank 1943).

Numerous policies have been enacted since the 1930s such as:

the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which transferred greater government and administrative powers to federally recognized tribes; the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, which gave Indian people the right to retain custody of their children; the 1978 American Indian Freedom of Religion Act, which stated that it was federal policy to protect and preserve the right of Indian peoples to practice religious traditions of their choice; the 1990 Native American Grave protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), to return human remains and funerary and sacred objects, to tribes; and the 1990 Act for the Protection of American Indian Arts and Crafts which made it a criminal offense to falsely identify oneself as an Indian in order to sell artwork (Gibbon 2003).

Despite the governmental policies passed to improve standards of living, employment rates are still extremely high on the reservation. The reservations are often far from main cities, while the reservations themselves have little industry to keep people employed. It is believed that on the Pine Ridge reservation, the unemployment rate is approximately 85% (Schwartz 2006). Moreover, almost 97% live below the poverty level, with 33% of households living without electricity (Schwartz 2006). Due to these extreme living conditions, the 35% who are under the age of 18 often look to leave the reservation. But finding urban employment is difficult still as the high school dropout rate is nearly 70% (Schwartz 2006).

However, there have been a few large strides to increase the potential of the reservation population. The 1988 U.S. Indian Gaming Regulatory Act has provided employment at casinos such as at Fort Randall, which created jobs for all of the reservation inhabitants (Gibbon 2003). Moreover, the educational opportunities for the younger Sioux have increased markedly. Larger communities now have their own primary and secondary schools, which also offer classes on Lakota language and customs. Other reservations even have accredited colleges (Gibbon 2003).

Today, a cultural revival is occurring emphasizing arts and crafts, language, and heritage through schools and traditional powwows. Domestic life is improving thanks to organizations such as FEMA and Habitat for Humanity who have built and donated houses that are up to code (Schwartz 2006; Gibbon 2003). In general reservation life is beginning to look up which is encouraging for a people who have such a rich traditions and an emotionally moving history.

So rich is the Lakota culture, not all cultural traits can be discussed within this ethnography. The following discussions are meant to highlight a few of the more interesting and unique traits.

Linking the earthly plane and the spiritual world, it is believed that the Lakota people first inhabited the earth by climbing out of a cave (Martinez 2004). This cave, specifically Wind Cave, is located in the Black Hills. The Black Hills and surroundings have numerous sacred Lakota areas including Scotts Bluff, Devils Tower, and Jewel Cave (Ewers 1938). This land was also once an important burial ground (Catches 1999).

The social structure and hierarchy of the Lakota is quite complex with numerous levels and relationships that span both vertically and horizontally. It has been stated by early scholars that the Lakota had a form of democracy that would provide order within smaller bands as well as when large gatherings occur (Ewers 1938). The Sioux nation is first divided up into Seven Council Fires, while a further division of the Lakota tribe can also be broken down seven times (Steltenkamp 1993). These seven divisions are referred to as *ospaye*, followed by a band division called a *tiyospaye*, and again followed by the immediate camp or *wico-tipi*, and finally ending with the household known as *ti-ognaka* (Steltenkamp 1993). These models of organization were malleable and could be joined, depending on the time of year and circumstances (Price 1994).

During large gatherings at ceremonies and communal buffalo hunts even more division and relationships were needed to maintain order and cohesiveness. Although many scholars and interpreters have understood the political and social and relationships as linear, one must interpret them as circular—almost egalitarian. The socio-political relationships begin with the

Chiefs Society, or *Naca Ominicia* in Lakota. The *Naca* are the elders, either 40 years or older. This position was usually held for life, and they elected their own members (Ewers 1938). The *Naca* in turn elected Seven chiefs, or *Wicasa Itancan* whose function was to carry out the decisions of the *Naca*. *Wicasa Yatanpi* are also known as the Four Shirt Wearers. The Four Shirt Wearers' duty was to be the voice of tribes while in council (Answers). Elected by the Shirt Wearers were the *Wakincuze* who held office for one year while they organized and controlled the camp (Ewers 1938). Also important to the camp operations were the *Akicita*—warrior societies who would police the camp, oversee buffalo hunts, and implement punishments if needed (Ewers 1938). Prior to the reservation period, nine different *Akicita* societies were in place including the Kit Fox, Crow Owners, Brave Heart, Badger, Bare Lance Owners, Mandan, White Horse Riders, Grass Dance, and White Marked (Tamaheca).

