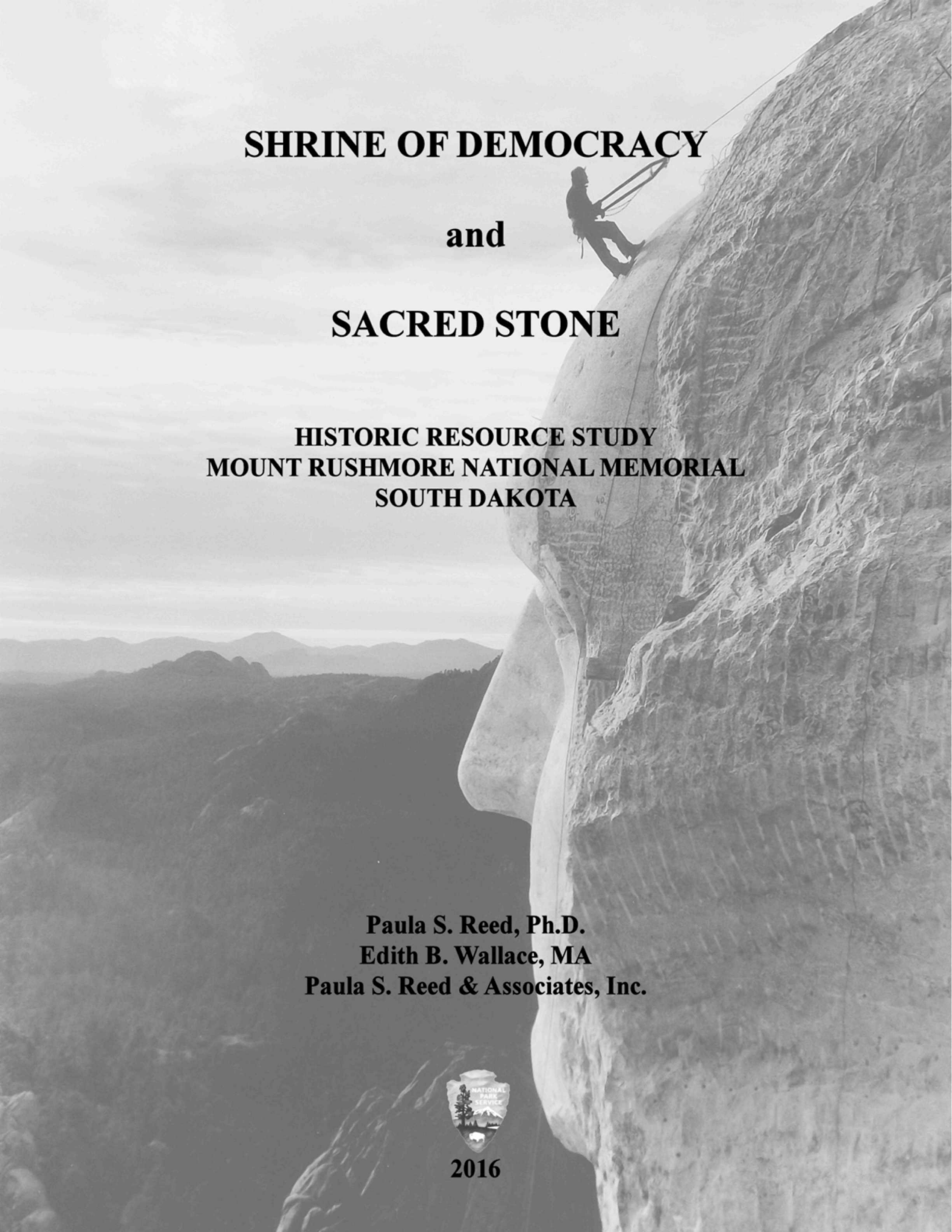


SHRINE OF DEMOCRACY

and

SACRED STONE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MEMORIAL
SOUTH DAKOTA

Paula S. Reed, Ph.D.
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2016

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SHRINE OF DEMOCRACY
and
SACRED STONE

Historic Resource Study
Mount Rushmore National Memorial
South Dakota

By
Paula S. Reed, PhD
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2016

SHRINE OF DEMOCRACY and SACRED STONE

Historic Resource Study
Mount Rushmore National Memorial
South Dakota

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Introduction

In October of 2014, the Midwest Regional Office of the National Park Service contracted with Paula S. Reed and Associates, Inc. of Hagerstown, Maryland, to prepare a Historic Resource Study (HRS) for Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The Scope of Work for the project requested a synthesis of information from different cultural resource disciplines in a narrative designed to serve managers, planners, interpreters, cultural resource specialists, and the interested public as a reference for the history of the region and the resources within the boundaries of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The document is intended to serve as a tool for interpreting the history of the memorial, the area, and its historic resources.

Within that broad scope, there was a more specific request to emphasize certain aspects of Rushmore's history and context to include in particular the process of selecting the site and establishing the memorial, creation of the "Shrine of Democracy" sculpture, and its national importance. The study was also expected to explore later development of the site by the National Park Service and other federal agencies, Mount Rushmore's popularity as a national icon and major tourist destination. The parallel history relating the cultural importance of the Black Hills and mountain known to the Lakota as Six Grandfathers was also to be covered, along with American Indian and environmental opposition to the sculpture. The research project entailed documentary research at local, regional, and national repositories and oral history interviews.

The HRS in addition, attempts to be inclusive of Mount Rushmore's Affiliated Tribes. As explained by the National Park Service, land where many national parks are now located has historical, cultural, and spiritual meanings for many American Indians. Parks are required to consult with American Indian tribes for Section 106 compliance. As a partner, they identify tribes that have a historical relationship with the land and/or its resources where the park is located. These tribes are referred to as affiliated tribes. The NPS, via parks, programs, and regional offices, consults with these tribal governments on major projects and plans that may impact their traditional lands and resources.

In preparing this HRS document, numerous repositories, collections and individuals were consulted. Some of the leading regional sources of information included the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Archives, the Richardson Collection and recorded oral history interviews at the University of South Dakota; the Chamber of Commerce at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and the Stronghold Unit of Badlands National Park, located within the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. An extensive collection of primary source documents is in the Gutzon Borglum Papers, located at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

The result of the research effort is this eight chapter study starting with the formation of the Black Hills. The narrative introduces the first human inhabitants and underscores the importance of the Black Hills as a sacred place to the American Indian tribes that occupied the Black Hills landscape for centuries before Euro-Americans arrived in the nineteenth century. The study proceeds with the influx of Euro-Americans, the attendant displacement of the American Indian populations, and their occupation of the Black Hills as miners, ranchers, merchants, and manufacturers. This portion of the work also covers the beginnings of a tourism industry that led State Historian Doane Robinson to believe that placing a

carving or carvings on the columns of stone in the Black Hills, known as the "Needles," would help to draw in more tourists and the economic boost that they could generate.

The remainder of the study develops the story of sculptor Gutzon Borglum, the history of the creation of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial and opposition to it, the workers who sculpted the memorial and supported the carving effort, and finally the National Park Service and the history of its association with the memorial.

The unique geology that shapes the landscape of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial and the surrounding Black Hills is a multi-layered resource with natural and cultural components spanning an immense timeline. The layers of stone that form the Black Hills document the evolution of the American continent before the Age of Man. The fossil record details the natural history of the Hills. Archeological sites, some known and some unknown, form a record of the earliest occupants, nomadic bands that utilized the natural resources of the Hills over thousands of years. This layer of prehistoric time gave way to the protohistoric and historic occupants of the Hills and surrounding Plains, identified by their own oral traditions and "winter counts" (pictographic calendars) and by early contacts with Euro-American explorers.[1] Crow, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne, and Lakota all used and occupied the Black Hills territory to varying degrees over several hundred years prior to United States westward expansion.

The Lakota call this extraordinary landscape the Paha Sapa or He Sapa, translated into English as "hills that are black" and thus called by Euro-Americans, the Black Hills.[2] The name aptly describes the visual impression created by the ponderosa pine-covered hillsides rising from the treeless Plains. Oral traditions handed down by the many tribes that utilized the natural resources of the Paha Sapa, ascribed sacred meaning to the ancient formations. Euro-Americans added new layers of cultural expression as the focus turned to mining the geologic resources, homesteading, ranching, marketing the Hills formations and their natural beauty as a tourist attraction, and finally carving the ancient stone into a national icon.

Culture and stone intimately intertwined through the millennia. The cultural accretions attached to the Paha Sapa or Black Hills landscape, and to Mount Rushmore in particular, could not have happened without the billions of years of natural history represented by the stone now bearing the likenesses of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt.

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[1] Mark David Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds: A Historic Resource Study of Wind Cave National Park* (Midwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, 2010), 38.

[2] Russell Means explained the meaning of the Lakota names in a 2009 article: "The sacred Black Hills have two descriptions in the Lakotah language. Paha Sapa and Kȟe Sapa. The white man says that Paha Sapa means 'Black Hills.' I will attempt to correct their interpretation of my language. The word 'Pa-ha' is broken up into two meanings: Pa describes the mountains emerging from the earth. Paha Sapa all together gives you a picture and a description of our sacred mountains as seen from a distance. The Ponderosa Pine gives the illusion of black from a distance and the mountains emerging from the earth. Paha Sapa. Therefore, what you see is holy. The words 'Kȟe Sapa' also gives you a description of what the sacred mountains look like close up, with the white stone cliffs, the meadows and the trees and the valleys." (Russell Means, "Kȟe Sapa and Paha Sapa – Russell Means' response to David Swallow," July 29, 2009, *Republic of Lakotah*, www.republicoflakotah.com/2009/k%C8%9Fe-sapa-and-paha-sapa-russell-means-response-to-david-swallow/, accessed 6/24/2016)

Location, Topography, Purpose and Significance of Mount Rushmore National Memorial

Mount Rushmore National Memorial is located in Pennington County, two miles southwest of Keystone, South Dakota. It is within the famed Black Hills which span the border between South Dakota and Wyoming. The Black Hills rise in a nearly circular shape within the semi-arid Northern Plains region, appearing as a relative oasis of vegetation among the surrounding dry grasslands.

The Black Hills formed millions of years ago as a "bubble" of ancient geologic layers, pushed up by earth's tectonic activity at the same time that the Rocky Mountains formed. Over the ensuing millions of years, the top layers of rock have worn away to expose the jagged granite landscape of the Central Crystalline region of the Hills known as the Harney Range. Mount Rushmore, known by the Lakota as Igmu Tanka Paha (Cougar Mountain) or Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Six Grandfathers Mountain) stands at 5,725 feet above sea level. Just northwest of Mount Rushmore is Hihan Kaga (Making of Owls; today called Black Elk Peak, formerly Harney Peak),[3] the highest peak in the Black Hills, standing at 7,242 feet. While much of the landscape is covered with the dark green ponderosa pine that gave the Black Hills their name, the intervening valleys, limestone region meadows, and the prairie grassland of the Red Valley provide a wide range of natural resources not found on the surrounding Plains.

The Mount Rushmore National Memorial was established in 1925 for the purpose of creating a monumental carving depicting four U.S. Presidents, a "Shrine of Democracy." Designed and executed by renowned American artist Gutzon Borglum, the colossal busts of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt, each approximately sixty feet in height, were intended to symbolize the greatness of the United States. Borglum wrote of his vision: "I want to create a monument so inspiring that people from all over America will be drawn to come and look and go home better citizens."[4] Now (2016) ninety-one years after its inception, the Shrine of Democracy has become a national icon on a scale, perhaps, beyond even the dreams of Gutzon Borglum.

The national and international significance of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial is described in the National Park Service-produced Foundation Document Overview in five distinct statements:

1. Mount Rushmore is an internationally recognized symbol, representing the ideals of freedom and democracy.
2. Mount Rushmore National Memorial preserves a cultural and natural landscape within a dramatic setting of ponderosa pine forest and granite walls and spires in the Black Hills region of South Dakota.
3. The sculpting of Mount Rushmore provided economic stimulation for the Black Hills region and greatly contributed to the tourism industry in South Dakota.

[3] On August 11, 2016, the U.S. Board on Geographic Names officially changed the name of Harney Peak to Black Elk Peak.

[4] As cited in "Foundation Document Overview, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, South Dakota" (National Park Service, Dept. of the Interior, n.d.).

4. The Mount Rushmore sculpture is a unique engineering and artistic achievement, considering the tools and processes available during the Depression era.
5. The Mount Rushmore sculpture forever changed the landscape of a natural system.

Additionally the Mount Rushmore National Memorial is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as nationally significant under Criteria A, B, C, and D:

> A: "as a designed historic landscape that dramatically focuses attention on one of America's greatest and most enduring monuments—the Shrine of Democracy sculpture."
> B and C: "as the most recognized work of master artist Gutzon Borglum... imbued with Borglum's personal belief in the superiority of American art and his nationalistic outlook."
> D: "Evidence of pre-park cultural activities...discovered through archeological investigations. Several sites have been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places." Periods of occupation include prehistoric, mining and early settlement, carving of the memorial, and park development.

It is important to note also the significance of the land encompassed by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial to the Lakota, as part of the sacred Paha Sapa. The Lakota call the Paha Sapa "wamakaognaka e'cante" (the heart of everything that is). The 1980 Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians* supported the Lakota claim to the Paha Sapa as part of the territory reserved to them by the U.S. government in the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The court ruled that the U.S. government owed the Lakota more than 100 million dollars for the taking of the Black Hills under the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. However, after more than one hundred years of struggle to hold the federal government accountable, the Lakota have not accepted payment to this day claiming "the Black Hills are not for sale," a reference to the 1978 resolution of the Oglala Tribal Council at Pine Ridge. This continues to be an important theme underlying the Memorial and its interpretation.

The Development of Mount Rushmore National Memorial's Built Environment

The appearance of Mount Rushmore National Memorial, except for the sculpture itself, has changed over time. It began with a group of frame utility buildings to shelter construction operations, including a bunkhouse/restaurant, a small residence, compressor house, blacksmith/tool shop, hoist house, a long wooden, approximately 800-step stairway that led from the base of the mountain to the work area on top, and a log studio building for Gutzon Borglum. These buildings and structures remained through the construction period which ended in October of 1941, although a new studio, office and restroom facilities were added in the late 1930s. In the late 1940s and early 1950s some rustic frame buildings were added to accommodate National Park Service staff and visitors, including boys and girls dormitories in the vicinity of the bunkhouse/restaurant and a small residence, which were removed. Another residence was added below the office building. The National Park

Service moved the former hoist house to a site near the place where the bunkhouse/restaurant once stood. It became a paint and oil shed. Additionally, the Park Service built a separate cluster of residences to the northeast of the core visitor area. The first studio was converted to a restaurant. Appendix B contains a chart that identifies these buildings.

Then, as part of a system-wide National Park Service initiative known as Mission 66, to modernize the National Parks and accommodate a growing post World War II tourist industry, a new visitor core area was created to the south of the original building cluster, and Horse Thief Lake Road realigned to loop to the south of the new development. The Mission 66 construction occurred in the late 1950s. Modernization efforts included new visitor facilities, circulation systems, an amphitheater and concessionaire dormitory. The first studio was removed and its site converted to a viewing deck called the Borglum View Terrace in 1963-1964. In addition, the two dormitories were removed, along with the residence near the studio and office.

In 1998, the Memorial was redeveloped again, with the removal of much of the 1950s Mission 66 construction and installation of new visitor facilities. The concessionaire dormitory remained, but was converted to National Park Service offices with an addition attached. The 1998 appearance remains current as of 2016. For a thorough description of the cultural resources of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, see the 2013 National Register of Historic Places documentation.[5]

Despite the later iterations of the memorial, important remnants of the original construction era still survive in place. Among these are Borglum's second studio and the office/residence located to its east, the stone steps and walkway installed by the CCC between the studio and Borglum View Terrace, and the trace of the staircase that the Rushmore workers climbed to the top of the mountain each day. Appendix C contains a series of maps that trace the development of the core area of the memorial. Maps include representations of the years 1939, ca. 1951, ca. 1966, and 1998 (current). The 1939 map is a reproduction of a significant historic blueprint plan of the memorial, which is archived with the Borglum Papers at the Library of Congress.

The successive construction campaigns that produced the buildings and structures that marked the Mount Rushmore landscape from 1927 to the present are part of the larger history that has marked the landscape from the beginning of time.

Purpose and Scope of this Historic Resource Study

The purpose of this Historic Resource Study is to provide an overview of the history of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial and to identify the associated cultural resources within the park boundary. Regional and national historic contexts provide a framework within which cultural resources can be evaluated and interpreted. The Historic Resource Study is a comprehensive document designed to address relevant themes in the history of the Memorial and its surrounding landscape. These thematic threads are developed from extensive review of primary source material and supported with reference to secondary sources. The completed document will aid in the management and interpretation of cultural resources at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

[5] "Mount Rushmore National Memorial Historic District (Additional Documentation and Boundary Increase)," https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/R_A_AD_66000718_03_20_2014.pdf.

The thematic scope of this Historic Resource Study is inclusive of the period of significance identified in the 2013 National Register nomination, from 3,500 B.P. to 1967, and extends to the completion of the re-development in 1998. The Historic Resource Study is arranged chronologically and thematically by chapter, with some inevitable overlap. Chapter 1, "Origins of Culture in the Paha Sapa," sets the stage beginning with the American Indian's intimate relationship with the natural landscape and their view of the Paha Sapa as sacred land. That is followed by description of the geologic/natural landscape itself, which is integral to the historic uses of the land, the cultural meanings ascribed to the Black Hills, and is the basis of the primary resource, the sculpture. This chapter includes discussion of the extensive prehistoric cultural occupation of the landscape through the archeological record.

Chapter 2, "Paha Sapa: Tides of Change," details the period of early contacts between Plains American Indians and Spanish, French, and English traders and explorers. American Indian oral traditions, winter counts, maps, and petroglyphs as well as journals of explorers such as Lewis and Clark provide the earliest documentation of the lifeways of the people who occupied and utilized the Paha Sapa prior to United States westward expansion in the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter details the context of U.S.-American Indian relations and develops the complicated relationship between the Lakota and the U.S. government. Particular emphasis is given to the Lakota, who were the dominant occupants of the Black Hills at the time of Euro-American arrival in the region.

Chapter 3, "Euro-American Development of the Black Hills," is a comprehensive history of the development of the land on which the Mount Rushmore National Memorial is sited. It is set within the regional context of Black Hills Euro-American settlement and development, specifically mining, ranching, homesteading, and tourism. Special attention is paid to the people who occupied the Mount Rushmore landscape over the decades leading up to the Memorial carving period. Their lives and cultural accretions are set within the national contexts of post-Civil War industrial development, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the effects of World War I and II. The final section of the chapter provides a context of tourism development in the Black Hills, which became the genesis of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial idea.

Chapter 4, "Gutzon Borglum, Rushmore's Flamboyant and Visionary Sculptor, 1867-1941," uses several excellent biographies, and Borglum's own words to attempt to capture his independent and free spirit. Beginning with his birth in 1867 to Mormon parents who immigrated to Idaho from Denmark, the story covers Borglum's formative early years, the tragic loss of his mother, and his interest in art which became his passion. He spent much of the 1890s in France and England studying and producing paintings for wealthy clients. As Borglum matured professionally, he found that he preferred sculpture to painting, and he liked working in large format. Gutzon Borglum never did anything in a small way. He was involved in many organizations and activities and formed relationships with five Presidents and many senators and congressmen. His first mountainside sculpture, Stone Mountain in Georgia, became the prelude for Rushmore.

Chapters 5 and 6, "The Rushmore Story" cover the colorful and complicated history of the construction of the memorial, including the political implications of the sculpture through the decades of its creation, the importance of federal involvement, funding, and the many dedications with particular emphasis on research within the Gutzon Borglum Papers housed at the Library of Congress. Chapter 5 begins with Doane Robinson's idea of a

carving in the Black Hills and takes the story to 1933 when the National Park Service first took over administration of the project. Chapter 6 covers the story through the completion of the work in 1941 with the difficulties of the deepening Depression, the death of Gutzon Borglum, and the looming crisis of World War II.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the nearly 400 people, the men and women who made the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. While the "men on the mountain" drilled, blasted, and shaped the stone to create the sculpture, many more workers provided support services, "ground work" in Borglum's words. Blacksmiths, tool men, laborers, restaurant and concession workers and sculptor's assistants in the studio all contributed to the final appearance of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. Appendix A is a detailed database containing all of the known, documented workers on the Rushmore carving from 1925 to 1941.

Chapter 8, "The National Park Service at Mount Rushmore, 1941-Present," is a discussion of the National Park Service (NPS) administration of the Memorial, beginning with a context of the development of the National Park Service and its mission. Lincoln Borglum's tenure as the first superintendent of the Memorial is discussed in detail. The chapter touches on different aspects of NPS administration with particular emphasis on the evolution of the buildings and structures used in the park's development and interpretation, as well as highlighted moments of celebration, and opposition. Appendix B is a table of the existing buildings and structures documented in 1951 and 1960 NPS "Building Reports," many of which are no longer standing.

The Study concludes with a brief discussion of current issues regarding American Indian interpretation at Mount Rushmore and the challenges of preserving the sculpture and associated historic resources. The study closes with a list of recommended areas for further study.

Chapter 1

Origins of Culture in the Paha Sapa

Victor Douville, History & Culture Coordinator at Sinte Gleska University on the Rosebud Reservation, tells the story of the naming of Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Six Grandfathers Mountain):

> Before it was called Six Grandfathers Mountain, it was called Cougar Mountain (Igmu Tanka Paha) because of many cougars or mountain lions living in the vicinity. Then around the early part of 1870, an experience by a Lakota medicine man changed the name to Six Grandfathers because of the six outcrops of the mountain and a dream or a vision.[1]

The life-changing vision that Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) experienced as a boy gave him entrance to the spirit world. The powers given to him by the six grandfathers in his vision prepared him for his life of helping his people through the coming trials brought by the Wasichus (whites or Euro-Americans). The Paha Sapa (Black Hills) were at the center of Hehaka Sapa's vision, as retold by John G. Neihardt:

> I looked ahead and saw the mountains there with rocks and forests on them, and from the mountains flashed all colors upward to the heavens. Then I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world.[2]

Neihardt wrote that Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) pointed to Hihan Kaga (Making of Owls) as the mountain to which he was transported, but Hehaka Sapa added that "anywhere is the center of the world."[3] Both Hihan Kaga (Making of Owls) and Igmu Tanka Paha or Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Cougar or Six Grandfathers Mountain) stand high above the surrounding landscape, at the heart of the sacred Paha Sapa.

The Lakota view the Paha Sapa as both a sacred place and a place that sustains life, values that are shared by the many tribes who historically occupied the land in and around the Paha Sapa. The Ponca and Omaha call them Pahe'cabe; the Arikara call them waakatitkAt; the Kiowa call them Ts'ooukhou k'oup; and the Cheyenne call them Moxtavhohona.[4] Many share similar oral traditions relating the sacred qualities of sites within the Paha Sapa, like those of the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, who were the last to utilize the Hills before Euro-Americans took control of the land in 1877.

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[1] Victor Douville, History & Culture Coordinator, Sinte Gleska University, Rosebud Reservation, personal communication, March 2016.

[2] John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014 edition), 26.

[3] Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 26, f.n. Hihan Kaga was renamed Harney Peak by Euro-Americans as they took the Paha Sapa from the Lakota. On August 11, 2016, the U.S. Board on Geographic Names officially changed the name of Harney Peak to Black Elk Peak.

[4] Patricia C. Albers, *The Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (National Park Service, 2003), 14.

The evolution of tribal occupations in and around the Paha Sapa, or the Black Hills as Euro-Americans call them,[5] will be covered in more detail in Chapter 2. Patricia Albers, in her ethnographic study completed for the Wind Cave National Park in 2003, summarized those changes which largely occurred between 1807 and 1850. The Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache peoples, who had earlier displaced the Ponca and Omaha, left the Hills by the first decade of the nineteenth century, "returning only occasionally to trade or raid."[6] They were supplanted by the Cheyenne and Arapaho, who soon shared the region with smaller numbers of Lakota. By 1850, notes Albers, "the demography of the area had shifted again. The Lakotas were the ones who prevailed, with bands of Arapahos and Cheyennes living among them."[7]

In 1877, when the United States government took control of the Black Hills, the Lakota were the predominant tribe in and around the Paha Sapa by the terms of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. They continue today (2016) to contest the U.S. taking of the Paha Sapa. Therefore the Lakota association with the Paha Sapa and the Mount Rushmore National Memorial will be emphasized in the text of this Historic Resource Study.

The Paha Sapa as Sacred Land

In the 1960s, Cheyenne story-teller, John Stands in Timber, shared the Cheyenne origin tradition, in which Ni-oh-ma-até-a-nin-ya (the people) first lived on an island but later moved to a land "full of game, but also fierce animals which ate human beings."

> ...The people were afraid of them, and they lived in caves for a long time until they increased in number and were more able to protect themselves. ...They learned to use bows and arrows, and other things about hunting, and became more able to take care of themselves.[8]

The Arapaho origin story also begins with an island surrounded by water, created by a turtle at the request of "the old man we call the Flat Pipe, he was somewhat tired of being in the water."[9] Arapaho elder, Dr. Pius Moss, told the story:

> The turtle, then, was summoned by the old man, if he could help...going down into the depths of the ocean or water or lake to see if he could retrieve some land. Earth. He said that he would do what he could...glad to help. So then he went down. All right...in due time, here he comes back with a bit more than what the ducks had come up with. Then he went down how many times. Each time he came up with more. That satisfies the old man and then, as far

[5] The two terms will be used throughout the text, generally as the Paha Sapa when referencing American Indian associations and as the Black Hills in reference to Euro-American associations.
[6] Albers, *The Home of the Bison*, 63.
[7] Ibid.
[8] John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967, second edition 1998), 13-14.
[9] "Story of the Origin of the Arapaho People," Part 1, transcription posted January 10, 2011 by Dawn Wolf, *KeeperofStories* blog, http://keeperofstories.blogspot.com/2011/01/story-of-origin-of-arapaho-people.html, accessed 6/6/2016.

> as we're concerned, that's how land was established and that's how creation was established. ...And that was the origin of the Arapaho.[10]

The Lakota origin story relates that before people roamed the earth, there were plants and animals and immortals or spirit beings, but "the people" – Lakota – were "under the world" in a cave. When they emerged from the underworld, by the trick of the spider-like spirit Iktomi, known as "the imp of mischief," they were unprepared to survive in the world. After being taught how to hunt, forage, and make clothes, they were taken to the "Land of the Pines," presumably a land of plenty. A more modern version of the story, as told by Oglala Lakota, Lolita Attack Him, relates the story directly to the Paha Sapa location, specifically Washun Niya (Wind Cave):

> ...When they got to the surface world, they didn't know how to hunt, they didn't know how to pick berries, they didn't know how to fix tipis, or clothing for themselves, and it was winter time. And so they almost starved to death. And so a lady by the name of Anog Ite [Double Woman], and her parents Wakanka and Waziya [the Witch and the Wizard], came and took them to the Black Hills and taught them how to hunt, taught them how to make tipis, and they lived in the Black Hills. And that's how the Lakota people came to the surface world.
>
> And so Wind Cave is one of our sacred sites and we believe that a lot of our ancestors are still down there.[11]

Clearly emphasizing their emergence in the Paha Sapa where Washun Niya (Wind Cave) is located, this contemporary version of the Lakota origin story reflects the collective memory of generations of Lakota living in the Paha Sapa region.

Archeologists contend that the Lakota (as well as the Cheyenne and Arapaho before them) migrated west from land in Minnesota (a land of pines) to Paha Sapa (also a land of pines) through the eighteenth century. Their assertion is based on archeological and documentary evidence. Such evidence, though perhaps meaningful from the Wasichu or Euro-American perspective, is fundamentally insignificant among American Indian cultures. Place and time are fluid, while the deeper cultural meaning of the story remains constant. Lakota elder and author Severt Young Bear wrote about this concept in his book *Standing in the Light: The Lakota Way of Seeing*:

> Our stories and songs, we should remember, also teach us lessons. Sure, dates and facts are often missing, sometimes they're not accurate in the way historians and anthropologists like it, but our oral tradition tells the truth and the heart of the meaning stays alive from mouth to ear.[12]

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[10] Ibid.

[11] This is a partial transcription of the story as told by Lolita Attack Him, "*O'Oiye' Wakan*: The Seven Sacred Sites, Oglala Lakota," DVD produced by the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce, 2012. Notations in brackets are added for clarification.

[12] David R. M. White, *Mako Washte: An Ethnographic Overview and Oral History of the Badlands National Park* (Lincoln, NE, Midwest Region, National Park Service, 2002), 9, citing Severt Young Bear and R. D. Theiz, *Standing in the Light: A Lakota Way of Seeing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 16.

Thus, as in the case of the origin story or the location of Hehaka Sapa's (Black Elk) vision, however the story was or is narrated by the story-teller, historically or today, it is a cultural truth.

Lakota view the whole of the Paha Sapa or He Sapa (Black Mountains) as wamakaognaka e'cante, "the heart of everything that is," the spiritual center of the Lakota universe.[13] Within that landscape Lakota ascribe particular sacredness to a number of sites in and immediately adjoining the Paha Sapa. Seven of the sacred sites are here described:[14]

> **Hihan Kaga** (Making of Owls or Makes Ghost), was called Harney Peak by Wasichu but was recently (2016) renamed Black Elk Peak. The Lakota tradition tells the story of the red bird spirit who turned himself into a ghost that stole children, taking them to the peak where their spirits became part of the star group known today as the Big Dipper.[15] It is also called Ophata I (Mountain at the Center Where One Comes to Speak) in David White's ethnographic study, a "vision quest site, considered by some to be the 'most sacred' place in the Black Hills."[16] It was here that Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) says he experienced his well-known vision: "There, when I was young, the spirits took me in my vision to the center of the earth and showed me all the good things in the sacred hoop of the world."[17] It continues to be a place of ceremony and where individuals go to have a spiritual experience.
>
> **Pe' Sla** (Old Baldy), known today as Reynolds Prairie,[18] it is a ceremonial place for renewal and prayers for peace and thanks. It was the place of the wakinyan (Thunder Beings), where a holy man made an agreement to be turned into stone (crystal) in exchange for peace for the people. The stone has been chipped and used by the people, and when it is used up his spirit will be free.
>
> **Mato Tipi** (Bears Lodge), named Devil's Tower by Col. Richard Irving Dodge in 1875, located just northwest of the Paha Sapa. It is sacred to both Cheyenne and Lakota. Lakota continue to use it as a place for gathering sacred medicine plants in preparation for Sun Dances. It is associated with the story of sisters chased by a large bear, standing on a tree stump and the Creator saved them by raising the stump "high into the heavens," where they became part of the star constellation the Big Dipper (Lakota call this constellation Wicincala Sakowin, Seven Sisters, Cheyenne call it Seven Stars). In the Cheyenne story Nákȯhá?e (Bear Woman), in the shape of a

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[13] White, *Mako Washte*, 194. White writes that Paha Sapa is perhaps not the name historically used by the Lakota: "Odell (1942:167) and others have noted that the Lakota never used this name." They suggest that He Sapa was the traditional name. Both names are currently in use, though Paha Sapa appears to be the more commonly used name today.

[14] Unless otherwise noted, the Lakota information on the seven sacred sites is from "*O' Oiye' Wakan*: The Seven Sacred Sites, Oglala Lakota," DVD produced by the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce, 2012.

[15] As told by Steve DuBray, "*O' Oiye' Wakan*: The Seven Sacred Sites, Oglala Lakota," DVD produced by the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce, 2012.

[16] White, *Mako Washte*, 196.

[17] Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 170.

[18] Vincent Schilling, "Pe' Sla Owners Accept 9M Offer from Tribes, *Indian Country Today Media Network.com*, September 12, 2012, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/09/12/pe-sla-owners-accept-9m-offer-tribes-133746, accessed 2/19/2016.

large bear, took a young woman as her younger sister. The young woman's two older brothers rescued her and the three siblings climbed a high mountain to escape while the Bear Woman tried to reach them but kept sliding down the mountain, scraping the sides with her claws. That is how Náhkȯhe-vee?e (Bear Tepee) got its name.[19]

Iyan Kaga (Rock Butte), is today called Inyan Kara Mountain, a Wyoming State Park. It was a source of ceremonial sweat lodge stones for purification ceremonies held at Mato Paha (Bear Butte).

Mato Paha (Bear Butte), located just northeast of Paha Sapa. It is sacred to both Cheyenne and Lakota people. Cheyenne call it Noavosse (Good Mountain) or Nohawus (Teaching Hill) and hold it as one of their most sacred sites. It was here that the Cheyenne holy man Sweet Medicine was given the Four Sacred Arrows, "along with spiritual instructions for the Cheyenne people."[20] According to Lakota tradition, Mato Paha comes from the time before people when only very large animals lived on the earth. A dinosaur-like animal and a bear fought until the bear was defeated. The bear crawled away to lick his wounds but the ground came up and covered him. Today it is a place of prayer and renewal ceremonies.

Washun Niya (The Breathing Hole), today called Wind Cave, out of which the Lakota people emerged. It is also the place where the buffalo came out into the world.

Pte Ta Tiyopa (Gate of the Buffalo), known by Wasichu as Buffalo Gap, is sacred to both Cheyenne and Lakota. According to Lakota oral tradition, it was created for the Lakota people and all the animals as a doorway into the Hills, and revealed to the people by the buffalo after the Great Race (see below). Located in the southern Hogback, the gap provides bison herds seasonal ingress and egress to the Red Valley grasslands.

Ki Inyanka Ocanku (The Race Track), the Red Valley, sacred to both Cheyenne and Lakota. Lakota relate the story of the Great Race, where a man challenged a buffalo to a footrace to determine whether two-legged or four-legged animals would rule. After many days and months, and much spilling of blood, the man won the race with the help of the Magpie and the Creator gave man the right to utilize the buffalo for survival. The heart shape of the red Race Track is considered symbolic of the Black Hills being the heart of the Lakota people.[21] The Cheyenne tell a nearly identical story about the "Race with the Buffalo."[22]

Patricia Albers, professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Minnesota, observed that the physical landscape and the sacred are "integrally related" in American Indian culture, citing Lakota spiritual leader, Rich Two Dogs, who said, "The religion is

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[19] From a transcription of the story as told by Jeanette Howlingcrane, "Cheyenne Stories," www.cheyennelanguage.org/stories/, accessed 6/6/2016.

[20] White, *Mako Washte*, 198.

[21] As told by Steve DuBray and Lolita Attack Him, "*O' Oiye' Wakan*: The Seven Sacred Sites, Oglala Lakota," DVD produced by the Pine Ridge Chamber of Commerce, 2012; also White, *Mako Washte*, 194-202.

[22] "Race with the Buffalo," *Spotted Wolf's Corner: Native American Stories and Legends*, http://snowwowl.com/legends/cheyenne/cheyenne2.html, accessed 6/6/2016.

rooted to the land."[23] The above identified seven sites, along with numerous others, are considered sacred not just by the Lakota and Cheyenne people. Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Arikara, and Mandan also share many of the same or similar traditions ascribing sacredness to locations in and around the Paha Sapa.[24]

The Geology and Natural History of the Black Hills

Regardless of one's cultural background, the Paha Sapa, translated to English as the "hills of black," or Black Hills, is perceived as a special place, an oasis in the semi-arid Great Plains of North America. The distinctiveness of the layers of stone exposed in the Paha Sapa and the abundance of plants, animals, and other life-sustaining resources populate a landscape which supports American Indian sacred traditions. From the Wasichu (Euro-American) perspective, the Black Hills are a geologic wonder, abundant with fabulous views and enriching resources. For Euro-Americans, scientific study of the Hills provides the context for understanding human use of the environment.

Geologists have been studying the Black Hills since Euro-Americans first "discovered" the unusual landscape. The 1855 Warren Expedition included geologist Dr. F. A. Hayden; Custer's 1874 Expedition produced a full geological report by Topographical Engineer Capt. William Ludlow (published 1875); after the Newton-Jenney Expedition of 1875, Henry Newton produced another detailed report of the geology of the Black Hills (published 1880; **Figure 1**). In his introduction, Newton wrote of the Black Hills: "To the geologist the detailed study of their rocky structure presents many points of exceeding interest."

> In the structure of the Hills there are many points that make them a miniature representative, compact and wonderfully complete within themselves, of the topography and geology of the great Rocky Mountain system. In their interior area of sharp ridges of schist and slate and serrated peaks of granite are represented the character and structure of a large portion of the nucleal regions of the Rocky Mountains; and in the surrounding sedimentary strata we have, exhibited in a beautifully clear manner, some of the most interesting features of the composition and structure of the sedimentary formations of the Far West.[25]

The geologic story of the Black Hills begins about 2,500 million years ago, in the Precambrian Era of Earth's history, when layers of sediment were deposited over a wide basin floor. **(Figure 2)** About 1,700 million years ago, these layers were super-heated by tectonic activity and transformed (metamorphosed) into the Harney Peak Granite. Throughout the ensuing eras, called the Paleozoic (542 to 251 million years ago) and Mesozoic (251 to 65 million years ago, which covers the Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous Periods), successive layers of sediment accumulated over the granite. During this long

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[23] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 443.
[24] Linea Sundstrom, "The Sacred Black Hills: An Ethnohistorical Review," *Great Plains Quarterly*, No. 17, Summer/Fall 1997, 201-203.
[25] Henry Newton and Walter P. Jenney, *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black hills of Dakota, with Atlas* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), 3.



Figure 1: 1879 Bird's Eye View of the Black Hills (Henry Newton)

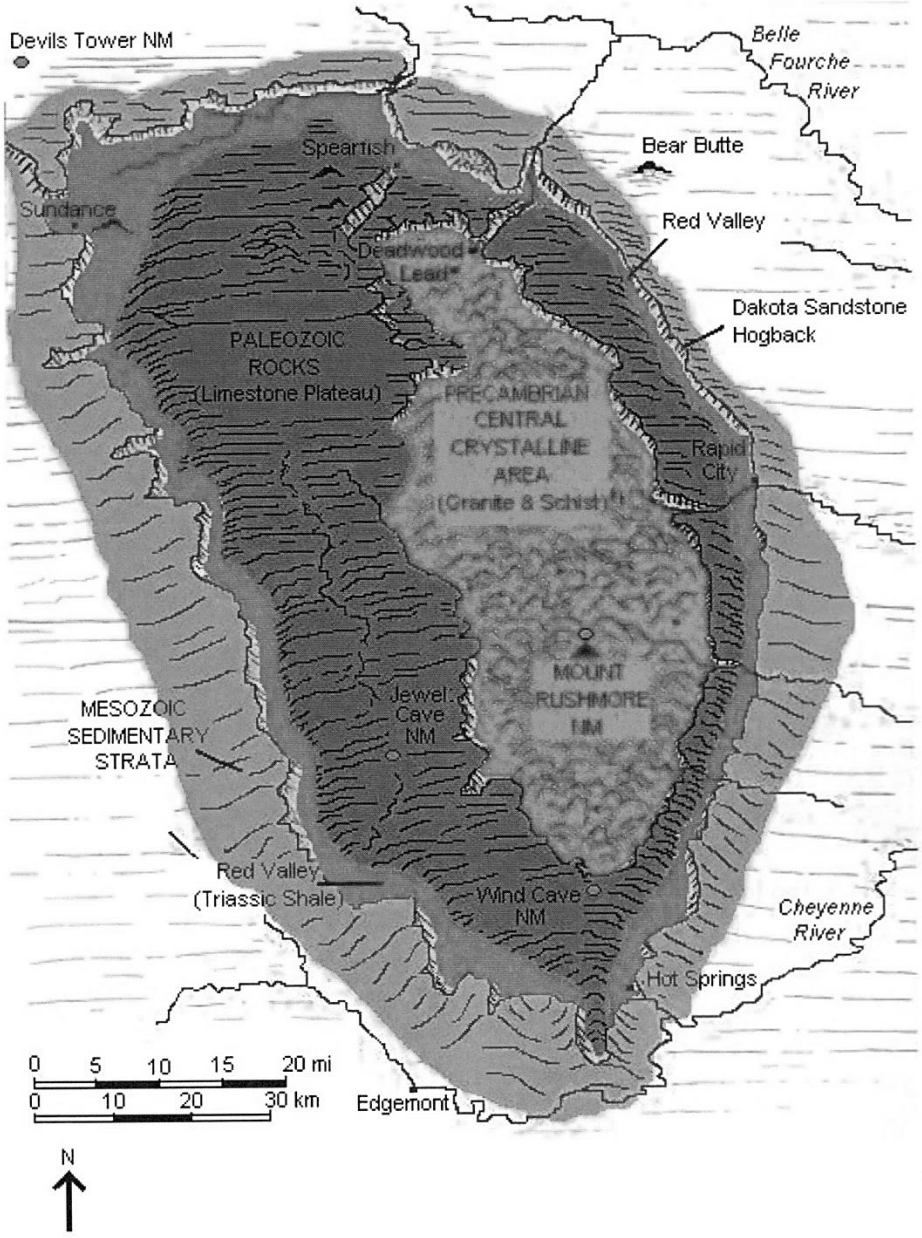


Figure 3. Diagram of the Black Hills dome showing progressively younger sedimentary rock layers ringing the central Precambrian core. Mount Rushmore National Memorial lies within the central crystalline core; Jewel Cave National Monument and Wind Cave National Monument lie within Paleozoic limestone; and Devils Tower is a Tertiary feature. Modified from Strahler, 1960.

Figure 2: Geologic map of the Black Hills
("Mount Rushmore National Memorial Geologic Resource Evaluation Report, 2008, 6)

stretch of time the super-continent of Pangea formed and then broke apart and dinosaurs rose and disappeared.

Around the end of the Cretaceous Period and the beginning of the Tertiary Period (65-45 million years ago), tectonic plate activity initiated a "mountain building episode" known as the Laramide Orogeny, the same episode that created the Rocky Mountains. As the collision of the plates forced up the Rocky Mountains, the thrust and magmatic pressure also caused the up-lift that formed the Black Hills. The ancient granite core, overlaid with successive layers of sandstone, shale, limestone, and dolomite, was pushed up like a bubble. Over millions of years, erosion of the inclined, softer sedimentary rock layers exposed the hard granite core or Central Crystalline area (Harney Peak Granite) and formed the outer rings of the Black Hills: the karst region of the Limestone Plateau; the red shale and sandstone of the Red Valley (or Race Track); and the Dakota Sandstone of the Hogback Ridge outer rim.[26] Reliable sources of water (compared to the surrounding Plains) flow from the limestone aquifers. Several of the many creeks which flow through the Hills topography escaped the Black Hills by cutting water gaps through the Hogback Ridge. Two major rivers nearly encircle the Hills: the Belle Fourche River forming as a branch of the Cheyenne River northeast of the Black Hills and flowing west/southwest around the north end of the Hills, and the Cheyenne River continuing south/southwest around the southern end of the Hills.

By the time humans arrived in the Northern Plains region, beginning as early as about 11,500 years ago, the distinctive geologic landscape of the Black Hills already appeared as an oasis of sorts within the semi-arid climate of the surrounding Plains. Although the environment varied through the successive climatic episodes, the natural resources necessary for human survival remained available to varying degrees in the Black Hills. Still, there are important climatic distinctions between the four regions of the Hills, ranging from the somewhat arid grassland of the Red Valley, and the natural spring-rich temperate zone of the Limestone Plateau, to the difficult mountain terrain of the Central Crystalline zone where Mount Rushmore is located.

The floral and faunal species found in the Hills have changed over time as more dramatic climatic changes occurred outside the Hogback Ridge. Throughout much of North America during the Pleistocene Epoch (1.8 million – 11,700 BP "Before Present"), a period of successive glaciations, mammoths and other large animal species including large bison (*bison antiquus*) roamed the landscape. These species disappeared as the ice sheets retreated at the end of the Late Pleistocene. The Holocene Epoch (11,700 BP – today) saw significant environmental changes, as the warmer, moister conditions (known as the Anathermal episode, 10,000-7,000 BP) brought widespread development of the grasslands on the Plains. Faunal adaptations included the arrival of "moose, pronghorn, mule deer, and smaller forms of bison, sheep, mountain goats, and lions."[27] During the Altithermal episode (7,000-4,500 BP), significantly hotter and drier climate conditions forced animals to cooler and moister, higher ground. The Medithermal period (4,500- today) brought the renewal of the Plains grasslands and their familiar ecosystem.[28]

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[26] "Mount Rushmore National Memorial Geologic Resource Evaluation Report" (Geologic Resources Division, Natural Resource Program Center, Denver, CO, 2008), 15-19.
[27] Linea Sundstrom in Lance Rom, Tim and Margaret Church, eds., *Black Hills National Forest Cultural Resources Overview*, Vol. 1 (Custer, SD: Black Hills National Forest, US Forest Service, USDA, 1996), 1d-10.
[28] E. Steve Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters of the Black Hills* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1986), 47.

Little is known specifically about the climatic conditions within the Black Hills during all but the later Medithermal. It is presumed that the Hills geology (protective rim and mountainous interior) afforded some protection from dramatic climate changes and probably helped the Black Hills maintain a somewhat stable environment. Around 400 years ago, species of pine took hold in the Hills, taking on the appearance of the Paha Sapa (Black Hills), as it has been known since the beginning of American Indian record keeping (oral traditions, petroglyphs, maps, and winter counts) and Euro-American written records.[29]

Prehistoric Humans and the Black Hills

It is important to note that, today, many eastern and western species of flora and fauna meet in the Black Hills, finding their ecological niche within the Hills environment.[30] This is significant in that it identifies the Black Hills environment as unique relative to the surrounding Plains, as it has been since the Pleistocene. The same is therefore likely true of the humans who occupied this distinctive environment during the millennia before Euro-Americans arrived. Because archeologists work with available data, analysis of regional environmental and cultural data sets are typically extrapolated to similar areas within that defined region. However, because the Black Hills are unique within the surrounding Plains, what might be true of adjoining areas, might not apply equally in the Black Hills environment. Black Hills archeologist E. Steve Cassells wrote of this dilemma:

> The Black Hills are a middle ground. Situated on the border of Wyoming and South Dakota, they lie between two prehistoric culture areas, the Northwestern Plains and the Middle Missouri. Not only did prehistoric groups from both areas frequent the Hills, probably making cross-cultural contact and perhaps sharing new ideas, but in more recent times, archaeologists from both areas have also penetrated the region. Analytical complications have resulted.[31]

The distinctive setting of the Hills and its implications for human occupation over time should be analyzed with care, using as much local data as possible.[32] The *Black Hills National Forest Cultural Resources Overview*, completed in 1996 (Rom and Church, eds), though now decades old, provides some of the most comprehensive archeological data specific to the Black Hills currently available. Two reports completed for the South Dakota Historical Society in 2002 and 2008 by Linea Sundstrom et al., as well as the 2008 Mount Rushmore "Park-wide Cultural Resources Survey" by Brian Molineaux et al, provide additional current data from Black Hills sites.

The summary given below is a brief overview of what archeologists currently know about prehistoric human occupation and utilization of the Black Hills, drawn from the Rom and Church 1996 report, the Sundstrom et al 2002 and 2008 reports, Molyneaux's 2008 report "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey of Mount Rushmore National Memorial,"

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[29] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 1d-2 and 1d-4.
[30] Brad Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 1b-4.
[31] Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters*, 64.
[32] Miller and Church in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 1e-1; Linea Sundstrom, *Culture History of the Black Hills with Reference to Adjacent Areas of the Northern Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: J&L Reprint Co., 1989), 1; Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters*, 65.

Linea Sundstrom's *Culture History of the Black Hills* (1989), and E. Steve Cassells' *Prehistoric Hunters of the Black Hills* (1986). Note that prehistoric cultural groups are archeologically identified by the physical objects found in the ground. These classifications or "traditions" are named for particular stone tool types or styles, ceramics, or even burial practices. They are temporal classifications not cultural identities such as tribal names.

In reviewing the archeological evidence of prehistoric human occupation of the Black Hills, several recurring themes appear. First, that more Black Hills-specific archeological evidence is needed to draw definitive conclusions about prehistoric use of the Hills. Based upon the evidence available, however, a second recurring theme appears to hold in the Black Hills. That is, that those groups that used or occupied the Black Hills maintained a relatively consistent lifeway of hunting and foraging, whether large game (mammoth, *bison antiquus,* camel, horse) in the Pleistocene or smaller game (modern bison, deer, elk, mountain goat, rabbit, etc.) in the later periods. Petroglyphs found in the Black Hills, dating to possibly as early as 10,000 BP, attest to the importance of hunting among the early Hills occupants.[33]

The Paleoindian Period

The earliest humans known to have occupied the North American continent during the Pleistocene are identified by their fluted spear points, called Clovis for the location of its first discovery. The people associated with the Clovis tradition roamed the Northern Plains approximately 11,300-10,500 BP, during the Late Glacial Pleistocene climatic episode. The large, lanceolate-shaped spear points hafted to bone and wood shafts were well-suited for the large game (megafauna) that shared the cold, dry climate, including mammoth, camel, bison (*bison antiquus*), and horse. Clovis points found in the Northern Plains region were typically produced using Knife River Flint. Burials decorated with red ochre are also identified with the Clovis tradition:

> These practices are correlated with the migratory habits of the Pleistocene megafauna. It is assumed that the social structure of Fluted Point groups is nuclear family organized loosely into small bands, pursuing seasonally available foods and shelter within a large territory. Highly nomadic bands would have been the most efficient strategy for large-scale seasonal movements.[34]

Several Clovis mammoth kill sites were found just outside the Black Hills, including "the Sheaman Site, a part of the Agate Basin Site in the foothills southwest of the Black Hills; the Carter-Kerr McGee Site near Gillette, Wyoming; and the Lange/Ferguson Site in the White River Badlands of South Dakota."[35] No Clovis sites have been found in the Black Hills proper to date. However, mammoth and camel remains (without evidence of human interaction) were found in 1974 near Hot Springs in the southern Black Hills. The presence

[33] Linea Sundstrom, *Storied Stone: Indian Rock Art in the Black Hills Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 51.
[34] Brad Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2a-3.
[35] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2a-3.

of such game within the Black Hills leaves open the potential for Clovis site discoveries in the future.[36]

The Folsom Complex, also a Fluted Point Tradition (10,900-9,900 BP), was very similar to Clovis but slightly later, associated with the Pleistocene-Holocene Transition. This was the Late Glacial-Pre Boreal climatic change during which the megafauna (bison, camel, horse) became extinct. Hunting focused on large bison (a transitional species following *bison antiquus*) in communal hunts, as well as other game, including smaller game like moose, caribou, musk ox, and pronghorn. Evidence of communal hunting implies development of more interactive social groups. Folsom associated artifacts have been found in surface finds throughout the Black Hills, and nearby at the Agate Basin Site (southwest foothills) and at a site in the Bear Lodge Mountains.[37] A similar point technology of related age, but without the flute, is classified as the Lanceolate Straight or Rounded Base Tradition (10,500-9,600 BP). This tradition overlaps with Folsom groups and they appear to be utilizing the same resources, specifically now-extinct bison in communal hunts. Three known sites are located in the Black Hills.[38]

Around 10,200-8,600 BP, the Pre-Boreal climate shift resulted in the accelerated expansion of grasslands across the Northern Plains and likely included parts of the Black Hills. Modern bison (*bison bison*), a smaller version of the now-extinct megafauna variety, became the hunting focus associated with the Lanceolate Stemmed Tradition. Two point styles are associated with this tradition in the Northern Plains region, Agate Basin and Hell Gap.[39] This new point technology may be associated with human migrations following the bison herds and their expanding grasslands:

> Accompanying this [climatic] shift was an expansion north of the Missouri Coteau of big game and the PaleoIndian hunters which preyed on them. Interestingly, the earliest PaleoIndian manifestations in Manitoba coincide with the occurrence of Agate Basin/Hell Gap materials.[40]

Noisat (1996) noted three sites with diagnostic artifacts had been located in the Black Hills.[41] Sundstrom (2002) has since identified point fragments at two mountain meadow sites in the northern Black Hills as possible "local variants" of Agate Basin and Hell Gap.[42] All of the sites identified were in the interior zones of the Black Hills and were related to seasonal hunting.

Sundstrom's 2002 discussion of the mountain meadow sites observes that the stemmed point traditions are present about the same time as other styles associated with the Late Paleoindian/Terminal High Plains Paleoindian period (9,200-7,900 BP). Still within the Pre-Boreal climate shift, as might be expected, this period of vigorous grasslands with large herds of bison suggests human lifeways similar to the groups who hunted the Black Hills thousands of years later, just prior to the re-introduction of the horse around AD 1730.

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[36] Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters*, 21.
[37] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2a-3.
[38] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2a-4.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Linea Sundstrom, et al., *Mountain Meadow Sites in the Northern Black Hills* (South Dakota State Historical Society, Archaeological Research Center, Research Report No. 1, 2002), 75.

> Modern forms of bison were exploited, but current evidence indicates an increasing reliance on plant foods. Greiser (1985) believes that small groups that had been foraging widely over their territory congregated in the fall for communal hunts.[43]

Additionally, evidence of smaller game hunting within the Black Hills interior was found at the mountain meadow sites, "probably focused on the taking of individual deer, mountain sheep, or elk, rather than herds of bison or pronghorn."[44] Within the Mount Rushmore National Memorial boundary a Late Paleoindian hunting site was identified by the diagnostic "Eden-like" projectile point fragment. Molyneaux indicates that the location of the find suggests a post-kill site, probably with a campsite nearby.[45] The adaptations to small game hunting and increased foraging during the Late Paleoindian period prepared people for the next major climatic change.

The Archaic Period

The beginning of the Archaic Period was marked by the Altithermal climatic episode, a stretch of approximately three thousand years dominated by hot and dry conditions. In the Northern Plains region, the once lush grasslands all but disappeared. Bison likely became scarce as well, diminishing with the loss of open range. Humans adapted by shifting away from the communal, high volume, big-game hunts to hunting as an individual task focused largely on smaller game. The Early Plains Archaic (~8,000-5,000 BP) cultural tradition is identified by diagnostic spear points within the "Lanceolate Side Notch Complex." Seasonal foraging continued, but in smaller groups and in established territories. Based on archeological evidence available in the 1980s, the theory was developed that these groups established their territories in the more temperate mountainous zones (Bighorn and Rocky Mountains), referred to by some archeologists as the "mountain refugium model."[46] The small number of Early Archaic sites identified in the Black Hills (by the 1980s), an area thought to be an ideal refuge, appeared to work against the refugium model.[47]

By 1996, archeologist Brad Noisat reported that thirteen Early Archaic sites had been identified in the Black Hills, and that number has since risen by two with the Early Archaic component at one of the northern mountain meadow sites and at the southwestern Blaine Site reported by Sundstrom in 2002 and 2008 respectively. The highly transient, small group, low impact nature of Early Archaic sites in the Black Hills makes them harder to find and identify. Interestingly, the Hawken Site, an Early Archaic bison kill site located on the western edge of the Hills, reveals that for some groups, communal large-game hunting was still a component of Early Archaic subsistence in the Black Hills area.[48] Early Archaic sites

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[43] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2a-4.
[44] Sundstrom, *Mountain Meadow Sites*, 174.
[45] Brian L. Molyneaux et al. "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey of Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Pennington County, South Dakota: Final Report of the Class III Reconnaissance and Intensive Archaeological Surveys, 2006-2007," National Park Service, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Keystone, South Dakota, 2008, 39.
[46] Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters*, 49.
[47] Ibid, citing Alice M. Tratebas, "Black Hills Settlement Patterns: Based on a Functional Approach" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1986).
[48] Cassells, *Prehistoric Hunters*, 50.

found within the Black Hills are seasonal, short-term occupations related to small game hunting and foraging.

Though relatively few in number, the evidence gathered from Early Archaic sites in the Black Hills led Alice Tratebas, whose 1986 dissertation was the first comprehensive review of Archaic site data in the Black Hills, to conclude that the subsistence pattern remained relatively stable despite the climatic impacts.[49] In 1996, Brad Noisat reinforced her conclusion noting, "…the extant data agrees with Tratebas' observation that Early Archaic occupations evidently represent a continuation or "attenuated" form of the PaleoIndian life ways in the Hills."[50] Again, in 2002, Sundstrom reiterated the hypothesis that Early Archaic use of the Black Hills environment was essentially an extenuation of the previous Paleoindian occupation in which hunting smaller game (deer, sheep, elk) was the primary focus. The stone used for tools also indicates "Black Hills-oriented groups, with limited connections to the Powder River Basin to the west."[51] At the same time, an apparent lack of evidence for base camps in the interior leads Sundstrom to postulate that the larger camps were located within the Hogback Ridges, "or in the open country away from the mountains."[52] Thus the evidence appears to support the refugium model that the Black Hills oasis continued to support human occupation through the Early Archaic, Altithermal climatic period.

The Middle Plains Archaic (5,000-2,500 BP) cultural period is associated with a return of a moister, cooler climate in the Northwestern Plains. Reinvigorated grasslands brought the return of large bison herds and communal hunting. In the context of the Black Hills as an area of ecological and cultural convergence, Hills occupants adopted (or re-adopted) the communal hunting tradition associated with Plains groups, but also held to the seasonal foraging and small game hunting tradition followed by mountain groups (Bighorn and Rockies). Archeological evidence indicates a surge in the Hills population, who utilized all aspects of the abundant natural resources. Again, though differing in some of the technological details, such as the addition of the atlatl (spear thrower) to their hunting repertoire, the occupation and use of the Black Hills during this period reflects earlier subsistence patterns. Many of the Black Hills Middle Archaic sites are layered over earlier occupations reaching as far back as the Late Paleoindian period.[53]

The Middle Archaic period in the Black Hills is associated with a tool technology known as the McKean Complex, named for a site found just west of the Hogback Ridge. McKean-style spear points are found within the Black Hills, though several other styles of points appear to have coexisted. Some archeologists think the McKean technology came with the Plains communal hunting tradition, while others think it was influenced by the mountain hunting and foraging tradition. Sundstrom and others hypothesize that technology from both traditions was being employed in the Black Hills:

> For the Black Hills, the most reasonable current hypothesis is that the McKean Complex (as the term has traditionally been applied) represents an indigenous development. This took place within a generalized Mountain

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[49] Trabetus, *Black Hills Settlement Patterns*, 340-343, cited by Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2b-3.
[50] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2b-3.
[51] Sundstrom, *Mountain Meadow Sites*, 175.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2c-7.

> Tradition which extended from the central Rockies to the Bighorns and the Black Hills and began in Late PaleoIndian times.[54]

Several Black Hills sites include stone circles, interpreted as tipi rings based on historic and ethnographic comparison, while other sites indicate use of rock shelters for habitation.[55] Sundstrom postulates that the evidence of diverse point styles and other tools, as well as "burial practices, habitation structures and subsistence patterns" may indicate an emerging pattern of multiple ethnic groups utilizing the Black Hills during the Middle Archaic, and possibly earlier, which would "persist throughout the remainder of native history on the Northwestern Plains."[56]

The Late Plains Archaic (2,500-1,500 BP) period is associated with continued climate moderation. On the Plains large communal bison kill sites demonstrate an increasing dependence on bison hunting and a nomadic lifestyle. At the same time, within the Black Hills the subsistence pattern remained more diverse, with bison hunting becoming more prominent but supplemented with small game hunting and foraging.[57] Within the Mount Rushmore National Memorial boundaries, two sites indicate possible repeated occupations for seasonal hunting and gathering around the end of the Late Archaic period.[58]

Diagnostic artifacts found at Black Hills sites indicate a continuation of an indigenous population adapting outside technologies to the Hills environment. Possible outside influences are apparent with the presence of Pelican Lake-like projectile points, identified as medium-sized corner notched points similar to those found in the Northwestern Plains. Side-notched points, similar to those identified as indicative of the Besant tradition, and ceramics appeared later in the Black Hills Late Archaic period. These "Woodland-like projectile points and a few ceramics" may have migrated out of the Middle Missouri region, though no evidence of horticulture and village habitation, both also Besant hallmarks, appears in the Black Hills archeological record.[59] Both Tratebas in 1986 and Sundstrom in 1996 postulated that these cultural complexes probably represent several contemporaneous indigenous groups using the Hills in different ways, i.e. some more focused on bison hunting, others focused more on small game and foraging.[60]

Late Prehistoric (Woodland) Period

The people who occupied the Black Hills and surrounding Plains environments, known to us through the archeological record, displayed a remarkable resiliency and ability to adapt to changing climatic conditions. The relative stability of the Black Hills "oasis," however, allowed occupants to maintain a fairly consistent subsistence pattern throughout.

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[54] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2c-2.
[55] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2c-5.
[56] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2c-13. It is important to recall that the technology "complexes" and "traditions" identified by archeologists cast a wide net over prehistoric peoples who likely identified themselves differently, more like the Oyates (bands) of the proto-historic, historic, and modern Lakota.
[57] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2d-23.
[58] South Dakota site #39PN3188 and 39PN3189, Molyneaux et al., "A Park-wide Cultural Resources Survey," 32-37.
[59] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2d-4.
[60] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2d-16.

Over time, they developed new tool technologies, perhaps adapted from other groups through trade or chance interactions, or representing in-migrations of new peoples. By the Late Prehistoric period, marked by the adoption of the bow and arrow, the cultural patterns and tools of the Black Hills peoples begin to appear recognizable to anyone familiar with American Indian history in the Northwestern Plains.

The cool, moist "Sub-Atlantic" climate episode of the Late Archaic gradually became warmer and drier during a period known as the Scandic episode, which was then followed by a colder, moist episode known as the "Little Ice Age" (after A.D. 1550). This cyclical climate pattern certainly impacted the grasslands of the Plains and thus the size of the bison herds – herds would enlarge or decline with the grasslands affected by the moist/dry climate changes.

Despite these climatic changes on the Northwestern Plains, the Late Prehistoric Period cultural record indicates a continuation of the nomadic subsistence pattern centered on communal bison hunting using buffalo jumps and impoundments. The most significant cultural change was marked by the introduction of the bow and arrow with small triangular projectile points.[61] Similarly, in the Black Hills the Late Prehistoric or Woodland period appears to be a continuation of previous patterns of resource utilization, with the addition of the bow and arrow technology adapted to established hunting patterns. Influences likely traveled through the wide trade network developed by the Middle Mississippian (Cahokia) culture:

> …the key trend in Late Period prehistory is increasing cultural integration through the formation of extensive trading, social, religious, and economic systems. The branches of the Late Prehistoric "tree" were repeatedly intertwined, pulled apart, and re-connected, rather than branching out in isolation from each other.[62]

The bow and arrow, along with the presence of a small amount of ceramics in the Black Hills, is identified with several cultural complexes within the Plains Woodland and Plains Village traditions from the west and the east. The early Plains Woodland influence includes primarily the Middle Woodland Besant Complex (A.D. 1-850) and the Avonlea Complex (A.D. 150-850).[63] The associated technologies appear to be overlain or integrated into subsistence patterns developed over thousands of years rather than wholesale migrations into the Black Hills. Archeologist Brad Noisat observes:

> If Besant and Avonlea groups actually made the Black Hills a destination, then occupations should have occurred later in the Woodland Period. Small quantities of ceramics should be present, and the economic emphasis should reflect big game hunting. Site 39CU154 seems to meet these conditions-but that's only one site. It seems more credible that the only change was the addition of Besant- and Avonlea-like points to the armaments technology.[64]

The Avonlea-like points found in the Black Hills have been identified as Beehive Complex, suggested by several archeologists as "a southern Avonlea variant thought to represent proto-

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[61] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-1.
[62] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-4.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-8.

Kiowa Apache groups."[65] This fits well with oral tradition and historical accounts which place the Kiowa Apache in the Black Hills region in the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods.[66]

Later Woodland/Late Prehistoric adaptations are associated with the Plains Village tradition, semi-sedentary and horticultural developments along the upper Missouri River ca. AD 900, though these specific adaptations do not appear in the Black Hills proper. As noted previously, Black Hills subsistence patterns continued relatively unchanged from earlier periods, utilizing the interior for seasonal hunting and foraging and the Hogback area for longer-term occupations.

The Black Hills also continued as a melting pot of various cultural influences, according to archeologist Brad Noisat: "Lithic materials indicated migrations into the Hills from two directions: the Middle Missouri area to the east (Badlands chalcedonies and Knife River Flint), and the Wyoming basins to the west (orthoquartzite ascribed to the Spanish Diggings quarries and porcellanite)."[67] Noisat suggests these "migrations" may in fact have been seasonal bison hunting trips by otherwise village/horticultural groups along the Missouri, or they could have been splinter groups who adopted the nomadic hunting and foraging lifeway during their westward migration. The Crow may represent one of these groups, who migrated west from their Mandan-Hidatsa relatives sometime around 1500 AD and settled in Wyoming along the Yellowstone River.[68] Similarly, Shoshone groups appear to have migrated from "the western basins of Wyoming" into the Black Hills region, based upon the presence of "Shield-Bearing Warrior Style" petroglyphs in the Black Hills.[69]

It seems clear that wide-ranging, nomadic bison-hunting subsistence patterns brought several groups into contact in the middle ground that is the Black Hills environment. One of the Black Hills most dramatic archeological sites, the Vore bison kill site, is a "prime example," contends Noisat. Evidence suggests the sinkhole was used to kill up to 20,000 bison for more than 300 years, over which "widely separated groups gathered at this location for cooperative mass kill hunts." Later layers within the site include even more varied projectile point styles, "perhaps indicating ever-widening cultural contacts."[70] Evidence within the kill layers indicates ceremonial aspects to the bison hunt.

Archeological evidence from the end of the Late Prehistoric period seems to indicate that the people living in the Black Hills region were engaged in shared cultural activities. Bison (buffalo) had become a central feature in not only subsistence, but also taking on sacred qualities. The communal hunt brought nomadic bands together for cyclical gatherings, in which tribal affiliations could be renewed, ceremonial observations performed, and important ancestral stories could be retold. By the mid-sixteenth century, some of these cultural groups would come into contact with newcomers from the European continent, men whose written records begin to reveal the cultural identities of the people of the Plains and the Paha Sapa.

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[65] Sundstrom in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-3, citing Fredlund (1988), Greiser (1994), Hannus (1994), Morlan (1988), and Schlesier (1994).
[66] Ibid. Sundstrom is troubled, however, by the small number of Avonlea/Beehive Complex sites found in the Black Hills and suggests more research needs to be done.
[67] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-8.
[68] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-9.
[69] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-12.
[70] Noisat in Rom and Church, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2e-14.

Chapter 2

Paha Sapa: Tides of Change

For the millennia leading up to the end of the Late Prehistoric period, a time before European and Euro-American written records, little is known about how the nomadic Plains bison hunters might have viewed themselves as collective cultural groups. Certainly by the Late Prehistoric period (and probably before) many groups were linked through shared language, kinship, religion, and lifeways. Black Hills petroglyph sites, which date back to before 700 AD, likely indicate some kind of cultural affiliation similar to later American Indian traditions that view rock art as both a "record of events, and sacred…"[1] Lakota oral tradition, later recorded by the Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Brown Hat or Battiste Good winter count), identified the year 901 AD (approximately) as the year Pteskawin (The-Woman-from-Heaven or White Buffalo Calf Woman) presented the Lakota people with the Candhupa Wakan (Sacred Buffalo Calf Pipe), "but," observed Wapostan Gi, "the Dakotas were a people long before this."[2]

Direct contacts with early European explorers mark the beginning of the Protohistoric period around 1600 AD. The journals and other records kept by the early explorers confirm existing tribal affiliations on the Northern Plains. In 1682, French explorer La Salle claimed the territory encompassing the Mississippi River and its feeder rivers, which he called Louisiana, including land to "beyond the country of the *Nadouessioux* [Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota]."[3] Kiowa were identified as early as 1732 by Spanish explorers in Montana and later in the Black Hills by Jean Baptiste Trudeau, a trader out of St. Louis.[4] University of Minnesota ethnographer Patricia Albers identified as many as fifteen American Indian nations "with documented ties to this region in the eighteenth century, including Arapaho, Atsina, Arikara, Pawnee, Cheyenne, Comanche, Shoshone, Ute, Crow, Hidatsa, Kiowa, Lakota, Mandan, Plains Apache (Kiowa-Apache), and Ponca.[5] Though the Protohistoric period may be considered a time of cultural florescence for some American Indian tribes in the West, the early explorers heralded an ethos that would ultimately alter the long-standing patterns of culture and subsistence in the Paha Sapa.

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[1] Sundstrom, *Storied Stone*, 45.

[2] *Lakota Winter Counts – An Online Exhibit*, "Battiste Good Winter Count," http://wintercounts.si.edu/index.html. Here Wapostan Gi, a Sicangu (Brulé) Lakota, appears to use the name "Dakota" interchangeably for Lakota. Lakota/Nakota/Dakota are dialect identifications of the bands within the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires), known by Wasichu (white Europeans) collectively as the Sioux (after the French *Nadouessioux*). Other winter counts date the visit of Pteskawin (White Buffalo Calf Woman) to 1540 AD (High Hawk) or as late as 1785-1800 (White, *Mako Washte*, 143).

[3] As cited in Francis Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West. France and England in North America. Part Third.* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1908), 307. *Nadouessioux* is the French word adapted from the Ojibwa word for "snake" or "enemy," then shortened to "Sioux" to apply to all of the Council Fires of the Oceti Sakowin. It was later adopted by the U.S. government, appearing in treaty titles and in the names of tribes.

[4] White, *Mako Washte*, 43.

[5] Albers, *The Home of the Bison*, 26.

The Protohistoric Period: 1600-1874

The term "protohistoric" is an archeological label for the period after direct contact between indigenous groups and European explorers and traders, but before permanent Euro-American settlement. The dates given above, 1600 to 1874, apply to the Northwestern Plains region and specifically the Paha Sapa or Black Hills, ending with Lt. Col. George A. Custer's 1874 expedition into the Paha Sapa. Initial European contact with American Indians was established prior to 1600 in the Southwest by Spanish missionary/explorers, where they introduced the modern horse on the North American continent. As the Spanish influence spread northward through trade, so too French trade items began to trickle south from Canada. By the late-seventeenth century French traders had penetrated into the Northern Plains, claiming the Louisiana territory all the way to the Gulf Coast, and were actively seeking a route to the Pacific coast.[6] Thus, archeologically, the Protohistoric period is marked by the appearance of artifacts of European origin in American Indian material culture.[7] Of particular note is the introduction of the horse, metal objects including metal arrow points, and firearms. Very few sites have been located and studied within the Black Hills from this period, with the exception of the "rock art" sites.[8]

From a historian's point of view, the Protohistoric period is actually part of the Historic period because we have written records that document many of the explorations and early contacts. Explorers, missionaries, and traders left journals and other records of their interactions with the people who already occupied the land. American Indian groups also recorded their history, primarily through oral traditions passed down through generations, but also through petroglyphs, maps, and winter counts. In 1938, Dakota ethnographer Ella Deloria described several levels of oral tradition among the Lakota/Nakota/Dakota. Narratives like those about Iktomi the mischievous spider were ohų'kaką, "from a very, very remote past, from a different age, even from an order of beings different from ourselves." Deloria described these stories as the "...best known, oftenest repeated, and farthest removed from the events of everyday life of the Dakota people."[9] Then there were the historic accounts,

> ...stories which are accepted as having happened to our people in comparatively recent times, perhaps in the lifetime of the aged narrator's grandfather or great-grandfather. Some of these tales are legends of localities; and while the miraculous still runs through many of them, they are regarded as occurrences that may happen to someone aided by supernatural powers.[10]

And finally, there were the stories telling "simple accounts of events that took place in the local band, and are told at times to recall the past or to entertain one who has not heard them."[11]

The memories of these historic events within each band were maintained as waniyetu wowapi (winter or year drawings; winter counts), by a designated keeper. Often the honor passed down through generations within a family. The keeper recorded each year (measured

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[6] White, *Mako Washte*, 62.
[7] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-1.
[8] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-1.
[9] Ella Deloria, *Dakota Texts* (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1932), ix.
[10] Deloria, *Dakota Texts*, x.
[11] Ibid.

from first snowfall to first snowfall) with a drawing on buffalo or deer hide, or on any available flat surface. The drawing served as a mnemonic to help the keeper retell the events of the corresponding year, including battles with other tribes, astronomical events, tribal movements, and eventually contacts with the pale-skinned strangers. **(Figures 3 and 4)**

The Blackfoot Pakap-otokan (Bad Head) winter count began with the year 1810, recorded as "Kaorsoyix/itsitotorpiyan – Cropped tails/when they came," reportedly referring to "the Astoria expedition under Wilson P. Hunt," who "cropped the tails of horses purchased



Figure 3: Section from the Wasicun Thasunke waniyetu wowapi (American Horse winter count). (#0863400, Manuscript 2372, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution)

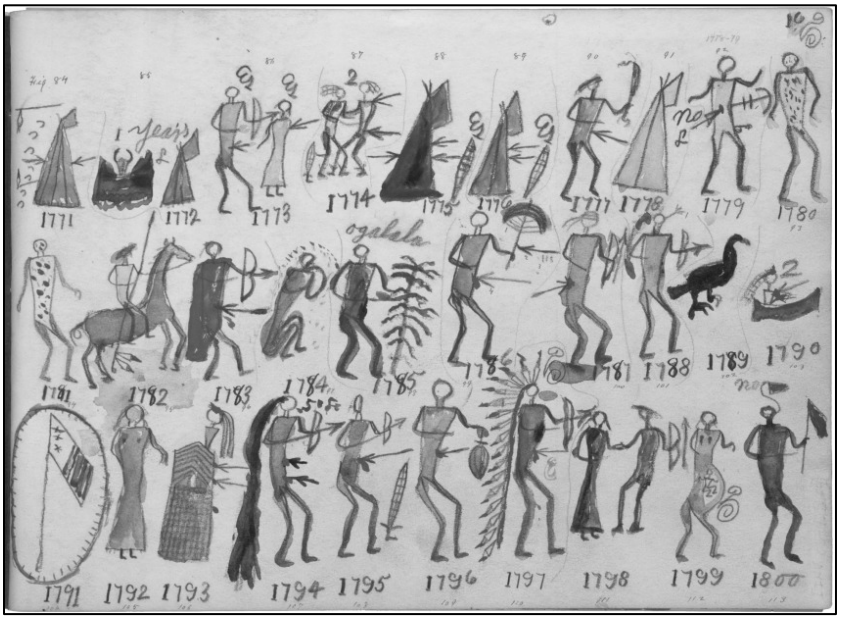


Figure 4: Section from the Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count). (#08746801-08746819b, Manuscript 2372, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution)

from the Arikara so as to distinguish them from Indian ponies."[12] Among the Lakota, the Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Brown Hat or Battiste Good winter count) reportedly begins as early as 900 AD., the Cetan Wankatuya waniyetu wowapi (High Hawk winter count) documents the seventeenth century, the Rosebud winter count is said to begin in 1752, and the Wasicun Thasunke waniyetu wowapi (American Horse winter count) begins in 1775.[13] These written and oral records provide a new layer for understanding the cultural landscape of the Plains peoples and those who occupied the Paha Sapa.

The presence of European goods among American Indian assemblages implies direct contact with traders or explorers, though that was not always the case. More often it was the tribes located closer to permanent European settlements that traded goods with interior Plains tribes. Albers documents an intricate network of trading among the Southwestern tribes with those living on the Missouri River. Mato Paha (Bear Butte), on the northeast periphery of the Paha Sapa, was a popular trading rendezvous point.[14] Archeologist Linea Sundstrom cited research from the 1950s which determined that guns in the Black Hills region were probably traded by Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara from the Missouri River villages.[15] Additionally, Frank R. Secoy (1953) placed horses in the Black Hills region around 1730-1750, traded by tribes from both the southwest and the northeast.[16] Albers points to Ponca and Crow oral traditions that Comanche traders introduced horses to them "at locations near the Black Hills in the early half of the 18th century."[17]



Figure 5: 1709, Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count). (Smithsonian Institution)

Waniyetu wowapi, Lakota winter counts, indicate an early adoption of the horse, while they were still living east of the Missouri River. The Cetan Wankatuya waniyetu wowapi (High Hawk winter count) recorded a series of important dates relating to the horse among the Lakota: 1624, first horse seen; 1680, first horse ridden; 1687, first horse used to hunt buffalo; 1709, horses captured from the Omaha; 1715, French explorers appear on horses.[18] The winter count recorded by Wapostan Gi (Battiste Good), a member of the Brulé Lakota Oyate (people), showed horses among the Lakota before 1700 **(Figure 6)**:

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[12] Hugh A. Dempsey, Archivist, "A Blackfoot Winter Count," (Glenbow Foundation, Calgary, Alberta 1965), citing Washington Irving (1897:187).

[13] *Lakota Winter Counts – An Online Exhibit*, http://wintercounts.si.edu/html_version/html/thewintercounts.html. This Smithsonian Education exhibit details a comprehensive list of the Lakota winter counts in the Smithsonian collection, including some not listed here. Additional Lakota winter counts and those of other tribes are held in private collections. See Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2007).

[14] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 27-28.

[15] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-2, citing John C. Ewers, *The Story of the Blackfeet* (United States Indian Service, Education Division, Indian Life and Customs Pamphlet 6, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, 1954) and Frank R. Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns of the Great Plains Indians* (Monograph 21, American Ethnological Society, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1953).

[16] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-2, citing Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns*.

[17] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, p. 32.

This represents the first killing of buffalo on horseback. It was done in the year 1700, inside the circle of lodges pitched around the herd, by a man who was tied on a horse with thongs and who received the name of Hunts-inside-the-lodges. They had but one horse then, and they kept him a long time.[19]

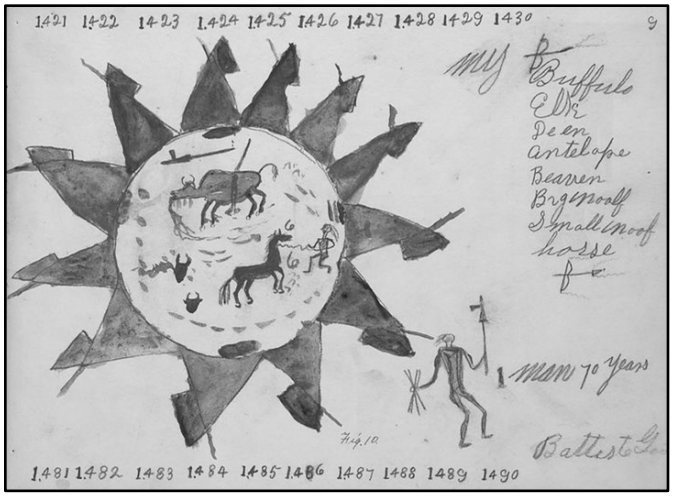


Figure 6: 1631-1700, Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count). (Smithsonian Institution)



Figure 7: 1708, Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count). (Smithsonian Institution)

In the year 1708 **(Figure 7)**, the Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count) recorded the first guns:

A man --1 man--named Corn, killed his wife, 1 woman, and ran off. He remained away for a year and then came back, bringing three guns with him, and told the people that the English, who had given him these guns, which were the first known to the Dakotas, wanted him to bring his friends to see them. Fifteen of the people accordingly went with him, and when they returned brought home a lot of kettles or pots. These were the first they ever saw…[20]

This year of the gun (1708) was the first mention of contact with Europeans ("English") in the Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count).

The introduction of the horse and firearms had significant impacts on tribal relations and warfare. Those with guns and horses

[18] White, *Mako Washte*, 132. Cetan Wankatuya was the son of Wapostan Gi.

[19] *Lakota Winter Counts – An Online Exhibit*, "Battiste Good Winter Count." Wapostan Gi drew this winter count in 1880. This particular drawing actually covers the years 1631 to 1700. The description is given by Garrick Mallery (Mallery, *Picture-writing of the American Indian: extract from the tenth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report, 1894:293).

[20] *Lakota Winter Counts – An Online Exhibit*, "Battiste Good Winter Count." The description is given by Garrick Mallery (Mallery, *Picture-writing*, 1894:295). The database entry includes this notation: "This is a copy made by Battiste Good of a winter count that he kept on a piece of cloth. He drew it in a sketchbook in 1880 at the request of William H. Corbusier, an Army surgeon, who sent it to the Smithsonian together with an explanation of the years provided by the keeper. Battiste Good's Lakota name was *Wapostangi*, or Brown Hat. He was born in the year the star passed by with a loud noise, or 1821-22. He was a Brule living on the Rosebud Reservation in the 1880s. This winter count is unusual because it includes a series of entries that cover periods of seventy years and extend back to the time when the Lakota received the White Buffalo Calf Pipe, a sacred object still maintained by the tribe, which Good calculated to have occurred in 900 A.D. Battiste Good and his son High Hawk are the only winter count keepers who marked periods longer than a single year." The sketchbook is in the National Anthropological Archives in Garrick Mallery's Papers (Ms. 2372, Box 12).

clearly had the advantage over those without. The balance of power was somewhat fluid, however, depending upon variable access to trading partners. Horses also altered the pattern of subsistence, as communal bison hunting gave way to the high-speed chase on horseback. The need for grazing larger horse herds precluded the seasonal hunter-gatherer subsistence pattern, requiring larger territories and fully-nomadic lifeways. Sundstrom suggests, "Any explanation of protohistoric use of the Black Hills must be placed in the context of these rapidly changing conditions."[21] A significant change was coming also from the north and east as pressure from growing European settlements in Canada and the newly-formed United States displaced tribes into already occupied territories to the west, straining tribal interactions.

Throughout the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth century, European explorations west of the Mississippi River and the resulting contacts with Plains American Indians, were the domain of the French and Spanish. The French moved southwestward out of Canada, seeking to win territory through trade with the tribes they encountered. The Spanish, with a strong foothold in the Southwest, attempted to counter the French with a similar campaign of trading alliances with American Indians, though they failed to stop the French advance.[22] The ultimate goal for the French, according to historian A. P. Nasatir, was to locate a route "to the Sea of California and the lucrative trade of the orient."[23] Wars in Europe between France and England (1689-1763) also influenced relations in the New World territories as the English settlements along the East Coast began to spread westward. France fought back against the English colonies using its alliances with American Indians, resulting in the Seven Years War (1754-1763), also called the French and Indian War in North America. The French loss to the British resulted in the transfer of the French territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers to the British, known then as the Northwest Territory.[24]

French trader/explorer François de La Vérendrye embarked on his 1742-43 exploration in search of the *Gens des Chevaux* (people of the horse), who he believed could help him find a route to "the Sea."[25] Vérendrye described his journey across the Plains in detail, providing names of tribes (in French) and their locations, as well as documenting their horses:

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[21] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-2.

[22] Nasatir, ed. *Before Lewis & Clark*, 2002, 2. A 1909 article in the journal, *Collections of the Kansas Historical Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 397-423, written by John B. Dunbar, tells the story of a 1720 Spanish "punitive expedition" aided by Apache, against Pawnee on the upper Platte who were aided by French traders.

[23] Nasatir, *Before Lewis & Clark*, 2. The English held a trading monopoly in the Pacific Northwest, dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company.

[24] White, *Mako Washte*, 62. At the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the French loss to the British resulted in the transfer of the Louisiana Territory to Spanish ownership. Spain returned the territory to French ownership in 1800.

[25] François de La Vérendrye, "Journal of the Expedition of the Chevalier de La Vérendrye and One of His Brothers to Reach the Western Sea, Addressed to M. the Marquis de Beauharnois, 1742-43," in Lawrence J. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la La Vérendrye and His Sons, with Correspondence between the Governors of Canada and the French Court, Touching the Search for the Western Sea*. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1927), 407, online facsimile edition at *American Journeys*, document #AJ-109, www.americanjourneys.org/aj-109/, accessed 12/14/2015. Patricia Albers (*Home of the Bison*, 33) notes "Because of their [the Comanche] early and widespread association with the introduction of the horse to tribes in the Black Hills region, the Comanches make a good candidate for the peoples the LaVerendrye's identified as the *Gens des Cheaveux*."

> Having continued to go south-west we came on the 18th November to a very populous village of the Gens de la Belle Riviere. They told us about the Gens de l'Arc who lived not far from there. We all went together to the south-west. On the 21st we discovered the village, which seemed to us very large. All the tribes of those countries have a great many horses, asses, and mules, which they use to carry their baggage and also for riding both in the chase and in their travels.[26]

Doane Robinson, state historian for South Dakota in the early twentieth century, noted that the *Gens de l'Arc* (People of the Bow) were "the allied Pawnee-Arickara [sic] people."[27] Robinson identified them as a band of Arickara [sic] or Rees, on the upper waters of the Cheyenne River, noting, "From time immemorial, the Sioux have called the Cheyenne river of South Dakota *Wakpa Waste*, that is Beautiful river."[28] Albers suggests that the *Gens de l'Arc* were in fact an Apache-speaking group called Padouca, who traded horses with the Arikara and reportedly appear in the archeological record of the Black Hills during the Protohistoric period.[29]

Kiowa oral tradition relates that the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache were living in the area of the Black Hills by about 1700 and had formed an alliance with the Crow.[30] Both the Kiowa and the Plains or Kiowa-Apache were an important link in the horse trade network across the Plains. The Kiowa migrated out of Montana to the area around the northern Black Hills, where they were identified by the La Vérendrye expedition in 1742.[31] Sometime around 1770-1780, Lakota warriors killed a Kiowa band, an episode in the war for the Paha Sapa territory that lasted into the next century.[32] The Kiowa were still in the area, but outside of the Black Hills proper in 1805, when American explorer Meriwether Lewis described the Kiowa as "a wandering nation, inhabit an open country, raise a great number of horses which they barter to the Ricaras [Arikaras], Mandans, etc., for articles of European manufactory."[33] Kiowa oral traditions ascribe sacred qualities to the Black Hills, and in particular relating to Tsó aí (Tree Rock; Lakota – Mato Tipi, and Cheyenne – Nahkohe Vee'e, both meaning Bear's Lodge) and Bear Butte (Kiowa name unknown; Lakota – Mato Paha [Bear Mountain]; Cheyenne – Noavosse [Good Mountain]).[34]

The Crow are a Siouan speaking tribe, related to the Missouri River Hidatsa.[35] By the late seventeenth century they occupied the region west of the Black Hills along the Yellowstone River, spreading to the Bighorn Mountains and the Powder River Basin, and south to the Platte River.[36] The Crow are tentatively identified in the archeological record by

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[26] Burpee, *Journals and Letters*, 414.
[27] Burpee, *Journals and Letters*, 413, f.n. 1. Robinson's interpretation was apparently challenged by Charles Deland, a Pierre, SD lawyer and president of the State Historical Society (Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 29).
[28] Burpee, *Journals and Letters*, 414, f.n. 1.
[29] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 33, citing Wedel 1959:589-599 and Gunnerson 1960, 2001.
[30] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-3. Albers names the Plains or Kiowa-Apache as *Gattaka*, related to the *Padouca*, both of whom covered territory from as far south as Texas and New Mexico (Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 33).
[31] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 35-36.
[32] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-6; Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 36.
[33] As cited by Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-6.
[34] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 3c-7; Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 35.
[35] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 38.
[36] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 38; White, *Mako Washte*, 42; Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-5.

the presence of Powder River Tradition ceramics, though, notes Sundstrom, "Pottery assignable to this tradition is rare in the Black Hills," and "there is little ethnohistoric or archeological evidence for extensive use of the Black Hills by Crow or proto-Crow groups."[37] However, the Crow formed a powerful fighting and trading alliance with Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache, which included the Black Hills in their hunting and trading territory. The Wakinyan Tho waniyetu wowapi (Blue Thunder winter count) reportedly documents a Crow attempt to reassert their presence in the Black Hills in 1845-46, in which they "killed seven Lakota people because they had been hunting there."[38] Like their Kiowa allies, the Crow ascribed sacred qualities to the Black Hills, according to White, and modern Crow "continue to consider the Black Hills as sacred."[39] The Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, and Crow alliance maintained dominance in the Black Hills region through the early eighteenth century. They shared their range with Arapaho, who arrived from the Northern Plains, but were later largely pushed out by Cheyenne and finally Lakota, who migrated from territories to the east and north through the eighteenth century.

The Arapaho, whose language was of the Algonquian linguistic group, apparently migrated to the Northwestern Plains from the northeast, probably before the seventeenth century. Living in the region of eastern Montana and Wyoming, they followed the communal bison-hunting subsistence pattern of the Late Prehistoric period until they acquired horses in the early eighteenth century.[40] The Arapaho allied themselves with the Cheyenne, who were also Algonquian language speakers. The Cheyenne migrated from the Missouri to the forks of the Cheyenne River through the second half of the eighteenth century, where they soon abandoned their horticultural subsistence pattern in favor of trade and bison hunting.[41] The alliance served both, in warfare against the Crow and in trading with the Arikara.[42] In 1803-04, French trader Pierre-Antoine Tabeau recorded Arikara recollections of taking "corn, tobacco, and European goods 'to the foot of the Black Hills,'" to trade with Cheyenne and Arapaho, as well as Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, and Comanche, who all gathered there for a "trading fair."[43]

In 1805, the Lewis and Clark journals place the Arapaho southwest of the Black Hills, though White notes, "the Black Hills were frequented by Arapaho hunters and horse traders."[44] Shortly thereafter, by 1816, the expanding Lakota presence drove most of the remaining Arapaho and some Cheyenne bands to territory around "the headwaters of the Platte, Arkansas and Red rivers, well south and west of the Black Hills."[45] Some Arapaho and Cheyenne did remain in the area of the Black Hills and the Cheyenne formed a powerful alliance with the Lakota against the Crow. By the 1840s the northern Arapaho and Cheyenne bands occupied a territory in the area north and west of the Black Hills. Patricia Albers

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[37] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-5.
[38] White, *Mako Washte*, 42.
[39] White, *Mako Washte*, 42.
[40] White, *Mako Washte*, 34.
[41] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 39.
[42] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-3.
[43] Colin G. Calloway, *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West Before Lewis and Clark* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 302.
[44] White, *Mako Washte*, 34.
[45] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-3; see also Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 66-67. The Arapaho subdivided into Northern (Montana, Wyoming) and Southern (Colorado) groups (White, *Mako Washte*, 34; Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 67).

points out, however, "Even though both tribes now lived in areas increasingly populated by Lakotas, the Hills were still considered a part of their homeland and an integral part of their territory as later oral histories, government documents, and ethnographic writings reveal."[46]

The Lakota In and Around the Paha Sapa before 1850

The Lakota origin story (see Chapter 1) recounts their emergence from the underworld into "the land of the pines." Oral tradition today interprets that land as the Paha Sapa. Archeological evidence and historic documentation place the Lakota in Minnesota in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. White notes that the Lakota probably began their migration west of the Missouri River in the 1680s-1690s "under pressure from the better-armed Ojibwa."[47] Albers states that "there is no question that, before 1760, the winter settlements and hunting grounds of the main body of Lakotas were still far east of the Missouri in regions near Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake in Minnesota."[48] A smallpox epidemic among the Missouri River tribes (Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan) in 1781, made it possible for the Lakota to dominate the river territory and penetrate the lands to the west.[49] The Wasicun Thasunke waniyetu wowapi (American Horse winter count) is interpreted as showing 1775 as the date Lakota first entered the Paha Sapa, while other winter counts place the date before 1761.[50] Cheyenne tradition holds that the Lakota arrived in the Black Hills "on foot," but Lakota winter counts show them in possession of at least a small number of horses by the early eighteenth century and conducting horse raids through the ensuing decades.[51]

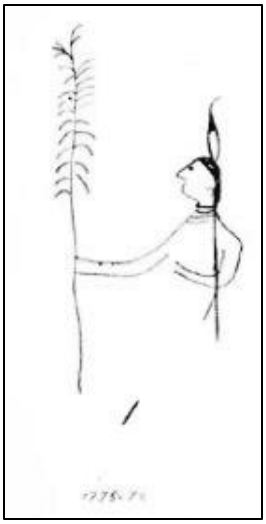


Figure 8: 1775, Wasicun Thasunke waniyetu wowapi (American Horse winter count, Smithsonian Inst.)

The Lakota, or Tintantonwan (Teton), form the western division of the Lakota/Nakota/Dakota Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires. The Lakota Oyate (bands) include: Oglala, Mnikowoju (Minneconjou), Sicangu (Brulé), Hunkpapa, Sihasapa (Blackfeet), Oohenunpa (Two Kettle), and Itazipco (Sans Arc). Two bands, Yankton and Yanktonai form the Nakota middle division, while the eastern division Dakota bands include the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, and Sisseton.[52] The villages near the Wisconsin River described by Father Hennepin in 1680 were the home of the eastern-most Dakota bands, while the western Lakota/Nakota bands remained primarily in the area of today's western Minnesota.[53] By the late eighteenth century the Lakota and Nakota were on the west side of the Missouri and had adopted the nomadic lifestyle of the Plains bison hunters. Bison (buffalo) were their primary

[46] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 71.
[47] White, *Mako Washte*, 45.
[48] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 46.
[49] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 47.
[50] White, *Mako Washte*, 45 and Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-7.
[51] See Wapostan Gi waniyetu wowapi (Battiste Good winter count); also Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 46.
[52] Victor Douville (2012) in "Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Places)," South Dakota Department of Education Office of Indian Education, Oceti Sakowin Essential Understandings and Standards Work Group.
[53] Jeffery Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills* (New York: The Penguin Group, 2010), 7.

subsistence resource, providing meat, hides, fat, and bone – all parts of the bison were utilized, while small game and wild plants supplemented their diet and material needs.

Around the turn of the nineteenth century the Lakota seasonal rounds remained tied to the Missouri River. In 1796 French trader Jean Baptiste Trudeau described the movements of the "Teton Sioux" (Lakota):

> The western and northern part of the Missouri, from the White River thirty-five leagues above the Ponca up to this river that I have said flows into the Missouri sixty leagues above the Cheyenne River, is visited only by the Sioux nations, called Teton, who are divided into four wandering tribes; they roam also over the west side of this river in order to hunt the buffalo and the beaver which are found there in greater numbers than upon the other side. The Sioux tribes are those who hunt most for the beaver and other good peltries of the Upper Missouri. They scour all the rivers and the streams without fearing any one…
>
> …At the beginning of the month of April, the Sioux wander far from the banks of the Missouri and usually return in the course of the months of July and August and scour its two banks until springtime…[54]

The traditional territory over which the nomadic Lakota roamed, became part of France's Louisiana Territory, which was sold in 1803 to the United States. **(Figure 9)** France had claimed the territory based on "discovery," despite the existing use and occupation of the land by sovereign American Indian groups like the Kiowa, Crow, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lakota, and many others.[55]

When American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark encountered a Lakota band on the prairie of central South Dakota in 1804, it appeared they were fairly well established in their Plains territory. On September 22, Clark recorded, they found a trading fort on an island in Three Sister's Creek: "...near the upper part of this Island on its S. Side a Tradeing fort is Situated built of Cedar—by a Mr. Louiselle of St Louis, for the purpose of Tradeing with the Teton Bands of Soues (or "Sieux") about this Fort I saw numbers of Indians Temporary Lodges, & horse Stables, all of them round and to a point at top..."[56] On September 23 they were informed that a nearby "Band of Sieux called the *Tetons* of 80 Lodges wer Camped near the mouth of the next River, and 60 Lodges more a Short distance above them," a "village" which they visited several days later.[57] The visitors were requested "to remain one night & watch them dance &c.," at which time they were invited to smoke

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[54] As cited in Nasatir, *Before Lewis and Clark*, 382.

[55] The "Doctrine of Discovery" dates back to the 1400s and was used by European countries to claim new lands based on their "discovery" during explorations. Under the Jefferson administration, the U.S. adopted the practice of claiming non-Christian lands as their own. It became a concept of public international law expounded by the United States Supreme Court in a series of decisions, most notably Johnson *v*. M'Intosh in 1823 by Chief Justice John Marshall.

[56] William Clark, September 22, 1804, in Gary E. Moulton, ed. *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/index.html, accessed 12/17/2015. Moulton notes that "Clark's Three Sisters Creek is later Cedar Creek, in Lyman County, South Dakota." Moulton also identified the trader as Régis Loisel, "He built Fort aux Cedres about 1800, or perhaps two years later, to trade with the Sioux."

[57] Clark, September 23, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*; Moulton notes the encampment was located in today's Hughes County, SD.

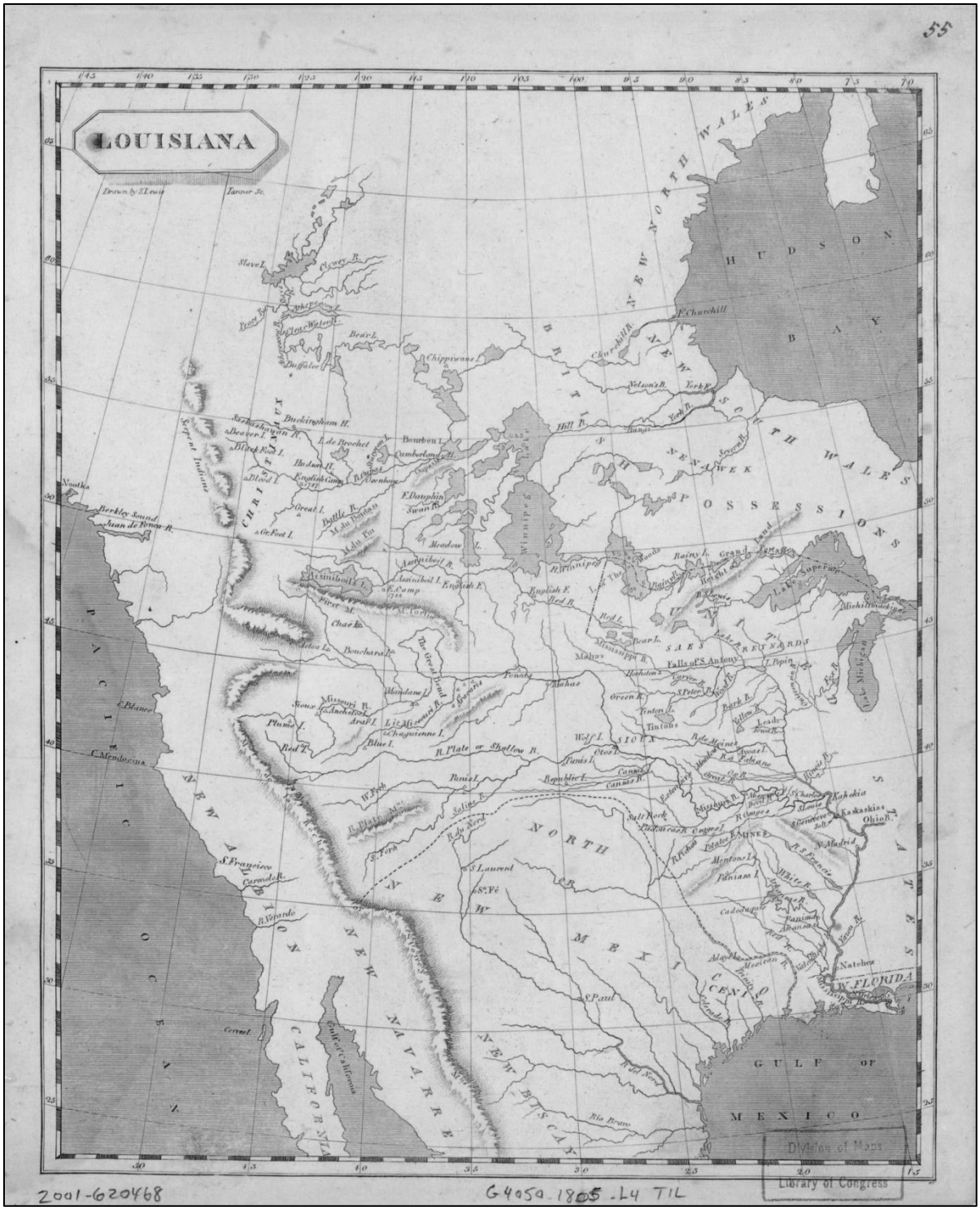


Figure 9: "Louisiana," Samuel Lewis and Aaron Arrowsmith, 1805. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

"the pipe of peace," to eat with them, and were presented with "400 wt Buffalow meat" to take with them on their journey.[58]

Clark listed some of the food offered during their visit, including dog meat, ground potatoes, and "Pemitigon" or Pemmican, described as "buffo [buffalo] meat dried or baked pounded & mixed with grease." Sgt. John Ordway, a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, added in his daily record, "they Gave Capt. Lewis Some fine Soup made of what they call white apples [ed., prairie turnips]."[59] Ordway also described the village as "verry handsome in a circle and about 100 cabbins [ed., probably tipis] in nomber and all white, made of Buffalow hides dressed white one large one in the center, the lodge for the war dances."[60] Musical instruments included drums or tambourines made from animal hides and "long sticks with Deer & Goats Hoofs tied So as to make a gingling noise."[61] Clark also "Saw a Spoon made of a horn of an animile of the Sheep kind."[62] The band of Lakota that Lewis and Clark encountered appears to have been using a variety of local resources.

At the same time, Clark's descriptions clearly show the war-footing on which the Lakota were operating, noting "I saw 25 Squars & Boys taken 13 days ago in a battle with the Mahars, in which they destroyed 40 Lodges, Killed 75 men & boys, & took 48 prisones."[63] And after the evening meal, "The women Came forward highly decerated with the Scalps & Trofies of war of their fathers Husbands & relations, and Danced the war Dance."[64] In fact, in 1804, the Lakota were still in the process of occupying the Plains territory around the Paha Sapa. Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow and Kiowa still vied for the resource-rich area. By the 1810s, the alliance between the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota began to bear fruit, observes Albers:

> In the coming decades, the Arapahos, Cheyennes, and Lakotas would be the only populations regularly affiliated with the Black Hills. These three nations formed a strong alliance bloc and commonly collaborated in subsistence, trade, war, and ceremony. Eventually, they came to co-occupy and control a huge territorial range that stretched from the Missouri in the east to the Rocky Mountains in the west and from the Yellowstone River in the north to the Arkansas in the south. Even though their locations and their relative population sizes changed in relation to the Black Hills, all of them continued to live within the reaches of these mountains. All of them also shared strong cultural attachments to them…[65]

Despite the passing presence of Euro-American explorers and traders, for the next several decades the alliance of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho enjoyed the abundant resources of the Paha Sapa and the surrounding Plains.

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[58] Clark, September 26, 1804 in Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*.
[59] Ordway, September 26, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Clark, September 26, 1804 in Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid. "Mahar" probably refers to the Mandan who lived along the Missouri River and traded with the Plains peoples (See entry for August 13, 1804, note [1]).
[64] Clark, September 26, 1804 in Moulton, *Journals of Lewis and Clark*.
[65] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 57.

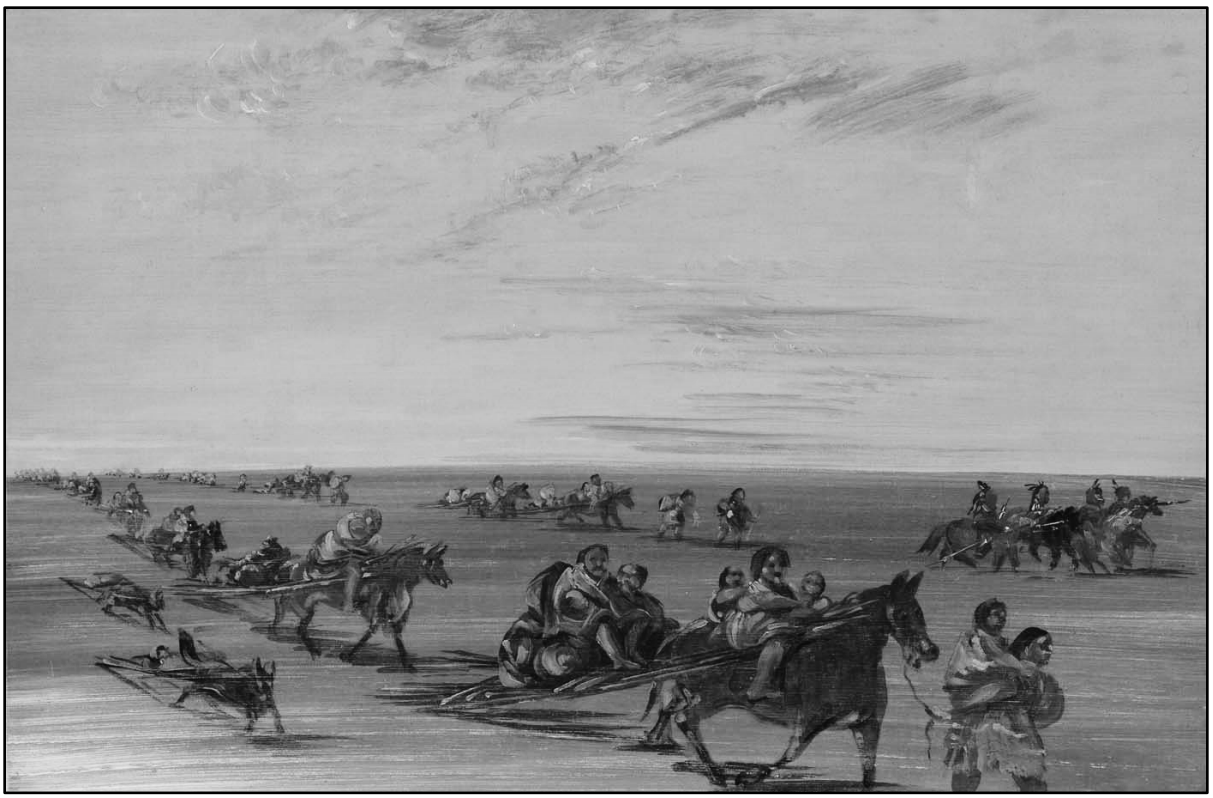


Figure 10: George Catlin, 1837, "Band of Sioux Moving Camp" (Smithsonian American Art Museum)

Ethnographic and archeological evidence creates a picture of how the Lakota and others made use of the Paha Sapa during this period before Euro-Americans (prior to 1875) fully disrupted the subsistence pattern. In the summer, the Paha Sapa oasis was a reliable source of water for groups living on the parched Plains grasslands. Oral tradition among the Lakota recounts summer "excursions" for "lodgepoles, deer, bear, mountain sheep and fish."[66] Archeological evidence indicates winter shelter and game hunting within the Hogback Ridge area and prairies of the Limestone Plateau, while quartzite quarries at Battle Mountain and Flint Hill provided stone for tools.[67] Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) recalled from his youth in the early 1870s that the Paha Sapa was a place of plenty, where "there was all we wanted to eat, for the Hills were like a big food pack for our people."[68]

The rich resource base of the Paha Sapa and the surrounding prairie provided much more than mere subsistence. Trade with the French and emerging U.S. markets, in bison hides and beaver pelts in particular, was growing more lucrative for the Plains tribes. Through the first third of the nineteenth century the Lakota trading partnership with Euro-American traders provided an important source of Plains power – guns and ammunition. This, along with their increasing numbers of horses through inter-tribal trade, raids, and breeding, advanced their rise as powerful stewards of a large Plains territory that included the Paha Sapa.[69]

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[66] Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-8.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 40.
[69] Additionally, the sedentary villages of the Mandan and Arikara along the Missouri River were devastated by several small pox epidemics.

But even as the Lakota strengthened their presence in the territory encompassing the Paha Sapa, United States government policies concerning western land and the American Indian occupants would begin to undermine the Lakota dominance. In January 1803, shortly before the Louisiana Territory purchase, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson urged Congress to continue the Trade and Intercourse Act first passed in 1790, which also regulated "trading houses with the Indian tribes."[70] Jefferson believed that trade with American Indians would "place within their reach those things which will contribute more to their domestic comfort" and ultimately convince them to abandon their nomadic hunting lifestyle in favor of agriculture. His plan for the resulting "excess" American Indian land would "provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for…"[71]

Washington & Jefferson to Andrew Jackson: U.S. Territory and the American Indian

In 1777, the Continental Congress, anticipating the cession of British land at the successful conclusion of the American Revolution, laid claim to the rights of "discovery" over the western territories (still east of the Mississippi River) in the Articles of Confederation. Article IX gave Congress "the sole and exclusive right and power of…regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians," with the implication that Congress would control the acquisition of American Indian land.[72] As Governor of Virginia in 1781, Thomas Jefferson ceded Virginia's claim on the Northwest Territory to the Continental Congress and later helped to craft the language that eventually appeared in the Northwest Ordinance establishing federal authority over American Indian affairs.[73]

Following the signing of the Treaty of Paris, General George Washington stated in a letter to Congress his view that the American Indian land of the new territories was indeed the property of the central government. Washington believed that government should play a principal role in American Indian policy regarding trade, land, and perhaps eventually, American Indian removal:

> [Trade] would be the most likely means to enable us to purchase upon equitable terms of the Aborigines their right of preoccupancy; and to induce them to relinquish our Territories, and to remove into the illimitable regions of the West.[74]

Three months later, in a September 1783 letter, Washington further suggested that a line of forts should divide the "New Country" recently acquired from England, demarcating the American Indian domain upon which white settlement would be banned, to be policed by United States army garrisons.[75] Congress immediately followed through with a proclamation

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[70] Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), "President Jefferson on Indian Trading Houses," 21.
[71] Prucha, *Documents*, 21.
[72] Robert J. Miller, Jacinta Ruru, Larissa Behrendt, and Tracey Lindberg, *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 42.
[73] Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 162-163.
[74] As cited in Miller, *Discovering Indigenous Lands*, 43.
[75] George Washington to James Duane, September 7, 1783, as cited in Prucha, *Documents*, 1-2.

prohibiting settlement on land "inhabited or claimed by Indians" and made land purchases from American Indian tribes the sole authority of Congress.[76]

The United States Constitution, adopted in 1787 to replace the Articles of Confederation, again identified the authority of the federal government over tribal land and its role in American Indian affairs. Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3 established the power of Congress to regulate commerce, including "Commerce with Indian Tribes," establishing a permanent relationship of "federal authority over Indian matters."[77] Additionally, tribal land purchases were implied in the President's power "to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."[78] Beginning with the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790, the U.S. government operated officially as the sole agent of trade with the American Indian tribes. Under the "factory" system, government factories, or trading houses, sold domestic and agricultural goods to the tribes, often in competition with British, French, and Spanish traders, and which tended to immerse their American Indian consumers into debt.[79]

Thomas Jefferson's American Indian policy was intimately tied to his fear of foreign (Britain, France, and Spain) interference in U.S. domestic affairs and soon would be integral to his plans for new territorial expansion. Prior to the July 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the administration's aim was to purchase tribal land along the east side of the Mississippi River, providing a buffer against the French territory to the west, and the lands along the southern Gulf Coast territory of Spain. With the extensive territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase west of the Mississippi, Jefferson expanded his policy options. **(Figure 9)**

Jefferson proposed a constitutional amendment, in part to justify his purchase of the Louisiana Territory. The language essentially proposed an "Indian Territory" on the west side of the Mississippi River, though with a great deal of government interest maintained. Eastern American Indian tribes would exchange their eastern land for so-called vacant western land ("where the United States have full right"), with the implication that the tribes would then *remove* to those western lands, *and* to remove any Euro-American settlers from their western land in exchange for eastern land. The suggestion to open roads, agencies, and factories (trading houses) and to explore the territory was integral to establishing the government's right to the land – specifically the preemptive right of the federal government, not states or individuals, to purchase the land from the American Indian inhabitants already occupying the western land.[80] More importantly, the exploration intended to "ascertain the geography of the province" pointing to Jefferson's continued expansion vision, notes American Indian law professor Robert J. Miller:

> Jefferson understood the commercial and political potential of a route across the continent and the value of controlling the very lucrative fur trade. The Lewis and Clark expedition demonstrated Jefferson's desire to have the United States cross the continent and gain control of the Louisiana Territory

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[76] "Proclamation of the Continental Congress," September 22, 1783, as cited in Prucha, *Documents*, 3.
[77] Judicial rulings on this federal power over the last two centuries continued to uphold this federal authority over what were sovereign nations (with whom the government entered into treaties), in fact placing American Indian tribes into a "semi-autonomous" category that has influenced federal policy throughout. "CRS Annotated Constitution: Article 1, Commerce with Indians," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, accessed March 12, 2013, www.law.cornell.edu/anncon/html/art1toc_user.html.
[78] Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 164.
[79] Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 220.
[80] John P. Foley, ed., *The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, Entry 4808 (New York: Funk & Wagnells Co., 1900), 510.

> and dominate the trade and political interactions with the Indian Nations in the territory.[81]

Congress ratified the Louisiana Purchase treaty in 1803, though the constitutional amendment suggested by Jefferson was not ratified.

Jefferson did initiate his removal policy with the opening of the vast territory west of the Mississippi by offering land exchanges to delegations from the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes in 1805 and to the Cherokee in 1808.[82] Several small groups of southern Cherokee had in fact already removed to land along the Sabine River in the Louisiana Territory in the 1790s.[83] Early removals of groups from the Northwest Territory into what later became the State of Missouri included Delaware, Shawnee, Illinois, and Kickapoo. After an 1804 treaty, the Sac and Fox tribes completed their removal from Illinois and Wisconsin to lands west of the Mississippi. Among the final acts of the Jefferson administration in 1809 was the negotiation of a treaty with the Midwest Osage who occupied a large territory around the Arkansas River. The Osage ceded "all lands east of a line extending south from Fort Osage on the Missouri River to the Arkansas," land to which nearly two thousand Cherokee from Georgia removed about 1814.[84]

Thomas Jefferson's presidency ended in 1809 as relations with Great Britain disintegrated, leading to the War of 1812. After 1815, with the conclusion of the war, President James Madison picked up the American Indian policies initiated during the Jefferson administration. As had happened following the Revolutionary War, tribes that fought against the U.S. government were typically compelled to cede land as recompense. For the American Indian tribes already living west of the Mississippi River, the federal government embarked on a series of peace treaties in order to reassert U.S. authority. In the Treaty with the Teton, completed at Portage des Sioux on July 19, 1815, it was agreed by the signing parties to "forgive and forget" all "injury, or act of hostility," to renew "the friendly relations that existed between them before the war," and that the Teton (Lakota) would "acknowledge themselves...to be under the protection of the United States of America..."[85]

In order to keep the peace within this "Permanent Indian Frontier" west of the Mississippi, now occupied by traditionally western tribes and newly emigrated eastern tribes, the U.S. government constructed Fort Smith on the Arkansas River in 1817. The fort garrison was tasked with keeping the peace between the Osage and Cherokee, now at war over hunting encroachments, but also to evict Euro-American settlers and to stem the illegal whiskey trade. As the idea took hold, Fort Smith became the centerpiece of a line of forts marking the Indian Frontier. To the north, Fort Snelling (Minnesota) and Fort Atkinson (Nebraska) were constructed in 1819. On the south end, Fort Jesup (Louisiana) was constructed in 1822. These were followed in 1824 with Fort Gibson and Fort Towson (both

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[81] Robert J. Miller, *Native America Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 80.
[82] Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 274.
[83] Charles Russell Logan, "The Promised Land: The Cherokees, Arkansas, and Removal, 1794-1839" (Little Rock: Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, n.d.), 5. The Louisiana Territory was at that time under Spanish administration, later returned to France. Logan notes that the Spanish welcomed the Cherokee as a "buffer" against the Osage Indians who traditionally occupied the region.
[84] Edwin C. Bearss and Arrell M. Gibson, *Fort Smith: Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969, second edition 1979), 9.
[85] Charles Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, 112. Prucha identifies the location as above the mouth of the Missouri River on the west side of the Mississippi River (Prucha, *Documents*, 25).

in Oklahoma), Fort Leavenworth in Kansas in 1827, and Forts Scott (Kansas) and Washita (Oklahoma) in 1842 to fill in "defensive" holes.[86] Clearly, the U.S. government presence would be felt west of the Mississippi River.

In 1825, a U.S. government-sponsored expedition headed by General Henry Atkinson and Indian Agent Major Benjamin O'Fallon was sent up the Missouri River to make peace with the tribes and encourage peaceful trade through treaty agreements. Like the earlier Jefferson-era treaties, the purpose of trade and treaty with American Indian tribes was to solidify government control of the land by encouraging the tribes to adopt agriculture over nomadic hunting. The 1825 treaties included language, reportedly untranslated, that again would diminish Lakota independence: "It is admitted by the Sioune and Ogallala bands of Sioux Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and claim their protection."[87] The expedition journal described the territory of the Oglala Lakota, "from the Missouri River up the drainages of both the Bad and White Rivers, all the way to the Black Hills."[88]

By the 1830s, "Indian Removal" from traditional lands east of the Mississippi to the "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi was official U.S. government policy under the administration of U.S. President Andrew Jackson. Jackson had gained notoriety as an army Major during the Creek uprising of 1813-14 in Georgia and as General against the Seminoles in the First Seminole War of 1818. As President, he pushed through the "Indian Removal Act" of 1830, "An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi."[89] Jackson followed through with his plan to remove from the southeastern states, by force if necessary, the "Five Civilized Tribes" – Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole – known later as the "Trail of Tears." Other tribes were affected as well. In an 1837 "Treaty with the Sioux," the remaining eastern division Dakota bands ceded "all their land, east of the Mississippi river, and all their islands in the said river," bringing all of the "Sioux nation" into "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi.[90]

Advance of the Western Frontier and the Dissolution of "Indian Country"

In a letter to a friend in 1803, Thomas Jefferson explained his plan "to transplant our Indians" to the Louisiana Territory north of New Orleans while preventing Euro-Americans from settling west of the Mississippi River "until we have filled up all the vacant country on this side."[91] Jefferson believed that expansion would take about fifty years.

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[86] *Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West*, Robert G. Ferris, Ed., online edition, updated from National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XV: Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898, Military and Indian Affairs (sub-theme), 1959; Earl Arthur Shoemaker, "The Permanent Indian Frontier: The Reason for Construction and Abandonment of Fort Scott, Kansas, During the Dragoon Era," (National Park Service, Midwest Region, 1986), 5.

[87] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 2, 227-228; as cited in White, *Mako Washte*, 65. Sioune or Saone encompasses four Lakota bands – Sans Arc, Two Kettle, Sihasapa, and Minneconjou (White, *Mako Washte*, 65).

[88] As cited in White, *Mako Washte*, 46.

[89] In Prucha, *Documents*, 52.

[90] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 2, 493.

[91] As cited in Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 224.

There were, of course, already a number of Euro-American trappers and traders in the western lands, with the more adventurous settlers not far behind. For most, the goal was the Oregon Territory, disputed by the U.S. and British governments and ruled by the Hudson's Bay Company, trading primarily in beaver pelts. In 1832, while on leave from the U.S. Army, Captain Benjamin Bonneville embarked on an expedition to the Oregon Territory funded by Hudson's Bay competitor John Jacob Astor.[92] The purpose of the trip was to make inroads into the trading monopoly there. Bonneville's route followed the North Platte River, a trail blazed by American Indians and increasingly exploited by traders. At one point on the river trail, following a night encamped alongside a party of Crow warriors, Bonneville observed the Black Hills in the distance, "printing the horizon with their rugged and broken outlines."[93] Washington Irving, who recounted Bonneville's 1832-34 expedition in his 1849 publication, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A.*, noted about the Platte River trail:

> …about three years after the time of which we are treating, Mr. Robert Campbell, formerly of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, descended the Platte from this fork, in skin canoes, thus proving, what had always been discredited, that the river was navigable. About the same time, he built a fort or trading post at Laramie's Fork, which he named Fort William, after his friend and partner, Mr. William Sublette. Since that time the Platte has become a highway for the fur traders.[94]

The Fort William trading post, later called Fort John and then became Fort Laramie, did most of its trade in bison hides with the dominant Lakota bands of the region.

In 1839, cartographer Joseph Nicollet mapped and described the territories frequented by the various divisions of the "*Titons* Nation." In particular, three bands of Oglala, a total of 300 lodges, occupied the area "From the Black Hills to the Platte River."[95] American Fur Company steamboats plied the Missouri River as far as Fort Pierre by the late 1830s, making trade with the Plains bison hunters relatively easy. At its peak in the 1840s, as many as 100,000 bison hides arrived on the St. Louis docks each year. The once-plentiful bison were so scarce by 1843 that Lakota winter counts recorded the year as "Scarcity of Buffalo Meat" (Major Bush waniyetu wowapi [winter count]), "No Buffalo" (Wahponjea waniyetu wowapi [Swan winter count]), or "Sans Arcs made medicine to bring the buffalo" (Shunka Ishnala waniyetu wowapi [Lone Dog winter count]).[96]

Already stressed by depleted bison herds, Lakota hunters would also face a new threat. In 1846, the United States settled its border dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon Territory, prompting a steady stream of emigrants across Jefferson's "Permanent Indian Frontier." Two years later, the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican

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[92] Astor's American Fur Company had funded an 1811 expedition to the Columbia River to establish his trading post Fort Astoria. The post was confiscated by the British in 1814 and taken over by the Northwest Company, later overtaken by the Hudson's Bay Company.

[93] As recounted by Washington Irving, *The Works of Washington Irving. New Edition, Revised. Vol. X. Bonneville's Adventures*. (New York: George P. Putnam, 1849), 50.

[94] Irving, *The Works*, 51. Fort William (later called Fort John) was purchased in 1849 by the U.S. government for use as a military fort and was renamed Fort Laramie ("History & Culture," *Fort Laramie*, www.nps.gov/fola/learn/historyculture/index.htm, accessed 12/29/2015).

[95] Transcription of Nicholett's field notes in Joseph N. DeMallie, *South Dakota History*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 355.

[96] DeMallie in *South Dakota History*, 346; Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 2f-4; "Lakota Winter Counts – An Online Exhibit – View This Exhibit," http://wintercounts.si.edu/index.html. No Lakota name for "Major Bush" (Joseph Bush) could be found.

War and the U.S. added the California and New Mexico territories to the list of acquisitions, completing the territorial march to the Pacific Coast. The Platte River trail, which passed directly through Lakota bison hunting grounds, became one of the primary migration routes to the western territories.

Manifest Destiny, the perceived superiority of Euro-American culture and industry, buoyed United States government policy in the West, including its war with Mexico. More than just a vision of cultural superiority, Manifest Destiny served the desire for economic advancement as well. Many of the Euro-Americans who migrated west carried with them the idea of their own Manifest Destiny: "They viewed the new and fabled lands of Oregon and California as regions of rebirth and hope, where upward mobility was not merely possible but virtually certain."[97] That vision propelled a surprisingly large number of pioneering families across hundreds of miles of prairie, plains, mountain, and desert through the middle of the nineteenth century. The discovery of gold in California in 1848 accelerated the spread of that view and pushed the rush westward to a near frenzy.

In order to facilitate the overland migrations, the U.S. government sought new treaties with the western tribes. The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie encompassed the "Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows, Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras."[98] The treaty first enjoined the tribes to establish "peaceful relations amongst themselves," and second, that those nations would "recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories." Not only did this provision formalize and protect the migration routes, but it also diminished tribal sovereignty on the lands they had occupied for generations and upon which they depended for their survival. The U.S. government would now define the extent of tribal territories:

> The territory of the Sioux or Dahkotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Buts, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.[99]

Though the Lakota actually shared that land with their Arapaho and Cheyenne allies, this arrangement was ignored by the government. Arapaho and Cheyenne were assigned to territories south of the Platte River. The 1851 Lakota (labeled "Sioux or Dacotah" on the De Smet map; **Figure 11**) boundary not only included the Black Hills, but stretched west to the Powder River an area occupied by the Northern Cheyenne, and south to the North Platte River over which the emigrant trail traversed, by then an integral segment of the busy Oregon Trail.

By the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie, the Platte River trail was now legally shared by the allied Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, as well as passing emigrants, and the United

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[97] John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West 1840-60* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 91.
[98] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 594.
[99] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 594-595.



Figure 11: 1851, Pierre-Jean De Smet, "Map of the upper Great Plains and Rocky Mountains region." (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

States military. Tensions would rise as interactions between the groups became inevitable. An 1854 incident involved a claim by a Mormon emigrant that a Sicangu (Brulé) warrior stole and killed the emigrant's ox. The warrior in question, High Forehead (Lakota name unknown), who was a member of Mato Wayuhi's (Conquering Bear) band, claimed the ox was sick and abandoned.[100] The 1851 treaty called for restitution, but when negotiations broke down, Fort Laramie's Lt. John Grattan and twenty-nine volunteer soldiers went to arrest the accused ox-killer, threatening Mato Wayuhi's camp with artillery. Again, negotiations broke down and Mato Wayuhi was killed, along with several others in the camp. A large group of warriors who had been observing the negotiations immediately responded by killing all of the soldiers, including Lt. Grattan. Sicangu raids along the trail began to occur with more frequency, reportedly in retaliation for Grattan's attack on the camp.[101] The following year, 1855, was described as "the year of plenty of money" on the Big Missouri winter count, a reference to Sinte Gleska's (Spotted Tail, a relative of Conquering Bear) attack on a stagecoach in which ten thousand dollars was recovered.[102]

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[100] The Whiteman Stands in Sight winter count reportedly indicates that the ox was "acquired in trade." White, *Mako Washte*, 67, citing William K. Powers, *A Winter Count of the Oglala* (Lakota Books, 1994), 31.
[101] Edward Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1991), 21-22; Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 96.
[102] White, *Mako Washte*, 67; Richmond Clow, "General William S. Harney on the Northern Plains," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (South Dakota State Historical Society, 1987), 230.

Upper Platte Indian Agent, Thomas S. Twiss tried to diffuse the growing tensions by suggesting that the agencies, where many Lakota lived or gathered to receive annuities, be moved away from emigrant routes and that Fort Laramie should be closed. Twiss observed that most of the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands living in the Black Hills and along the Niobrara River (in Nebraska) were not participating in the raids.[103] But his attempts to help came several months too late. Pressure to retaliate against "the hostile Sioux" was coming from both the military and the newspaper-reading public. In March 1855, Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney was ordered to lead 1,300 soldiers, including one battery of light artillery, "in the operations about to be undertaken against the hostile Sioux...for the purpose of protecting from Indian hostilities the frontiers of Kansas and Nebraska, and the emigrant routes from the Missouri River to the West."[104] They arrived on the North Platte River in late August 1855.

Along the way Harney's troops had received unconfirmed reports that Lakota were "robbing the emigrants of their stock in the area of Ash Hollow."[105] Early in September, Harney and his men set up camp in Ash Hollow and learned that a band of Sicangu Lakota, headed by Wakinyan Cikala (Little Thunder), was encamped on Blue Water Creek just six miles to the northwest. Wakinyan Cikala and his warriors were thought to have been among those who attacked Lt. Grattan the year before (known by the U.S. military as the "Grattan Massacre"). Harney devised a plan to surround the encampment, taking the village and its warriors by surprise. In the pre-dawn hours of September 3, the mounted troops closed in on the Little Thunder camp. Several of the soldiers later recalled Gen. Harney's fiery speech, preparing the troops for the expected battle. "They killed your own kindred, your own flesh and blood," Lt. Nathan A.M. Dudley recalled Harney saying, "Now by God men, there we have them, and if you don't give it to them, you deserve to be _____ [sic]."[106] As Harney approached the village, he saw that they were already in retreat. Gen. Harney called for a parley with Wakinyan Cikala, reportedly in order to delay their retreat, but broke it off without result. Captain John B.S. Todd recalled Harney's order to fire: "The words were scarcely out of his mouth before the rattle of the rifles of my company was heard, and the 'Sioux Campaign' initiated in earnest."[107]

The army called this the Battle of Ash Hollow, but Lakota know it as Tiapa Wichakte (slaughtered in their tipis) or the Blue Water Creek Massacre.[108] Cokawin, among the Lakota survivors of the massacre, recalled the chaos: "As I looked around, I could see the soldiers galloping after groups of old men, women, and children who were running for their lives. Some were running across the valley only to be met by soldiers and shot right down."[109] In all, eighty-six Sicangu and Oglala men, women, and children were killed and about seventy were taken prisoner. Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren, who accompanied the expedition as a topographical engineer, drew a map of "the field of action," noting particularly the "Place

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[103] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 96, citing Twiss' reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George W. Manypenny.
[104] "General Orders No. 2," March 28, 1855, in R. Eli Paul, *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854-1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 120-121; see also Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 96; Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 23.
[105] Paul, *Blue Water Creek*, 54.
[106] Paul, *Blue Water Creek*, 89-90; as cited in Paul, 90.
[107] As cited in Paul, *Blue Water Creek*, 95.
[108] White, *Mako Washte*, 67.
[109] As cited in Paul, *Blue Water Creek*, 101.

where the Indians first fled many of whom were here killed or taken," and the "Direction of final flight pursued by all the available force."[110] In his personal journal Lt. Warren wrote of the "action":

> The wounds received by our men were very severe 5 of them mortal ones. The Indian men did not fight while running would do, but when cornered they defend themselves nobly.[111]

Despite his sympathy, Warren believed that the killing and wounding of the women and children "could not be helped."[112] Gen. Harney's attack on the Lakota village had its intended effect. A relative quiet along the emigrant routes ensued. In the year following the massacre, North Platte Indian Agent Twiss noted that local Lakota bands had taken refuge in the Black Hills.[113]

As a member of Gen. Harney's "Sioux Expedition," topographical engineer Lt. G. K. Warren was tasked with identifying good or potential routes through the Lakota territory and appropriate locations for military posts. **(Figure 12)** Warren's assessment of the "Dacota" who lived within the territory covered by the expedition was based on second-hand accounts, having no direct contact with any of the Oceti Sakowin. Citing their skill with bow and arrow on horseback, for which "they have no superior," and the ongoing "depredations along the Platte," Warren recommended that "Military occupation is essential to the safety of the whites":

> ...They should be placed well in the country whence the marauders come, as well as on the frontiers and lines of communication they are designed to protect. In making this occupation we should look to the future. Agricultural settlements have now nearly reached their western limits on our great plains… If the Indian is not doomed to speedy extirpation, if he is to have a permanent home, here is where it must be located, and the military posts should contemplate a permanency which they have not heretofore possessed.[114]

Warren recommended further reconnaissance of the region in preparation for war with the "Dacota," which he believed would surely come as "they become maddened by the encroachments of the white man."[115]

The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie seemed to be doomed from its start. Crafted by Indian Commissioners with U.S. government interests in mind, the treaty boundaries ignored tribal hunting patterns and alliances. In exchange for tribal concessions, the government promised protection from Euro-American depredations and annuities in the form of cattle, agricultural implements, and other goods – goods intended to convert the tribes to an agricultural economy – for the ensuing fifty years, the amount of time estimated it would take

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[110] Lt. G. W. Warren, *Explorations, in the Year 1855* (Washington: A.O.P. Nicholson, Senate Printer, 1856), "Sketch of the Blue Water Creek."
[111] As cited in James McLaird and Lesta V. Turchen, "Exploring The Black Hills, 1855-1875: Reports of the Government Expeditions," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (South Dakota State Historical Society, 1973), 362.
[112] McLaid and Turchen, "Exploring the Black Hills," 362.
[113] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 96. The sacred Paha Sapa peak known as Hihan Kaga by the Lakota, was renamed Harney Peak after the 1877 U.S. taking of the Black Hills, named for General Harney, who oversaw the Blue Water Creek Massacre.
[114] Warren, *Explorations*, 19.
[115] Ibid.

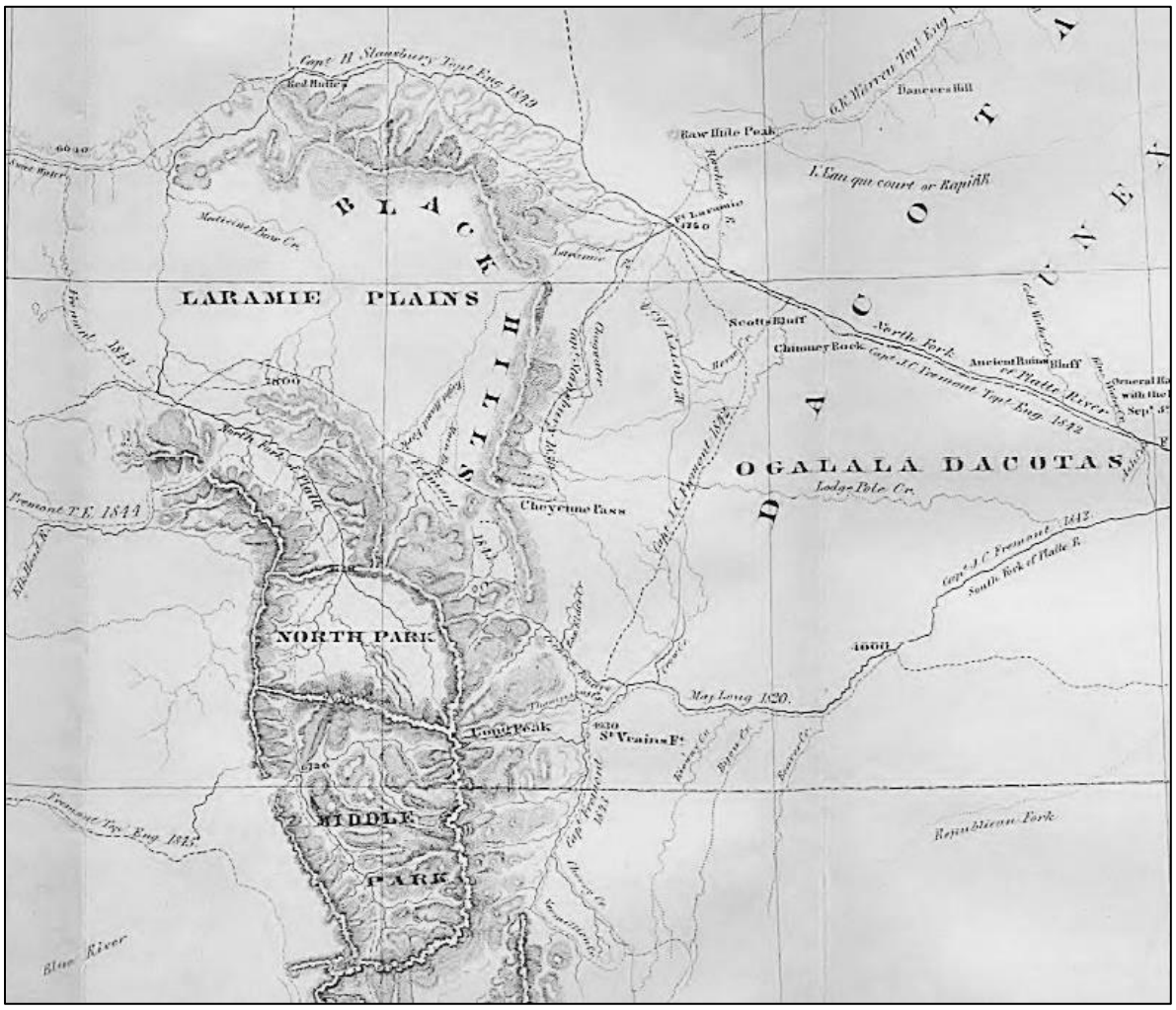


Figure 12: 1855, Lt. G. K. Warren expedition map. (Warren, *Explorations*)

the tribes to "assimilate." Congress unilaterally altered the annuity promise to just ten years, the change made after the treaty was signed and without tribal consent. And while the Lakota signed a new agreement with General Harney in 1856, which again guaranteed protection from Euro-American "impositions" in exchange for peaceful passage along the established routes, that treaty was never ratified by Congress.[116]

The tribes were further threatened by repeated government-sponsored expeditions through Lakota territory. In 1857, Lt. Warren returned to Fort Pierre on the Missouri River, tasked by the Secretary of War to "make the necessary examinations to determine the best route for continuing the military road…westward to Fort Laramie and the South Pass; thence to proceed northward and make such examinations on the Black Hills as my time and means would permit."[117] When Warren's party, enroute to the Black Hills, encountered a Lakota band encamped near a large herd of buffalo, the soldiers were warned not to continue north:

[116] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 23-24. According to Lazarus, the Lakota were never made aware of the fact that the treaty was never ratified.

[117] Lt. G. K. Warren, *Preliminary Report of the Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota in the Years 1855-'56-'57* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), 16-17.

> They said that the treaty made with General Harney gave to the whites the privilege of traveling on the Platte and along White River, between Forts Pierre and Laramie, and to make roads there, and to travel up and down the Missouri in boats; but that it guaranteed to them that no white people should travel elsewhere in their country, and thus frighten away the buffalo by their careless manner of hunting them. And, finally, that my party was there examining the country to ascertain if it was of value to the whites, and to discover roads through it, and places for military posts; and that having already given up all the country to the whites that they could spare, these Black Hills must be left wholly to themselves.[118]

Again, in 1859, when Captain William Franklin Raynolds led an expedition to the northern Black Hills, he too met resistance from the Lakota whose actions were based upon the earlier treaties. Raynolds' mission to assess, "the numbers, habits and disposition of the Indians inhabiting the country, its agricultural and mineralogical resources," left little question as to the United States' future plans for the territory.[119] As professor of American Indian studies, Patricia Albers observed, "as the history of the Black Hills demonstrates, no sooner had the ink on one treaty dried than movements were afoot to negotiate more land cessions."[120]

Clearly, Thomas Jefferson's estimate of fifty years before eastern Euro-American land-lust would begin to pressure the Mississippi boundary was nearly on the mark. Indeed, settlement of the vast interior lands, previously described as "the Great American Desert," was encouraged by the government. Congress passed a series of federal land laws to facilitate westward migration and settlement. The Land Law of 1820 had reduced the price of public land as low as $1.25 an acre and permitted the sale of eighty-acre tracts. When it was found that thousands of settlers were simply occupying vacant lands without benefit of title, Congress passed a general pre-emption act in 1841, giving squatters the right to purchase the lands they had settled at minimum price.[121] By the middle of the nineteenth century extension into the west was spurred on by government land grants to railroad companies, given as incentives to build railroads across the territories to the West Coast.

Horace Greeley, editor of the *New Yorker* (later *Weekly Tribune*) led the campaign to reform the land laws through the 1840s and 1850s in response to the rampant speculator abuse. Greeley viewed the prospect of free land in the West as a way to cure overcrowding and poverty in eastern cities, urging unemployed European immigrants to "scatter through the country – go to the Great West..."[122] Western land reform was consistently thwarted, however, by slave states in the South, who feared a loss of the delicate political balance of free vs. slave states. In the end it was the 1861 secession of the southern states from the Union, initiating the American Civil War, which provided the majority in Congress necessary to pass the Homestead Act of 1862, with the support of then President Abraham Lincoln.

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[118] Warren, *Preliminary Report*, 19.
[119] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 96-97.
[120] Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 88-89.
[121] Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, "Theme XVIIa: Agriculture and The Farmer's Frontier," Nat. Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, 1963), 46-47. Land speculators abused the 1841 law by hiring "settlers" to pre-empt the land then reselling it at inflated prices.
[122] As cited in Roy Marvin Robbins, "Horace Greeley, Land Reform, and Unemployment, 1837-1862," *Agricultural History*, Vol. VII, no. 18, January 1933, 18-41.

Though the Civil War (1861-1865) interrupted the westward migrations, with the cessation of hostilities in 1865 a veritable flood ensued, energized by the Homestead Act and the construction of the transcontinental railroad. The Homestead Act of 1862 provided 160 acres to any United States citizen or naturalizing immigrant who would first occupy and improve the land for a minimum of five years, for the price of just the registration fee. The transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad, spurred by sales of land granted to the company by the federal government, was completed in 1869. The railroad provided the promise that Western agricultural products could be transported to markets quickly and cheaply. Discoveries of gold – first in California in the 1840s, then in Colorado in 1859, and in 1863 in Montana – drew waves of prospectors with dreams of quick and easy riches.

But the price of progress was becoming steep for the tribal inhabitants of the Plains territories. In 1862 the Santee Dakota still living in Minnesota, destitute without sufficient hunting grounds or government assistance, pushed back against the Euro-American settlements that surrounded them. The resulting U.S.-Dakota War concluded within six weeks with the surrender of two thousand Dakota to Colonel Henry Sibley. Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey made clear his intention to eradicate the Dakota from his state when he declared: "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State."[123] Sixteen hundred Dakota women and children were forced to march to Fort Snelling to wait out the winter imprisoned there. In May the following year, the thirteen hundred survivors were removed to Crow Creek reservation in South Dakota. All of the 392 Dakota men who surrendered were tried for war crimes in a military court and 307 were convicted of killing civilians and sentenced to hang.[124] Upon review of the death sentences, President Abraham Lincoln commuted 269 of those to prison sentences, but ordered the remaining thirty-eight men to hang based upon the proof of their "crimes."[125] Dakota historian Angela Wilson Waziyatawin stated that the execution of the Dakota men on December 26, 1862, "remains the largest mass execution in U.S. history."[126]

In 1863 John Bozeman began blazing the Bozeman Trail, intended to draw prospectors from the Platte River road at Fort Laramie to the newly discovered Montana gold fields. Two years later, Congress provided money for the construction of the road along the Bozeman route. The road illegally passed through the 1851-defined Lakota territory in the Powder River drainage where the Northern Cheyenne bands shared the buffalo hunting grounds with Mahpiya Luta's (Red Cloud) Oglala band. In order to gain legal passage of the road, the government presented a series of new treaties in 1865 with each of the Lakota and Nakota bands, entreating them to "withdraw from the routes overland already established or hereafter to be established through their country" and providing the bands with additional annuities as incentive.[127] Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud), with Sinte Gleska's (Spotted Tail) Sicangu (Brulé) band, refused to sign when he learned that two military forts would be constructed along the road:

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[123] Angela Wilson Waziyatawin, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1/2, Special Issue: Empowerment Through Literature (Winter - Spring, 2004), 190, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4139057, accessed 10/17/2016.

[124] Ibid, 191.

[125] Ibid. Waziyatawin notes that 120 of the men serving prison sentences died in prison. See also "The Trials & Hanging," *US-Dakota War of 1862*, Minnesota Historical Society, http://usdakotawar.org/history/aftermath/trials-hanging, for discussion of President Lincoln's involvement.

[126] Waziyatawin, "Decolonizing," 191.

[127] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 883-908.



Figure 13: Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud), ca. 1890 (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)

> Hear ye Dakotas…Yet before the ashes of the council fire are cold, the Great Father is building his forts among us. You have heard the sound of the white soldiers' axe upon the Little Piney. His presence here is an insult and a threat. It is an insult to the spirits of our ancestors. Are we to give up their sacred grounds to be plowed for corn? Dakotas, I am for war.[128]

The Red Cloud War, also known as the Bozeman War or Powder River War, consisted of a series of attacks against the military along the Bozeman Trail continuing through 1867. Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud), Tasunka Kokipapi (Man Whose Horse They Fear or Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse), Tasunke Witko (Crazy Horse), Pte San Hunka (White Bull), Tatanka Pte Cela (Short Bull), Chatku Wakatuya (High Backbone), Sunka Bloka (He Dog), and hundreds of Oglala, Minneconjou, and Itazipco warriors were joined by Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors seeking revenge for the 1864 Sand Creek massacre in Colorado Territory. With most of the U.S. army troops occupied in the South enforcing the post-Civil War Reconstruction, General Sherman and his officers, General Hancock and Lt. Col. George A. Custer, were unable to protect the Bozeman Trail. It was thus abandoned by all but the military in the summer of 1867.[129]

In the face of the Lakota victory, the U.S. government capitulated to Mahpiya Luta's (Red Cloud) demand that the Bozeman Trail forts be abandoned before he would negotiate a treaty of peace. The military withdrew from the three forts in the summer of 1868 and in October, Mahpiya Luta came to Fort Laramie to negotiate and sign a new Fort Laramie Treaty. Among the provisions of the treaty, the Bozeman Trail was permanently closed. The treaty also allowed for American Indian individuals who "shall desire to commence farming" to select their own land up to 320 acres; it provided for physicians, blacksmiths, "a good steam saw-mill, with a grist-mill and shingle-machine attached;" education "to insure the civilization of the Indians;" and thirty years of annuities.

The 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie also included a provision that the tribes "will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains."[130] The Union Pacific Railroad, apparently already constructed to the edge of the territory, passed through the reservation the following year. By this treaty, "all the bands of the Sioux Nation," and Arapaho who were also signatories to the treaty, now shared the territory extending from the Missouri River to the Big Horn Mountains, following the North Platte River along the south, with unrestricted hunting grounds "so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase."[131] The treaty also included the familiar language, that "no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any

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[128] As cited in Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 36.
[129] White, *Mako Washte*, 69-70
[130] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 998-1002, Articles 3, 4, and 11.
[131] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 998, Article 2. Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho signed a separate treaty in 1868, relegating them to the Southern Cheyenne/Arapaho reservation or to the Crow reservation (Kapper, Vol. II, 1012-1013). There were Cheyenne and Arapaho living within the Lakota assigned territory however.

portion of the same."[132] Most importantly, the boundary included the sacred Paha Sapa within the Lakota territory and any change to the boundary would require agreement from "at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians, occupying or interested in the same."[133]

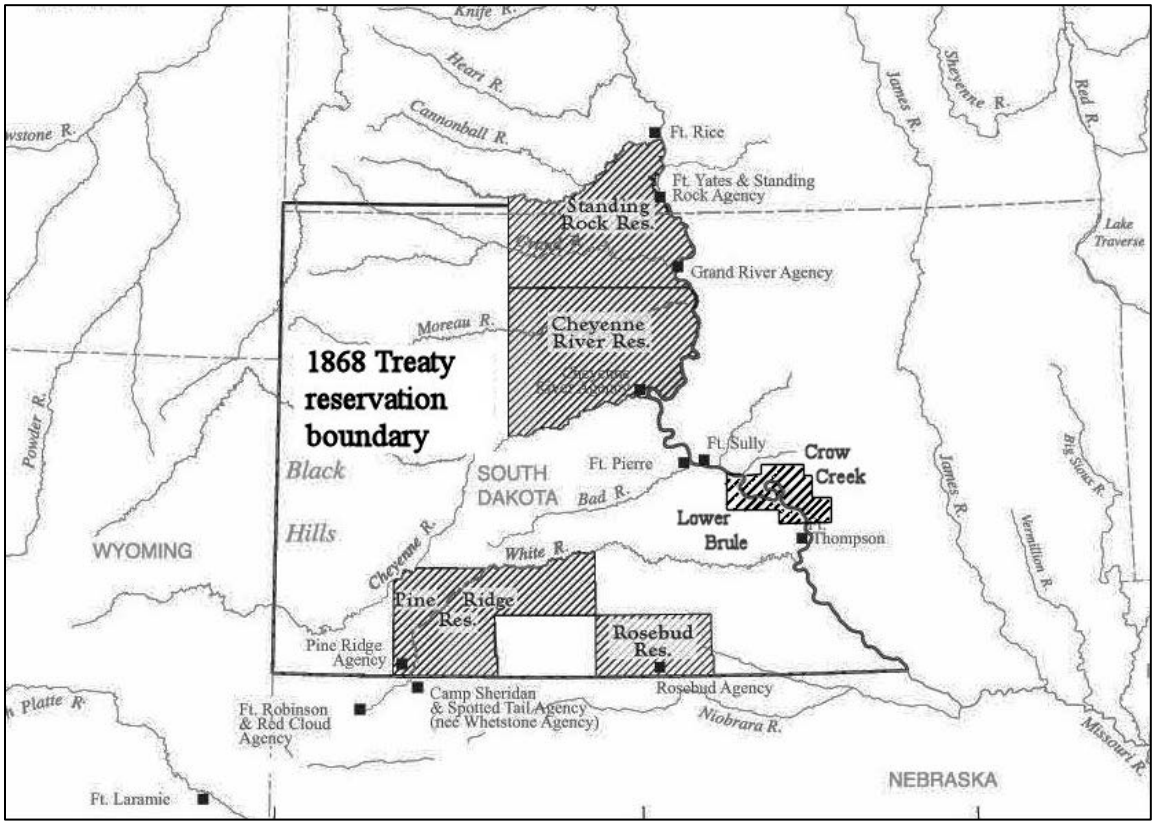


Figure 14: 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty boundary (not showing unceded hunting territories). The hatched areas show current reservation boundaries. (Smithsonian Winter Counts Online Exhibit)

Taking the Paha Sapa

With each successive treaty, written and signed by U.S. government representatives, the language seemed clear: the land described was reserved for tribal use only, no "whites" allowed unless special permission was previously given. The signers of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, both U.S. officials and American Indians, certainly knew how impermanent and unreliable a treaty could be. Both knew also that Euro-Americans already coveted the sacred and "off-limits" Paha Sapa. But the potential for gold in the Black Hills, as the Paha Sapa would come to be called by Euro-Americans, played on the minds of future prospectors. Stories were told of prospectors penetrating the Hills in search of gold as early as the 1830s.[134] Lt. Warren reported on his 1857 expedition that "Gold is found in places in valuable quantities…"[135] The Raynolds expedition also reported gold in the Black Hills.[136]

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[132] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 1002, Article 16.
[133] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 1002, Article 12.
[134] Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 48; also John S. McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, Edward L. Senn, ed. (1939;

Thus the 1874 expedition into the Black Hills led by Lt. Col. George A. Custer was not the first to "discover" gold in the Hills. Sent with a thousand men ostensibly to quiet mounting Lakota distrust, Custer's expedition also included geologists and several prospectors, along with several newspapermen. Their reports sent back to the eastern newspapers fueled what would become an outright invasion of the reserved Paha Sapa (Black Hills). In his correspondent's letter to the *Chicago Inter Ocean* dated July 27, 1874, William E. Curtis wrote: "Yesterday, July 26th, for the first time were found indications of gold…"[137] Custer himself sent dispatches reporting the discovery of gold in the Hills. Additionally, the newspaper reports painted the Black Hills as an "Eden…A highly fertile and productive region."[138]



Figure 15: Sinte Gleska (Spotted Tail), ca. 1875. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)

Not far behind the Custer expedition was a group later known as the Gordon Party, twenty-eight prospectors, including one woman, Annie Tallent, along with her husband and young son, who entered the Black Hills in December of 1874. The presence of a family, as well as the construction of a stockade around their camp revealed their intention to settle there permanently. The Gordon Party was expelled by U.S. troops in the spring, but they were soon followed by the Walter P. Jenney Expedition, sent by the government to confirm the presence and potential value of gold in the Black Hills. The resources identified by Jenney – gold, minerals, arable land for farming, grassland for cattle, and acres of timber, prompted even the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward P. Smith, to recommend the removal of the Hills from Lakota territory. Smith's suggestion came despite his admission that for the Lakota the Black Hills were "the one of all others within the boundaries of the Sioux reservation best adapted to their immediate and paramount necessities," in other words, necessary for their survival.[139]

In the waning months of 1875, U.S. military and government officials began a campaign to acquire the Black Hills. In September, under the auspices of the Allison Commission, appointed by Congress to negotiate for the Black Hills, the government offered to lease the Hills. It was an attempt, according to *Black Hills, White Justice* author Edward Lazarus, to "avoid the 'inconvenient' need to secure the treaty-required consent of three-fourths of the adult Sioux male population."[140] Alternately, they offered six million dollars for an outright purchase of the Black Hills. Both proposals failed, rebuffed by Sinte Gleska (Spotted Tail) who was speaking for the thousands of "agency Sioux" – those largely dependent upon government food allotments – encamped around the negotiation tent.

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republished, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000).
[135] Warren, *Preliminary Report*, 30.
[136] White, *Mako Washte*, 72.
[137] McClintock, *Pioneer Days*, 21.
[138] "The Black Hills," *New York Times*, Aug. 21, 1874, Journey Museum display, Rapid City, SD.
[139] White, *Mako Washte*, 73.
[140] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 81. The offer was for $400,000 per year or $6 million for an outright purchase (see Patrick A. Lee, *Tribal Laws, Treaties, and Government: A Lakota Perspective* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2013), 32).

Wicasa Tankala (Little Big Man) represented the Lakota who chose to live outside of the Indian Agency influence and continued the hunting ways rather than accept government rations. Backed by 300 warriors mounted and arrayed for battle, Wicasa Tankala (Little Big Man) delivered his message to the commission: "I will kill the first Chief who speaks for selling the Black Hills!"[141] This time it was Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud) who spoke. He proposed a price of seventy million dollars for the Paha Sapa:

> As long as we live on this earth, we expect pay...The amount must be so large that the interest will support us...If even only two Indians remain, as long as they live they will want to be fed, as they are now...
> ...These Hills out here to the northwest we look upon as the head chief of the land. My intention was that my children depend on these for the future...I think that the Black Hills are worth more than all the wild beasts and all the tame beasts in the possession of the white people. I know it well, and you can see it plain enough, that God Almighty placed these Hills here for my wealth, but now you want to take them from me and make me poor, so I ask so much that I won't be poor.[142]

Mahpiya Luta's (Red Cloud) comments reflected the reality of reservation life which had been forced upon the majority of American Indians with each successive government treaty.

Knowing that seventy million dollars was far more than Congress would ever agree to appropriate, government officials quickly began to devise ways to convince the Lakota to relinquish the Hills. U.S. Secretary of the Interior, Zachariah K. Chandler, suggested cutting off food rations, essentially starving them into submission.[143] General Sherman commented that "the Sioux have not lived in peace" and that Congress should "abrogate the whole treaty [of 1868]," reflecting a U.S. military anxious to resolve the "Indian problem" once and for all.[144] In November 1875, President Grant took an easier tack by letting the prospectors themselves take the lead. His orders were relayed by Lt. General Philip Sheridan to his subordinate General A.H. Terry in the Black Hills:

> ...the President decided that the orders heretofore issued forbidding the occupation of the Black Hills country, by miners, should not be rescinded, still no further resistance by the military should be made to the miners going in...[145]

Thus the floodgates opened and by the middle of January 1876 more than four thousand prospectors were combing the Black Hills for gold.[146]

President Grant with several of his key officials and military officers hatched a plan to force the non-compliant Lakota and Cheyenne along the Powder River into an action that would justify military intervention.[147] The plan would thus support the breach of the 1868

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[141] As cited in Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 81.
[142] As cited in Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 82.
[143] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 83.
[144] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 84.
[145] As cited in Lee, *Tribal Laws*, 32.
[146] Steven T. Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos: The Homestake Story* (Xlibris Corporation, 2011, GooglePlay ebook), 112.
[147] See discussion of Cheyenne involvement in Dr. Margot Liberty, "Cheyenne Primacy: The Tribes' Perspective As Opposed To That Of The United States Army; A Possible Alternative To "The Great Sioux War

treaty terms – that is the obligation to keep Euro-Americans from settling on land reserved to the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho – and bring about a final agreement for cession of the Black Hills. The "hostiles" (so called by the U.S. government) who continued to occupy the hunting grounds of the Powder River drainage, away from the agencies, were notified that they must vacate the unceded territory and return to the reservation by the end of January 1876, or be treated as enemies. Unable to comply with the order issued in the dead of winter, on February 1, 1876, the bands led by Tatonka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) and Tasunke Witko (Crazy Horse) were declared "hostile" to the U.S. government.[148]

Brig. General Crook and General Custer prepared for war. In what became known as "The Great Sioux War," the battle at the Greasy Grass or Little Big Horn Creek in June of 1876 was perhaps the most widely publicized. It served as a victory over the U.S. government that is still celebrated today. The Lakota and Cheyenne warriors' defeat of Custer's 7th Cavalry, killing 269 of Custer's men including Custer himself, had a devastating effect on the Lakota/Cheyenne/Arapaho cause. In August, Congress suspended the food rations to the reservation agencies, with the intention of starving the people until they gave the government what it wanted. At the September negotiations held at the Red Cloud Agency, the Manypenny Commission presented the "agreement" for the bands to sign, ceding the Black Hills and relinquishing the Powder River and North Platte River unceded territories, the last of the viable buffalo hunting grounds. Only ten percent of the adult male population signed the agreement, a far cry from the seventy-five percent required by the 1868 treaty.[149]

In 1877 Congress ratified the Manypenny Commission agreement in "An act to ratify an agreement with certain bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, and also with the Northern Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians."[150] Though never overtly stated in the text of the agreement, the purpose was to remove the Black Hills from the 1868 reservation boundary:

> The western boundaries shall commence at the intersection of the one hundred and third meridian of longitude with the northern boundary of the State of Nebraska; thence north along said meridian to its intersection with the South Fork of the Cheyenne River; thence down said stream to its junction with the North Fork [Belle Fourche]; thence up the North Fork of said Cheyenne River to the said one hundred and third meridian; thence north along said meridian to the South Branch of Cannon Ball River or Cedar Creek; and the northern boundary of their said reservation shall follow the said South Branch to its intersection with the main Cannon Ball River, and thence down the said main Cannon Ball River to the Missouri River...[151]

The "Report of the Commission Appointed to Obtain Certain Concessions from the Sioux," presented to Congress in December 1876, was more overt: "The Government thereby

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Of 1876," *Friends of the Little Bighorn Battlefield*, posted November 2006, www.friendslittlebighorn.com/cheyenneprimacy.htm, accessed 5/27/2016.

[148] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 84-85.

[149] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 84-91.

[150] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, 168-171.

[151] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, 168-171. Article 16 of the 1868 treaty held the Powder River drainage as "unceded Indian territory" to be closed to white settlement and closed the Bozeman Trail and its military forts.

secures full possession of a tract of country which includes the Black Hills and is defined by natural boundaries."[152]



Figure 16: "Red Cloud and Indians." 1877 delegation to the White House - (standing) Mato Luta (Red Bear), Thasuŋke Khokiphapi (Young Man Afraid of Horses), Ho Waste (Good Voice), Wa-Kin-Yan Can Gle-Ska (Ring Thunder), Kangi Maza (Iron Crow), White Tail (Lakota name unknown), Young Spotted Tail (Lakota name unknown) – (seated) Matho Gi (Yellow Bear), Mapiya Luta (Red Cloud), Big Road (Lakota name unknown), Thaopi Cik'ala (Little Wound), Black Crow (Lakota name unknown). (Library of Congress, Brady-Handy Collection, Prints and Photographs Division)

The entire episode of the taking of the Black Hills is perhaps the most succinct illustration of U.S. government policy in disregard to American Indians, their land, and their sovereignty. Congress had resolved the sovereignty issue in 1871 by doing away with the notion that American Indian tribes were sovereign nations with which the U.S. must negotiate treaties. The established system of assigned reservations, along with food and clothing rations, essentially reduced the people to wards of the federal government. Future land cessions would be achieved through "agreements," like the agreement that took the Black Hills, or even by unilateral Congressional action.

In 1887, Congress passed the Land Allotment Act, better known as the Dawes Act after its sponsor Senator Dawes of Massachusetts. The stated purpose of the act was "to

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[152] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1876* (Washington: Gov. Printing Office, 1876), 331. Additionally, the Secretary of the Interior strongly recommended that the ultimate goal of the negotiations should be the removal of the Lakota bands to "Indian Territory," now reduced to the west half of Arkansas Territory and the future Oklahoma Territory. This last provision, included in the 1876 agreement as Article 4, was specifically excepted from the agreement by all of the signing tribal leaders, and the government reportedly did not follow through because that land would soon be opened for settlement.

provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indian, and for other purposes."[153] Up to 160 acres of land deemed "advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes" would be assigned to each family, with smaller amounts to individuals. Any surplus tribal land, or "portions of its reservation not allotted," could then be negotiated for purchase by the government "and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and bona fide settlers" – that is non-American Indian settlers – under the terms of the 1862 Homestead Act.[154] Lakota bands had little interest in the agricultural allotment system which promised to alter their way of life in every way.

In 1889, Congress passed "An Act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder..."[155] This appears to be based upon the 1882-83 "Great Sioux Agreement," in which the government was able to cajole just enough of the requisite three-fourths of the adult Lakota men to sign, reducing what had become known as "The Great Sioux Reservation" by more than forty percent.[156] Chief negotiator General Crook convinced the signers, including Mahpiya Luta, "that no better deal would be forthcoming and that the government would take the land anyway..."[157] The remaining tribal land was carved into six smaller reservations centered on their respective agencies: Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Lower Brulé, Crow Creek, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock.[158]

"the nation's hoop is broken and scattered"[159]

Despair among the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho over the loss of the sacred Paha Sapa and their hunting grounds, their loss of sovereignty, and their dependence on unreliable government rations, was briefly eased in 1889-90 by the promise of the Ghost Dance. This was a new religion first professed by a Nevada Paiute named Wovoka. Ethnographer David White described the Lakota version of the Ghost Dance as "but one means by which Lakota people had attempted...to restore a sense of equilibrium to their lives."[160]

Dance in Lakota culture, according to White, was "a ritual means to spiritual and physical betterment."[161] But the Ghost Dance, like the more traditional and now-banned (in 1883) Sun Dance, inspired only fear in the minds of nearby Euro-American settlers and government officials who "considered Indian dancing to be nothing other than a preparation for war."[162] James McLaughlin, the government agent assigned to the Standing Rock Agency, accused Tatonka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) of being the "high priest and leading apostle" of the Ghost Dance movement and agitated for his arrest in early December 1890. A voice of

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[153] Prucha, *Documents* 170.
[154] Prucha, *Documents* 172.
[155] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, Chapter 405.
[156] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 1065.
[157] White, *Mako Washte*, 78.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Black Elk, as cited in Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 169.
[160] White, *Mako Washte*, 184.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

reason came from General Nelson Miles, stationed in Rapid City, who sent a telegram to General John Schofield in Washington, D.C. on December 19:

> The difficult Indian problem cannot be solved permanently at this end of the line. It requires the fulfillment of Congress of the treaty obligations that the Indians were entreated and coerced into signing. They signed away a valuable portion of their reservation, and it is now occupied by white people, for which they have received nothing.
>
> They understood that ample provision would be made for their support; instead, their supplies have been reduced, and much of the time they have been living on half and two-thirds rations. Their crops, as well as the crops of the white people, for two years have been almost total failures.
>
> The dissatisfaction is wide spread, especially among the Sioux, while the Cheyennes have been on the verge of starvation, and were forced to commit depredations to sustain life. These facts are beyond question, and the evidence is positive and sustained by thousands of witnesses.[163]

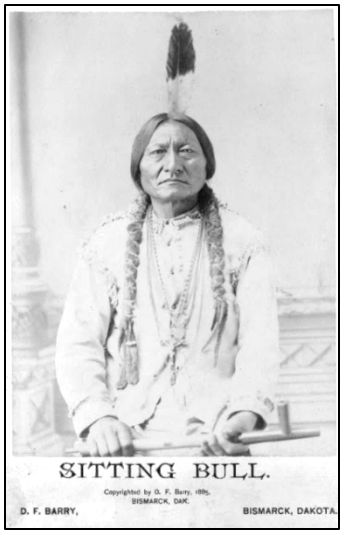


Figure 17: Tatonka Iyotake (Sitting Bull). Photo by D. F. Barry. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)

But General Miles' straightforward assessment of the situation on the reservations came several days too late. On December 15, Tatonka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) was arrested by Indian Police and subsequently killed during a fight between the police and his supporters.

An emotional storm had grown, not only from fear of the Ghost Dancers and Tatonka Iyotake's (Sitting Bull) death but also from the years of fighting and death on both sides, deprivation among the Lakota, and incitement for "more Indian blood" in the U.S. newspapers.[164] What appeared to be a measured and peaceful response to the death of Tatonka Iyotake (Sitting Bull) would end in the massacre at Wounded Knee Creek. On December 23, 1890, [Siha Tanka?] (Big Foot), a Minneconjou Lakota and Ghost Dance leader, started out with his group of dancers for the Pine Ridge reservation upon an invitation from Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud). Discovered enroute by Major Whitside and the 7th Cavalry, the group was taken to the Pine Ridge village of Wounded Knee. "What happened then is still disputed," notes David White, "it is certain that shooting erupted and that hundreds of Lakota people, including many women and children, were killed."[165]

The 7th Cavalry under Major Whitside, formerly Custer's command, used Hotchkiss artillery as well as their rifles and side arms at Wounded Knee, the firing so loud it could be heard across the Pine Ridge reservation. Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) recalled the sound of the guns that brought him and other warriors to the valley, too late. As the soldiers retreated, snow began to fall on the bodies of the Lakota men, women, and children:

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[163] As cited on *New Perspectives on the West*, "Archives of the West 1887-1914," Episode 8: "General Nelson A. Miles on the "Sioux Outbreak" of 1890."
[164] "Wounded Knee and the Ghost Dance," NPS Bulletin, Badlands National Park, South Dakota.
[165] White, *Mako Washte*, 81-82.

> I did not know then how much was ended. When I look back now [1931] from this high hill of my old age, I can still see the butchered women and children lying heaped and scattered all along the crooked gulch as plain as when I saw them with eyes still young. And I can see that something else died there in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A peoples dream died there. It was a beautiful dream.
>
> And I, to whom so great a vision was given in my youth, – you see me now a pitiful old man who has done nothing, for the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.[166]

If the despair among Lakota had been acute before the Wounded Knee massacre, it was surely deepened and more profound at the close of the year 1890.

For decades to follow, the federal government continued policies aimed at crushing the American Indian spirit and culture, couched in such terms as "moral improvement" and "assimilation." Children's education in government-sponsored schools, where traditional languages were forbidden, was made a requirement for receipt of rations. Land allotments in the Lakota reservations, finally achieved in the first decades of the twentieth century, scattered the traditional tiospaye (extended family group) in an attempt to end the communal social structure and land ownership. The ultimate aim was to free up more land for non-American Indian settlement and to end annuity payments negotiated in earlier treaties and agreements. Among the Plains American Indian tribes, those who did endeavor to farm faced almost certain failure (with similar failures among Euro-American settlers) in the semi-arid Plains environment. Land allotments were typically too small for most families to successfully graze cattle herds. Chronic hunger, ill-health, and unemployment defined the reservations.

But as the new century dawned, a new generation of Lakota leaders, educated in the government schools and with a better understanding of navigating Euro-American culture, would begin the process of restoring Lakota spirit, beginning with the claim for the return of the Paha Sapa.

"The Black Hills are Not for Sale"[167]

The Lakota have consistently maintained that the taking of the Paha Sapa was illegal based upon the requirement in the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie that any subsequent sale of land was to be approved and signed by three-fourths of the adult Lakota males.[168] This was not obtained in the 1876 Manypenny Commission agreement which removed the Paha Sapa from the Lakota reservation. Nor was any money exchanged for the "purchase" that was ratified by Congress in 1877, a requirement under the U.S. Constitution's Fifth Amendment: "...nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."[169] Through the troubles of the 1880s and 1890s, tribal elders held to the idea that they would one day get back the land that they viewed as stolen from them, or at least to get the payment owed to

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[166] As cited in Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks*, 169.
[167] From Shepard Fairey mural in Los Angeles (2011), a collaboration with HonorTheTreaties.org.
[168] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, 1002, Article 12.
[169] "Fifth Amendment," *Legal Information Institute*, Cornell University Law School, www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/fifth_amendment, accessed 6/2/2016.

them. In 1891, the "chiefs and headmen" at the Pine Ridge reservation formed the Oglala Council, "to discuss the old treaties, figure out how much money the Government owed them on account of the Black Hills."[170] The Paha Sapa was central to Lakota spiritual and cultural identity, wamakaognaka e'cante (the heart of everything that is), as it was for Cheyenne and Arapaho as well.

An initial attempt to file their grievance in the Court of Claims in 1906 was thwarted by Congress, which had specifically exempted American Indians from the right to sue the federal government. In 1911, Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho representatives from the reservations met in council to formulate a new plan. Though they resolved "That the treaty of the Black Hills in 1876 was executed illegal [sic]," the leaders focused on receiving payment for the Black Hills.[171] South Dakota State Historian Doane Robinson, who had completed his *History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians* in 1904, attended the council meeting as an observer. He indicated his support of the Black Hills claim in a Deadwood newspaper article: "The Sioux Indians have a highly interesting and equitable claim to the Black Hills which they assert they have never relinquished...and they propose to push for it until they obtain justice."[172]

Indeed, the push for justice continued for many decades, during which time development of the Black Hills continued. In 1920, Congress passed the Jurisdictional Act, allowing American Indian claims to be heard in the Court of Claims. In 1923, the Black Hills claim was filed for the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho by attorney Ralph Case.[173] While the tribes waited for their claim to move through the court system, Doane Robinson hatched his plan to expand tourism in the Black Hills. In 1924, Robinson enlisted the renowned sculptor Gutzon Borglum to carve a colossal monument on the face of Mount Rushmore (Tunkasila Sakpe Paha or Six Grandfathers Mountain) in the heart of the Paha Sapa. And just as the carving of Mount Rushmore dragged on into the 1930s, so too did the Lakota case to reclaim the Paha Sapa drag on in the Court of Claims.[174]

The Great Depression and Dust Bowl of the 1930s, which hit the struggling South Dakota reservations doubly hard, actually brought Gutzon Borglum and the Oglala Lakota of the Pine Ridge reservation closer together. In October 1931, Borglum toured the reservation and immediately began a campaign to help the six thousand people he described to President Hoover as "helpless and in dire want":

> The drought has killed their food crops and seventy-five percent of the tribe is starving. They are marooned, so to speak, on a vast barren area, timberless and practically gameless, as considered for food, even their streams have dried up. I found a condition of want and a general underfeeding prevailing...[175]

Borglum arranged to deliver 100 cattle to the reservation, donating five of his own cattle to the herd. Gutzon Borglum was inducted into the tribe for his efforts, called "Inyan Wanblee"

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[170] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 119, citing Indian Agent (Pine Ridge) Maj. John Brennan.
[171] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 128.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 146.
[174] "Indians Still Seeking Payments From The Government For Black Hills That Bring Tourist Delight," Oct. 16, 1931 newspaper article (prob. Rapid City), Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore (#2)," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[175] Gutzon Borglum to President Herbert Hoover, Oct. 9, 1931, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 70, Folder "Indian Affairs (#1)," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

(possibly "wanbli" meaning eagle, "inyan" meaning rock) by Oglala Chief Mato Naji (Henry Standing Bear) in his correspondence with Borglum. In 1933, Borglum arranged to have a herd of 100 "surplus" buffalo from Yellowstone National Park to be established on the Pine Ridge reservation, along with elk and deer.[176] He continued to help the Oglala through the 1930s, even as he carved their sacred stone into the Shrine of Democracy.

The Lakota's court case seeking monetary settlement of their Black Hills claim continued to languish, waiting ten years initially for the government to audit its expenditures "since 1815 on matters relating to the Sioux nation."[177] Another eight years passed before the oral arguments were heard in the October 1941 court session. On June 1, 1942, after nineteen years of waiting, the claim was rejected. Though attorney Case would file for a retrial, that too was rejected as was his appeal to the Supreme Court. The case was revived four years later after Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act in 1946. Attorney Ralph Case filed a renewed Lakota claim in August 1950 with the Indian Claims Commission. In the arguments finally heard by the Commission in 1952, the government's attorney drove home the point that the tribes had already received millions in annuities and other supports in exchange for the land taken. After allowing for several more arguments over the next two years, the Commission dismissed the Black Hills claim in April 1954. Refiled in 1956 with the Court of Claims, it was again rejected. In 1957, as he prepared his request for another hearing, Ralph Case died at the age of 77, after thirty-five years on the Black Hills case.[178]

New attorneys, Arthur Lazarus, Jr. and Marvin Sonosky, returned the Black Hills claim to the Indian Claims Commission in 1961. Preparations for the claim focused on the Fifth Amendment – a taking without just compensation, and included a valuation of the land and mineral prospects at the time of the taking in 1877. The case dragged on through the 1960s, as the African American Civil Rights movement took hold of the nation. American Indians too began to nurture their own empowerment through activist groups advocating American Indians causes.

The United Native Americans (UNA) was founded in 1968 by Lehman Brightman (and LaNada Boyer), who also created the first Native American Studies program in the country at the University of California-Berkeley.[179] The American Indian Movement (AIM), also founded in 1968, was an urban movement started in Minneapolis to combat police brutality and by 1970 operated a Legal Rights Center.[180] Both groups saw Borglum's "Shrine of Democracy" sculpture at Mount Rushmore in the sacred Paha Sapa as an ideal stage on which to gain public awareness of American Indian issues.

On August 29, 1970, a group of twenty-three American Indians climbed to the top of Mount Rushmore to protest the taking of the Paha Sapa. The group included the three Oglala Lakota women (Lizzy Fast Horse, Muriel Waukazoo, and Minnie Two Shoes) who initiated the idea, UNA President Lehman Brightman, and AIM leaders Russell Means and Dennis

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[176] Letters, January-June 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 70, Folder "Indian Affairs (#1)," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[177] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 156.
[178] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 183-216.
[179] Bruce E. Johnansen, *Encyclopedia of the American Indian Movement* (Denver, CO: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2013), 63-64.
[180] Laura Waterman Wittstock and Elaine J. Salinas, "A Brief History of the American Indian Movement," www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html, accessed 6/1/2016.

Banks, among others.[181] Brightman, born on the Cheyenne River reservation, was interviewed on national television by CBS News on September 2, seated among the rocks of Mount Rushmore: "Well, first I should say the federal government said this land would belong to us as long as the grass grows and the water flows and the sun shines...then they turned around and took this land from us."[182] Brightman warned, "You're gonna see some wide awake, educated Indians, we've got some new Indians coming up, new warriors," implying that this new generation would not sit quietly but would renew their fight for the Paha Sapa. When CBS News reporter Ike Papas spoke with Mount Rushmore Superintendent Wallace McCaw, Papas noted the American Indian occupiers claimed their right to the land. McCaw answered that the claim was "still in litigation...there's a fifty percent chance they're right."[183]

The UNA/AIM occupation at Mount Rushmore lasted for three months, until winter weather forced the peaceful group off the mountain.[184] It had been an empowering experience, according to Quanah Brightman, daughter of Lehman Brightman, who noted in her 2007 "YouTube" post of the occupation news reel: "This was the First Indian uprising in South Dakota since the Sioux Wiped Out Custer in 1876, and suddenly young and old alike were taking new faith, Indians were Fighting Back."[185] On June 4, 1971, AIM leaders Russell Means and Clyde Bellacourt returned to Mount Rushmore with forty followers, again intending to bring public attention to the Black Hills claim, though this demonstration was quickly thwarted by Park Service personnel.[186] AIM garnered more public attention in November 1972 with their caravan from Wounded Knee to Washington, DC known as the Trail of Broken Treaties, ending with a six-day occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building.[187]

Returning from Washington to the Pine Ridge reservation, Russell Means' home reservation, the invigorated AIM members began perhaps their most-publicized event on February 28, 1973. For seventy-one days, they occupied the small Pine Ridge village of Wounded Knee, under siege by federal agents who declared the occupation illegal. Means issued a statement on March 11, proclaiming the independence of the sovereign Oglala Sioux Nation, whose boundaries were those given in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. They were the very boundaries still in litigation after twelve years before the Indian Claims Commission. The Wounded Knee occupation ended in May 1973, with two American Indians killed and one FBI officer wounded. Russell Means and Dennis Banks were arrested along with several others, but their point was made and heard widely by the American public.[188]

Whether the activities of AIM, the UNA, and other American Indian groups had any bearing on the Indian Claims Commission's consideration of the Black Hills claim is

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[181] Dennis Banks, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 109-111.
[182] "United Native Americans Reclaims Mount Rushmore-1970," posted by Quanah Brightman, Oct. 31, 2007, www.youtube.com/watch?v=3Wd1uLgV7mc, accessed 6/1/2016.
[183] Ibid.
[184] The encampment site is preserved on the mountain and recorded as MORU 4 (Molyneaux et al., "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey," 42).
[185] Ibid.
[186] John Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers: The Story of the Obsessive Quest to Create Mount Rushmore* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2002), 356.
[187] Banks, *Ojibwa Warrior*, 131.
[188] Johansen, *Encyclopedia*, 293-298.

unknown. However, in December 1973, just eight months after the Wounded Knee occupation ended, the final arguments in the case were scheduled to begin. Under consideration was whether the previous Court of Claims ruling against the claim disqualified the current claim under the Fifth Amendment (right of just compensation), what was the value of the property taken, and what compensation had the government already provided.[189] In February 1974, the Commission ruled in favor of the Black Hills claim, placing a value of over $17,000,000 on the Black Hills land taken in 1877. With interest compounded over the intervening ninety-three years, minus the government's compensation in annuities etc., the final value was estimated as high as $85,000,000.[190]

In 1975, the government appealed the Commission's decision to the Court of Claims, claiming that the case was indeed disqualified by the 1942 Court of Claims decision. Again, the Court of Claims found in favor of the government, once again denying the Black Hills claim. Lawyers Sonosky and Lazarus appealed the case to the Supreme Court but were denied. In 1978, after friends of the Black Hills claim in Congress passed legislation that "instructed the Court of Claims to consider the Black Hills claim on its merits," the case was again heard by the Court of Claims.[191] This time the Court of Claims ruled in favor of the Black Hills claim: the 1877 Congressional act constituted a taking and the tribes were entitled to just compensation totaling $17, 553,484 plus interest, a grand total of $105,000,000.[192] The government appealed the decision to the Supreme Court in 1980, claiming Congress violated the separation of powers in passing the 1978 amendment and that the "reclamation" of the Black Hills was not a taking under the Fifth Amendment. In their decision dated June 30, 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court found in favor of the "Sioux Nation of Indians," 103 years after the taking of the Paha Sapa, the tribes would finally receive compensation.[193]

But by 1980, few of the Lakota leaders were inclined to accept money for the Paha Sapa. Since the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973, sentiment was growing, particularly in the Pine Ridge reservation, to accept only the return of the Paha Sapa land. In 1978, the Oglala Tribal Council at Pine Ridge had issued a resolution stating, "The Black Hills are not for sale." When the Court of Claims judgment came out in 1979, the Lakota response was one of confusion. Rosebud resident Isadore White Hat voiced their confusion: "Everybody's talking about it here but we don't know what to do about it."[194] Today (2016), the money continues to sit in a government account, accruing interest, and is said to be valued now at over a billion dollars. "The Black Hills are not for sale" is a potent rallying cry in the Lakota cultural florescence occurring across the reservations today. As recently as 2012 and 2014, the Lakota nations raised enough private money to purchase the sacred Paha Sapa meadow land known as Pe' Sla.[195]

The Lakota claim to the Black Hills was ultimately determined by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1980 to be a valid claim for a government taking. But this determination came more

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[189] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 315; "UNITED STATES v. SIOUX NATION OF INDIANS," *The Oyez Project at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law*, www.oyez.org/cases/1970-1979/1979/1979_79_639, accessed 6/2/2016.
[190] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 326.
[191] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 347.
[192] Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 375.
[193] "UNITED STATES v. SIOUX NATION OF INDIANS."
[194] As cited in Lazarus, *Black Hills, White Justice*, 375.
[195] Andrea J. Cook, "Tribes buy final piece of Pe' Sla," *Rapid City Journal*, Dec. 3, 2014.

than 100 years too late. Even before the December 1876 agreement was signed, the Black Hills had been lost to gold fever. Custer City was platted in the summer of 1875. It was followed by Hill City, and in the spring of 1876 Crook City and Homestead appeared with discoveries of gold in the northern Black Hills. By 1880, the non-American Indian population had grown to more than 16,000 prospectors, miners, purveyors, and homesteaders. The sacred landscape of the Paha Sapa, “the heart of everything that is” for the Lakota, would become subordinate to Euro-American industry, agriculture, and tourism as they formed new layers of resource development in the Black Hills.