This complex web of socio-political authority was confusing to Euro-Americans. The whites that had contact with the Lakota assumed that having the title of “chief” one could make sweeping decisions for the whole tribe (Price 1994). However the Lakota leaders did not want to abuse their authority for fear of being ostracized from camp, so the traditional method of Lakota decision making was to reach a consensus (Price 1994).

Kin classification is often thought of in groups of five generations—two above and two below the person in question (Gibbon 2003). When families were being expanded through the act of marriage it was common to purchase the bride by leaving gifts at the father of the bride's door—some brides even calling for 100 ponies as a dowry (Howard 1966). Moreover, the Lakota followed a bilateral residence pattern in which the married couple could take up residence with or near either parent which provided a flexible living situation (Gibbon 2003).

Likely one of the most significant cultural traditions of the Lakota is the Sun Dance which represented renewal, rebirth, and a giving back (personal communication, Randy Emery). The Sundance occurs in July and last a total of four days and nights (Catches 1999). The Sundance is never performed in the fall or winter, because during these seasons there are no thunderstorms to announce when the rite should be held (Wallis 1919). Before the Sun Dance began the dancers, who were chosen by the thunders or in a dream and were almost always men, would need to be purified. To do this they would sit in a stream bath, smoke cansasa (Indian tobacco and red willow bark), pray and rest. This cycle would be repeated until the ceremony began.

Central to the Sun Dance is the cottonwood tree, which during the dance represents the Tree of Life. The cottonwood is prized among the Lakota because it is the only bark that can be fed to horses, the leaves show a pattern of a moccasin, and when the leaves are folded they represent a tipi (Zelich). The next step in the process of preparing for the ritual is to procure the cottonwood pole. Helpers, usually women, would strike the tree trunk at four places congruent with the directions of the four winds (Catches 1999). The tree is then gently laid upon shawls and blankets because the tree is not supposed to touch the ground (Catches 199). The tree's branches are then cut off (Feraca 1998). After being transported to the designated ritual area, it is stood up, smeared with buffalo blood, and have four sage hoops attached to it (Wallis 1919; Catches 1999). The dancers are then connected to the pole with rope and hooks made of in their chest or back. During the ceremony the dancers feel no pain as they attempt to rip the hooks free from their body. The importance of the flesh offerings are to give the only thing an individual owns—himself and his skin (personal communication, Randy Emery). Many Lakota see the self-

mutilation as having a similar symbolic significance to that of Jesus and his torment on the cross (Feraca 1998). Today, there are more Sun Dance ceremonies than ever. The Lakota also have six other sacred rites including Purification, Pipefast, Making of a Relative, Coming of Age, Releasing of the Spirit, and the Throwing of the Ball, however, these ceremonies are outside the scope of this ethnography (Catches 1999).

One of the most unique aspects of Lakota society are the *heyoka*. They are often referred to as “contraries” because they act like clowns and do everything backwards (Howard 1954). Followers are initiated by the thunder beings of the west, the *Wakinyan*. After their calling has been fulfilled the *heyoka* wear blankets in the summer, run naked in the winter, ride horses backwards, and even speak backwards (Tree of Life; Howard 1954). The most shocking action of the *heyoka* is the boiling water trick. After boiling meat in a cauldron, the *heyoka* pluck out the pieces with their bare hands, feeling no pain and never being scalded. Allegedly this trick is successfully performed by using Scarlet Globemallow paste to combat burns (Range Plants of Utah). The *heyoka* play a critical social role. They teach people about taboos, rules, and social mores by violating and questioning the accepted customs. The clowns assuage serious moments by telling jokes or doing inappropriate things, bringing humor to the community (Tree of Life).

A critical spiritual component of Lakota religion and philosophy is the vision quest, or *hanbleceya*, which was an important process of personal development. The quest must begin with the smoking of the pipe, as do all formal events (Martinez 2004). Subsequently, the vision seeker sits in a sweat lodge to purify himself. After the vision seeker has reached the spot where he will wait, the ground must be cleared, even free of bugs, and spread kinnikinnick (Martinez 2004). Kinnikinnick is a tobacco blend which usually includes Yerba Santa leaves, red willow bark, and bearberry leaves (Jim McDonald). Assistants would then plant four willow poles at each of the cardinal directions and tie tobacco bundles to them (Martinez 2004). The vision seeker then fasts and goes sleepless, usually for four days, hoping that the spirits will come to him. If they do, he is to return to his people singing, and if not, he must return with his face covered. Although having a vision is a sense of pride for the individual and good fortune for the tribe, at the root of the *hanbleceya* is humility (Martinez 2004).