Chapter 3

Euro-American Development of the Black Hills

The American Indian and Euro-American cultural beliefs which governed the use of natural resources in the Paha Sapa or Black Hills in the nineteenth century were strikingly opposed. Anthropologist William Powers observed that Lakota believed that humans were the last to populate the earth and therefore are the least-knowledgeable of the inhabitants of the natural world:

> When Lakota seek knowledge about their present state of affairs, they seek it through instructions imparted to the medicine men from animals, birds, and other animate and inanimate forms that serve as his helper.[1]

Accordingly, the sacredness ascribed to the plants, animals, and stone of the Paha Sapa required that use of the natural resources should leave little imprint on the landscape. The Euro-American view, according to Powers, held that "humans were the last to inhabit the earth, and are therefore the crowning glory of all that preceded them."[2] They saw the natural resources of the Black Hills as there for the taking by anyone with enough gumption as their "Manifest Destiny." Sioux City newspaper editor, Charles Collins, clearly expressed that view in 1872 when he concluded the government policy preventing non-American Indian settlement on tribal land was "antagonistic to the spirit of our people, and the development of the hidden resources now imbedded in the virgin soil of our Western Territories."[3]

While the Euro-American development of the Black Hills began with the gold rush of the 1870s, the exploitation of Black Hills resources quickly expanded to include logging, homesteading, ranching, and mining of other metals and minerals. Towns grew with the myriad support services required to feed, clothe, and entertain the growing population. Roads and railroads, necessary to move people and products into and out of the Hills, tied the various settlements and activities together. Census records from 1880 through the early 1900s reveal a population originating from remarkably diverse locations. Included among that population were a small number of African Americans who ventured to the Black Hills as prospectors and entrepreneurs. The railroads as well as the Deadwood mines also imported Chinese workers, though few remained in the Hills at the conclusion of their work contracts, which required them to return to China.[4] American Indians too continued to use Black Hills natural resources – when permitted to leave the reservation by the local agent – or found employment on the ranches and farms. But by far it was Euro-Americans, along with European immigrants, who dominated the post-1876 development of the Black Hills.

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[1] As cited in Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 282.
[2] As cited in Albers, *Home of the Bison*, 282.
[3] As cited in Jane Conard, "Charles Collins: The Sioux City Promotion of the Black Hills," *South Dakota History* (South Dakota Historical Society, 1971), 141. Collins founded of the Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association in 1872.
[4] Jesse and Linea Sundstrom in Church and Rom, *Cultural Resources Overview*, 4a-12.

Post-Civil War Industrial Development in the United States

The Black Hills gold rush was the last of the great nineteenth century gold rushes in the United States.[5] Like the previous gold discoveries, many of the men and women who arrived in the Black Hills in the late 1870s came from eastern farms, towns, and cities seeking adventure. Others were Midwestern farmers and many were drawn from the ranks of prospectors already in the western gold fields of Montana, Colorado, Oregon, and California. Black Hills land, along with the surrounding Plains land that would be carved from the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho reservations over the next decades, was also among the last of the lands opened to homesteading opportunities in the United States. Most of the people who came to the Black Hills in the 1870s and 1880s had been impacted in some way by the post-Civil War depression known today as the Panic of 1873 and saw the resources of the Hills as an opportunity for a new start.

Industrial development and westward expansion in the U.S. began decades before the American Civil War of 1861-1865. Indeed many of the divisive issues that led to the Civil War grew from these developments, pitting agricultural "slave states" in the South against the industrial "free states" of the North. As U.S. territorial expansion and migration accelerated following the Mexican-American War of the 1840s, the determination of slave versus free labor in the territories, and ultimately states, disintegrated into war in 1861.[6] The war itself was a boon to industry in the Northeast, but slowed the growth of the western territories temporarily and halted expansion of the railroads. President Abraham Lincoln sought to stimulate those developments with the Homestead Act and the Union Pacific Railroad Act, both enacted in 1862, but it was not until the end of the war in 1865 that substantive activity renewed.

Prior to the war, it was the railroads and the fertile prairie lands of the Midwest that accelerated the growth of the city of Chicago to its dominant position as the processor and shipper of resources from west of the Mississippi River. After 1865, that domination increased as the railroads expanded further west. The natural resources of the west – bison hides, timber, gold, minerals, and other precious metals, as well as agricultural products such as wheat, corn, and beef – fed the machines, products, and labor forces of the rapidly expanding U.S. industrial complex.[7]

The "Great Depression" of the 1870s (1873-1879) grew out of falling post-war commodities prices and rampant speculation associated with the industrial and agricultural expansion of the United States. Much of the speculation focused on railroad construction and western land development. The financial panic immediately followed the failure of New York speculators to make payments, specifically Jay Cooke & Co. who had financed the Northern Pacific Railroad. The New York Stock Exchange closed for ten days beginning on September 20, 1873. The panic spread across the nation as investment dollars evaporated at a critical time in the country's recovery from the Civil War, described as "in the process of building a great industrial and urban superstructure upon an agrarian foundation."[8]

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[5] The Alaska gold rush, which began in 1899, took place before Alaska had even formed as a U.S. territory.
[6] This is, of course, a very simplified distillation of the causes of the Civil War.
[7] William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 91-93.
[8] Samuel Rezneck, "Distress, Relief, and Discontent in the United States during the Depression of 1873-78," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 58, No. 6 (Dec., 1950), 494-512 (The University of Chicago Press); Warren M. Persons, Pierson M. Tuttle and Edwin Frickey, "Business and Financial Conditions Following the Civil War in the United States," *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 2, Supplement 2 (Jul., 1920), 5-21(The MIT

Europe was at the same time suffering similar economic constraints following the Franco-Prussian War, compounding the economic depression in the U.S. and sending waves of immigrants at a time when U.S. industry already faced labor surpluses. Writing in 1877, economic analyst David A. Wells appeared to despair of both industrial improvements and western settlement as solutions to unemployment in his article, "How Shall the Nation Regain Prosperity?" Wells implied that sending surplus laborers west as homesteaders was no longer an option, citing government geologist J. W. Powell who recently wrote that "all the good public lands fit for settlement are sold." Wells then asked the question, "What disposition is it proposed to make of the labor of the country which labor-saving machinery and new methods of business have now...made manifestly surplus?"[9]

With a burgeoning immigrant population and the prospect of easy settlement on public lands in the western territories seemingly no longer an option, all eyes turned to treaty-reserved American Indian land. Thus the opening of the Black Hills to mining and settlement, officially in 1877, was welcomed by men and women from all corners of the United States and Europe. Their trek west was eased by the presence of the railroad, at least as far as the Missouri and North Platte Rivers, and the promise of Black Hills gold.

Black Hills Gold

The rush for gold in the Black Hills began more than a year before the September 1876 Manypenny Commission agreement with the Lakota, in which the U.S. government took possession of the Black Hills.[10] The Gordon Party entered the Hills in 1874, a full two years prior to the Manypenny agreement. Known also as the Collins-Russell Expedition, the group of twenty-eight, including Annie Tallent and her nine-year old son, was led by Thomas Russell. Russell had partnered with Charles Collins in 1872 in forming the Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association. That venture was squelched by the U.S. government, still attempting to honor the 1868 treaty. In 1874, Collins and Russell partnered again to harvest the Hills. Once again the U.S. Army foiled their plans as the Gordon Party was escorted out of the Black Hills in the spring of 1875.[11]

The members of the Gordon Party were not the only prospectors illegally occupying the Black Hills in 1875. When General Crook was sent in July 1875 to clear the Hills of non-American Indian intruders, he reported finding twelve hundred men in various locations. Before being evicted, several of the prospectors laid out a town of twelve hundred lots called Stonewall, later changed to Custer City, near French Creek. Annie Tallent recalled that several hundred men entered the lottery for town lots before leaving the Hills. Clearly, all involved believed the Black Hills would soon be opened to settlement. Even General Crook allowed eight of the miners to remain at the Gordon stockade in order to protect the prospectors' claims. Still, by January 1876, so many prospectors had returned to the French Creek area that Custer City would grow to include 1,400 buildings by the end of March. A

Press).

[9] As cited in Rezneck, "Distress, Relief, and Discontent," 496.

[10] In fact, Congress did not ratify the agreement until February 28, 1877, see Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 168.

[11] Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 97-98.

population of 6,000 – and by some estimates as high as 10,000 people – worked the French Creek area claims or provided support services.[12]

General Crook's initial removal activity was concentrated in the southern Black Hills. Thus many prospectors had moved their search to the northern Hills, "away from General Crook's troops."[13] Gold was discovered along Deadwood Creek by early fall 1875 and by January 1876 placer claims covered the entire land area. The town of Deadwood was platted in April 1876. Drawing on a fevered rush of new prospectors and a mass migration from Custer City, by the end of summer the population of Deadwood had grown to more than 7,000.[14] A few of the miners recovered gold valued in the thousands of dollars from their placer claims, but most did not even cover their prospecting expenses.

Placer claims consisted of eroded ore found in alluvial deposits along the creeks and were relatively cheap to work, but rarely produced profitable finds. The placer gold was in fact eroded from the deeper hardrock veins, commonly in veins of quartz, known as "mother lodes" or lode claims.[15] These hardrock mines were more expensive to work but potentially much more profitable. It was the larger, more valuable lode claims, notes historian Richmond Clow, upon which the "future of the Black Hills mining industry would hinge..."[16] In the northern Hills, a lode claim near Deadwood Creek proved to be perhaps the most important discovery of Black Hills gold. On April 9, 1876, Moses Manuel and Henry Harney located what they later called the Homestake Mine, located on Gold Run Creek:

> We started to dig a discovery shaft on the side of this little draw, and the first chunk of quartz weighed about 200 pounds and was the richest ever taken out. We came over next day and ran an open cut and found we had a large deposit of a rich grade of ore.[17]

By the end of September 1876, the same month that the Manypenny Commission accomplished the cession of the Black Hills from the Lakota, the first quartz mill – the Bolthoff Pulverizer – arrived for the purpose of freeing the gold ore from the quartz. By 1877, there were eleven stamp mills operating in Lead City, which had grown around the Homestake Mine.[18]

Mining Prospects East of Harney Peak: 1875 to 1929

Despite the gold discoveries in the northern Black Hills and the presence of General Crook's troops in the south through the summer of 1875, the southern Hills did continue to attract hopeful prospectors. The Newton-Jenney Expedition, sent to confirm Custer's

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[12] Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills; or, the Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing, 1899, 136-141.
[13] Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 105.
[14] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 348-351.
[15] See Eric Twitty and Jay Fell, "Context for Historic Mining Resources in the Black Hills and South Dakota," Draft manuscript (2010), http://history.sd.gov///preservation/OtherServices/MiningContextDraft.pdf, accessed 2/3/2016; also Richmond L. Clow, *Chasing the Glitter: Black Hills Milling, 1874-1959* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2002), 3.
[16] Clow, *Chasing the Glitter*, 3.
[17] Moses Manuel memoir, as cited in Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 135. The claim was staked in partnership with Fred Manuel and Alexander Engh.
[18] Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 145.

findings, worked its way through the Hills' southern drainages in June-July 1875. Upon finding a group of twenty prospectors in the French Creek area, Lieutenant Colonel Richard I. Dodge, who commanded the expedition's military escort, informed the miners that he would not attempt to remove them.[19] Professor Walter P. Jenney, the lead geologist on the expedition, reported finding small amounts of gold along French Creek, but that, "The water supply is small and failing, and the grade too little to admit of the tailings being carried off by the stream."[20] Jenney further noted that, "Gold was found in small quantities in gravel deposits along the numerous creeks flowing east from Harney Peak," though the difficulties of the terrain prevented their pursuing further investigation.[21] In October 1875, eastern newspapers picked up Jenney's reports, leaving out any reference to "small quantities" in order to encourage potential prospectors:

> He reports gold fields extending forty miles north from Harney's Peak, and twenty miles wide, that contain gold in quantities that will pay three to five dollars per day to the man, and that there are bars on a number of streams that will pay more than that.[22]

This area would have included the streams and creeks surrounding the granite mass that is today called Mount Rushmore, at that time located within the French Creek Mining District. A few prospectors did manage to work through the difficult terrain and in 1876 placer gold was discovered on Battle Creek, reportedly the genesis of the town of Harney. Nearby, a settlement known as Crossville in Buckeye Gulch grew around the cabin and placer claims of Fred J. Cross, who settled there in 1877.[23] Due to the unusually deep gravel deposits, placer mining in the area proved to be more difficult and costly.

By the 1880s, the Black Hills gold rush was leveling out. The business of mining precious metals, whether in placer deposits or hardrock mines, was never a guarantee of wealth or even marginal success. The mass of prospectors who combed the Black Hills through the 1870s all but exhausted the more accessible, though less lucrative, supply of placer gold in the gulches and streams by 1880.[24] From the 1880s through the early twentieth century, the deeply embedded placer gravels were extracted through a complicated hydraulic mining process that required a significant capital outlay for equipment. In 1883, excavation of the Battle Creek placer gold was renewed when hydraulic mining equipment was brought in by the Harney Peak Hydraulic Gold Mining Company. The work extended six miles along Battle Creek. The operation was so large it required two flumes to bring water to the excavations of the "Mitchell Bar," one from Battle Creek and the other from Grizzly Creek, and included a trestle "200 feet overhead at the confluence of the two creeks for a span of

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[19] Mitchell, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 100.
[20] Henry Newton and Walter P. Jenney, *Report on the Geology and Resources of the Black Hills of Dakota* (Washington: GPO, 1880), 231.
[21] Newton and Jenney, *Report on the Geology*, 235.
[22] "The Black Hills Expedition," *Worcester Evening Gazette*, Worcester, Massachusetts, October 18, 1875.
[23] Robert E. Hayes, "A Thumbnail History of Keystone," *Keystone Area Historical Society*, www.keystonehistory.com/keyhistory.html, accessed 2/9/2016.
[24] Twitty and Fell, "Context for Historic Mining Resources in the Black Hills and South Dakota," Draft manuscript (2010), 43, 46.

700 feet."[25] Hydraulic mining companies, like the Harney Peak Gold Mining Company, continued to operate in the Black Hills until about 1910.[26]

Just east of the Mitchell Bar digs, Jacob Reed's unsuccessful placer claim on Battle Creek became the location of a new town named Keystone in 1891, after Reed and his partners William Franklin and Thomas Blair discovered a hardrock lode nearby. The Keystone Mine began operations the same year. It was sold in 1893 to a group of investors from St. Paul, Minnesota, operating under the name Keystone Gold Mining Company.[27] The new owners built a mill in 1893 to process the ore removed, primarily taken from an open cut. According to the South Dakota mine inspector's report for 1893, over 18,000 tons of ore was milled, producing $65,000 in gold and in 1894, over 21,000 tons of ore provided gold valued at $74,952.[28]

In 1894, William Franklin discovered another "mother lode" adjoining the Keystone Mine, which he called the Holy Terror Mine. The story is told that he named the mine for his wife who regularly retrieved him from the local saloons: "Franklin would wink at his friends and say, 'Ain't she a holy terror?'"[29] The Holy Terror Mine was one of the most productive quartz vein hardrock mines in the southern Black Hills. When William Franklin and his partner Thomas Blair began excavations at the mine they reported ore at forty feet with a value of $500 per ton.[30] In the first year they sold a half interest in the mine to John J. Fayel and Albert Amsbury. The influx of cash paid for construction of a five-stamp mill with a steam hoist at the mine to haul and process the ore. The shaft reached sixty feet in depth in their first year of production, and netted the owners $32,000. Fayel and Amsbury sold the Holy Terror Mine to John S. George of Wisconsin, who then organized the Holy Terror Mining Company and hired Fayel to manage the operation.[31]

In 1898, John George and partners, Charles Kiff from Wisconsin and J. J. Foyce of Keystone, purchased the Keystone Mine and formed the Keystone-Holy Terror Company. The two mines were connected by a side shaft, allowing ore from both mines to be brought up to either mill, the Holy Terror stamp mill by then having been expanded to thirty stamps. Reports from 1898 and 1899 record ore removed over the two-year period valued at over $500,000.[32] The mine was sold again in 1899 to a new ownership group from Rapid City, R. B. Hughes, H. S. Vincent, and James Fowler. In 1901, as a new underground hoist was being installed, a malfunctioning compressor pushed deadly gas through the airline, killing three miners. The resulting lawsuits went against the mine owners, who paid out $75,000 to the miners' families. Though the mine had brought in over a million dollars over its nine years of operation, the lawsuits and ground water troubles forced the company into bankruptcy and the mines were closed in 1903.[33]

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[25] Hayes, "A Thumbnail History of Keystone."
[26] Twitty and Fell, "Context for Historic Mining Resources in the Black Hills and South Dakota," Draft manuscript (2010), 51.
[27] Martha Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys* (Keystone, SD: Permelia Publishing, 1976), 83.
[28] Paul T. Allsman, *Bulletin 427: Reconnaissance of the Gold Mining Districts in the Black Hills, S. Dak.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), 94.
[29] Hayes, "A Thumbnail History of Keystone."
[30] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 85.
[31] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 92-93.
[32] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 92.
[33] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 85-87; Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 92-93. Allsman reported in 1940: "A small tonnage was mined from surface and shallow openings of the Keystone-Holy Terror claims in 1906-8 and 1911. A total of 659 tons of ore yielded 195.06 ounces of gold and 90 ounces of silver." (Allsman, 94)

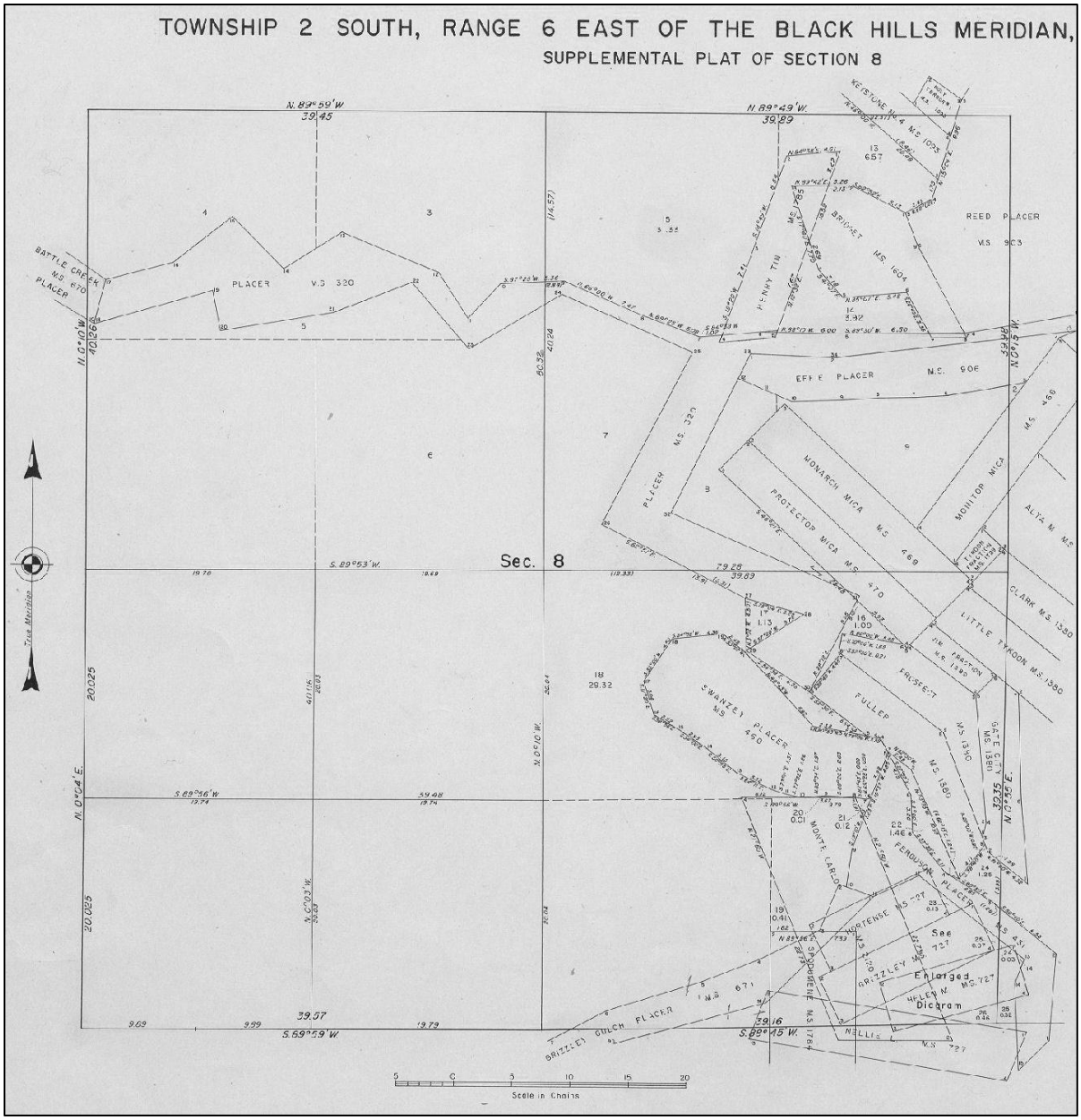


Figure 18: "Supplemental Plat of Section 8." BLM record showing the mineral claims north and east of Mount Rushmore. (Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records)

There were other moderately successful gold mines in the Keystone area. Most, like the Keystone and Holy Terror Mines, were developed after the failure of the tin boom. Word of the excellent prospects found at Keystone and Holy Terror created a localized rush for gold claims in the 1890s. The Holy Smoke Mine was developed around 1898 on ten mining claims in Buck Eye Gulch, the area where Fred J. Cross had worked his early placer claim. Under the supervision of Col. James Clark, the mine property included "a whim house, the superintendent's house, miners' cabins, boarding house, blacksmith shop, and the stables accommodating twenty-four horses, as well as numerous other buildings."[34] In 1899, the

[34] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 94.

Keystone newspaper, *Keystone Miner*, reported the start of operations at the Bismark Mine using an alternate method for removing gold from the rock ore: "The concentrator, with a capacity of 200 tons of ore a day, is the finest to ever be introduced into the Hills."[35] A report complied in 1940 indicates that there were no production records for the Bismark Mine until 1904 and that it closed operations in 1907 having produced just over 1,000 ounces of gold over the four-year period.[36] The Bullion Mine opened in 1891, "under the same hill as the Keystone and Holy Terror," and reportedly sold its gold ore to the Homestake Mining Company.[37] The D. B. Ingram & Company operated a ten-stamp custom mill that processed ore from the Bismark and Bullion Mines, as well as the Big Hit Mine, Lucky Boy Mine, and Tom Austin Mine, all located in the Keystone area by the late 1890s.[38]

Though many hardrock mines failed in the first decades of Black Hills mining, the ores produced from the remaining mines continued in demand.[39] From the 1880s through the 1920s, expanding U.S. and foreign industrial markets justified continued extraction of gold, silver, copper, and lead. Tin (cassiterite) and other minerals, including feldspar, mica, beryl, spodumene, tantalite, and quartz, were also found in the pegmatite mines of the southern Black Hills.[40] These later operations were not limited to the large, successful corporations like the Homestake Mining Company. Many, like the smaller mines around Keystone, were owner-operated. As long as they continued to produce enough ore to cover their costs, they could remain in operation.

The larger mining enterprises were funded by investors, often from finance centers such as New York and Chicago, though the Homestake Mining Company was a California enterprise. The Black Hills "tin boom" relied on both U.S. and British investors. In 1884, a young New York lawyer by the name of Charles E. Rushmore was sent to the Black Hills to "secure options on the Etta mine, and other cassiterite [tin] locations."[41] Returning in 1885, he spent several weeks exploring the Keystone area, "among prospectors at Harney and at a log cabin built in that neighborhood," developing a special bond with the "rough, but kindly, men":

> I conformed to their ways, and, may I say it with becoming modesty, was in favor with them. I was deeply impressed with the Hills, and particularly with a mountain of granite rock that rose above the neighboring peaks. On one occasion while looking from near its base, with almost awe, at this majestic pile, I asked of the men who were with me for its name. They said it had no name, but one of them spoke up and said "We will name it now, and name it Rushmore Peak." That was the origin of the name it bears, and, as I have been

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[35] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 96. Modern definitions of a concentrator in the hardrock gold mining process indicate that it is used after the initial milling process to "concentrate" finer particles of gold using gravity, in order to gain a higher percentage of gold recovery from the ore. It is essentially using the old prospector's system of "panning" or "sluicing" placer gold.
[36] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 104.
[37] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 105.
[38] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 474.
[39] Twitty and Fell, "Context for Historic Mining Resources in the Black Hills and South Dakota," Draft manuscript (2010), 84.
[40] Molyneaux et al, "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey," 7.
[41] Charles E. Rushmore to Doane Robinson, December 14, 1925, Doane Robinson Collection (DRC), Box 3363A, Folder 149 "Mount Rushmore, 1923-1925," South Dakota State Archives, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre, SD.

> informed, it is called Rushmore Peak, Rushmore Mountain and also Rushmore Rock.[42]

Among the group of prospectors present was David N. Swanzey, who recalled that it was "Bill Challis, the famous prospector...and discoverer of the Bob Ingersoll Mine," who responded to Charles Rushmore's query. Swanzey recalled Challis saying, "Never had a name but hereafter we'll call her Rushmore by Jingo."[43] In fact, the mountain did have a name. The Lakota called it Igmu Tanka Paha (Cougar Mountain), but also called it Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Six Grandfathers Mountain) for the series of head-like knobs on the formation after Hehaka Sapa's (Black Elk) vision of the Tunkasila Sakpe (Six Grandfathers) had been revealed.[44] Local Keystone tradition attached a number of names to the mountain prior to Rushmore, including Cougar Mountain, as well as "Sugarloaf Mountain, Slaughterhouse Mountain, and Keystone Cliffs."[45]

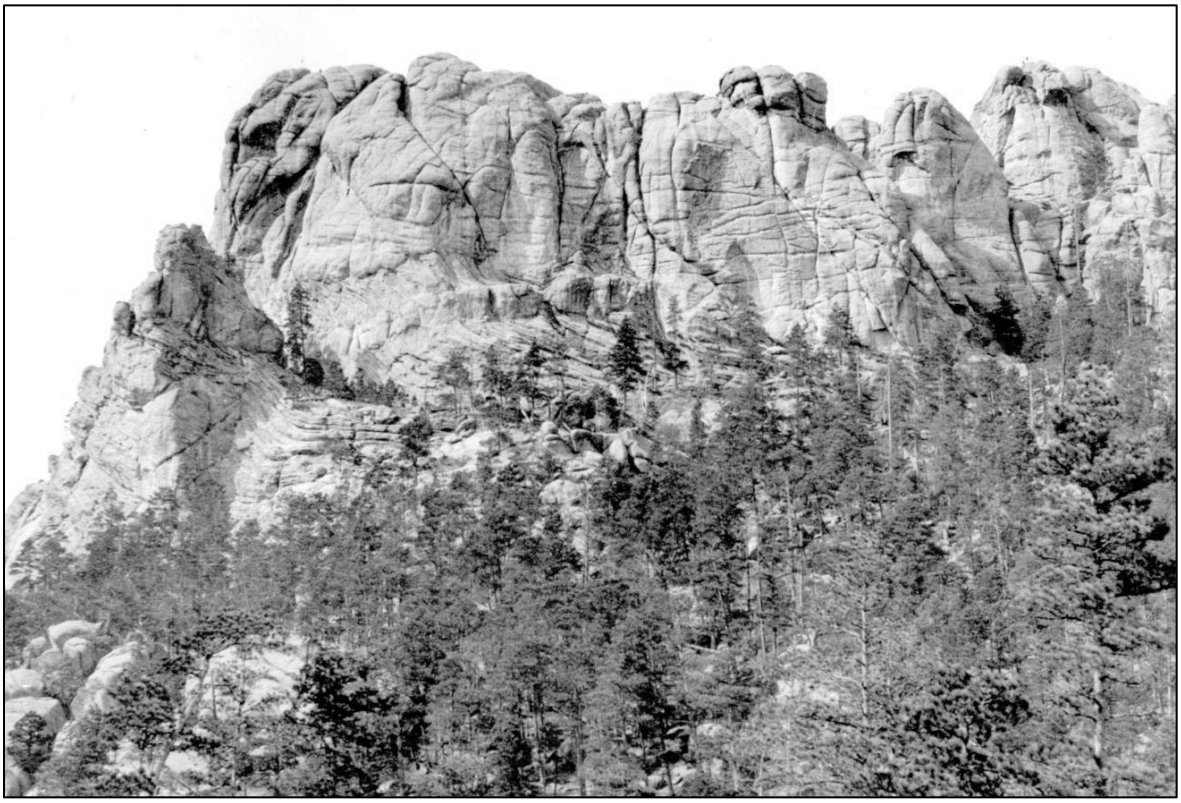


Figure 19: Mount Rushmore as it appeared before 1925. (MRNM Archives, #3712MORU)

[42] Rushmore to Robinson, December 14, 1925, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149
[43] D. N. Swanzey to Doane Robinson, January 25, 1926, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 150 "Mount Rushmore, 1926-1927."
[44] Victor Douville, Lakota tribal elder and History & Culture Coordinator at Sinte Gleska University, Mission, SD, personal communication, 2016. Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) indicated that he did not reveal his vision until he was seventeen, about 1880 (Neihart, *Black Elk Speaks*, 100).
[45] "Keystone Characters," *Keystone Area Historical Society*, http://keystonehistory.com/characters.html, accessed 2/29/2016.

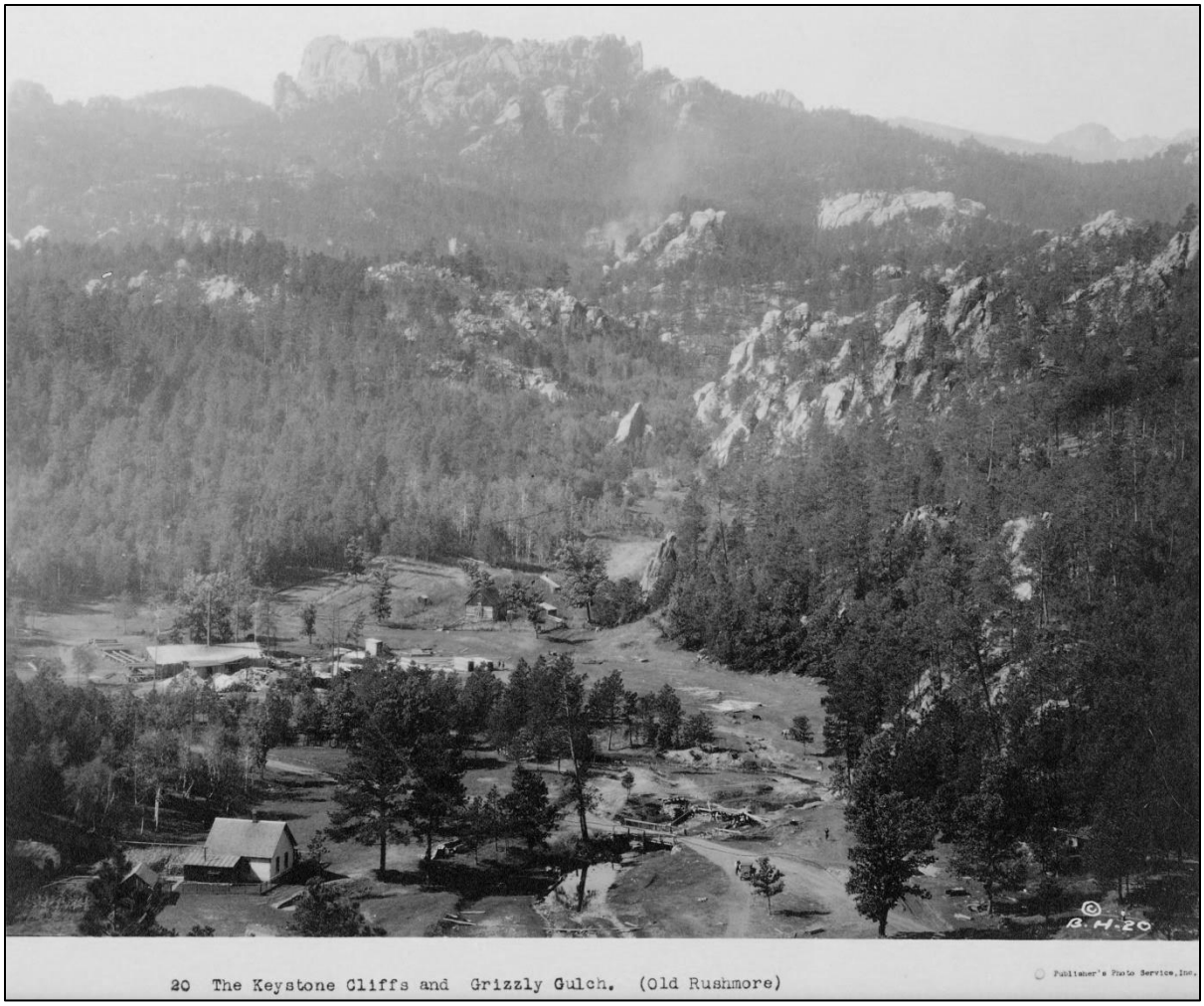


Figure 20: "Keystone Cliffs and Grizzly Gulch. (Old Rushmore)" This photo, looking across Grizzly Creek toward Mount Rushmore (locally known as Keystone Cliffs) appears to show part of Etta Camp in the foreground, including a sawmill (center left). (MRNM Archives, #3313MORU)

Charles Rushmore's story indicates the presence of prospectors around the "Rushmore Rock," an area difficult to prospect according to Walter Jenney, but rich in pegmatite veins potentially bearing minerals of interest. The 1901 USGS map (Hermosa Quadrangle) indicates several tracks through the Mount Rushmore area, one along Sawmill Gulch (today's Lafferty Gulch) and another approximating the path of the later Horse Thief Lake Road. **(Figure 21)** Several buildings are also noted in the area. A 2008 archeological survey of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial area located as many as eight late nineteenth to early twentieth century mining prospects.[46] One site included evidence of a habitation, in the approximate location of the "cabin" shown on the 1929 "Proposed Rushmore Memorial Reservation" map. **(Figure 22)** That map also identified the "Swanzy [sic] Placer Claim" and "log cabin" located within the proposed boundary.[47] That claim belonged to David N. Swanzey, who accompanied Charles Rushmore on the day Rushmore

[46] Molyneaux et al, "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey," sites identified as MORU 15, 17, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, and 42.
[47] The boundary officially established in 1939 did not extend this far to the east.

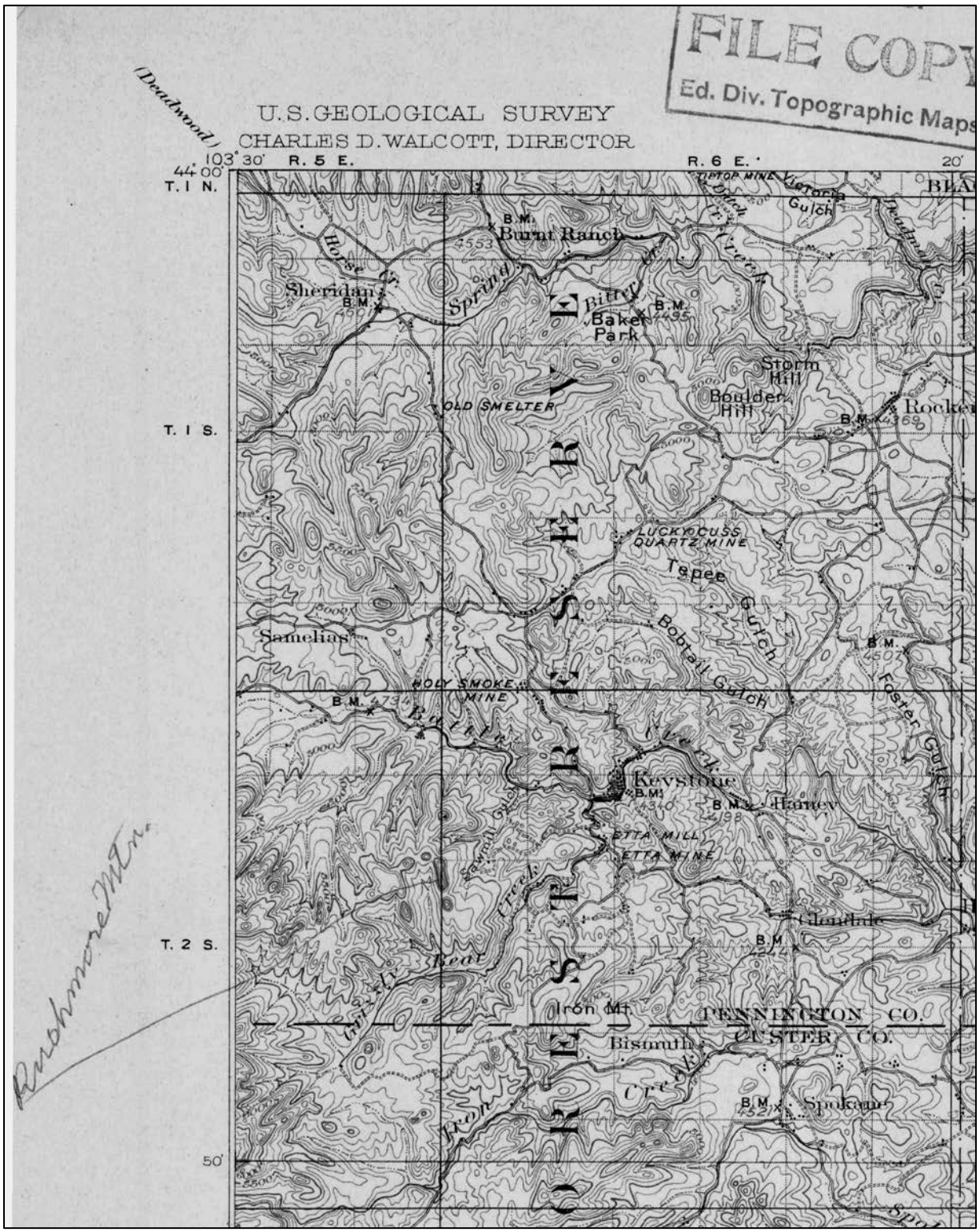


Figure 21: 1901 USGS Hermosa Quadrangle. The penciled notation for "Rushmore Mtn." was written onto the USGS file copy. (USGS Historical Map Explorer)

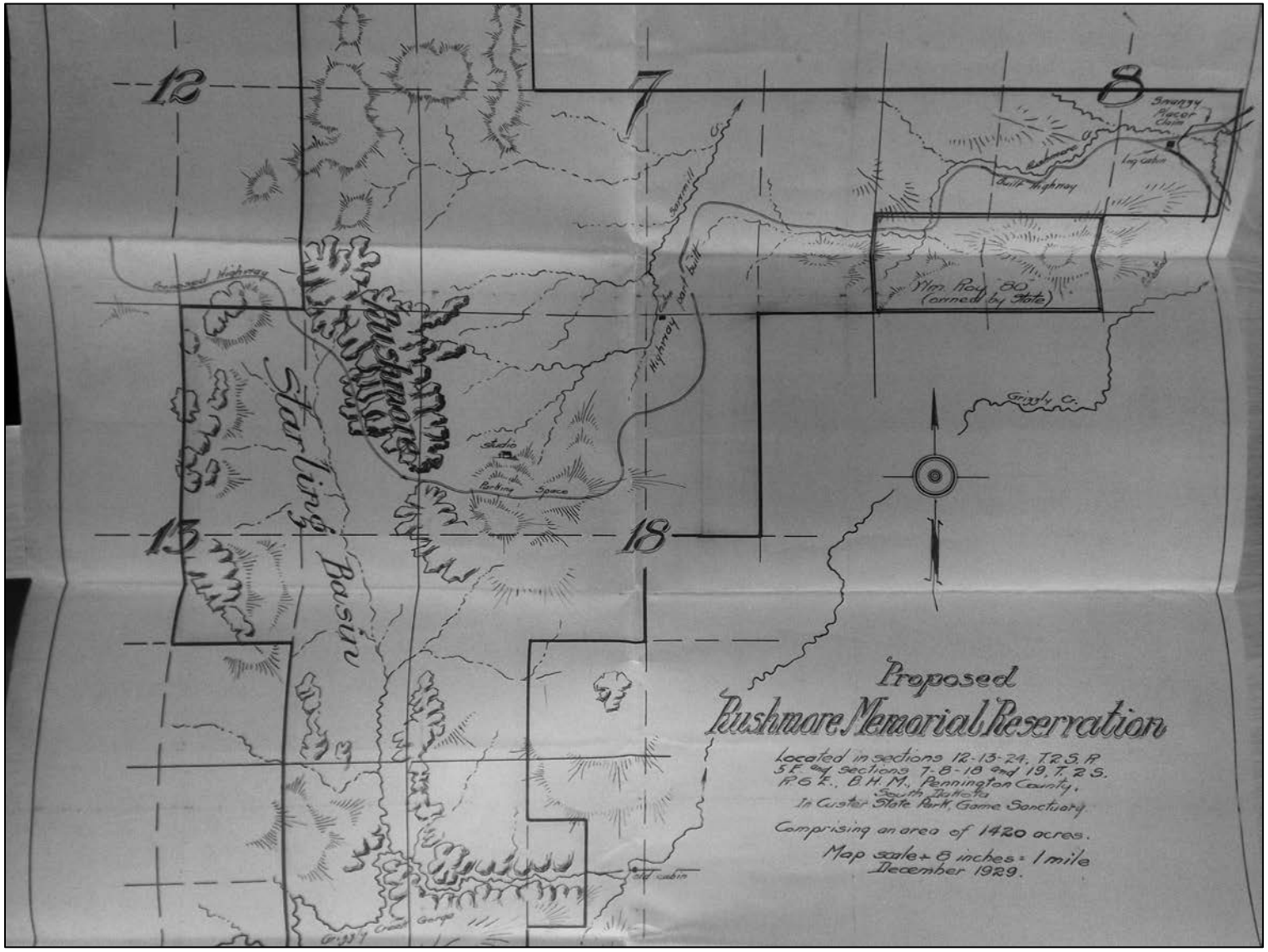


Figure 22: 1929 "Proposed Memorial Reservation," showing locations of prospector cabins and claims. (GB Papers, Box 161, "Borglum Gen'l Corr., 1930," Library of Congress)

Mountain was renamed. Several of the sites also indicate logging activities on the pine-studded foothills surrounding Mount Rushmore. Timber was a valuable resource, used in the mines to support the tunnels and was also in high demand for building construction at the mines and in the boom towns of the Black Hills.

The Etta Mine, just south of Jacob Reed's gold placer claim, began mica extraction in 1883. Tin ore (cassiterite) was discovered in the mine that same year and a rush to corner the tin extraction potential of the region ensued. It began in 1884 when the Etta Mine was sold to the American Tin Mining Company of New York. After forming the Harney Peak Tin Mining, Milling, and Manufacturing Company, they went about selling stock in order to purchase as many as 1,200 tin claims in the Keystone/Hill City area, including Bill Challis' Bob Ingersoll Mine.[48] By 1887 the New York group had turned principally to British investors through their newly-reorganized Harney Peak Consolidated Tin Company, Ltd., based in London. In 1892, the company built a 500-ton mill at Hill City to process the expected ore, but it operated for only a few months, closing in February of 1893. The Etta Mine was closed as well and would sit silent until 1898.[49]

Excavation of spodumene at the Etta Mine began in 1898 and by 1905, more than 12,000 tons of the lithium-bearing crystal had been removed over the seven-year period.[50] Soon after that the Standard Essence Company of Maywood, New Jersey took over the mine. The large spodumene crystals found in the Etta Mine produced some of the purest lithium available. The 1922 textbook of *General Economic Geology* specifically mentioned the Etta Mine for its lithium production.[51] The mine was recognized as having the largest known spodumene crystals:

> The crystals are often of enormous size. In the Etta mine, where they are best exposed both in the open cut and in the tunnel, they frequently attain a diameter of 3 to 4 feet and a length of 30. The largest "log" so far found was 42 feet long and of 5 feet 4 inches maximum diameter. This one log alone would yield 90 tons of spodumene.[52]

The lithium extracted from the pegmatite mines of the Black Hills was exported to Europe where it was converted to lithium salts for use "in medicine and in medicinal water."[53] The remarkable Etta Mine was the source of many other valuable minerals, including "feldspar, columbite, apatite, asenopyrite, beryl and molybdenite."[54] In 1926, David Swanzey claimed that both the Etta Mine and the "Swanzey" spodumene mine were owned by Thomas Edison,

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[48] David A. Wolff, "No Matter How You Do It, Fraud is Fraud: Another Look at Black Hills Mining Scandals," *South Dakota History*, summer 2003, 100; Clowe, *Chasing the Glitter*, 20; Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 453-454.
[49] Wolff, "No Matter How You Do It, Fraud is Fraud," 100-105.
[50] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 80.
[51] William Harmon Emmons, *General Economic Geology: A Textbook* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1922), 317, https://archive.org, accessed 3/7/2016.
[52] V. Ziegler mineral report titled "The Mineral Resources of the Harney Peak Pegmatites" (1914), as cited in Waldemar Schaller, "United States Geological Survey, Bulletin 610, Mineralogic Notes, Series 3" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), 138.
[53] Emmons, *General Economic Geology*, 317. "Edison eventually discovered the lithium storage battery. This usage and other applications such as welding, pyrotechnics, photography, de-humidifiers, and specialty glass contributed to an increase in demand during the late 1800's and early 1900's (Hess, 1939)." ("Pegmatites of the Black Hills," *Dakota Matrix Minerals*, www.dakotamatrix.com/content/pegmatites-of-the-black-hills, accessed 3/30/2016)
[54] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79.

though most reports indicate that it was the Maywood Chemical Company, successor of the Standard Essence Company, that owned the Etta Mine at that time.[55]

The Bullion Mine, which closed about 1900 due to the high arsenic content of the ore, was reopened in 1923 by the Keystone Arsenic Company, producing both arsenic and gold. From 1923 through 1927, when the mine again closed, the Bullion Mine produced just over 1,000 ounces of gold and over 97,000 pounds of arsenic.[56] Arsenic had a very high value at the time, its primary use being in the cotton fields in the South where the boll weevil was destroying valuable crops. In Keystone, an arsenic reduction plant was constructed adjoining the railroad, where it was processed and then shipped south. By 1924, "over 100 men were employed in the production of arsenic at the Bullion Mine."[57] In 1927, the price of arsenic fell and the Bullion Mine closed. The Bullion Mine, Keystone-Holy Terror, and other nearby mines were consolidated in 1927 by Keystone Consolidated Mines, Inc., under Louis Byron, Jr. From 1928 through 1930, the Bullion Mine produced over 4,000 ounces of gold.[58]

The extraction of feldspar, used for pottery glazes and enamels, took hold in the Keystone area pegmatite mines in 1923. With local farmer Emil Hesnard as their guide, Harold Eyrich and John Schrieber located a "good supply of high-grade feldspar" at the Peerless and Hugo Mines. They established the Keystone Feldspar Corporation with Emil Hesnard as their superintendent. A power plant was installed to operate the air drills and "powder" was used to remove the rock. The ore was trucked to the railroad depot in Keystone and then taken by rail to Illinois for processing. The railroad was key to the success of the mineral mining business, notes local historian Martha Linde, but it was not until shipping rates were reduced in the 1920s that Black Hills feldspar extraction became profitable and Keystone experienced another mining revival.[59]

Roads and Rails

The Black Hills development boom began as post-Civil War American industry was kicking into high gear. Gold and other metals and minerals were in growing demand, not just to create wealth, but for industrial uses as well. The transcontinental railroads were an integral part of this industrial revolution, conceived, in part, to facilitate the movements of industrial products, as well as to move people and agricultural products and promote settlement in the western territories. The completion of the transcontinental Union Pacific Railroad in 1869, which passed along the North Platte River on its route westward, provided the earliest connection for the Plains region to both the eastern and western markets. The Black Hills, however, by virtue of their location within the 1868 treaty boundaries still in effect until 1877, remained relatively isolated from the nation's industrial and population centers. Thus the earliest Euro-American migrants to the Black Hills found it not only difficult to get to the Hills, but once there they were challenged by the need to import

[55] David N. Swanzey to Doane Robinson, January 25, 1926, Doane Robinson Collection, Box 3363A, Folder 150 "Mount Rushmore, 1926-1927"; Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 80.
[56] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 96.
[57] Hayes, "A Thumbnail History of Keystone."
[58] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 97-98.
[59] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 106.

supplies and equipment and to export the fruits of their labors. Developing transportation networks would be key to the success of Black Hills settlement and industry.

The Union Pacific Railroad provided a relatively convenient starting point for people and freight heading for the Hills. The railroad stations at Cheyenne, Wyoming and Sidney, Nebraska, both at least 200 miles south of the Black Hills, served as the ports out of which the freight wagons and stagecoaches initially ran. They followed the worn paths previously used by bison and their American Indian hunters traveling into or out of the Black Hills through Buffalo Gap. These were also the same routes followed by the Custer (1874) and Jenney (1875) expeditions. "The southern approach," observed historian Mark David Spence, "also came with the least likelihood of dangerous conflict on the plains with Lakotas, Cheyennes or Arapahos."[60] The territory over which the southern routes passed was opened by the 1876 Manypenny Commission agreement (confirmed by Congress in 1877), which moved the western boundary of the reservation eastward to the forks of the Cheyenne River.[61] The Northern Pacific Railroad, completed to the Pacific coast in 1883, reached Bismarck (at Ft. Lincoln) on the west side of the Missouri River in 1873. With the discovery of gold in Deadwood Gulch in 1876, this too became an important access point to the Black Hills, though the 350-mile trek was daunting.

The 1876 Manypenny Commission agreement with the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho additionally guaranteed construction of up to three overland roads "from convenient and accessible points on the Missouri River, through said reservation, to the country lying immediately west thereof," as well as "free navigation of the Missouri River."[62] This was an important provision as the Missouri River was a significant transportation route plied by steamboats coming up from the Mississippi River. The agreement sought to provide the shortest routes from the river, coming from the east rather than north or south. As early as 1875, Fred Evans' Sioux City & Black Hills Transportation Company had already hauled the Gordon Party provisions across the reservation, following a southern route from Sioux City along the Niobrara River to the Black Hills. In 1876, the renamed Evans Transportation Company moved its starting point to Yankton, then to Ft. Pierre, from which shipments could be made across the reservation to the new Black Hills town of Rapid City. Traffic was so heavy, recalled Annie Tallent, that soon Evans' company employed as many as "1,000 to 1,500 men and wagons, from 2,000 to 3,000 oxen, and from 1,000 to 1,500 mules."[63]

In April of 1877, the War Department issued a pamphlet "containing the best routes from the Missouri River to Deadwood and Custer City," the routes being those "in accordance with the late treaty with the Sioux Indians":

> *Route No. 1* – Beginning at Bismark [sic], Dakota, the present western terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, it will cross the 103d meridian of longitude, the western boundary of the Sioux reservation, on the shortest and most practicable route to Deadwood City.
> *Route No. 2* – Beginning at a point on the right bank of the Missouri River, known as Fort Pierre, or at some point not over 18 miles north of that place, it will cross the 103d meridian, on the shortest and most practical route to Deadwood City.

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[60] Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds*, 124.
[61] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 169.
[62] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 169.
[63] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 189-190, 303.

> *Route No. 3* – Beginning at the Yankton crossing of the Missouri River, and thence up the south bank of the Niobrara to its crossing opposite the mouth of the Keya Paha River, thence up the latter stream to or near the sources of Porcupine Creek, whence it will cross the 103d meridian on the shortest and most practicable route to Custer City.[64]

The War Department's "Route No. 2" was likely the route followed by the Rapid City town founders in 1876, laid out, they claimed, "with a view of encouraging freight and passenger traffic from Eastern points over the line to the natural gateway to the Black Hills."[65] The Rapid City route followed the old Warren Expedition route out of Ft. Pierre, breaking off to cross the Cheyenne River and continue west to enter the Hills at Rapid Creek.

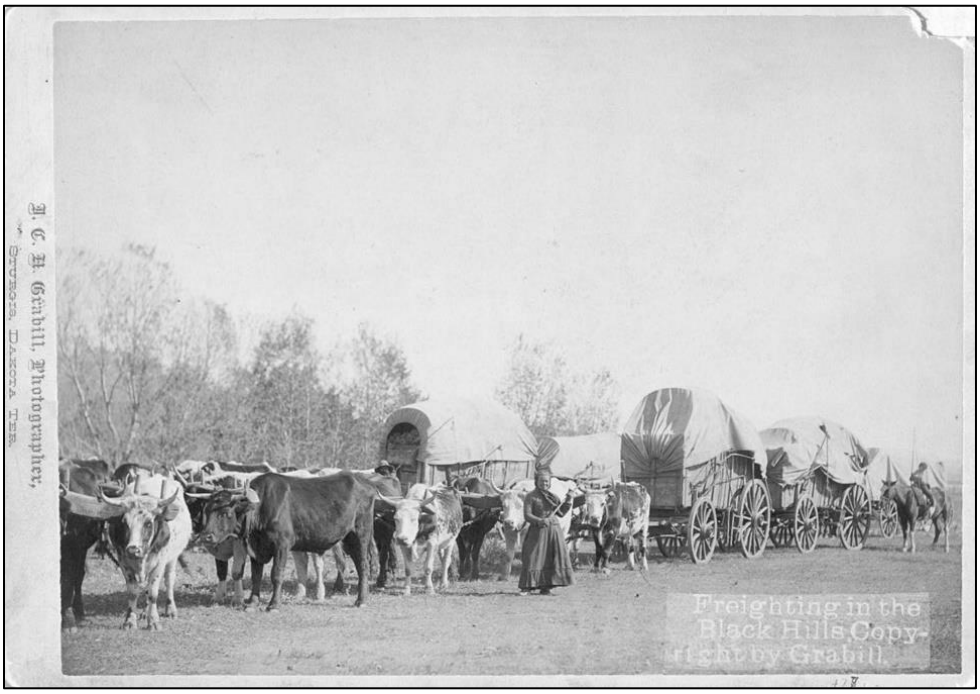


Figure 23: "Freighting in the Black Hills." Photo by John Grabill. (Library of Congress, Grabill Collection, Prints and Photographs Division)

In 1878, the Dakota Territorial Map identified two established "highways" leading into the Black Hills. **(Figure 24)** "The Territorial Highway from the Black Hills to the Missouri" followed the War Department's "Route No. 2." Though Rapid City was not shown on the 1878 map, it was already two years old and certainly became one of the destinations along the route. This would have been the road followed by the Evans Transportation Company. From the north, the "Territorial Highway from Ft. Lincoln to the Black Hills," War Department "Route No. 1," was bringing prospectors from the rail and river port at Bismarck to the busy northern Black Hills region, passing through Crook City to its final destination at Deadwood. The 1881 "Post Route Map of the Territory of Dakota" shows three primary routes into the Black Hills: to Deadwood from the north, Rapid City from the east, and from the south through Buffalo Gap to Custer. **(Figure 25)**

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[64] "How to Reach the Black Hills," *New York Times*, April 6, 1877.
[65] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 305.

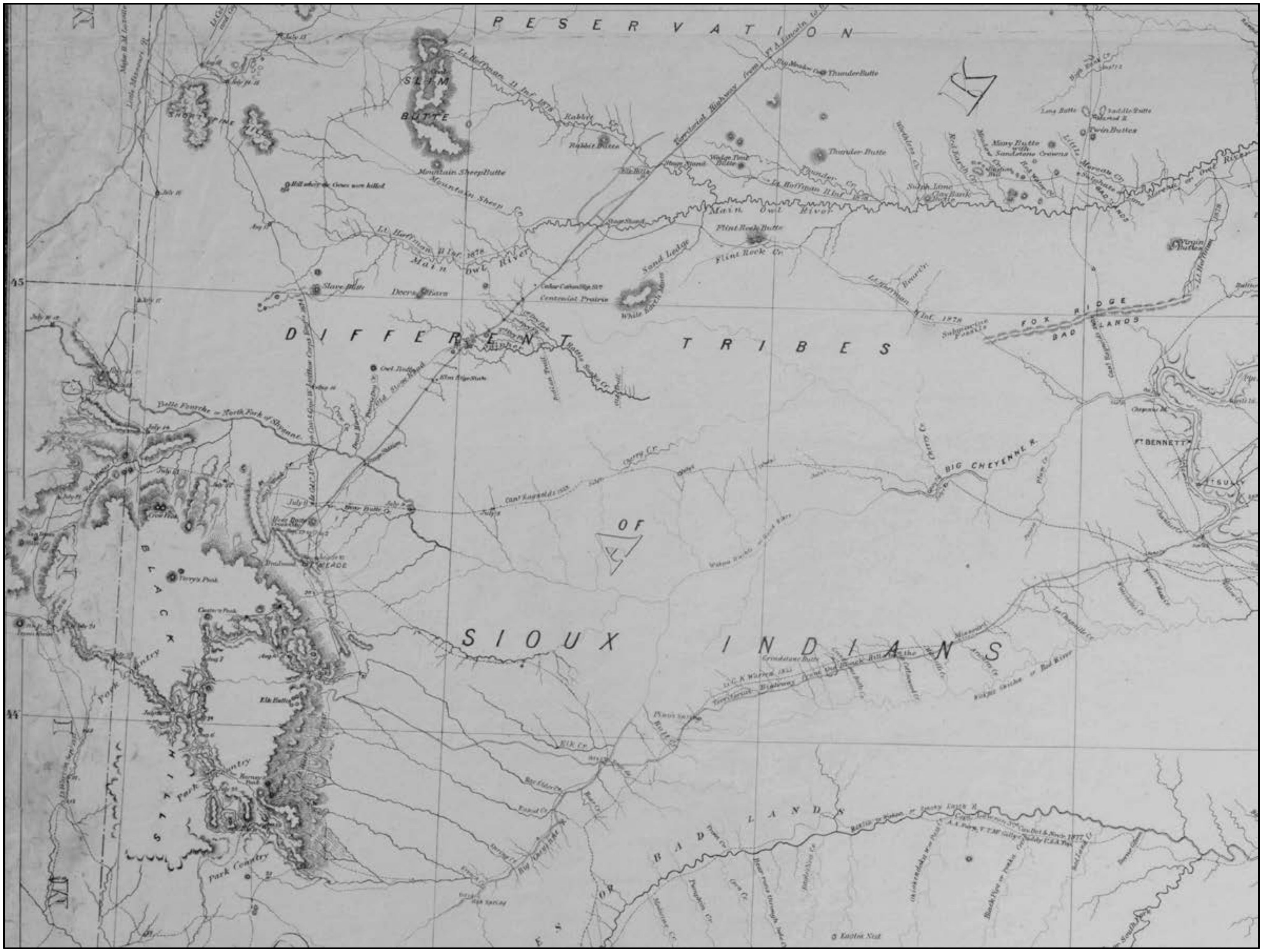


Figure 24: "Dakota Territory." 1878, Julius J. Durage, U.S. War Dept., Office of the Chief of Engineers. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

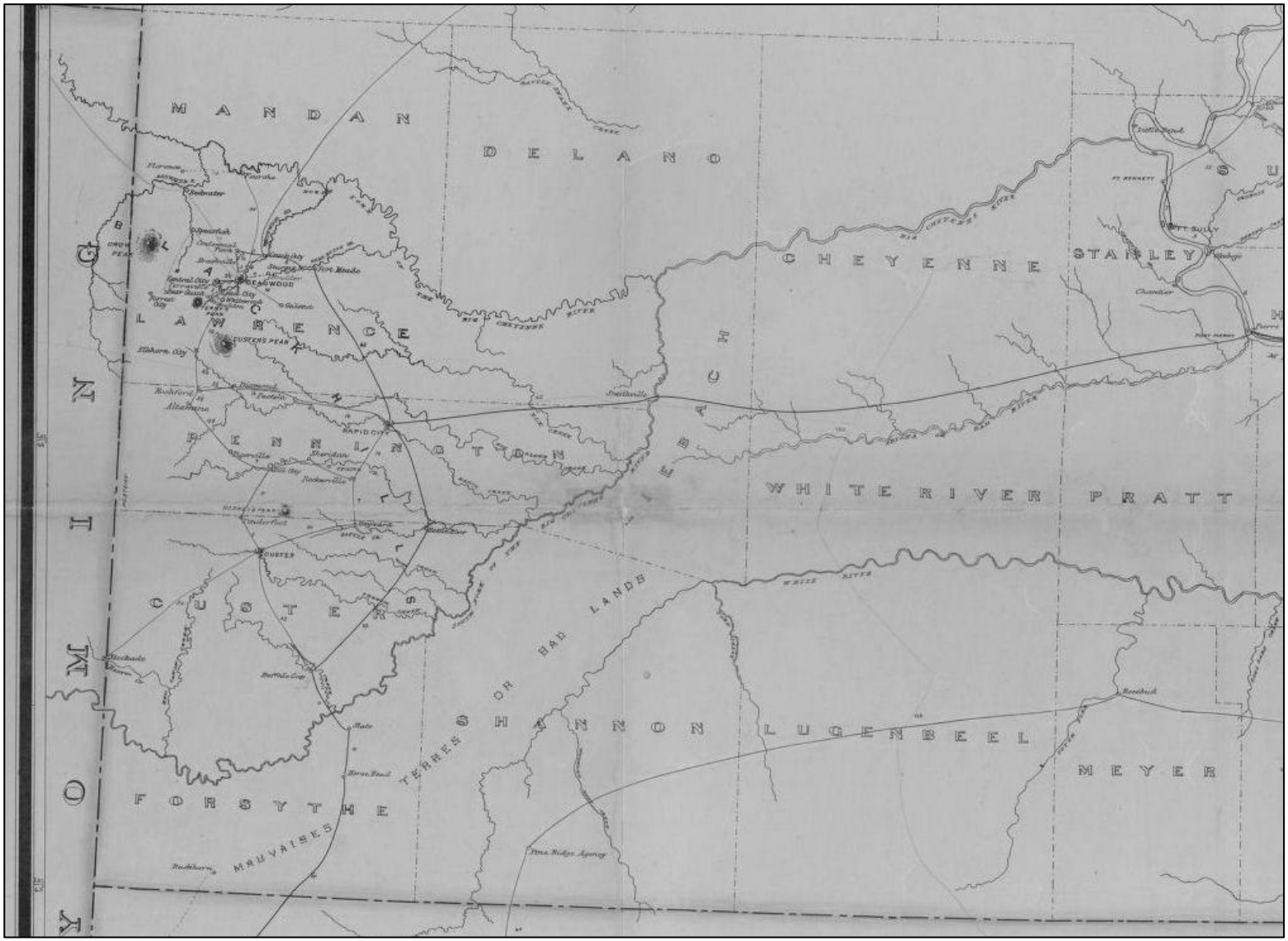


Figure 25: 1881, "Post route map of the territory of Dakota..." U.S. Post Office Department (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)

Enterprising men, like Fred Evans, wasted no time in establishing freight companies to haul the necessary supplies and people that would fuel the Black Hills boom. Many companies failed, but some became quite wealthy from operations that lasted only a few years. John McClintock, an early prospector and later part-owner of the Deadwood-Spearfish stage line, recalled the Northwestern Stage, Express and Transportation Company, established in 1877, which followed the northern highway from Deadwood to Ft. Lincoln (Bismarck). McClintock wrote that the Northwestern Stage faced a particular hardship in the winter with "continuous handicaps of snow, blizzards, high waters and, what was worst of all, the almost impassible gumbo roads."[66] Annie Tallent listed three companies established before 1877 that picked up passengers and freight from the Union Pacific Railroad in Sidney, Nebraska for the trek north to the Black Hills.[67]

The Cheyenne & Black Hills Stage Line was established in 1876, running from Cheyenne, Wyoming to Rapid City. In 1877, that line was moved to Sidney, passing through Rapid City on its route to Deadwood. Carrying both passengers and freight, the line reportedly carried up to 40,000,000 pounds of freight per year, including all of the Homestake Mine Company's gold bullion "and nearly all of the early gold product of the Black Hills."[68] Stage and freight robberies by "road agents" were a common occurrence, sometimes resulting in the death of passengers, but more often it was the drivers, guards and robbers who were injured or died in the shootouts. The exploits of the men, and a few women, who formed the robber gangs, made for popular tales spun by the eastern newspapers and recreated by "Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show" in the 1880s.[69]

The 1881 Post Route Map indicated the Rapid City to Ft. Pierre road connected with the Chicago & North Western Railway (C&NW), which ended on the east side of the Missouri River opposite Ft. Pierre. In 1882, the Rand McNally Company produced a map for the C&NW showing the Rapid City "stage route" connection, as well as a new stage route just to the north following the route of a planned extension of the C&NW branch leading to Deadwood.[70] The rail extension was never built, likely because the company did not own the rights to the right-of-way through the reservation. The right-of-way in fact belonged to the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company (CM&SP), who had forged an agreement with the various Lakota bands to acquire the right-of-way through the reservation in 1880.[71] For unknown reasons, this rail line too was never constructed. The stage route from Ft. Pierre to Deadwood was reportedly the successor to the Northwestern Stage Company, which discontinued its north-south route and transferred the equipment to take advantage of the shorter trip from the railhead at Ft. Pierre to Deadwood.[72]

Two rail lines did eventually enter the Black Hills from the south. In 1885 the C&NW purchased a local Nebraska line called the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley

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[66] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 217.
[67] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 190.
[68] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 191-192.
[69] For stories about the exploits of the Black Hills "road agents," see Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 385, and McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 223.
[70] 1892 Rand McNally Map, "South Dakota Digital Map Library," www.usgwarchives.net/maps/southdakota/, accessed 2/29/2016.
[71] Vine Deloria, Jr. and Raymond J. DeMallie, *Documents of American Indian Diplomacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 525-32. The CM&SP right-of-way was reaffirmed in the 1889 agreement with the Lakota (Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, 334)
[72] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 218.

Railroad (FE&MV). Connecting with the C&NW at Council Bluffs, Iowa, the rail line passed across the north side of the Niobrara River, staying in Nebraska and thus bypassing the reservation lands.[73] At Elkhorn, a branch line of the FE&MV extended north into the Black Hills through Buffalo Gap, essentially following the old Sidney stage route. It followed the Red Valley passing east of Keystone through the town of Hermosa before reaching Rapid City in 1886. **(Figure 26)** Continuing north to Whitewood, the rail then branched south to Deadwood by 1890.

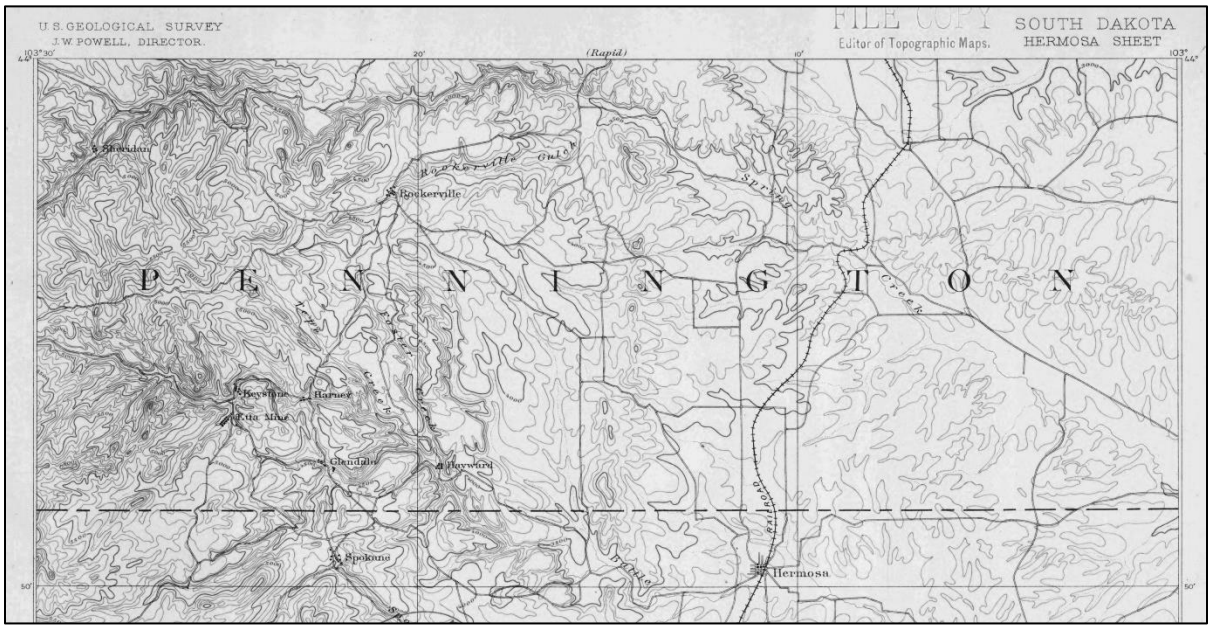


Figure 26: 1894 USGS Hermosa Quadrangle (USGS Historic Map Explorer)

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad (CB&Q), extended across Nebraska turning northwesterly toward Wyoming and Montana by 1889. Passing just south of the Black Hills, the CB&Q also ran a branch line north into the Hills. The line began at Edgemont, passing through Hill City enroute to Deadwood. In 1901, the CB&Q acquired the two narrow-gauge lines operating in the Deadwood/Lead area, the Black Hills and Fort Pierre Railroad (BH&FP), established in 1879 by the Homestake Mining Company to transport timber to the mine at Lead, and the Deadwood Central.[74] The CB&Q branch line from Hill City to Keystone, called the "Addie Spur" by locals, reached the Holy Smoke Mine in 1898 and arrived in Keystone in 1900.[75] By 1907 there were branches to Hot Springs, Piedmont, Este, Galena, and Spearfish.[76]

[73] Mark Hufstetler and Michael Bedeau, "South Dakota's Railroads: An Historic Context" (Pierre: South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office), 10.
[74] Hufstetler and Bedeau, "South Dakota's Railroads," 10-11.
[75] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 89.
[76] "Map of the Burlington Route and connections. Poole Bros. Chicago. 5-20-07," *David Rumsey Historical Map Collection*, www.davidrumsey.com/maps900059-24568.html, accessed 3/1/2016.

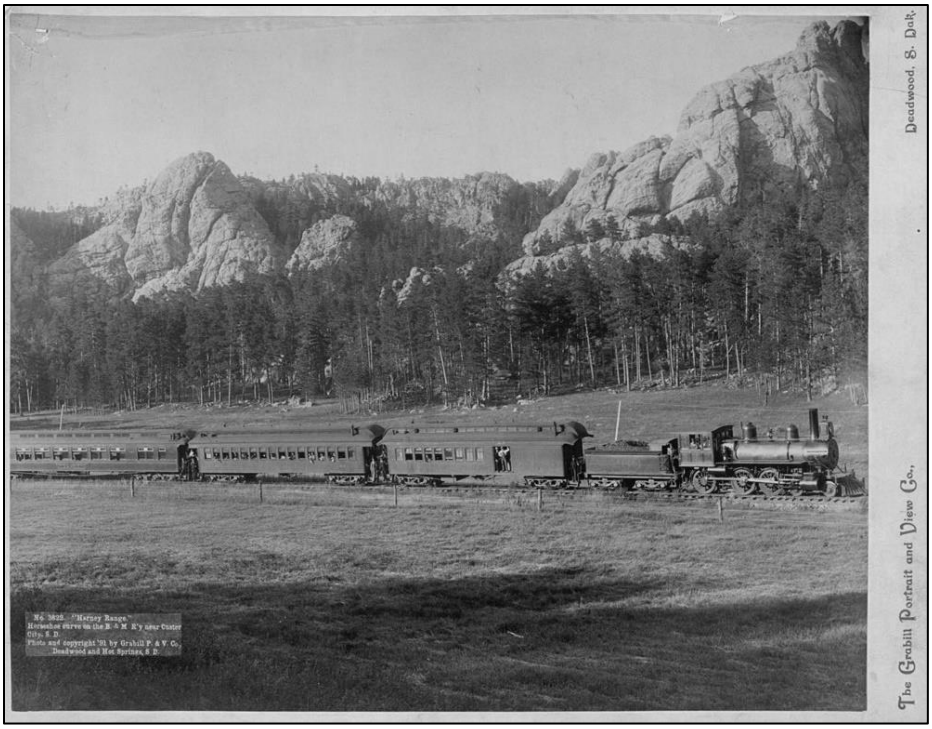


Figure 27: The CB&Q passing through the Harney Range near Custer City. Photo by John Grabill (Library of Congress, Grabill Collection, Prints and Photographs Division)

Improvements to the major transportation routes, particularly the railroads, helped get people and freight to and through the Black Hills. Both Annie Tallent and John McClintock cite the coming of the railroads into the Hills as the cause for the decline of the stage and freight lines. McClintock wrote of the passing of the overland stage: "So the long route stage business like many of our promising mineral leads, was followed up until it naturally pinched out."[77] Short route lines, however, like McClintock's Deadwood to Spearfish stage line, continued to transport passengers, freight, and mail from the rail stations to outlying towns or between towns. Many of these roads, notes McClintock, were nothing more than "rock and mud" roads.[78] The 1881 Postal Routes Map shows the early network of roads within the Hills, with connections to nearly all of the thirty-two towns identified.

By the 1890s, the USGS maps drawn for the Black Hills – Hermosa, Harney Peak, Deadwood, and Rapid quadrangles – reveal a more detailed network of roads following the contours of the land, connecting the towns and providing access to the railroads. The road from Keystone to Hill City, where the CB&Q had a station stop, followed the Battle Creek valley. It was reportedly serviced by an old coach retired from the Sidney line, which "followed a road winding over and under the Burlington [CB&Q] Spur with dangerous curves and numerous rough railroad crossings."[79] The road south past the Etta Mine led eventually to the town of Custer where the CB&Q could also be accessed. The same road forked eastward at the Etta Mine, passing through Hayward enroute to Hermosa where the FE&MV had a depot for freight and passengers.[80]

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[77] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 218.
[78] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 220.
[79] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 89.
[80] *USGS Historical Topographic Map Explorer*, 1893 Rapid, 1894 Hermosa, 1894 Deadwood, and 1896 Harney

Travel to and from the more remote locations within the Hills, where rail and stage did not provide service, continued to be dependent upon horse, mule, and oxen to move individuals and their supplies across the rugged terrain. Many of these rough tracks appear on USGS maps drawn after 1900, including the paths that led to individual homesteads and mining claims. In the area of Mount Rushmore, a path leading from the Etta Mine road toward Rushmore Mountain (unnamed on the map) followed a route later used for Horse Thief Lake Road. This track may have been cut as early as 1880 to aid in the prospecting activities of David Swanzey and William Roy, who both had claims in the area (see discussion below). Another track came south from Battle Creek through Sawmill Gulch, and a third road moved through Etta Camp (adjoining the Etta Mine) southward along Grizzly Creek, with a branch that accessed Emil Hesnard's claim.

By 1910, automobiles began to appear on the roads through the Black Hills. R. L. Todd, who ran the Deadwood-Spearfish stage line after John McClintock sold the business, reportedly replaced the old stagecoaches with "Ford cars."[81] McClintock observed that it was not until after the advent of automobiles that real efforts were made to improve road surfaces in the Black Hills.[82] The Black Hills tourism industry, largely an outgrowth of the automobile's popularity, demanded improved roads. The road from Keystone toward the Etta Mine gained special attention beginning in 1925, when the proposed Mount Rushmore carving project became a reality.[83] By 1929, construction on Horse Thief Lake Road was underway following the old prospector's track through the "Proposed Rushmore Memorial Reservation."[84] **(Figure 22)**

Roads and railroads were the lifelines of Black Hills settlement and industry, initially bringing the men and women who were determined to find their "manifest destiny" in the Hills. The roads and rails brought supplies from outside in and moved the products of the Hills to the outside world. The settlement of the Black Hills began with wild-eyed prospectors, but it was the men who cut the roads and laid the rails, and the entrepreneurs who established towns, homesteads, ranches, and other industries who made the Hills hum with activity.

Towns, Timber, Crops, and Cattle: 1875-1929

Historian Mark David Spence, in his *Historic Resource Study of Wind Cave National Park*, aptly identified "a basic truth about gold mining" in the Black Hills:

> Whether conducted by a small group of miners beside a stream, or a large corporation like the Homestake Mining Company, mining produces nothing but waste product and, with luck, some gold. It does not produce food,

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Peak Quads, http://historicalmaps.arcgis.com/usgs/, accessed 3/1/2016.

[81] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 221.

[82] McClintock, *Pioneer Days in the Black Hills*, 220.

[83] Rex Alan Smith, *The Carving of Mount Rushmore* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 107; Peter Norbeck to Gutzon Borglum, September 29, 1926, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[84] "Proposed Rushmore Memorial Reservation," Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 161, folder "Borglum, General Correspondence, 1930," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

> clothing, draft animals, shelter or any of the other necessaries of life in the diggings.[85]

Though the rush for gold initiated Euro-American development of the Black Hills, it was the more mundane products of the land – timber, crops, and cattle – and the towns through which supplies of all kinds were funneled, that formed a firm settlement foundation. In some cases, these products resulted in a more lucrative outcome for the new occupants of the Hills. Indeed, it was the logging camps, homesteads, and ranches of the Black Hills which provided some of the necessary supplies: timber, beef, and other foodstuffs. The towns which grew near the most promising claims quickly sprouted stores where equipment and other supplies could be purchased. Some towns were legal and financial centers with banks and claims offices, lawyers and county courts. The towns were also the place to go for entertainment of all kinds – saloons, theater, brothels, and even church if one was so inclined.

The town of Custer, or Custer City, located on French Creek where the Custer Expedition first encountered gold, was the first town platted in the Black Hills. Laid out in July 1875 by the Gordon Party, more than a year before the Black Hills were removed from the Lakota reservation, their venture may have seemed premature. Yet by the spring of 1876, Custer City reported a population of as many as 10,000 people.[86]

Hill City began as a placer mining camp located due north of Custer City on Spring Creek. This was the area found to be most promising for gold by the Jenney Expedition in 1875. The town was laid out in February 1876 by a group of men including Thomas Harvey, John Miller, and Hugh McCullough. It was nearly abandoned just months later as its gold-hungry residents stampeded to the newly discovered gold prospects in the northern Hills around Deadwood. Annie Tallent reported that by mid-May 1876, Hill City was "as deserted as a graveyard – only one man and a dog remaining to tell the story of its desertion."[87]

Hill City slowly repopulated with new and returning prospectors as the gold prospects of the Spring Creek area began to produce real gold. The fertile valley soil also attracted homesteaders and ranchers, and by November 1877, Hill City acquired a post office. Hill City became the center of the tin mining boom beginning in 1883.[88] With the CB&Q station stop at Hill City, in 1892, the Harney Peak Consolidated Tin Company chose the town as its local headquarters. The company constructed a large processing mill at Hill City, along with "boardinghouses, blacksmith shops, carpenter shops, machine shops, an office, hotel, foundry, and storehouses" to service the mill, mines, and miners.[89] Though the tin boom went bust in 1893, Hill City did not, as interest shifted back to gold and various minerals.

Keystone, like Hill City, Lead, Deadwood, and Custer City (among others), grew adjacent to mining operations. The success of the Keystone and Holy Terror gold mines and the mineral extraction at the Etta Mine directly influenced the town of Keystone's development. Platted in 1891, Keystone's population reached a high of about two thousand people in 1900, reportedly larger than Rapid City at that time.[90] Most of the men were employed at the mines, while several ore processing mills associated with the mines provided

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[85] Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds*, 117.
[86] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 141.
[87] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 448.
[88] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 453-454.
[89] Wolff, "No Matter How You Do It, Fraud is Fraud," 103.
[90] *Keystone Area Historical Society*, www.keystonehistory.com.html, accessed 2/15/2016.

additional employment. Shops, hotels, and other services in Keystone were the primary source of income for a significant number of families.

In 1892, just one year after the town was platted, A. C. McDonald opened the thirty-two room McDonald Hotel, which later housed a bank and post office as well. The Franklin Hotel was also among the early Keystone businesses. By 1897, Abe Boland and his sons George and John ran a "flour and lumber business."[91] About the same time John Hayes joined with Jim Hopkins to open the Hayes-Hopkins Supply Co., purveyors of groceries and hardware. Advertisements in the *Keystone Miner* in 1896 identify several other early Keystone businesses, including M. J. Scanlan's lumber/hardware store, the Stone Fayel Company's general merchandise store, H. B. Gillespie's grocery store, and Victor Combe's tobacco, candy, and stationary store.[92]



Figure 28: Keystone in 1915 showing foundations of buildings destroyed in the earlier fire (MRNM Archives, MORU 5359-01)

Keystone also had a bank by 1900, always at least one doctor, and the requisite "several saloons."[93] The town of Keystone also suffered through at least four devastating fires between 1906 and 1921. In May 1908, the *Aberdeen Daily News* reported:

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[91] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 101; Abe Boland and his son George participated in the Alaska gold rush of 1899, leaving John Boland to mind the store alone. When he returned in 1900, sons John and George left for college: "Soon after this he [Abe Boland] obtained a job as superintendent of Wind Cave and John took over his store in Keystone." (Linde, 101) In 1903, John Boland bought the grocery business from the Hayes-Hopkins Supply Co. and built a new store "near the center of town." (Linde, 101)

[92] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 102, 95.

[93] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 95-102.

> Half the business section of Keystone, twenty-five miles southwest of here, was destroyed by fire. The east side of Main street from Fountain hotel to the Shoemaker livery is a total loss. The Hay & Hoskins [Hayes-Hopkins] and Marble general stores are the biggest losers. The Victor [Combe] variety store and F. F. Joy, livery, also were in the path of the flames.[94]

The 1917 fire destroyed John Boland's downtown store, after which he moved to Rapid City and Art Lyndoe opened a grocery in an earlier Boland store building. In 1921, the McDonald Hotel and Methodist Church burned, along with a meat market and drugstore.[95]

The CB&Q Railroad branch line, known to locals as the "Addie Spur," arrived in Keystone in 1900, bringing improved transportation of products and people to and from the relatively remote interior town. Further emphasizing the town's permanence, a two-story frame schoolhouse was constructed in 1900, replacing the original one-room log building. The new school was large, built for up to three hundred children, with five classrooms, four recitation rooms, and a library.[96] But the school would never be used to its full potential. When the Holy Terror Mine closed in 1903, Keystone experienced a severe economic downturn and reduction in population. The town's mining economy revived again with the development of spodumene mining at the Etta Mine and the feldspar boom of the 1920s. The next revival came in the 1940s with increased mineral extraction during World War II, but none of the revivals reached the level of the initial Holy Terror-inspired gold rush of the 1890s.

Rapid City was founded in February 1876 by a group of unsuccessful prospectors who, according to Annie Tallent, "finally concluded that founding cities might prove a more profitable enterprise."[97] Located on Rapid Creek adjoining the eastern foothills of the Black Hills' Hogback Ridge outer ring, it was somewhat removed from interior mining activities. Tallent points out that, unlike the more hastily platted boom towns, the Rapid City founders carefully considered the location for their town:

> …looking to the trade of the Hills, as well as to the rich agricultural valley below. They argued and believed that the valley would, in the near future, become the route of extensive travel to the Hills, and that a town at the grand gateway would become the focus of an extensive trade.[98]

They were right. In the years that followed, Rapid City served as a hub for supplies and services. Its strategic location at the gap formed by Rapid Creek, Rapid City was the natural entry point into the Hills from the east along the "Territorial Highway" used by several stage and freight companies. In 1886, the FE&MV Railroad reached Rapid City from the south, making it a major depot on the line that eventually reached as far as Deadwood.

Rapid City was designated the Pennington County seat in 1878, and thus became the home of numerous lawyers and county offices, including a claims office. By 1880, the

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[94] "Fire at Keystone," *The Aberdeen Daily News*, Aberdeen, SD, May 25, 1908, *GenDisasters.com*, www3.gendisasters.com/south-dakota/10626/keystone-sd-fire-may-1908, accessed 2/15/2016.
[95] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 102-104.
[96] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 91; *Keystone Area Historical Society*, www.keystonehistory.com.html, accessed 2/15/2016.
[97] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 303.
[98] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 304.

population of Rapid City had grown to over nine hundred people.[99] George Mansfield arrived in Rapid City in 1883 as the representative of a grocery wholesale company, sent to restructure its affiliation with "a big grocery company" already in operation in the town.[100] Annie Tallent recalled that Oscar Nicholson operated the "first General Merchandise store" beginning in 1886.[101] Theodore Reder's Sawmill was also among the early Rapid City businesses. In 1884, the two-story Italianate "Windsor Block," containing four storefronts, was constructed using locally made brick from Marshall's Brickyard; the "Morris Block," in which one of the city's many saloons was located, was built in 1886; and the "Buell Building," constructed in 1888, housed a bank.[102] Though Rapid City was not directly associated with a Black Hills gold mine, it clearly thrived as an entrepot for goods and services.

Initially nearly all supplies were brought in from outside the Hills by freight haulers, but soon locally sourced beef and some produce would flow from the homesteads and ranches established in and immediately around the Black Hills. While many of the settlers came to the Hills as gold prospectors, others were drawn by the promise of land. The 1874 Custer Expedition reports sent to eastern newspapers included encouragement to prospective western farmers along with their glowing gold predictions. On August 21, 1874, *New York Tribune* correspondent, William E. Curtis, described the Black Hills as "highly fertile and productive," calling the valley in which they were encamped near French Creek, "An Eden in the clouds."[103] Several days later, the *New York Times* published two consecutive articles reporting on the "Fitness of the Country for Agriculture and Grazing."[104] On August 24, the unnamed correspondent wrote: "Gen. Custer reports that the grass is luxuriant and abundant, the water good, and the climate mild, though the days are thought to be too short and cool for corn."[105] Then on August 28 he reported:

> Portions of the Black Hills are well fitted for agriculture, especially those from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and all are adapted to grazing. This is especially true of the northern section, which is far more fertile than the southern.[106]

The following year, Professor Walter P. Jenney reported after his 1875 expedition that the creek valleys in the southern Hills, particularly the Rapid Creek Valley, were, in fact, well-suited to agriculture. In October 1875 the *Worcester Evening Gazette* summarized information from Prof. Jenney's preliminary expedition report, noting, "The valleys are all adapted to agriculture and the hills and cañons [sic] to stock raising. The rainfall is plentiful and timber abundant."[107] It was these kinds of reports in the eastern newspapers that moved

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[99] *"U.S. Decennial Census," Census.gov, accessed 2/15/2016.*
[100] "Richard Robinson Mansfield," SDOHP #0068a, South Dakota Oral History Project (SDOHP), University of South Dakota, Vermillion, SD.
[101] Tallent 1899, p. 306.
[102] *Picture Rapid City's Past* (Rapid City Historic Preservation Commission, South Dakota State Historical Society, and Destination Rapid City), www.picturercpast.com, accessed 2/15/2016.
[103] "The Black Hills," *New York Tribune*, Aug. 21, 1874, Journey Museum display, Rapid City, SD.
[104] "The Black Hills Expedition," *New York Times*, August 24, 1874.
[105] "The Black Hills Expedition," *New York Times*, August 24, 1874.
[106] "Custer's Explorations," *New York Times*, August 28, 1874.
[107] "The Black Hills Expedition," *Worcester Evening Gazette*, October 18, 1875, www.rarenewspapers.com, accessed 2/12/2016.

landless tenant farmers, crowded city-dwellers, and European immigrants to make the westward trek with the hope of finding success on their own piece of land.

As previously noted in Chapter 2, the Homestead Act of 1862 provided 160 acres to any U.S. citizen or naturalizing immigrant who would first occupy and improve the land for a minimum of five years, for the price of just the registration fee.[108] This was an attractive incentive for settling the arable lands east of the Missouri River. In 1861 the Dakota Territory was organized and the Yankton Nakota land cession east of the Missouri River was opened to settlement. However, a prolonged drought and the financial Panic of 1873 caused westward settlement to stall. Additionally, fears of American Indian attacks fueled by the eastern press further stalled migration. But by 1880, with several years of good weather, improved rail transportation, and a return to relative quiet on the reservations, the Dakota Territory experienced a population boom. The fertile eastern agricultural land of the Dakota Territory was largely taken up by European immigrants by 1885.[109]

The Dakota Territory land located west of the Missouri River, known as the West River region, remained mostly within the still-expansive reservation occupied by the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, with the exception of the Black Hills after 1877.[110] **(Figure 24)** In 1889, the same year that South Dakota (and North Dakota) became a state, Congress passed legislation dividing the "Great Reservation of the Sioux Nation" into six smaller reservations, carving out millions of acres from the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho territory west of the Missouri River.[111] The newly "relinquished" reservation land was opened to Euro-American settlement in 1890.[112]

Additionally, under the terms of the Dawes Act of 1887, the reservation lands would be allotted to individual American Indians. The stated purpose of such allotments was to encourage agriculture among the tribes, in the hope of reducing their need for rations. The 1889 agreement detailed the livestock and equipment to be supplied to families that accepted an allotment: "That each head of family or single person over the age of eighteen years...shall be provided with two milch cows, one pair of oxens, with yoke and chain, or two mares and one set of harness in lieu of said oxen, yoke and chain...and they shall also receive one plow, one wagon, one harrow, one hoe, one axe, and one pitchfork, all suitable to the work they may have to do..."[113] Underlying that purpose, however, was the provision that following allotment, any "surplus" land within the reservations could then be sold by the tribe to the U.S. government, "and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and bona-fide settlers" as 160-acre homestead claims.[114] Sisseton reservation surplus land was made available to homesteaders in 1889 and Yankton lands in 1895, both located on the east side of the Missouri River. Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Lower Brulé, Cheyenne River, and Standing Rock reservation surplus lands were opened between 1904 and 1913.[115]

Thus for thirteen years, from 1877 to 1890, only the Black Hills area was available to anxious homesteaders eager to settle west of the Missouri River. The topography of the

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[108] Kinnaird, "Theme XVIIa: Agriculture and The Farmer's Frontier," 47.
[109] Allyson Brooks and Steph Jacon, "Homesteading and Agricultural Development Context" (Vermillion: South Dakota State Historical Preservation Center, 1994), 8-9.
[110] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 168-169.
[111] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 329.
[112] Brooks and Jacon, "Homesteading and Agriculture," 9.
[113] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 335.
[114] Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, Vol. 1, 333.
[115] Brooks and Jacon, "Homesteading and Agriculture," 9.

Hills, however, provided only a relatively small amount of land considered adequate for agricultural production or grazing. The Timber and Stone Act, passed by Congress in 1878, seemed particularly suited to encouraging settlement in the Black Hills. Land that could be claimed under the Timber and Stone Act was defined as:

> Lands valuable chiefly for timber, but unfit for cultivation, are lands which are more valuable for timber than they are for cultivation in the condition in which they exist at the date of the application for purchase, and therefore include lands which could be made more valuable for cultivation by cutting and clearing them of timber.[116]

Valuable timber was defined as "trees of such kind and quantity, regardless of size, as may be used in constructing buildings, irrigation works, railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, tramways, canals, or fences, or in timbering shafts and tunnels or in manufacturing but does not include trees suitable for fuel only."[117] Under the terms of the act, lands "chiefly valuable for stone" could also be claimed, though not for potentially profitable mineral prospects.[118]

General Land Office patent records for entry claims that were actually proved or paid for, indicate that only a small number of people used the Timber and Stone Act in the Black Hills, and apparently none were located in the area of Mount Rushmore. Most of the earliest settlers in the Black Hills staked mineral claims under the General Mining Claims Act of 1872 – typically listed as "placer" or "lode" patents in the General Land Office records.[119] If the claim failed to produce the hoped-for precious metal or mineral, the owner was then free to abandon the claim or to "prove up" the land for timber harvest, cattle grazing, or farming, depending upon its suitability, under the Homestead Act.

Theodore Reder came to the Black Hills in the late 1870s as a prospector, staking a claim near Rapid City.[120] Within just a few years, Reder shifted his focus to timber. In 1880, the U.S. Population Census for Pennington County in Dakota Territory listed Reder (spelled "Reeder") as a "Sawyer" in an unnamed district, sharing his household with his wife and two daughters. His granddaughter, Helen (Reder) Daughenbaugh, narrated the family history as it was handed down to her:

> My grandfather, Theodore Reder migrated from Pennsylvania in 1877. He had some of the first sawmills in the Hills. He pulled the equipment by bull team from Denver and found a ready market for the cut lumber. Much of it was used in the early Rapid City buildings including the International Hotel and the Flormann Building. His wife, Lizzie (Elizabeth Yothers) and their children followed him to Rapid City. My father, Feay, was born in the old

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[116] *Regulations under Timber and Stone Law: (Act of June 3, 1878, and Acts Amendatory)* (Washington: GPO, 1916), 4. Another option was the Timber Culture Act, though this was geared more to encourage homesteading on the treeless land on the Plains.

[117] *Regulations under Timber and Stone Law*, 4.

[118] *Regulations under Timber and Stone Law*, 11, 4.

[119] "General Land Office Records," *U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management*, searchable database, http://www.glorecords.blm.gov, accessed 2/22/2016.

[120] Bureau of Land Management (BLM), General Land Office records database records Reder's earliest patent issued in 1894, a Mineral Placer claim (Accession #SDMTAA 014658) for 157 acres located slightly northeast of Keystone, just north of Route 16. Presumably this was land he claimed and proved (improved) prior to the patent being issued.

> Garlick House west of the courthouse on May 28, 1883 and Theodore was building their log home southwest of Rapid City, on his mining claim #957.[121]

Reder's mining claim proved to be more profitable as a ranch and "halfway house" on a stage line running between Rapid City and Hill City.[122] Reder's ranch supplied fresh horses for the stagecoaches which passed by four times a day. Like other Black Hills homesteads, Reder's ranch likely included cattle and grew subsistence crops, particularly potatoes, along with feed (hay and oats) for the livestock.[123]

Black Hills homestead patents, representing claims that were proved (improved) and filed with the General Land Office, began to appear on the record as early as 1881.[124] These patent files generally imply entry on the land approximately five years prior to the patent issue date – in the case of an 1881 patent, entry would likely have been in 1876.[125] It is possible also that many of the later patented lands were actually entered (claimed) earlier than the date implied by the patent. In the area around Mount Rushmore, some of the earliest recorded homestead patents were issued to Emil Hesnard in 1903 and Edward Hazeltine in 1904, both located just south of Keystone along Grizzly Creek. William Roy received his patent for 160 acres on Grizzly Creek in 1905.[126] We know from census and other records that William Roy was in the area as early as 1880, David Swanzey by 1885, and Hesnard and Hazeltine by 1900. This area of settlement became known as the Etta Camp, according to local tradition, for its location near the Etta Mine.[127]



Figure 29: William Roy's claim as shown of the 1929 "Proposed Rushmore Memorial Reservation" (GB Papers, Box 161, LOC)

By the time the 1880 U.S. Population Census was recorded, Pennington County had over two thousand residents, over 900 of those being in Rapid City alone. Nearly 300 people, including William W. Roy and Theodore Reder, lived in a district unnamed by the

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[121] Helen (Reder) Daughenbaugh, "Theodore Reder's Lake," *The Black Hills Historian* (Newsletter of the Friends of Case Library, Black Hills State University, Fall 2004), 1.
[122] Daughenbaugh, "Theodore Reder's Lake," 1.
[123] "Richard Robinson Mansfield," SDOHP #0068, USD.
[124] "General Land Office Records." There were also patents for "Sale-Cash Entry" tracts, based on the 1820 act which allowed public land purchases from the U.S. government for a minimum of $1.25 per acre.
[125] See "Land Records: Introduction and Links to Resources on Land Entry Case Files and Related Records," *National Archives*, www.archives.gov/research/land/index.html, accessed 2/24/2016.
[126] Accession #SDMTAA 015345, "General Land Office Records."
[127] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 77.

census-taker, but located outside of the named town districts. Most of the men were occupied as quartz or placer miners (including Roy). There were eight farmers on as many as seven farms, several carpenters and machinists, eleven millwrights, five sawyers (including Reder), four hotel keepers and four grocers, one "Restaurant," three store clerks and two "Liquor Dealers," one blacksmith, three teamsters, and two who were "Stage Station Keepers." Three people were listed as servants and all were listed as "White." Six of the placer miners were African American men, the only people of color listed in the district, including: Thomas Clark and Posey Oglesby, from Missouri; Daniel Brockman, from Kentucky; Matthew Brown and David Clark, from Canada; and George White, from South Carolina.[128]

As noted above, William W. Roy was listed on the 1880 census as a "Placer Miner" and was at that time still unmarried. The 1900 census record for the Crop Mine District in Pennington County, again listed William Roy as a miner. By this time Roy was fifty-seven years old and living with his wife and two children. Roy hailed from Mississippi (though he indicated Kentucky in 1880), his wife Mary was from Maine, his oldest daughter (age twenty) was born in Iowa, and their youngest daughter, age one, was born in South Dakota in 1898. William Roy was a partner in a 1905 Mineral Lode patent located near Keystone, along with three men, two women, and the Tykoon Mining Company.[129] It is not known if Roy and his family were then living on his homestead land near Mount Rushmore (patented 1905), but they were certainly there by the 1910 census. An archeological survey of the location completed in 2008 found brick and mortar debris indicating a possible habitation site on the Roy patent.[130]

Local Keystone historian, Martha Linde, described the Etta Camp from a ca. 1886 photograph:

> ...the camp consists of a about a dozen rough frame buildings and several small log cabins. Just below camp and across Grizzly Creek stood the large boardinghouse built at the time of the Harney Peak Tin Company. This large boardinghouse was first operated by Al and Clara Hazeltine...[131]

The boarding house was later occupied by the Pike family. By 1890, Etta Camp included a physician, Dr. S. H. Ferguson, who first discovered the mica ore of Etta; a post office, located in the home of Victor Combe; and a blacksmith by the name of Henry Hall.[132] The Etta Mine closed in 1893 and the Etta Camp was all but abandoned as the miners moved closer to the gold mines of Keystone. It was reopened in 1898 with the focus then on the extraction of spodumene.[133]

William Roy's neighborhood in the Crop Mine Precinct of Pennington County on the 1900 census provides an excellent cross-section of occupations and states of origin among the Black Hills population by the turn of the twentieth century. The district included Keystone and the area around the Etta Mine and Rushmore Mountain. Most of the residents

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[128] *Ancestry.com*. United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.
[129] Accession #SDMTAA 015347, "General Land Office Records."
[130] Molyneaux et al, *Park Wide Cultural Resources Survey*, 74-75. The Wm. Roy tract was larger than what appears on the 1929 map and did include part of Grizzly Creek, and thus did have a water source.
[131] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Wolff, "No Matter How You Do It, Fraud is Fraud," 105.

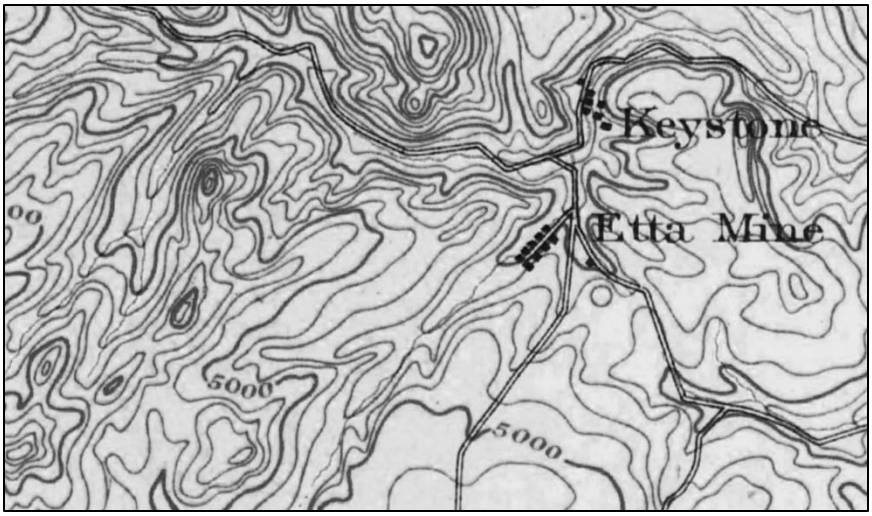


Figure 30: Detail of 1894 USGS Hermosa Quad showing Etta Camp west of Etta Mine. Rushmore Mountain is in the bottom left of the map detail.

were miners, including single mother Glennie Pike who is said to have occupied the former Etta Camp boarding house.[134] Pike was born in Iowa but her father was from Wisconsin and her mother was listed as "Indian." David Swanzey was working as an assayer in 1900 and listed his birth state as Missouri. Washington Horsely was a "Dairyman" from Indiana; Aaron Crampton was a "Wood Cutter" from Iowa; John Mattes (Wisconsin), was a superintendent in the Bismark Mine; Joseph Silvers (Portugal), Jesse Swift (Iowa), Philip Smith (Wisconsin), and Louis Everly (Indiana) were miners; and George Palmer (Wisconsin), Elsworth Rice (Ohio), and Loren McDonald (Maine) were listed as farmers.[135]

A Black Hills farm of the 1880s to1900 period likely included beef cattle as the primary cash product. Feed grains to winter the cattle and horses were also necessary, along with subsistence crops for the family and to sell to local lumber and mining camps. Prof. Jenney's official report, published in 1880, spoke specifically about the kinds of crops the Hills' soil and climate would likely support:

> The flora of the Black Hills bears quite a resemblance to that of Southern Maine and New Hampshire in the same latitude, and it is probable that many of the agricultural productions, fruits, and vegetables which can be grown in perfection there will also succeed in favorable portions of this region. The luxuriance with which the heavily seeded grasses known commonly as wild rye, cheat, and wild oats grow on the rich bottoms along the eastern slope, would indicate that an equally rank growth of the cultivated cereals and grasses is to be expected. Except at a low elevation among the foothills near the edge of the plains, the nights will probably he found too cool for the successful growth of Indian corn, which is a tropical plant, but oats, rye, barley, and wheat should yield well, and potatoes of the best quality may be produced in the fertile valleys.[136]

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[134] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79.
[135] *Ancestry.com*. United States Federal Census [database on-line].
[136] Newton and Jenney, *Report*, 316.

Jenney identified the particularly promising agricultural potential of the Rapid Creek Valley, where the soil "is deep and fertile" and could easily be irrigated from the creek.[137] Indeed, many of the earliest patents issued for Black Hills homestead entries or direct land sales were located on the eastern slopes of the foothills, in and around the growing town of Rapid City. On the 1880 census record for the Rapid Valley district, the majority of residents listed their occupation as "Farmer," many with boarders occupied as "Herder," indicating that the farm likely included cattle or sheep. The term "ranch" did not come into use on the Black Hills census records until the 1900 census, when "Farmer" and "Ranchman Farmer" was clearly differentiated.

The ranches identified in the census records were likely relatively small, usually encompassing several quarter sections (160 acres each). Frank Reed's father, John C. Reed, arrived in the Rapid Valley in 1879 with his wife and two children. Frank was born the following year, appearing on the 1880 census at the tender age of four months. John Reed came from Iowa to Dakota Territory to homestead, recalled Frank Reed in his 1970 oral history interview, "they took that [railroad] to Sydney, Nebraska and then drove overland to come on up here."[138] On the 1880 census, John Reed listed his occupation as "Farmer." His household also included his brother William and a boarder named James Townsend, both of whom were also farming, and Ely Lewis, a "Butcher." In his 1970 interview Frank Reed recalled that he "was born in cattle country and always worked with them [cattle]," establishing his own ranch around 1900.[139] By about 1930, Reed owned a "small ranch" consisting of "ten quarter sections." In the same interview, friend and fellow rancher Edward Wilkinson noted that he kept "about five hundred" cattle on his "small ranch." Frank Reed described himself as a private rancher, not associated with the large corporate cattle herds that grazed the open range, insisting, "I never rode the range for any outfit."[140]

The cattle "outfit," as Reed called it, was a large business rather than a family ranch. Many were headquartered in Wyoming, Nebraska, Texas, and New Mexico.[141] They hired men (cowboys) to drive their cattle herds numbering in the thousands onto the Black Hills ranges to graze. From the late 1870s through the 1880s, the large herds intermingled with smaller ranch herds, free to roam the open range unimpeded by fences. Edward Wilkinson recalled that smaller ranchers like him could join in when the large outfits would organize a roundup:

> ...if you wanted to go with it, you joined and, and rode, just like one of his men...and cut out what cattle you found was yours and that's where you'd round up your whole country [sic] while you worked the herd [to] get them back on the home range.[142]

In the fall, the private ranch cattle were brought in from the summer range to winter over on the fenced ranch land where they could be provided with hay and protected from the harsh

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[137] Newton and Jenney, *Report*, 314.
[138] "Edward G. Wilkinson, Frank M. Reed, and R. Mansfield," SDOHP #0065, USD.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] SWCA Environmental Consultants, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota: A Historic Context* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 2013), 12-13.
[142] "Edward G. Wilkinson, Frank M. Reed, and R. Mansfield," SDOHP #0065, USD.

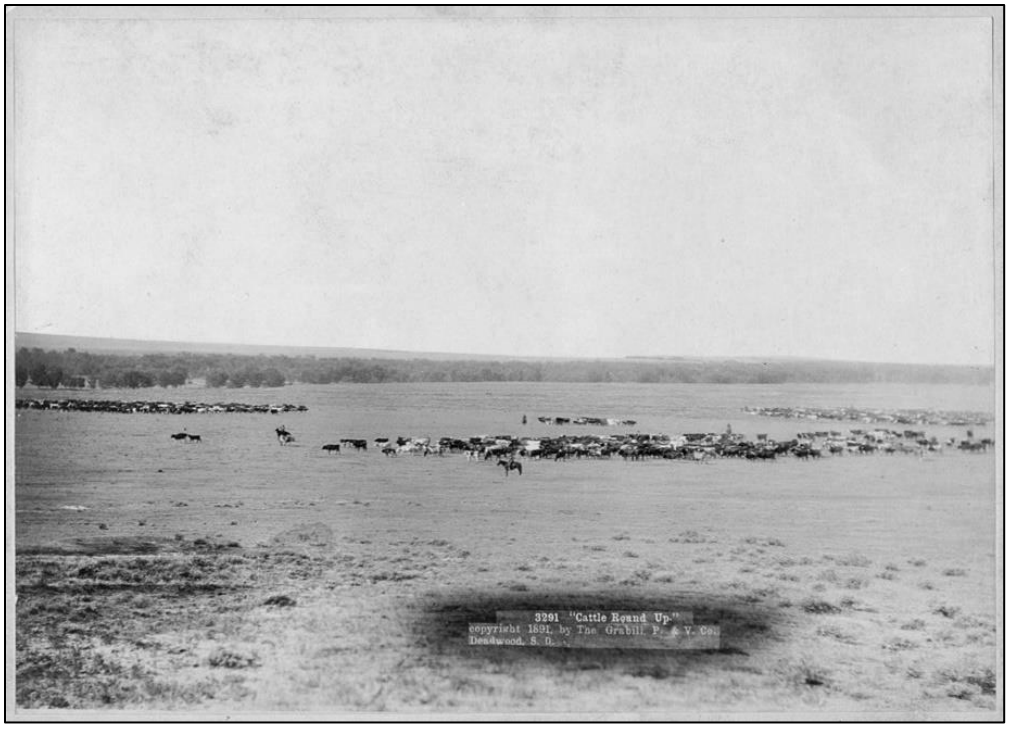


Figure 31: "Cattle Round Up" Photograph by John Grabill, 1891 (Library of Congress, Grabill Collection, Prints and Photographs Division)

winter weather. Frank Reed described a "Granger roundup" organized "for the farmers and small ranchers... to get [their cattle] to their winter quarters."[143] Many of the large company herds were left to winter on the open range, a practice that resulted in the decimation of whole herds by an unusually severe winter in 1886-1887, which put some of the cattle companies out of business.[144]

With the opening of the surplus reservation lands in 1890 and the coming of new railroads, the West River region cattle business thrived on the open range. But as the grasslands were carved into homesteads, fences began to enclose the open range. In response, some cattlemen negotiated leases with the Lakota to use reservation lands for grazing – amounting to over a million acres of the Cheyenne River reservation and over 800,000 acres in the Standing Rock reservation by 1902.[145] Riding with an outfit in 1902, Edward Wilkinson recalled the herd "on the reservation" numbered "seven or eight thousand."[146] By 1910, following the release of the last of the reservation surplus land to homestead claims, the era of the open range was ended.

In 1914, war erupted in Europe, later known as World War I. The war in Europe placed a high premium on the wheat and beef produced on U.S. farms. At the same time, the state of South Dakota was in the midst of a prolonged drought lasting from 1911 through 1915. The drought incited a minor exodus of homesteaders from the West River region

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[143] Ibid. The Grangers were "a Farmer's Union which organized and lobbied on behalf of farmers." (SWCA, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota*, 20)
[144] SWCA, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota*, 13.
[145] SWCA, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota*, 16-18.
[146] "Edward G. Wilkinson, Frank M. Reed, and R. Mansfield," SDOHP #0065, USD. The transcriber was unable to discern the name of the reservation.

leaving behind abandoned lands. In order to increase production to meet war-time demands and to encourage farmers to take up the available lands in the drier West River area, in 1915 South Dakota began to apply the Enlarged Homestead Act (passed by Congress in 1909) and the Stock Raising Act of 1916. Both acts allowed for the larger acreages necessary for "dryland" farming and grazing. However, purchases of additional land and equipment placed a debt-burden on farmers, who, encouraged by the high prices for grain, plowed up more and more acres of the arid grassland. When the war ended in November 1918, prices collapsed. Loans came due. South Dakota, along with other agricultural states in the West, plunged into a depression with more than 170 bank failures before 1925.[147] It was a prelude to the trying times to come in the 1930s.

Edward Wilkinson, who started his own cattle ranch in 1901, was forced to sell his ranch and five hundred head of cattle in the 1920s downturn:

> We just had nothing left. That's what I did. I just sold everything that I could sell and got out. That's the idea of quitting.[148]

Richard Mansfield was apparently able to take advantage of the land sales. About 1924, after returning from his army service during World War I, Mansfield purchased "a ranch up here in the hills...It was a poor investment when we got it...but I liked the outdoors."[149] Mansfield kept about fifty head of cattle on his small ranch, noting that, "In the Hills it was more of a self-contained outfit...and you grew practically all of your own stuff," including food for the family and "feed for your horses, everything was [produced] on the ranch."[150]

In the Keystone area, the former "Etta Camp," nearly emptied by the collapse of the tin boom in 1893, was occupied by farmers and lumbermen after the turn of the twentieth century. The 1910 U.S. Population Census for Pennington County recorded the "Hazeltine Sawmill Camp" in the Rockerville Voting District, noted as being "within the Black Hills Forest Reserve" (created in 1897). Stillman and Joseph P. (Paul) Hazeltine, Edward Hazeltine's father and younger brother, who by then had both purchased additional land in the area, were listed as the heads of household. While Stillman Hazeltine listed his trade as farmer, he was also listed as the owner-operator of the farm and sawmill. Joseph (Paul) Hazeltine was listed as a lumberman at the Hazeltine Sawmill, and was renting his house. Both were living with their families on the sawmill property. Several sawmill laborers boarded with the Hazeltine families. Also listed on the "Hazeltine Mill Road" were two farming households, one headed by Emil Hesnard, who received his homestead patent in 1903, was reportedly living in the house built by Victor Combe in the Etta Camp area.[151] The other was James Graham, whose father had moved the family to the Etta Camp area in the 1880s. Both listed their occupation as farmer, each on his own "General Farm."[152] William Roy was listed in the 1910 census for the Rockerville District, his occupation then listed as "Prospecting."

Keystone-area historian Martha Linde recalled the families living in the Etta Camp neighborhood "in the early 1900s," including:

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[147] SWCA, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota*, 21.
[148] "Edward G. Wilkinson, Frank M. Reed, and R. Mansfield," SDOHP #0065, USD.
[149] "Richard Robinson Mansfield," SDOHP #0068, USD.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79-80.
[152] *Ancestry.com*. United States Federal Census [database on-line].; Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79-80.

> ...the Scruton family whose large log house stood near where the Shrine of Democracy building now stands. Walking to school with the Scruton children were the three Hesnard children George, Josephine and Theodore. Living near to them were the Jock Snowies and Mr. and Mrs. Roy and Mrs. Gallagher and her son Neil who lived with the Roys. A short way further down Grizzly Creek the large white house still stands that was built by Fred Whitney in the early 1900s when he held the contract to supply wood for the Holy Terror Mine. Later the Whitneys moved to Harney and the Paul Hazeltine family moved into this house.[153]

In 1915, Stillman Hazeltine purchased the Cyrus Cole sawmill, which serviced the Etta Mine and others in the Keystone vicinity. Hazeltine moved the mill to "the Davis place" until his son Paul (Joseph) Hazeltine purchased the mill and moved it closer to the Etta Mine, probably on the Fred Whitney property.[154] The 1920 U.S. Population Census record for the Keystone Precinct #19 listed Paul Hazeltine, occupied as a teamster in a sawmill. Nearby was William W. Roy, by then aged seventy-seven and still prospecting for gold and tin. Henry S. Davis, an un-naturalized native of England, with his wife Lucy and two children, were also listed in the neighborhood. Davis listed his occupation as a sheep farmer.[155]

In 1924, Mrs. H. S. Davis paid an annual six dollar permit fee, "for the purpose of maintaining a residence and cultivating" approximately three acres on Grizzly Creek, within the Harney National Forest.[156] The permit limited cultivation to just half of the acreage (one and a half acres) and "only annual crops will be raised." The permit also indicated that the residence, which was considered "temporary," was already in place on the lot. The 1929 "Proposed Rushmore Memorial Reservation" map **(Figure 22)** shows an "old cabin" at the location of the Davis permit on Grizzly Creek, just outside the Mount Rushmore boundary, while just to the north was William Roy's old claim. The 1939 Mount Rushmore boundary map shows the location of Emil Hesnard's homestead, part of it described as the "West Muscovite Lode Mining Claim," under the names of Hesnard's widow, Winnie Hesnard, and their three children, Josephine, George, and Theodore.

Black Hills Mining Industry: 1930 to the Post-World War II Period

On October 28, 1929, the U.S. stock market crashed. The resulting catastrophic losses among investors, as well as a series of bank failures across the United States, caused a severe contraction of the U.S. economy. As available credit dried up and consumers turned away from purchasing new items like automobiles, factories and retail outlets reduced their workforces and the ranks of the unemployed in the U.S. continued to grow. What started as a recession, soon deepened into the Great Depression, which lasted through much of the 1930s.

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[153] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 81.
[154] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 79.
[155] Ancestry.com. United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004
[156] "Special Use Permit," Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore (#1)," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

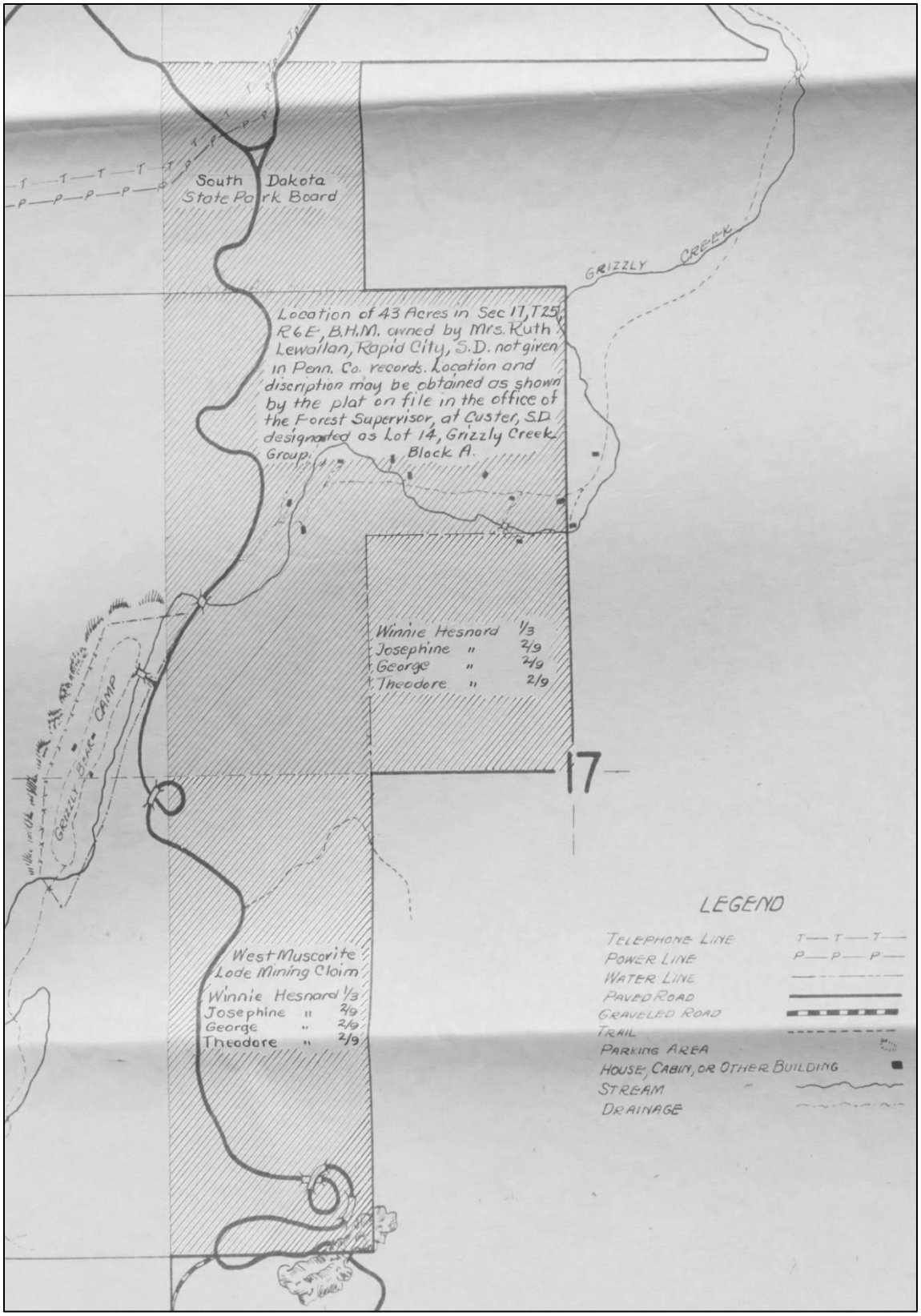


Figure 32: Detail of 1939 "Rushmore Memorial Reservation," showing Lewallan and Hesnard land claims. (GB Papers, Box 178, "Correspondence with Commissioners 1930s," Library of Congress)



Figure 33: Detail of pre-1925 photo showing sawmill and other buildings in Grizzly Gulch (Etta Camp). (MRNM Archives, #3313MORU)

Efforts by then-President Herbert Hoover to address the deepening depression failed. In 1932, Hoover lost his bid for re-election to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Within the first 100 days of his presidency, President Roosevelt pushed through dramatic changes to the U.S. financial system and began recovery programs that would finally help to turn the economy around.[157]

The Great Depression of the 1930s proved to be a stimulant for Black Hills gold and silver mining. In 1933 President Roosevelt raised the price of gold, then tied it to the value of the dollar to stop deflation and increase investment in order to help the failing national economy.[158] Higher gold prices were a major boost to companies like the Homestake Mining Company. The price of gold also inspired many unemployed men to return to the Hills to work abandoned placer deposits in the hope of striking it rich, or at least to survive the depression.[159]

It was in part due to fear of renewed interest in mining claims in the 1930s, that the boundary of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial was officially established in 1939. The act establishing the boundary restricted mining and logging activities around the carving, though it did not appear to prevent activity on prior claims, like the Hesnard family's West Muscovite Lode Mining Claim, included within the 1939 and 1941 boundary maps. **(Figures 34 and 35)** Nor could it prevent activity on the Swanzey Placer Claim, owned by the Maywood Chemical Company (owner of the Etta Mine), which stood at the entrance to the Memorial reservation. However, the language did prevent new mining claims, as the tract of "not more than fifteen hundred acres of the public lands...within the Harney National Forest" would be "withdrawn from location or entry under the mining or other laws of the United States."[160]

Keystone-area gold mining was further stymied by troubles at the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine. The connected mines had been inactive since their closure in 1903 and were flooded with accumulated ground water. In 1927, Keystone Consolidated Mines, Inc. purchased the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine and nearby Columbia Mine, and leased the Bullion Mine which had closed due to falling arsenic prices. Records indicate that the company began developing the other mines while draining the ground water from the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine.[161] After connecting the Columbia and Bullion Mines, the company built a cyanide plant to process the gold ore. A power plant was constructed with generators run by three large diesel engines, powering the mine and plant operations. The town of Keystone also benefitted from surplus power from the plant.[162]

The new Keystone Consolidated processing plant burned in 1929, ending work at both the Columbia and Bullion Mines. The de-watering process at the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine continued however, along with repairs to the support timbers, and was completed in

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[157] Gary Richardson, Alejandro Komai, Michael Gou, and Daniel Park, "The Great Depression," *Federal Reserve History*, www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/61, accessed 3/24/2016.
[158] Richardson et al., "The Great Depression."
[159] Twitty and Fell, "Context for Historic Mining Resources in the Black Hills and South Dakota," Draft manuscript (2010), 95.
[160] "An Act to amend the Act entitled 'An Act creating the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and defining its purposes and powers', approved February 25, 1929, as amended." 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Chapter 402, 694-695, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Legislation, 1927-1940," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
[161] Allsman, *Bulletin 427*, 97.
[162] Ibid.

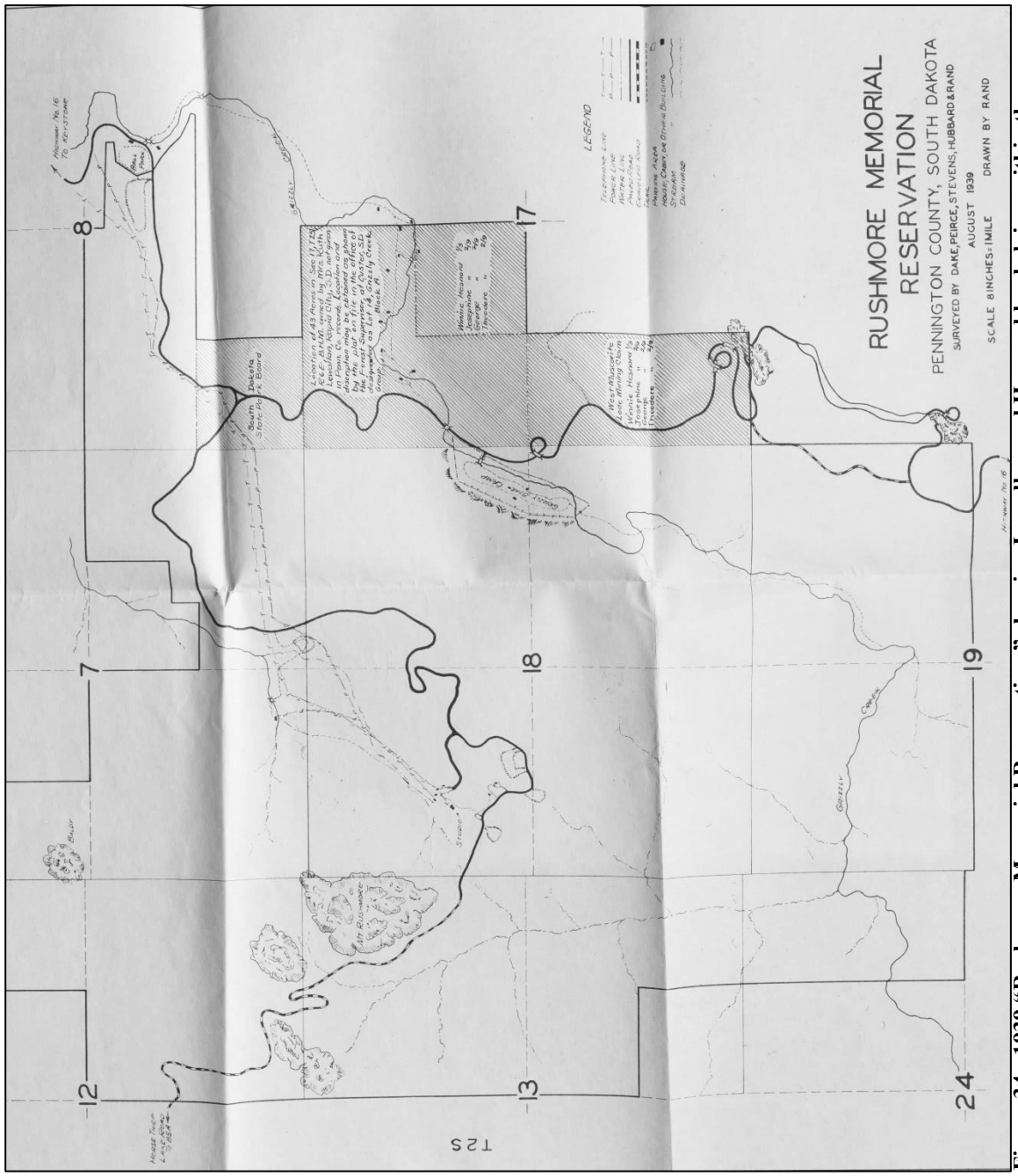


Figure 34: 1939 "Rushmore Memorial Reservation," showing Lewallan and Hesnard land claims within the reservation boundary. (GB Papers, Box 178, "Correspondence with Commissioners 1930s," Library of Congress)

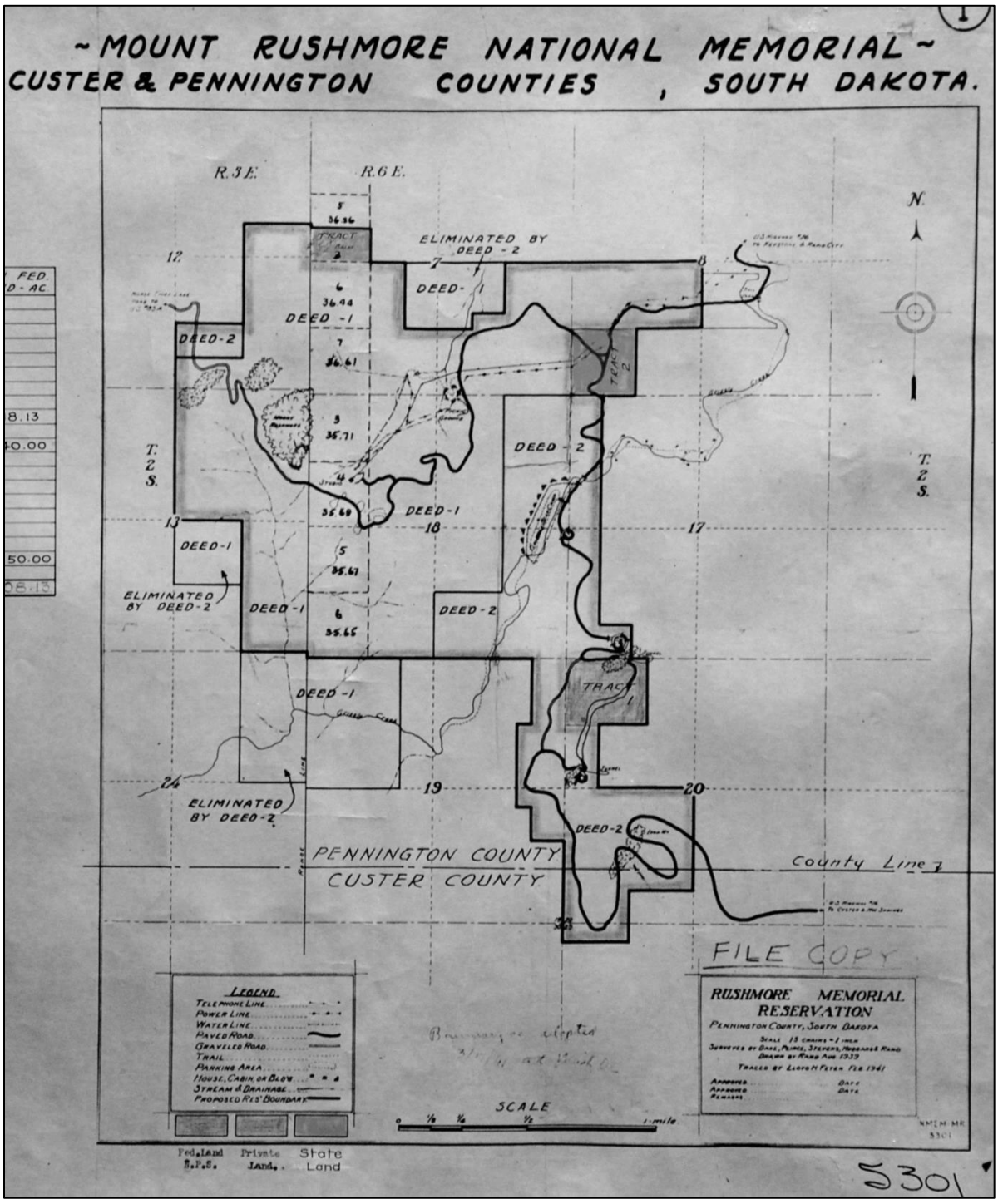


Figure 35: 1941 map "Mount Rushmore National Memorial," showing property transfers (MRNM Archives, #12152MORU)

1930. By 1936 the Holy Terror Mine had been developed to 1,200 feet in depth, but by this time the company had spent a great deal of money improving the mines with little return in gold. Due to the ongoing economic depression of the 1930s, there was little prospect for an infusion of investment cash and the company was forced to temporarily stop work at the mines in 1936.[163] Finally, in 1939 Keystone Consolidated began extracting gold.[164] Three years later, after the U.S. entered World War II, war-time regulations prohibited gold mining in favor of other industrial metals and minerals and the Keystone Consolidated gold mines again stopped work.

It was in 1942 that the War Production Board issued Gold Mine Closure Order L-208, in which all U.S. gold and silver mines were shut down. The closure was an effort to direct available mining workforces to the extraction of metals and minerals deemed necessary to further the war effort. On the list of strategic minerals, issued in 1941, were a number of minerals found in the southern Black Hills pegmatite mines, including mica, beryl, spodumene, feldspar, and quartz.[165] Though gold and silver were not considered strategic materials, mica (muscovite) was valuable for its electrical insulation qualities: "At the time it was stated that each motor and generator in an automobile or truck would use from twenty-four to thirty mica segments."[166] Mica mining in the pegmatite outcrops of the Black Hills' Harney Range had taken a backseat to gold and other minerals for several decades, largely due to its high processing cost. Extraction of minerals like mica that were used in the production of the U.S. military complex would now take precedence over gold and silver.

The Etta Mine, which began initially as a mica mine, had already shifted its primary focus to spodumene (lithium), another strategically important mineral common to the Black Hills. Of the seven U.S. mines listed by the U.S. Bureau of Mines as lithium producers in 1941, five were located in the Black Hills. Three of those mines in were the Keystone area, including the Maywood Chemical Company, owner of the Etta Mine.[167] Another was the Black Hills Keystone Corporation, which at that time owned the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine and the Bob Ingersoll Mine. The company discontinued gold extraction at the Keystone-Holy Terror Mine in favor of mica, lepidolite (lithium), and beryl.[168] Beryl was "a source of the metal beryllium which was used as a moderator in the mechanics of setting off an atomic explosion," according to mining engineer A. I. Johnston, and thus became quite valuable at "$600 per ton for 10% ore."[169] By 1944, beryl mining production in the Keystone mining district reached a peak of over 200 tons.[170]

Within the newly established boundaries of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, the ban on new mining activity was temporarily suspended, presumably to help in the war effort. A. Jackson Birdsell's patent application, dated September 10, 1946, for the Mica Hill

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 105.
[165] John B. DeMille, *Strategic Minerals* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947), 272-273.
[166] Robert J. Schabilion, *Down the Crabtree* (Gem & Lapidary Wholesalers, Inc., 2009), 79-80. In his 1926 letter to Doane Robinson, David Swanzey noted that Thomas Edison owned both the Swanzey and Bob Ingersoll Mines, likely for the purpose of mica production.
[167] DeMille, *Strategic Minerals*, 272-273.
[168] Linde, *Rushmore's Golden Valleys*, 105.
[169] As cited by Loomis, "Pegmatites of the Black Hills," *Dakota Matrix Minerals*.
[170] Edward Tullis, "Bureau of Mines Report of Investigations 4855: Beryl Resources of the Black Hills South Dakota" (United States Department of the Interior, 1952), 3.

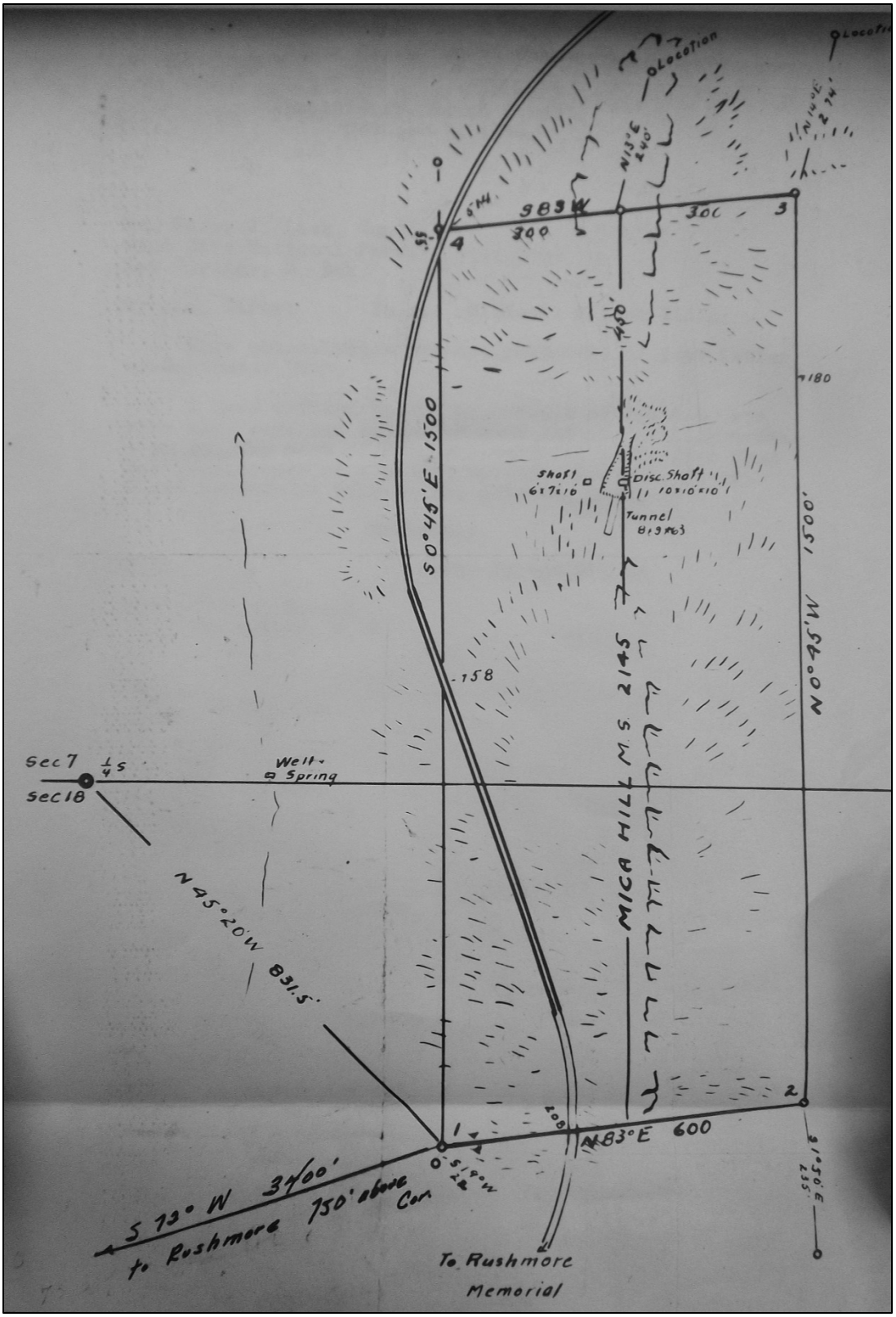


Figure 36: A. Jackson Birdsell's Mica Hill Lode mining claim. (RG79, Box 2682, Folder "609-01, Mt. Rushmore Mining Claims," NARA II, College Park, MD)

Lode Mining Claim likely followed several years of improving the claim.[171] **(Figure 36)** The "Notice" of application appeared in a local newspaper, which described the claim as just over twenty acres, but with no mention of its location within the Harney National Forest or the boundary of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.[172] An undated survey plat of "Mica Hill, M. S. [mineral survey] 2145" indicated that the active mining operation was within the vicinity of the Memorial. Now recorded as an archeological site (39PN2379), the site includes several adits and pits along with a "small pile of large mica sheets."[173] It is unlikely that Birdsell's patent was ever approved, given its location within reserved public land.

While gold mining at the Homestake Mine in the northern Black Hills resumed following World War II, both the Etta Mine and the Keystone-Holy Terror Mines ceased operations in the 1950s. Extraction of gold at the Homestake Mine ended in 2001.[174]

The End of the Homesteading Era: The "Dirty Thirties"

The years of the Great Depression and World War II were difficult for Keystone miners, but for ranchers and farmers in the region, the years from 1929 through the U.S. entry into World War II in 1941 enclosed a perfect storm of worsening circumstances. The collapse of grain and beef prices following World War I had already forced many farmers and cattlemen, like Edward Wilkinson, out of business. Then after the stock market crash in October 1929, agricultural commodity prices hit a new low. Heaping more coals of trouble on the fire, the summer of 1930 was reportedly the second driest on record in the Great Plains and the drought continued over the next several years.[175] The marginal soils of the former grasslands, now exposed by the plow and over-grazing, began to blow in windstorms of unimaginable proportions. Known as the "Dust Bowl," or by Plains residents as the "Dirty Thirties," the resulting disaster decimated the land, cattle herds, and families. The final blow came with the nation-wide economic depression, in which nearly twenty-five percent of the nation's workforce was unemployed by 1933. For the farmers and ranchers looking for alternate work in order to save their drought and dust-ravaged land, the outlook was bleak.

Western South Dakota was on the northwestern edge of the Dust Bowl. The region's farmers and ranchers struggled through the prolonged drought and low commodity prices of the 1930s. Many of those who took advantage of the farm credit available through the Federal Land Bank, established by Congress in 1916, could not meet their payments. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act, which provided emergency loans or extended loan payments for indebted farmers.[176] The Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933) paid farmers to reduce production in an effort to raise commodity prices and the Taylor Grazing Act (1934) was aimed at soil conservation and repair.

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[171] A penny found at the site, dated 1944, suggests that the mine was in operation as early as 1944 (Molyneaux et al, *A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey*, 108).
[172] "Notice," unidentified newspaper clipping, 1127a MORU, MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.
[173] Molyneaux et al, *A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey*, 25.
[174] Renshaw, *Nuggets to Neutrinos*, 564.
[175] SWCA, *The History of Agriculture in South Dakota*, 21-22.
[176] "History of FCA and FCS," *Farm Credit Administration*, www.fca.gov/about/history/historyFCA_FCS.html, accessed 3/9/2016.



Figure 37: 1936, "Overgrazed land, Pennington County South Dakota," Arthur Rothstein, photographer for the Farm Security Administration (Library of Congress, FSA-Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division)

The Taylor Grazing Act removed all remaining public lands (except Alaska) from "entry" for homesteading, reserving the land for livestock grazing, administered by the federal government.[177] This effectively put an end to the frontier notion of homesteading on land unsuited for large-scale crop production. But more to the point, federal control of public grazing lands was intended to put an end to damaging practices, "by preventing overgrazing and soil deterioration; to provide for their orderly use, improvement, and development; [and] to stabilize the livestock industry dependent upon the public range."[178]

Small ranches like Frank Reed's ten quarter sections near Rapid City benefited from the new programs put in place by Roosevelt and Congress. Reed recalled that he still owned his ranch when "the banks closed up" and he lost all of his savings, "...it was the land bank that saved my life…[I borrowed] money after I'd been broke for two years…[and I] managed to live through it."[179] Gutzon Borglum, the Mount Rushmore sculptor, barely managed to keep his Hermosa ranch afloat, due to ongoing money problems in the 1930s. Borglum purchased the ranch of over 1,100 acres from Ed Rhodes in 1929.[180] At one point in the 1930s, according to his son Lincoln, Borglum was unable to pay his taxes and the ranch was put up for sale in a "sheriff's sale." Lincoln Borglum was the highest bidder, recalling that the "bidding was at a minimum, because money was not readily available."[181]

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[177] Brooks and Jacon, *Homesteading and Agricultural Development*, 10.
[178] "The Taylor Grazing Act," *Bureau of Land Management*, www.blm.gov/wy/st/en/field_offices/Casper/range/taylor.1.html, accessed 3/9/2016.
[179] "Edward G. Wilkinson, Frank M. Reed, and R. Mansfield," SDOHP #0065, USD.
[180] Tom Domek and Robert E. Hayes, *Mt. Rushmore and Keystone* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), 44.
[181] June Culp Zeitner and Lincoln Borglum, *Borglum's Unfinished Dream* (Aberdeen, SD: North Plains Press, 1976), 63-64.

The 1930s in the area around the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, then under construction, was a decade of change for many residents. The 1930 census record (Twp 2[S], Range 6[E], District 79) listed eleven farm-owners within the district around Keystone. Clyde Hallsted, who lived with his brother Charles Hallsted, listed his occupation as a farmer. By 1940, Clyde Hallsted had moved to Rapid City and was working as a mechanic. Rubin (Reuben) Conklin was farming on rented land in 1930. He appears to have taken advantage of the extended farm credit of 1934 and by 1940 was the owner of a farm in the next Township east (Twp 1S, R6E), where the land was slightly more conducive to farming. Domanico Raga, a naturalized Italian immigrant, owned his farm in 1930, but by 1940 was farming on rented property in the adjoining district (Twp 1S, R6E). By 1940, though the population of the Keystone district (Twp 2S, R6E) had nearly doubled, most of the residents were miners or worked at Mount Rushmore, a few were loggers, and no one listed their occupation as farmer.[182]

Elsewhere in the West River region, farmers would rebound with the war economy during World War II. But the Black Hills interior was on a different path. The Mount Rushmore National Memorial, administered by the National Park Service beginning in 1939, would be the crowning glory of years of efforts to develop a new tourism economy for the South Dakota Black Hills.

The Scenic Lure of the Black Hills

In 1891, Congress tackled some of the problems with the various land acts passed since westward expansion began. The Land Revision Act of 1891 repealed the Preemption Act of 1841 and the Timber Culture Act of 1873; it revised the Desert Lands Act and amended the Homestead Act to allow homesteaders more time to convert their claim to a purchase (at $1.25 per acre).[183] Perhaps the most significant change in how public lands were allocated, and the reason why the legislation is often called the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, was in Section 24 of the Land Revision Act. In Section 24, Congress gave the President of the United States the power to "set apart and reserve...any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not, as public reservations..."[184] Immediately upon signing the legislation, President Benjamin Harrison reserved from future settlement over a million acres of timber land adjoining Yellowstone National Park called the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve.[185]

President Grover Cleveland created the Black Hills Forest Reserve in 1897 with over 900,000 acres of Black Hills timber land.[186] Captain Seth Bullock, the first Forest Supervisor of the Black Hills, described the purpose of the new forest reserve in 1904:

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[182] *Ancestry.com.* 1930 and 1940 United States Federal Census [database on-line].
[183] Douglas A. Heden, ed., "The Land Revision Act of 1891," 2, www.minnesotalegalhistoryproject.org/assets/Land Revision Act (1891).pdf, accessed 2/26/2016.
[184] "The Land Revision Act of 1891, 26 Stat. at Large, ch. 561, pp. 1095-1103 (1891)," Section 24, as cited in Heden, 15.
[185] Richard C. Davis, ed. *Encyclopedia of American Forest and Conservation History* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company for the Forest History Society, 1983), Vol. II, Appendix I, 743-788. In 1902, the reserve was enlarged to over six million acres
[186] Davis, *Encyclopedia of American Forest...*, Appendix I.

> The object of the forest reserve is for the purpose of preserving the living and growing timber, promoting the younger growth and the regulation of the water supply, as the dependence of the latter for a sure and sustained flow is wholly upon vegetation which prevents rapid run-off and is best attained by a dense and vigorous growth of timber. The permanent Industries of the Black Hills are wholly dependent upon timber and water. Destroy one and these industries will disappear, while if both are destroyed the "richest one hundred miles square" will become a desert.[187]

The creation of the reserve did not preclude use of the land by many of the Black Hills "industries," including mining prospects within the area, nor did it evict homesteaders already living within the reserve boundary. The law allowed for timber to be taken freely for "personal use" but was "refused to corporations, companies, sawmill parties and owners of large establishments…" unless a special permit was obtained.[188]

Administered within the U.S. Department of the Interior, forest rangers were assigned to protect the forest reserves from fires and poachers, to protect the forest wildlife, and to oversee permitted timber harvests. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt oversaw the establishment of a new Bureau of Forestry within the U.S. Department of Agriculture. All U.S. forest reserves were transferred to the new U.S. Forest Service, including the Black Hills Forest Reserve. In 1907, it was renamed the Black Hills National Forest.[189]

The state of South Dakota in fact owned over 60,000 acres scattered throughout the Black Hills Forest Reserve. The numerous small parcels had been given to the state in the nineteenth century by the federal government in order to establish public schools as the land was settled. Most had gone unused in the difficult terrain of the Hills, and now, with the establishment of the forest reserve, would likely never be used. In 1906, the state therefore negotiated with the federal government for an exchange of the unused acreage for a tract of nearly 60,000 contiguous acres located primarily in Custer and Harding Counties. With the support of then-South Dakota State Senator Peter Norbeck (1909-1915), the new tract would become the Custer State Forest in 1912, with the State Game Preserve developed in 1913.[190] As South Dakota governor (1917-1921), Peter Norbeck guided its further development as Custer State Park, serving on the Custer State Park Board and continuing as U.S. Senator from 1921 until his death in 1936.

The Harney National Forest was established in 1911, covering nearly 200,000 acres of Pennington and Custer Counties, immediately south of the Black Hills National Forest boundary, and adjoining the western boundary of the Custer State Forest. Included within the Harney National Forest boundary were the towns of Hill City, Keystone, and Custer, among others, numerous mines and prospects, homesteads, and ranches. Though none of

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[187] Capt. Seth Bullock in Doane Robinson, *A History of South Dakota* (1904), 484; "District of South Dakota United States Marshal Seth Bullock," *U.S. Marshall's Service*, www.usmarshals.gov/district/sd/pages/profiles/sb/sb.htm, accessed 3/14/2016. The Black Hills Reserve was enlarged in 1915 (by then Black Hills National Forest) to over one million acres with the addition of the Sundance Forest Reserve, and to over 1,200,000 acres in 1954 with the inclusion of the Harney National Forest (Davis, *Encyclopedia of American Forest...*, Appendix I).

[188] Bullock in Robinson, *A History of South Dakota*, 485.

[189] Gerald W. Williams, *The USDA Forest Service – The First Century* (Washington, DC: USDA Forest Service Office of Communication, 2005), 17.

[190] Rep. John R. Thune, "Local Legacies: Custer State Park," *Library of Congress: American Folklife Center*, http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/legacies/loc.afc.afc-legacies.200003526/default.html, accessed 3/9/2016.

these activities, except commercial logging, would be curtailed, federal control of public lands like the Black Hills national forests would become a point of contention between the individualists of the West and the federal government. At the same time, all of the Black Hills land remained in the on-going legal dispute between the federal government and the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes who had been relieved of the Black Hills in 1877 in violation of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.

Despite these disagreements, the protected forest land within the Black Hills in the early twentieth century became the focus of an increasingly important Black Hills industry, tourism. With the rapid growth of the automobile's popularity and affordability, the business of tourism would become a significant economic engine.

Even before the advent of the automobile, the granite formations of the south-central Black Hills were recognized for their beauty. Newton Winchell, one of the geologists on the 1874 Custer expedition, wrote of his impressions in the granite region around Harney Peak (now Black Elk Peak):

> On ascending this ridge a most magnificent prospect burst suddenly upon us, which caused us each, on reaching the summit, to utter an exclamation of surprise and wonder. …To the northeast, however, was the grandest sight I ever beheld. This was a truly Alpine view. …Very near us, and cutting off our view north, was a series of spindled peaks which, though massive and imposing, proved to be mere pygmies to the giants of the same shape and character that rose in the distance.[191]

The Cheyenne and Lakota occupants of the Hills country also recognized special or sacred locations to which they would travel. Special trips were often made to the Minnekahta (Hot Springs) to be healed by the medicinal waters there. By 1879, the Hot Springs had become a Euro-American destination, and by 1885 it was a stop on the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad branch. By 1899, there were at least a dozen hotels serving the Hot Springs clientele.[192]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, three other natural sites in the Black Hills were recognized by the federal government as special and set aside for protection as national parks or monuments under the guidance of President Theodore Roosevelt. After a stay in Yosemite National Park, which Roosevelt described as "like lying in a great solemn cathedral," he was convinced of the urgency to preserve the natural resources, particularly in the West, that were quickly being exhausted by unbridled expansion. He began by working with Congress to establish national parks, including Wind Cave National Park in 1903, the Lakota sacred site of origin called Washun Niya. In June 1906, President Roosevelt signed the Act for the Preservation of American Antiquities, which provided for the establishment of national monuments by the President without Congressional action. Roosevelt immediately created Devil's Tower National Monument on the sacred site known to Lakota as Mato Tipi. Jewel Cave National Monument was designated in 1908, located within the area that would soon be the Harney National Forest.[193]

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[191] As cited in Ernest Grafe and Paul Horsted, *Exploring With Custer* (Custer, SD: Golden Valley Press, 2005), 79-80.

[192] Tallent, *The Black Hills*, 668.

[193] "Theodore Roosevelt and Conservation," *Theodore Roosevelt National Park*, www.nps.gov/thro/learn/historyculture/theodore-roosevelt-and-conservation.htm, accessed 3/13/2016.

Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and the tribes that came before them, recognized spiritual qualities in the granite formations of the southern Black Hills. Individuals made special trips to the peaks – vision quests – to experience that spiritual connection through visions. While Euro-Americans did not share the same sense of sacredness in the Black Hills, many identified the granite formations as special, even holy, much like Theodore Roosevelt's description of Yosemite as a "solemn cathedral." In 1924, *Hot Springs Star* editor Cora B. Johnson described the Needles formation as "absolutely cosmic," and frequent Black Hills vacationer J. B. Townsley described them as "God's statuary."[194]

Such sentiments were the foundation of Black Hills tourism. At the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, the South Dakota souvenir booklet quoted a traveler who wrote of the Black Hills:

> Along the line of the B&M [CB&Q] railroad, between Custer City and Deadwood, may be seen more wild, rugged mountain scenery, and of a more varied and enjoyable character, than can elsewhere been seen in the whole west; especially wonderful is it near Custer City, and well worthy of careful inspection.[195]

However, some saw room for improvements that would be geared specifically to attract tourists. In 1891, Theodore Reder, Rapid City area sawmill operator, saw the tourism potential of a valley near the Needles granite formation northeast of Custer City. Reder and his brothers constructed a sixty-foot dam across a narrow end of the rock-walled valley, creating Reder's Lake, later called Sylvan Lake. In 1892, he built a sixty-six room hotel overlooking his lake. The Reder family sold the property in 1896 and it grew into a very popular resort destination, though it remained relatively isolated due to its location.[196]

"Careful inspection" of the Black Hills, as the 1893 booklet suggested, beyond what could be seen from the railroad car, was difficult for the average nineteenth century traveler. Like the mail, freight, and stage drivers, visitors too faced the "almost impassable gumbo roads" of the Black Hills.[197] Road improvements did not materialize until after the turn of the twentieth century, largely the result of the increasingly popular automobile.

The Good Roads Movement started in the 1880s with bicycle enthusiasts in the East. The movement was invigorated in the early twentieth century by motorists who agitated for improved roads across the country. In 1902, the American Automobile Association, an amalgamation of nine already-established automobile clubs, was organized in Chicago to advocate for good roads legislation.[198] South Dakota State Senator Joseph W. Parmley founded the South Dakota Good Roads Association in 1907, stating in a speech two years later, "The automobile demands better roads and is here to stay whether the farmer is willing or not."[199] A state still dominated by conservative agricultural interests, the South Dakota

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[194] Cora B. Johnson to Doane Robinson, December 6, 1924, and J. B. Townsley to Doane Robinson, December 26, 1924, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, folder "Doane Robinson Papers (Photostat) 1925," Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[195] "Souvenir of South Dakota," World's Columbia Exposition (1893: Chicago, IL), 32, State Archives of the South Dakota State Historical Society.

[196] Daughenbaugh, "Theodore Reder's Lake," *The Black Hills Historian*, fall 2004, 1 and 5.

[197] McClintock, *Pioneer Days*, 217.

[198] "A Century of Service," *AAA Newsroom*, http://newsroom.aaa.com/about-aaa/history/, accessed 3/16/2016.

[199] Shebby Lee, "Traveling the Sunshine State: The Growth of Tourism in South Dakota, 1914-1939," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Summer 1989, 203.

legislature did not establish its State Highway Department until 1919, after Congress enacted legislation to provide federal funds to aid state road construction.[200]

By 1920, tourism had become the second-largest industry in South Dakota, second only to agriculture.[201] With strong support from Peter Norbeck, first as governor and then as U.S. senator, Custer State Park became the focus of tourism development in the Black Hills. Norbeck's interest in promoting and enhancing the natural landscape of the Hills focused initially on road improvements. Beginning in 1919, he and state highway engineer Scovel Johnson designed the Needles Highway, an impossible feat of twisting turns, enormous inclines, scenic tunnels, and sweeping views. **(Figure 38)** Initial reactions to the road, opened in 1922, described the driving experience as "exhilarating," with one newspaper pointing out

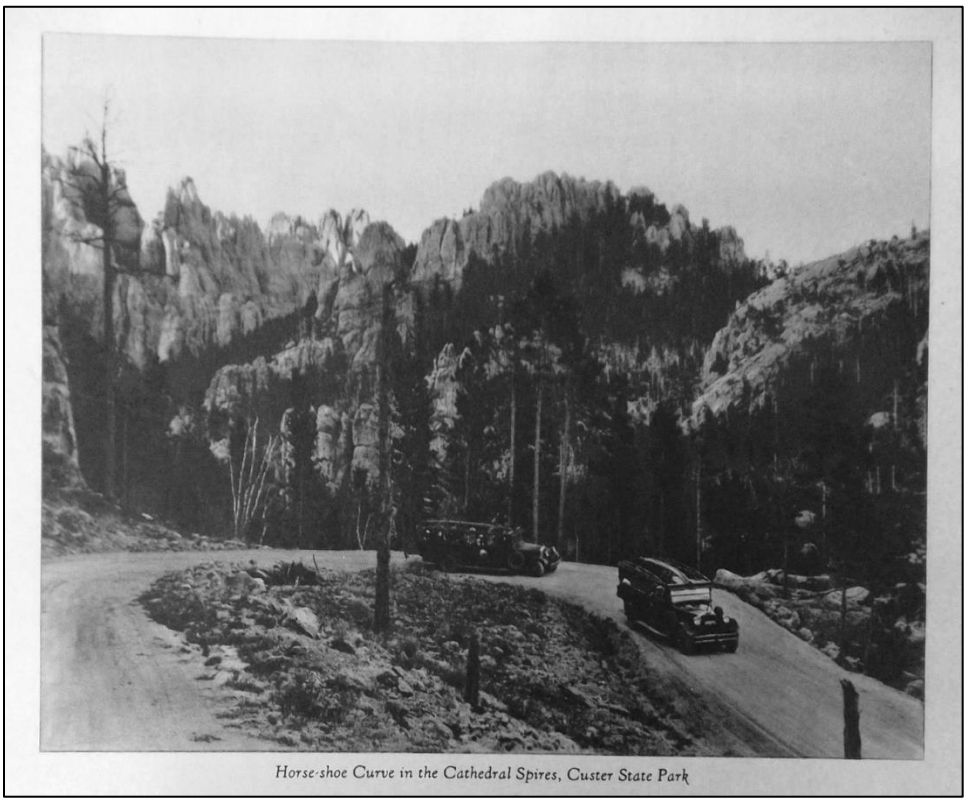


Figure 38: 1928 Black Hills travel guide (MRNM Archives, Box 68, #7380MORU)

that the road provided access to scenery previously "behind a closed door for tourists."[202] At the same time Governor Norbeck oversaw the expansion of Custer State Park with 1,600 acres of the Harney National Forest set aside as part of the state game sanctuary.[203] The

[200] Lee, "Traveling the Sunshine State," 208. See Public Law 64-156 (39 Stat 355) "An Act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes." (http://legisworks.org/sal/39/toc39.html)
[201] Lee, "Traveling the Sunshine State," 202.
[202] Suzanne Julin, "A Feeling Almost Beyond Description," in Christof Mauch, Thomas Zeller, eds., *The World Beyond the Windshield: Roads and Landscapes in the United States and Europe* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 86.
[203] *The Laws Passed at the Seventeenth Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: State Publishing Co., 1921), 280.

newly enlarged Custer State Park now encompassed important tourist attractions, including Iron Mountain and Harney Peak, and stretched northwest along the Needles Highway to the Sylvan Lake resort property.

Accommodations that would keep tourists and their dollars in the state longer were also apparently part of Norbeck's plan for Custer State Park. In 1920, the state of South Dakota purchased the Sylvan Lake resort and improved its management, becoming known as "the Crown Jewel of the Black Hills."[204] The State Game Lodge was constructed in 1921 to accommodate visitors in the southeast area of the park. The building burned three months later and was replaced in 1922 by a larger hotel designed by Minneapolis architect Phelps Wyman.[205] The State Game Lodge and Black Hills tourism received a boost in 1927, when President Calvin Coolidge occupied the lodge as his "summer White House" from June to September. The president brought his family and staff with him to stay at the lodge, along with dozens of reporters who stayed in Rapid City, where Coolidge located his executive offices during the stay. The president's stay also resulted in improvements to the road between the lodge and Rapid City.[206]

In 1923, a Black Hills tourist brochure and map produced by the Custer Commercial Club, provided details of the automobile roads available throughout the Hills, as well as railroads, "golf links," lodges, hotels, and campgrounds. **(Figure 39)** The brochure specifically highlighted the "Custer Park Highway" (Needles Highway) with photographs as it meandered its way through the distinctive granite formations of "'The Needles' or 'Cathedral Spires'."[207] Senator Norbeck's distinctive road through the Needles had become a destination for visitors to the Black Hills. It was this idea that inspired South Dakota state historian Doane Robinson to suggest a sculpture, or series of sculptures, carved into the "exceedingly showy" granite pinnacles to enhance the visitor appeal of the Hills.[208]

Doane Robinson's idea for a sculpture in the Black Hills was hatched in December of 1923, purely as a tourist attraction intended to capture the interest of tourists, which in his words were "very soon fed up on scenery."[209] Robinson apparently wrote to Chicago sculptor Lorado Taft to inquire of the practicality of the idea before releasing his suggestion to the Black Hills public. Taft was already a well-known sculptor of colossal figures. In 1910, Lorado Taft sculpted "The Eternal Indian," a forty-three-foot tall concrete sculpture unofficially known as the "Black Hawk" statue.[210] Robinson referenced the statue in his letter to Taft, noting "it has occurred to me that some of these pinnacles would lend themselves to massive sculpture."[211] His initial suggestion was for one figure, "I am thinking of some notable Sioux as Redcloud [sic], who lived and died in the shadow of these peaks," with the

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[204] Kaija Swisher, "The Rest of the Dam Story," *Black Hills Pioneer*, February 6, 2009.
[205] David Shelta, "State Game Lodge," National Register of Historic Places, 1982.
[206] Peter Norbeck Papers, Box 12 "Coolidge Visit," Richardson Collection, Archives & Special Collections, I.D. Weeks Library, University of South Dakota, Vermillion, SD.
[207] #2376, 1923 Travel Guide, Box 68 "Travel Guides Black Hills 1919-1973," MRNM Archives.
[208] Doane Robinson to Lorado Taft, December 28, 1923, Doane Robinson Collection (DRC), Box 3363A, Folder 149 "Mount Rushmore, 1923-1925," South Dakota State Archives, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre, SD.
[209] Doane Robinson to *Hill City News* editor, n.d. (prob. February 1924), DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 152 "Mount Rushmore, Miscellaneous."
[210] Michael Sherfy, "'It Grew Out of the Ground': Lorado Taft's 'Black Hawk'," *American Indians of Illinois*.
[211] Robinson to Taft, December 28, 1923, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.

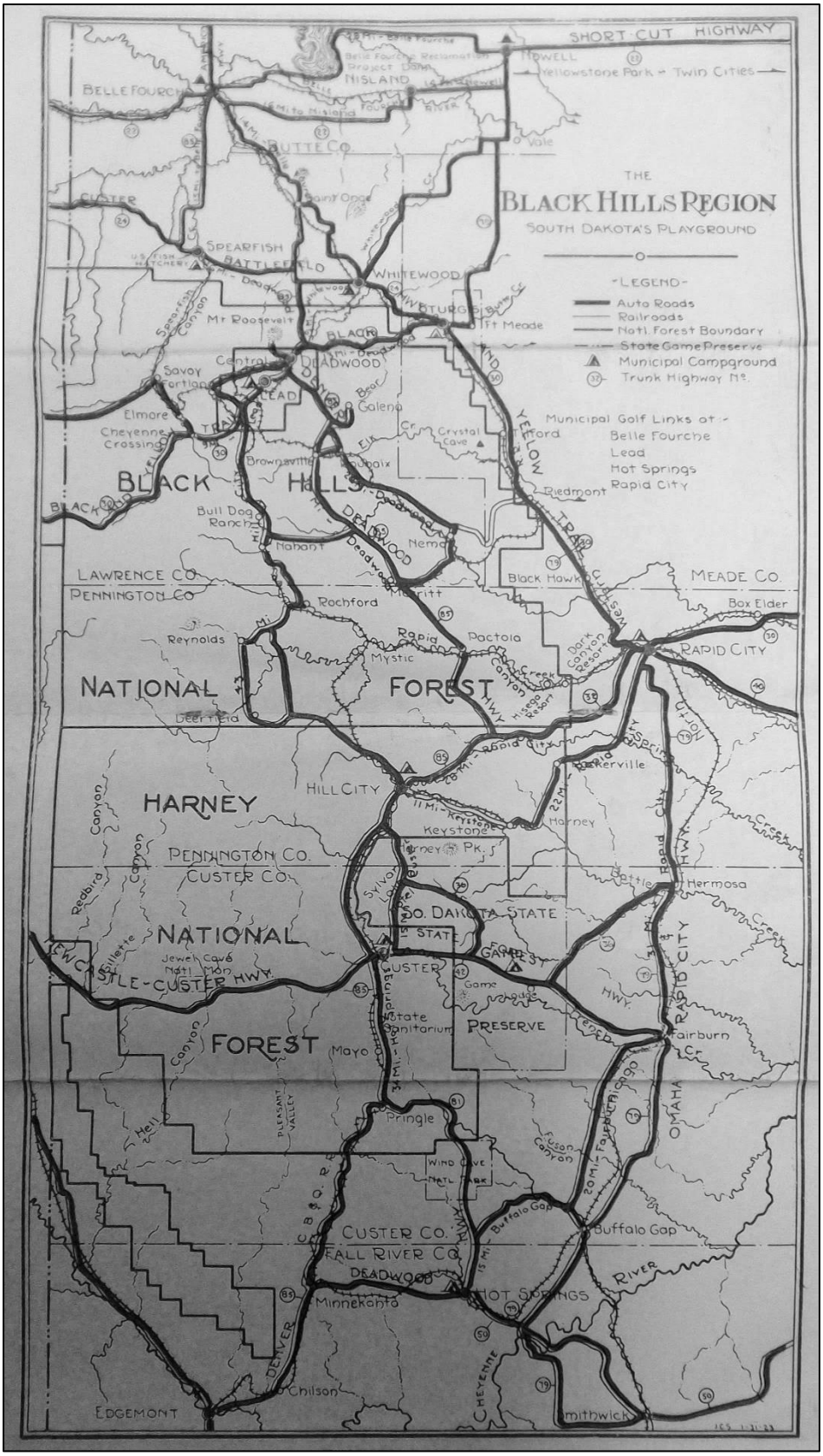


Figure 39: 1923 Black Hills travel guide map (MRNM Archives, Box 68, #2376MORU)

potential for more depending upon the "practicable" stone.[212] Lorado Taft responded from a Chicago hospital in January 1924 that he was not available due to illness.

Though clearly disappointed, Robinson's response to Lorado Taft's letter revealed that the idea had already taken flight in his own mind:

> The plan I suggested to you grows upon me as I think of it, and I am sure that an artist of vision and imagination could work out a wonderful scheme. Near the summit is a little park through which the highway passes. It is no larger than a large hall, but it is studded about with column after column of these large pinnacles and in my imagination I can see all the old heroes of the old west peering out from them; Lewis and Clark, Fremont, Jed Smith, Bridger, Sa-kaka-wea, Redcloud, and in an equestrian statue Cody and the overland mail.[213]

By early February, the sculpture had again grown in its scope. Writing to the editor of the Deadwood *Pioneer Times*, he suggested:

> Custer with his first gold discovering cavalcade winding through the Needles, with Red Cloud and a band of Sioux scouts, resentful and suspicious, spying upon it through the rifts in the pinnacles of the opposite wall, while above a great mountain buck, wary but unafraid, inspects the pageant with curiosity, and at the crest, an American eagle awaits the denouement with the fortitude of his kind.[214]

In just over a month Robinson's vision had grown from one figure to a multitude including horses, deer, and an eagle!

In January 1924, Doane Robinson shared his sculpture idea in a public forum. He was invited to speak at a "Black and Yellow Trail" meeting, in which he "casually suggested a great sculpture in the Black Hills as desirable."[215] Robinson recalled that his idea "was received with enthusiasm" at the meeting, but when the Associated Press ran the story, numerous and mostly negative editorials appeared in the local newspapers.[216] In early February Robinson wrote first to the editor of the *Hill City News*, thanking him for his "fairness pertaining to my suggestion for an heroric sculpture in the Hills," and took pains to emphasize the economic value of it:

> As I have since considered the subject I find myself strongly impressed with the value of it...
>
> A tourist is very soon fed up on scenery. I have seen many of them come into the Hills raving over the beauty of the mountains, who rushing through the park, get a glimpse of the Needles, and of Harney and then declare their purpose to rush up to Lead and look over the Homestake and get away.

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[212] Ibid.
[213] Robinson to Taft, January 26, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149. Robinson requested that Taft recommend an appropriate alternate artist. It is not known if Taft responded to Robinson's request; a response letter is not included in this collection.
[214] Doane Robinson to *Pioneer-Times* editor, February 6, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.
[215] Doane Robinson to *Hill City News* editor, n.d. (prob. February 1924), DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 152.
[216] Ibid.

> If we get the most of this resource we must have many definite things to show and provide means of leading the tourist to them.[217]

Then, in response to a negative article in *The Pioneer-Times* of Deadwood, Robinson pointed out, "We are not getting the most possible out of the Hills as a state asset":

> ...I judge that during the season 200 automobiles of tourists enter the Hills daily. This number can be increased to a thousand. Every day they can be induced to remain in the Hills adds tremendously to the value of their visits.[218]

Robinson's disappointment was growing with the lack of vision in the Black Hills press.

Writing in March 1924 to the secretary of the Rapid City Commercial Club, Doane Robinson bemoaned the "bum steer" the newspapers had given the residents of the Black Hills regarding his proposal, noting that after reflection, "They will laugh themselves, when they come to think that if the granite should assay five cents a ton in gold, they would unanimously subscribe to a machine to grind up the Needles and wipe them off the face of the earth."[219] Doane Robinson was known as an easy-going man, but his comments, though light-hearted, revealed his frustration. At the same time he retained a remarkable prescient vision of the future of Black Hills tourism:

> I would set Gutzon Borglum, or some artist of his class, at work upon a great historic pageant, and when it is done the result will be a lot more in cash than would another Homestake, and it will not grind up its material and pass away, but for a thousand years it would continue to bring its annual harvest of gold. With such a sculpture in the Hills no eastern man would think of going west for pleasure without passing through the Hills enroute.[220]

By the time Robinson actually did contact sculptor Gutzon Borglum in August of 1924, his vision had grown into "a massive sculpture."[221]

Doane Robinson mentioned in several of his letters the names of Lorado Taft, Gutzon Borglum, and Daniel French as possible candidates for the work of the carving. He noted in his letter to the editor of the *Argus Leader* that if any of the three men did the carving, "the world would hasten to view it."[222] Lorado Taft had taken himself out of the running in January 1924 and it appears that Gutzon Borglum was Robinson's next choice. In August 1924, he wrote a brief note to Borglum to gauge his interest in designing a "heroic sculpture of unusual character" on a "massive" scale.[223] The invitation proved to be perfectly worded to excite the renowned artist, then-occupied at the Stone Mountain carving in Georgia.

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[217] Doane Robinson to *Hill City News* editor, n.d. (prob. February 1924), DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 152.
[218] Doane Robinson to Hon. Lee Morford, *Pioneer-Times*, February 11, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.
[219] Doane Robinson to J.B. Green, March 7, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Doane Robinson to Gutzon Borglum, August 20, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.
[222] Doane Robinson to *Argus Leader* editor, February 8, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.
[223] Robinson to Borglum, August 20, 1924, DRC, Box 3363A, Folder 149.

Chapter 4

Gutzon Borglum, Rushmore's Flamboyant and Visionary Sculptor, 1867-1941

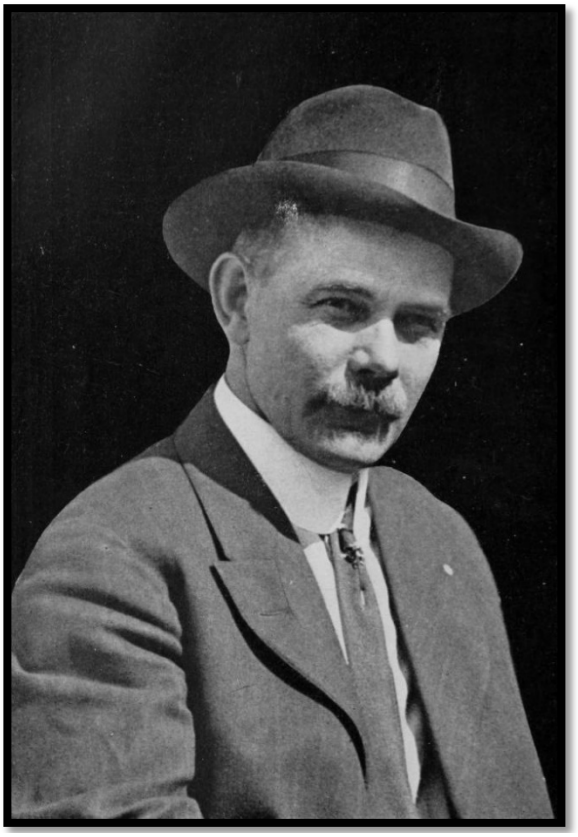


Figure 40: A young Gutzon Borglum (*The World's Work*, 1917, 440, http://archive.org/stream/worldswork34gard#page/440/mode/2up)

Several good biographies portray the life of Gutzon Borglum. This chapter summarizes the sculptor's story, based on those existing biographies. Important points to note about the man who carved Rushmore are that he was a person of tremendous talent, energy and passion. Those qualities resulted from a natural artistic talent that his brother Solon also possessed, but also from a troubled childhood, marked by loss, loneliness, anger, conflict and a missing sense of rootedness and belonging. Gutzon was intensely independent, developed a strong ego and a need to be at the forefront of whatever activity he undertook. Moderation was not in his personality. His passion, talent and ego were precisely the factors that allowed him to take on a challenge that no one else had ever done: creating colossal sculptures out of a mountain side. While some found him egotistical, temperamental and arrogant, his artistic genius was never in question.

In a manuscript for his unfinished autobiography *The One Man War*, Borglum illustrates the personality characteristics that he developed:

> This story is told to lend an encouraging, believing hand to all lonely, creative souls who are wandering into the uncharted, untraveled wilderness of God's greater universe, finding through their own understanding new and undreamed worlds; and to those who continue alone to pour into unpeopled space their cry – unafraid, expecting no answer. Courage to stand alone; courage to master, to know, to do alone. Courage to spurn the tradesman's reward and popularity. Courage to be without great approval, in spite of government, in spite of today's laws, tomorrow's threat – every threat – in spite of Heaven. God's greatest gift to us and His supreme test is courage bestowed only on those He trusts entirely.[1]

On March 25, 1867, Christina Mikklesen (Michelson), second of two wives of Jens Borglum gave birth to a son, John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum, at Ovid near Bear Lake, Idaho, just north of the border with Utah. In their native Denmark, Jens Borglum and his wives converted to Mormonism, and immigrated to the United States, where in 1864, Jens and his first wife, Ida settled at Salt Lake City, Utah. Jens and Ida were married in April, 1864, aboard ship just before they set sail for the United States.[2] Ida's sister Christina and other family members joined them in November 1865. Jens changed his name to James in America and in March, 1865, Ida gave birth to their first son, Miller. When Christina arrived, as was the Mormon custom at the time, James married her. The family moved to Ovid, Idaho where Gutzon was born. They then moved to Ogden, Utah, where James worked for the Union Pacific railroad. Late in 1868, Christina gave birth to Solon Hannibal Borglum, Gutzon's only full sibling. Both boys grew up to be successful professional artists and sculptors. Ida and James had seven other children, but there was friction between the two wives/sisters.

Becoming disillusioned with Mormonism, the family, with both wives and five children moved to Omaha, Nebraska where Ida and Christina's parents had settled. Outside of Mormon Territory, polygamy was illegal and violators were prosecuted. According to *Six Wars at a Time*, a biography of Borglum, to avoid legal problems, the James Borglum family in the 1870 census, listed Christina Michelson as a domestic in the household, and Ida as James' wife. Gutzon and Solon were listed as Christina's children, but no father was named. However, there is no citation for this statement in the biography that references the 1870 census. A check of the Omaha, Nebraska census for 1870 did not produce a listing for James Borglum, Ida, Christina or the children. There was, however, a listing for a "John Berglum," carpenter, born in Denmark, his wife, Mary, also born in Denmark, children, Amelia, age 6, G., age 4, Almon, age 2 all born in Utah and L., age nine months, born in Nebraska. The three younger children were boys. Also listed is Susan Tallage, domestic servant.[3] Either there was another family with very similar birthplaces and ages, or James Borglum changed the family's names to avoid suspicion of bigamy. James Borglum was listed in the 1880

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[1] Robert J. Casey and Mary Borglum, *Give the Man Room* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1952), 23.
[2] Howard and Audrey Karl Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time* (Sioux Falls, SD: The Center for Western Studies, 1985), 11-12.
[3] 1870 Census, Omaha, Douglas County Nebraska

census for Frémont in Douglas County Nebraska, with Ida and the children with their correct names.