Sutaio

The Sutaio tribe was closely related to the Cheyenne tribe. Unfortunately, little is known of their existence prior to the time they joined with the Cheyenne. Legend claims that the Cheyenne and the Sutaio tribes were at war with each other somewhere between the Missouri River and the Black Hills in South Dakota. Some of the Cheyenne overheard the Sutaio talking and realized that they were speaking the same language so the two tribes stopped fighting. They decided to join together and the Sutaio began camping in close relation to the Cheyenne and eventually became one tribe with the Cheyenne (Dusenberry 1956).

Around 1833, the Sutaio and Cheyenne had united. Earlier that century when Lewis and Clark travelled along the Missouri, they noted a tribe they called the “Staetan” which is likely the same tribe as the Sutaio. Although the two tribes united in the 1830s, it was not until the 1850s when they became one tribe, with the Sutaio accepting most of the Cheyenne lifestyle including dress, camps, and ceremonies (Dusenberry 1956). The Sutaio did, however, make a significant contribution to the Cheyenne religion. Sutaio brought the Sacred Hat to the Cheyenne and it

became incorporated into Cheyenne religion as one of their most sacred tribal possessions (Moore et al. 2001; Dusenberry 1956).

Historic Period Native Americans in Pennington County

Pennington County is located near the southwestern corner of South Dakota and borders Wyoming on its western edge. Its shape resembles a tomahawk with the head covering a wide area of grassland to the east and its handle extending westward through the center of the Black Hills to the Wyoming border. The county consists of 7,784 square miles and, as of the 2010 US Census, has a population of 100,948. Rapid City is the largest city in the county with a population of 70,000 and is located where the plains meet the hills on the Rapid Creek drainage. Pennington County can be divided into two distinct geographical zones. The eastern portion of the county consists of grassland prairie with gently rolling hills near the base of the Black Hills. The badlands lie even further east and are known for their heavily eroded, steep and dry drainages cut from loose clay. The western half of Pennington County extends nearly all the way to the western edge of the Black Hills. The Black Hills offer a markedly different landscape from the surrounding plains due to igneous uplift and subsequent erosion of sedimentary strata. This created a geologic dome structure where the oldest igneous rocks are exposed at the center of the hills and are surrounded by rings of eroded sedimentary layers all the way out to the plains. There is a distinct limestone ridge, or hogback that circles the entire black hills and contains, just within its interior slope, a red valley that also circles the black hills, this valley is often referred to as the “racetrack”.

The Black Hills boast a distinctive climate from the surrounding plains due to their sharp rise in elevation. This accounts for an increase in moisture along with milder temperatures in the winter and summer months. These conditions have led to the proliferation of many plant and animal species that could not survive in the dry extremes of the surrounding plains. Coniferous and deciduous forests make up much of the Black Hills with mixed grasses that carpet the valleys. The topographical and climactic conditions that made the Black Hills distinct from the plains also made them an attractive destination for early human inhabitants. The first peoples to occupy the region were the Clovis, from about 12,000 to 10,000 BC. While not much is known about the Clovis, a few sites within the region shed light on their hunting strategies and diet. The Lange Ferguson site is located in Sheridan County just south of Pennington on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Here mammoth bones were discovered in what used to be a shallow pond that showed signs of human modification. One flake was found amongst the bones and several complete Clovis points were also found nearby. The location within a pond indicates that the Clovis chose to hunt there because the water slowed the large animals’ movements and made them easier to bring down. Another site just west of the Black Hills in Wyoming suggested that along with mammoth, the Clovis also hunted camel (Cassells, 1986).

The 2000 years following the Clovis has left little evidence of human activity in the Black Hills. The Carter/Kerr-McGee site just west of the Black Hills did yield Folsom points, which suggests that they could have entered the Black Hills at some point. However, some of the points were quarried from rock 200 km west of the site indicating that they were likely an isolated hunting party from the west (Frison, 1984). Despite little evidence of human occupation in the Folsom period, the Black Hills do contain several sites from the subsequent Plano period. The Ray Long

site was excavated just prior to the flooding of Angostura Reservoir and yielded proof of Plano activity. However, in addition to the expected stone points found at the Ray Long Site, archeologists also discovered stones used for grinding seeds- a significant advancement that had not been seen in previous eras.