An Omaha physician, Dr. H. H. Sisson, befriended James Borglum and mentored him in homeopathic medicine until he was able to attend Missouri Medical College in St. Louis. In 1871, James enrolled in medical school and the family moved to St. Louis, but without Christina. She remained behind in Omaha, while her sons, Gutzon and Solon, went to Missouri with the rest of the family. James instructed the children never to speak of Christina again, and although various vague stories floated out, none defined what actually happened to Christina. Apparently she remarried and moved to California, but she never saw her two sons again, and Ida raised them along with her own children. Gutzon was five when this tragic event occurred and knew only that his mother was no longer there. He disliked Ida and ran away from home more than once.[4]

After graduating from medical school in 1874, James Borglum and his family settled in Fremont, Nebraska, where he practiced medicine. It was a frontier town, and according to Gutzon, half of his father's time was spent treating gunshot wounds and the other half delivering babies. James would frequently take one of his sons along when he went on medical calls, and Gutzon recalled these as special times of closeness with his father. It was a type of companionship that Gutzon later fostered with his own son, Lincoln. He never spoke of Ida. While at Fremont, the family converted to Catholicism. Gutzon and his half-brother Auguste attended a Catholic boarding school, Saint Mary's in Kansas, beginning in 1882.

Gutzon Goes to California to Study Art

In 1883, Borglum left school and went to California, having decided that he wanted to be an artist. He devoted himself to studying painting, supporting himself working for a lithographer.[5]

Eventually Borglum began to receive recognition for his artistic work. His big break came when he painted a portrait of General John C. Frémont, western explorer and mapmaker, in 1888, shortly before Frémont's death. The portrait was well-received, and Frémont's wife, Jesse Benton Frémont became Borglum's patron, introducing him to a wealthy and influential clientele. More commissions followed. Also in the late 1880s, Borglum began studying under painter Elizabeth Jaynes Putnam (Liza/Lisa) in Los Angeles, and then San Francisco, where Liza was invited to teach at the San Francisco Art Association. The two became involved romantically although Liza was eighteen years older than Gutzon. They married in 1889 when he was just twenty-two. The marriage lasted for twenty years.

Liza began to manage Gutzon's social and professional affairs, introduced him to her friends and benefactors and took charge of his career development. She provided him with a new level of sophistication, that his isolated childhood lacked. Liza felt that Borglum would benefit from a learning trip to Europe. They took fifty of their paintings and with the aid of Mrs. Frémont, who provided them with letters of introduction to her wealthy friends in Chicago, New York, London, and Paris, they left California on a train in late 1890. The plan

[4] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 17-20.
[5] Rex Alan Smith, *The Carving of Mount Rushmore* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985), 49.

was to sell the paintings and use the money to finance the trip. On the way east, they stopped in Omaha to visit Gutzon's family and introduce Liza whom they had not met. Gutzon had become confident and polished and projected himself in a more refined manner than when they had last seen him two years earlier.

Years in France and England

Omaha's leading art collector, W.W. Linninger set up an exhibit of the paintings Liza and Gutzon brought with them, and the opening attracted Omaha's social elite. Moreover, Linninger purchased most of the paintings, which meant that there was plenty of money to fund the European trip.[6] When they arrived in Paris they rented a studio and studied, painted, and enjoyed the city. They exhibited their paintings in the salons (artistic academies that controlled exhibitions) with good response from critics. Gutzon met sculptor Auguste Rodin and was immediately impressed with Rodin's work. Rodin remained an influence on Borglum's art. His work was accepted by both the "old" traditional salon, and the "new," more modern salon.

In 1893, after a few months in Spain, Gutzon and Liza returned to the United States with success, recognition, and their four Great Danes. Again they stopped in Omaha to visit family. Brother Solon's art was progressing well, particularly his sculpture. Gutzon regarded himself as the master and Solon as his student, and as Solon grew in prominence with his own sculpture, friction started to develop between the brothers. The more Solon succeeded as a sculptor, the more Gutzon needed to dominate as a sculptor. Moreover, Liza, who regarded Gutzon as her student and herself as his manager was not fond of Solon's presence, which she regarded as interference with Gutzon's career. Gutzon eventually chafed at her direction of his career, which antagonized his independent nature.

They settled in California and built a house and studio at Sierra Madre. Gutzon's paintings returned to Western scenes familiar from his childhood – horses and stage coaches in Western landscapes. He also sculpted a bust of his patron, Jesse Benton Frémont.[7] In addition, he had several important commissions for paintings. Despite the success, there were gnawing frustrations including disputes with fellow artists and with clients. When someone poisoned the four Great Danes, the loss of the dogs made them want to leave California again. This time, in 1896, the journey was to London. There he remained until 1901.

With letters of introduction from Mrs. Frémont, Borglum found success painting portraits and producing illustrations for books and magazines. One of his larger commissions was a series of lobby murals for the Midland Railroad's new hotel in Leeds. He was successful, fell in with high society and lived lavishly. He was accepted into the Royal Society of British Artists. Despite the commissions, he and Liza were often in debt, and despite his success, Gutzon found himself increasingly depressed. He was unhappy with Liza's management and control of his life, and he derived no artistic satisfaction from churning out portraits. When money ran out and Liza returned to California in 1897, Gutzon

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[6] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time,* 38.

[7] Robin Borglum Carter, *Gutzon Borglum: His Life and Work* (Keystone, SD: Mount Rushmore History Association, 1998), 16-17.

stayed on in London. Realizing that Gutzon would not follow her to California, Liza went back to London later that year.

Liza borrowed money for a larger, fancier studio with surrounding formal gardens, in an attempt to make Gutzon feel happier and to save her marriage. Increasingly Gutzon began to work with sculpture, using his western heritage for topics – horses and Indians. Meanwhile Solon's success as a sculptor was ascending, and this also troubled Gutzon. While he loved his brother, he had difficulty accepting that Solon's success might be greater than his own. Moreover, Liza had a strong dislike for Solon and belittled his success.[8]

Liza and Gutzon left London in 1901 for Paris. Later that year, Gutzon returned to the United States – alone. He had just won another large commission for a second Midland Railroad hotel in England, this one in Manchester. With his financial future secure, at least for the next two years, Gutzon, on an impulse, booked passage on a ship bound for New York. On that ship he met fellow passenger Mary Montgomery. She had just finished her PhD in languages at the University of Berlin and was returning to the United States. Eight years later, she and Gutzon Borglum married.

Speaking of the years he spent in California, Europe, and England, Borglum later wrote about his learning experience:

> As I became acquainted with the masterpieces of fine arts, I soon became aware that a landscape painter could not draw or paint horses, cattle or sheep; that a cow painter could not paint a convincing landscape equal to his cow painting as a matter of creative production. The same applied to figure painting. I made up my mind that I should master each of these subjects, and I began at once. As I painted and drew almost exclusively in my first twenty years of art work, I drew and painted incessantly dogs, cattle, horses, portraits, figures and never had to turn to a fellow artist to ask him to draw my figure or cow or horse or sheep.[9]

"I must do it all" became Borglum's mantra.

Gutzon Borglum's New Life in New York

In New York, Borglum's life changed. He rented an old barn behind some brownstones for a studio, renewed old friendships and acquaintances through Mrs. Frémont, and developed a relationship with Mary Montgomery, who referred to him as "Dane" in the early days of their courtship and marriage.[10] Borglum seemed to be enjoying his freedom and independence from Liza, although they were still married, and there was plenty of work coming in, plus he had the big hotel mural commission for Midland Railroad in England. It was in New York that Borglum's tempestuous and very large personality, by which he was known for the rest of his life, emerged. He became outspoken and aggressive. Most significantly, he geared his artwork to the growing market in the early twentieth century for monumental sculpture. Now there were two American sculptors by the name of Borglum – Solon and Gutzon. This situation created confusion among critics and patrons, and

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[8] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 59

[9] Casey and Borglum, *Give the Man Room*, 52-53.

[10] Mary Borglum's diaries, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 140, Library of Congress.

competition between the two brothers. In competition, Gutzon usually won, due to his more aggressive nature. The result was strained relations between Gutzon and Solon.

Perhaps a larger factor in the changed Gutzon Borglum was that he had a near-death experience in September, 1902, after he settled in New York. He had some sort of mental collapse, which he and his biographers called a "nervous breakdown." It is not a medical term, but was commonly used in the early and mid-twentieth century to describe any of a number of psychological ailments, such as depression. Concurrently he contracted typhoid fever which kept him hospitalized. Liza returned from France when she found out about Gutzon's illness, only to find Mary Montgomery providing for his care. Gutzon's parents also came to New York during his illness, and he returned to Nebraska with them to recuperate when he was well enough to travel. He stayed for two months, and during that time built a more positive relationship with Ida and with his father, James. Mary stayed in New York and managed his affairs and the studio.

Liza eventually left Paris and returned to California. Gutzon and Liza finally divorced in 1909. In that same year, Gutzon and Mary got married. They had a son, Lincoln in 1912, and a daughter, Mary Ellis in 1916. The marriage was a strong one and lasted until Borglum's death in 1941. Despite his twenty years of marriage to Liza (with eight of them in separation), Borglum did not speak much of her after their divorce, and rarely mentioned her in connection with his studies in California, Europe and England.

Borglum Switches from Painting to Sculpture

Most of 1903 was taken up with the murals for the Manchester railroad hotel. After they were completed, Borglum did very little painting, focusing now on sculpture. When he delivered the murals and was paid, he settled his debts in England and returned to New York. He had little love for the "establishment" of the American sculpture scene and avoided membership in the exclusive National Sculpture Society, although he belonged briefly with Solon's sponsorship, but in a dispute with the society's leadership, his membership was revoked, but not before Borglum resigned. He then "told the press that in matters of art, the National Sculpture Society might as well be called 'The National Biscuit Company'."[11] This began a pattern of disputes and outspoken responses that characterized the remainder of Borglum's life.

Borglum also refused to enter sculptural competitions, after having an entry for a memorial to Ulysses S. Grant in Washington, D.C. disqualified. Although the reason was not made public, Gutzon said it was because the judges felt the model was not his own work.[12] Despite his unpleasantness with the art establishment, his work was popular and commissions continued to roll in.

One of his first major sculptural works produced in New York was his *Mares of Diomedes*, a powerful assemblage of wild horses running with a human figure clinging to one of them. One of Borglum's wealthy friends, James Sullivan, bought the piece and gave it to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, where it was placed on permanent display. In 1907 he won a contract to create a large equestrian statue of General Philip Sheridan in

[11] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 53.
[12] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 77-78.

Washington D.C. When it was unveiled in 1908, the commanding, lifelike rendering was an immediate success and solidified Borglum's place as an important American sculptor.

Borglum liked to work in life size or larger. Eventually size of the work became much of his artistic statement. The large size of his sculptures matched his large personality. In addition to the workload of his commissions, Borglum began to be involved in many organizations and interests, always becoming a vocal participant. His life was fast-paced and constantly active. "I do everything," Borglum declared.[13]

Despite the professional activity and all of the commissions, Borglum was frequently in debt. While his income was high, so were his expenses. Remodeling the studio was expensive and he had a number of paid assistants to help with the workload. And then there was the expensive lifestyle that went with the wealthy social circles he cultivated. He borrowed money from Mary's brother to pay for his trip to England to deliver the completed Midland Railroad murals. The pattern of lavish living and debt plagued Borglum for the rest of his life.

Also in New York, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Gutzon received a huge commission to carve ten colossal sculptures for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Like many of his projects, this one had its share of controversy. One issue was whether the job was initially intended for Solon and not Gutzon, and the other was over the appearance of the angels in the carving and whether they should be masculine or feminine.

In addition to New York, Borglum also cultivated contacts in Washington D.C. Through Mrs. Frémont Borglum became acquainted with Theodore Roosevelt when he was a Police Commissioner in New York. Later when Roosevelt became President, Borglum renewed the acquaintance and became a great supporter. Teddy Roosevelt unveiled Borglum's statue of Sheridan in Washington, and Borglum became prominent in Washington's political and social circles, in addition to New York's.

In 1908-1909 Borglum sculpted a large bust of Abraham Lincoln, on his own, not as a commission. On view in a Fifth Avenue store window in New York, the Lincoln bust created a sensation. Borglum asked Teddy Roosevelt if the bust could be displayed at the White House in February 1909 for Lincoln's birthday month. The Lincoln sculpture was a great success in Washington, as it was in New York. Borglum benefactor Eugene Meyer bought it and donated it to the United States. It was placed in the Capitol Rotunda, where it remains today. Robert Lincoln, the President's son remarked that seeing the bust was like seeing his father again.[14] Borglum made many other Lincoln heads, all noted for capturing the soul of the sixteenth President.

It was the Lincoln head that led to Borglum's winning a commission for one of his most famous works, *Seated Lincoln*, for the City of Newark, New Jersey. Another Newark commission followed, *Wars of America*, completed in 1926.

In 1910, the Borglums purchased property near Stamford Connecticut and assembled a country estate with a river running through it, and built a house and studio. They called it Borgland. Borglum had his studio built a mile from the house, so that he could ride his horse to work. He loved horses, and often used live horses as models for his equestrian sculptures, bringing them into the studio. Borglum hired Italian stonecutters to work the pink granite on the property into walls of the studio, and had a large fireplace installed. Borglum favored big fireplaces in his studios.

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[13] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 54.
[14] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 56.

Stone Mountain: Borglum's Big Challenge

Helen C. Plane, President of the Atlanta chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, wrote to Borglum in 1915, about an idea to carve a memorial to the South's efforts for independence onto the side of Stone Mountain near Atlanta. Plane, an elderly woman, whose husband was killed in the Civil War, got her chapter of the UDC to form a special Stone Mountain Memorial Association to manage design and funding for the memorial. As with other selections of Gutzon Borglum, there may have been some confusion over whether the initial contact was meant for Solon, since Solon had done work in the South and had established himself there.

Gutzon Borglum, who always thought big, had a concept for creating a colossal frieze sculpture featuring Robert E. Lee and Confederate forces marching across the bowl-shaped stone face of the mountain. At this point, he had no idea how he would get the image of his idea onto the mountain, or how it would be carved onto the sheer cliff. But his self-confidence was such that he knew he would figure it out.

Stone Mountain became Borglum's passion. He threw himself into the project, to the point of mortgaging all of his property for the memorial by the time it ended. Given Borglum's enthusiasm and ego, the prospect of this larger than life mountainside sculpture, something never done before, was a siren calling to him. Borglum's plan was to carve a fifteen hundred foot long depiction of the Confederate Army with infantry, cavalry and artillery. At the head of the army were to be portraits of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson and Jefferson Davis. The plan was magnificent and appealed to the members of the UDC, when he presented it at their annual convention in San Francisco in October of 1915. Many of the Daughters were old enough to remember their unhappiness during Reconstruction, and some remembered the War and lost loved ones. Borglum's design caught their emotion and memory. But the cost, they exclaimed, would be prohibitive. Borglum assured them that funding would not be a problem. Southerners would support the memorial, and even many northerners, said Borglum.[15]

Sam Venable and his family of Atlanta owned the mountain and deeded the mountainside to the Stone Mountain Memorial Association. Venable was also a member of the newly reorganized Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The initial meeting of the reorganized Klan took place on the top of Stone Mountain with a cross burning and administering of the Klan oath. Mrs. Plane, not surprisingly sympathized with the KKK, and even asked Borglum to add some Klansmen into the composition of the monument.[16] Borglum joined the Klan briefly, to secure financial backing from its prominent members for the Stone Mountain project.[17]

Borglum became so enthusiastic about the Stone Mountain project that he moved his family down from Connecticut for the birth of their second child, Mary Ellis in March 1916. They split their time between Stone Mountain and Connecticut. Borglum was putting a great deal of energy and time into the Stone Mountain project, making models, planning and preparing, covering costs out of his own pocket. He had no contract to do the project, and no funding. There were a number of problems to be ironed out. The first was financing. The newly formed Memorial Association had very little in its treasury, but they were attempting

[15] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 63.
[16] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time,* 150.
[17] Carter, *Gutzon Borglum,* 23-24.

to gather funds. Another problem was how to transfer Borglum's design from drawings and models to the surface of the mountain so that carving could take place. Then there was the issue of how to carve the relief sculpture onto the curved vertical face of the mountain. Borglum could not find anyone willing to dangle off the side of the cliff to do the carving. One day Jesse Tucker came to the mountain to see if he could be of assistance. He was a builder and steeple-jack. Unlike others at the site, he edged over the cliff and set some anchors in the stone to hold a Confederate flag for the dedication of the monument (the first of many extravagant Borglum dedications). With Tucker's ease at working on the cliff, Borglum made him superintendent of the project.[18] Still another problem to be solved was how to remove the tons of stone that would allow the figures to project in relief. It was far too much to be done with hammers and chisels.

Borglum worked on all of the technical challenges, and solved them all. What he learned from Stone Mountain, he later applied to his work at Mount Rushmore. Despite the fact that he had no contract, and there was no money, Borglum hired Jesse Tucker, and together they developed a relatively safe and inexpensive way to get workers to the face of the mountain. They made sling chairs, each suspended from a cable and each with its own winch. Each workman was to have his own chair, which could be raised and lowered with the winch as needed. Next they proposed to build a large platform on the face of the mountain which was to hold equipment, a power plant and machine shop. A 480-step stairway down from the mountain top gave access to the platform. As this was being constructed, World War I began and Jesse Tucker went off to the Army. All work stopped, and Borglum went back to Connecticut and turned his attention to other commissions. Borgland was mortgaged and Borglum was deeply in debt.

Despite Borglum's claims to the otherwise, wealthy Southerners did not pony up money to pay for the Stone Mountain sculpture. The UDC continued to seek funding, but without success. Eventually they turned fundraising over to a new group, the Stone Mountain Monumental Association, made up of Atlanta's financial elite. Borglum returned to the project in 1922. Still without a contract or any pay, he re-hired Jesse Tucker, and they picked up where they left off. Borglum grappled with problems of carving a mountainside. This was uncharted territory. It had never been done before.

One big problem was transferring the design and layout of the sculpture from the models to the mountainside. Borglum felt that the best way to do this was with a projector that would put an enlarged image of the design across the mountainside. There was no existing projector capable of working with such a large "screen." So Borglum and E.S. Porter of the Precision Machine Company of New York designed and built a specialized projector. It produced an image that covered almost an acre of the mountain side. The projection had to be done at night. Jesse Tucker in a sling seat with a bucket of white paint traced the projected image onto the rock face.[19]

In Borglum's mind, the scope of the project kept growing. He added details, and wanted to include a cavity hollowed into the mountain which would become a "Hall of Records," to house important memorabilia of the Confederacy. In contrast, the scope of the project in the minds of the Stone Mountain Monumental Association was shrinking. They decided, since the funding of the project was limited, to restrict the project to the three main figures – Lee, Jackson and Davis, and four other Confederate leaders yet to be determined.

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[18] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time,* 145-150.
[19] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 66.

Their decision eliminated Borglum's grand frieze with the Confederate Army marching across Stone Mountain. In the summer of 1923, the Association presented Borglum with a contract for the completion of the three central figures, to be done in three years for a price not to exceed $250,000. Borglum signed the contract, although he intended to carry forward with his original design on a timeline and price that worked for him.

Borglum then brought in Italian sculptor, Hugo Villa who had been one of Borglum's assistants at his studio at Borgland. Villa was to supervise the carving operations, while Tucker was to oversee day to day operations and engineering. Another new problem arose. When carving a mountain, the volume of the stone to be removed was so great, that the standard sculptor's tools of hammers and chisels wouldn't work. One solution was to drill a series of holes close together, and then use hammers and chisels to break the stone away. That, too, proved to be ineffective for large scale stone removal. Someone suggested dynamite to remove the excess stone. That could be dangerous, because an incorrect charge could remove too much stone and once lost, it could not be replaced. Borglum contacted E.I. DuPont's explosives company in Delaware. DuPont sent an expert to the mountain and he and Tucker found that by drilling lines of holes and filling them with light charges of dynamite, precise sheets of stone could be removed. Tucker discovered that they could even drill small holes filled with tiny charges to do very fine blasting. The carvers could then use hammer and chisel to do the finish work.

Once the problem of stone removal was solved, work progressed quickly. As General Lee took shape, the public became interested in the project and the press helped to spread the word. Borglum planned an unveiling of the Lee sculpture on January 19, 1924, Lee's birthday. The unveiling was a resounding success with a cheering crowd and the cry of rebel yells. Mrs. Plane, who was by this time in her mid-90s attended and gave the signal to lift the flags draped over the Lee figure. Her dream was taking shape.

Despite the very positive reception of the Lee figure, the relationship between Borglum and the Monumental Association quickly deteriorated. By 1925, the project had unraveled. The story is complicated. It involves the Ku Klux Klan, a commemorative coin intended to generate revenue for the project, and a dispute between the Association and Borglum over fees and payments. Two factions of the KKK were vying for political power. Borglum backed one faction, thinking that they would promote rural and farming values that Borglum embraced, against large banking interests. The other faction prevailed and took over the Monumental Association, removing the UDC as an Association member. With the commemorative coin, Borglum was instrumental in getting congressional approval for the minting of the coin through his Washington connections, and he designed the image depicted on the coin. A dispute arose when Borglum believed that the Association was channeling income from the coin sales into their own pockets, and they believed Borglum was doing the same. The biggest dispute was over the contract between the Association and Borglum. Borglum, deeply in debt, felt that he should be paid for the money he spent on the project before there was a contract. The Association believed that he had been paid. Moreover, he had been paid two thirds of the contract amount, but the work was only one third finished. Part of the problem was that a crack in the rock on the mountain necessitated a redesign.

Additionally, the Association was disgruntled over Borglum's frequent absences from the job site, while he was supporting political causes and working on other commissions. However, Borglum, as a contractor, not an employee, was not required to be on site continuously. Nevertheless, the Association intended to hire an "associate sculptor" for

Stone Mountain, which Borglum heatedly refused to accept. Then the Association determined that the project would be limited to the three central figures only, and that the $500,000 anticipated revenue from the sale of the commemorative coins would be used for other future purposes. Borglum blew up at this development. He contacted President Coolidge and asked him to intervene by halting production of the coins. Coolidge did not want to get involved. Borglum then went to the press, declaring that the Association had no funds to finish the work. The Association retaliated by firing Borglum, and Borglum in turn destroyed his models. The Association had an arrest warrant issued for Borglum for destroying the models, which the Association believed belonged to them. Borglum immediately left for North Carolina where he was out of reach of the State of Georgia authorities. There followed volleys of accusations. The Association hired another sculptor, but the work was stopped in 1928 and not resumed until after World War II.[20] Although Borglum lost Stone Mountain, he had the support of the artistic community, who defended his actions. But his dream was to carve a mountain. Borglum continued to keep an eye on Stone Mountain activity, and always hoped to return and finish the work.

During this period of turmoil with Stone Mountain, Doane Robinson first contacted Borglum about a carving in the Black Hills in 1924. Once Borglum took on the idea of carving colossal figures on a mountainside, it became something he had to do. Much of what he learned with the Stone Mountain experience he applied to Mount Rushmore. Some of the same pitfalls repeated as well.

Texas

Still smarting from the loss of the Stone Mountain project, Borglum was buoyed by a big commission in Texas. The Trail Drivers Association hired him to create a large scale monument. He moved the family to San Antonio in 1925 and went to work on the model, which was warmly received. The sculpture took Gutzon back to his Western roots on the frontier, full of horses, cattle and cowboys. He even had cattle brought into his San Antonio studio to serve as models. However, lack of funding prevented the sculpture from being cast until 1940, and then at only one fourth its planned size. Borglum also planned the redevelopment of the Corpus Christi waterfront, although the work was never completed.[21] While in Texas, the family stayed at the Menger Hotel in San Antonio, where a number of other artists also resided. Much of the Rushmore early models were created in Borglum's San Antonio studio.

Other Borglum Activities – "I Do It All."

Yet, while all of the Stone Mountain drama was going on, the ever active Borglum was involved in numerous political activities. In the 1912 Presidential election between Woodrow Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt and his Progressive Party, Borglum was a strong Roosevelt supporter and traveled around the country making speeches on Roosevelt's behalf.

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[20] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 75-76.
[21] Caroline Remy, "Borglum, John Gutzon De La Mothe," *Handbook of Texas Online*, www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fbo31, accessed 6/9/2016.

In the 1924 election, he supported progressive Robert M. LaFollette, who was opposed to banks, trusts and big business. As was Borglum's style, he was vocal and active. He always supported the "producers" who made things or grew things and disparaged the businessmen, bankers and merchants who he felt took advantage of the producers.

Borglum was also very interested in aircraft and flight. He was a founder of the New York Aero Club and was a member of the Aero Club of America. He sometimes called himself an "aeronautical engineer." He attended Orville Wright's demonstration flight at Fort Meyer, Florida on September 16, 1908. Orville was determined to stay aloft for one hour, and Borglum suggested a time-keeping method to communicate to Orville the number of minutes in the air. Later, in 1913, the Wright Memorial Commission selected Borglum to create a bronze statue to commemorate the first flight of man.[22]

Borglum's interest in flight also led him into a controversial investigation of the aircraft industry during World War I. Borglum had heard rumors of mismanagement and inefficiency in the production of warplanes. He took it upon himself to investigate the situation and became convinced that the rumors were true. In November of 1917, he went to Washington to inform President Wilson of the problem. President Wilson, who knew Borglum for his opposition to Wilson's candidacy, did not make himself available to take Borglum's call. He asked Borglum to write an explanation and make suggestions. Borglum suggested that if unaddressed the aircraft problem would bring scandal on the Wilson administration and recommended that Wilson appoint a three-person board to investigate. Wilson did not do that, but instead gave Borglum some authority to investigate. He had a temporary office in the War Department, but there was no provision for funding, and Borglum ended up paying his own expenses. In typical Borglum fashion, he launched headlong into an investigation, wrote a report and requested subpoenas to summon individuals before the Senate Military Affairs Committee, creating rancor in the aircraft industry and political circles. Wilson dismissed Borglum and Borglum in response published a letter asking what the President was afraid of with regard to the investigation. In the end Wilson appointed a committee headed by Charles Evans Hughes to continue the investigation.[23]

Borglum was an avid outdoorsman. He and Mary spent their honeymoon in the Canadian wilderness for a month, camping, fishing and hiking. He enjoyed fishing for trout in the Rippowam River that flowed through Borgland. In South Dakota he also enjoyed fishing and trekking through the Black Hills, and made several trips there searching for the right mountain to carve at the beginning of the Rushmore project.

When he received the Mount Rushmore commission, Borglum bought a ranch at nearby Hermosa, South Dakota. While continuing to maintain the heavily mortgaged Borgland and its studio, he also kept his studio in San Antonio. He built another house and studio on the ranch at Hermosa and yet another studio at the Rushmore site. For the ranch he purchased high-priced cattle, horses and breeding stock and hired a manager. Borglum had a long-held interest in farming and farmers. They were producers, and thus dear to his heart.

Horses were always a love and Borglum frequently used them as subjects in his paintings and sculptures, often bringing them into his studio to use as models. He prepared

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[22] Ann Honious, *What Dreams We Have: The Wright Brothers and Their Home Town of Dayton, Ohio*, Chapter 12, www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/daav/chap12.htm, accessed 6/9/2016.
[23] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 58-59.

detailed studies of their legs and bodies to capture their power, motion and elegance. He bought and bred horses at his South Dakota ranch.

Just as the Rushmore project was starting, the Great Depression enveloped the nation. Compounding the devastation of the economic depression, an extended drought plagued farmers and ranchers of the Midwest and Plains states. Crops failed, cattle starved, and farmers and ranchers struggled to survive. The federal government was experimenting with programs to help the indigent and out of work, but in the early years of the Depression, there was little organized help.



Figure 41: Gutzon Borglum, ca. 1930s (NPS)

Among the most devastated by the Depression and the drought in the mid-1930s were the Lakota on the nearby Pine Ridge reservation. They were starving, with cattle and buffalo herds decimated. Borglum wrote to the Governor of South Dakota, asking for $10,000 in aid for the Indians.[24] Next he wired President Hoover, asking for help, pointing out that the "Sioux" were marooned in a vast timberless, gameless area with no food or water. Not waiting for replies, Borglum started a local relief effort and gave some of his own cattle to provide food. He asked Senator Peter Norbeck to donate six buffalo from the herd at Custer State Park, and he saw to it that Fort Meade at Sturgis, South Dakota provided blankets and medical supplies.[25] Later in 1939, the Lakota made Borglum an honorary high chief.

Borglum also had to augment his own income during the Depression. The Rushmore project, plagued with financial difficulties from the start was often shut down or limited in scope. From 1926 through 1941, Borglum increased his income by giving speeches. He was busy on the lecture circuit with several speakers' bureaus, including Clark H. Getts, Inc. and the National Lecture Bureau. Topics included art and life, fate of agriculture, and America's monuments.[26]

Given his activity in politics, business and numerous organizations, Borglum knew five American Presidents and did not hesitate to contact them directly when he thought they could help with a cause or activity he was promoting. In addition to campaigning for Teddy Roosevelt, he corresponded or met with Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Coolidge, Hoover and F.D. Roosevelt were instrumental in furthering the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

The next chapter focuses on the first years of the Mount Rushmore project from its inception with Doane Robinson and Peter Norbeck to the involvement with the National Park Service in June of 1933.

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[24] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 103, Folder "Rushmore, 1932-34," Library of Congress.
[25] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 280-281.
[26] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 132, Folder "Speeches," Library of Congress.

Chapter 5

The Rushmore Story, 1923-1933

In 1923, Doane Robinson, State Historian for South Dakota, contemplated ways to bolster tourism in the Black Hills. The scenic mountainous island rising above the high plains of western South Dakota and extending into Wyoming, is a large oval-shaped rocky uplift ringed with pine forests which appear dark, almost black, from a distance. The dark forests gave rise to the name in the Lakota language "Paha Sapa" or "Black Hills" in English. Creased towers of granite and freestanding rock columns, called "the Needles" distinguish the Black Hills, which are part of the Rocky Mountain formation farther to the west. Despite poor roads in the early days of automobile travel, tourists already visited the Black Hills and admired their natural beauty, but Robinson worried that their numbers would not increase without there being some attraction beyond scenery.

Having read about Gutzon Borglum's colossal carving on the vertical face of Stone Mountain in Georgia, Robinson wondered whether something similar could be done in the Black Hills that would draw in more visitors. He contacted not Borglum, but Lorado Taft, a well-known and accomplished sculptor from Chicago, to see if he would be interested in carving the figure of a Lakota chief, such as Mahpiya Luta (Red Cloud), along with a group of other western heroes onto the pinnacles in Custer State Park in the Black Hills. Robinson envisioned an inclusive array of figures of the Old West – Lewis and Clark, Buffalo Bill, John C. Frémont, a Pony Express rider and other colorful individuals.[1] Taft declined the offer. Robinson then wrote to Gutzon Borglum in August of 1924, inviting him to consider designing and supervising a massive sculpture near the Black Hills' highest point, Harney Peak. Borglum with his characteristic gusto, leaped into the project. Thus began the Mount Rushmore story. Robinson probably did not imagine in 1924 what unfolded over the next 17 years – the politics, the scramble for funding, the controversy and conflicts, the Great Depression, and the impact of Gutzon Borglum's larger than life personality and temperament. He unleashed a tiger, and the project was explosive in more ways than one, but Doane Robinson never wavered in his support of it and lived long enough to see the work completed. He died in 1946, outliving Gutzon Borglum and Senator Peter Norbeck, another key figure in the Rushmore story.

Along with Robinson and Norbeck there were two other essential Rushmore founders and supporters, Congressman William Williamson and John Boland. Without the efforts of these four men, and the support of many other extraordinary people along the way, the Rushmore Memorial project would have died.

This chapter portrays the development and construction of Mount Rushmore National Memorial, beginning with Doane Robinson's idea, and the key individuals without whom the project could not have survived: Senator Peter Norbeck, Congressman William Williamson, local businessman, John Boland, and of course, the sculptor Gutzon Borglum.

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[1] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 26.

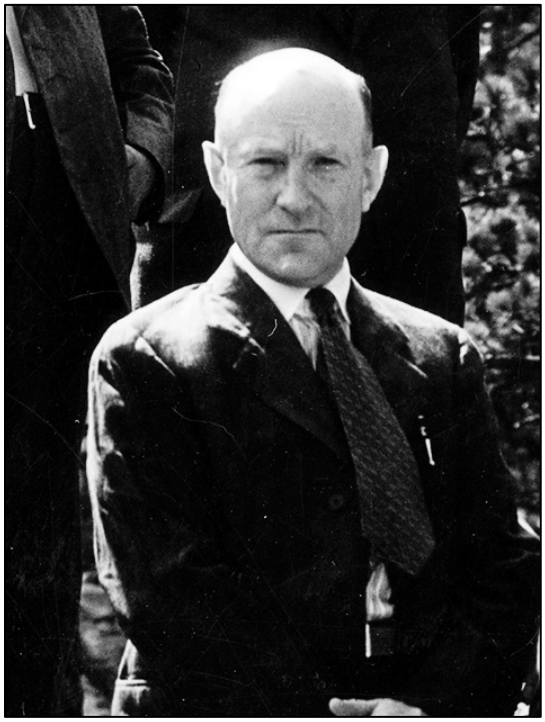


Figure 42: John Boland, Sr., 1929, photo by Bert Bell (MRNM Archives, 3797 MORU crop)



Figure 43: Peter Norbeck, 1921 (Library of Congress, Nat'l Photo Co. Collection, Prints and Photographs Div.)

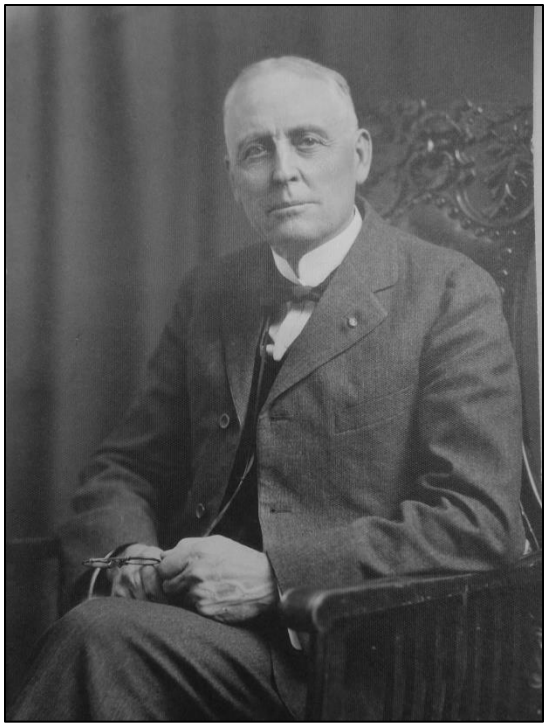


Figure 44: Doane Robinson, ca. 1930 (GB Papers, Box 161, Folder "Borglum General Corr. 1930," Library of Congress)



Figure 45: William Williamson, ca. 1925 (Library of Congress, Harris & Ewing Collection, Prints and Photographs Div.)

Doane Robinson Contacts Gutzon Borglum

On August 20, 1924, after it was clear that Lorado Taft was not going to consider carving the Black Hills sculpture, Robinson wrote to Gutzon Borglum. As soon as he received the letter, Borglum shot back with a telegram in reply exclaiming that he was very interested in the proposal and could get to the Black Hills the next month. On September 24, Borglum, along with his 11-year-old son Lincoln and Major Jesse Tucker, Borglum's assistant, arrived by train in Rapid City. There they met Doane Robinson and a welcoming party of local business people. Borglum told Robinson that he was not interested in carving western heroes in the Black Hills. No. He envisioned something bigger. He had in mind national figures and empire builders, George Washington to start. That afternoon they proceeded to the Black Hills. After a day and a half of touring the hills, Borglum was convinced that he could do the mountain sculpture. He was so fervent in his enthusiasm that he told an assembly back in Rapid City that he was going to pay his own expenses for the exploratory trip. This after the state of South Dakota offered to pay his costs. The audience's reaction was mixed to the idea of carving statuary in the Black Hills. Borglum returned to Borgland in Stamford Connecticut with a request that he prepare a proposal and cost estimate for the sculpture.[2]

Immediately after Borglum left the Black Hills, Doane Robinson on September 28 wrote excitedly about the experience to Senator Peter Norbeck,

> Gorglum [sic] has come and gone. I count it one of the great experiences of my lifetime to have spent two days with a man of his genius and high character and I shall always regret that you were unable to meet him. …He was highly pleased with what he found. He was born in the Rockies and for years has been looking for a rock face that will carry a national memorial of as great dimensions as the confederate memorial he is making in Georgia. …He brought his engineer-superintendent with him at his own expense and they carefully explored the Needles region and settled upon the line of great domes and pinnacles high up on the south side of Harney…When we got there he looked across the canyon and after a moment said, 'Here is the place, American History shall march along that skyline.'…They examined the rock as well as they could superficially, but he said he would come back in the spring with his experts and the necessary plant to sound the rocks to the core and ascertain if they will stand up under his chisel. …He paid his own expenses for the trip and talked like a man would who was sure of his ground, and that the one thing remaining is to determine if the rock is sound at the core. He said nothing of his plans for financing, except that he came at the request of men deeply interested in a national memorial.
>
> He spoke before the Rotary at Rapid and created the utmost enthusiasm. …The entire outlook of the people of the Hills is changed.
>
> …I am not authorized to say so but from an earlier telegram and some things he dropped, I think he will expect us to pay the cost of the examination of the locality and of the texture of the rock and if they come up to his

[2] Smith, C*arving of Mount Rushmore*, 30-35.

> expectations he has plans for the rest. I can hardly believe this wonderful thing is to be handed to us…. [3]

A few weeks later from Stamford Connecticut on October 22, 1924, Borglum sent a brief proposal to Doane Robinson:

> A thorough survey of the park must be made, and the best cliff chosen considering first their practicability for carving; considering the soundness of the stone which can be determined only by a close examination and test.
>
> Such a survey would place in our hands full information regarding such a project upon which any body of intelligent men could act intelligently. It would require the presence of myself, my superintendent, a foreman and about three helpers, my photographer and his assistant and about six weeks time.
>
> I think to further this work properly there should be appropriated at once by the park authorities ten thousand dollars, which would serve as a retainer and cover all preliminary expenses including those already disbursed, another trip to the park which I expect to make with [sic] the next thirty days and the survey as above outlined.
>
> I am willing to undertake the work here contemplated.
>
> Financing of the main work offers no real difficulties. I will explain methods. [4]

The proposal indicates that early on, Borglum was expecting to be paid for the preliminary work of surveying the stone, and reimbursement for his expenses from his initial site visit and a subsequent visit before the survey team was called in. Robinson already suspected this, as noted in his September 28 letter to Norbeck, but apparently was unaware that funding was also to cover reimbursement for the 1924 Borglum trips. Borglum also makes it clear that funding for the construction of the memorial would not be a problem; it "offers no real difficulties." The proposal also implies that Borglum was moving ahead without a formal contract or notice to proceed with the work. He followed up with a letter to Robinson dated October 25, 1924.

> …It is my desire to visit Mount Harney again this Fall, and to take with me a very high class photographer, who handles all my work for Stone Mountain. His connections with the national press are of the best, and his work would give you the very best presentation and publicity. We shall spend three or four days, and will make drawings and photographs to the extent of forty or fifty, which by enlargement will enable me to familiarize myself with the sculptural problems during the winter….
>
> …The stone around Mount Harney is very individual in its formation, and the local geological facts – altitude, individualism and character of each upheaval

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[3] Letter, Robinson to Norbeck, Gutzon Borglum Papers, September 28, 1924, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

[4] Letter, Borglum to Robinson, October 22, 1924, Gutzon Borglum Papers, September 28, 1924, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

> dictate our course. We will have to find many new ways of overcoming new difficulties, and will have to create an artistic scheme, new and almost indigenous to the great plan of nature we find at hand. If we don't approach it like this, we will only wound the mountain, offend the Gods and deserve the condemnation of posterity….
> …I can truthfully say that were it not for Stone Mountain, and overcoming the almost insurmountable engineering difficulties there, a project such as I have outlined for you could not have been launched.[5]

Clearly Borglum was aware of the challenges involved in turning a granite mountainside into a sculpted monument, and his Stone Mountain, Georgia experience had taught him how to meet some of those challenges. Rushmore, however, was a much more ambitious project than Stone Mountain and Borglum had to make additional inventions and accommodations to create the Rushmore memorial.

Opposition to Carving Mount Rushmore

Borglum mentioned in the letter to Robinson that he had to create very carefully an artistic scheme that respected and was "indigenous to" the great plan of nature. Despite Borglum's sensibilities, not everyone felt that respect for the natural setting would be the outcome. The local Rapid City/Black Hills area population was not unanimous in its support for a large monumental work of art carved into a granite mountain top. Some felt that the idea was too grandiose, and would never be accomplished. More importantly, there was significant opposition to the act of "mutilation of the Black Hills," and destruction of the mountain's natural beauty. One of the most outspoken opponents was Cora Johnson, editor for the Hot Springs *Star*, and an environmentalist. In response to a letter that Doane Robinson wrote to the publisher of the *Star*, Cora Johnson replied on December 6, 1924,

> …I cannot truthfully say that I believe I can ever feel at all differently about any piece of carving, no matter how inspired, that would be placed in the needles region, whether actually carved on one of the needles, or on some other rock that would be visible to those who look at that most awe-inspiring scene. Any human touch in the way of ornamentation or whatever you might want to call Mr. Borglum's conception would forever ruin, in my eyes, the effect which is now so absolutely cosmic. There is a place for sculpture, but it is not in such a scene as that.
> …As to the consideration of the increased revenue from tourists looking for the unique, I think we would have less commendation from them than we would have disapprobation. And even though it would draw more people here than will the natural grandeur of the scene, I would still oppose it. There are some things, you know, that can't be done for money if you want to keep your self respect.[6]

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[5] Letter, Borglum to Robinson, October 25, 1924, Gutzon Borglum Papers, September 28, 1924, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.
[6] Letter, Johnson to Robinson, December 6, 1924, Gutzon Borglum Papers, September 28, 1924, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

Cora Johnson was not alone in her opinion that the natural beauty of the Black Hills should not be interrupted by man-made creations. She had the backing of South Dakota Women's Clubs and many conservation-minded individuals. In response Doane Robinson observed that no one objected to the mutilation of the Black Hills for mining operations.[7]

In fact, Johnson was so opposed to the carving that she attempted to discredit Borglum the following October, after the Stone Mountain dispute erupted. Johnson contacted the City of Newark, New Jersey, for which Borglum had produced several sculptures, asking for corroboration of statements that the Stone Mountain Memorial Association made regarding unreliability of the sculptor.

> …For something like a year Borglum has been trying to put over a project of carving in our Black Hills. He has been aided by a few state people who I think are sincere in their belief in him and in his project. But many of us have been strongly opposed to the plan, partly because we do not want anything of the kind done in this region of sublime natural attraction and partly, also, because we distrust the man, from the history of his previous undertakings. …Mr. Rogers Winter of Atlanta has written me very freely but I should like to have his statements supported by information from you, I mean as regards the man's temperament and business dealings.[8]

Charles P. Gillan, Director of the Department of Parks and Public Property for the City of Newark wrote back on October 31, 1925 and said that Borglum designed and erected the famous Lincoln Monument ("Seated Lincoln") that was generally regarded as the finest monument to Lincoln yet made. Borglum was currently engaged in creating the "Wars of America" monument to be placed in a park in the center of Newark. Gillan continued,

> Our impression in Newark of Mr. Borglum is a very favorable one. He is regarded in this city as the greatest living sculptor. This is partly due to his remarkable Lincoln and to the design of the "Wars of America." I presume, like all great artists he is temperamental. In fact I know he is. If he were not, he would not be an artist. The business dealings with us have been all right in every respect. In Newark, when we engage a great artist to do work of this character, we, who know little or nothing of art, do not try to tell him [how] to do it. We leave the work entirely to him, depending upon his idea to give us the best results. If I have any future work of this kind, I would gladly place it in the hands of Mr. Borglum without any competition.[9]

Gillan sent a copy of the letter from Cora Johnson and his response to Borglum on October 31, 1925.

Gradually the opposition weakened and quieted, but Cora Johnson, as an early environmentalist and leading female journalist deserves a note. She was born Cora Babbitt in Illinois. She studied piano at the New England Conservatory of Music, but determined that she preferred writing and editing to music. In 1905 she married A.T. Johnson. In 1918 A.T. Johnson bought the *Hot Springs Star* newspaper and they moved to Hot Springs from

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[7] Ibid.
[8] Letter, Charles P. Gillan to Gutzon Borglum, Gutzon Borglum Papers, October 31, 1925, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.
[9] Ibid.

St. Louis. A.T. was the publisher and Cora was editor. From *Cora B. Johnson and Other Mount Rushmore Critics*:

> At the 1921 meeting of the South Dakota Press Association, they won an honorable mention for page layout as publishers, and Cora won third place for best editorial. For eight years in the 1920s, Cora was editor-in-chief for the *Star* and then went on to be a feature writer who was published in multiple papers, including the *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Omaha Bee*... She was a member of the Shakespeare and Civic clubs in Hot Springs, and represented them at the meeting of the Black Hills Federation of Women's Clubs in April 1925. In the 1930 census for Hot Springs, A.T. was listed as a newspaper printer and Cora was listed as a newspaper writer. In 1939, she was listed as one of twenty-four of the most influential female publishers in South Dakota.[10]

Though Cora Johnson was not able to derail the Black Hills sculpture project, she proved to be a formidable opponent.

Coming to Terms with Borglum's Personality

Through the remainder of 1924 and into 1925, Doane Robinson and Senator Norbeck puzzled over the enigmatic character of Gutzon Borglum. On January 20, 1925, Norbeck wrote to Robinson,

> I write to advise you that I spent about three hours with Gutzon Borglum today. I got a much better line on the man than I had before – nothing that would change my impression particularly – rather, I feel more certain that my original impression of him was correct.
>
> He is a peculiar combination of a promoter, publicist, politician and, last but more important, he is one of the great artists of the world. The most remarkable trait that I discovered today is probably the fact that he refuses to be discouraged….
>
> …Mr. Borglum says, 'I have reached a certain age and I only want to do one more thing in sculpture work. My big mission in life is to get the American people to look at art in a big way and to get away from this petty stuff.'
>
> I think he is fairly consistent and persistent in his work and I am sure that his mind is on South Dakota now. It naturally follows that we must respond at this time or forget it until another opportunity comes along, which may be in a decade, but more likely a century.[11]

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[10] "Cora B. Johnson and Other Mount Rushmore Critics," *History in South Dakota*, March 14, 2016, https://historysouthdakota.wordpress.com/2016/03/14/cora-b-johnson-and-other-mount-rushmore-critics/, accessed June 15, 2016.

[11] Letter, Norbeck to Robinson, January 20, 1925, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

Borglum's original scheme was to carve full figures of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, but that soon evolved into a greater plan. During Borglum's third trip to the Black Hills on August 13-14, 1925, he jotted down his impressions in his day book. In this scrawled notation, Borglum's concept for a group sculpture of "Empire Makers" takes form.

> Left game lodge at 7. am in car with Lincoln and Col Shade. Met horses 12 miles on the road and then entered trail to interior of Park back of Harney. Party Shoemaker, Shade, Sanders, [?] Bryon and proceeded in N West direction towards Mt Rushmore. Camped at 12 at foot of Mt about 18.00 yards from base and after lunch scaled the Mt. found stone satisfactory and [streaks?] weather marks and natural seams=
>
> I had been doubtful of finding stone which would admit of detail or would have masses large enough to develop a continuous form like the chest, shoulder and torso of a figure six hundred feet high=but here we have such stone large enough for not one, but three or four or five figures=
>
> A group of empire makers
>
> Jefferson = Lincoln = Roosevelt[12]



Figure 46: Borglum and party inspecting the Black Hills, August 1925, with Lincoln Borglum and his pony at center (MRNM Archives, #6325MORU)

[12] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 163, Folder "Borglum Diary, 1925," Library of Congress.



Figure 47: Gutzon Borglum and son, Lincoln Borglum, 1925 (MRNM Archives, #5292MORU)

After inspecting several peaks and cliffs, Borglum enthusiastically chose Mount Rushmore, one of three sites that state forester Theodore Shoemaker suggested. Borglum liked the east-facing cliff that had the best light for illuminating the carved figures. The mountain that Borglum chose to carve had carried the name Mount Rushmore for 40 years. In 1885, New York attorney Charles Rushmore was in the Black Hills to facilitate the acquisition of mining claims. When Rushmore asked his guide the name of the peak, the guide replied that it did not have a name. "We'll call 'er Rushmore, by Jingo!"[13]

Shortly after his return from the August 1925 Black Hills trip, Borglum wrote to Senator Norbeck, declaring that in addition to Washington and Lincoln, the portraits would include "Jefferson, who is the first great expansionist and Roosevelt who completed commercial control by securing Panama."[14] In the same letter, Borglum laid out his immediate plans to Norbeck:

> My plan is to return to the Black Hills with Captain Tucker, my superintendent, who is familiar with all mountain climbing, scaling ropes, windlasses and such scaling material as will be necessary. With him I want my first foreman or assistant Cliff Davis, who is a regular steeple jack and who would go down over the mountain and make all of the measurements. Then I want Hugo Villa, who is my assistant in the Studio, and who will make

[13] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 103.; Charles E. Rushmore to Doane Robinson, December 14, 1925, Doane Robinson Collection (DRC), Box 3363A, Folder 149 "Mount Rushmore, 1923-1925," South Dakota State Archives, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre, SD

[14] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, August 28, 1925, Richardson Collection, Peter Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1925," University of South Dakota Archives and Special Collections (USD), Vermillion, SD.

> a small scale model from the measurements that will be called down to him by Davis from the mountain, and the assistants they will need, and they will need three or four. They can come from the School of Mines as you propose.
>
> With this staff we will make complete measurements of our stone and make all tests necessary to determine the life of the stone and its availability for the memorial proposed. This work will take about ten days. After this is done, I will make typewritten report drawings, photographs and measurements for the State Commission…[15]

Borglum also mentioned a "tablet" to be inscribed with important people, dates and events. This was the planned entablature that was never completed. Borglum's price estimate was $100,000 for each figure and $100,000 for the entablature, for a total of $500,000 for the work. It was to be completed in five years. However, Borglum had mentioned other prices, ranging as high as $1,200,000. By the time the sculpture was finished, the cost of construction was $989,992.32.[16]

Senator Norbeck and Doane Robinson were taken aback by Borglum's presumptions, since he was not yet contracted to do any work in the Black Hills. When Norbeck received the August 28 letter from Borglum, he immediately wrote to Robinson, "This man [Borglum] works fast, so it is hard to keep in touch with him, or even to keep track of him. He seems to take it for granted that he is going to build the great memorial and that there is no hitch in the program, being Congress and the Legislature have authorized the work, etc."[17] Norbeck went on to say that he was,

> more impressed with his latest idea as to his work than the previous one. I have long been afraid that simply carving statues of Lincoln and Washington would not make a strong appeal to the average man and woman. The Roosevelt subject would make a very strong appeal to a much larger percentage of people, especially in the Northeast, - but possibly it would also interest men of means in the East. It is quite likely that a subject such as the "Empire Builders" might develop a much deeper interest.[18]

Robinson wrote back as soon as he received Norbeck's letter, "I am sure it will be unfortunate if B. [Borglum] comes on and involves a considerable expense, without first having a contract, or understanding and then expects us to meet it. It will be almost impossible to raise funds under such conditions."[19]

While Norbeck's and Robinson's discomfort with Borglum forging ahead without a contract, commitment or notice to proceed is certainly understandable, it should not have been news to them. In his proposal sent to Robinson dated October 22, 1924 and other exchanges quoted above, Borglum mentioned wanting $10,000 for the initial survey work on the mountain. Now, however, almost a year later, it appears that the project organizers were becoming nervous about what they perceived as Borglum jumping the gun. The Stone

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[15] Ibid.
[16] www.nps.gov/MORU/faqs.htm
[17] Letter, Norbeck to Robinson, August 31, 1925, Richardson Collection, Peter Norbeck Papers, Box 130, Folder "Doane Robinson," USD.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Letter, Robinson to Norbeck, September 2, 1925, Richardson Collection, Peter Norbeck Papers, Box 130, Folder "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.

Mountain situation had to have been a consideration. Probably more immediate was the reality that they did not have the $10,000, and did not know where they were going to get it.

From the beginning the Rushmore organizers expressed mixed feelings about Borglum. They were unanimous and enthusiastic in their belief in his artistic abilities. On January 17, 1925, Norbeck wrote to Robinson, noting "Congressman Williamson spent last evening with Borglum and is very much enthused, not only over Borglum, but art in the big way that Borglum portrays."[20] They also worried about his extravagance in financial matters as well as statements about what could be accomplished realistically and the amount of funding that could be raised from private donors.

The Stone Mountain dispute also made the organizers wary of Borglum. On March 2, 1925, Norbeck wrote a personal letter to Robinson, "It does beat all how unfortunately things break for us. Mr. Borglum gets himself in trouble just at the time you are trying to get the appropriation…I haven't changed my mind about Borglum in the least. He is a great artist and I presume it naturally follows that he is not a first-class businessman. This Stone Mountain fiasco may work decidedly to our advantage in South Dakota,--who knows."[21] A month later, Norbeck wrote to Robinson, saying "I agree with you that you could go no further with Mr. Borglum. As I come to learn the man better I see that he takes some awful big chances and this does not pay. The mix-up at Stone Mountain is like every other mix-up: it has two sides to it. Of course, each party insists that there is only one side—his side."[22]

Quest for Initial Funding and Authorization

Nothing could start on the Mount Rushmore project until there was an organization that would be in charge of securing funds and managing the project. Robinson, Norbeck and Williamson introduced bills concurrently to Congress and to the South Dakota legislature. The necessity for dual approval for the memorial was due to the fact that the site that Borglum wanted to work was located in Custer State Park Game Preserve and also in Mount Harney National Forest. At the national level the bill passed easily, with no opposition and became law on March 23, 1925.

The bill did not fare so well in the South Dakota legislature. The proposed legislation asked for the governor and legislature to appropriate $10,000 for Borglum to conduct the survey of the selected memorial site to determine whether it could be carved successfully. The bill authorized carving a monument in Custer State Park, establishment of a Mount Harney Memorial Association with the governor as its head. A great deal of political maneuvering and lobbying followed the bill's introduction in January of 1925. It never passed the committee level. There was too much opposition to spending $10,000 of South Dakota's money on something that may never come to pass. Norbeck asked Robinson to reintroduce the bill with the funding request dropped to $5,000. This time the bill made it out of committee and was placed on the state senate calendar for a vote. Unfortunately, the

[20] Letter, Norbeck,to Robinson, January 17, 1925, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.
[21] Letter, Norbeck to Robinson, March 2, 1925, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.
[22] Letter, Norbeck,to Robinson, April 9, 1925, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.

very public Stone Mountain debacle broke out with nationwide negative press, and the revised bill was defeated on February 24.

Next, Rushmore supporters introduced a third bill, and this version eliminated any mention of appropriation of funds.[23] The negative publicity from Stone Mountain continued to take a toll on support for the carving in South Dakota, particularly with the legislature. Many wondered whether Borglum could complete anything, and thought him to be unreliable. Norbeck countered with a release to the Washington press with a statement that Borglum was one of the greatest, if not the greatest sculptor in the world and that he wanted to leave behind monumental works that will stand for all time. The story was picked up by the South Dakota press, and papers in the state endorsed Borglum and the Rushmore project.[24] The public statements by Southern aristocrats against Borglum did not play well with down-to-earth farmers, ranchers and merchants in South Dakota.[25] The third version of the bill to create the Mount Harney Memorial Association finally passed on March 5, 1925, but there was no state funding authorized.

South Dakota Senate Bill 283 provided that "The Mount Harney Memorial Association is hereby created…Said Association shall function without cost to the state of South Dakota and shall have no power to involve the state of South Dakota in any contract or in any risk of any character." Section 3 of the bill reiterates the state's position, "The said Mount Harney Memorial Association is hereby clothed with the power to do any and all things necessary in carrying out the purposes of this act, provided that no expense or responsibility is incurred on behalf of the State of South Dakota, or for which the state can be held liable."[26] Thus, the sculpture on Mount Rushmore was authorized but neither the state or federal legislation included any provisions for funding. Initially Borglum claimed that he could easily fund the project privately from donations from wealthy eastern businessmen.

An executive committee ran the new Mount Harney Association. Sitting on the committee were the governor of South Dakota, William J. Bulow (after the 1926 election), Senator Peter Norbeck, Doane Robinson, as secretary, and George F. Schneider, a Rapid City banker, as treasurer. There was also a National Advisory Committee: South Dakota Congressman Williamson, William G. Edens, vice president of the Central Trust Company of Illinois, Herbert Myrick, editor and publisher, Springfield, Massachusetts, C.C. Warren and Frank J. Hughes of Rapid City, James L. Curran, Lead, South Dakota and Joseph W. Parmley, Ipswich, South Dakota.[27]

After Borglum's August 1925 visit and selection of Mount Rushmore, he approved a press release that was printed in the August 21, 1925 Rapid City *Journal.*

> After spending several days tramping the Hills in the vicinity of Harney Peak, Gutzon Borglum, world-known sculptor, announces that he has selected a great block of granite in an isolated spot, off all main highways, about midway between Harney Peak and Keystone, as the site of his proposed 'Great American Memorial.'

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[23] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 45, 82, 83; Senate Bill 283, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.
[24] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 84.
[25] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 85.
[26] Senate Bill 283, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.
[27] Herbert Myrick, publicity sheet, 1927, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

> The granite mountain towers into the air 1,000 feet. It is a mile and a half long and has, in the past been known as 'Rushmore.'
>
> Mr. Borglum declares that he knows of no piece of granite comparable to Rushmore in the entire United States. He is now busy preparing sketches of the proposed monument.
>
> Rushmore is now inaccessible to vehicles but a trail can easily be built to it to accommodate the thousands of tourists who will flock to this national shrine when it is built.
>
> The cost of the memorial, carrying the busts of Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson and Roosevelt will probably be almost a million dollars. Mr. Borglum anticipates no difficulty in raising the money and plans have already been made. Some of the money may be raised by popular subscriptions from all parts of the country. A number of eastern money-kings have already been interested in the project and promises of large donations secured.
>
> The Harney Memorial Association has been organized to sponsor the enterprise. It has the approval of President Coolidge, Senator Norbeck, Governor Gunderson as well as Custer State Park officials.[28]

While Rushmore appealed to Borglum's artistic eye, its problem was that it was very remote. There were no public roads near the mountain, just some old logging trails, as noted in the newspaper article. Norbeck was not at all enthusiastic about the selection because of the lack of accessibility. He hoped for a roadside site for the memorial. He eventually reluctantly agreed to the location. Some of the townspeople of Keystone took it upon themselves to create a road from Keystone to the base of Mount Rushmore. The road was rough, but passable.[29]

There was still no funding for the project. Borglum estimated $100,000 for each figure, and planned a dedication ceremony at the mountain to be held on October 1, 1925. This was first of many dedications at Mount Rushmore. It included speeches, a band playing patriotic music, a group of Lakota dancers in traditional dress, pageant and a flag ceremony on the top of the mountain. Borglum brought out professional photographer Charles D'Emery from Connecticut to record the event.

Despite Borglum's promise that finding money for construction of the memorial would be no problem, it, in fact, was a problem. Plus, at this point, there was still no contract in place for the work. Although Borglum had said that the people of the Black Hills area would not have to pay anything for the sculpture, he now asked for $5,000 from the Black Hills business community to cover the expense of the survey work to determine the ability of the stone to be carved and exact location of the sculpture. Fortunately, the dedication inspired a great deal of local enthusiasm, and the $5,000 was covered in cash and pledges.

Borglum maintained that he had the cost of the sculpture funded with two $200,000 donors, Judge E. H. Gary, who was Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel, and another friend, Mr. Webster. He also mentioned John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil. However, at a speech at a celebration dinner following the October 1 dedication, Borglum asked the businessmen of Rapid City for funding in the amount of $25,000-$50,000.[30] Robinson had left the dinner

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[28] Rapid City *Journal*, August 21, 1925, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

[29] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 107.

[30] Letter, Norbeck to Robinson, October 9, 1925, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane

early to return to Pierre and was not aware of the request. The next morning he received an angry phone call from a Rapid City businessman.

Immediately Robinson wrote to Norbeck, "The Rapid People are badly discouraged in the matter. It would of course be very difficult to raise fifty thousand dollars in South Dakota and of little use to do so unless further funds were definitely provided to carry the work forward….The facts remain that we have the rock; that Borglum is really a very great artist and probably the only one with the ability and daring to do the work."[31]

Throughout the rest of 1925 and all of 1926 Borglum planned and refined the proposed work at Mount Rushmore, and developed models. He still had no contract and no authorization to begin work. Robinson and Norbeck looked for money. Robinson wrote to wealthy potential donors and Norbeck looked into finding state or federal dollars to fund the memorial. Borglum still claimed that getting the money would be no problem, but Robinson and Norbeck were beginning to realize that Borglum often made statements and claims that were completely ungrounded, and did not take him particularly seriously. Borglum, meanwhile had run out of personal money, could not pay his mortgage on "Borgland" in Stamford Connecticut, and pressed the businessmen of Rapid City for reimbursement for his expenses. They managed to pull together $250 out of the pockets of Frank Hughes, John Boland and two other businessmen.[32] Herbert Myrick, wealthy Massachusetts publisher, paid the interest on Borglum's mortgage.

A Contract is Signed

Myrick pressed the Mount Harney Association to prepare contracts for Borglum and Tucker, which the executive committee was reluctant to do, since they had no funds to pay for any work. The Association nevertheless went ahead with the contracts. Borglum had lowered his price for the work from $500,000 to $312,000, to which his $87,500 fee was attached for a total of $437,500. His fee was to be twenty-five percent. The project was to take five years, with the first figure, Washington to cost $80,000, the second, Jefferson, $75,000, the third, Lincoln, $65,000, and the fourth, Roosevelt, $65,000 and the tablet, $27,000. A second contract with Tucker was prepared, through which he was to be compensated $10,000 per year.[33]

Borglum submitted a bill to the Association for $5,900 for past expenses, and the Association agreed to pay $2,900 of that when the contract was signed. The rest was to be paid as soon as possible, but not from money received from South Dakota donations.[34] The $25,000 that finally was pledged from Black Hills donors was earmarked for the physical plant and equipment. The Black Hills businessmen and other local donors were still annoyed with Borglum for requesting a large sum of money after promising that they would not be

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Robinson, Folder 3," USD.

[31] Letter, Robinson to Norbeck, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 3," USD.

[32] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 121.

[33] Borglum Contract, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Mount Harney Memorial Association," Library of Congress.

[34] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 133.

asked for any contribution. Money spent on the equipment and plant was not subject to the twenty-five percent cut to Borglum, and that satisfied the Black Hills donors.[35]

The Mount Harney Association still had no money to fund the contracts, let alone pay the $2,900 due to Borglum at signing. Myrick had one of the magazines he owned, the *Dakota Farmer* pledge $2,500 to the association with the stipulation $1,000 would be paid immediately to Borglum. The organizers scraped the remaining $1,900 together and the contract was signed.[36]

Doane Robinson wrote to the aging Charles Rushmore for whom the mountain was named and succeeded in getting a donation of $5,000. "I am appealing to you to make the initial subscription to the fund for placing the statue of George Washington upon your Rushmore Mountain." The letter, written March 21, 1927 went on to explain the project and the order in which the figures would be carved, noting that funds had been pledged for the Roosevelt carving.[37]

In April, a group of the organizers, including Norbeck, Borglum and Frank Hughes went to Chicago to meet with executives of each of the three railroads that served the Black Hills. Each promised to provide $5,000.[38] Donations trickled in.

Finally, on June 27, 1927, Borglum received official notice to proceed with the work.[39]

Meanwhile, Tucker was already at work on the site since April setting up the physical plant to run the carving operations, using the Black Hills funding. On July 13, 1927 Robinson wrote to Borglum laying out collections and costs to date. Expenses totaled $32,780, plus Borglum's fee of twenty-five percent, $8,195 for a grand total $40,975. Robinson added a contingency to bring the total to $45,000. So far, they had collected $51,500 in gifts:

Rushmore	$5,000
Young	100
Rapid City/Hills	25,000
Your Friend	5,000
Railroads	15,000
Dakota Farmer	1,000

Out of that, Borglum had been paid $5,900 to cover his advances. That left $45,200 remaining. Robinson was hopeful that other funds would appear. He had no doubt that the money for Roosevelt would be forthcoming and noted that Senator Norbeck was hopeful for an appropriation.[40] Borglum was able to secure a $5,000 donation from Senator Coleman DuPont of Delaware, and Norbeck got $5,000 from the Homestake Mining Company in Lead, South Dakota.[41]

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid, 134.
[37] Letter, Robinson to Rushmore, March 21, 1927, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 130, "Doane Robinson, Folder 4," USD.
[38] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 134.
[39] Letter, Robinson to Borglum, June 27, 1927, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1926," USD.
[40] Letter, Robinson to Borglum, July 13, 1927, Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder, Rushmore, 1918-1927, Library of Congress.
[41] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 140.

As it happened, President Calvin Coolidge decided to spend the summer of 1927 in South Dakota, in the Black Hills at the Game Lodge at Custer State Park. Washington's humid climate was not good for his chronic bronchitis, and when it came out that Coolidge was considering spending summer in the dryer climate of the West, South Dakotans Norbeck and Williamson pressed the President to choose the Black Hills. Herbert Myrick also urged Coolidge to vacation in the Black Hills. Coolidge did just that, arriving June 15, 1927, and giving a big boost to publicity for the Hills and for the Rushmore Memorial.

Dedication, August 10, 1927

President Coolidge agreed to speak at the dedication ceremony for Mount Rushmore on August 10, 1927. Rushmore had already been dedicated in 1925, but this mattered not at all to Borglum. There were many more dedications to come.

Coolidge's brief address clearly summarized the rationale for the Mount Rushmore memorial, and characterizing it as a "distinctly national monument."

August 10, 1927
Speech delivered by President Coolidge.

> We have come here to dedicate a cornerstone that was laid by the hand of the Almighty. On this towering wall of Rushmore, in the heart of the Black Hills, is to be inscribed a memorial which will represent some of the outstanding features of four of our Presidents, laid on by the hand of a great artist in sculpture. This memorial will crown the height of land between the Rocky Mountains and the Atlantic seaboard, where coming generations may view it for all time.
>
> It is but natural that such a design should begin with George Washington, for with him begins that which is truly characteristic of America. He represents our independence, our Constitution, our liberty. He formed the highest aspirations that were entertained by any people into the permanent institutions of our Government. He stands as the foremost disciple of ordered liberty, a statesman with an inspired vision who is not outranked by any mortal greatness.
>
> Next to him will come Thomas Jefferson, whose wisdom insured that the Government which Washington had formed should be entrusted to the administration of the people. He emphasized the element of self-government which had been enshrined in American institutions in such a way as to demonstrate that it was practical and would be permanent. In him, likewise, embodied the spirit of expansion. Recognizing the destiny of this Country, he added to its territory. By removing the possibility of any powerful opposition from a neighboring state, he gave new guarantees to the rule of the people.
>
> After our country had been established, enlarged from sea to sea, and was dedicated to popular government, the next great task was to demonstrate the permanency of our Union and to extend the principle of freedom to all inhabitants of our land. The master of this supreme accomplishment was Abraham Lincoln. Above all other national figures, he holds the love of his

> fellow countrymen. The work which Washington and Jefferson began, he extended to its logical conclusion.
>
> That the principles for which these three men stood might be still more firmly established destiny raised up Theodore Roosevelt. To political freedom he strove to add economic freedom. By building the Panama Canal he brought into closer relationship the east and the west and realized the vision that inspired Columbus in his search for a new passage to the Orient.
>
> The union of these four Presidents carved on the face of the everlasting hills of South Dakota will constitute a distinctly national monument.[42]

The August 1927 dedication drew fewer people than the event in 1925. Many came to see the President, but Borglum, ever the showman, added drama and passion to the event, clambering up the mountain with six drills in hand, dangling in a harness over the side of the cliff, to mark into the stone the starting points for Washington's face.

Carving Work Begins

Prior to the dedication, Major Tucker had been working at setting up the plant to provide power and support buildings and structures. The site of operations took shape on a mountain directly in front of Rushmore, at its base. It became "Doane Mountain" in honor of Doane Robinson. On Doane Mountain the initial work included building a cable tramway with a hoist to carry materials to and from the top of the mountain, a wooden staircase that the men used to climb up the mountain and return down each day, air compressors installed to provide power for the pneumatic drills used to shape the sculpture, and eight hand cranked winches in frame winch houses on top of the mountain to lower workers and materials down the side. In addition, Tucker and his crew constructed a blacksmith shop, bunk house for the workers, dining hall and kitchen. Much to Borglum's displeasure, the original construction did not include a studio for

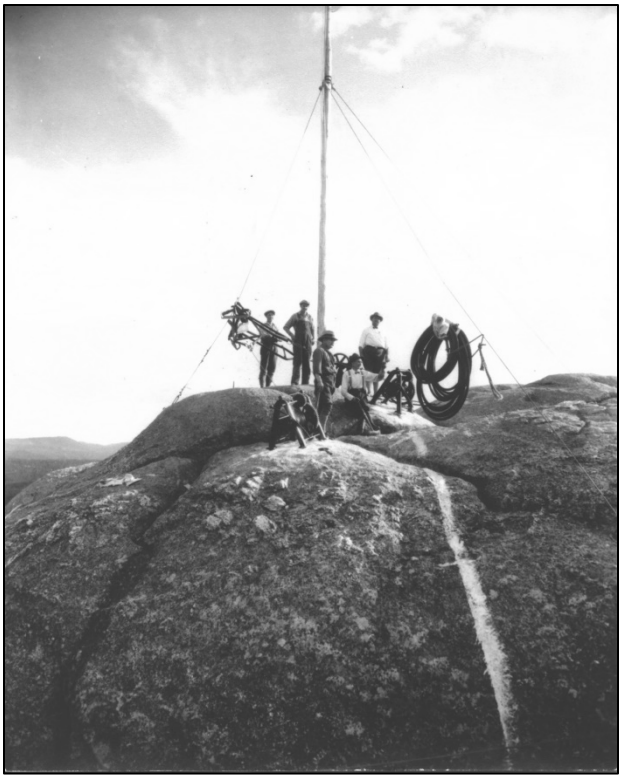


Figure 48: First equipment on the mountain. Jesse Tucker in a white shirt, and Borglum at center. Publishers Photo Service, Inc. Stamford, CT, 1927 (MRNM Archives, MORU 6343-01)

[42] Coolidge Address, August 10, 1927, Senate Report No. 1176, 70th Congress 1st session May 3 (calendar day, May 16) 1928 – Ordered to be printed.
www.nps.gov/moru/learn/historyculture/upload/August%2010%201927%20Coolidge%20Speech.pdf

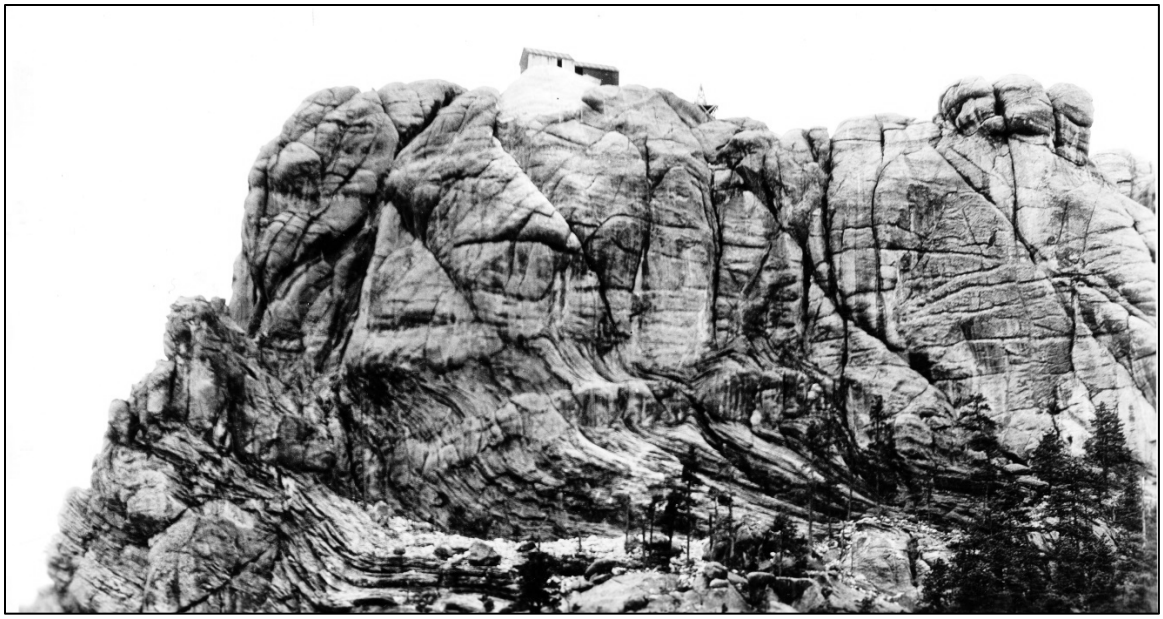


Figure 49: Constructing the winch house on the top of the mountain (MRNM Archives, MORU 4367)

him. Borglum bought an old log house on the outskirts of Keystone and used it as his initial studio. In it, he placed his model for the head of Washington, which he had made in his studio in San Antonio, Texas. A more suitable new log studio was soon under construction on Doane Mountain, begun in 1928 and completed in 1929.[43]

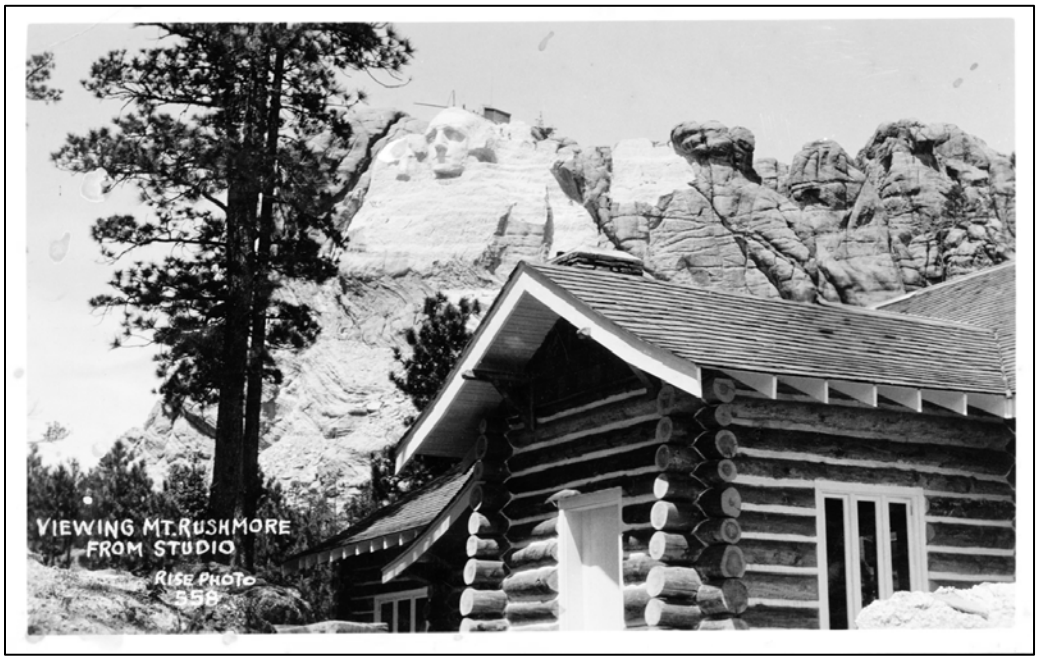


Figure 50: View of the studio, ca. 1931 (MRNM Archives, MORU 2976)

[43] Lincoln Borglum's Report on the History of the Carving of Mount Rushmore, n.d. [after 1938], 7, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 165, Folder "Lincoln Borglum, 1931-1939," Library of Congress.

Difficulties Arise

It took some time to get the operation set up. Carving on the face of the mountain did not actually begin until October 4, 1927. Work on the mountain continued until December 7 that first year.[44] Borglum and Tucker expected winter work to be difficult, but not impossible. They had planned to use canvas enclosed scaffold heated with stoves, but the winter that commenced in 1927 turned out to be particularly harsh. When in December the temperature dove to -22 degrees, Tucker shut the job down for the winter. Even without the bad weather, work would probably have come to a halt. The Mount Harney Memorial Association ran out of money. In fact, it was about $20,000 in debt. Borglum had been paid about $7,700 of his fees, but was still owed approximately $8,800. Tucker had not been paid all of his salary and borrowed $2,000 under his own name to make payroll in November.[45]

The situation was so difficult that almost no work was done for the entire year in 1928. The project had fallen far behind schedule, as Washington's head was to have been done in a year. The first president's face was barely started. In fact, there were problems from the beginning. On September 11, 1927, Borglum wrote to Senator Norbeck and to Doane Robinson from his quarters at the Menger Hotel in San Antonio, with complaints about the quality of the work being done to set up the operations plant at Rushmore. He had just returned from the Black Hills. To Norbeck he wrote,

> I am obliged to make the models here in San Antonio. Conditions at Keystone are impossible for any work of that kind, and the buildings Tucker is putting up are so bad that I have a horror of anything else that he will be ordered to put up. I find also that his contract specifically provides that his own compensation is predicated upon the least possible amount that can be spent each month. On the face of that statement, at first appearance one would think that a wise precaution. But it actually results in doing everything the cheapest and worst way and with the least possible use of time, money and material. And you will see if you will look into the way the work was done around the power plant and the other two buildings up in the mountains, including the stairway, [to the work site on top] that everything has been produced under these conditions.
>
> Of course, I am not blaming Tucker at all. He never did work of that kind for me before, and he was distinctly embarrassed when I criticized the work, and warned him of anything like that appearing in the studio….But if he doesn't correct the steps; literally rebuild a portion of them, under sleet and wet weather life will be in danger….I don't want him to build any scaffolding around the work without drawings and positive specifications from me, and all these must be built as and where I direct. …I want to have all stones that are freed or cut from the panels and the figures, lifted by derricks and carried back over the mountain and thrown into the draw or pass just back of the mountain we are carving….

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[44] Handwritten list of periods of work, 1927-1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 149, Folder "Tucker's Daily Records," Library of Congress.
[45] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 171.

> My coming here [San Antonio] will obviate the need for any studio there, and will save the Association that much money.[46]

The letter Borglum sent to Doane Robinson on the same day was considerably more vitriolic and rambled a bit, although the basic message was the same. Borglum was concerned about safety and quality of work. He also felt that he had not been paid adequately.

> There has set in since the work was begun a cross current that has blocked and stopped, interfered with and lowered the quality of the work I have proposed. Our entire building plans have taken on a character that we must apologize for or disown. Our stairway is so badly thrown together that neither Mr. Tucker or Mr. Dennison admit responsibility for much of it. I say this in all sincerity and good will and without any wish to embarrass anybody, because all would do better if permitted.
>
> …the work cannot be undertaken unless these instructions are carried out as I direct. Our buildings and our power plant are so poor and so ugly, so utterly devoid of all taste, that even the people in Keystone laugh at them….
>
> What I have advised has not been carried out. And I want you and the Committee to know that I disclaim all responsibility for what has been done to date toward the housing and the wise and efficient placing of our properties. But please do not be disturbed about this. I have had two months of mental distress over it. I don't know who it is that is misdirecting the work up there; or in fact if anybody is; rather, it is the terms of agreement which work against the work itself….
>
> Of course, I could not stay up there, as I had planned, on an income that would not pay the foreman his salary. I mean Tucker. I have got to do my work where I can do other work in order to meet my current expenses. So, studios or other necessities for carrying on my part of the work can be abandoned, and I am adjusting myself to that situation.
>
> There is one thing, however, that I must demand, and that is, after we get on the mountain, that this policy of shiftless work, bad construction and petty economies must cease as applied to the Sculptor and the scaffolding has got to be properly done and built, and I shall not recommend any man go onto the mountain unless I lay out that work and it must be done as I direct it.[47]

Obviously irritated by the tone of Borglum's letter, Robinson wrote back on September 17, 1927.

> I have your letter of the 11th and I can only say of it that it is a serious disappointment to me, and quite beyond my comprehension.
>
> You came upon the work this summer before we were ready; we could not start until the Black Hills and the Railroad [funding] came across, but your coming proved of importance for it secured the power plant timely and

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[46] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, September 11, 1927, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1926," USD.

[47] Letter, Borglum to Robinson, September 11, 1927, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 150, Folder "Borglum-Robinson Correspondence, 1927-29," Library of Congress.

> enabled us to go to the installation of it as soon as we had the money. We paid Mr. Tucker from the day of his arrival.
>
> We all have the highest appreciation of yourself as an artist and for the fine work you have done in enlisting the assistance of the president and others. So far as I am informed absolutely no limitation was placed upon yourself or Major Tucker. You knew what was required and we did not. All we asked was to know what the plans were so that we could always be sure to have the money ready.
>
> If you felt the studio was the most important thing at the outset there was no reason in the world why it should not have been ready August 1. So far as I am concerned I never heard a word about a studio until you showed me the location chosen for it the evening of August 25. I am sure no limitation was placed upon you or Mr. Tucker about providing the sort of studio you felt requisite.
>
> We asked Mr. Tucker at the beginning to make an estimate upon the things required for the plant, and on July 9 he submitted a statement or requisition for material amounting to $12,671 which was at once approved by the executive committee and he was directed to go to it. The studio was not in his requisition and that is why I did show some surprise when I came to you on August 25 for I had understood the little log house was adequate for this autumn. As soon as it was possible to do so I took your plan to Senator Norbeck and secured approval of it.
>
> Right now I must say that neither myself or the executive committee assume any responsibility for the character of the plant. We have at once conceded everything asked and I know of no reason why it is not (except the studio not yet constructed) quite adequate…
>
> …If there has been or shall be any "shiftless work" you must hold yourself and no one else absolutely responsible for it. You are the one man who is supposed to know what is necessary for the work and how it is to be done. For that, under your contract we hold you responsible….
>
> …I had nothing to do about fixing your compensation; that was done by Mr. Myrick and he died thinking he had made a fine provision for you. I asked you what you would deem a fair compensation for you and you said 20 per cent of the cost was usual. Mr. Myrick put 25 per cent into the contract and it met the hearty approval of all of us…[48]

Both letters went on for three pages. Within a short time, the two had made up, realizing that they would be working together for five years. The letters are indicative of the disagreements and conflicts that characterized the construction project.

Through 1928, no work was done on the mountain. Tucker fielded a small crew in the summer to do some ground work and to cut logs for Borglum's studio. Senator Norbeck and Congressman Williamson knew that the project would fail without federal funding. Borglum agreed and met with President Coolidge who recommended that he talk to Secretary of the Treasury, Andrew Mellon. Norbeck and Williamson hoped for full funding of

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[48] Letter, Robinson to Borglum, September 17, 1927, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 150, Folder "Borglum-Robinson Correspondence, 1927-29," Library of Congress.

$500,000 for the Rushmore project, and felt that Mellon would agree to provide the entire amount. Borglum, however, only asked Mellon for $250,000 preferring that the federal appropriation should match private donations. He wanted the public to have a stake in the creation of the memorial. He also did not want the federal government to place any restrictions on how the money could be spent and felt that private matched funding would prevent that.

Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission Established

Norbeck and Williamson submitted bills in the Senate and the House to create the appropriation and also a reorganized national commission to administer the funds. Norbeck's Senate Bill 3848 creating the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission became law on May 16, 1928. The House bill was passed on May 29, 1928.

> The bill provides that one half the cost of the entire work shall be borne by the United States. It carries an authorization for the appropriation of not exceeding $250,000 for this purpose. No part of the appropriation shall be expended, except to match funds received from other sources by the commission, or already expended by its predecessor. Proper safeguards to the Government are provided.
>
> The association has already secured from popular subscription in cash $53,000 and donations of machinery and equipment to the value of $17,500, or a total of $70,500.[49]

The bill also provided for the establishment of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, which replaced the Mount Harney Association, selection of officers and for an executive committee. The President of the United States was to appoint the commission members. The bill stated that all work on the Rushmore project was to be under the supervision of the twelve-member commission.

On May 18, 1928 Norbeck wrote to Borglum, responding to two telegrams he'd sent. Borglum's telegrams expressed hope that he could raise $1,000,000 from private subscriptions for Rushmore and discouraged the effort to get $250,000 in federal funding. He also noted that Tucker reported that he lost three months of workable weather and must disband the crew due to lack of funds. Borglum also said that he had not been informed as to conditions. In response to keeping Borglum informed, Norbeck wrote,

> You say you are not informed as to conditions. Now I plead guilty. Some of that may be my fault, some may be Doane Robinson's and some may be Tucker's, - but certainly you cannot escape it either. All of the information you have requested has been furnished you, and if you had taken a few moments to ask Doane Robinson a few questions when you were in Washington, he would have answered you to the most minute details.

Concerning funding from private donors, Norbeck recalled the meeting with Rapid City businessmen when Doane Robinson told them that "you just wanted $5,000 and that you

[49] SB 3848, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "Doane Robinson," Library of Congress.

knew where to get the rest." "It created a splendid impression and that was our misfortune afterwards, when we had to go back and ask them to dig up."

> Our hope for private subscription was not realized and we were getting financially embarrassed. Our only chance to avoid absolute failure seemed to be the Government appropriation to match money already subscribed and the funds hereafter to be raised….
>
> I hope you do not misunderstand me. I would rather raise the money by private subscription than to get it from the Government, but I think that plan has had a very good test and the chances of success along that line are very remote. Really, I think the Government appropriation is the only thing that will save us from having a fizzle. We do not want a fizzle.[50]

A couple of weeks later, June 2, 1928, Norbeck wrote again to Borglum, this time about recommendations for members to be appointed to the new Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission.

> I note your suggestion for a Texas member, Oregon member and California member, which is all right, but the question is – what will their interest be and what will their contribution be? I do not want to deal too much in the intangible. Let us get down to earth. I wish you would try to find a man who can absolutely assure us of $50,000 for the Jefferson statue. I don't care whether he comes from Texas or Virginia….
>
> Of course, you realize that the important thing is for us to raise from $30,000 to $50,000 as soon as humanely possible. We have to depend on you for the real pushing until we get better organized.[51]

Borglum wrote to Norbeck on June 4, 1928, about appointees for the commission. At that point Norbeck was more concerned with getting final approval of the legislation and getting the President's signature on it. Borglum wrote,

> I am entirely with you and I have no other thought in the establishment of the commission but to get people who are in control of millions and whose pride and interests will be to give us fifty to one hundred thousand dollars a piece, or secure it for us. Outside the men you have named from South Dakota, I should preferably have a couple of very rich women on the board, two or three very rich democrats, and the others of course, very rich people. I have at least three in mind who could give us half a million a piece easy as not. Of course they won't and I don't expect them to, but they might give us a hundred thousand, or if the three of them would give us a hundred thousand it would be as much as we could expect.[52]

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[50] Letter, Norbeck to Borglum, May 18, 1928, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.
[51] Letter, Norbeck to Borglum, June 2, 1928, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.
[52] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, June 4, 1928, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1926," USD.

On the 6th of December, 1928, Borglum wrote to Norbeck from San Antonio, about the prospective commission members. He made several suggestions for appointees, most of whom were eventually invited to serve. He concluded his letter, saying,

> Be assured that I am ready to go to work in this matter – any phase of it – anywhere you say, if you will develop the plan. My thought is that the bill should pass as amended in the house. I would not worry about the included strictures in it. I talked with [Senator] Coleman DuPont about this. He said don't bother about it. There will be no difficulty about money. Let us, I beg of you, get the bill passed and signed and the commission created. Then we are off.

In a post script, Borglum wrote,

> ...the first moneys you should spend at the Black Hills should be for the building of a studio, where the sculptor can work. You cannot build that monument without a sculptor, and this is not a joke, neither am I throwing any bricks at Tucker or Robinson. But this is an art work per se, and something has got to be done up there so that I can work when I am there.[53]

With no private funds raised during 1928 and 1929, the Rushmore project was dormant. As 1928 dragged into 1929, Norbeck and other supporters became very concerned that President Coolidge's term in office would end without any movement on establishing the Rushmore Commission. No one knew what president-elect Hoover would do.

On January 25, 1929 a tired and frustrated Norbeck wrote to Borglum:

> For your information, I think you should know that everything is flat in South Dakota as a result of the year's idleness. Previous to this public sentiment has held up pretty well under our repeated assurances that everything would go right along. But the fact that neither you nor I were able to scare up a few dollars for work during the summer of 1928 has led people to believe that we were just talking hot air and there was nothing back of our statements. Very few people in South Dakota took the matter seriously any more…
>
> The real serious thing is that when we try to start again, we will be in worse shape than we were several years ago…
>
> If a little money could have been secured through the summer to have kept the work going, the situation would have been entirely different. The people would have had faith in us. The lack of that faith is a real loss and an awful handicap…
>
> If we are ever to complete the Memorial we will have to take up the work in a business way hereafter. We must know what we are doing and we must not give out any false impressions as to what we have done or can do, or will do. It must be put on a hard business. We must <u>first</u> find out what money

[53] Letter, Borglun to Norbeck, December 6, 1928, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.

> we can raise; second, we must decide what money we are going to spend. If we are to have a blow-up, we better have it at the front end than later on.[54]

When he wrote this, Norbeck was recuperating from a long illness for much of 1928, and he was unhappy with Borglum's grandiose claims of what could be done, what would be done and money coming from wealthy patrons. The business side of things was much different. He was also unhappy that weeks and months had passed and the final legislation establishing the commission had not been passed, the commission not appointed, and the $250,000 appropriation not touched.

After the legislation setting up the commission finally passed, there was a rush to have the twelve members appointed before Coolidge left office on March 4, 1929. Then, the commission had to be convened officially with the President before funds could be released and work on the sculpture resume.

Borglum, Robinson, and Senator Norbeck assembled a list of recommended commission members and sent it to President Coolidge, but not until March 1, 1929, at the very end of his term as President. Most of them were appointed on March 3, the day before Coolidge left office, allowing Herbert Hoover to make the final appointments.

> Hale Holden, Chicago, IL (President of the C.B.&Q Railway)
> Fred W. Sargent, Evanston IL (President of the C. & N.W. Railway)
> Frank Lowden, Oregon, IL (a Republican primary presidential contender in 1928)
> Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, IL (board chair, Sears and Roebuck, philanthropist)
> Joseph S. Cullinan, Houston, TX (president of Texaco)
> Charles R. Crane, New York, NY (businessman)
> T. Coleman DuPont, Wilmington, DE (US Senator and President of E. I. du Pont de Nemours)
> C.M. Day, Sioux Falls, SD (publisher of Sioux Falls *Argus-Leader* newspaper)
> D.B. Gurney, Yankton, SD (owner of radio station WNAX and agriculture supply business)
> John A. Boland, Rapid City, SD (owner of Rapid City Implement Company)
> Loraine Jones Spoonts, Corpus Christi, TX (social and civic leader)[55]

The initial list was only 11 members, several of them personal friends of Borglum's. By January of 1930, the list had been adjusted to include Congressman William Williamson, Rapid City, South Dakota and Congressman Royal C. Johnson, Aberdeen, South Dakota. These were Hoover appointments. Mr. DuPont was no longer listed on the commission. Still, no work could resume until the commission met formally with President Hoover at the White House, and funds matching those already spent were released. President Hoover, not as committed to Rushmore as Coolidge was, did nothing to call an organizational meeting of the Commission. It was difficult to get appointments with the new President. Even Borglum was unsuccessful in getting an audience with Hoover.

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[54] Norbeck to Borglum, January 25, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.
[55] Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1927-29," USD.

On March 13, 1929, Doane Robinson sent a telegram to Norbeck, saying Borglum had asked Hoover to convene the commission at the White House early in April. Norbeck responded, "If Borglum wants to take management in his own hands I am willing but certainly his scheme (if it works) is better than ours. Anyway I am willing he shall try it. …It is a question whether Hoover will take Borglum seriously—but he might."[56] The convening meeting did not occur in April. On May 3, 1929, a still frustrated Peter Norbeck wrote to Borglum,

> The apparent thing is that the Rushmore deal is dragging along in '29 just like it did in 1928. I am not saying that in criticism, --I am stating it as an apparent fact. We seem to have no practical plan of procedure. If this continues very long it will lead to substantial loss, much discouragement and ultimate failure. It is a well known fact that things will not keep in that form. Last year put us in jeopardy and left a feeling in both South Dakota and Washington that "Borglum starts a lot of things and doesn't finish them." I am not saying this to criticize you. I am just trying to impress you with the real situation. I do not know what can be done about it, - that is another matter, - but we must try to get the Commission together somehow.[57]

Finally, Congressman Williamson was able to schedule an appointment with Hoover, and on June 6, 1929, the organizational meeting took place. The Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission became official. The meeting established officers with Joseph Cullinan as president and William Williamson as secretary. An executive committee of the commission was also established with John Boland as its president, William Williamson as secretary, and Gurney, Sargent and Rosenwald as members. Immediately $54,670.56 was released from the federal treasury to the commission as a match to the funds that the Harney Memorial Association had already spent. Work on the mountain resumed in July of 1929.[58]

Now there was a substantial sum of money to fund construction of the monument, at least for the short term. Borglum immediately sent a telegram to Tucker telling him to start work. It seemed that the project was back on track and launched for a successful conclusion, but that was not to be the case.

When Borglum, Robinson and Norbeck submitted a list of names for inclusion on the new Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, Doane Robinson was not among them. Robinson was crushed. He wanted to see the project through and wanted to serve on the Commission. It was his idea, and he had worked so hard to get the Rushmore Memorial started. Unfortunately, he was not wealthy, he was not politically powerful and thus he was not included in the list of prospective members. Robinson tried to be gracious in his reactions to not being appointed to the presidential commission. In a letter to Norbeck on March 17, 1929 he wrote, "I fully realize that I have arrived at an age where it is the part of wisdom to drop out of strenuous activities and I have no regrets in doing so. I think if I have any particular ambition to live now it is to see Rushmore in a sure way to completion."[59]

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[56] Telegram, Norbeck to Robinson, March 13, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.
[57] Letter, Norbeck to Robinson, May 3, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Rushmore, 1928-29," Library of Congress.
[58] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 181.
[59] Letter, Robinson to Norbeck, March 17, 1929, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1927-29," USD.

Robinson remained interested in the Rushmore project, but gradually drifted away and faded from the scene. John Boland rose to ascendancy filling the large void that Robinson left.

While Norbeck, Robinson and Borglum worked on getting federal appropriations, private donations and getting the new commission set up, Jesse Tucker was struggling to keep at least a minimal work effort going on the Rushmore work site. His contract called for him to work, and he was funding at least some small segments out of his pocket. The Harney Memorial Association had no money to reimburse Tucker for his out-of-pocket contribution or for his salary as promised in his contract.

Jesse Tucker's Resignation

Harold R. Eyrich, Superintendent of Keystone Consolidated Mines sent a telegram to Borglum in Texas on April 16, 1929, informing him of the situation at Rushmore.

> Do not believe you are aware of the situation at Keystone. Tucker has received not [sic] official word from anyone regarding project. He is carrying on an organization and expenses to the point where I think something should be done to give him immediate relief. Was not aware of the situation until today and responsibility rests with those who had him sign this contract and came [sic] to Keystone. Would appreciate advice from you as to who has authority to act. Nothing should be done at this time to upset the recent success financing but those in authority and aware of conditions should at least advise Tucker in detail otherwise due to their indifference he has to take necessary legal steps to protect his interests. Responsible parties could give this relief as the association is now financially responsible.[60]

Eyrich's telegram sent on Tucker's behalf told of the on-site problems during 1928 and the first half of 1929 when there was no funding for work on the mountain. However, Eyrich did not know, or had been misinformed about the financial situation. In April of 1929, while the appropriation bill had been passed by the House and Senate, it had not yet been signed into law, and the new Rushmore Commission had not yet met, so funding was not yet available for any activity at the Rushmore worksite.

Borglum immediately sent a telegram back to Eyrich, and followed up with a letter. The telegram read,

> Wire received just wired you for Tucker five hundred dollars have not heard from him. Everything possible and with all possible promptness is being done for best interest of work and all involved delays due to interference by people unacquainted with what should be done and what not should be done. That stage passed and everything in excellent shape. New commission will meet soon in Washington. I gave Tucker my personal guarantee against any financial loss to him and shall in writing fully.[61]

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[60] Telegram, Eyrich to Borglum, April 16, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.
[61] Telegram Borglum to Eyrich, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

On the same day, April 16, 1929, Borglum sent a letter to Eyrich elaborating on the Rushmore situation as he saw it.

> There is little that could be said at this time that ought to be written about the inside workings of the Rushmore Memorial organization. When I see you I will go into these matters with some care. But you are close enough to the work to realize that last year was for all practical purposes at Rushmore – at Keystone – not only a loss but a waste of money and time, both of which was wholly unnecessary and would not have occurred if either of two conditions had been different.
>
> First, if the local people who had promised funds had made their payments there would have been no delay in roughing out the work. Second, and probably more important, if the feeling that they can go right on and do what they want to without consulting the sculptor had not grown up around the mountain work, because it has been impossible to raise money, and is impossible to raise money without presence in the work. This work on the mountain is a piece of sculpture work. It is not a layman's job nor a contractor's job. No consideration so far has been given to my wishes in the matter, but I have had to be behind every movement for funds or plans.
>
> I am not saying this in particular criticism, but there has been no regard for my wishes in the way the work has been laid up or any provisions for my being there or doing any work there. Neither was there on the other hand, any following up or collecting of funds where I had prepared communities and committees to receive funds. As soon as I went away to other work, which I was obliged to do to keep up my own expenses, everything stopped. There were several sources of funds not only developed but definitely promised to me. Immediately I left everything stopped. I am not particularly surprised at that, because the work after all is carrying out the plan of a man who has made a very definite place for himself not only in America but in the whole world of colossal art, and this Rushmore memorial is not a mine or a business; it is a sentiment, and if they continue to disregard my wishes in the matter they will find that the country's interest in the monument will completely disappear.
>
> I don't care to be more specific, but the National Commission is created on an act of congress that makes some things mandatory and that will require a little more personal consideration by the personnel of my wishes. I will not go to Keystone and live in a barn, and I won't work in a barn. I have said so much about this that Tucker is not unfamiliar with it, and he knows how it annoys me to have art work slighted and treated in a third class manner as that great work has been treated. I am not accusing him of course of any responsibility in this, but he knows so well what is necessary to keep the public interest well to the front, and there has been no appreciation of the spirit as against the letter of understanding.[62]

[62] Letter, Borglum to Eyrich, April 16, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

The above letter from Borglum to Eyrich is important because it expresses Borglum's point of view in 1929, which was essentially his point of view throughout the project. The above-quoted Norbeck and Robinson letters lay out the business side of the argument, which eventually transfers to John Boland of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and to Julian Spotts with the National Park Service. This April 1929 letter, written early in the Rushmore construction history predicts the pattern of conflict between Borglum and administrators of the Rushmore project, which Norbeck seems to have recognized early on. What administrators saw as necessary project management, Borglum viewed as interference with his wishes and his art.

Eyrich responded to Borglum's letter on April 22, 1929, "In Tucker you have a loyal and capable engineer, who believes in you and has followed you through all the ups and downs of the project and at no time has he been other than loyal to your interest."[63]

On July 17, the new Mount Rushmore Commission met in Rapid City and at the Rushmore site. As some of the first actions it took, the Commission voted to transfer Borglum's and Tucker's contracts from the now defunct Mount Harney Association. They kept Borglum's contract as it was. Tucker's they changed. Under the old Harney contract, Tucker was paid $10,000 per year regardless of the number of days worked. However, due to weather problems and lack of funds, Tucker had only worked about half of the time during the past two years. Under the new contract, Tucker was to receive $833 per month, which amounted to $10,000 per year, but only for the months when work was actually done. In effect, this was a big cut in pay for Tucker, because work on the mountain was rarely continuous over twelve months. Unhappy with this arrangement, Tucker retired, effective September 23, 1929.

While Tucker cited the change in pay, and lack of reimbursement for back pay and his out of pocket expenses, there were other reasons for his leaving Rushmore. From correspondence noted above, Borglum was unhappy with the quality of work at Rushmore, the buildings and structures he felt were unsafe and poorly constructed. He also grumbled because he was not provided with a studio, and slow progress. The frustrations and criticisms ultimately landed at Tucker's feet. Bitterness followed and Eyrich communicated between Tucker and Borglum. Correspondence implied that Tucker had the loyalty of the workers and the foreman, J.C. Dennison, and that when he left, they would go too.

As the Tucker situation unfolded, Eyrich sent Borglum a telegram on August 31, 1929. "Situation here demands your immediate presence the remarkable progress and results should not be interrupted and unless you correct the relationship between the commission and Tucker another Stone Mountain situation will develop and which will destroy public confidence and I do not think differences exist which should not be corrected certain you can handle situation by being here. Wire if you can come keeping everything from press."[64]

That same day Borglum responded by telegram to Eyrich, "No situation ever exists except between dishonest people that friendly understanding cannot correct. Tucker resigned to commissioners and wrote asking me not to interfere." Borglum went on to say that he would gladly act for Tucker in "adjusting matters with commissioners" upon his request.[65]

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[63] Letter, Eyrich to Borglum, April 22, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

[64] Telegram, Eyrich to Borglum, August 31, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

[65] Telegram, Borglum to Eyrich, August 31, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich,"

The next day, Eyrich wired back to Borglum,

> Wire received. Do not misunderstand purpose my wire. Tucker and his organization leaving. You and commission want work to progress and its someones [sic] responsibility to handle the situation. There is no question of dishonesty and you will have difficulty obtaining men like Tucker and Dennison to carry on work. No new responsible contractor could or would operate as they have done. However have commission settle with Tucker on a business basis and get a new contractor quick and furnish with complete plans specifications buildings and models. Responsible businessmen entirely with Tucker and if there are lawsuits and trouble the whole proposition is endangered. Remember the commission has a number of politicians besides capable business men and are sure you are not acquainted with the facts. My sincere motive to have you complete this carving the greatest undertaking of your career and feel positive knowing local conditions. You should make every effort to have commission retain present organizations and give Tucker a contract under approximate terms that state of South Dakota and yourself had him leave his business. It is a problem for you and the commission.[66]

On September 2, 1929 Borglum wrote back to Eyrich's somewhat threatening telegram,

> We must not forget I know nothing from the commission about any change in contract and Tucker wired me not to interfere with his leaving work. I am responsible for his employment and I am responsible for the big salary paid. I personally guaranteed he would be paid any arrears. I telegraphed him money when you told me he required funds. I have received no money in order that he might. U.S. Commission will fill its contract with Tucker. Men of that standing don't break contracts. The summers work promised the commission is the practical completion of Washington face. It can and must be finished. I have been impatient over delay in tackling this seriously. The labor market of carvers is full of idle men. A complete model is on the mountain pointed.[67]

Shortly after this, Borglum left San Antonio for the Black Hills to take over Tucker's work. In a letter dated September 22, 1929 addressed to Norbeck, Borglum wrote,

> There was some fear spread that he was determined to take the men with him. He did not realize my two weeks of presence here automatically answered all questions. I took charge at once and let it be definitely known that nothing would be done without my O.K.; that a complete change in drilling and blocking of the work would take place at once and no work guessed at or delayed any longer. Changes distress most men, but soon they

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Library of Congress.

[66] Telegram, Eyrich to Borglum, September 1, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

[67] Telegram, Borglum to Eyrich, September 2, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.

> saw twice the progress was being made and work everywhere was helped, expedited and the results more satisfactory. This counted; then men began to see that there would be no let down, all men would get the same wages, be treated as well if not better, so by Saturday night, that is last night, Dennison, who had told me he would not stay told me he would. So here we are, better organized than ever, in complete harmony. I have organized the course of the procedure some and saved the association $10,000 a year.[68]

The original arrangement with Tucker and with Borglum through the Mount Harney Memorial Association was that Borglum was hired to design the sculpture and make models from which the design could be transferred to the mountain. Tucker's job was to see that the design was carried out and construction of the sculpture completed. It was not a matter of contract obligation that Borglum would be on site throughout the project. When Tucker retired, however, there was no one there to oversee the work. Borglum took on that role, but there was no change in his contract for his compensation. Borglum concluded the letter, "Boland has a fine just mind, even temper and if I could not get along with him, I'd know there was something wrong with me." Unfortunately it came to pass that Borglum did not get along with Boland.

In a handwritten postscript to the above quoted letter to Norbeck, Borglum wrote, "Since writing the above, Tucker demands all money at once=is sabotaging the men and threatens to foul the nest we had lined with silk for him!!" This eventually led to a lawsuit that Tucker brought against the Mount Harney Association, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and Gutzon Borglum in November of 1929.

Another issue between Tucker and Borglum was the power plant. In June of 1927, right after he started work at Rushmore, Tucker looked for power equipment and materials. H. R. Eyrich proposed that Keystone Consolidated Mines furnish electrical power for the Rushmore project at the rates provided by the Dakota Power Company. The offer was being held open because Borglum was waiting to hear about some equipment he had been promised that would allow the Rushmore project to generate its own electrical power.[69] Samuel Insull authorized donation of a used 250 horsepower diesel engine, compressor and electric motor from Northwestern Public Service at Huron, South Dakota. The engine was installed at Keystone and a power line run from it to the mountain worksite. The compressors were placed in a small building constructed just to the west of the current Second Studio building. "The power was generated in Keystone by the diesel engine and brought up on the line at 2,300 volts and then transformed down to the correct voltages.[70]

Tucker favored purchasing power from Keystone Consolidated Mines, and did so. After the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission was formed, John Boland, its local representative, and treasurer, also supported the rented power concept, stating that it was cheaper than running the power plant that was donated to Borglum. After Tucker left, Eyrich wrote to Borglum seeking a formal contract for the purchase of power. "Battle Creek Power Company which is owned entirely by the Keystone Consolidated Mines had an agreement with Mr. J. G. Tucker, contractor to supply power to the [Mount Harney]

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[68] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, September 22, 1929, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Gutzon Borglum, 1926," USD.
[69] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.
[70] Lincoln Borglum, "Report on History of Rushmore Construction," n.d. [after 1938], 6, Library of Congress.

Memorial Association for two and one half cents per kilowatt hour."[71] The power source issue became an ongoing problem, with Borglum believing that Tucker and then Boland were being disloyal and favoring Eyrich who was their friend. He also believed that the power plant donated to him for Rushmore had been intentionally damaged or, in his words "sabotaged." The dispute about power went on for several years, with Borglum believing that there was collusion among Eyrich, Tucker and Dennison, and also Boland.

As the project was undergoing this transition between Tucker and subsequent superintendents, with more on-site management from Borglum, the October 1929 stock market crash spun the United States into the Great Depression that lasted through the next decade. The Depression impacted the Rushmore project greatly. While it was difficult to get private contributions for the sculpture in the 1920s, when the economy prospered, it was nearly impossible in the 1930s. The federal government took on a greater and greater role in the Rushmore project, and with it came increased administrative red tape, project oversight and accountability. Through the 1930s as the federal controls continued in place, Borglum felt increasingly that his art and creativity were being stifled. At the conclusion of the project the memorial was entirely in the hands of the National Park Service.

Establishing Land and Boundaries of the Memorial

In 1929, with the establishment of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, boundaries for the memorial were finally defined. To this point the memorial was vaguely described as being in Custer State Park and Harney National Forest. A border for land associated with the memorial needed to be established and the commission tackled the boundary question in late 1929 and early 1930.

Since Mount Rushmore was now a National Memorial, the Commission anticipated that it would likely eventually become a National Park. Moreover, there was an increasing stream of curious tourists coming to see the Memorial take shape. The Commission decided it was imperative to surround the monument with enough land to preserve the setting and landscape from logging, mining and commercial and residential development. There were already some protections in place through the U.S. Forest Service and Custer State Park. The question was, how much land should be considered as part of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial?

At their November 1929 meeting, the Mount Rushmore Commission unanimously approved a recommendation that a minimum of 17 square miles be set aside for the Rushmore Memorial to protect it from alteration. The U.S. Forest Service and Custer State Park controlled the land, but the Forest Service permitted some logging operations. The Forest Service maintained that it could protect the landscape better from fire and insect infestations than other governmental agencies.[72] Moreover, there was concern that the Antiquities Act of 1906, under which the Commission justified making Rushmore a National Monument, applied to antiquities, and Rushmore as new construction was not that.[73]

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[71] Letter, Eyrich to Borglum, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "H.R. Eyrich," Library of Congress.
[72] Correspondence from J.S. Cullinan, Chairman MRNMC to Delose B. Gurney, Secretary, with correspondence chain with U.S. Forest Service, January 24, 1930, Richardson Collection, Norbeck papers, Box 163, Folder "Fred W Sargent," USD.
[73] R.W. Dunlap, Acting Secretary, U.S. Forest Service to Secretary of the Interior, December 28, 1929,

Despite the discussions of 1929 and 1930, the boundaries for the Mount Rushmore National Memorial were not platted until 1939, containing 1,800 acres. There were some adjustments and removal of some lands in 1962. (reference 1939 and 1962 maps) Currently Mount Rushmore National Memorial contains 1,278 acres, according to the most recent National Register nomination.

The Great Depression

Probably the most significant event during the Rushmore construction years was the Great Depression of the 1930s. Beginning with the stock market crash in October of 1929, the economic downturn deepened and continued relentlessly for a decade. Making matters worse, a series of drought years drastically cut farm production and caused devastating dust storms in the plains states – the Dust Bowl. Banks closed, businesses failed, and farmers and laborers became destitute. Severe drought set in and grasshoppers infested the Great Plains, depressing the people and the economy even more.

For Mount Rushmore the effect of the Depression was substantial. Getting funding from the private sector had already proved difficult. Now it was almost impossible. More and more the funding of the Rushmore project became the federal government's responsibility.

The Depression also produced for Rushmore a large group of unskilled or semi-skilled workers from the ranks of unemployed who desperately sought jobs. Some of these workers applied directly for employment at Rushmore. Others came through federal programs of the Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations, specifically President Herbert Hoover's Emergency Relief Act in 1932 and Franklin D. Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration (WPA) and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) which began in 1933 as part of his New Deal program. Gutzon Borglum, who frequently complained about the lack of trained workers, and the shoddy quality of work, disliked using men from federal work programs because he felt they were not skilled or qualified for work on the memorial.

Formation of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society

In an effort to try to increase private participation in the funding of the work at Mount Rushmore, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission authorized the formation of a separate fundraising group, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society. This was an exclusive group, limited to 500 members who were invited to join, and a life membership cost $100.

The Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society of the Black Hills was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, March 21, 1930, "for the promotion of the arts to provide in part the funds for the carving of Mount Rushmore National Memorial as authorized by Congress, consisting of the heroic figures of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt and an entablature, and, in cooperation with governmental agencies to aid and

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Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Fred W. Sargent, Rushmore," USD.

assist in appropriate landscaping, parking, highways, trails and protecting such and the grounds surrounding the Memorial in the interest of the public."[74]

The Society was the brainchild of Commission member Joseph Cullinan and Borglum. For their $100 membership contribution, Society members received a certificate signed by Borglum. The initial invitation netted seventy-two memberships for $7,200. Borglum wrote and produced a well-illustrated booklet about the memorial which made $10,000 in sales. The federal appropriation matched these funds to create capital for the Memorial's construction.[75] Early in 1930, despite the stock market crash in the previous October, most people did not realize the depth and length of the Depression that was to come. By March 1, 1932, the Society collected another $12,200 to be matched by federal funds.[76] A number of members, Borglum among them, purchased more than one membership. The Society still operates today as the official fundraising partner for the Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

Washington Dedication, July 4, 1930

Anxious to make up for time lost in 1928 and much of 1929, Borglum set to work on the carving of George Washington which was to be completed for a dedication ceremony, Rushmore's third, on July 4, 1930. Borglum managed to keep nineteen men busy for 114 days in the summer and fall of 1929, closing the job for the season in December.[77]

Very little had been done on Washington's face, but the image began to take shape quickly. In the spring of 1930 when the weather was better and days were longer. Borglum ran two crews, each working eight hour shifts in an effort to get Washington far enough along for the dedication. While the Washington head was the first to be carved, it was also the most prominent, set forward from the others and higher. By the time of the Washington Dedication, July 4, 1930, Washington's face had not yet entirely emerged from the stone, but enough finishing had been completed to make him recognizable and to show progress.

At the ceremony for the unveiling of Washington's head, Joseph S. Cullinan, Chairman of the Commission presided. Guests and dignitaries assembled on the viewing terrace and grounds around Borglum's recently competed log studio, eyes fixed on the top of the mountain where an American flag covered Washington's head. In his opening remarks Cullinan said, "The Authority of the Congress to carve colossal portraits of these great men in the granite of the Black Hills has created a perpetual shrine for political democracy."[78] There was a speech by Borglum, "History of the Black Hills and the Memorial Doane Robinson Monuments –Their value to Civilization." Then with fanfare of a rifle salute, aircraft flyover and music, Doane Robinson's grandson, Billy Doane, pressed the button

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[74] Mount Rushmore Memorial Society Membership invitation, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 163, Folder "Fred W. Sargent, Rushmore," USD.
[75] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 204.
[76] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 181, Folder "Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society, 10-year audit, 1940," Library of Congress.
[77] Handwritten list of days worked per year, 1927-1937, author unknown, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 149, Folder "Tucker's Daily Reports," Library of Congress.
[78] Program, Ceremonies at the Unveiling of the Head of George Washington, July 4, 1930, 3, MRNM Archives, digital image files, 988 MORU.



Figure 51: Washington dedication, July 4, 1930 (MRNM Archives, #6125MORU)

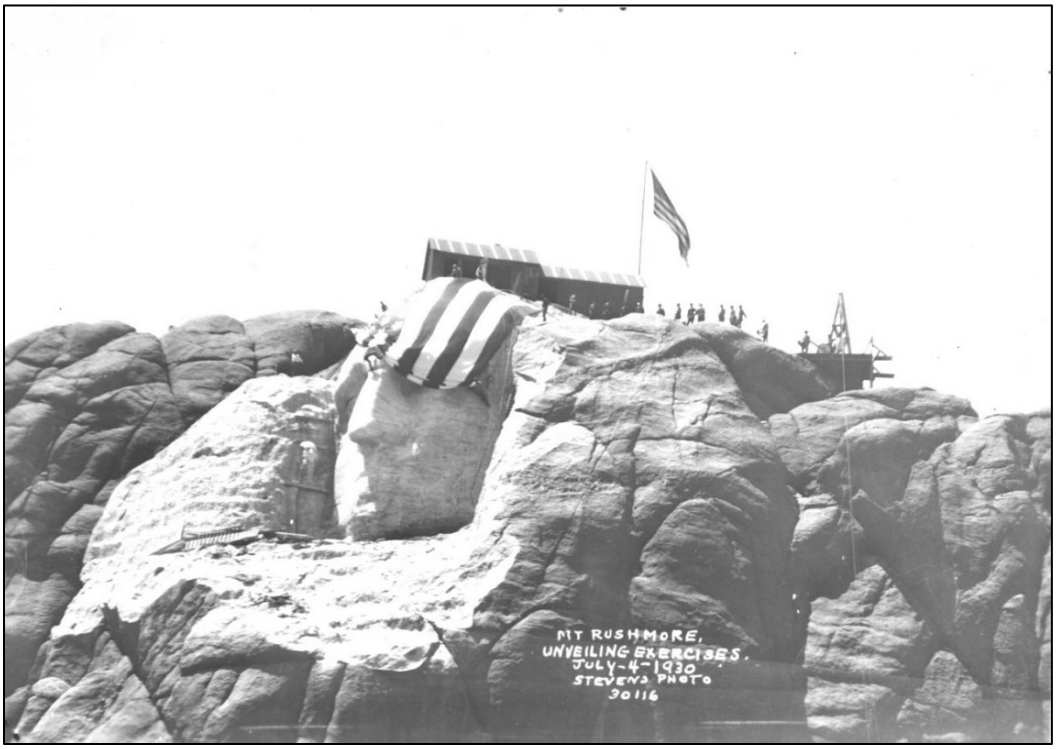


Figure 52: Washington dedication, July 4, 1930. Red Anderson, Merle Peterson, Walt Wilkerson and Jack Payne walk the flag up Washington's face. (MRNM Archives, #6144MORU)

lifting the American flag from the face of Washington. The button sounded a buzzer in the winch house on top of Washington's head. Cables holding the flag reeled it in with the help of Red Anderson, Merle Peterson, Walt Wilkerson, and Jack Payne suspended in sling chairs, holding the edges of the flag and walking it up the mountain so that the unveiling appeared smooth.[79]

Depressed, Disheartened and Determined

A whirlwind of work with double shifts and sixteen hour days preceded the July 4, 1930 Washington unveiling. The frenetic pace and preparation for the event left the Rushmore project exhausted and once again out of money. The faster pace of work in the spring and early summer had blown through the Commission's funds. Moreover, Borglum, who had earlier thought J.C. Dennison was a fine replacement for Tucker, began to feel otherwise. Dennison was a good explosives expert and engineer, but he was not an artist, not a sculptor. As the finish work on the stone got close to the final surface, Borglum worried that Dennison did not have the requisite finesse with fine and delicate stone removal. With the dedication event approaching, on May 5, 1930, Borglum concluded in a letter to Dennison, "We have now reached a point in the portraiture of the sculpture which requires the closest vigilance of the best art judgement that can be brought to bear."[80] Borglum placed Dennison in charge of construction work on the ground, and away from the plan or design of the sculpture. Dennison, who saw this as a demotion, resigned two weeks after the unveiling.[81]

Now Borglum turned to a more artistic person to serve as superintendent, and that was the chief pointer, William "Billy" Tallman. Tallman, a young sculptor, studied art in New York and had worked with Borglum on other sculptures. Borglum also brought in Hugo Villa, his assistant at Stone Mountain and in the San Antonio, Texas studio to assure that the Jefferson head was properly located and set in relation to Washington and the other proposed heads.[82]

Unfortunately, there was no money left in the Commission's account to pay for the continuation of work. On August 9, 1930, Boland wrote to Borglum in response to Borglum's letter outlining the work to be done for the rest of the season and personnel and power needs. Boland said there was only about $100 left in the account, and suggested that Borglum might want to finance the work himself, which would be about $650 a week as Borglum described it. That is exactly what Borglum did. He made an outright donation of $1,500 to the Commission, and he also purchased five $100 memberships in the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society. That created a total of $2,000, which when matched with the federal appropriation made $4,000, and that was enough to keep the project going until the Society sold additional memberships to finance the work.[83]

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[79] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 213.
[80] Borglum to Dennison, Gutzon Borglum Papers, May 5, 1930, Box 177, Folder "Mount Rushmore General, 1929-30," Library of Congress.
[81] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 215.
[82] Letter, Borglum to Villa, July 12, 1930, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum, 1931," Library of Congress.
[83] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 215.

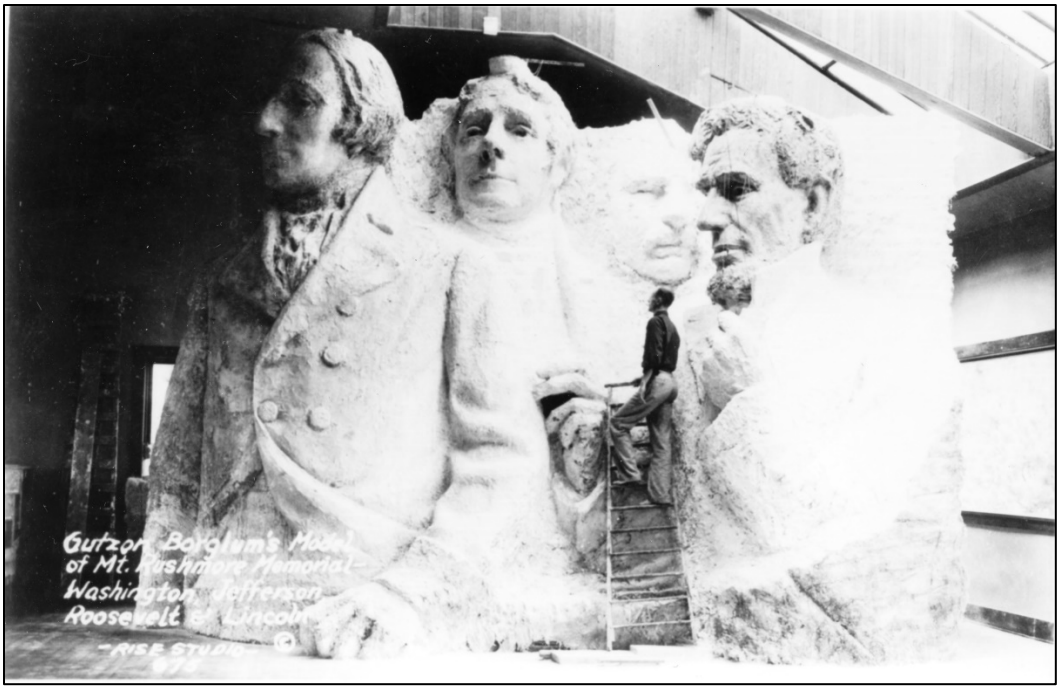


Figure 53: William Tallman working with the models in the studio (MRNM Archives, MORU 3983)

The Commission was also looking for ways to raise funds. One of them was to enlist South Dakota school children to donate dimes and quarters toward the Rushmore project. With statewide support, the program promised to provide $10,000 or more to the Commission's coffers. That did not happen, much to the dismay of the Commission. Only $1,700 accrued from the school children's funding drive. Having tried soliciting funds from wealthy Americans with only limited success, and then the school children's campaign, the Commission only had itself left to look to for solicitation of funds. Commission members grumbled that they hadn't agreed to serve on the Commission to be expected to pay for the work out of their pockets. Nevertheless, most of them stepped up, purchasing multiple memberships in the Mount Rushmore Society. That income, when matched with federal funds kept the project afloat into the 1931 season.[84]

After being pressed to donate, several commissioners resigned or lost interest, leaving the South Dakota members, William Williamson, Royal Johnson, C.M. Day, John Boland and Delose Gurney, along with Loraine Spoonts and Fred Sargent. In March, 1931, President Hoover appointed Senator Norbeck to fill a vacancy.[85]

Borglum spent the summer of 1931 in Poland for the unveiling of his statue of Woodrow Wilson and included a visit to Denmark. He left Superintendent Tallman in charge of the Rushmore project and Hugo Villa in charge of laying out the head of Thomas Jefferson. The Jefferson head, as originally designed, sat to Washington's right and set back slightly so that Washington projected forward.

When Borglum returned at the end of August, he found trouble with the Jefferson head. Either Villa removed the stone too far back, or the stone itself was defective. In either case (both versions are told), Borglum fired Villa. In addition to the problems with the

[84] Ibid, 216-219.
[85] Ibid, 219.

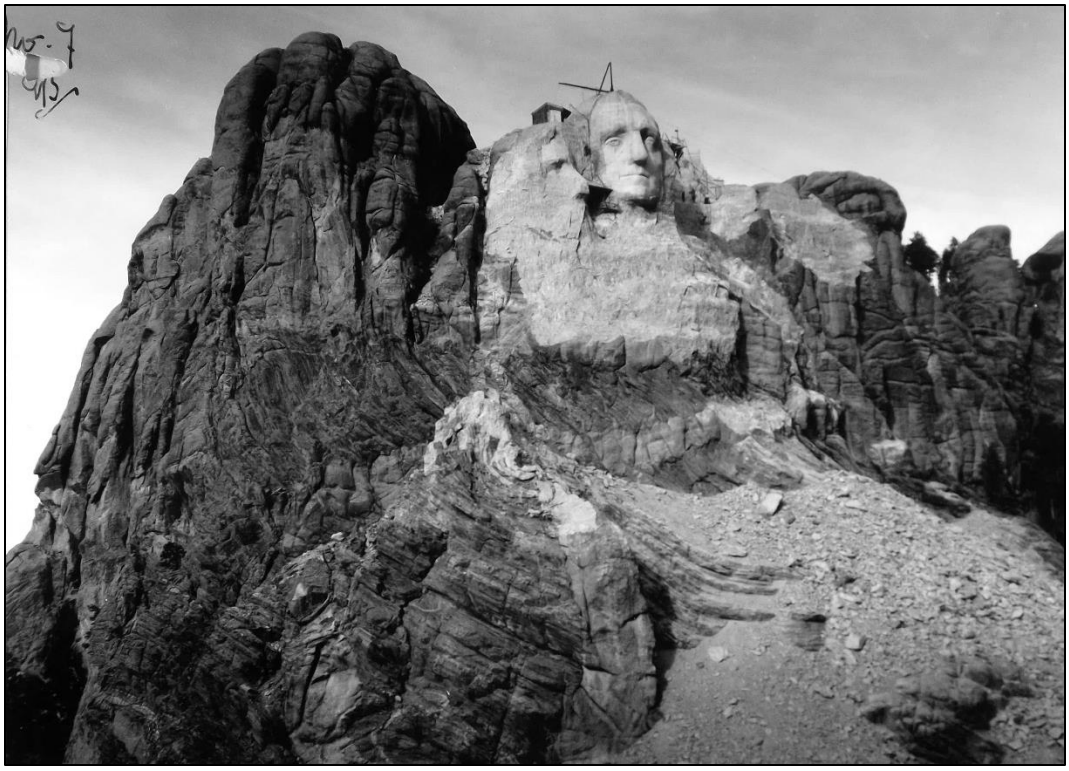


Figure 54: 1931 photograph showing the original Jefferson head location to Washington's right, and the defective partially completed Jefferson face. (Picture #7.2, Folder 503 "Mt. Rushmore Pictures," RG75, Box 2680, NARA II)

Jefferson head, Villa had a dispute with Borglum over wages, claiming that he was not receiving what he had been promised. On September 11, 1931, Borglum wrote to Boland, saying, "I have today dismissed Hugo Villa, terminating his service on Mount Rushmore, for the same reasons I have on many occasions before, been obliged to stop his work, i.e. disobedience to my instructions, carelessness, absence from work and inattention, resulting in demoralization, loss and faulty work." Borglum concluded, "I had, in consideration of Villa's long apprenticeship, planned to permit him to finish what there remains of this year's work at Mount Rushmore, under my immediate close supervision, but his disloyalty to the work in my absence, evident everywhere and conveyed to me by many of the workmen, together with a framed up plan to blackmail me into paying money on items trumped up, compels me to remove him from all connections with the work."[86] Hugo Villa returned to work Rushmore only at the end of the project in 1940 and 1941.

After the 1931 construction season the project again ran out of money, and Borglum personally ran out of money. Boland helped with a small loan from his Rapid City Implement Company, to pay off a $1,200 note with the First National Bank, plus $606.30 in a check to Borglum, on November 12, 1931.[87] On that same day, Boland sent Borglum a check from the Mount Rushmore Commission for $2,067.28 which was fifteen percent of his

[86] Letter, Borglum to Boland, September 11, 1931, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1930-1932," Library of Congress.
[87] Letter, Boland to Borglum, November 12, 1931, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 181, Folder "Borglum Honorarium, 1930-1935," Library of Congress.

claim against the Mount Harney Memorial Association for unpaid fees, and fifteen percent of the $5,000 Borglum contributed toward the settlement with Tucker.[88] There was no real funding to be had anywhere for advancement of the Rushmore project. On February 6, 1932, Borglum sent a telegram to Boland, "This is to inform you of my personal appreciation for your assistance and untiring efforts to aid in every way in your power the great work we are carrying on for the federal government at Mt Rushmore and to express my deep personal regret that I am obliged to arrange to leave and take up work elsewhere and close the work here indefinitely. It is impossible for me to remain unless I am financed to the extent at least of half the amount due."[89] In this telegram, Borglum is referring to the Mount Harney debt to him, and the advance he made for the Tucker settlement. Borglum shut down the Rushmore project and went back to his studio in San Antonio to work on a statue of William Jennings Bryan for placement in Washington D.C.[90]

When the job shut down, all of the workers were laid off. Since many of the workers were from the Keystone area, they stayed nearby, working at logging, ranching, and road construction, and some in the mines that weren't played out. One source of employment was the Iron Mountain Road which was then under construction. It went from Custer State Park to Mount Rushmore and was designed with tourism in mind, with tunnels created through rock cliffs to frame the view of Rushmore, and coiling, ramped "pigtail bridges" where the road passed over itself to gain elevation. The road was an engineering marvel that was promoted by Senator Norbeck. Horse Thief Lake Road, which led directly past the Memorial was also designed and constructed to feature stunning views of the sculpture.

Adept politician that he was, the tireless Norbeck worked to secure money from the unemployment relief fund, part of President Herbert Hoover's Emergency Relief Act. He had to use his political clout to get a substantial portion of South Dakota's share of those federal funds to be designated for Mount Rushmore. Eventually $50,000 was set aside, but restricted to provide jobs for the needy and unemployed. Since many, if not most of the laid-off Rushmore workers found other work, they were not unemployed, and thus not eligible for the Emergency Relief Act funds.

Norbeck did more. The unemployment relief fund covered wages only. There was still no money to cover materials, supplies, electricity or other job costs, including Borglum's pay, which was in the form of an honorarium, based on the percentage of project costs. Norbeck deftly managed to get matching funds for the $50,000 federal relief act money from the Rushmore federal appropriation, which was intended to match only privately generated dollars. Now with $100,000 at its disposal, the Rushmore Commission was able to pay off all of its old debts, including back fees and loan repayments to Borglum with interest.[91] Boland sent a telegram to Borglum with the news on September 23, 1932.

> Reconstruction Finance Corporation relief funds made available today to carry on work for considerable time. This can be used to pay labor only. Have made arrangements for money pay for material and your honorarium for months of September and October. Money to be available on September tenth and October tenth respectively when due. If agreeable with you I will start

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[88] Ibid.
[89] Telegram, Borglum to Boland, Gutzon Borglum Papers, February 6, 1932, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1930-32," Library of Congress.
[90] Smith, *The Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 226.
[91] Ibid, 228.

> work Monday on Road and on mountain if possible. Telegraph instructions to me to be given foreman [Arthur] Johnson and [Ivan] Houser. Advise Tallman come at once. Senator Norbeck confident can secure funds pay for material and your honorarium which with relief funds allow us work eight or ten months. He also has plans which should bring about payment of Harney debts in January or February."[92]

The same day, Norbeck sent a short telegram to Borglum, "Finally the expected federal money for unemployment is available and it is now in the bank subject to John Boland's orders."[93]

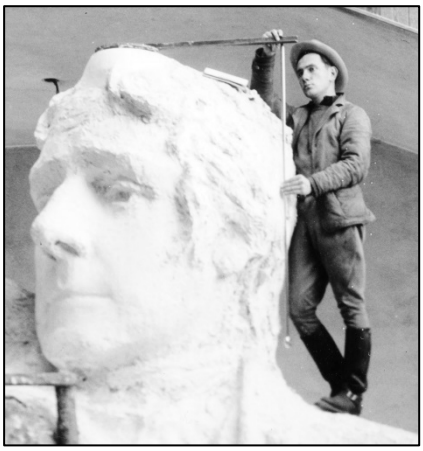


Figure 55: Young Lincoln Borglum taking measurements on the model (MRNM Archives, MORU 1381)

In November, Boland sent Borglum a check for $6,890.97 which paid the remaining debt to him from the Mount Harney Memorial Association. In December, Boland sent Borglum another check for $2,145.62 for interest on the debt.[94] Borglum's honorarium checks in the first four months of 1933 had deductions taken out to repay loans from Rapid City Implement Company and the First National Bank of Rapid City.

On April 17, 1933 Boland wrote to Borglum at his San Antonio hotel address, enclosing an advance of $175, and stating that he'd also placed $25 into Borglum's bank account for a total advance of $200. Boland also said, "I am looking forward to your arrival before May 1st. It would please me greatly if Lincoln would supervise the finishing of the face of Washington. He could take Anderson and Payne and do a fine job. With Lincoln on the job every minute of the day and with the cooperation of Tallman on his work, I feel it would be satisfactory even though you were not here for short intervals."[95]

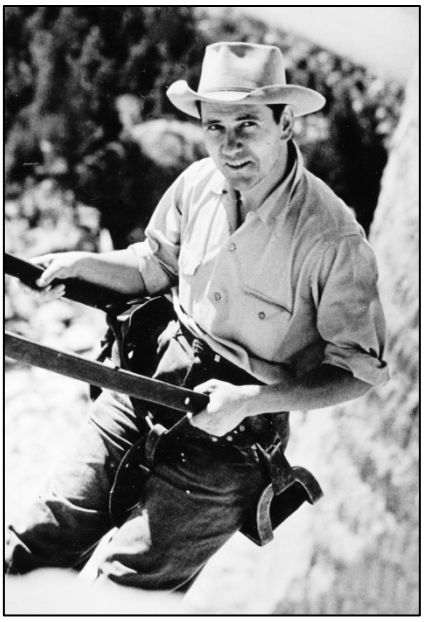


Figure 56: Lincoln Borglum on the mountain (MRNM Archives, MORU 5208)

And so, Lincoln Borglum, who had grown up around the construction of Mount Rushmore, became an official member of the workforce in the summer of 1933. He started out in a top position – pointer. But he was unpaid. Lincoln does not appear as a paid employee until 1934. With money in the bank, work picked up in 1933. Borglum sent for sculptor Luigi Del Bianco, having Mary Borglum write to him in New York, asking him to come to

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[92] Telegram, Boland to Borglum, September 23, 1932, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1931-32," Library of Congress.
[93] Telegram, Norbeck to Borglum, September 23, 1932, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1931-32," Library of Congress.
[94] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 181, Folder "Borglum Honorarium, 1930-1935," Library of Congress.
[95] Letter, Boland to Borglum, April 17, 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Rushmore General 1929-1930," Library of Congress.

the Black Hills as soon as possible.[96] Borglum was trying to make up for the lost time in 1932.

Since all of the money now used for the Rushmore project was from the federal government, Senator Norbeck worked out an arrangement that the project would be administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The Park Service took over administration of the project on June 19, 1933. The next chapter takes the project from 1933 to its completion in 1941, with the National Park Service having an increasing role in its administration.

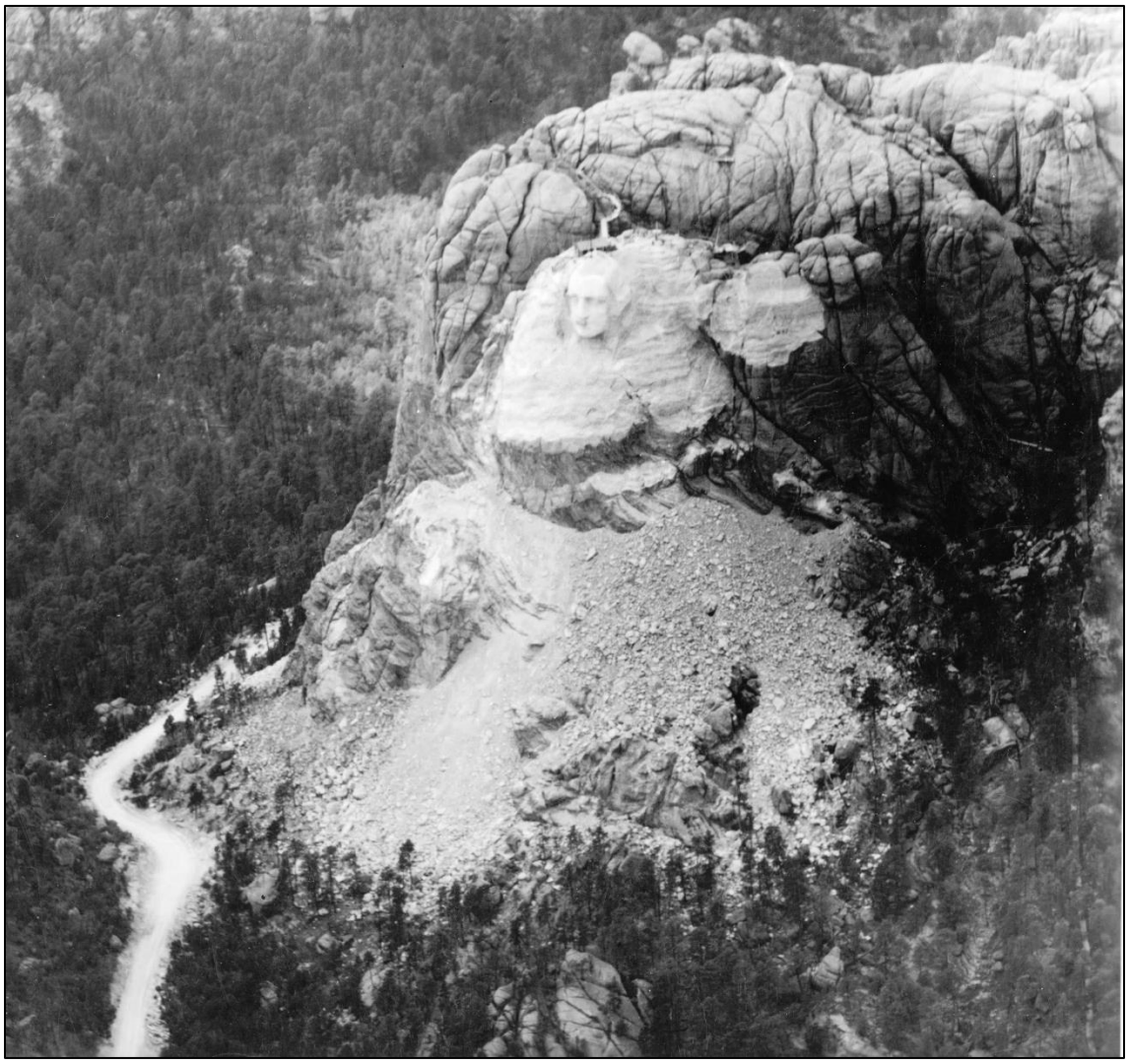


Figure 57: Early carving photograph showing the Washington head. The worker's stairway to the top of the mountain can be seen along the right in the photo (MRNM Archives, #3154MORU)

[96] Letter, Mary Borglum to Bianco, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Folder "Luigi Del Bianco, 1941," Library of Congress.

Chapter 6

The Rushmore Story, 1933-1941

At first Borglum was pleased with the National Park Service involvement in the Rushmore project, because he was becoming annoyed with what he felt was John Boland's interference with his work by not approving funding for additional men and equipment. The issue of the power plant that Borglum had been given by Samuel Insull returned, along with Borglum's belief that Boland was purchasing power from Keystone Consolidated Mines to help out his friend Harold Eyrich. Borglum believed that the donated power plant could be repaired and reused. Boland felt that the cost of repair was more than the cost of purchased power. As the summer of 1933 progressed, Borglum's and Boland's relationship deteriorated. The situation became so difficult that Senator Norbeck stepped in, meeting in Borglum's studio on September 13, 1933, along with former Congressman William Williamson (now a practicing attorney in Rapid City), and Boland, in an effort to smooth out Borglum's grievances.

The next day, Borglum wrote a five-page letter to Norbeck. The letter begins,

> I wish there was some way the hour you spent in my studio yesterday with Williamson and Boland could be rubbed out and your unjust attack and expressed misunderstanding and un-appreciation of actual conditions, actual accomplishment and real responsibility had never been expressed. I have to stand the indifference, the crude inability of other commissioners, avoiding the business of the work they don't and can't understand, for which you and I have sacrificed so much to accomplish, all of it accomplished in spite of their indifference. Your utterly unwarranted attack on me was a note unfortunate for all and unfortunate for the spirit of the work. You have hurt unjustly a friendship this work will fail without!

Borglum proceeded to lay out his side of the story,

> Please note these briefest facts about Rushmore. When we began I was whittled down to the barest remuneration for my work and that was estimated on the basis of one figure a year or an expenditure of $100,000. That first agreement was made with you and Myrick, which agreement stands today. I had, you must remember, to sacrifice $2,500 a year from my allowance to meet Tucker's needs, or demands, to bring him here. Tucker knew his job; in my hands he could handle big stone work and construction as I had developed it and – very necessary – he had learned to carry on without a bank balance. Until he got <u>here</u> his life and service had been clean, loyal, incorruptible. "In all sculpture work 35% of all cost is necessary to safely carry the sculptor's load." I voluntarily cut mine to 25% and gave the difference to Tucker to get him here, because by so doing I knew what I could do, how [to] regulate each part and feel safe and certain that the work would go as planned, as it had in years past…

> Tucker fell under rotten influences here in South Dakota, largely because you did not provide funds to begin the work. He fell, in other words, to the plotting of other idle hands. He had to go. His going carried our power plant with him. I loaned the commission $5,000 to help pay him off – the man on whom I had planned my work. My power plant which I secured from the Insulls, planned to take care of thirty drills, and forge, also gone!! Not even a gesture was made or a desire in the commission expressed to nail the culprits or even investigate the rottenness that was determined to bleed us to death or wreck us. Instead we meekly bought power from the racketeers involved with Tucker in his escapades, and we buy their power and are wholly at their mercy today…

Borglum continued, noting that when Tucker left he took over direct charge of construction and was saving the commission the cost of Tucker's $10,000 per year salary, and he had loaned the commission $5,000 toward the Tucker settlement, plus gave the commission $2,000 to continue the work for a month after Tucker left. This donation actually happened in 1930, a year later.

Borglum went on in his letter saying that he went entirely without pay for himself for two years. This would have been 1928-29 and 1931-32 when the project was shut down and Borglum left to pursue other work. Then, Borglum wrote, "Dennison went to the bad." Borglum charged him with disloyalty in the presence of Boland and Eyrick, while they were trying to force Borglum into a twenty-year contract for power from Keystone Consolidated Mines. Borglum recalled that his power plant was capable of running thirty drills and it had also run power for the mine for three months and twenty-one days, while the mine's engine was installed. Borglum then got to his other central issue – the unskilled workforce.

> …I had lost completely the organization I had built up, the power plant given me wrecked, the men on the mountain only Keystone miners, not a carver or man who knew granite from limestone in its carvable qualities, on the job, [emphasis Borglum's] and only one now besides myself. There never was an undertaking of such magnitude even begun with handicaps such as I had to use and continue to work with – neither tools, power or trained men…
>
> I have complained from the beginning that I need men who understand my language, men who understand granite sculpture. I have one now, Bianco; when I engaged him Tallman immediately told me "Mr. Boland would not like that; he wants all local men employed." This is a fixed policy here and very hurtful to the work from the start.

Borglum continued the letter for another two pages recounting all that he'd done in the last four years "in spite of conditions." He complained about the number of tourists who visited his studio and interrupted his work. There was no place for visitors to go. He concluded, "With all good feeling towards you and appreciation of your great qualities as citizen and official, feelings I shall always cherish, but with sorrow and regret that your associates haven't the remotest conception nor interest in the sacrifice I have had to make – make constantly – to be here, to leave a really great world to work in your park."[1]

[1] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, September 14, 1933, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 164, Folder 4, USD.

Considering the anger expressed in Borglum's letter, Norbeck's response on September 21, 1933 was a politician's. "I should not get tempery when I speak to people, even in argument. I will apologize when I see you. I have committed many of these sins since my nervous breakdown." Norbeck went on to say that much of Borglum's letter reminded him of the story of the blind men and the elephant. Norbeck then addressed Borglum's points, saying that he, Norbeck, had been misinformed. He thought Borglum had selected all of the men in charge of the work. Norbeck had selected none. He realized that the crowd of tourists in the studio interfered with Borglum's work, but that it was Borglum's arrangement to have them there.

Norbeck said that it was his understanding that all of the members of the Commission with the exception of the South Dakota members were Borglum's recommendations, and that he had approved the South Dakota members. Norbeck related that he thought that for six years the machinery on the mountain was sufficient and satisfactory for the work to progress. Norbeck acknowledged that Borglum had raised money and that he donated money, and has carried a burden. He explained the difference between authorization and appropriation of funds, that all funds must be matched, and that one of the funds is for labor only.

> Really, I think there is only one important difference in the viewpoint between you and me. I have never believed, and I do not believe now, that you can do everything at Rushmore – both be the Board and the sculptor. It has been drifting that way. There is room for difference of opinion as to what has brought it about, but I think one of the causes has been a feeling has developed "let Borglum do it." I am trying to put a stop to that. I do not believe Rushmore will ever be completed unless the Board members do their part. The Sculptor cannot do it all.[2]

Norbeck said he was trying as hard as ever to get more money for Rushmore, but he needed answers to questions that might be asked of him. What is the status of the work? What percentage is completed? What remains to be finished? What will it cost? How many man-hours to complete the work? Norbeck concluded with a little personal financial advice for Borglum based on his own experience, such as turning property over to creditors before foreclosure, and that financial institutions also were short of money and might accept refinancing at lower rates. Norbeck was aware of Borglum's unpaid mortgage on his South Dakota ranch.[3]

On September 27, 1933 Borglum replied. "Thank you for your appreciative and understanding reply to my letter. I cannot let you apologize to me; I do not blame you – I do blame others." Borglum went on to restate the cost of the project to himself, the opposition to releasing funds for the work and the loss of his power plant. "I found four drillers at work – four miners 'carving' a great memorial. …we are working to the limit of our curtailed capacity." Borglum said he was trying to emphasize the utter futility of making promises of accomplishment with the questionable allotment of power, time, men and money. Borglum then answered Norbeck's questions about the status of the work on the monument. He reported that his models for the granite sculptures of Washington, Lincoln, and Jefferson

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[2] Letter, Norbeck to Borglum, September 21, 1933, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 164, Folder 4, USD.

[3] Letter, Norbeck to Borglum, September 21, 1933, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 164, Folder 4, USD.

were completed. He'd had to reconstruct them seven times to fit the conditions in the stone on the mountain. He had the Roosevelt model finished in his San Antonio studio, but he wasn't ready to use it until the stone where the sculpture was to be placed was tested further. He noted that he had decided to abandon the Jefferson head that had been started to Washington's right, and move it to a new location to his left. Removal of stone was about seventy percent complete and finishing about thirty-five percent complete.[4]

Shortly after this Borglum left for Washington D.C. and was staying at his usual quarters when in the Capitol, the Metropolitan Club. Superintendent Tallman sent him a letter there on November 14, 1933 with an update on the activity at Rushmore. "The work has been going very well," he said. "We have lost only five hours since you left, and that was because of high wind."

> Bianco is planning to leave today. Lincoln and I have both tried to persuade him to wait until you return, but he thinks there is work he can get in the east which he doesn't want to take a chance of losing. I hope that he will come back next year. He said that he would if he could get more money.[5]

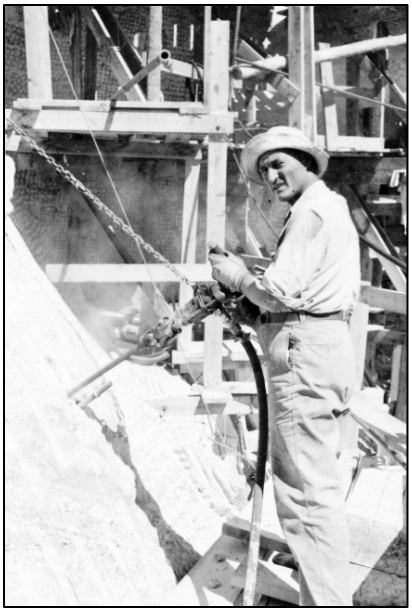


Figure 58: Luigi del Bianco (MRNM Archives, MORU 2981)

Tallman's Daily Record of work on the mountain shows that Bianco had worked on November 13 for eight hours on Jefferson. On the November 16th record sheet George Rumple had replaced him.

On November 20, 1933, Borglum wrote to Fred Sargent, Chairman of the Mount Rushmore Commission with an update on the progress of the work. "Briefly, we are in excellent shape. The general efficiency of the organization as of this moment is all that could be wished for, with an increase of pipe dimensions and a little more power and drills we can consider ourselves on a 100% basis for the work we have at this moment in hand."

However, despite the positive statement at the beginning of the letter, Borglum lays out the problems with the operation. "The failure to have funds to be able to start our work on definite dates and give all of our time and all of our attention to the work in hand has been expensive and embarrassing to me and not helpful to the work itself."

"To date, much of this great undertaking has been uncertain in every aspect, as to time when we could work, the power we had available and the ability available that we could direct on the work itself, and the condition of the stone in place." Borglum continues, "On the other hand, the work as a whole has gone, as I view it 100% to the good, and I am quite prepared to meet the country on that."

> We have an excellent working personnel, which if we hold together nothing can hurt our work, fine spirit, pride in the work and ample portion of

[4] Letter, Borglum to Norbeck, September 27, 1933, Richardson Collection, Norbeck Papers, Box 164, Folder 4, USD.

[5] Letter, Tallman to Borglum, November 14, 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Mt. Rushmore, General, 1929-1930," Library of Congress.

> our men drilled and trained in 3 or 4 years' experience in what we are doing. With new compressors and more power, we can be able to carry our work through to the end. To do this, I want 14 drills available constantly. I want for next year, 3 trained granite men like Bianco, who has been with us this summer. The rest of the staff is complete. We shall only need to add assistants for labor…
>
> …My plan for next year [1934], predicated of course upon having a full working force as indicated above, will be to finish the Jefferson head, to clear the stone entirely away from Washington's figure and complete the head of Lincoln.[6]

Despite the overall positive tone of Borglum's November 20, 1933 letter to the Commission, he was still very irritated by what he felt was the Commission's interference with his work. The conflict with two sets of orders, one from the Commission through Boland, and one from Borglum caused problems for Tallman. Boland explained to Tallman when to follow Borglum's instructions and when to follow Boland's. Borglum began to believe that Tallman was being disloyal.[7] To avoid what he thought were the Commission's roadblocks, Borglum began ordering equipment and supplies, and hiring personnel directly.

On May 7, 1934, Borglum wrote to Tallman concerning the conflict, "I have just written to Mr. Boland that no work shall be begun on the Memorial until I have received notice from Mr. Boland that funds are available for five months vigorous work, with a full force." Borglum was alluding to his request to the Commission for three trained granite men, plus additional power and equipment. "I have also notified Mr. Boland that no one must interfere with my orders – cause any delays or in any way meddle with the management or direction of this work." Here Borglum is clearly noting his challenge to Boland's/the Commission's interference with his work plan.

> Interference with my orders has been the sole reason for my disagreement and disappointment with you, and that interference has been very harmful to our work. If that is not stopped I shall have to remove you entirely from Mt. Rushmore and to offer you work at Stone Mountain. I like you, as you know, but you have been handicapped by interference and dual orders that can not continue.
>
> I shall in future give you instructions as to who we shall hire.
>
> You will give me a list of recommendations for the various jobs and their pay, etc. and I will confirm or <u>propose changes</u>.[8]

To this letter, Borglum added a handwritten post script, "Receive <u>for me</u> any shipments and put them in the small study." This probably refers to Borglum's ordering supplies and equipment directly without going through Boland and the Commission for approval.

At its June 25, 1934 meeting the Executive Committee of the Commission dealt with the "Borglum problem." The Committee adopted a resolution, which stated that "the

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[6] Letter, Borglum to Sargent, November 20, 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Mt. Rushmore, General, 1929-1930," Library of Congress.

[7] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 296-298.

[8] Letter, Borglum to Tallman, May, 7, 1934, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1933-34," Library of Congress.

Commission will not assume responsibility nor be held liable for, any bill or obligation contracted for materials, supplies, labor, or otherwise, unless such materials, supplies, and labor have first been requisitioned from and approved by the Executive Committee; and that all purchases of materials shall hereafter be made by said committee, so that said Executive Committee may know definitely that all expenditures made are within the terms of a certain letter dated May 24, 1934 addressed and mailed to Louis W. Douglas, Director of the Budget, and signed by Senator Peter Norbeck, Gutzon Borglum, sculptor, and John A. Boland, Chairman of the Executive Committee."[9] The Committee further directed that Borglum would not establish any change in the scale of wages, provide for any increase in the payroll without first submitting a proposal to the Executive Committee. The Commission also put Lincoln Borglum on the payroll at $1.00 per hour. He had been working without pay from the Commission since 1933.[10]

As might be expected, Borglum was terribly upset by the Executive Committee's actions and sent them a memo, to which the Executive Committee responded in a letter on July 28, 1934, that John Boland and William Williamson as Chairman and Secretary signed. The letter had an attached wage scale it approved based on the one that Borglum submitted and one furnished by the Homestake Mining Company. The new wages were to be effective July 27, 1934. The letter reaffirmed the resolutions about wages and purchase of equipment without the approval of the Executive Committee, adding, "furthermore, the committee wishes to avoid the possibility of the Sculptor being accused of raising wages or employing unnecessary men for the purpose of increasing his honorarium."[11]

In his anger over the situation Borglum ramped up his attacks on Boland, this time to writing letters about Boland's and other Commission Members' insensitivity to government officials and friends in Washington. Meanwhile, Boland and William Williamson along with attorney George Philip were working in Rapid City to prevent Borglum's mortgage holders from evicting him from his ranch.[12] Boland was a director of the First National Bank of Rapid City which held the mortgage on Borglum's ranch. Despite a plea from Norbeck to avoid disharmony with Boland and the Commission, Borglum made it his goal to get rid of Boland and ultimately the Commission.

Yet, 1934 was a very productive year for the monument's construction. The Washington face was refined, including his lapel and shoulder, and Jefferson took shape in his new location to Washington's left. As work on the new Jefferson progressed, Borglum had the shadowy figure of the first Jefferson blasted away, which created an opening behind Washington's head, making him appear more singular and forward from the others.

Borglum proposed for 1935 to finish the Washington head, refining the coat and shoulders, eyes, lower face and wig. He planned to have the Jefferson head finished, the entablature prepared and Lincoln's head roughed with some finishing. He requested two professional stone carvers, six Class A drillers and sixteen Class B drillers.[13] He also

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[9] Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the MRNMC," Library of Congress.
[10] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1933-34," Library of Congress.
[11] Letter, Executive Committee to Borglum, July 28, 1934, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1933-34," Library of Congress.
[12] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 300.
[13] Report to Commission, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 103, Folder "Rushmore 1935," Library of Congress.

proposed to run two shifts and requested a hoist to carry men to and from the top of the mountain.

Borglum Looks for Help from the Treasury Department

Frustrated with what he believed to be interference and obstruction with his work, and what he viewed as petty local politics, Borglum began to look for other avenues to fund and administer the Rushmore project. His friend, Herman Oliphant was General Council to the U.S. Treasury Department. After conversations with Oliphant, on March 29, 1935, Borglum wrote to Edward Bruce, Esq., Procurement Department of the Treasury, laying out his concerns about Rushmore and his plans for completion of the work. His views expressed in the letter were different from the facts. "I did not wish to undertake the work when it was first proposed to me." He said that he consented to take on the project on the condition that he could have his old foreman from Stone Mountain [Tucker] on the job. "Unfortunately the Resident Commissioner, an implement dealer and local politician [Boland], quarreled with him almost immediately over the patronage, that is, who we should hire to do the work." Borglum wrote that the quarrel became so serious that Tucker resigned, and that Borglum had to establish a studio and residence in the Black Hills to take on Tucker's duties with no increase in compensation.

Borglum continued his three page letter to Bruce with his view of the background of the Rushmore problem. "First there is a definite local desire to delay and drag out the work indefinitely, for the purpose of publicity to the local town." Second, he cited the power plant issue, that his Diesel engine was deliberately damaged so that Rushmore would buy power from the local mine. "I rebelled definitely against this a year ago and succeeded by various arrangements to obtain more power to increase our force to 12 drills, and last year to 17." Third, Borglum wrote, "we have no trained aides or assistants as originally provided and are indispensable, and as the work progresses nearing completion, passing the blocking stage, finished stone cutters on the work to the extent of three to half a dozen, are imperative."

Borglum then listed the categories of workers and their wage rates as he proposed them. The stone carvers and the master pointer were the highest, at $12.00 a day. Borglum suggested to Bruce that he help with the financing for procurement and set up of an additional engine to produce power to run an expanded year around crew.[14]

Apparently Borglum hired the 1935 season crew based on the wages he proposed. The Commission, however, was not paying those rates. On July 29, 1935 Luigi del Bianco wrote to Borglum (in Italian), "It has already been seven weeks that I have been working on the National Memorial for $6.00 a day. You promised me $12.00 a day, so if you want me to continue to work for you, you will have to pay me $12.00 a day, otherwise on the first of August I shall be obliged to stop my work, which will cause me great regret, after all the years I have worked for you."[15] Borglum was doing things one way and the Commission another. The conflict between the two deepened. In a letter to Boland on July 31, 1935, Borglum exploded about the labor situation,

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[14] Letter, Borglum to Bruce, March 29, 1935, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 165, Folder "Ed Bruce," Library of Congress.

[15] Letter, Bianco to Borglum, July 29, 1935, Translation, Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder, Borglum, 1935, Library of Congress.

I have just received a note from Bianco, resigning tonight. I called Billy [Tallman], Bianco and Lincoln together and discussed the situation. This quitting revives the old policy of "penny wisdom and pound foolishness" that has threatened the wreck of the Black Hills mountain sculpture from the beginning. No work I have ever been in charge of has been subject to such petty economies or, in the aggregate so wasteful and expensive. And I must tell you that this wasteful amateurish practice of trying to create a great National Memorial to America in sculptured granite in a pile of largely decayed, ancient cracked up rock is not a child's undertaking and if I am not permitted to employ even a few trained stone men and carvers for the finishing of the features of these great men, their features will not be finished.

In the absence of a highly trained competent executive who knows sculpture, I yesterday posted an order, dividing the responsibility of the work under the two or three trained minds that I have on the mountain, placing the removal of all granite, methods of removal, form and use of tools, under Bianco; all measurements of every kind whatsoever and the full responsibility of any faults in measurements not provided to drillers on Lincoln. Handling the work preparing the scaffolds, providing tools, under [Arthur] Johnson. Billy to remain as general aid to all and special assistant to Lincoln, he asked for that. I am sure that you cannot realize the seriousness, the exactness necessary in every phase of this work, the constant vigilance required in the removing of stone, the protection of the stone that is not to be removed from any form of injury, the nature and the character of the use of powder and how every blast is a form of carving and must be considered as a separate and individual operation. I say, you cannot possibly know these things, no man can unless he has had long experience and great intelligence. Billy doesn't know it; Johnson doesn't know it; Red [Anderson] the powder man doesn't know it. Lincoln has stopped two blasts that would have wrecked a serious portion of our work, approved by two men in authority there, who should years ago have known better. I have given orders that no powder shall be used or shots fired that are not approved by both Bianco and Lincoln.

I don't know what we are ever going to do about ever finishing the work without trained carvers. We have got three first class assistants there now that can work right along with carvers and four more who make very fine seconds to the first three, but this work cannot go along in this manner. I have worked under a contract that was conceived in bad faith, dishonest in its draft, and dishonest in its administration. I knew that of course, but frankly I never looked at it for three years, had to ask you for a copy of the contract. When Tucker was obliged to leave I accepted the trap I had been caught in and I have worked out of it alone at chiefly my own personal expense and labor as best I could, with the worst tools ever given a man, without aid and without funds.

I have no intention of abandoning Rushmore nor failing in the trust of the nation and Washington has in me. That is one thing that will not happen. On the other hand I am not going to carry this work on to an injurious and amateurish finish for the lack of intelligent assistants.

> As far as I am concerned, I shall let Bianco go. I am not going to make up his wages, nor the wages of anybody else. I have spent the last money that I shall spend, running into many, many thousands, for the sole purpose of lifting a standard here, a burden I should never have had to carry and cannot continue.
>
> His leaving will stop all work on the features of Washington and Jefferson.[16]

In this letter to Boland, Borglum makes his position and his frustration very clear. He had been making the same argument since almost the beginning of the project. Also in this letter he indicates that he posted an order assigning duties to Lincoln, Bianco, Johnson and Tallman. Tallman's role was reduced from Superintendent to an assistant to Lincoln, Bianco and Johnson.

Tallman, unhappy with the demotion, resigned at the end of the year. Borglum felt that Tallman was disloyal because he had grown too close to Boland and the Commission. Borglum also gave Bianco the title of Chief Carver. This time the Commission acted and approved the raise to Bianco to $1.50 per hour, which amounts to $12.00 a day that he had been promised. According to Mount Rushmore National Memorial payroll records, Bianco continued to work through November of 1935.

Norbeck Gets Federal Funding at the Depth of the Depression

In addition to the dispute over hiring and purchases, Mount Rushmore was undergoing its customary need for funding. Once again, Senator Norbeck got a funding bill passed for Rushmore in the height of the Depression. Senate Bill 3204, an act to provide funds for the completion of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, authorized an appropriation of $200,000. It was approved August 29, 1935. The Commission was authorized to enter into contracts with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.[17]

Borglum had also been working on a separate funding bill with Congress, one that targeted the Commission and the National Park Service. Borglum's version would have placed the Treasury Department as the government agency in charge of the project. Norbeck persuaded him to drop his efforts as members of Congress were becoming confused about which bill was which.[18]

With Norbeck's appropriation in place, work pressed on exceedingly well for the remainder of the season. On December 19, 1935, Borglum gave an upbeat progress report to the Commission. "I have to report that our work in cutting back to locate suitable stone and a position for Jefferson was successful and the face is substantially finished." He also reported that they had located the head of Lincoln and that it had been blocked in. Roosevelt's spot had not been determined yet, but there appeared to be good stone between Lincoln and Jefferson, as originally planned. He laid out plans for 1936, which included refining and completing the Washington face, hair and coat, to finish the sides of Jefferson's face and collar and to finish the Lincoln face and locate Roosevelt's. To accomplish all of the

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[16] Letter, Borglum to Boland, July 31, 1935, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "1935-36," Library of Congress.
[17] Senate Bill 3204, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Legislation, 1927-1940," Library of Congress.
[18] Smith, C*arving of Mount Rushmore*, 303.

proposed work, Borglum announced that the work force would have to be doubled, air compressors doubled and a hoist provided to take the men to and from the mountain top. Since the beginning of the project, the men had climbed the wooden stairway to the top of the mountain and trekked back down again each day. Then Borglum concluded with his often



Figure 59: Construction on the Jefferson head (Picture #19.2, Folder 503 "Mt. Rushmore Pictures," RG75, Box 2680, NARA II)

repeated complaint, "You can't do this work without highly trained men, experienced in this work and we haven't got them and the Black Hills are not a market for skilled craftsmen [emphasis Borglum's] of any kind."[19]

Shortly before this, on December 4, 1935, Tallman, disgruntled with his demotion, resigned, noting in his letter of resignation that Borglum was in opposition to Boland and to the entire Commission, and that he accused Tallman of being so friendly with Boland that Borglum could not trust him. Tallman wrote, "I have at all times carried out his orders to the best of my ability even though I might not agree with his judgement in issuing them. I cannot deny my friendship with Mr. Boland because during my association with him he has been most helpful and just to me, and has, to the best of my knowledge, done all in his power to co-operate with Mr. Borglum and further the work on Mt. Rushmore…I feel that as Mt. Rushmore National Memorial Commission is charged by act of the Unites States Congress

[19] Progress Report, December 19, 1935, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 103, Folder "Rushmore, 1935," Library of Congress.

with the duty of completing the Memorial, they and Mr. Borglum should work more in accord."[20]

Resident Engineer Julian Spotts Arrives

Eventually in June of 1936, National Park Service Superintendent of Memorials, John L. Nagle sent a "resident engineer," Julian Spotts, to oversee the project. Borglum wanted someone who would handle administrative duties for the project, while Boland wanted a strong superintendent to stand between Borglum and the Commission. Representing the National Park Service, Spotts had to follow NPS protocols for hiring, firing and administration. Spotts' job description made it clear that he was not to interfere with Borglum's artistic work. "It is desired that Mr. Borglum be afforded the widest latitude for the play of his genius and artistic talent; and that he be freed of all routine and administrative worries. Will you therefore kindly arrange your methods and efforts so that Mr. Borglum's creative energy may be given fullest sway."[21]

Spotts wasn't there long before conflicts arose with Borglum. Spotts' style and direction of project management was much different from that of his predecessors. On July 15, 1936, Spotts wrote to Borglum,

> In all matters of policy, in order to avoid misunderstanding, I am under strict instructions from the National Park Service to record such matters in memorandum form.
>
> You recall at an early discussion concerning employees that you were assured that all persons employed in connection with the carving work would be subject to your approval. That policy will continue in the future. It was further decided that all available men on the existing rolls would be put to work immediately and others would be hired as the occasion demanded. As the work progressed, I conferred with the foreman and your son, Lincoln, and requested that the need for additional men and the men contemplated for the positions with their qualifications be communicated to me before such men were actually employed. This policy has not been followed.
>
> It further appears that men have been hired for a period of one day only. This requires the signing and filing of a service card on one day and a separation from the Service on the following, a matter which is contrary to the policy of the National Park Service.
>
> I was informed, yesterday, by an employee that he was laid off or dismissed and another person hired in his place. I will have to explain to the National Park Service why this man was laid off or dismissed, but, as yet, no reason for such action has been communicated to me. It appears that such information should not have come to me from the employee but from yourself. It is the desire of the National Park Service that qualified men be

[20] Tallman Letter, December 4, 1935, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "NPS files," Library of Congress.

[21] Nagle to Spotts, April 14, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "Interior Department," Library of Congress.

> employed and that care be exercised in their selection so that separations from the Service will not be necessary.
>
> From a careful study and observation of the power available for the various operations, it appears that under existing conditions the employment, in so far as numbers are concerned, is at the peak of efficiency, and that any increase in personnel will only be detrimental to the Service. It is urgently requested that in the future you confer with me in regard to your need for men before such men are actually employed, otherwise such contracts for hire will not be binding upon the National Park Service.
>
> I wish to assure you that it is not the policy of the National Park Service to place employees under your supervision who do not meet with your approval, and to state further that this entire matter is presented to you with the kindest regards and the friendliest feeling.[22]

This letter certainly would have annoyed Borglum who preferred doing things his way without interference from the Commission, and now the National Park Service. However, on August 27, 1936, Borglum wrote to Spotts recommending five drillers for a raise (Vranach [Vranich], Medill, Champion, Oak, "Happy" Anderson). He also requested a raise for a general laborer, Jurcoh. It seems that he was complying with the required notification.

On August 1, 1936, Borglum wrote to Governor Tom Berry of South Dakota. One of his concerns in the seven page letter was the "growing pocket condition of the Commission and its complete conversion into a petty political machine." He continued. "I have resisted the Boland-Norbeck politics as regards Rushmore with which I am entrusted by the National Congress from the beginning, and have had bitter disagreements and still disagree for the policy prevailing and lagging politically controlled methods." Apparently Borglum was referring to the federal dollars flowing into the project and National Park Service administration, which happened because in his view, the Commission refused to find private funding to match the original $250,000 appropriation. "The Commission, as a whole, have done nothing for the memorial from the beginning."

Borglum claimed, "It shocked Washington to learn that I had carried on the work for these years with a handful of local miners and interference with whom I should hire. I have used more than 90% of local labor, and shall continue to do so, but of trained assistance I have secured only after battle and annoying delays." He urged Governor Berry to break the "political monopoly of the Commission" and that the representation of South Dakota on the Commission at least be non-partisan and that "scholars informed and intelligent rather than local politicians" should form the Dakota quota. This demand is clearly aimed at removing Boland from the Commission.[23]

An angry Borglum wrote to Boland on August 17, 1936, because the Commission had not provided the manpower and compressor power that Borglum had requested at the end of 1935. "The purchase of the portable compressor in the face of my recommendations to the Rushmore Commission at its last meeting in December, 1935 is a definite prevention, with its limited and incompetent power, to the fulfillment of my promise to Congress to complete the sculpture works this fiscal year…" [emphasis his] Borglum went on to say that he was

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[22] Letter, Spotts to Borglum, July 15, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "Interior Dept. Spotts-Borglum Correspondence," Library of Congress.

[23] Letter, Borglum to Berry, August 1, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Roads to Rushmore, 1936," Library of Congress.

demanding another portable compressor to run six new drills. He was under the gun to complete the work but felt that he did not have the power or work force to do it. "I want three additional stone carvers immediately and I don't mean next month or in November – I MEAN NOW. I will leave here, take my car, find them and bring them back." At this point, Borglum was operating with only one stone carver, Bianco. "If I am not supported in this immediately, I shall make a report direct to the President and to the Department of the Interior, and of course, I shall send a copy of that report to our Chairman and every other member of the Commission; and, I shall personally, in Congress, oppose any further appropriations to the work as today conducted."[24]

Jefferson Dedication

Amid all of the bickering over protocols and money, the Jefferson head was completed and its dedication took place on August 30, 1936. In the middle of the unusually hot summer, the Jefferson unveiling, Rushmore's fourth, was scheduled at noon on a Sunday. The date was chosen because President Roosevelt was in the Black Hills area and would be present. Borglum chose noon, because at that hour the sun would be just right on Jefferson's face. Unfortunately Borglum's schedule did not coincide with the President's. The event got started at 2:30 when the president arrived. Roosevelt did not plan to speak, but from the podium, Borglum prevailed upon him to make the dedication, "I want you, Mr. President, to dedicate this memorial as a Shrine to Democracy; to call upon the people of the earth for one hundred thousand years to come to read the thought and to seek what manner of men struggled here to establish self-determined government in the western world."[25]

Roosevelt said a few words from his car that was parked in front of the viewing stand. Part of his brief address recognized the importance of the work, "On many occasions when a new project is presented to you on paper and then, later on, you see the accomplishment, you are disappointed; but this is just the opposite of that in what we are looking at now. I had seen the photographs; I had seen the drawings and I had talked with those who are responsible for this great work, and yet I had no conception until about ten minutes ago not only of its magnitude but of its permanent beauty and of its permanent importance."[26]

Doane Robinson also spoke at the dedication. Addressing his remarks to the President, he began, "My heart has been much involved in the Rushmore National Memorial since its inception, with absorbing interest I have watched its progress year by year, - years prolonged by the difficulties incident to its financing and I have marveled at the patience and perseverance of our artist-engineer who through heart breaking delay, bitter disappointments, thoughtless criticism and almost insuperable obstacles has kept courageously to his ideals."[27] Robinson, despite the loss of his official role in the project, and the early conflicts with Borglum was still very much on top of the project, and still very much in support of Borglum.

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[24] Borglum to Boland, August 17, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1935-36," Library of Congress.
[25] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1936," Library of Congress.
[26] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1936," Library of Congress.
[27] Ibid.

In attendance in the front row of the reviewing stand, and appearing in a photograph of Roosevelt in his car with the viewing stand in the background, is Senator Norbeck, near the end of his life, ravaged with tongue and jaw cancer, no longer able to speak. He had a white cloth wrapped around his neck and had grown a beard. **(Figure 60)** This was his last trip to Rushmore. Senator Peter Norbeck died on December 20, 1936.[28]



Figure 60: President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Jefferson dedication, August 30, 1936. An ailing Senator Norbeck sits in the first row of spectators at right. (MRNM Archives, #5399MORU)



Figure 61: Jefferson dedication, August 30, 1936. Borglum explains the work to President Roosevelt and South Dakota Governor Tom Berry. (MRNM Archives, #4357MORU)

[28] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 311-312.

The Borglum-Boland Battle Continues and Battle Begins with Spotts

On September 9, 1936, Boland wrote to Borglum announcing pay raises that Borglum had requested for Lincoln Borglum (Chief Pointer), James LaRue (Assistant Pointer), Jefferson Greer (Senior Pointer), Howard Peterson (Tool Sharpener) and John Nickels (Repairman). In the same letter, Boland noted that Lincoln had paid $250.00 to him as repayment for amounts that Gutzon Borglum borrowed from Boland on June 30 and July 17, 1936.[29]

The work on Rushmore continued through the searing heat of the summer of 1936 into the fall, stopping on October 30. It turned out to be one of the most productive years for the monument. Spotts, an engineer, had been able to fix air leaks in the compressor system, which allowed several more drillers to operate. He ordered the purchase of a portable gasoline fueled compressor to boost output during times of peak power usage that reduced the generation of electrical power to run the main compressors. In addition, he determined that the water supply from a spring in Lafferty Gulch was contaminated and changed the water source to another spring. Perhaps more important, Spotts finally solved the problem of creating a tram to hoist men to the mountain top by cable so they wouldn't have to climb the steps up and down every day. He designed a braking system that would automatically slow the speed of the car if it started to descend too fast. The cable car was one of the things that Borglum had asked for repeatedly from the Commission, and nothing had ever been done. Spotts also took on all of the administrative duties associated with the project freeing Borglum to focus on the sculpture.

Being an employee of the National Park Service, Spotts followed government procedures, requiring Borglum to submit plans for work, and progress reports. He also took on the responsibility of hiring and firing and the government paperwork associated with both of these actions. These activities angered Borglum who was used to selecting his help and firing people on the spot if they displeased him. Borglum considered this as interference with his art, which was often unplanned and frequently changed direction based on worker skill, weather and equipment. The relationship between Borglum and Spotts became increasingly strained until it broke down completely.[30]

Like 1936, 1937 proved to be a very productive year. The Lincoln head was far enough along to be dedicated in September. Congress and the President came to realize that the work was indeed a great and special thing and were more willing to be supportive. The loss of Norbeck in the Senate and Williamson in Congress who powerfully represented South Dakota in support of the Memorial was mitigated by the election of Francis Case, a native of the Black Hills and enthusiastic supporter of Mount Rushmore in the fall of 1936. Also in 1937, Borglum's payments were nearing the $87,500 cap that had been established in the original Mount Harney contract. He needed a new contract to complete the work.

Although they continued to communicate, as they had to, Borglum and Boland's and Borglum and Spotts' strained relationships persisted. Boland wrote to Borglum at his Stamford Connecticut address on January 25, informing him that Ray Milliken, Superintendent of Custer State Park, would gladly include the Rushmore stairway in his CCC

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[29] Boland to Borglum, September 9, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1935-36," Library of Congress.
[30] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 314-318.

work program for 1937. Boland asked for Borglum's thoughts on the matter, but offered that it would be good to see the stairway completed free of charge.[31]

Borglum responded that he had detailed drawings of the stairway and would send them off to Boland. He went on to say,

> I have no respect for work that has been done in general in the Park, and about the Black Hills under the control of the C. C. Camps. The day before President Roosevelt arrived we had a group of these boys on the mountain cleaning up. If I needed any more evidence, than I had, of their utter selfishness, lack of leadership, lack of foremanship, and worse even than that lack of willingness to take orders, I found it that day." [emphasis his]

Borglum expanded his views to include general quality of work in the Black Hills "I am, as an engineer, as a craftsman, utterly opposed to the shiftless, slipshod, make believe work that obtains generally in the Black Hills, and of which there has been an effort made to force upon me on the mountain ever since I began the work." He went on to emphasize, underscoring his words, that the stairway is part of the memorial and must be designed with taste and dignity, and be in harmony with the bigness of the rest of the work. "I think it will be a tremendous addition to the Memorial, but if there is any effort to throw in the kind of work that is common about the Black Hills, or any effort to have the C. C. Camp do the work, other than as I direct, I shall resist it all along the line, and I shall warn Washington against it. At the end of the letter he softens saying "Let's pull together on this and get it done right."[32]

Meanwhile, Borglum's initial contract came to an end. Boland informed him in a letter dated June 7, 1937 that his last payment of $1,768.73 which was the remainder of the maximum honorarium of $87,500 was enclosed. Borglum had been paid in full.[33] It was now time to negotiate a new contract if he wanted to continue to be paid.

On July 12, 1937 the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission met in Chicago to discuss and approve a new contract for Borglum. There were not enough members present to constitute a quorum, so the group met as the Executive Committee. Borglum and his attorney, John Graydon Harlan of Washington D.C. were present along with John L. Nagle representing the National Park Service. After much discussion, the Committee proposed a new contract with Borglum being compensated at the same rate of twenty-five percent of expenditures as was used in the original contract. Borglum and his attorney requested a thirty percent fee based on the typical rate for sculptors, and because, as Borglum stated, he had never been compensated for the extra work that he took on as engineer when Tucker resigned in 1929. After stating their requests, Borglum and Harlan left the meeting, with Borglum stating that he would accept twenty-five percent if that is what the Committee decided. The Committee then discussed the compensation issue. Sargent was in favor of the thirty percent fee, and so was Williamson. The Committee members acknowledged that there had been an amendment previously proposed to the original contract to add five percent for engineering work that had been Tucker's, and it had failed to pass with Congress. Boland pointed out that for $4,800 the project now had an engineer, Spotts, and since his arrival

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[31] Boland to Borglum, January 25, 1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1937-38," Library of Congress.
[32] Borglum to Boland, January 25, 1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland, 1937-38," Library of Congress.
[33] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 182, Folder "Borglum Honorarium, 1935-38," Library of Congress.

efficiency and productivity had improved greatly, and there was no need now to compensate Borglum for engineering services. The committee agreed unanimously to approve the new contract at the twenty-five percent rate. The contract had to be approved by the full Commission and the Department of the Interior before it could become official.[34] The new contract did not address the entablature and the hall of records and it was for a one year term. Borglum was designated "Author and Sculptor." It received approval from the Department of the Interior, November 12, 1937. During the time from July 12 to November 12 there was no final contract and Borglum was essentially working without pay.