This Paleo-Indian (Clovis, Folsom, and Plano) occupation coincided with the end of the Pleistocene epoch, or last ice age. During this time period the Black Hills and plains region contained various species of mega fauna such as mammoth, giant sloth, and various other species of Bison which were much larger than their modern counterpart. The Paleo-Indians were able to adapt their technological and hunting skills to fully take advantage of these large food sources and, rather than forming any permanent settlements, chose instead to follow their game and keep only temporary camps. However, as the ice sheets of the Pleistocene began their retreat north, so too did the mega fauna of the high plains begin to disappear. For the next 500 years, the Black Hills saw relatively little usage as the Paleo-Indians of that period adapted new strategies to new game (Cassells, 1986).

The Archaic period in the Black Hills region spanned nearly 7000 years, from about 6000 BC to 300 AD. The end of the Ice age brought increased temperatures on the plains. This made the cooler Black Hills an attractive destination in the hot summers, for humans and game alike. Abundant evidence of early archaic activity was excavated at the Hawken site on the western flank of the Black Hills. This site was used as a buffalo trap where hunters would chase several buffalo up a wide drainage until the drainage became narrow enough to confine the large animals. This allowed for the hunters that were waiting at that strategic point to spear the animals from above. The Hawken site yielded nearly 300 spear points and contained about 100 bison. Another site near the Black Hills, the McKean site, contained so many identifiable artifacts that a separate complex has been named after it. The McKean complex has been identified at numerous sites around the Black Hills including one near Bear Butte. (Zimmerman, 1985) These sites indicate that for much of the archaic period, humans subsisted on seeds, nuts, roots, antelope, deer, bison, birds, reptiles and mussels. Additionally, their day to day life was relatively unchanged and the only difference that can be interpreted based on archeological evidence is the style of points they used (Zimmerman 1985).

Following the Archaic period, much of the Midwest transitioned into the Woodland period around 100 AD, where people developed an increasingly sedentary lifestyle. While there is evidence of Woodland technology in the Black Hills Region, it is likely that this is more indicative of increasing trade and perhaps the occasional hunting party from the east. For the most part, the people of western South Dakota retained much of their lifestyle from the archaic period and simply adopted some technologies like pottery and primitive agriculture from the Woodland. (Zimmerman 1985) This lifestyle remained largely unchanged up until the first Europeans entered the region.

By the time the first European had reached the Missouri River in what is now South Dakota, the Arikara were the dominant tribe in the region. The Black Hills, however, were known to have been inhabited by several additional tribes before the Sioux ultimately became prominent there by about 1775. It is thought that the Kiowa-Apache occupied the Black Hills sometime prior to 1700 but eventually migrated south to the North Platte River valley. In addition to the Kiowa-Apache, some Comanche and a few Algonquin speaking groups had also occupied the hills

briefly around that time. The Suhtai had already inhabited the hills by 1700 and by 1730 had overtaken the Cheyenne living there (Sundstrom, 1996). The Sioux, or Dakota, first arrived in the Black Hills region in about 1775 and slowly grew in numbers until they were prominent throughout much of South Dakota.

Some of the first Europeans in South Dakota were French traders who tended to seek out mutually beneficial relationships with the tribes there. Intermarriage between traders and tribeswomen was common and a few of these men are considered to be the first permanent European settlers within South Dakota. (Karolevitz 1975) Eventually, the fur trade died down due to decreased European demand and the South Dakota region was purchased from France by the US Government in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. During this time period, South Dakota was rarely visited by white men except for the occasional trapper or expedition party. Because of relatively low instances of European incursions into the region at this time, the white presence was not abrasive enough to have led to much conflict. However, nearly every tribe suffered severe losses from disease brought by Europeans (Zimmerman 1985).

Throughout the mid-19th century, tribes in western South Dakota didn't have to contend with the presence of many European settlers due mostly to the fact that there were no railroads or waterways suitable for transportation. This changed dramatically with the Homestead Act of 1862 and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills. The Homestead Act brought thousands of new settlers into South Dakota who were later restricted from entering or settling the Black Hills due to the provisions of the Treaty at Fort Laramie; which stated that the Black Hills belonged to the Lakota Indians (Karolevitz 1975). However, honoring the provisions of the Fort Laramie treaty proved difficult as rumors of gold within the Black Hills began to circulate and US troops were increasingly called to remove illegal prospectors. The increased interest in the Black Hills prompted the US government to send an expedition into the hills led by General George Armstrong Custer. The expedition itself violated the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty but officials ignored this because there would be no permanent settlement. However, the results of this expedition, which was intended to dispel rumors of gold, unleashed an unstoppable tide of gold seekers.

Once Custer's expedition had officially confirmed the presence of gold in the Black Hills, it became impossible for the US army to contain and remove the growing numbers of illegal prospectors that were entering the hills. This prompted the US government to seek another treaty with the Sioux in order to legalize the widespread prospecting that was already taking place in the Black Hills. A grand council was called on the banks of the White River on September 20, 1875 in an attempt to further negotiate the future of the Black Hills (Karolevitz 1985). The tribal delegation refused the US commissioners' offer to buy the Hills for \$6,000,000 and, after intense negotiations, the US commissioners left empty handed taking nearly all of the troops guarding the hills with them. This left the hills free and open to any prospectors brave enough to risk confrontations with the Lakota which led to an unhindered flood of new prospectors who set up towns and mining camps throughout the Black Hills (Karolevitz 1985).

In retaliation for this widespread violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty, several thousand Dakota and Sioux refused to return to their reservations which prompted them to be declared "hostiles". In response, the US Government sent out 2500 army troops in an attempt to contain the mounting uprising. However, this campaign ended in a humiliating defeat as General Custer and

265 members of the Seventh Cavalry severely underestimated the strength of the Indian forces and were all killed at Battle of Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876.

Rather than securing any gains with the US Government as the Sioux thought that such a victory might do, the US Congress retaliated and stated that if the Teton tribes did not agree to sell the Black Hills then they would be cut off from any further allotments. (Karolevitz 1985) Shortly after, a treaty commission was sent to meet with tribal leaders and an agreement was signed which ceded the Black Hills in exchange for rations, educational programs, individual land allotments, and various other programs which would be designed to assimilate Indians into white culture rather than preserving their culture and traditions (Karolevitz 1985). This eventually led to the Enactment of the Dawes Act of 1887, which allotted 160 acres to individuals and families and subsequently allowed the US Government to sell off any excess land as long as the proceeds were put into a trust for the Indians. Two years later in 1890, a bill was passed that created six permanent reservations in South Dakota, including Pine Ridge just southeast of the hills.

After several years of attempted assimilation and a constant struggle to adapt to a very different lifestyle on the reservations; a new movement swept through many northwestern tribes that brought with it hopes of a return to their previous way of life. The movement, which was started by a Messianic visionary in Nevada, was adopted by an Oglala man named Short Bull and spread throughout many tribes in the northwest. However, Short Bull modified the tenets of the movement and claimed that if the tribes simply performed the Ghost Dance then “the buffalo would return, the white men would disappear, their relatives would rise from the dead, bullets would not penetrate their calico ghost shirts, and all their lost land would be restored” (Karolevitz 1985). The US Government, fearing that this movement would spark a full scale uprising, sought to suppress the movement and outlawed the Ghost Dance. This suppression ultimately culminated with the massacre of roughly 200 to 300 Indians by US troops at Wounded Knee Creek just south of Pennington County near Hot Springs.

After the Massacre at Wounded Knee, violent confrontations gave way to Indian attempts at living and making do with life on reservations. This proved especially difficult for western reservations as there were no longer any buffalo to hunt and the dry, arid climate was not suitable for agriculture. In 1980, US Federal courts ruled that the 1877 seizure of the Black Hills was in fact illegal and offered the tribes a monetary settlement. However, the settlement has yet to be claimed by tribal leaders who claim the Black Hills are not for sale (Sundstrom 1996).

Results and Recommendations

Based upon the response from tribal contacts and document research, this study did not identify any tribal concerns regarding this project.

- No Native American cultural resources are in the direct area of potential effect (APE).
- No effect to Native American cultural resources within the visual APE.
- No effect to Native American cultural resources in the three mile record search radius.
- No plants are present in the direct APE.
- No Native American traditional use animal species will be adversely affected.

This study indicates there are no identified potential tribal concerns regarding this project.

Photographs



1. View of the property, facing north.



2. View of the property, facing east.



3. View of the property, facing south.



4. View of the property, facing west.



5. Overview of the property, facing south.



6. View of the access, facing north from the property.

Figure 13. Photos of the direct APE.

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