Lincoln Dedication

Work through the summer of 1937 progressed very well, and the Lincoln head was nearing completion. Borglum scheduled the dedication for September 17, 1937, the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. This was a Friday, and he scheduled the event at 10:00 am. There were no nationally known speakers on the program, but there was a large attendance. Borglum's theme for the event was a memorial to men who had been important to the Rushmore project, who had died. With his characteristic dramatic flair, Borglum announced the names of the deceased, and then a lone bugler standing on Washington's head played taps. The crowd, silent, felt the power and the emotion of the moment. And then the flag draped over Lincoln's face lifted. The Fourth Cavalry Band, standing on top of the head, and the Homestake Band on Doane Mountain together played the Star Spangled Banner.[35]



Figure 62: Lincoln dedication, September 17, 1937, with Fourth Cavalry Band in place on Lincoln's head. (MRNM Archives, #5320MORU)

Borglum, Boland, Spotts, and the National Park Service: The Battle Comes to a Climax

John Boland on behalf of the Commission fixed the date for the start of the 1938 season as April 18. The National Park Service, at the request of the Commission, again sent Spotts to Rushmore as resident engineer, with the admonishment that Borglum be "afforded the widest latitude for the play of his genius and artistic talent."[36] For Borglum's part, he was angry as could be with the Commission, Spotts and the National Park Service. He was unhappy with his contract that limited his pay to twenty-five percent of expenditures instead of thirty or thirty-five percent. The contract also limited his work to finishing the faces and

[34] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Minutes of the Commission Meetings," Library of Congress.
[35] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 330-335.
[36] Nagle to Spotts, April 14, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "Interior Department," Library of Congress.

was silent on the matter of the entablature, hall of records, and the grand staircase to the top. Borglum was not happy about that either. Moreover, he had not yet been paid for work he had done after June 12, 1937. Borglum's personal finances were in shambles and mortgage payments on the ranch delinquent. Part of the problem with Borglum's payment had to do with government red tape. The period of time between June and November, Borglum was working without a contract. There was no mechanism in place to provide payment for work not contracted.

On April 16, 1938, at its meeting in Norfolk, Nebraska, the Executive Committee of the Commission took action resolving that there was justly due and unpaid to Borglum, the sum of $10,594.10, and requested that the United States through its duly accredited disbursing officers, pay the sculptor. The reason for the resolution was that the Comptroller General of the United States made a determination on March 19, 1938, that "such payment must be made upon a quantum valebat [value of services] basis and is not a payment which may be made by a disbursing officer as it involves doubtful questions of both law and fact." This means that there was a question concerning the value of the work, since Borglum had performed the work before the contract was approved by the Department of the Interior. Thus the Executive Committee determined on a quantum valebat basis the amount that Borglum was entitled to, based on the 1937 contract.[37] Borglum had actually filed a legal claim for the unpaid honorarium through his attorney, John Harlan. On May 12, 1938, almost a year late, Borglum received payment of $10,594.10, settlement of claim from the General Accounting Office.[38] However, over $2,600.00 of the much needed payment went to Harlan for his legal fees.[39]

The Commission's Executive Committee also established a Program of Operations for 1938, which further aggravated Borglum. According to the minutes from their April 16, 1938 meeting, the Executive Committee set a Program of Operations based on the contract with Borglum that was approved in November of 1937. "Departures from the sequence determined by this program will be permitted only as they are dictated either by the lack of available funds, or by unexpected conditions encountered during the course of the work; but no departures, either deliberate or enforced, shall be made until formally approved by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission through its Executive Committee and the Department of the Interior."

The Program of Operations listed three items: 1) drillers and carvers were to be concentrated on the Roosevelt face and remain there until the face is recognizable. 2) Concurrently carving was to be done on the temples, chin and throat of Washington. 3) Also concurrently, all other operations were to be confined to Lincoln's chin.[40]

From the Commission's point of view and that of the National Park Service, they were attempting to assure that the four heads were fully finished before Borglum expended time and funds on the stairway, entablature and hall of records. They were concerned that if funding ran out, or if something happened to the aging Borglum, no part of the Memorial would be considered finished. This greatly infuriated Borglum who redoubled his efforts to

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[37] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Minutes of the Executive Committee, MRNMC," Library of Congress.
[38] Settlement of Claim Notification, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 182, Folder "Borglum Honorarium, 1935-1938," Library of Congress.
[39] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 336.
[40] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 171, Folder "Minutes of the Executive Committee, MRNMC," Library of Congress.

get rid of the Commission and the National Park Service, particularly Boland and Spotts. In Borglum's opinion, the Program of Operations was a gross violation of his artistry, and extreme interference with the work.

Borglum's campaign to oust Boland, Spotts and now the entire Commission and the National Park Service's John L. Nagle took shape over several years. Borglum clashed with Boland as early as 1929, but as the years passed, and the disagreements over how the Rushmore project should be run increased, Borglum focused on Boland as the cause for all that was wrong. The complaints did not really change, but they became more intense: interference with the artist's work and hiring, particularly of trained carvers led the list, but tools, equipment, and having enough electrical power to run them was also a major and consistent issue. As Borglum's frustrations grew, he began to take his irritation with Boland to the public in 1937, with references to the petty politics in Rapid City. When the 1937 work season ended at Rushmore, Borglum moved to Washington, D.C. to work on making the changes that he felt necessary for the Memorial and to track down his 1937 paycheck. He took up residence in the Metropolitan Club, his usual habitation when in Washington. Borglum had friends in the Senate and in Congress, among them Senator Key Pittman of Nevada, Congressman Kent Keller of Illinois, and Congressman Francis Case of South Dakota. Senator Norbeck had been gone since December of 1936.

Borglum wrote to Nebraska Senator George W. Norris of February 28, 1938,

> I am making a few suggestions arrived at in conference with Senator Pittman. Recreate the Mount Rushmore Commission, take over the long idle and neglected task these men should have carried on. That Commission to be composed of ten members, the President, the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, and the Sculptor-Engineer, who conceived and has carried out the plan thus far; these four to be ex-officio members of that Commission. The law to provide that the President name seven additional members to form the executive body; hold office at the pleasure of the President, without pay; they will be in complete authority with all powers necessary.[41]

To Ebert K. Burlew, Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior, Borglum wrote on March 25, 1938, "Their [Spotts, Boland, Commission] attempts to tell me how to carve and what to carve, and when, what men to hire, what power to use, including their general interference and delaying methods, does not disturb me; I have no intention whatever of following them, nor to allow that form of gross interference to destroy or degrade the sculpture work."

About his delayed payment for work in 1937, he said, "the government cannot expect nor allow me to carry this load as they have, without payment. They cannot expect me to allow an incompetent, and I will now add deliberately dishonest attitude of uninformed clerks or agents [Spotts] to degrade or destroy so highly specialized work. Last year's payments, authorized, audited, checked and re-checked by the Commission, have been lying in the Comptroller's office for a month. There can be no honest reason for this."[42]

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[41] Letter, Borglum to Norris, February 28, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1938, #1," Library of Congress.

[42] Letter, Borglum to Burlew, Gutzon, March 25, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1938," Library of Congress.

A few days later on March 31, Borglum again wrote to Burlew, "I am protesting [John L.] Nagle having anything to do with adjusting any matter affecting me in the Mount Rushmore work or contract. He and his agent Spotts have not lost an opportunity to hinder, interfere, misrepresent and otherwise embarrass me and the work." Borglum said that Nagle and Spotts had issued misstatements and untrue representations before Congressional Committees and that "Nagle's ignorance over a matter they could not know unless they were the Sculptor of the work, and being Engineers, could not admit to their ignorance."

Borglum continued, "The original misrepresentation and interference came from Nagle – the absence of a contract was due to Nagle, compelling me to hire expensive council to save the work from what can only be called a deliberate, harmful effort to interfere."[43]

The next day, April 1, 1938, Borglum wrote to Congressman Case expressing his version of the Mount Rushmore construction history and his unhappiness. Clearly Borglum was irritated and frustrated, with good reason, especially over the delayed 1937 pay, and the fact that his contract was allowed to lapse before a new one was negotiated, but his version of events does not match the documentation of actual events cited earlier in this chapter. Borglum often made statements that conflicted with each other, or conflicted with the facts, but his central concern was consistent – that the Commission and the Government through their procedures, rules and regulations were interfering with his creative work on the sculpture.

> I have notified the President, I have notified Mr. Ickes [Secretary of the Interior], and I might as well tell you, I will have nothing whatsoever to do with John Nagle. He is dishonest, and a trouble maker, and is responsible for blocking, interfering, selfishly and without any intelligence nor information in the Memorial work at Mt Rushmore. I have notified the Government if he is not removed I shall abandon the work. Three years ago I had to get rid of Tallman, whom I had appointed because he had a little knowledge of art, had been a pupil of mine and was honest. Something happens to those men out there, and they are the only ones that the local political gang try to corrupt. I mean my foremen. I made him foreman and in the course of time I discovered things were going wrong. Purchases delayed, the morale of the place breaking down and he disobeying his orders. Finally I caught him so red handed in this that I charged him with it, he blurted out and wept, told me I could not fire him, that Boland would protect him. I fired him, and Boland tried to protect him. I told Boland there was no use, he could keep him on the payroll as long as he wanted to, but I would not have him on the mountain at any price. He was the third that had been corrupted by the same source. So I appealed to the President directly. I didn't want Boland or Norbeck to know what I had done, but somehow or other they found it out. It must have been through Washington. Norbeck rushed to Washington and managed to get just what he wanted from his Park Department friends; all the viciousness selfishness and ignorance in Pandora's box came through Norbeck to Boland and we have had nothing but grief ever since.

[43] Letter, Borglum to Burlew, March 31, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1938 #1," Library of Congress.

> To Nagle and Nagle alone, with Norbeck gone, we can attribute all the trouble we have had with the Department of the Interior, that is [NPS Director] Damerer [sic - Cammerer] and the Appropriations Committee. Two years to rewrite a contract that you and I could re-write in two days and which finally became a repetition of the old contract. No payments whatever to me during the interim of a year, $2,000 expenses for lawyer's fees heaped on top of me, embarrassments in Rapid City, compelled me to mortgage my property here, and borrow money to keep Mount Rushmore work going. I know you are not interested in any of this, but that's the way I have been working on Mount Rushmore for twelve years. I personally raised the money that we got from President Coolidge and it was Werner and Mrs. Greenway, Speaker Rainey and Gutzon Borglum that got the last $200,000 and it would have been $400,000 [actually $300,000] if Norbeck hadn't risen in jealous anger because I insisted on Bulow's name going on the bill.
>
> Now, Mr. Case, I have lived this thing for twelve years for just one reason – that was that my work at Mount Rushmore would not fail. It will not fail, but I'll fight [like] a buzz saw, the Department of the Parks, all of Rapid City before I'll allow any continuance of this damnable chicanery that is going on and has its roots in Rapid City.[44]

Borglum's letter also briefly discusses the proposed boundaries for a park surrounding Mount Rushmore. He noted that he was "opposed to the final shrunken dimensions" and favored a much larger park.

A rather confused Congressman Case wrote back to Borglum the next day, but he did not respond directly to Borglum's complaints about Nagle, Norbeck, and Boland. His response was directed to the boundaries of the proposed reserve around Mount Rushmore and the need to get something in effect soon, because many mining claims were being made in the immediate area.

> I am glad to have the information in your letter of April first - and assure you I was not aware of the developments in your own mind in regard to the future handling of the property at Mount Rushmore. In fact, I thought I was following out the suggestions you made when I was your guest at dinner in two directions, namely:
>
> 1. Investigation of the proper area to be included in a Reserve to protect against the encroachment of mineral locations; and
> 2. The transfer of authority from the Commission to the National Park Service.
>
> I understood you to feel that the Park Service would be the proper repository for the physical property with the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society assuming the larger responsibility for raising of funds…
>
> But, pending a determination on the financial end, the increasing number of mineral locations within the Custer Park Sanctuary, and the starting of a test suit in Federal Court to challenge the right of the government to

[44] Letter, Borglum to Case, April 1, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 105, Folder "Rushmore, 1938 #4," Library of Congress.

> forbid mineral allocations in an area belonging to the National Forest, convinced me that steps could be taken to guard against having mining locations on the very doorstep of Mount Rushmore itself.[45]

Still angry over the National Park Service's delay in getting the 1937 back pay to him and with the interference with his work, Borglum wrote to Assistant Secretary of Interior Elbert Burlew on April 6, 1938, "My reputation is so bound up in this that for ten years I carried the entire burden of a delinquent Commission personally, soliciting all the funds that we have had, and personally meeting about $100,000 worth of extra service and bills, involving myself to the extent of about $52,000 that would, to any honorable group of men, belong to them instead of the one employed."

> I wish also that you would relieve me of the embarrassment of refusing to discuss my work, the character of men employed, or control of the men. That right belongs to the Commission and myself, as the contract states. For eight years of the last ten years we have had no Commission, we have had a racket in Rapid City. In order to protect the Government against that racket, I asked directly through the White House for aid – instead I have drawn a Frankenstein [NPS], and the trouble has multiplied.[46]

Meanwhile, Borglum had also been writing letters to President Roosevelt, which Roosevelt passed along to the Secretary of the Interior to provide replies for the President's signature. Borglum's complaints remained the same, "I have labored and suffered and gone without for ten years, and there are no assurances that this work will be carried on as it should be, - on the contrary, there I every assurance that it will be interfered with as it has been." (May 9, 1938)[47]

In a longer letter from earlier the same day, May 9, 1938, Borglum wrote to the President,

> Mount Rushmore Memorial has been bullied, starved, victimized from the beginning by local, cheap ward politicians, aided recently in partnership with a man from the Park Department [National Park Service], so far interfering with the proper course of the work that I must now request this interference must all stop, and stop at once.
>
> I would rather say anything else on earth to you, Mr. President, and I'll avoid anything that may embarrass you, but no other way than this decision is open to me, if I do not get the legislation I have asked for, and the Memorial merits.
>
> I have given 12 of the best years of my life, I have exhausted my available funds, gone without pay even to this day for all of last year, – for

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[45] Letter, Case to Borglum, April 2, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 105, Folder "Rushmore, 1938 #4," Library of Congress.
[46] Letter, Borglum to Burlew, April 6, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1938," Library of Congress.
[47] Letter, Borglum to Roosevelt, May 9, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "April 1938-July 31,1938," Library of Congress.

> which the Park Service is directly responsible, – willfully instigated by a local politician – still responsible.[48]

Borglum wrote to the President again the next day, May 10, urging the President to support Borglum's efforts to have a bill passed that would create a new Commission. "Congress would be negligent in its duty, in my earnest opinion, if it makes another appropriation until an active commission is appointed to supervise wise completion of the well defined plan in hand and the expenditure of the money." Regarding support for his legislation, Borglum said, "This matter is moving so satisfactorily that I earnestly hope you will give it your support." Roosevelt responded on May 12 by sending the letter to Secretary of the Interior Ickes for preparation of a reply for Roosevelt's signature.[49]

President Roosevelt responded to Borglum on May 19:

> I have noted that the bills [Borglum's legislation] have been introduced in the house and senate to set up a new Mount Rushmore Memorial Commission to complete the work but, so far as I know, these bills have not been referred to any executive department or to the Bureau of the Budget for consideration.
>
> As a result of your difficulties with the present Commission, I should think Secretary Ickes' suggestion for abolishing the Commission and completing the work under his general supervision, in accordance with your existing contract whereby you would have full authority for the carving and the Department of the Interior fiscal control of appropriated funds, would be the most satisfactory plan for finishing your monumental work at Mount Rushmore. Of course, Congress would still have to enact legislation to authorize additional appropriations.[50]

Roosevelt concluded, saying that he understood that the Acting Comptroller General had approved Borglum's claim for his unpaid fees for the summer of 1937, and that the Secretary of the Treasury has made payment. He hoped that Borglum would now return to Mount Rushmore and "resume personal direction of the sculpturing." Borglum had refused to go back to Rushmore until he had been paid for his 1937 work.

On May 13, 1938, Secretary of the Interior Ickes sent a memo to National Park Service Director Cammerer in response to Borglum's charges. "Mr. Borglum complained to me that some representative of the Park Service [Spotts] even tried to tell him how to do his carving. Of course there should be no interference with his work beyond such necessary supervision as is required under the laws and regulations. There are some charges made in this letter which need to be answered in detail."[51]

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[48] Letter, Borglum to Roosevelt, May 9, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "April 1938-July 31,1938," Library of Congress.

[49] Letter, Borglum to Roosevelt, May 10, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "April 1938-July 31,1938," Library of Congress.

[50] Roosevelt to Borglum, May, 12, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "Franklin D. Roosevelt," Library of Congress.

[51] Memo, Ickes to Cammerer, May 13, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

Following up, National Park Service Associate Director Demaray wrote to Nagle on May 18, 1938, regarding Borglum's May 9th letter to the President, "Please have a thorough, comprehensive and complete report made, not only of Mr. Borglum's charges, but the manner in which the work has been conducted at Mount Rushmore since the National Park Service has had anything to do with it. This comprehensive investigation should be made independently of Mr. Spotts, and if there appears to be any basis for criticism of his administration, the report should include this and consideration should be given by you to placing another representative at Mount Rushmore."[52]

Nagle had also contacted Spotts with regard to Borglum's complaints, requesting an explanation. Spotts responded on May 16, 1938.

> Since my association with the Mt. Rushmore National Memorial Commission, it has been the policy of Mr. Boland and I [sic] to receive written applications for employment which were collected by me, reviewed, and turned over to Lincoln Borglum. In the filling of all vacancies, Lincoln Borglum was instructed to scan the lists and in the event that he found no one thereon qualified, to search elsewhere for a qualified candidate. Upon Mr. Gutzon Borglum's or Lincoln Borglum's recommendation, I investigated the qualifications of the applicant, conferred with Mr. Boland, secured his approval, whereupon the applicant's name was sent to Washington for final confirmation.[53]

This process was likely one of Borglum's irritations. He would hire or fire people on the spot. Going through four levels of review, as Spotts described above, would have created delays intolerable to Borglum. Spotts continued in his letter to Nagle, "There has not been a single instance since I have been connected with the project where an applicant recommended by Mr. Borglum or Lincoln Borglum was rejected."

> Early in the season of 1936 and again in 1937, in response to Mr. Borglum's plea for experienced carvers, Mr. Boland and I suggested to Mr. Borglum that he bring in three carvers from the East. Upon Mr. Borglum's failure to procure the three carvers, a local man was hired as a carver (following Mr. Borglum's recommendation) and four employees were promoted to carvers in accordance with Mr. Borglum's letter of July 6, 1937 to Lincoln Borglum…
>
> Mr. Borglum has made repeated off hand statements that he needed 30 to 35 drillers, that he needed more power, etc., but he has never specifically analyzed the power, nor prepared a program of operations. His nearest approach to an estimate of cost and time of completion, (during my connection with the project) are two papers, one titled "Preamble" dated July 24, 1936 and the other entitled "National Park Service" dated September 17,

[52] Letter, Demeray to Nagle, May 18, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "NPS Files," Library of Congress.

[53] Letter, Spotts to Nagle, May 16, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder, NPS Files Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

> 1936, both of which are in your files. Both of these estimates have proven far wrong in all items of time, accomplishment, and money.[54]

On May 28, 1938, Nagle prepared a letter to the National Park Service Director, Arno B. Cammerer, addressing Borglum's charges. After countering the charges one by one, the letter concludes with the "recommendation that Mr. Borglum be informed from the highest possible quarter, (1) that while remaining away from Mount Rushmore, while that important work is in progress, he is not loyally cooperating with the government or complying with the spirit of his contract; (2) that whereas his outstanding abilities as a sculptor are fully appreciated, and it is desired to retain him to complete the Mount Rushmore Monument, a large part of the expense involved in that project is for work of a purely technical nature concerning which he would do well to accept the help and advice of experienced administrators; and (3) all persons connected with Mount Rushmore are in fact cooperating with him in as loyal and as friendly a manner as would any other group that might be engaged on the work, and that the early and satisfactory completion of the project may be expected as well under existing conditions as by any others that may have been proposed."[55]

Spotts also prepared a sworn and notarized statement refuting Borglum's assertions, dated May 14, 1938,

> It has been reported to me that Mr. Gutzon Borglum has recently asserted that upon my first arrival at Mount Rushmore I told him that I was empowered and that it was my intention to hire and fire all workers. It is further asserted that he asked me whether I had ever carved any mountains, that I replied "No", and that he, whereupon, stated that he did not propose to pay any attention to me in the matter of engaging personnel.
>
> Regarding the above reported statements, I hereby affirm, for the purpose of the National Park Service record, that I did not either upon my first arrival at Mount Rushmore, or at any time subsequent thereto, inform Mr. Borglum that I was empowered or that it was my intention to hire and fire any personnel.
>
> On the contrary, I informed Mr. Borglum, in substance, that my instructions were to advise and assist the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission in all matters concerning which my advice or assistance might be requested, and to assist in the execution of the desires of the Commission, as imparted to me by the authorized Member Representative of the Commission.
>
> The Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission having authority by law to administer the Mount Rushmore project, and to "employ the services of such artists, sculptors, landscape architects, and others, as it shall be determined to be necessary to completed the said Memorial….", and the light of explicit provisions of Mr. Borglum's contract then in force with the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, it would be manifestly impossible for me to have assumed any such authority imputed by Mr. Borglum's statement above referred to.

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Letter, Nagle to Director, NPS, May, 28, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder, NPS Files Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

> Upon my first arrival at Mount Rushmore in addition to my technical duties as an engineer, Mr. Boland requested me to take over the duties of time-keeping preparing the payrolls and personnel records, and to act in a sense as a clearing house in all matters of employment. At the first meeting to determine the procedure and policies for the season of 1936 at which Mr. Boland, Mr. Borglum. Lincoln Borglum, George Rumple (foreman) and I were present, I asked Mr. Borglum if the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the hiring of personnel. He replied quite heatedly that it was not and proceeded without provocation to discuss my ignorance of carving mountains and then digressed on a meaningless dissertation not pertinent to the question here. The policy was subsequently adopted of permitting Mr. Borglum to recommend employees, subject to the approval of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and the final confirmation of the Department of the Interior.
>
> I reiterate that I have never assumed the authority to hire and fire workmen and declare that I have acted only in the capacity as an agent of the Mount Rushmore Commission. Furthermore, I have earnestly and conscientiously endeavored to assist Mr. Borglum in all of his duties entrusted to him by his contract with the Mount Rushmore Commission; and in all other matters have striven diligently to the end that this work of the Memorial may be well and efficiently completed, at the earliest possible date.[56]

On May 25, 1938, Borglum wrote to Boland. Borglum was still in Washington, dealing with the legislation. He had finally been paid for his 1937 work and expressed his irritation about the delay in payment to Boland.

> Regarding what you say about the partial payment of last year's pay; the delay of that was wrong, utterly unfair, and has cost me in expenses, lawyers' fees, traveling expenses, hotel bills, etc. over $3600.00. I look upon it as one of the most outrageous pieces of gross neglect of obligations and mismanagement that I have ever been the victim of, and the records, including the admissions here in the Park Service, show the [Senate] Committee just who was at the bottom of it. When the matter finally reached Washington, everything went better…
>
> I understand from Lincoln that they are putting in a new hoist. …We need a motor that will lift about twice the load, and if money is spent at this time, of which I question the wisdom, it should be borne in mind that we are going to carry 10 to12 men at a load and that we need more power. It should also be remembered that Spotts has no authority for construction work on the mountain; his presence in that capacity has been entirely a usurpation and I have definite instructions from the heads of the Interior [Department] not only to ignore any suggestions, but not permit any interference on his part. The plans and engineering that he has injected in the ground work not only annoyed me but are amateurish and incompetent. No need of your telling him

[56] Spotts Statement, May 14, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder, NPS Files Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

> these things, but they are facts just the same. The little help he has given us has been extremely expensive and annoying to the Department of the Interior that we should be paying $400.00 for nothing.[57]

On June 2, 1938, Borglum wrote to Lincoln, who was carrying on the work at Rushmore. Borglum expressed delight that the work was going so well and that Lincoln had twelve men working on Roosevelt's head. "I expect now that our matters will be finished here in the next week or ten days. My bill is in both houses, reported unanimously, and if it succeeds in going through it means a new contract including you as my Chief Aide and successor, which means $5,000.00 a year for you and it means getting rid of all monkey work including the monkeys." He repeated his belief that the Mount Rushmore Commission was all Boland, that Boland ran everything, and that was why Chairman Sargent resigned. Boland would be resigning soon, he said.[58]

Borglum Succeeds with Congressional Action to Remove and Reappoint the Commission

Finally, Borglum won his decade-long battle with the Commission and John Boland. The legislation he proposed passed and received final approval on June 15, 1938. The "Mount Rushmore Memorial Act of 1938" essentially rewrote the original legislation of 1929, although it was written as an amendment. The act provided for a new Commission, assured that the work to be completed included the "entablature upon which shall be cut a suitable inscription, construction of a museum and a stairway to the museum hall, reconstruction of the studio for preservation of the models, landscaping of contiguous grounds and construction of an entrance to the memorial." In the fourth section of the act, the Commission was authorized to "designate and describe by metes and bounds an area of not more than fifteen hundred acres of the public lands of the United States within the Harney National Forest, State of South Dakota, immediately surrounding the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. Upon such designation such area is hereby reserved for and declared to be part of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial and withdrawn from location or entry under the mining or other laws of the United States. The Commission shall prepare a survey of such area and shall furnish a plat thereof to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior and the United States Land Office at Pierre, South Dakota." The act also provided for the employment, without regard to civil service laws, of "such artists, sculptors, landscape architects, and other employees as it shall determine to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act." This meant that Borglum could hire and fire without having to go through government protocols. And finally the act authorized the appropriation of an additional $300,000 in federal funding. The money was to be forwarded from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Commission upon requisition. The Commission was required to pay out funds upon receipt of properly receipted vouchers.[59]

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[57]Letter, Borglum to Boland, May 28, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder, NPS Files Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

[58] Letter, Borglum to Lincoln Borglum, June 2, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 165, Folder "Lincoln Borglum, 1931-1939," Library of Congress.

[59] Mount Rushmore Act of 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Legislation, 1927-1940," Library of Congress.

The act gave Borglum all that he had been asking for since the 1920s: provision for the entablature, staircase and museum hall, ability to hire who he wanted without government interference, and a much reduced role for the Commission and its treasurer. Boland was gone, and the National Park Service, with its engineer Julian Spotts, was no longer involved. The Commission was reappointed with new members that Borglum selected. The new Commission was chaired by Senator Key Pittman, and included Congressman Kent Keller, William Williamson, and Loraine Spoonts from the old Commission, George Norris from Nebraska, Isabelle Greenway, Senator W. J. Bulow, Vice-Chair, Eugene McDonald, John Goodhope, Herman Oliphant, L.B. Hanna, and Russell Arundel.

The National Park Service was relieved to be out of the situation. Associate Director Arthur B. Demaray wrote to John L. Nagle on June 13, 1938 immediately after the new act was passed: "It is our judgement that, under the new Act, the National Park Service will have no function to perform and that, when remaining funds are expended, our present duties and responsibilities will be ended. We sincerely hope that our interpretation is correct."[60]

Wanting to improve relations with the Department of the Interior, Borglum wrote to Ebert Burlew, First Assistant Secretary of the Department on June 10, 1938,

> I hate troubles and I hate keeping alive any disturbing influence, but your relations and mine have been so pleasant and understanding, I have a feeling you ought to know what is really back of the interference on the Mountain and how the Park Department [National Park Service] fell headfirst into the contemptible racket that was being played there locally, and played a game that would have been destructive to the work, had they been permitted to continue, there is not the slightest question in the world. What I have been trying to avoid was any public inquiry or comment on that situation that would have disturbed Mr. Ickes [Secretary of the Interior] or your department unfairly, and that is what would have happened. I think that has been overcome and can be forgotten, and I'll go on and complete the work as it should be.[61]

Burlew wrote back ten days later thanking Borglum for his "friendly expressions." He said, "I hope that with the new funds and the new set-up you may be able to proceed with your work without any further difficulties. I do not feel, however, from reports I have received, that the National Park Service has interfered in any improper manner."[62] Under the new Act, the Treasury Department held responsibility for distribution of funds to the Commission, rather than the National Park Service.

Flush with victory and with money, Borglum redoubled his efforts on the sculpture. The second half of 1938 was one of the busiest seasons for Rushmore. Borglum also planned a new restaurant building, reservoir and an entrance gate. He intended to design and construct these facilities himself. He also planned to complete the head of Roosevelt to a point that it could be unveiled at a dedication in the fall, and to begin the entrance to the Hall

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[60]Letter, Demeray to Nagle, June 13, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "Mount Rushmore, April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.

[61] Letter, Borglum to Burlew, June 10, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore 1938, #1," Library of Congress.

[62] Letter, Burlew to Borglum, June 20, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore 1938, #1," Library of Congress.

of Records and the staircase. This was stated in his report to the new Commission, made August 4, 1938.[63] The summer, fall and winter of 1938-39 were Borglum's halcyon days at Rushmore.

With the new project administration, Lincoln Borglum became Superintendent of the Work with a commensurate raise in salary, and several long term workers received substantial raises: Lloyd Virtue, Matt Reilly, Clyde Denton, Al Johnson, H. Peterson, F. Maxwell, and M. Gardner. Frank Skells became office manager for $155.00 per month. Clerk for the old Commission, Maxine Wasser, was let go. George W. Storck became the Accountant in Charge of the project, and W.J. Pfenning was the Acting Accountant in Charge for the U.S. Treasury, State Accounts Office, in Watertown, South Dakota.[64]

There seems to have been some discussions about the Rushmore project among the now defunct Commission's members and the no-longer-involved National Park Service. W. C. Kerlin, an engineer with the National Park Service and probably a colleague of Julian Spotts, wrote a memo to John Nagle on September 2, 1938. Kerlin had been vacationing in the Black Hills and visited with John Boland and "a number of workmen at Mount Rushmore." Kerlin wrote, "I have never found a man so universally well liked as Mr. Spotts nor another man in such complete disfavor as Mr. Borglum." Kerlin went on to report to Nagle that the new Commission had met at Rushmore in July and that Borglum had been given almost complete control of the entire work.

> He is now planning to carve out of the native granite a museum room approximately 80' X 100' and another smaller room which will be used as a water reservoir. He also wishes to build a new restaurant. It seems that the Commission objected so strenuously that nothing has been done about the restaurant. Operations have already begun for carving the museum room in spite of Congressman Keller's desire to mine out rather than carve it out as now being done.
>
> It is also understood that Mr. Borglum has announced his intention to continue work through the coming winter. He even asserted that a protection constructed of tarpaulins could be built around the stone faces and that the outside work could therefore proceed as readily as during hot weather.[65]

Although this memo is odd in that the National Park Service and Boland were no longer involved in the project, and that Kerlin found it worthwhile to check up on the work, the information in the memo is essentially correct, as shown in Borglum's report to the Commission of August 4, 1938. The National Park Service remained interested, because although it had stepped aside from on site management temporarily, when the work was completed, the Memorial would be turned over to the National Park Service.

In a letter to Lincoln, dated September 23, 1938, Borglum noted that [Joseph] Bruner (carver) was with him. "We must figure on having Brunner with us this winter and [Hugo] Villa, although I suspect that Villa has strayed off on some wild cat-scheme, and may not turn up at all, in which case I will get along without him, and Brunner will answer all

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[63] Report to Commission, August 4, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore 1938, #1," Library of Congress.
[64] Letter from Storck to Pfenning, August 31, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "Mount Rushmore April 1938-July 31, 1938," Library of Congress.
[65] Ibid.

purposes—not as well as Villa, but he is a very able fellow and very much needed."[66] Apparently, although Borglum fired Villa in 1931, he wanted him back now. Villa did return in 1940.

Despite the activity with Borglum at the helm, the Commission, like the preceding Commission, was growing concerned that the project would not be finished before funding ran out. As was the case before, nothing on the mountain was finished. The four heads were in various stages of completion. Borglum was hammering away on the hall of records/museum and was also occupied with other projects such as the reservoir and grounds improvements. Moreover, there was concern in Congress about the situation in Europe, and if the United States were to become involved in the fighting there, future funding for the project could be eliminated. The Commission, unlike its predecessor, had given Borglum full control over the undertaking. Therefore it could not order or command that he do anything. They did, however, ask.

On April 20, 1939, Congressman and Commission member Kent Keller wrote to Borglum with a carefully worded request.

> As you are well aware, I am not giving an order, but I am calling on you to follow the thoroughly expressed opinion of the entire Commission that with the coming of spring no more money should be expended on the Hall, but that you shall devote your entire time, entire energy, and money for the completion of the figures, for this reason. There is money enough now to finish those figures, and there may not be money enough to finish both the figures and the Hall. It is a chance that the Commission does not want to take at all, and I am sure that you will more than willingly comply with their feeling in the matter. When winter approaches again, and we know the figures are completed, there will be no reason why the Hall shall not be completed under your direction, but until fall, there should not be a dollar spent on that excavation.[67]

Borglum responded on the 26th of April with a five page letter that was not only a progress report on the work, but spells out how and why he developed his methods of work. Borglum also makes it clear, politely, that he will do things his way and not be directed by the Commission.

> Now it comes to a few matters of fact which you ought to know, and which have been mis-stated to you. I have had five men working on Washington and they have done some heroic work for just exactly <u>twenty-seven days.</u> Nearly everything else is ready to <u>increase that number to eleven</u> immediately the men are available and weather permits, forming the complete compliment [sic] necessary for carry out [sic] the express wishes of Congress regarding that part of the work with funds appropriated. But, I am going to do better than that; I am going to finish Washington's head <u>this fiscal</u> year …

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[66] Letter, Borglum to Lincoln Borglum, September 23, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 165, Folder "Lincoln Borglum, 1931-1939," Library of Congress.

[67] Letter, Keller to Borglum, April 20, 1939, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 106, Folder "Rushmore, 1939 #2," Library of Congress.

… The Jefferson head has all the mechanism restored and built – (materials which were worn out replaced) – and I have two men picked to aid the two who are already working on Jefferson. We will probably be finished with scaffolding by the end of next week. That is my schedule – Jefferson and Washington – Washington and Jefferson – are to be finished by the first of July. The head of Lincoln will not be touched until the end of July or the first of August; it will be finished by the end of October. I mean finished the way Gutzon Borglum wants it finished; and that means as good as the head in the Rotunda of the Capitol…

I am saying all this to assure you – of all people – that I haven't moulted a feather in my obligation to you, in my obligation to Congress, or in my obligation to the American people. I want to add on top of it (for I have worked here for twelve years and more and that I am in the position that most big men in the east are who take Government jobs) I have been underpaid and I have sacrificed eleven or twelve years, the best years of my life; the most mature, the most experienced. For what reason? There must be a reason. After going through the hard grind of apprenticeship and finding out how to carve mountains at Stone Mountain.

I came here a master of granite work, blasting, carving, and able to tackle a range and convert it into a poem or historic document. Why did I do all this? Because I love the country you are serving better than monetary reward, determined and still determined that that one great record should somewhere be made that would – even ten thousand years hence – tell the people of what manner of men invented and built the great West World Republic.

…I have a special pride in finishing those heads in this fiscal year, regardless of what anybody says. I have a few inferior men roughing in the museum entrance; I am going to leave them there for two reasons; to keep my organization together, and it has proven a necessary and splendid training place. I can test out a man in no other way; there are no mountain granite sculptors in America. I give them intricate and delicate work and school them for the work on the heads, which point new men achieve as soon as they are competent. I don't put any man on the Mountain Heads straight from the train, or risk them on the big features.

All the men in America that know anything about Mountain sculpture have been trained by me for I invented it and learned how it must be done; how to take stone away from the great mass without injuring the stone that is in place; and if I catch a man drilling at right angles to the surface of the stone, he gets a ticket of leave or he goes down onto the ground and does labor work, going through another period of training.

There are two things that are indispensable to this work; one is drilling and dynamite instead of the hand tool and the hammer, this because I can remove stone in that manner at about ten percent of the cost; the second point is to use these violent methods <u>without injuring at all the stone that is left in place.</u> A drill with one hundred pounds of air, a hammer and dynamite to dislodge the stone; these are heroic methods and dangerous, but one must

> know how to drill this stone and how to blast it without injuring or invisibly cracking any but the stone to be removed [emphasis Borglum's].[68]

With regard to the Hall of Records, Borglum evoked the memory of Senator Norbeck. He said that the Hall was very important to Norbeck, and that he had put into the original Congressional bill that the Hall would be completed. Borglum went on to say that Norbeck's last words to him before he died were to not forget about the museum, grand stairway and entrance gate.

The National Park Service Takes Over the Project

While Borglum was enjoying his work without interference, President Roosevelt was styling a governmental reorganization, known as "Reorganization Plan No. II," that was approved on June 7, 1939. This plan placed the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Project under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. As might be expected, Borglum was not happy at all about this, given his feelings about Nagle and Spotts and his involvement with them and the National Park Service in 1936 and 1937.

The responsibility for the administration of the project was transferred to the National Park Service on July 1, 1939. As soon as he learned of the reorganization, Borglum contacted Senator Pittman and Congressman Case to try to oppose the plan, noting that National Park Service interference had been intolerable in the past. While Senator Pittman, who had been chair of the Commission, was sympathetic and supported Borglum, Senator Case was not. Case investigated the history of the project and its association with the Park Service and found that there was a general impression that "considerably more progress was made on the figures themselves during the two years Mr. Spotts was on the work than was accomplished in any other comparable period of time."[69] Borglum and Pittman visited President Roosevelt, but they were not successful in having the National Park Service authority changed.

Borglum wrote to President Roosevelt asking that the present arrangement with the Treasury Department and the Commission that gave most authority to Borglum be allowed to continue until work was completed. Roosevelt responded on July 28, 1938 saying that legal authority had already been transferred to the National Park Service. However, he tried to reassure Borglum, saying that the participation by the National Park Service would be minimal with the "least possible administration by the National Park Service." Roosevelt explained that to comply with the law, the National Park Service had to provide administrative responsibility for approval of accounts, recommendations on personnel matters, approval of the budget for the Commission's operation, and approval of contracts. Roosevelt assured Borglum that there would be no on-site representative, but that the Park Service would have to make reasonable inspections from time to time to see that expenditures were being made according to purposes for which funds had been appropriated.[70] For its part, the National Park Service was also not thrilled with the prospect

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[68] Borglum to Keller, April 26, 1939,Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 106, Folder "Rushmore, 1939 #1," Library of Congress.
[69] Congressman Francis Case, as quoted in Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 362.
[70] Letter, Roosevelt to Borglum, July 28, 1939, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "Franklin D.

of working with Borglum again. It seems that feelings were mutual.[71] In a letter to Russell Arundel, Secretary of the Mount Rushmore Commission, A.E. Demaray, Acting Director of the National Park Service, set out for the Commission the same protocols that Roosevelt had given Borglum, concluding with, "The foregoing constitutes the least possible administration by the Service required under the existing status of the Commission and allows the Commission the widest latitude in general policy matters. The Service will assume only the minimum of jurisdiction necessary to clear administrative papers in accordance with the regulations of the Treasury Department and the General Accounting Office."[72]

July 2, 1939 – Dedication of Roosevelt Head, Golden Jubilee of South Dakota Statehood

Great fanfare accompanied the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of South Dakota's statehood. The celebration filled Mount Rushmore with 12,000 spectators for an afternoon and evening of pageantry, patriotic music, speeches and fireworks. Although this was a state event hosted by the governor, Gutzon Borglum planned it. The theme was the history of South Dakota and the Black Hills with extensive participation by Lakota dancers and reenactors in the pageant, as well as a Lakota encampment and ceremonial dance. Portions of the event were broadcast nation-wide through CBS Radio affiliate WNAX, Yankton South Dakota. The evening climaxed with fireworks and then floodlights beaming onto the Mount Rushmore carvings to reveal the newly completed head of Theodore Roosevelt. The light show replaced the lifting of the large American flag that had shrouded the other faces in previous unveilings. There was much focus on the patriotic "Shrine of Democracy" phrase, because of the increasingly frightening situation with Hitler's expansion in Europe.

Although there was still much work to be done on the Memorial, for the first time at a major public event, all four faces reflected the light from the powerful beams of the "unveiling in light."[73] The crowd felt the power of the magnificent group, made especially evocative through Borglum's artistic tricks, the lifelike eyes with their projecting shafts to catch the light and Teddy's glasses, captured by a mere stone ridge across his nose and upper cheeks. The work was close to finished, although Borglum still insisted on completing the entablature, the hall of records, and the stairway.

The Final Months

In the early fall of 1939 Senator Pittman resigned from the Mount Rushmore Commission. Taking his place was vice-chair Senator William J. Bulow. Borglum wrote to

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Roosevelt," Library of Congress.

[71] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 363.

[72] Letter, Demaray to Arundel, July 21, 1939, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 105, Folder "Rushmore, 1938 #4," Library of Congress.

[73] WNAX Press Release, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 87, Folder "South Dakota Golden Jubilee, July 2, 1939," Library of Congress.

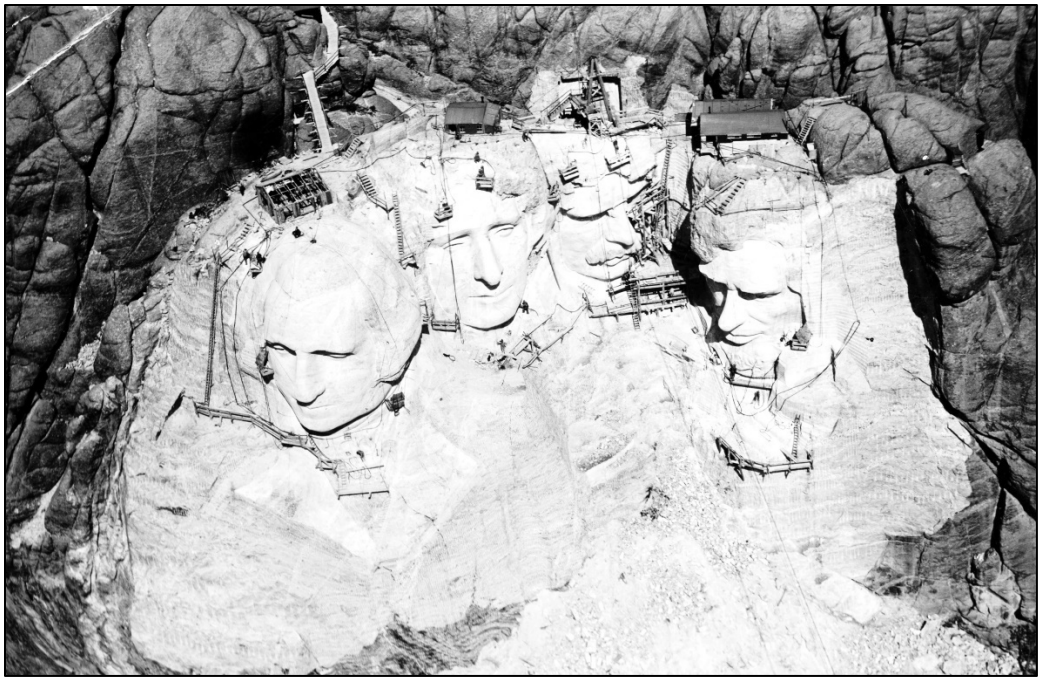


Figure 63: The four heads nearing completion (MRNM Archives, MORU 3044)

Bulow on October 5, 1939 with a Mount Rushmore progress report covering what had been done in the 1939 season. Borglum reported that work was "going splendidly." He was working on cleaning up the faces, perfecting the features and promised to have the work completed by next July (1940), as long as there were "no hindrances coming into the way." The Department of Interior had sent out John Nagle, head of one of the National Park Service's ten branch offices, and in charge of Memorials, to inspect the work. It went very well, considering that a year earlier Borglum had nothing at all good to say about Nagle.

Borglum also reported on the water system he had built with a reservoir, pump and tower. It provided plenty of water for general use as well as fire protection and to serve the twenty toilets he had constructed for the workers and the public. A new studio was under construction, since the old one was accommodating so many visitors that it was impossible for him to work there.

Probably more importantly, Borglum had had the entire Rushmore holding surveyed, as called for in the 1938 Act, with 1,500 acres. Borglum proposed increasing the acreage to 2,200 to provide more security.[74] In May of 1940, the House and Senate passed an act amending the 1938 Act, to increase the acreage from 1,500 to 1,800 provided that no funds appropriated to the Rushmore Memorial Commission be used for development of the three hundred acres and "no part of any funds appropriated under any Act may be used to pay a royalty or percentage to the sculptor for any work other than that necessarily incident to the sculpturing project."[75]

Borglum had also written to President Roosevelt on October 2 with concerns about who could be appointed to the Commission to replace Senator Pittman. Roosevelt responded on October 18 suggesting William McReynolds, one of his executive assistants, and George

[74] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 106, Folder "Rushmore 1939, #2," Library of Congress.
[75] H.R. 8357, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "Legislation, 1927-1940," Library of Congress.

Philip, who was U.S. District Attorney for South Dakota. To allay Borglum's concerns about the National Park Service taking over the project, Roosevelt assured him, "I am very much interested in the work you are doing and will be glad to remove any drawbacks which handicap you, if you will advise me of them.[76]

It wasn't long before Borglum again felt that the National Park Service was interfering with his work. Based on an inspection report from Senator Case, the Commission halted work on the hall of records in July of 1939. The problem was that drilling in the unventilated hall created so much dust that there was a fear for the men's health and threat of silicosis. This potentially translated to a liability issue for the Commission.

Moreover, as Borglum was aging, and no part of the work was finished the Park Service insisted that work be concentrated on the four faces, and completion of them before anything else was done. This restriction infuriated Borglum, and he charged that the National Park Service was interfering with his work in a December 14, 1939 letter to E.K. Burlew, at the Department of the Interior. Previously Borglum and Burlew enjoyed a friendly relationship. Burlew replied on December 20, 1939,

> Concerning the interference which you allege, you are informed that no official of the National Park Service or the Department of the Interior has made any suggestions or recommendations regarding what should be done at Mount Rushmore, with the two following exceptions:
>
> 1. That no money be expended for any other purpose until after the carving of the four principal figures has been definitively finished; and
> 2. That the National Park Service would neither approve nor disapprove plans for any building construction or park development work at Mount Rushmore until a Master Plan for the area has been prepared and approved by the Commission.

Burlew also said that from now on, the Department of the Interior was going to address all Rushmore communications directly to the Commission.[77]

The second stipulation responded to Borglum's construction of the water plant and rest room facilities, as well as the new studio building that was partially constructed. These additions were installed without Park Service knowledge or approval. Since he had designed and overseen all of that work it added to his honorarium of twenty five percent of expenditures.

By this time Borglum was running out of personal funds again and was deeply in debt. It was also becoming clear that the $300,000 appropriated in 1938 was not going to be enough to finish the work. Borglum had originally asked for $600,000 and felt that the remaining $300,000 should and would come his way. George W. Storck of the Treasury Department prepared a budget for the 1940-1941 fiscal year in April of 1940, which totaled $318,000. Instead, President Roosevelt approved a budget of $86,000 for completion of the four figures.[78] Borglum was angry about the small and restricted amount.

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[76] Letter, Roosevelt to Borglum, October 2, 1939, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "Franklin D. Roosevelt," Library of Congress.

[77] Letter, Burlew to Borglum, December 20, 1939, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 105, Folder "Rushmore, 1938 #4," Library of Congress.

[78] George W. Storck to William H. McReynolds, Chairman, Rushmore Commission, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Rushmore, 1940 #1," Library of Congress.

On July 24, 1940, President Roosevelt responded to a letter from Borglum about the appropriation matter. Roosevelt pointed out that authorizations and appropriations had already totaled $750,000 for the project, and that when Borglum testified before the House Sub-Committee on Appropriations on January 17, 1939, he stated that he had no objection to the amount appropriated at that time for completion of the work. The Bureau of the Budget recommended $86,000 to Congress in June to provide $60,000 to complete work on the figures, $11,000 for administrative expenses and $15,000 for Borglum's honorarium.[79] The bill passed in October of 1940.

Meanwhile, Borglum's health was deteriorating. He was hospitalized in Colorado Springs in February and also in September of 1940. With work focused on fine finishing of the faces, he appealed to Luigi del Bianco to return to the Black Hills to help. He first wrote on March 15, 1940 to Bianco, confessing that he was in poor health and that he would have work available. Then more insistently on May 7, "I wish you would come as soon as you can if you want to be of help to me. I must finish the faces by the first of July – and all of them. I need you."[80]

With Borglum's health problems, more and more of the carving work fell to Lincoln, who by this time was experienced with the sculpture and had a crew of long time and well trained workers. Borglum's time on site was focused on observations of the works and making refinements and tweaks that he communicated to Lincoln who carried them out.[81]

As had been his custom, the now 74-year old Borglum requested another appropriation of $278,000 to finish the work at Mount Rushmore. This time he had the backing of the National Park Service. Following his usual procedure, Borglum set off for Washington to lobby for the appropriation. On the way, he and Mary stopped in Chicago where Borglum was going to give a speech. He also saw a doctor there for prostate problems he'd been having. The doctor recommended surgery, which Borglum had on February 17, 1941. Borglum was recovering well, but blood clots developed, and a few days after he received news that Roosevelt was cutting non-defense spending, and the Rushmore appropriation request would not be approved, Borglum died from a clot that had lodged in his lung.[82] Borglum was no doubt very upset by the news that no more work would be funded at Rushmore.

He was such a giant force, with an equally giant ego. It is hard to imagine what the void of his absence could have felt like to all who had been involved with the carving of Mount Rushmore.

With Borglum's death, the Commission's and the National Park Service's fears came to be. Borglum was gone and the Rushmore sculpture was not finished. None of the heads was definitively completed, the hall of records work had been stopped and the entablature and grand stairway left unstarted. Fortunately Lincoln Borglum remained on site and he and the remaining crew worked to finish the faces until the funding ran out. Lincoln devoted the remaining time to refining the four faces and getting them to a place of completion. The last day of work was October 31, 1941. The four faces appeared that day as they do today. The

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[79] Letter, Roosevelt to Borglum, July 24, 1940, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "Franklin D. Roosevelt," Library of Congress.
[80] Letters, Borglum to Bianco, March 15, 1940, and May 7, 1940, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 9, Folder "L. Del Bianco," Library of Congress.
[81] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 380.
[82] Ibid, 386.

talus slope of scrap stone blasted off the mountain remained and it has become an important part of the Rushmore sculpture.

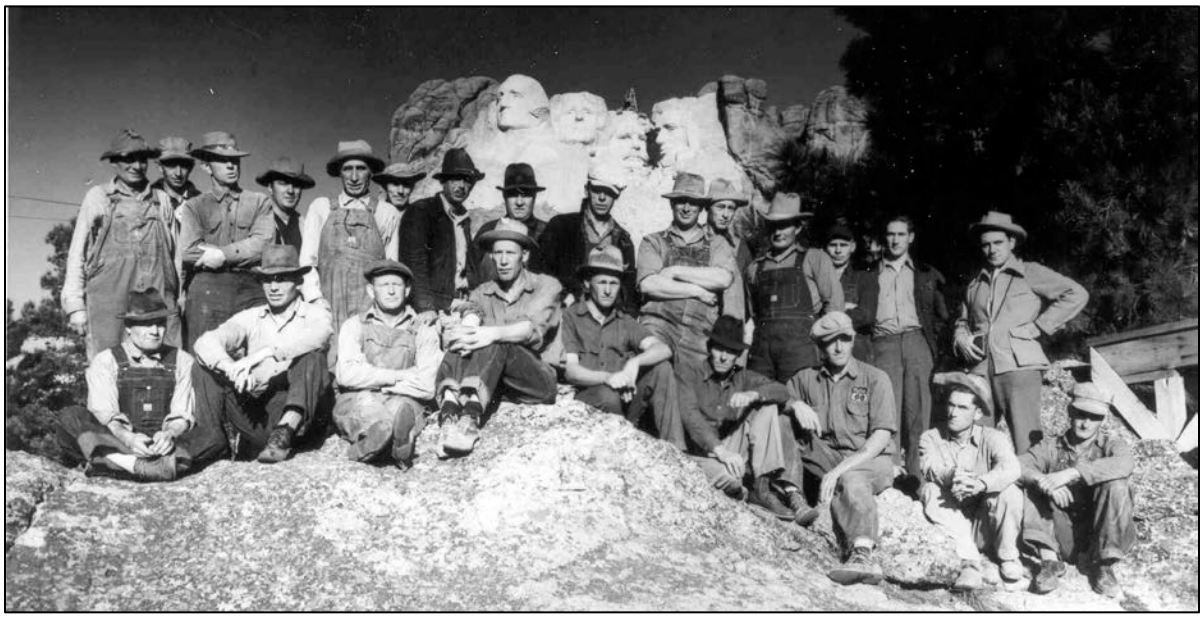


Figure 64: Work crew in the last months of carving, 1941. (MRNM Archives, #1406MORU) Pictured from left to right (first row) Jay Shepard, Alton "Hoot" Leach, Clyde "Spot" Denton, Pat Bintliff, Ernest "Bill" Reynolds, Gustav "Bay" Jurisch, James "Jim" LaRue, Frank Maxwell, and John Raga (second row) Orwell Petersen, Ernest Raga, Otto "Red" Anderson, Matthew "Matt" Reilly, Ray Grover, Norman "Happy, Hap" Anderson, Joseph "Joe" Bruner, Edwald "Ed" Hayes, Marion "Mony" Watson, Gustav "Gus" Schramm, Earl Oaks, Robert "Bob" Himebaugh, Basil "Bake" Canfield, Robert "Bob" Christon, and Lincoln Borglum (identifications courtesy Keystone Historical Museum).

After work stopped and the project concluded, Lincoln Borglum took on a new role as the first Superintendent of Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

Chapter 7

Men on the Mountain



Figure 65: Workers pose for a group photo on the mountain (MRNM Archives, MORU 4065)

A ragtag and sometimes rowdy band of men performed the actual construction of the four enormous faces that make up the Mount Rushmore National Memorial under the supervision of sculptor Gutzon Borglum. Some – many – of the workers came from the local Keystone area, bringing with them experience in the nearby gold and feldspar mines, and in the logging industry. Others drifted in from outside, especially as the Depression deepened in the 1930s, and the Dust Bowl plagued Midwestern ranchers and farmers. They came looking for jobs, anything they could find. An elite few highly skilled workers or supervisory staff knew or previously worked with Borglum on other sculptures and made their way to the mountain at the sculptor's request.

Between 350 and 400 people toiled on the mountain over the fourteen-year course of construction. Some stayed for only a few weeks and were gone; some returned year after year. Generally there were no more than about fifty workers on site at any one time. There simply wasn't the space or the facilities to accommodate them, even during the busiest periods of work. Funding was always a problem. There was never quite enough money, and lack of cash more than once forced a project shut-down. Insufficient income for payroll limited the number of workers on site at any given time, along with constraints of the physical plant.

Even with a small pool of workers, support infrastructure was necessary. There was a bunk house, restaurant, and eventually a concession stand and tour guide service as the curious public began to visit the work-in-progress, forming an incipient tourism industry. Some of the support staff were women, often wives of workers, or in the case of Jean Philip, daughter of a Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission member. To date, fifteen women who worked at Mount Rushmore have been identified. They held administrative

positions such as secretary, stenographer and clerk, or performed bunkhouse work, food and laundry service. Others managed or helped in the concession stand and gave tours of the site.

The following pages introduce the men and women who worked on the mountain, with an attempt to give some insight into their roles and their lives. Without them there would be no Mount Rushmore, despite Gutzon Borglum's grand plan for the colossal granite portraits. Workers pointed, blasted, drilled and shaped the raw granite into the detailed and expressive faces that look outward from Mount Rushmore. Others provided support as blacksmiths, carpenters, and laborers. The information recorded about the workers is incomplete. For some there is much documentation available, for others, almost nothing. Numerous sources about the workers were consulted for this report, including correspondence, payroll and employment records in the Borglum Collection at the Library of Congress, and at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Archives, as well as interviews with workers, conducted as part of the South Dakota Oral History Project in the 1970s and 1980s, and housed at the University of South Dakota. In addition, www.rushmoremedia.com has a large online collection of files on individual workers. Even with these sources, we know very little about many of the people who contributed to construction of the Mount Rushmore memorial.



Figure 66: Borglum working on his model (MRNM Archives, MORU 5415)

In his correspondence, Gutzon Borglum identified himself as "Sculptor and Engineer." He designed the sculpture and created a series of models and a system to communicate the plan from the models to the granite, particular to the large scale of this work. However, he never intended to spend all of his time at Rushmore, and continued to accept and work on other commissions during the time that the memorial was under construction. He established a hierarchy of workers, a labor force with specific jobs, pay, and rank commensurate with the skill and responsibility required. They were supervised by a Superintendent and two foremen, the Foreman of Ground Work and the Foreman of Finishing Work (also called "Foreman, Construction on the Mountain"). Some workers came up through the ranks to emerge in upper level positions, some came to the mountain in top level positions, and some remained as "common labor" for their entire period of employment.

Ground Work, as the term implies, includes work that was performed on the ground, such as operating the compressor, operating the hoist that took workmen and supplies to the top of the mountain, blacksmiths, toolmen, repairmen, masons and carpenters. Sharpening drill bits for the machines drilling into granite was a seemingly endless task as the hard

granite dulled the bits quickly. Sometimes as many as 500 drill bits were sharpened in a day.[1]

Finishing Work was the actual "carving" operation on the granite, which included pointers, carvers, drillers, powdermen, winchmen and callmen/callboys. Within these overall job titles, there were gradations of rank and pay for "Chief," "Senior," "Assistant," "Junior." These were the "Men on the Mountain" and considered superior to the ground crews.[2] Laborers were the lowest paid and most numerous group of workers.

Another category, "Sculptor's Assistant," applied to employees who worked in the studio with Borglum, or on their own, making adjustments to the models. The models had to be changed repeatedly as the design of the sculpture changed to accommodate flaws and cracks that occurred naturally in the granite mountaintop. Sculptor's Assistants, of whom three have been identified thus far, also worked in the field, out on the mountain, pointing, carving or supervising other workers. The title seems to have been a catch-all for highly skilled men who had experience with sculpture.

A complete list of known workers is included in Appendix A of this report.

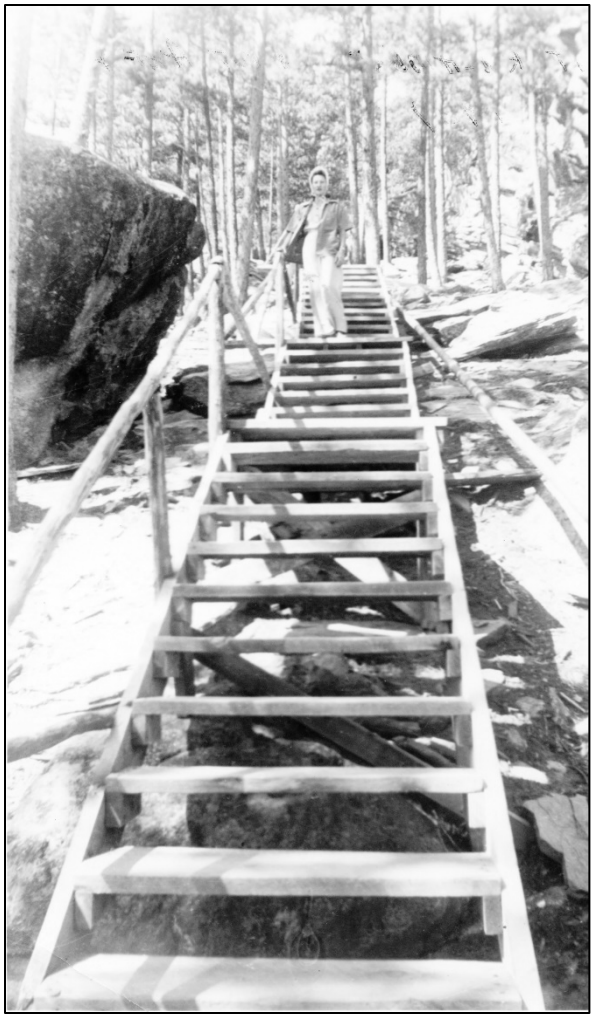


Figure 67: The steps used by workers leading up the mountain (MRNM Archives, 1436a MORU)

Rushmore's Superintendents

The highest paid and salaried workers at Rushmore were the superintendents. The superintendent was the on-site manager of all work done on the mountain. Over the course of the work on the memorial (1927-1941) there were four superintendents. Gutzon Borglum hand-picked all of them. He also fired them, or factored in their leaving voluntarily. Borglum expected the superintendent to be loyal to him and he also expected to have a hands-on role in the management of the work. The superintendents were also answerable to the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, in particular the Commission's on-site manager, John Boland. The Commission paid the bills and controlled the money, while

[1] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP, USD, 1983.
[2] Ibid.

Borglum was more concerned with artistic integrity and having the sculpture exactly as he wanted it, so there was always potential for conflict.[3]

The first superintendent was **Jesse G. Tucker** who also worked with Borglum at Stone Mountain, Georgia, where he superintended and assisted Borglum in the creation of the Confederate Memorial there. Borglum first met Tucker in the spring of 1916, as he prepared for the dedication at the start of the Stone Mountain project. Tucker, a builder/contractor, showed up at the Stone Mountain work site and proved that he was unafraid of clambering up and down a vertical rock cliff. Borglum appointed him superintendent of the project.[4] Later, Tucker accompanied Borglum, his young son, Lincoln, and Doane Robinson on the first trip to the Black Hills to select the site for a mountain sculpture in September of 1924.[5]

Tucker worked toward setting up the site and made preparations for the Mount Rushmore sculpture in 1925.[6] When construction began he was responsible for installing "a plant at Mount Rushmore sufficient for the prosecution of the contemplated work including water supply, machinery, pneumatic drills, other equipment, barracks and commissary, studio building and such other small buildings as may be needed, also scaffolding or other material on the mountain." In addition to these start-up duties, Tucker was contracted to employ and/or discharge all help required for the building and maintaining the plant and with completing the figure of George Washington, under supervision of the sculptor. The contract was with the Mount Harney Memorial Association, and they agreed to pay him a salary of $10,000 per year in equal monthly installments. In addition, Tucker was allowed four to six weeks of vacation during the off season, with full pay. He was also eligible for bonuses at the completion of the first figure.[7]

Under this generous contract (in 1920s dollars) Jesse Tucker began his work as superintendent at Mount Rushmore. He stayed for over two years, but retired in August of 1929, in a dispute over back pay and reimbursements that the Harney Association owed him. The Mount Harney Memorial Association did not have enough funds to meet its payroll obligations, and at times, Tucker advanced his personal funds to keep the project running. In November, 1929, he sued the Mount Harney Memorial Association and its successor the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, the Pennington County Bank, and Gutzon Borglum for $11,150.29 in back pay and interest.[8] The case was settled with payment to Tucker of $7,500.[9]

Several things played into the Tucker resignation and lawsuit. There were comments in correspondence among Boland, Borglum, and Norbeck about the slow progress of the work and low morale among the workers. On the other side, Tucker had to deal with contrary weather conditions, lack of payments for goods and services from the Mount Harney

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[3]Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 293.
[4] Shaff, *Six Wars at a Time*, 151.
[5] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 31.
[6] Letter from Borglum to Norbeck, August 28, 1925, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson Papers," Library of Congress.
[7] Contract, Jesse Tucker, March 1, 1927, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 102, Folder "Harney Memorial Association," Library of Congress.
[8] Lawsuit, Jesse A. Tucker, November 29, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 9, Folder "John Boland," Library of Congress.
[9] Telegram, Boland to Cullinan, Dec. 15, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 172, Folder "J.S. Cullinan, 1929," Library of Congress.

Association and keeping the project afloat with his own funds. In a letter that Borglum wrote to John Boland on August 28, 1929 in response to Tucker's notice of retirement, he says,

> I want also to state, have no worry about the work whatsoever. Mr. Tucker's knowledge of it, acquaintance with it has come entirely through his training under me. He began at thirty dollars a week, a bridge carpenter and every bit of experience he has had in this particular kind of work he has had with me and through my direction.
>
> While he [Tucker] was contented with his work and his pay, I knew of no better man, but for nearly a year and a half he has been ambitious to go into extensive business enterprises of one kind or another and that has interfered with his peace of mind. I have tried to correct this in every way that has been in my power, as you know, but the time has apparently come when he wants to change.[10]

A month later Borglum wrote to J. S. Cullinan (President of the Mount Rushmore Commission and friend of Borglum) expressing his anger with Tucker, saying that Tucker had acted in bad faith. "I do not want Mr. Tucker as we see him now on this job." He has "fallen into bad ways."[11]

Another bone of contention between Tucker and Borglum was over electrical power. Tucker bought electrical power for Rushmore from Keystone Consolidated Mines, while Borglum felt that Mount Rushmore should have its own power plant. John Boland, on-site manager for the Commission, promoted the plan for purchasing power from Keystone Consolidated Mines, because he said it was less costly than setting up a separate power plant. Tucker supported the power purchase program which led to the breakdown in his relationship with Borglum.[12]

After Tucker's departure, the Superintendent's job went to **J. C. Dennison** (also spelled Denison), who was Tucker's assistant. Dennison was from the Keystone area and was a mining promoter and dynamite specialist.[13] He had made many of the hires for the initial workforce at Rushmore, choosing for the most part local miners. According to Borglum in a letter to John Boland, dated August 28, 1929,

> Mr. Dennison has long been in full touch with every part of the work on the mountain. He has been with it since the time we began. He is friendly with the men, gets along well with them, is tractable and kindly, and a hard worker. I shall certainly request that he be retained to take Mr. Tucker's position.[14]

However, Dennison only stayed on as Superintendent for a few months. He began working at Rushmore in 1927, became Superintendent in 1929 and left in 1930. By January of 1930, Borglum had become disillusioned with Dennison, as he wrote in a letter to John Boland on January 12, 1930,

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[10] Gutzon Borglum Papers. Box 9, Folder "John Boland," Library of Congress.
[11] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 165, Folder "J.S. Cullinan," Library of Congress.
[12] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 293.
[13] "The Workers," *Rushmore Media*, www.RushmoreMedia.com.
[14] Gutzon Borglum Papers. Box 9, Folder "John Boland," Library of Congress.

> You do not realize it but Dennison was in constant communication with Tucker, showed him my letters and talked about things that were going on there [at Rushmore] in a manner that was definitely disloyal. I have that from two sources and one of them the best source for certain remarks that you told me Tucker was going to make in the statement he prepared as a kind of blackmail to us.[15]

Dennison, who was an explosives expert and experienced with blasting rock, was also involved in a dispute with Borglum over superintendent's duties. As the sculpture work progressed, blasting and removing stone with large drills became very risky as the stone's surface got closer to the plane of the finished features of the faces. At this critical point stone had to be removed very carefully to avoid taking too much away and causing damage to the finished surface. Borglum fretted because he lacked "trained stone men" who could remove surface stone while saving that immediately beneath.[16] Borglum was concerned that Dennison had no sculpturing or carving experience, and began to take over the superintendent's duties. This did not sit well with Dennison who disliked the interference with his authority, creating conflict and discord with Borglum.

Borglum attempted to solve this problem by spending more time on site and establishing a home and studio at his ranch at nearby Hermosa. He also brought sculptor Hugo Villa into the work force from New York, and put him in charge of the sculpture, particularly in Borglum's absence. Dennison's management over the sculpture was removed and he was placed in charge of the ground work:

> I engaged Mr. Denison to be in charge of construction; that has nothing to do with the sculpture. He has nothing to do with the plans or designs of the work on the mountain in any part of it. His job is to employ for me capable, efficient men, and such as we shall determine are necessary to maintain a capable, reliable working force; to keep tools in perfect working order, and in hand, so that there shall be no delay. He is in general in charge of the smithy, the hoisting, the keeping of the supplies and has a general supervision over the workmen and the property of the commission. He has no authority over the direction of any of this work, nor does he determine the ability nor the selection of men for the specific jobs. That naturally falls to my judgement of the fitness of the men for the work and I am reiterating this here for the purpose firmly of determining the efficiency and the character of the organization we must maintain and also to inform you of where responsibility rests.[17]

In the paragraph above, Borglum indicates that Dennison was no longer fully a superintendent of all work at Rushmore. The oversight of the sculpture, the work on the granite, had been taken away, because as an explosives specialist, and not a sculptor, Dennison was not removing the last layer of stone carefully or with enough precision. Borglum's position was certainly understandable, but Dennison took it badly, perceiving it as

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Letter from Borglum to Boland, July 24, 1929, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1930-32," Library of Congress.
[17] Letter, Borglum to Villa, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum, 1931," Library of Congress.

a demotion, which it was. He became angry and quit. Borglum charged Dennison with disloyalty, and he resigned in the summer of 1930.[18]

Another area of conflict, as was the case in the dispute with Tucker, involved the power source for Rushmore. A power plant had been donated to Borglum and it had been used before the Consolidated Mines power plant was operational. This donated power plant either broke down, or, as Borglum thought, was sabotaged. Borglum wanted to repair and use the power plant, while Dennison, like Tucker before him, favored purchasing power from the mine. In a letter to Boland, July 17, 1930, Borglum expressed his concerns about the power plant situation:

> Regarding this property [power plant], I feel some personal concern. It was given to me and until the mine now serving us with power completed the installation of its own plant, it furnished us and the mine with power for four months. Then it suddenly became useless and we have bought power from that mine ever since. We have long known that a relation exists between the manager of the mine and Tucker and Dennison that is closer than we hold. Last winter Dennison promised to fix up our engine. Instead, though drawing full pay from us, he was working for pay for [the mine]. I have no suggestions regarding this at this moment, but the threat to cut our power July 1st was sinister. [19]

After Dennison left in 1930, Borglum selected **William S. Tallman** to be Superintendent. Unlike Dennison, Tallman had a sculpture background, having studied art in New York City, and having worked with Borglum previously, including summers in Borglum's Stamford, Connecticut, studio when he was in high school. Moreover, Tallman's family and the Borglums were friends and neighbors in Stamford. Tallman worked at Borglum's studio in San Antonio, Texas, on the North Carolina monument for placement at Gettysburg National Military Park. He was the model for the monument's main figure.[20]

After the difficulties with Dennison, Borglum wanted someone who understood an artist's perspective to be in charge of the Rushmore work. Tallman began at Rushmore as a pointer in 1929 and then served as superintendent of construction from 1930-1935. In a letter to Boland, dated July 24, 1929, Borglum wrote, "I have left the fullest instructions with Tallman, who is a young sculptor, has been with me over a year, and who I sent to the mountains to be in charge of the pointing – that is setting the marks for the enlargement of the face of Washington following the big head we are copying."[21] When Dennison left a year later, Borglum chose Tallman to be Superintendent.

On October 10, 1933, Borglum sent a letter to Tallman spelling out his revised duties:

> The enclosed assignments are made:
>
> First, To secure greater efficiency and responsibility in the work in those individually in charge.
>
> Second, To locate delays, neglect and inefficiency.

---

[18] Smith, *Carving of Rushmore*, 294.
[19] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1930-32," Library of Congress.
[20] Biographical/Historical Information, Papers of William S. Tallman, Accession #12129, 12129-a, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA.
[21] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1930-32," Library of Congress.

> Third, To establish greater interest and responsibility and establish team work.
>
> Your duties are the same, except I have put greater responsibility on the heads of individual work, by which I can locate responsibility for the delays, neglect and retarding habits that have crept into and hindered our progress.
>
> We can, I find now, get better service only by helping our men and working closer to them and keeping close check on progress.
>
> I shall in the future hire and retire all men above the "labor" class, I mean men doing special work, drilling, blacksmith's, [sic] assistants, etc., and shall expect your advice as to the habits and ability of all men.
>
> I wish you would spend more time at the top of the mountain, when the present rush is over.[22]

William Tallman, remained as superintendent for five years, resigning December 4, 1935 after a dispute with Borglum. In his resignation letter Tallman claimed,

> Last year, Mr. Borglum no longer believed that I was able to direct the work on the mountain. He accused me of willfully interfering with his orders and hindering the progress of the work. He accused me of being so friendly with Mr. John A. Boland, whom he believed to be working against him, that he could not trust me. From the way he spoke of the Commission his attitude seemed to be that he had little regard for many of its members and as much as possible would ignore them. It became increasingly hard to satisfy him, and finally he posted a notice informing the men that I was no longer in charge of their work on the mountain. He did not notify me personally until some days later when I had requested a copy of the notice from him and I am of the opinion that he did not notify the Commission. Perhaps I should have resigned at that time but I needed my salary badly, and, Mr. Borglum and the Commission wished me to stay. I did so hoping that I might find that I could still be of some real value to the work. But I believe now that this is impossible under existing conditions.[23]

Despite his artistic talents, Tallman was young and inexperienced with mountain carving as well as the on-the-ground aspects of the Rushmore project. By selecting Tallman for Superintendent, Borglum could, in effect, control the operations of the carving himself and avoid the divisiveness that had developed with Tucker and Dennison.[24] As Borglum wrote in a letter to Senator Peter Norbeck in September of 1933,

> I took the only known honest – boy he was – who knew a little about art, a studio attendant of mine, and made him superintendent. I had to have loyalty; I had to and can supply everything else. With the wreck for which I supplied the money we went ahead. Billy Tallman as superintendent has made good. He knew nothing of the work, but has learned and by degrees

[22] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-1934," Library of Congress.
[23] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "NPS files," Library of Congress.
[24] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 294.

> together we have built up a fine small group of fairly able loyal drillers who have been taught and understand something of the task at hand.[25]

Much of the earlier discord with Tucker and Dennison had been the result of conflicting sets of directions coming from Borglum and John Boland, who was treasurer of the Commission, and on-site manager. The growing rift between Borglum and Boland placed all of the superintendents in very difficult positions.

One of Borglum's biggest complaints was the lack of skilled workers. He felt that John Boland was forcing him to use unskilled local miners who were putting the project behind schedule because they had no idea of how to carve and sculpt stone. In July 18, 1933, Borglum wrote to Tallman:

> My Dear Billy:-
>
> I'm sorry I shall not be at the mountain today. Please leave all discussion of wages and the relative value of men's work until I can go over them with you.
>
> The question of the kind of work we must have and the proper payment I must determine and I must insist that you withhold all discussion with anyone until we together determine what these wages should be and who deserves increase, if any, and the nature and value of their work to the Monument.
>
> Regular granite men with some sculpture training are in a class of their own and have a fixed wage. If they can earn that wage we will pay it; if not then we will not pay it.
>
> If you have observed with any care, you must have seen that only when I have men whom I can trust – and even then I watch closely – do I permit the face of Washington or any finishing to be done.
>
> People see me working with miners and think I am carving monuments with miners. I'm not and you know, not having able men, I have let the finishing stand until I can have them.
>
> The work on the monument is two years behind, wholly because I have been without men who knew anything about what they were doing and because I have been without sufficient air [compressor] power.
>
> We are working wholly without trained granite sculptors on the most important monument, in many ways ever undertaken and the men must know there is not one on the mountain today I would permit to touch the eyes, nose or face of Washington – not Micka or Ben [Dann?] yet. And if these two new men do not qualify, they will not be allowed to continue with stone carvers' wages. You may tell Mr. Boland that I intend to fix a general wage scale based on time served, ability and reliability for all – and then turn over to him. That will become the standard of work and wage.
>
> I am pointing this out to you to show the difference between the work we are actually getting from the local men, what paying and how important it

[25] Richardson Collection, Norbeck papers, Box 164, "Folder 4," USD.

> is now becoming to classify our work and men. Then we should take this up with Mr. Boland and establish a firm rule.[26]

Borglum makes his dilemma about skilled help clear in the letter to Tallman. He sounds frustrated, and his comment about not allowing anyone currently employed to touch the eyes illustrates his predicament. The eyes of the likenesses on Mount Rushmore are distinctive. They make the heads come to life. Credit for this artistic mastery goes completely to Gutzon Borglum who designed the eyes, by hollowing out the pupil deeply enough for it to always be in shadow and thus appear dark. However, the entire pupil was not hollowed out. A rectangular section was left at the surface plane, so that light could hit it. It was a free block of stone projecting out from the back of the hollowed out pupil. The suspended shafts of stone were not supported and were attached only to the rock at the back of the eye's pupil. The effect was a glint on the end of the shaft that made the eyes lifelike. The narrow, unsupported projections of stone could be broken easily during carving, and they had to be placed perfectly so that both eyes had the same angle. Very few carvers were up to this task, and it was a source of frustration for Borglum.

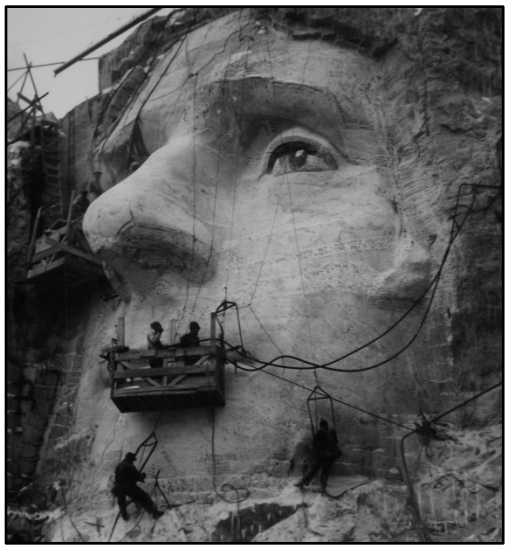


Figure 68: Detail of Jefferson's eye (Picture #17.2, Folder 503 "Mt. Rushmore Pictures," RG75, Box 2680, NARA II)

A few days after he wrote to Tallman, Borglum sent a memo to Boland concerning wages, value of work and relations with the workers:

> …I called the men together today in the presence of Mr. Tallman, Mr. Arthur Johnson [foreman, construction on the mountain] and Lincoln Borglum. I recounted that I had raised the wages of practically all of the men; that we would be working together for a number of years and that we had come to understand each other, were friendly and wished to so continue; would they kindly tell me what their grievances were, if any, and the grounds for any further advance. I asked particularly that Anderson, probably our oldest and ablest man should speak up, and he brought up at once the value of his work in comparison to the work that Micka and Dann, the new man from Spearfish, were doing and the difference in their payment. I immediately replied that the work these two men were doing was no better than any five or ten of the men could do at this time, but these men were trained artisans, granite men, acquainted with sculpture and I was familiarizing them with the hazard and character of our work for another week or ten days and expected then to put them upon work that none of the men now employed on the mountain are capable of carrying out; that if these men did not qualify in that time they would be reduced to the wages of the drillers and would be given work similar

[26] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum, 1934," Library of Congress.

> to the drillers work; that I could not and would not create any precedent that would place the mine drillers on a par with trained sculptor's assistants…[27]

Meanwhile, Tallman was maturing in his leadership role, becoming more confident in his abilities, and understanding when he was to follow Borglum's orders and when to follow Boland's. Boland had become a friend to Tallman as well. As the conflict between Borglum and Boland deepened, Borglum ordered Tallman to have nothing to do with Boland, putting Tallman in a very difficult position.[28] After Tallman resigned, Borglum said that like Tucker before him, Tallman, who had come to work as an honest boy, had been corrupted by Boland and members of the Commission.[29]

After his Rushmore experience, Tallman owned a pottery studio in Keystone until 1940 and then worked for thirty years, beginning in 1941, with a company that manufactured technical ceramics. He moved to Texas in 1976, where he had a sculpting studio. During his later years in life, he gave talks and presentations on his role at Mount Rushmore.[30]

After Tallman left both Borglum and Boland sought help from the National Park Service to provide an overseer for the project. Their motives and requirements differed. Borglum wanted someone to be in charge of the administrative details – a Clerk of the Works. Boland wanted a Superintendent for the whole project, who could take control and temper Borglum's sometimes capricious behavior.[31] National Park Service Superintendent of Memorials, John L. Nagle finally agreed to send an engineer to oversee the project. In June of 1936, **Julian C. Spotts** arrived on site with his wife and four children and assumed the title "Resident Engineer." His duties were clearly and carefully spelled out to avoid, as much as possible, friction with Borglum and Boland and the Commission. In a letter dated April 14, 1938, Nagle wrote out Spotts' duties, noting that they were the same as they had been for the two previous seasons, 1936 and 1937:

> (1) To assist the Mount Rushmore Commission in all matters touching upon the purely technical and administrative phases of the work, to the ends that Government funds may be properly and expended, that the physical plant may be efficiently maintained and operated, and the completion of the project may be brought about at the earliest possible date; and
> (2) To cooperate with and facilitate the efforts of Mr. Gutzon Borglum in all phases of the work for which he is responsible.
>
> In performing those duties, you will please carefully study the contract now in effect with Mr. Borglum, especially those Articles defining the division of responsibility between Mr. Borglum and the Mount Rushmore Commission. It is most likely that instances will be encountered wherein the explicit terms of the contract are not wholly applicable. In all such instances, please confer with Mr. Borglum and Mr. Boland so that workable interpretations of the terms of the contract may be quickly arrived at.

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[27] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-1934," Library of Congress.
[28] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 298.
[29] Ibid, 308.
[30] Papers of William S. Tallman, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.
[31] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 308.

> Your attention is especially invited to the fact that under the contract, Mr. Borglum is designated as Author and Sculptor of the Mount Rushmore project. It should be remembered that it is hardly possible, in any Articles of Agreement, to define explicitly the duties of the author and sculptor of an important sculptural project; and it should also be kept in mind that it is difficult for one not trained as an artist, fully to comprehend the nature of the difficulties which the sculptor will encounter in his work.[32]

From this letter and others, it appears that the National Park Service was, at least in the written record, making a major effort to prevent interference with Gutzon Borglum's work on the sculpture. However, Borglum soon became unhappy with what he saw as Spotts' interference with the work of the sculpture, and the situation between Borglum and Spotts, and Borglum and the Commission, but particularly John Boland, deteriorated. "Borglum got rid of him," said Rushmore hoist operator Ed Hayes, referring to Spotts in an interview in 1978.[33]

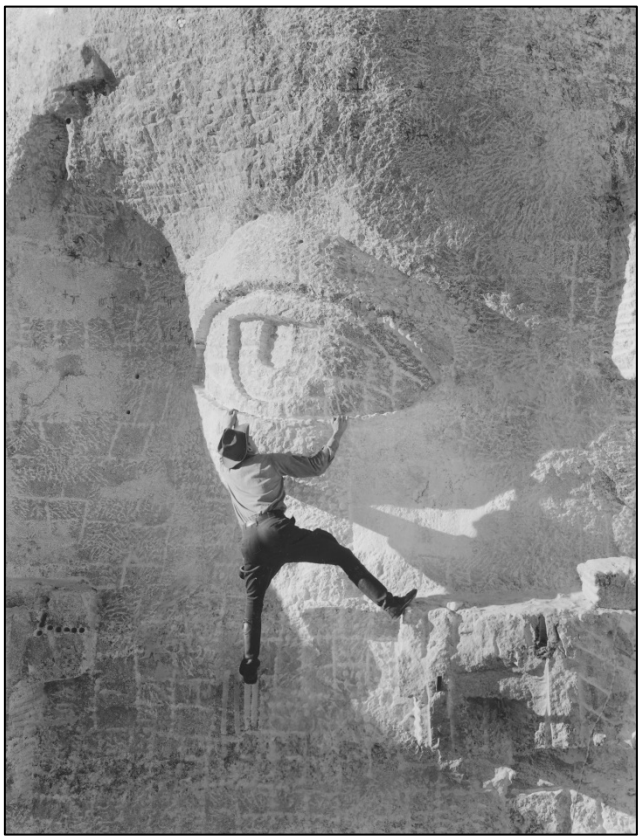


Figure 69: Lincoln Borglum inspecting Jefferson's eye (MRNM Archives, MORU 5544)

In the spring of 1938 Borglum, with the help of U.S. Senator Key Pittman, Congressman Kent Keller and Congressman Francis Case got a new funding bill passed and caused the resignation of the Mount Rushmore Commission, removal of National Park Service control, and creation of a new Commission, handpicked by Borglum.[34] Borglum made his son, Lincoln, Superintendent in July of 1938, when Julian Spotts left. Lincoln had been working in a supervisory capacity over the sculpture work in Borglum's absence since May.[35] **Lincoln Borglum** served as the project Superintendent until work ended in October of 1941. Lincoln had been involved with the Mount Rushmore project from its inception, coming to investigate the site as an eleven-year-old in 1924 with his father. Then, as a young man, he began working as a pointer and then chief pointer in 1932.

In a South Dakota Oral History Project interview with Lincoln Borglum in 1983, (interviewer's name not given), Lincoln was asked about the more than 350 workers

[32] Nagle to Spotts, April 14, 1938, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "Interior Department," Library of Congress.
[33] Interview, Edwald Hayes, SDOHP #1948, USD.
[34] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 340-342.
[35] Ibid, 353.

on the Rushmore project. Lincoln responded with surprise that there had been so many workers:

> I think that most of that transition took place in early years when Tucker was there, Talmon [sic] was there, Dennison was there, they were all superintendents or something on that order. And they had a lot of turnover because there was a lot of, there were a lot of people that I didn't know at all. And from 1931 on, I don't think except, from the financial situation, we have very little turnover. The guys would stay on the job as long as they got paid, as long as we could pay them. And when we could pay them off they nearly always came back so they got to be a close-knit kind of a group and the ball team kind of even made it closer. So, I doubt very much if we had more than a hundred people turnover in the last ten years.[36]

According to Lincoln, there was a distinction between the men who worked on the mountain and those who did other jobs on the ground below.

> But there was a difference and it was a matter of social standing practically, because they didn't work on the mountain and that was kind of an elite class by itself, the guys that worked up on the mountain…
>
> Yeah, kind of a caste system. But, you see, there were a lot of guys that worked there and maybe some of the ones that you're talking about, and the ones that I don't remember, because we had this WPA project and we put a lot of guys to work doing, cleaning up and building walks and all this kind of stuff down on the ground and never saw the top of the mountain. So…if you add up the number of people that had been on the payroll, you're taking a lot of that group into it…

All indications are that Lincoln was well liked by the Rushmore workers. As driller Orville Worman put it, Lincoln was a "liaison between Gutzon and the men." The men respected him for that.[37] Lincoln went on to become the first superintendent of Mount Rushmore National Memorial with the National Park Service.

Finishing Work; Men on the Granite; Men on the Mountain

<u>Foremen</u>:

On October 10, 1933 Borglum wrote a job description for **John Arthur Johnson**, Foreman, Construction on the Mountain,

> Your duties are to have general charge of the work on the mountain and to see that the men report to work, are not kept waiting for orders, material and tools.
>
> That air hose, hammers and cables have been inspected, are safe and ready for use.

[36] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, 30, USD.
[37] Interview, Orville Worman, SDOHP #1961, USD.

> Also – check on all drilling and report – all loading and blasting and report.
>
> Maintain shelter fires and avoid all unnecessary delays by being prepared before and for the work designated by myself or Mr. Tallman.
>
> All orders for pointing must be made direct to Mr. Lincoln Borglum, when available or through Mr. Tallman and twenty-four hours to two days ahead of time – or before needed.
>
> All requirements for material should be made in writing and given to me or, if to Superintendent Tallman, a copy for me…[38]

The first foreman of finishing work may have been **Cliff Davis**. So far, his name has only appeared in correspondence from 1925. He was mentioned in a letter from Borglum to Norbeck, August 28, 1925, "I want my first foreman or assistant Cliff Davis, who is a regular steeplejack who would go down over the mountain and make all of the measurements."[39] Other foremen of finishing work in addition to Johnson, and possibly Davis, included **J. C. Dennison** (before he was made superintendent) and **Elbert "Rufus" Evans**, employed 1927-1929, **George Rumple**, who worked from 1932 through the end of the project in a variety of posts, and **Matt "Matty" Reilly** who worked 1936 through the end of the project.

Pointers:

Twelve workers carried the title of Assistant Pointer or Pointer. It was the pointer's job to transfer the design of the sculpture from the models in the studio to the rock on the mountain, using a pointing machine that Borglum adapted to suit the scale of the work. Borglum followed a system that used a protractor on the model and transferred the measurements from the model to a giant protractor on the mountain. The mountain system included a protractor plate on a boom with a plumb line extending from a point on the top of the head on the granite, the "master point." There was one for each head. The pointer would calculate the key "points" based on ratio, and mark them in the stone to provide a map for blasting and drilling. Borglum made his models on a 1:12 ratio, so that an inch on the model equaled a foot on the mountain.[40]

Lincoln Borglum was made Chief Pointer in 1933, as unpaid staff, and held that title until he was appointed Superintendent in 1938. He became a paid employee in 1934. Other categories were senior pointer, assistant senior pointer, pointer, and assistant pointer.

Matty Reilly served as Chief Pointer after Lincoln Borglum was made superintendent. Reilly was a neighbor of the Borglums in Stamford Connecticut.[41] In 1936, he wrote to Mary Borglum, asking for a job at Rushmore.[42] He began work as a laborer, then became an assistant pointer, a foreman, and then chief pointer. When a cable car broke away in June of 1940, and was hurtling down the mountain with men inside, it was Matty who put a steel bar through the wheel in the hoist house to stop the car.[43] Other accounts say that two-

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[38] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-1934," Library of Congress.
[39] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 160, Folder "Doane Robinson Papers," Library of Congress.
[40] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 160.
[41] "The Workers," *Rushmore Media*, www.RushmoreMedia.com.
[42] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore, 1936," Library of Congress.
[43] Richard Cerasani, *Love Letters from Rushmore*, Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2014.

by-fours were used to break the car's fall. **Hugo Villa** returned to Rushmore as Chief Pointer in 1940-1941. Senior Pointers were **John C. Merrick** who worked in 1935 and 1936, and **Giles Montgomery** (Mary Borglum's nephew) who worked in 1939. **Jefferson Greer** was Assistant Senior Pointer 1935 to 1937 when he left Rushmore. **James LaRue** was a pointer and he worked in that capacity from 1936-1940.

The remainder of the pointers were assistants, **Adolph Bames**, **Arthur Cerasani**, **Donald Ely**, **John Lintz**, **Floyd McDonald**, **Robert McNally** and **Thomas Mims**. The senior pointers also served as assistants before being elevated to the role of pointer or senior pointer.

Carvers, Stonecutters, Sculptor's Assistants:

In his 1983 interview, Lincoln Borglum responded to inquiries about trained stonecutters who worked on the sculpture. There were no more than five or six, he said.



Figure 70: 1937 photo of Red Anderson doing finish work (MRNM Archives, #6132 MORU)

> I couldn't say that I was trained, I was trained on the job, on the job training, in, on job site, job site training, whatever you want to call it. There were two or three stonecutters that were trained stonecutters. Now this fellow Bianco [Luigi del Bianco] that I was talking about, and there was another fellow from, he stayed there for a long time, and I can't think of his name, he came from Indiana [Joe Bruner]. He worked in some of the quarries down there in Indiana, he was a trained stonecutter, a real good fellow. But right now, I can't think of any other ones. There was some sculptor's assistants that used to work down there in the studio, there was a Tommy Mims [worked as an assistant pointer in 1934], and Jeff Grier [Jefferson Greer], Ivan Houser, mixed plaster and worked on the models and did things like that. They didn't work on the mountain. Jeff Grier [Greer] worked on the pointing a little bit, at times, because he was, he had a pretty good knowledge of math. No, I tell you, there was a psychological thing about working on the mountain. And it was definitely so on Stone Mountain and it was, dad was always bitching about it, because he wanted to get trained stonecutters to come up there and work, I mean he wanted them on the job. If he could get a good one he would, you know, he'd just go crazy if he could get a good one, he was always trying to find somebody. And a lot of them

> went through that were supposed to be good and they weren't worth a damn. But, you take a stonecutter, this is what I found anyway, and he's probably put in, I don't know, fifteen, twenty, thirty, years apprenticeship, or in his trade. And his trade is standing on the ground working on a chunk of rock, or maybe in a quarry somewhere. Now you take and hang him with two or three hundred feet of nothing underneath him on the end of a cable or put him in one of those cages, and most of them come unglued or else they don't want to work and they stay a couple of weeks and they say, thank you very much, but I really don't like it up here. So actually I think, I'm sure in my own mind, I found it much better that we get somebody like, I don't know whether you knew Red Anderson, or Howdy Peterson, [Lincoln was probably referring to Howdy's brother, Merle Peterson who worked on the mountain] well, you know Howdy's brother, Pete that died, there was a dozen or two of them, trained on the job. And they started in as just common drillers which I think first, back in those days, paid 50 cents or 55 cents an hour. And we finally got that worked up to a dollar and a quarter, or a dollar and a half I think for the top grade of driller. And these guys that were trained on the job would just beat to hell, most of these trained stonecutters that you put there because it was a psychological thing, they weren't happy working, hanging on the side of the mountain. And these guys could care less where they were hanging.[44]

In 1933, during Tallman's tenure as superintendent, the Rushmore project had pre-printed time sheets identified as "DAILY RECORD – Men-on-the-Granite, Drilling and Carving, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Daily – Reported to Gutzon Borglum, Sculptor, Engineer." The timesheet had preprinted names of elite workers and spaces for other names to be added. At the bottom of the sheet was a space for the date and signature of the "Foreman on Granite" and "Superintendent of Works." The printed names are among those most associated with the carving of Rushmore, long time employees that Lincoln Borglum referenced as being in an upper caste: Liugi del Bianco, carver; O.E. (Red) Anderson, driller; James Payne, driller; Alton Leach, driller; Elton Gordon, driller; Ray Grover, driller; Merle Peterson, driller; George Hesnard, driller; Alfred Berg, powder man; M.I. Cindel, blacksmith. Other names of drillers were added in pencil for particular days.

Heading the list of the pre-printed time sheet was **Luigi del Bianco**, the only person designated as a carver in the 1933 daily record sheets. He was also among the "no more than five or six" trained stonecutters that Lincoln Borglum knew to have been employed on the mountain. He worked at Rushmore intermittently in 1933, 1935, 1936 and 1940. Bianco (or del Bianco), an immigrant from Italy, settled in Port Chester, New York, and met Gutzon Borglum and began working in Borglum's studio. He worked with Borglum at Stone Mountain and then at Rushmore.[45]

Bianco began working at Rushmore in 1933 as a driller, on the heads of Washington and Jefferson. On April 23, 1933 Mary Borglum wrote to Bianco, asking him to report to the Black Hills as soon as possible.[46] On October 10, 1933, Gutzon Borglum wrote letters to key workers on the mountain with their job descriptions and assignments. One of those

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[44] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, USD.
[45] "About Luigi Del Bianco," *Luigi Del Bianco*, http://www.luigimountrushmore.com/about-luigi-2/
[46] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Folder "Luigi Del Bianco, 1941," Library of Congress.

letters was addressed to Luigi del Bianco, "Chief Carver, in charge of all Close Drilling and Carving,"

> Your duty is to give all of your attention and study to the carving of the Jefferson head and removing the stone between the Jefferson and the Washington head.
>
> Unless Mr. Borglum designates your assistant drillers, you may choose your helpers, but make no change after you have begun with your men without consulting Mr. Borglum.
>
> You must plan your work four to six days ahead and have all points made at least four days ahead of drilling.
>
> You are responsible for [?] of drilling and amount of stone taken off and size of explosions.
>
> If and when casts are needed one week's notice to Ivan [Houser] is necessary.
>
> Give your orders ahead of time to insure no delays.
>
> All requests for tools and materials should be made direct to Mr. Borglum.[47]

Bianco worked at Rushmore until November of 1933, when Tallman wrote to Borglum saying that Bianco was leaving.[48] He received the title, "Chief Carver in charge of all Close Drilling and Carving" in lieu of a raise in his $.90 per hour pay as a carver. Despite the title, Bianco left, saying he had other work that paid better. He returned to work on the mountain in 1935 at the rate of $1.50 per hour, a substantial sum in the mid-1930s, and stayed through 1936. Bianco wrote in long hand to Borglum on May 16, 1937, on his letterhead, "L. Del Bianco, Granite and Marble Memorials, 108 So. Regent St., Port Chester New York":

> Dear Mr. Borglum,
>
> Received your letter and appreciate the fact very much your wanting me to work with you again this summer, but am sorry to say that I cannot take this trip again this year for that salary, if I could receive at least fourteen Dollars [a day] then I could consider starting for out there again. Mr. Borglum you already understand that I have always been at your side working for you and being obedient to your desires at all times, therefore I think that if you speak to Mr. Nagle and make him understand that I am really needed importantly by you for that work out there then maybe he will consider giving me that raise in salary that I need very much to carry on and take care of my self [sic] and family. Mr. Borglum if everything is satisfactory and you send for me I will come immediately…[49]

There is no indication that Bianco's wages were changed from the raise to $1.50 an hour that he received in 1935. In an undated note to John Boland, probably from 1935, Borglum wrote,

> I returned Bianco to his work this morning as Chief Carver, and granite expert, at a dollar and fifty cents per hour.

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[47] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-34," Library of Congress.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 9, Folder "L. del Bianco," Library of Congress.

> He will have complete charge of the practical ways and means of dealing with the finesse of carving and instructing other carvers, in the ways and means of handling this particular stone. I am arranging for two other carvers I have located one in New York and one in Denver who worked for me at Stone Mountain. These men will be paid a dollar and 25 cents an hour – standard carvers wages, for general work.
>
> In conference with Tallman, Bianco and Lincoln we have agreed to create two other classes of carvers: a dollar an hour class and a ninety cent class.
>
> There are five men on the mountain that have earned this distinction. Tallman will give you their names in next month's payroll.[50]

In 1935, Bianco created a patch in Jefferson's lip where a chunk of feldspar sat within the granite, probably as part of a team with Joe Bruner and Red Anderson. The feldspar was cut out and a piece of granite shaped, inserted, pinned, and secured with melted sulphur.[51] While Rex Alan Smith wrote that this repair was done by stone cutter Joe Bruner and Red Anderson, Lincoln Borglum in his 1983 interview said that Bianco had made the repair:

> Yes, Sal Bianco [del Bianco], the Italian stonecutter, mason that was out there, did that…
>
> He was a real good stonecutter, he was slow but he was good. Great, big Italian, name was Bianco, oh, he worked for dad for years…
>
> No, he did a good job of it. He worked there off and on, I don't know, two or three or four years he was, he came from back in Connecticut, and New York, Port Chester, New York, family back there. And he'd come out and work sometimes for four or five months and once in a while, once he had, he was the only guy working on the mountain. In fact that's when he put that patch in. Cause we only had enough funds to pay one employee. So he put that in.[52]

Bianco left again in 1936 and returned in 1940 at Borglum's request. This time Bianco was anxious to make the trip, because he was out of work.[53] For a time, according to Lincoln Borglum, Bianco was the only employee on the mountain.[54] As for the repair to Jefferson's lip, it was likely a team effort with the help of Red Anderson and Joseph Bruner.

In addition to Bianco as chief carver, there were others who carried the title of carver, 14 of them have been recorded in the census of workers for this report. Most of them worked their way up through the ranks, starting as laborers or in other jobs on the Rushmore project and showed promise and talent, while a few were professional carvers brought in from outside. Among the professional carvers was **Joe Bruner** from Indiana, mentioned earlier. He had worked with Borglum previously, and was at Rushmore from 1938 to 1941 according to payroll records and rushmoremedia.com. **Walter K. Long** was a professional sculptor from Auburn, New York, who was at Rushmore only in 1935, as a Driller and Assistant

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[50] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1935-36," Library of Congress.
[51] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 306.
[52] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, USD.
[53] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 9, Folder "L. del Bianco," LOC.
[54] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, USD

Carver. According to rushmoremedia.com, Borglum asked him to help repair Washington's lip and eye. **Korczak Ziolkowski** was a sculptor from New England, accomplished, but without formal training. He worked at Rushmore in 1939 only for about three weeks, before Borglum fired him.[55]

The other artistic professionals, sculptors, held the title of "Sculptor's Assistant." **Hugo Villa** is not listed as a "carver" but rather as a sculptor's assistant, and thus not in the list of fourteen carvers. Nevertheless, Villa spent plenty of time out on the granite in addition to time in the studio. Villa shows up on the record in 1929, 1930 and 1931 when Borglum fired him for "disobedience to my instructions, carelessness, absence from work and inattention, resulting in demoralization, loss and faulty work."[56] There was also an issue involving Villa, with the original placement of the Jefferson head to Washington's right. A great deal of work had been done on Jefferson, but it had to be removed because of bad stone. This difficulty occurred during one of Borglum's absences.[57] "[Villa's] disloyalty to the work itself in my absence evident everywhere and conveyed to me by many of the workmen, together with a framed up plan to blackmail me into paying money on items trumped up, compels me to remove him from all connections with this work."[58] Villa returned to Rushmore at the end of the project in 1940 and 1941.

On July 12, 1930, Borglum wrote to Villa offering him work for half time during the remainder of 1930 and all of 1931, and potentially for the rest of the project. For the other half of Villa's time, he was to work for Borglum assisting with Borglum's own personal work. Borglum says, "I have arranged with the executive committee to loan you to the Commission for such time as may be necessary for you to be on the mountain and in my absence to direct and be in charge of the work." The letter continues,

> You will receive on the mountain the same pay that you receive from me and you will be in absolute charge of all work relating to the production or reproduction of the sculpture. You will have as your immediate assistant Wm. Tallman, who has been with me off and on for some years, an honorable and reliable gentleman. He has established the dimensions of the Washington head under very great difficulty, faulty machinery and little or no assistance. He has done this, however, with patience and loyalty to the work and I want him to be your immediate assistant. You will leave him in full charge with the full direction that I am placing with you for determining all measurements, the methods of drilling, "plugging," "bumping," for the selection out of the workmen, the men that shall do the work. You must understand that in my absence the work is in your hands entirely, together with the selection out of the group of men Mr. Denison presents, those who shall work, or to decide whether they shall be allowed to work at all, on any of the sculpture. There

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[55] Letter from Borglum dismissing Ziolkowski, n.d., Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works-Mt. Rushmore, 1942-48," Library of Congress.
[56] Letter, Borglum to Boland, Sept 11, 1931, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland," Library of Congress.
[57] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 220-223.
[58] Letter, Borglum to Boland, Sept 11, 1931, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John Boland," Library of Congress.

must be no risk by careless use of men, who are unskilled or unable to follow your direction.[59]

There were three other trained sculptors who worked at Rushmore. Two were titled sculptor's assistants, **Ivan Houser** and Frank Mishca (Micka). Houser appears on payroll records in 1932 at $.45 per hour and in 1934 at $45.00 per week. Houser had associations with Borglum on several of his earlier sculptures and operated a pottery shop in Keystone. He later went on to be a professor of ceramics and sculpture at Lewis and Clark College.[60] **Frank Mishca (also Micka)** only worked in 1934 at the rate of $40 per week. He was a sculptor, but very little biographical information has been located about him. The third trained sculptor was **Arthur J. Cerasani**. He worked at Rushmore for only one year, 1940, with the job title of assistant pointer. He worked with Gutzon Borglum on a sculpture in Rochester, New York, prior to the Rushmore project. At Rushmore, he worked on models in the studio and as pointer.[61]



Figure 71: Red Anderson at work with a drill on the mountain (MRNM Archives, #273aMORU)

According to several sources, the main trained sculptors who were associated with the Rushmore carving in addition to Borglum were Luigi del Bianco, Hugo Villa, William Tallman and Joe Bruner. Other carving work was done by Rushmore employees, about whom Lincoln Borglum spoke so highly, who had been trained on the job. These included:

Norman E. "Hap" Anderson served as junior driller, senior driller, assistant carver, and carver. He first appeared at Rushmore in 1935 and stayed until the end of the project. He said that Borglum asked him to "put the curl in Lincoln's beard and the twinkle in Roosevelt's eye."[62] He was injured when a cable car carrying him and other workers broke loose and either he jumped or was thrown out of the bucket, June 3, 1940.

Otto "Red" Anderson began working on the mountain in 1929, and stayed until the end of the work. He served as assistant driller, driller, assistant carver, and carver. Red Anderson was one of the pre-printed names on the 1933 time sheets. He played catcher on the Rushmore baseball team.[63]

James E. Champion first started working at Rushmore in 1932. He returned in 1934 and stayed through 1940. He worked as a callman, junior driller, assistant powderman,

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[59] Borglum to Villa, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum, 1931," Library of Congress.
[60] Rushmoremedia.com
[61] Cerasani, *Love letters*.
[62] "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.
[63] "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933," Library of Congress.

senior driller, and carver. Champion was born January 5, 1915 and died December 23, 1947 from silicosis of the lungs.[64]

Elton (also spelled Eldon) Gordon appears on the 1933 pre-printed time sheets. He began at Rushmore in 1930 as a winchman. He returned in 1932, and stayed through 1941. He also worked as a driller, senior driller, assistant carver, and carver. He was listed as a driller on the time sheets. According to rushmoremedia.com, he died in 1944 of silicosis. He was from Huron, South Dakota.

Joseph Junglas is one of the workers about whom there is almost no information. He worked at Rushmore only in 1929 for about six weeks, and was paid $1.50 an hour as a carver. At a wage of $1.50 an hour in 1929, he was probably a professional sculptor or stonecutter.

Starting out in 1929 as a laborer, **James "Jim" La Rue** worked his way up to assistant pointer, pointer, and carver. He worked in 1932, 1934 and 1936-1940 according to Rushmore employment records. His rushmoremedia.com listing says that he built and operated a Country Store in Keystone for eight years.

Earl E. Oaks also started out as a laborer and worked his way up to winchman, driller, senior driller, assistant carver, and carver. He began in 1932 and also worked 1934-1939. He died in 1970.

A.B. "Jack" "Palooka" Payne was from Keystone. He like several other carvers began employment as a laborer, the advanced to winchman, driller, senior driller, assistant carver, and carver. With the exception of 1932, he worked at Rushmore from 1929 to 1939. He was also a prizefighter in Keystone. His boxing name was the "Keystone Cutter." He died in 1984.[65]

Merle Peterson is on the preprinted 1933 time sheets. He was listed as a driller on the time sheet, but he began work in 1929 as a laborer. He worked at Rushmore every year thereafter as toolman, senior driller, assistant carver, and carver. He was manager of the Rushmore baseball team and played the position of outfielder. He died in 1974.[66]

George Rumple worked from 1932 through the end of the project. He served in many positions, most notably as foreman of finishing work. He started out as a laborer and helper, but also was a blacksmith, truck driver, driller, assistant carver, and carver. According to rushmoremedia.com, he was also a powderman and worked on Jefferson's eye. He was from Keystone, where his parents owned a café, "Frank's."



Figure 72: George Rumple operating a winch (MRNM Archives, #272aMORU)

[64] "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.
[65] rushmoremedia.com
[66] Ibid.

Marion G. "Mony" Watson was at Rushmore when work began in 1927 as a laborer. He returned in 1930-1932, and again from 1935 through the end of the project. He became a senior driller and carver.

Drillers:

According to the list of workers identified as having worked on Mount Rushmore, drillers were among the most numerous. Ninety-seven of the 366 workers on the list served as drillers for some part of their tenure on the mountain. Many of these men were the miners who had previously worked in the gold and feldspar mines in the Black Hills and were experienced in underground drilling. Drilling while suspended from cables on a vertical granite face several hundred feet above the ground was a very different experience. Some workers adapted well; others did not. Some, in fact most, began as laborers and worked into the position of driller. Some moved up to assistant carver or carver. Some stayed for only a season or two, others returned year after year. The reason for the high number of drillers was that much of the work involved drilling, either rough drilling with sixty-five-pound jack hammers or fine drilling near the finished surface to take off small amounts of stone.



Figure 73: Initial rough drilling on the rock face (MRNM Archives, MORU 4113)

Drilling was an important part of stone removal in the carving process. Workers drilled holes into the stone face of the mountain. The holes were then loaded with small charges of dynamite. When the dynamite was fired, the surface of the stone peeled off and tumbled down the mountain. Carvers then did the finish work.

The 1933 pre-printed time sheets included one carver, del Bianco, seven drillers, one powderman and one blacksmith. The seven drillers were **O.E. Anderson**, **James Payne**, **Alton Leach**, **Elton Gordon**, **Ray Grover**, **Merle Peterson** and **George Hesnard**. In 1935, a senior driller's wages were $.75 per hour, and a junior driller's were $.65.

Lincoln Borglum when interviewed for the South Dakota Oral History Project in 1985 described the drilling process:

> …the way the carving was really done, was each head was cut, roughly like an egg. That is, in the early part of the work there was, of course you can't see this on the tape, 'cause I'm using my hands too much. … say the indentations for the eyes or alongside the nose was not cut until we were fairly, almost certain that the stone was good. As long as it was in the egg shape, then you could turn the head inside the egg shape. I mean, you could turn the nose 10 feet to the right, or 10 feet to the left to get into solid stone. So, we didn't commit ourselves by making the indentations for the nose or the eyes until we were certain that we had good stone…

…the drillers actually rolled down over the side of the mountain and they did their carving. The men that did the carving were called the drillers and there were 2 or 3 classifications of that from the real rough drilling to men that had been there long enough and had enough experience to be raised in salary and be called finish workers. They did the actual finishing on the faces. The wage scale was quite a bit, quite a bit of variation, in that, something like 65 or 70 cents an hour I think, or maybe it was even a dollar an hour, towards the end we had a little more funds and were able to pay them a little bit better. We had another man who was called a steel monkey and he had a big leather bag, kinda like a postman's bag except it was flatter and longer and deeper and made out of a heavier leather. And he would service the men that were down drilling. He would, if a man was down on, say down on the front of Washington, drilling a bunch of holes, he couldn't carry enough steel with him to stay down there say four hours or something… So this steel monkey, as we called him, would carry fresh bits in this leather sack over his shoulder, and he would go down and give the guy a new bunch of steel, take back the dull steel…

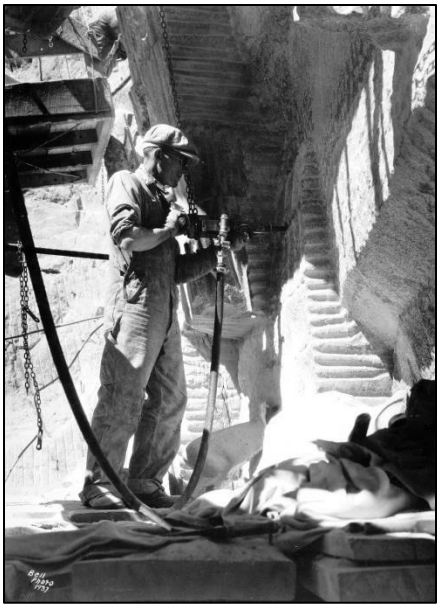


Figure 74: Fine drilling (MRNM Archives, MORU 5445)

…you've got rough drilling, long holes, heavy charges, and the basic rule of it was that of the cutting of it was when you were a long ways away from the surface, when you were 20 or 30 feet from what the model showed where the figure would be, you felt fairly free to drill 8 or 9 foot holes, probably 2 feet apart, 18 inches apart, 8 or 9 feet deep, I'm talking about, and load maybe 2 or 3 sticks of dynamite in each hole. As you progressively got closer to the surface you were trying to save, the holes became closer together, the dynamite charges became much less, holes became a lot shorter. And, when we finally got back to where we were maybe 6 or 8 inches from the final surface, why the holes were just as close together as you could drill them. And in many cases, there wasn't any dynamite put in them at all, just a full amount of mercury cap was put in. And this just popped it out and it would just move out a couple of feet or a foot and slide down the mountain. So then, then you went to the, more or less, handwork, with the steel and the jackhammers, and the bumpers and plug drills. I haven't used the word plug drills, but that's what we used to call the ones that just had a point or we used the same drill we used to do this channeling, that I was talking about. We call that channeling when we cut the web out between the holes. Call that a channel iron. You must have some of those up around the mountain somewhere, I'm sure on display…

…it was a matter of ah, confidence and skill that they had. I mean, the more skill they had, why the better work they were doing, I mean, more closer

> to finishing work. And the men that were maybe not capable of it, of doing that kind of work, and he didn't care, they didn't have enough interest to develop that, the skill for that sort of work, would do the heavy drilling and the rough drilling, using the big jackhammers.
>
> We had several sizes of jackhammers, but the large hammer, I think, weighed about 65 pounds. Then we had the smaller ones that were about, well, we never did weigh them, I think they were around 20 or 25 pounds or something like that…
>
> …Then you got your place to drill, and to start, most of the way you'd start to drill with a jackhammer, up on the side of the mountain, and I suppose this is fairly general, but, you would take your jackhammer, I hope I can show, give you the idea on tape. The jackhammer was made generally in the shape of a "T", with the handle on top, two handles. And the lever, the throttle, and you'd take your foot and put it up against the mountain, and set your drill where your instep is. And then start to open your throttle just a little bit, to get the drill going just a little, just to start getting a hole. And then after you've got a hole enough to hold the end of the drill, well, then you could turn it up and straighten it up, and then put your weight on it, and open your throttle.[67]

Lincoln Borglum referred to most "carving" work as "drilling," but payroll and job classification records indicate that carvers were distinct from drillers.

Powdermen:



Figure 75: Alfred Berg (left) and Spot Denton (right) preparing blasting caps (MRNM Archives, #5617MORU)

On the 1933 time sheets, **Alfred Berg** was listed as powderman. In the late 1930s and toward the end of the project, Berg was still there, but was designated as chief powderman. According to rushmoremedia.com, Berg lost his hand in a buzzsaw accident. He did not work at Rushmore after 1939.[68]

There were three assistant powdermen, **Clyde Denton**, **Walter Wilkinson** and **James E. Champion**. Clyde "Spot" Denton became chief powderman. Other chief powdermen during the project were **Red Eilbeck**, and **Joseph Ernest Henry.**

The powderman's job was to place charges of dynamite in the holes the drillers made on the mountain, set a mercury cap and blast off the face of the stone. This was done during lunch break and at the end of the day when the other workers were not on the granite. The morning was spent loading charges for the midday blast, and the afternoon loading charges for the evening

[67] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2227, USD.
[68] Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933," Library of Congress; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.

blast. The powderman pushed the detonator button at the appointed times and the blast sent rock and debris hurtling down the mountain.[69]

Winchmen:

Thirty-four workers served as winchmen at various times during their employment at Rushmore. Many went on to become drillers or other jobs on the mountain. In the list of employees by job record from ca. 1938, four winchmen were listed: **Friend Robertson, Jay F. Shepard, Able R. Grover, Edward R. Young**.[70]

On top of each of the heads under construction was a winch house, a simple gable roofed frame building. In these buildings along with spare parts, extra tools, and the model from which they were working, were several winches. The hand-cranked windlass winches let out or reeled in 3/8-inch steel cables that suspended the drillers and carvers on the face of the cliff. It was the winchman's job to raise or lower the person on the other end of the cable at his request. Each winch was identified by a name or number, so the winchman could distinguish which one required his services. The winchman tightened or loosened the cable slowly, but not too slowly, so the workman on the cliff wouldn't lose footing and be dragged against the rock as he was being raised or lowered.



Figure 76: Winch house on top of the mountain (MRNM Archives, #6319 MORU)

Callboys:

Since the winchman operating the windlass in the winch house could not see or hear the man attached to the far end of the cable over the side of the cliff, he could not know when

[69] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 264.
[70] List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.

the man needed to be raised or lowered. The two needed an intermediary. That was the job of the callboy or callman. Ten employees were listed as callmen or callboys. As with other Rushmore jobs, most callmen went on to do other work like drilling or carving.

The callman/callboy, stationed himself between the winchman and the worker on the side of the cliff. Secured in a harness at the edge of the cliff, he could see and hear both the worker and the winchman. When the worker, usually a driller, needed to be raised or lowered, he shouted to the callman, who in turn called out the request to the winchman along with which winch was to be operated.

Alfred Berg was a callman before moving on to be driller and powderman. His son, **Ray Berg**, was also a callman from 1935 to 1938 when he became a junior driller. **Alton Parker "Hoot" Leach** ended his career at Rushmore as a callman, after having been a senior driller and assistant carver. This reduction in job level may have been health related since he died in 1956 from silicosis.[71] Leach worked at Rushmore from 1929 to 1941.

Some callboys were actually boys, teenagers with the job of transmitting calls from one end of the cable to the other.

Ground Workers

Foreman:

Lloyd "Lively" Virtue served as Foreman of Ground Work in 1938 and 1939.[72] **L. G Dennison** served as foreman in 1927 and 1928 under J. G. Tucker.

Blacksmith:

One of the most important support jobs on the ground was that of blacksmith. The blacksmith made and repaired tools and equipment and sharpened drill bits. In a memo dated October 10, 1933, Borglum wrote the job description for the blacksmith, **M.I. Cindel**. Cindel is listed as blacksmith in the preprinted time sheets from 1933. He was at Rushmore from 1930-1935.

> You are in charge of all smith work, sharpening of drills, repairing of hammers and maintaining tools needed on the Memorial work in condition.
>
> All requests for material of any kind must be submitted to Mr. Borglum in writing and signed.
>
> General report on condition of shop, supply of material should be made each week, preferably Tuesday. All orders should be made three days before actually needed.[73]

[71] Rushmoremedia.com
[72] List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.
[73] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-34," Library of Congress.

Others who worked as blacksmith included **Martin Brosnahan** and **Harvey Jacob Brown**, both in 1930; **Albert Basil "Bake" Canfield**, 1936-1941; **Robert H. Christon** as assistant blacksmith and blacksmith, 1936-1941; **Neil Nelson**, 1939-1940 (also as tool sharpener, blacksmith helper and senior driller from 1935 to 1939); **John Nickels, Jr.** from 1940-1941 and working also as tool sharpener and driller; **Holden Reisetter**, 1930; **George Rumple**, along with is various other jobs; and **Lloyd "Lively" Virtue**, among his other jobs. **Ed Shimin** worked as a blacksmith only in 1929. Other workers served as "assistant blacksmith" or "blacksmith helper," "tool sharpener" (John Nickels, Jr. in 1936) and "tool man."

Property Man:

Lloyd "Lively" Virtue, from Keystone worked in 1932-1934 and 1938 and 1939. He worked variously as winchman, repairman, blacksmith, property man, and finally foreman of ground work. On October 10, 1933, when Borglum wrote out job descriptions for several of the men, he listed Lively's duties as Property Man:

> Your duty to check all hammers, drills, bumpers and keep in room for tools, where you can effect repairs. Keep record of drills, repair or report condition of hammers.
>
> Keep all air conduits in repair, develop improvement in pipe lines system, to secure highest service.
>
> All hammers will be returned to the mountaintop every night and in place provided.
>
> Your duty to keep check on tools and steel and hose and report every Thursday to Mr. Borglum general condition, together with any need for tools or material immediately.[74]

Lively Virtue was the only person in the workers inventory collected for this project who carried the title of Property Man.

Engineer:

Ten men served as "engineers" at various times during their work at Rushmore. For the most part, that meant operators of the hoist and air compressor, both of which were engine powered. The list of employees by job dating from ca. 1938 names two engineers, **Albert Canfield**, compressor engineer, and **John Edwald "Ed" Hayes** as hoist engineer.[75] Canfield worked at Rushmore from 1936 to 1941. He died in 1972 in Hill City, SD.[76] Ed Hayes was an interviewee for the South Dakota Oral History Project. He was from Keystone and began working for Rushmore in 1934, getting the job through John Boland. Before becoming the hoist engineer, he worked in the blacksmith shop.

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[74] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland, 1933-1934," Library of Congress.
[75] List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331.
[76] Rushmoremedia.com



Figure 77: Edwald Hayes at the Hoist House (MRNM Archives, #3955MORU)

Other employees listed as engineer were **Louis. J. Beck, Charles Crain, Lewis J. Davis, Charles Flathers, Charles Hallsted,** (also Halsted, Halstead) **Hugo Hein**, and **Oscar Sagdalen**.

Julian Spotts was the "Resident Engineer" designated by the National Park Service, who arrived at Rushmore June 29, 1936 to take charge of the everyday operations of the project. With the Park Service he had experience with granite in quarrying and purchasing granite for government building construction. He was trained as a civil engineer with a Princeton education.[77] While at Rushmore, Spotts solved the power generation problem by finding and correcting leaks and inefficiencies in the air system, and adding a small back-up generator to assist in times of peak use.[78] Spotts was at Rushmore for two years and left when the Commission was reappointed and the National Park Service removed in 1938. Julian Spotts later married one of Rushmore's women workers, Gladys Swenson Hallsted, former wife of Charles Hallsted, one of the other Rushmore workers. Gladys worked in the bunkhouse and dining room and gift shop. She and Spotts were married in 1944.[79] According to the 1940 U.S. census, Spotts, age forty three, was living in Webster Groves, Saint Louis County, Missouri with his four sons, ages seven to nineteen. No wife was listed in the household.[80]

Repairman:

Two repairmen were listed in the inventory of workers, **Howard "Howdy" Peterson** and **Lloyd "Lively" Virtue**. As the title implies, their job was to keep tools in repair and in good order. Peterson is listed as chief repairman in the ca. 1938 list of jobs and employees while Virtue had been promoted to Foreman of Ground Work at that time.

Stone Mason:

Seven stone masons are listed in the inventory, **Pete Hansen, L.M. Hoyt, Jens Ikast, Fred Richardson Sr., Fred Richardson, Jr.** (who was convicted of counterfeiting in Keystone, while employed at Rushmore), **Max Stutzke**, and **William Wilson**. There were several other workers listed simply as "mason." The ca. 1938 list of employees by job shows Fred Richardson as stone mason, but it does not specify Sr. or Jr. Stutzke worked on two fireplaces in Borglum's first studio.[81] The stone masons worked in construction of the buildings at Rushmore, as well as on stone walls, walkways and steps. Members of the

[77] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 308-309.
[78] Ibid. 315.
[79] Rushmoremedia.com
[80] Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Saint Louis County, Missouri.
[81] Rushmoremedia.com.

Parish family were listed as "mason" or "mason's helper" in 1929. Among other duties, they worked on a fireplace in the first studio.



Figure 78: "Grandpa," Bob, and Charlie Parish working with Borglum on one of the studio fireplaces (MRNM Archives, #1438a MORU)

Carpenter:

Twenty-six men labored as carpenters at one time or another during the construction of Mount Rushmore. No carpenters were named in the ca. 1938 list of employees by job, and none was listed in an August 29, 1936 National Park Service record of approved appointments for work.[82] Few of the twenty-six carpenters in the workers inventory stayed for long periods of time, and some moved on to other jobs at Rushmore. Only one, **Alvin "Alvie" E. Bradford,** (he is also recorded as Alfred) was noted as "Chief Carpenter." He worked only in 1938 and 1939. Lincoln Borglum wrote a letter of recommendation for him (Alfred) in December of 1949, referring to Bradford as a "good, reliable worker."[83] A listing of all known Rushmore workers, including the twenty-six carpenters is included in Appendix A.

Carpenters worked on construction of the buildings at Rushmore, and also on the great 500 plus step staircase that workers trod every day to get to and from the top of the mountain. They also built scaffolding and made repairs. Many of the carpenters appear in the early employment records, when the construction of the facilities for the project was underway.

[82] R. O. Jennings, Acting Associate Director, NPS, letter to John A. Boland, August 29, 1936, Box 140, Folder "Worker Appointments," MRNM Archives.
[83] Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 185, Folder "Lincoln Borglum," Library of Congress.

Common Laborer:

By far the greatest number of Rushmore workers was common labor. Many, however, moved into other more specialized jobs, learning on the job how to operate a winch, drill granite while suspended on the side of a cliff, place dynamite charges or do fine stone removal, which was carving. Many others remained as common labor and Borglum complained that the job was slowed because of the lack of a skilled workforce.

Local and Outside labor:

Gutzon Borglum fretted frequently over the course of Rushmore's construction about the unskilled local labor force. One of the points of conflict between Borglum and Boland was that Boland preferred to hire the workforce locally. From Boland's point of view there was good reason. It kept Black Hills and South Dakota people employed, contributed to the regional economy and helped to promote the Rushmore project within the region and state. Borglum saw things differently. He felt that the local workforce was largely unskilled, that miners don't make artists, and slowed the project down because they were not up to the task and did not have the skill level needed. Borglum didn't want them anywhere near the finishing work. He accused Boland of having a "Keystone mentality." Borglum relied on men with stone working experience and artistic training, none of whom was local: Bianco, Villa, Bruner, Tallman, Ivan Houser, and Matt Reilly. They were all brought in from outside, mostly New York and New England. Bruner was from Indiana.

Yet despite Borglum's low opinion of the local labor force, there were several who rose in rank, learned new skills and contributed greatly to the finished appearance of the memorial. Otto "Red" Anderson, Eldon Gordon, Merle Peterson, Marion Watson, Jim and Jack Payne became carvers. Others became assistant carvers and pointers. They were loyal, had a long history with Rushmore, and Borglum liked them. In Lincoln's opinion (quoted above), "I found it much better that we get somebody like,… Red Anderson, or Howdy Peterson, … there was a dozen or two of them, trained on the job. And they started in as just common drillers, which I think first, back in those days, paid 50 cents or 55 cents an hour. And we finally got that worked up to a dollar and a quarter, or a dollar and a half I think for the top grade of driller. And these guys that were trained on the job would just beat to hell, most of these trained stonecutters that you put there because it was a psychological thing, they weren't happy working, hanging on the side of the mountain. And these guys could care less where they were hanging."

Great Depression/CCC/WPA/New Deal

Nevertheless there was an over-abundance of low-level laborers, especially during the Depression when CCC and WPA workers were employed. 1932 in particular was a year that Rushmore wages were paid through a federal relief program from the Hoover administration. All wages were lower. For example, a laborer at Rushmore earned $.50 per hour. In 1932, he earned $.35 per hour. Wages for other jobs were also lower that year. By 1931, the Rushmore project had run out of money and progress halted. Borglum shut down

construction on the mountain and left to work on other commissions. The Rushmore project remained idle until the fall of 1932.

Rushmore's core workers became comrades and worked well together. During the year-plus lay-off, they managed to stay in the Keystone area, some getting jobs in the mines; others went to work on roads under construction in Custer State Park. Since these Rushmore veterans managed to find employment during the shutdown, they were not eligible for unemployment relief fund dollars. When the money came through in 1932, it went to new workers who were tasked with improving Rushmore's roads, parking lot and landscaping. Only a few of the previous Rushmore workers came back.[84] The unemployment relief fund hiring is how some long-term Rushmore workers like George Rumple and Lloyd Virtue got their start on the mountain. Other laborers worked only in 1932 and did not return.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) began in 1933 as part of newly elected Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Its purpose was to provide employment for unskilled young men. CCC workers at or near Rushmore for the most part worked on roads and pathways, did logging and digging to create lakes, dams and other improvements at Custer State Park. The local Civilian Conservation Corps was based at the state park, near Mount Rushmore. Two 200-man camps were located there. In 1935, one of the projects proposed was construction of a shelter for tourists at Mount Rushmore.[85] Gutzon Borglum did not like the CCC. He opposed their use at Rushmore. "CCC camps are filled with no good men…," Borglum said. He had no use for workers who were unskilled. Norbeck proposed that CCC workers be used to build the grand staircase to the top of the mountain, but Borglum refused to consider the possibility. Moreover, since the CCC workers were not employed by the Rushmore Commission, and thus not an expense, they did not contribute to Borglum's honorarium. Thus, the CCC's role at Rushmore was limited.

The rough and tumble group that made up the men on the mountain played as hard as they worked. On Saturday nights the local mining towns hosted dances. According to workers' interviews and recollections, there were always Saturday night brawls and fights between Homestake miners and Rushmore workers, or between both of them and the CCC who were considered rough urban boys who grew up street fighting.[86]

Wages, Worker Morale, Firing-Rehiring

The wages workers earned at Rushmore remained fairly stable throughout the fourteen-year construction period. A common laborer's wage in 1927 and 1928 was $.40 per hour rising in 1929 to $.50 and remained at that level for much of the remainder of the time. In general, wages improved slightly by 1935. That year the highest paid hourly worker was Luigi del Bianco at $1.50 per hour, beginning in September 1935, although when he started in 1933, he was paid only $.90, and that is why he left and did not return until 1935. Joseph Junglas who worked as a carver only in 1929 also earned $1.50 per hour. Drillers in the early years received $.55 per hour, and by the end of the project, senior drillers were paid $.75 per

[84] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 227-228.
[85] Memorandum, Ray E. Milliken, Superintendent, Custer State Park to Park Board and Norbeck, December 12, 1934, Peter Norbeck Papers, Box 23, Folder "Civilian Conservation Corps, 1935, Program for State Parks," Richardson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, USD.
[86] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore,* 272.

hour. The chief pointer was paid $1.00 per hour, while assistants received $.60-$.70 per hour. In 1936 and 1937, Lincoln Borglum was paid $1.50 per hour as chief pointer, as was Hugo Villa in 1940. For wages of all Rushmore workers, see the chart in Appendix A.

The workers' morale was generally good, except that with the funding problems, they never really knew whether their jobs were secure. When the project shut down, they were out of work. Yet, they were not alone. During the Depression, job security was non-existent for most people, and wages dropped. The Rushmore workers who stayed for any length of time became like a brotherhood. Since so many of them came from the Keystone area, they already knew one another, and a number of workers were related – father and son, brothers, cousins. Rushmore's baseball team was legendary during the second half of the 1930s, and several workers were recruited because of their abilities on the ballfield. Moreover, as the granite faces took shape there was a genuine sense of pride in what they were creating.

As for their impressions and relations with Gutzon Borglum, according to interviews with former workers made for the South Dakota Oral History Project, workers treaded carefully with him. Ed Hayes, who worked as a blacksmith for eight years beginning in 1934, said workers were leery of Borglum because he was so temperamental. They tried to go along with him.[87] Orville Worman reported that the men liked Lincoln because he was a "liaison between Gutzon and the men." Lincoln was respected for that because of "the way Gutzon was."[88] Yet despite that, Borglum fired several workers more than once only to re-hire them after he calmed down. Borglum was "the Old Man" or "the Chief" to the men.

Tools and Equipment



Figure 79: Borglum's "pointing machine" on Washington's head (Picture #11.2, Folder 503 "Mt. Rushmore Pictures," RG75, Box 2680, NARA II)

The inventive Mr. Borglum managed to design and create some of the most important equipment used on the mountain. One of these was his adaptation of the "pointing machine," a giant compass and protractor used to transfer the design of the faces from the models to the mountain, which he refined to fit the giant scale of his work. He designed the safety harnesses that the men used as they worked on the side of the mountain. The harnesses were called "bosun chairs" or "boatswain chairs." Borglum developed the initial design for these at Stone Mountain. They were quite safe. There were no major accidents at Rushmore and no deaths. In a 1985 interview with Lincoln Borglum for the South Dakota Oral History Project, Lincoln described the safety harnesses,

[87] Interview, Edwald Hayes, November 16, 1978, SDOHP, #1948, USD.
[88] Interview, Orville Worman, January 26, 1979, SDOHP, #1961, USD.

> I think the first ones were just a carryover from Stone Mountain. They were designed, as you've seen, but even if you were unconscious you couldn't fall out of it, because they had a metal seat which was covered with leather which you sat in. Then they had these two tugs that went up alongside your arms, and a spreader bar over the top. And the tugs were about like you'd have on oh, they were about exactly the same thing as the tugs you'd put on a harness for a horse dragging a farm wagon or something. So they were real strong. And then you had a belt that went around your waist. And then you had another belt that slipped between, that had a loop on it that you slip that through which came up between your legs. So, you were in there good. I mean, if you fell down like this, you couldn't get out of it. I mean, it would hold you.[89]



Figure 80: Borglum and workers in bosun chairs (MRNM Archives, MORU 5531)

An alternative to the bosun chair was a "cage" which was a fenced wooden platform suspended from cables. In addition to the pointing machine, and the bosun chair, which was Borglum's invention, major equipment included jack hammers and pneumatic drills with bits of varying sizes. Power was in the form of compressed air which was forced through hoses to the top of the mountain. Electricity or diesel engines powered the compressors. In the 1920s and 1930s there was little in the way of safety gear. Photographs of the men at work showed that they wore regular work clothes, no goggles, helmets, or masks. Borglum was concerned about safety and careful to check cables and equipment for signs of wear or failure, and to keep the men away from blasting areas. Despite Borglum's safety measures, industry standards for protection in the 1920s and 1930s were non-existent, or far less developed than they are in the twenty-first century.

[89] Lincoln Borglum Interview, SDOHP #2227, USD.

Work Related Illnesses

There was little to be done about the constant clouds of stone dust that blanketed the work site. The drilling, blasting, and finishing work generated large amounts of dust that got into the clothing, skin, hair, eyes, and lungs of the workers on the mountain. Although Borglum required that the men be "blown off," that is, having the dust blown off them with the air hoses from the compressor at the end of the day, it didn't prevent inhalation of the dust during the workday. Many of the mountain workers developed silicosis, an occupation-related disease caused by prolonged breathing of silica. It causes lesions in the lungs and difficulty breathing. The fact that many of the drillers were previously miners means that they had already been exposed to stone dust in their work environment before they started at Rushmore. James Champion, Eldon Gordon, Hoot Leach, and Earl Oaks died of silicosis, while other workers, including Lincoln Borglum had lung conditions from breathing stone dust.

Baseball at Rushmore

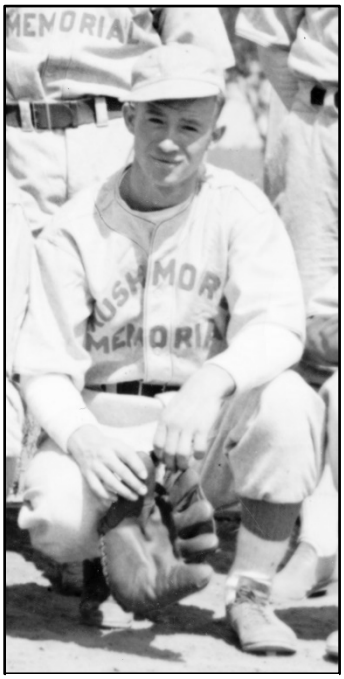


Figure 82: "Nick Clifford in 1939" (MRNM Archives)

Baseball's popularity soared in the 1920s and 1930s. Even during the Great Depression people found the wherewithal to attend games, from professional matches to semi-pro, barnstorming, and sandlot competitions. America's Favorite Pastime reigned in those years. Small semi-professional teams organized through workplaces provided popular and inexpensive entertainment. By 1939, Rushmore had won a final $250,000 federal appropriation, its last. Flush with funds, Borglum set out to hire more workers so that the job could be finished by the end of 1940. Also by this time in the project, a sense of brotherhood and comradery pervaded the workforce, particularly those fellows who had stayed with the project for several years. Some of the men played pick-up baseball on Sundays in Keystone. Merle and Howdy Peterson and Red Anderson were among the long-term employees who enjoyed playing baseball. When it became clear that Borglum was going to hire more men, the workers selected a group of spokesmen headed by Merle Peterson to ask Lincoln Borglum whether he could pick men who were good ballplayers. That was fine with Lincoln, as long as the new hires were good workers.[90]

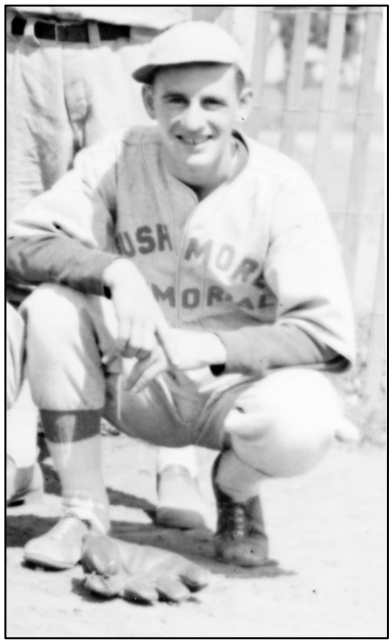


Figure 81: "Ted Crawford in 1939" (MRNM Archives)

[90] Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 358-361.

The Rushmore baseball team began recruiting new members among the expanded workforce of men on the mountain. Among the recruits was Bob McNally, catcher for the Rapid City Cement Plant's team; Orville Worman, manager of Rapid City's Red Owl Grocery, who played short stop; and Frank Jones who pitched and played center field for the CCC team. He, in turn, recruited his brother Glen, from eastern South Dakota as second baseman.[91] In total there were eleven men who played baseball for the Rushmore team. The others were Donald "Nick" Clifford, right fielder and pitcher; Ted Crawford, who was a pitcher; Alfred T. Johnson, who played first base; and Leo Valdez, who was at Rushmore only in 1939. Merle Peterson was the team's manager and an outfielder, and Red Anderson filled the catcher's position.

The baseball team excelled and was a source of pride for its members and the workforce in general. They won games, and represented the Black Hills in the state championship play-offs in Aberdeen in 1939. The team played on, winning in the championships to become one of four finalists, but then lost six to five in a sixteen-inning game.[92]

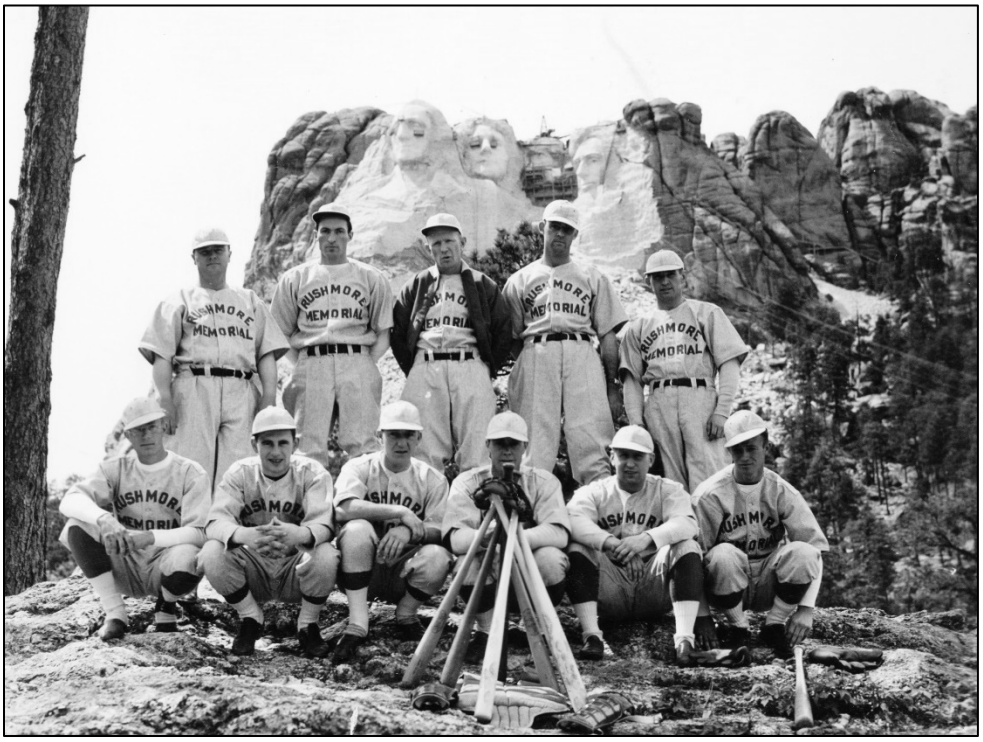


Figure 83: Mount Rushmore baseball team, photo probably taken in 1939 (MRNM Archives, #3337 MORU)

It was Lincoln Borglum who organized the official Rushmore baseball team. In Lincoln's words:

> I thought it would be a good idea [to establish a team] because there were three or four guys up there that played quite a bit of baseball, they used to play kind of down there at that ball diamond, where the wax Museum is [in

[91] Ibid, 361; Orville Worman Interview, SDOHP #1961, USD.
[92] Ibid; Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 273.

> Keystone], just kind of pickup teams. And then they got a league going in the Black Hills, there was Rapid City, Sturgis, Deadwood, Lead, I think. And we got to talking about it one time, some of these guys said, well listen, it's our league so let's get into it so we fiddled around and found a bunch of guys that wanted to play baseball, that were working on the mountain. And it, I thought it was a good thing because it kind of added a little spirit to the guys and kind of pulled them together a little bit and, and it worked out pretty well. We played, got in that league, and I was president of that league one year, I've forgot when that was, and we fielded a pretty good team. We went down to the state tournament two years in a row. Runner-up once, one to nothing.
>
> … I'm not sure if it was Casey [Jones] or his brother [Glen Jones], he hit a ball that should have won the damn ballgame. It was a high fly, right out through centerfield, right straight through centerfield, and if they'd never had a goddamned flagpole sitting out there in the middle of centerfield on the bleachers line, and it hit the flagpole and bounced back in and it was ruled a two-base hit.[93]

Women Workers at Rushmore

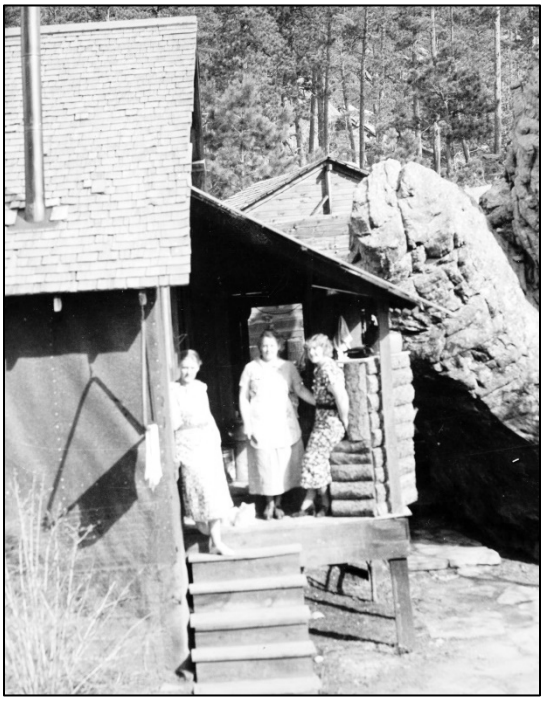


Figure 84: Three women workers (probably Sylvia Berg, Melba Swenson Payne, and Gladys Swenson Hallsted) standing outside the bunkhouse/dining room (MRNM Archives, #4138 MORU)

While the terms "Men on the Mountain" and "Men on the Granite" indicate that the carving of Mount Rushmore was a man's domain, and largely it was, there were still women who participated in the project. They didn't wield jack hammers or set dynamite charges, but they served important roles as support staff. Some – most – of the women were wives of workers. Fifteen women workers have been recorded in the list for this report.

Red Anderson's wife, **Dorothy Hamilton Anderson** worked in the information booth. Ray Berg's wife, **Sylvia Berg** worked in the boarding house and cooked from 1936 to 1941.[94] **Mary Cerasani**, Arthur's wife, led guided tours for tourists to the top of the mountain in 1940.[95]

Three Swenson sisters worked at Rushmore, Gladys, Carol, and Melba. **Melba Swenson Payne** assisted her sister Gladys and husband Chuck Hallsted with the operation of bunkhouse and dining room. She helped with cooking meals for workers and visitors, escorted

[93] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP, #2224, USD.
[94] rushmoremedia.com.
[95] Cerasani, *Love Letters*.

visitors on "tours," and was also camp cook. She was a sister of Carol Swenson Payne Pope and Boyd Swenson, who was a Rushmore laborer.[96]

Carol Swenson was married to Jim Payne, a Rushmore driller and assistant carver. John Boland hired her at age sixteen to operate the gift/information center in the first sculptor's studio. Her duties included giving out information, operating the cash register, counting the number of visitors, and ordering supplies. She worked four or five summers before and after her high school graduation in 1933. Carol and Mrs. Orson H. (May) Wilcox shared the operation of the gift shop.[97]

Gladys Swenson Hallsted operated the bunkhouse and dining room with her husband Charles Hallsted. Meals were $.35, room and board was a $1.00 a day. The bunkhouse slept ten to fourteen men. Gladys was also the camp cook and sold candy and meals to visitors. She married Julian Spotts in 1944.[98]

Betty Baier, Marion Sagdalen and **Christine Flick** (from Germany with hotel and restaurant experience) were restaurant and food service workers.[99] **May Hill Wilcox (Mrs. Orson H. Wilcox)** managed the gift shop and visitor information station in the Borglum studio from 1932 to 1944. Carol Swenson Payne Pope assisted.[100]

Several women provided administrative support to the Mount Rushmore project. **Jean Philip (married names, Goodhope and Mitchell)** worked at Rushmore from 1938 through 1941 as assistant office manager, handling correspondence and payroll. Her father, George Philip, was a member of the Rushmore Memorial Commission. Her mother was of American Indian descent.[101] **Maxine Wasser** worked as Clerk of the Works from 1935 through 1938, as an employee of John Boland. **Ellon C. Howe** also worked as Clerk of the Works and notary for the Commission in1929 and 1930. She was fired from her position in 1930. **Miriam Hicks** from Washington D.C. served as a stenographer for the Commission from 1938 to1941 and **Ellen Kirk** in 1938.[102]

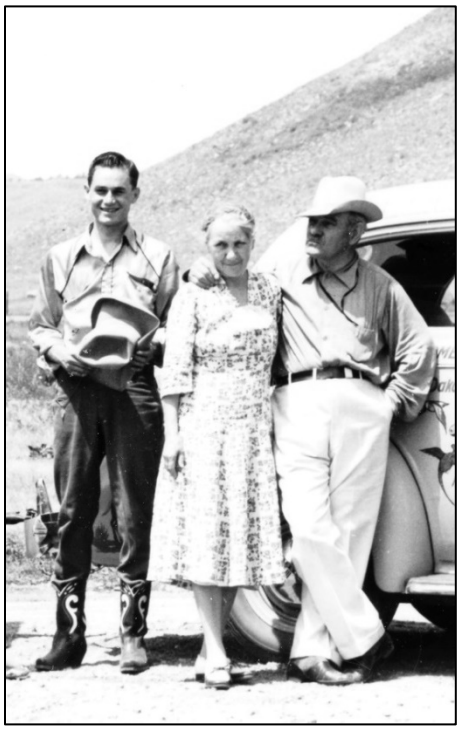


Figure 85: Mary Borglum with Gutzon and Lincoln (MRNM Archives, #5422 MORU)

Mary Borglum, Gutzon's wife, was not employed by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, but she was very involved. Several of the professional employees, such as Hugo Villa and Matt Reilly, corresponded with her while exploring employment opportunities at Rushmore. She was a supporter and enthusiast of the project and worked to keep her family's finances in order through the times

[96] rushmoremedia.com
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid; Cerasani, *Love Letters*; Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore*, 206.
[100] rushmoremedia.com
[101] Letter from Mary Borglum to Mrs. Ogden Reid, *Herald Tribune*, November 24, 1947, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works Mt. Rushmore 1942-1948," Library of Congress.
[102] rushmoremedia.com

that payments were irregular. She did her best to keep creditors, critics, and detractors away from Gutzon.

Buildings and Facilities to Serve the Workers

When the Rushmore project began, one of the first things to be accomplished was creating the working plant – the buildings and structures necessary for supporting the crew and the project tasks. Lincoln Borglum described the buildings and structures in his interviews for the South Dakota Oral History Project (SDOHP) in 1983, (paraphrased) noting there were winch houses on each of the heads. The largest winch house was on Lincoln's head and it included a tool repair shop and housed spare parts. **(Figure 76)** The men also ate their lunches in that building. Also on the mountain top, on the other side of the canyon behind the heads was a small studio for Borglum, where the models were kept.[103]

At the bottom of the mountain near the base of the staircase was the caretaker's house where Mrs. Wilcox lived. Beyond the caretaker's house stood the bunkhouse. Lincoln remembered the bunkhouse was a long building. He said, "I don't think more than four or five ever slept in there at a time, probably had maybe four rooms, just a little small cubbyhole kind of deals and then a dining room and a kitchen. This was where Mrs. Hallstead served the meals and she cooked the meals and then sent them up [to the mountain top] on the cable car."[104] The men who used the bunkhouse paid rent to Mrs. Hallstead and they paid for their meals.



Figure 86: Bunkhouse/dining room building, which also operated as a restaurant for tourists (MRNM Archives, #4139 MORU)

Beyond the bunkhouse was a little swale where the compressor house and blacksmith/tool shop were located. A flight of wooden stairs between the buildings provided access to the hoist house.

[103] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, USD.
[104] Ibid.



Figure 87: Compressor house (left), blacksmith shop (right), hoist house in background (MRNM Archives, #5251 MORU)



Figure 88: Hoist house (MRNM Archive, #2984 MORU)

A large tank, about three and a half feet by eight feet tall, stood near the compressor house, connected to the compressors by a long pipe. **(Figure 89)** Lincoln Borglum recalled, they "pumped the air from the compressors into that [tank] and then from that it went out into the pipeline and it went all the way up the mountain." The compressor building was added onto as the commission acquired more compressors. In 1939, the new studio building was



Figure 89: Air compressor reservoir (left), compressor house (right) and the 1939 studio behind (MRNM Archives, #2980 MORU)

constructed nearby. Next to the new studio was an office building, constructed when Rushmore was under the Treasury Department (in 1938), where Frank Skells worked. Originally the building had just the office, a bedroom, and a bathroom. Additions were made later to convert the building to a dwelling.[105]



Figure 90: Treasury Office building (MRNM Archives, Box 67, Item 4973)

[105] Interview, Lincoln Borglum, SDOHP #2224, USD.

Conclusion

These facilities served the people who in greater or lesser degrees crafted the sculpture on Mount Rushmore. Some workers had larger roles than others. Some stayed many years, others only a few months. Some worked on the granite, some worked on the ground. They all played a part in the story of the construction of Mount Rushmore.

Chapter 8

The National Park Service at Mount Rushmore, 1941-Present

The National Park Service (NPS) role at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial prior to 1941 was primarily to ensure fiscal responsibility as the sculpture took shape under the guidance of the artist Gutzon Borglum and the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission. The unfinished sculpture would not be under NPS administration nor benefit from NPS interpretive programs prior to completion. With the untimely death of Borglum in March 1941, however, the "construction" project entered its final season with Lincoln Borglum at the helm. The Commission too wrapped up its administrative responsibilities and passed the baton to the National Park Service.

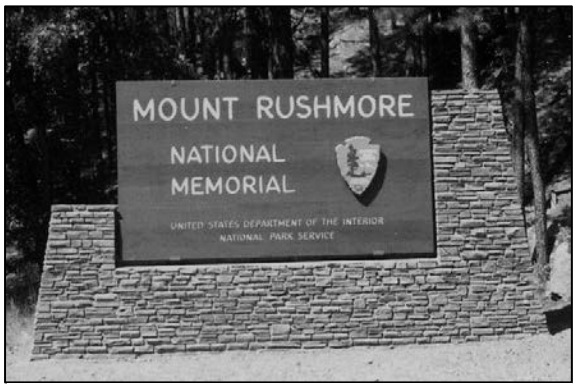


Figure 91: Park entrance sign, ca. 1960 (MRNM Archives, #7293 MORU043)

Thus, just as the United States entered World War II, the Shrine of Democracy would emerge as a fully "National" icon for freedom and democratic ideals, the very ideals thousands of American men and women would rally around for the war effort. Now under the steady and professional guidance of the National Park Service, Gutzon Borglum's vision of a colossal and permanent Shrine of Democracy, at once artistic and patriotic, would grow to become one of the most-beloved of the iconic National Parks throughout the United States.

The Mount Rushmore sculpture, officially completed on October 31, 1941, stands as the enduring centerpiece of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The associated support buildings however, built in the 1930s and converted by the NPS in the early 1940s for use as visitor facilities, were found to be woefully inadequate for the post-war tourism boom and for evolving NPS interpretive strategies. New facilities constructed at Mount Rushmore in the 1950s and 1960s were designed to meet the modern standards of the NPS Mission 66 development program. Finally, in the 1990s, the aging and again inadequate visitor facilities were once more replaced to meet the exponential growth of visitors to the Memorial. The visitor experience today (2016) at Mount Rushmore, is quite different from that experienced by pre-NPS visitors in the 1930s.

The physical and interpretive changes at Mount Rushmore since 1941 may be considered a logical progression as the National Park Service fulfills its purpose as the custodian of a national icon. However, as it has been since its inception in 1925, the physical history of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial has been guided by an underlying current of political and personal interests. Since taking on the administrative responsibilities of Mount Rushmore in 1941, the National Park Service has worked closely with the Borglum family and the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society of the Black Hills (MRNMS or Mount Rushmore Society; established by Gutzon Borglum in 1930) to preserve the Borglum vision. Following in the footsteps of Gutzon Borglum – though

perhaps not following his style – the NPS has carefully navigated the political limelight that has always been an integral component of the Shrine of Democracy.

National Park Service: Purpose and Vision

The National Park Service was created as a federal agency within the Department of the Interior by an Act of Congress in 1916. The "Organic Act" stated the Park Service's twin purpose of conservation and recreation: "...the Service thus established shall promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments and reservations…to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."[1] Within two years of the Act, Secretary of Interior Franklin K. Lane added a third governing principle, "that the national interest must dictate all decisions affecting public or private enterprise in the parks."[2] This principle provides guidance for the balancing act between National Park Service goals and those of state and local interests.

These governing principles informed the development of the National Park Service and its administration of the growing number of parks under its purview. By 1930, twenty-three national parks and thirty-two national monuments were administered by the NPS.[3] The Great Depression that followed was a boom-time for the NPS as the federally-sponsored Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program focused its efforts on state and national park infrastructure.[4] At the time that Mount Rushmore National Memorial was officially added to the NPS system in 1941, U.S. entry into World War II put a stop to all NPS improvements. Conrad L. Wirth, later Director of the National Park Service, recalled that period in his memoire *Parks, People, and Politics*:

> Within a couple of years all emergency recovery funds of the thirties were diverted to prepare for war, and the yearly appropriation for the Park Service dropped from the 1940 high of nearly thirty-five million dollars to a low of under five million dollars in 1945. All construction, of course, was stopped, maintenance was cut to the bone, and deterioration of facilities set in. Because of gas rationing, travel through the parks was cut to a mere trickle.[5]

The resulting decay within the national park system due to the necessary neglect during the war years required a bold plan for improvements as tourism again expanded in the 1950s.

It was under Director Wirth's guidance that the Mission 66 program of improvements was initiated in 1956. It was a reiteration of the NPS paradigms of conservation, recreation and national interest, but influenced also by his father, Theodore Wirth, a career park planner who viewed public parks as a deeply personal experience for visitors. Family friend

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[1] "About Us: History," *National Park Service*, http://www.nps.gov/aboutus/history.htm, accessed 9/21/2015.
[2] Conrad Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), Chapter 3, www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wirth2/chap3.htm, accessed 9/21/2015.
[3] Harlan Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: Administrative History* (1983), Chapter 1-B, www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi1b.htm, accessed 9/22/2015.
[4] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People* "Overview."
[5] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People* "Overview."

Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. described that vision in a condolence letter to Conrad Wirth, following the death of his father in 1949:

> At bottom, it depends on a deep-seated, constant and compelling interest in and sympathy with, the people using the parks...in helping and guiding them by every available means to get the best values from their use of it, ...made possible by the inherent characteristics of that particular park and by the widely various *personal characteristics of the people themselves*.[6] (emphasis his)

Mission 66 visitor centers, support facilities, and interpretive installations were planned specifically to enhance the visitor experience. A renewed attention to conservation of the natural or cultural features that were, in fact, the purpose of the park was also part of the Mission 66 package. Lemuel Garrison, chairman of the Mission 66 steering committee, recalled that "each superintendent was asked to write a list of everything needed to put 'his' park facilities into immediate condition for managing the current visitor load, while protecting the park itself."[7]

Since the completion of the Mission 66 development program in the late 1960s, which did meet its goals for "modernization" of the National Parks, ideas about conservation, preservation, and interpretation have continued to evolve. The result has been a relatively recent wave of new construction in the National Parks. Thoroughly modern visitor center facilities of the 1960s, like the Neutra-designed Cyclorama Building at Gettysburg National Military Park (1962), were criticized for their unsympathetic appearance or placement within the park.[8] On the other hand, many Mission 66 buildings, like those at Mount Rushmore, simply became outdated by annually increasing visitor traffic.

The succession of buildings, concessions, and interpretive exhibits at Mount Rushmore National Memorial from 1941 through today (2016) reveal the Park Service response to an increasingly astute and demanding visiting public, while still focusing attention on the sculpture and its natural setting. Evolving approaches to interpretation and visitor facility purpose and design within the National Park Service, and the growing iconic status of the Memorial itself, are all reflected in the physical changes within the park over the past seventy-five years.

Review: The National Park Service at Mount Rushmore, 1933-1940

In an effort to ensure more efficient use of federal appropriations President Franklin Delano Roosevelt first inserted the National Park Service into the administration of Mount Rushmore National Memorial in 1933 by Executive Order 6166: "Expenditures by the

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, "Introduction: The Origins of Mission 66," citing Lemuel A. Garrison, *The Making of a Ranger* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Howe Brothers, 1983, 255-56), accessed 9/21/15.

[8] Called "a blight upon the historic landscape" by some, the Cyclorama Building was located at the apex of Pickett's Charge on the Gettysburg Battlefield. It was demolished in 2013 after a multi-year battle over its fate. A new Gettysburg Visitor Center, designed to blend more with the local rural vernacular architecture, was constructed on a site that would "not be visible 'from major points of interest' on the battlefield." Deborah Fitts, "New Gettysburg Visitor Center Complex Is Unveiled — Cost $95M," *The Civil War News*, Feb./March '02 issue, www.civilwarnews.com/archive/articles/new_gettys_cntr.htm, accessed 9/21/15.

Federal Government for the purposes of...the Rushmore National Commission shall be administered by the Department of the Interior."[9] Though initially focused solely on budget management, the arrangement changed at the behest of Gutzon Borglum himself, who believed the Commission was actively interfering with the completion of the work. In 1936, NPS Resident Engineer Julian Spotts was assigned to administrative duties at the mountain, ostensibly to free up Borglum to concentrate solely on the sculpture. The artist in Borglum chafed at the "parky maintenance rules," forced upon his artistic creation, he claimed, by Spotts and by Spotts' supervisor John Nagle, then Superintendent at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.[10] "The routine of maintenance will fit admirably when we get these colossi born," wrote Borglum to Nagle in 1936, "Meantime, don't let hindering red-tape interfere too much."[11]

Within two years Borglum's friendly tone would turn to bitterness toward the Park Service and the Commission. His ire was manifested in the 1938 Congressional "Act to amend the Act" of 1929, in which the old Commission was abolished and the NPS removed from Rushmore administration.[12] The amended bill established a new Commission with the sole responsibility (sans NPS) of: administration over the completion of the sculpture, entablature, "museum hall" and stairway, new studio, and landscaping; establishing an official boundary for the Mount Rushmore National Memorial of "not more than fifteen hundred acres;" to hire workers "without regard to the civil-service laws...;" and control of the new $300,000 appropriation.[13]

The following year President Roosevelt reinserted the NPS at Mount Rushmore, through his "Reorganization Plan No. II of 1939."[14] The reorganization removed fiscal and employment responsibilities from the Commission to the NPS, along with the forward-looking charge to "administer, protect, and develop the memorial."[15] The NPS as a whole had been reorganized in 1937 under the direction of Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Park superintendents and monument custodians would no longer report directly to the Director in Washington, but rather to a new layer of bureaucracy – the regional office. In August 1937, four regional offices led by regional directors were established. For the Dakota park areas, they reported to the Region II (Two) office in Omaha, Nebraska. Thus, beginning in 1939, the new NPS administration at Mount Rushmore reported to the Omaha office, before information could be passed on to Washington. Though Gutzon Borglum continued

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[9] "Executive Order 6166--Organization of executive agencies," *National Archives*, "Federal Register."
[10] Gutzon Borglum to Herman Oliphant, August 19, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 104, Folder "Rushmore 1936," Library of Congress.
[11] Gutzon Borglum to Nagle, July 16, 1936, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 167, Folder "Interior Dept.," Library of Congress.
[12] "An Act to amend the Act entitled 'An Act creating the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and defining its purposes and powers', approved February 25, 1929, as amended." 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Chapter 402, p. 694-695. H.R. 8357, passed in May 1940, amended the boundary to total 1,800 acres.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "Reorganization Plan No. II of 1939," Section 4 (I).
[15] The language of the "Reorganization Plan No. II of 1939," Section 4 (I), referenced the 1938 Act, transferring the duties assigned to the Commission in Section 4 (b), (c) "administer funds," (d) hire employees, (e) "To administer, protect, and develop the memorial," and (f) "promulgation of such rules and regulations..." and Section 5, to receive appropriated funds. See "An Act to amend the Act entitled 'An Act creating the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission and defining its purposes and powers', approved February 25, 1929, as amended." 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Chapter 402, p. 694-695.

to lobby for more money and more control of the project, his health was failing and on March 6, 1941 he passed away from complications following surgery.

As "Superintendent of the Works," and now Sculptor, Lincoln Borglum carried on his father's work through the 1941 season. Funding for the sculpture was set to end officially on July 1, 1941. In June 1941, Commission members Kent Keller, Russell Arundel, and William Bulow, made the following recommendations to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes:

> 1. That Lincoln Borglum be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior as Permanent Superintendent of Mount Rushmore;
> 2. That upon the appointment of Lincoln Borglum the remaining functions of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission be voluntarily transferred to the National Park Service; and
> 3. That the National Park Service complete the Memorial at such time and under such circumstances as may be determined by the Secretary of the Interior.[16]

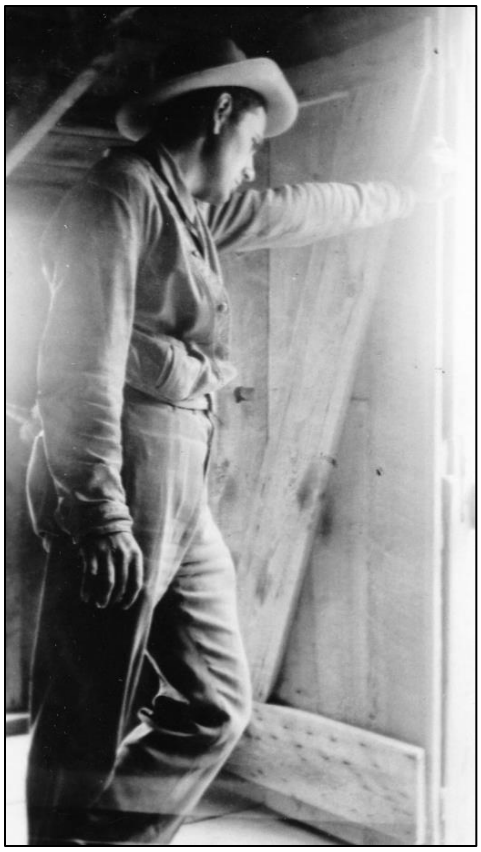


Figure 92: Lincoln Borglum supervising the carving (MRNM Archives, #7300aMORU)

While his appointment to the superintendent's position was reviewed by the Park Service, Lincoln Borglum recommended two others to be employed by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial: Frank Skells, who had served for four years as the procurement officer for the Department of Treasury, for the "clerical position" and Gene Wilcox, son of May and Orson Wilcox, for "the permanent laborer position."[17] James Lincoln Borglum's appointment as the National Park Service Superintendent of Mount Rushmore National Memorial became official on October 1, 1941.[18] On October 31, Superintendent Borglum declared the work of the sculpture completed.[19]

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[16] Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission Executive Committee letter to Sec. of the Interior Ickes, June 16, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 201 "Mt. Rushmore Administration (General)," NARA II, College Park, MD. It is said that the Commission was officially dissolved as of June 30, 1942 by the 2nd Deficiency Act of 1941 (77th Congress, 1st Session, H.R. 5166; see Thompson 1975, Appendix C), but was revived in 1943 to raise private money for the Borglum crypt. In 1953 Russell Arundel wrote to Mary Borglum, "I think there is no question but that the Mount Rushmore Commission has legal existence, although at present its powers are limited to the construction of a memorial and crypt for Gutzon." (GB Papers, Box 107, Folder "Mt. Rushmore 1949-54," Library of Congress). Sen. Karl Mundt served on the Commission in 1961, according to the Mundt Archives (http://mundt.dsu.edu/inventory/appendix.aspx), and William Williamson served on the MRNM Commission from 1929-1972 according to the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-Present* (transcribed by A. Newell).

[17] Acting Dir. Hillory A. Tolson, "Memorandum for Mr. Demaray," August 28, 1941, RG79, Box 2578, bound papers "Mount Rushmore National Memorial – General," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[18] Region Two Headquarters Memorandum, March 6, 1942, RG79, Box 2678, bound papers, NARA II, College Park, MD. His actual appointment to the post appears to have been September 15, 1941, but made official

Superintendent Lincoln Borglum: Finishing the Memorial

Lincoln Borglum had been working as the "Superintendent of the Works" for two years prior to his father's death. He was considered by many to be an obvious choice to serve as the first NPS Superintendent of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. NPS Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson was more cautious concerning the appointment of a non-career Park Service man to the post. Citing Lincoln Borglum's likely need "for advice and information as to Service policies, practices, regulation, etc.," Tolson assigned Wind Cave Superintendent Harry J. Liek as the coordinating superintendent, to provide "general supervision" of Mount Rushmore National Memorial for the first year beginning on September 15, 1941.[20] Additionally, Tolson requested that Superintendent Borglum attend a twelve-day "Personnel Instruction Meeting" in Omaha, Nebraska, October 6 to 18, noting that "information obtained at [the] meeting should be invaluable to him."[21]

Superintendent Borglum's first official act then, was to miss most of his in-service training due to the continuing work on the sculpture. Sounding very much like his father, Lincoln Borglum explained his position in an October 2 memorandum to the Region II director:

> Through careful budgeting and reduction of the force to those engaged in the actual carving and a few helpers, we have been able to keep the construction work on the memorial going longer than anticipated and with the present funds should be able to work into early November.
>
> As the work is in its final stages, the men need constant supervision and it is the practice to lay out each mans [sic] work daily. It would be almost impossible to lay out work for more than four or five days in advance under present conditions. An alternative would be to stop the work, but this would not be wise with winter coming on.
>
> In view of the above and after conference with Superintendent Liek, it is thought the interest of the memorial would be best served by my not leaving the work for so long a time. ...I shall plan the work so I can be away five days of the last week and attend the meeting with Superintendent Liek.[22]

Though his absence doubtless displeased some Park Service officials, Supt. Borglum's time on the mountain was well-spent. On November 20, 1941, he submitted his final report to the Mt. Rushmore Commission detailing the final touches on the Memorial:

October 1, 1941.

[19] Supt. Lincoln Borglum to the Rushmore Commission, "report of the progress on the Memorial," November 20, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-02.3 "Superintendent's Monthly Report Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[20] Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, "Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Two," RG79, Box 2679, Folder 201 "Mt. Rushmore Administration (General)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[21] Hillory A. Tolson, telegram to Regional Director, September 27, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 201 "Mt. Rushmore Administration (General)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[22] Supt. Lincoln Borglum, "Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Two," RG79, Box 2679, Folder 201 "Mt. Rushmore Administration (General)," NARA II, College Park, MD. Lincoln Borglum here refers to Harry J. Liek, Superintendent of Wind Cave National Park who had been assigned as "coordinating superintendent" for Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

> The work has been completed generally as outlined to you at the meeting in Washington last March. The cleaning up of the heads has been completed; Lincoln's hand has been brought out to a considerable extent; Washington's collars have been completed; Roosevelt's face was finished (there was some work to be done on the lower part of his chin); Jefferson's collar was blocked out...[23]

Borglum stated that he felt that the work on the sculpture was complete. "It looks very well as it is," he observed, despite the absence of finished torsos as depicted on his father's models. "The effect of the heads, finished as they are, and then gradually blending back into the mountain is very good."[24] He recommended, however, that the talus slope be at least partially removed to give a greater sense of height to the sculpture group, as Gutzon Borglum had always intended.

The question of "finishing" the sculpture, as well as the Hall of Records and the Grand Stairway, lingered through Lincoln Borglum's tenure as superintendent of the Memorial and beyond. Why does the sculpture not look exactly like the model? In his 1941 report Lincoln Borglum noted the poor quality of the stone below Jefferson which prevented them from completing Jefferson's hand.[25] When asked in 1949, by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society, to provide an estimate to "finish" the Memorial, Lincoln Borglum again seemed satisfied with the truncated figures. His estimate included only four work items on the sculpture itself – to complete the "Lincoln hair and hand" and detailing on the "Washington chin and cleaning up coat."[26] The primary reason for the incomplete sculpture, however, was the cessation of funding from the federal government. National Park Service auditor Earl Brown noted in his October 24, 1941 report that "funds appropriated for the 1942 fiscal year cover protection, operation and maintenance only."[27] Even more significantly, in December 1941 the United States entered World War II. And with that, no funding for the monumental artwork could be made available, even if Gutzon Borglum had lived to lobby Congress yet again.

Like his father before him, Superintendent Borglum continued to emphasize the importance of completing the Hall of Records however. Though satisfied with the sculpture, Lincoln reiterated in his November 1941 report "that it is very essential that the Hall of Records and the Stairway leading to it, be completed." Closely echoing his father's sentiments, he continued:

> Without the records and the inscriptions that would be placed in this Hall, the Memorial will become a riddle to people a few thousand years from now.

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[23] Supt. Lincoln Borglum to the Rushmore Commission, "report of the progress on the Memorial," November 20, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-02.3 "Superintendent's Monthly Report Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Lincoln Borglum to John Boland, January 14, 1950, copy within MRNMS meeting minutes, February 11, 1950, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore 1949-54," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[27] Earl Brown, Senior Auditor, "Memorandum for the Director," October 24, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207 "Reports – General (Mt. Rushmore Mem.)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

> There will be no story of why these men were placed here or who they were and what form of government they represented.[28]

Construction of the Hall, which was begun in 1938 under the reorganized Commission, was abruptly discontinued in 1939 due to budgetary concerns. The "Grand Stairway" could have been constructed in 1937 by CCC crews, but the offer was turned down by Gutzon Borglum

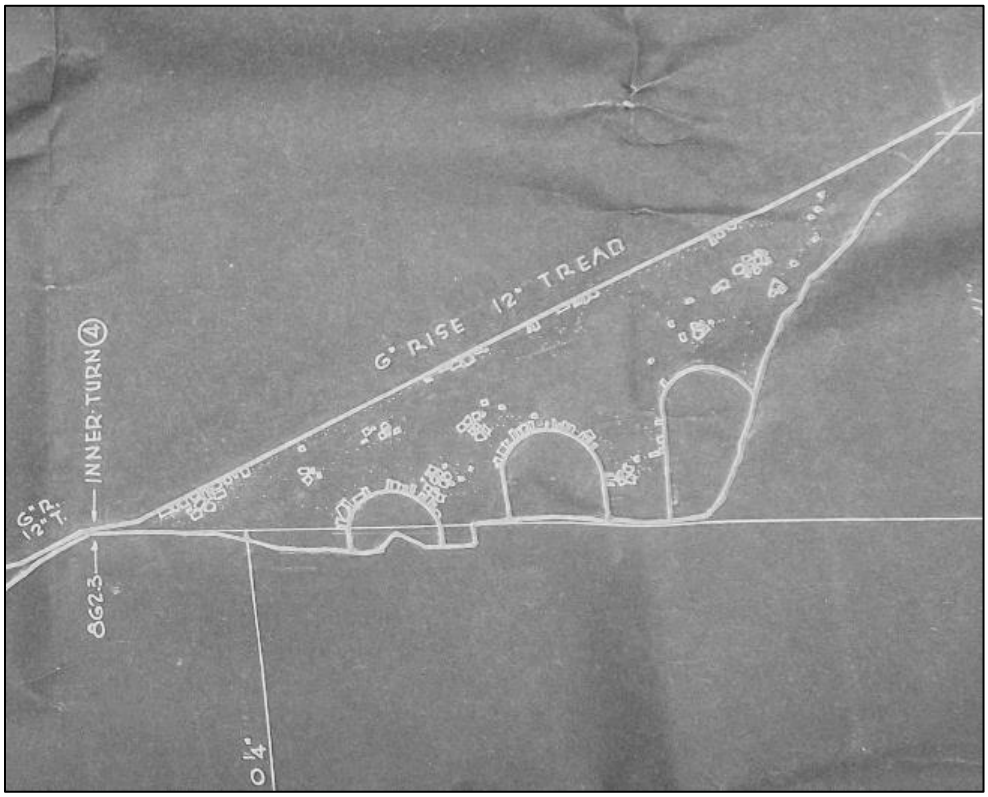


Figure 93: Section of blueprint, "Profile of Stairway Up Mt. Rushmore," signed by Gutzon Borglum (GB Papers, Box 191, Folder "Plans for the Grand Stairway," LOC)

citing their "slipshod" work.[29] In 1947, South Dakota Senator Francis Case attached a request to a supplemental deficiency bill in Congress for $18,000 for Mount Rushmore construction items, $16,000 of which he had earmarked for construction of the stairway. "This is disappointing to us," wrote NPS Acting Regional Director Howard W. Baker, "as an access, open to the public, to reach the top of Mount Rushmore will provide a good many administrative headaches."[30] Coordinating Superintendent Liek expressed his concerns in a memorandum to Baker two days earlier:

> From my point of view there are several reasons why this stairway should not be constructed:

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[28] Supt. Lincoln Borglum to the Rushmore Commission, "report of the progress on the Memorial," November 20, 1941, RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-02.3 "Superintendent's Monthly Report Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[29] Gutzon Borglum to John A. Boland, February 9, 1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 163, Folder "John A. Boland 1937-38," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[30] Acting Reg. Dir. Howard W. Baker, "Memorandum to Director," July 23, 1947, RG79, Box 2682, Folder 611 "Repairs & Improvements Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.

1. The danger of people slipping and falling over the faces.
2. Vandalism such as writing names or chipping off pieces of granite for souvenirs.[31]

He feared also that cracks in the granite would be worsened by visitors walking on top of the sculpture. It appears that Senator Case's proposal of $16,000 for the stairway construction, which was shifted to construction of parking facilities in the 1947 appropriation, was significantly less than the amount that would be required in any case. In response to the 1949 request from the Society for an estimate, Lincoln Borglum suggested that the stairway could be constructed "all in cement" at a cost of $50,000.[32] It seems that safety concerns for both visitors and the Memorial won the day and the Grand Stairway was never constructed.

The Hall of Records too was never completed. Mary Borglum continued to lobby for building the stairway and Hall of Records, as well as the entablature as late as 1954, to no avail. The mission was carried on by Lincoln Borglum as well, and by his sister Mary Ellis (Borglum) Vhay. In 1998, sixteen porcelain enamel panels were entombed within the unfinished Hall in a ceremony attended by Mary Ellis Vhay. **(Figure 94)** Protected by a teakwood box within a titanium vault, the panels contain "the story of how Mount Rushmore came to be carved, who carved it, the reasons for selecting the four presidents depicted on the mountain and a short history of the United States."[33] The granite capstone is engraved with the date of installation (1998) and the words of Gutzon Borglum:

> ...let us place there, carved high, as close to heaven as we can, the words of our leaders, their faces, to show posterity what manner of men they were. Then breathe a prayer that these records will endure until the wind and rain alone shall wear them away.[34]

The panels would finally provide the historic context necessary for understanding the Shrine of Democracy. Removal of the talus slope also never happened. The granite debris pile below the sculpture, littered with broken bits of iron tools, was created by the explosive removal of tons of rock during the sculpture construction. It is now considered to be a significant site by the NPS.[35]

Clearly the men and women who had invested themselves in Gutzon Borglum's over-arching vision of the Shrine of Democracy expected its eventual completion. The National Park Service, however, with an obligation to its founding principles of conservation and recreation, was focusing efforts on interpretive and facilities development. Thus, as early as June 1941, the decision had already been made, according to the then "Chief of Information" in a memorandum to staff: "At the staff meeting Wednesday, it was stated that no more

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[31] Coordinating Superintendent Harry J. Liek, "Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Two," July 21, 1947, RG79, Box 2682, Folder 611 "Repairs & Improvements Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[32] Lincoln Borglum to John Boland, January 14, 1950, copy within MRNMS meeting minutes, February 11, 1950, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore 1949-54," Library of Congress, Washington, DC. He also estimated a stairway constructed of "masonry and cement" at a cost of $100,000.
[33] "Hall of Records," *Mount Rushmore National Memorial*, www.nps.gov/moru/learn/historyculture/hall-of-records.htm, accessed 10/18/2016.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Melissa Dirr Gengler and Liz Sargent, "Mount Rushmore National Memorial Historic District," National Register of Historic Places, additional documentation and boundary increase, 2013.

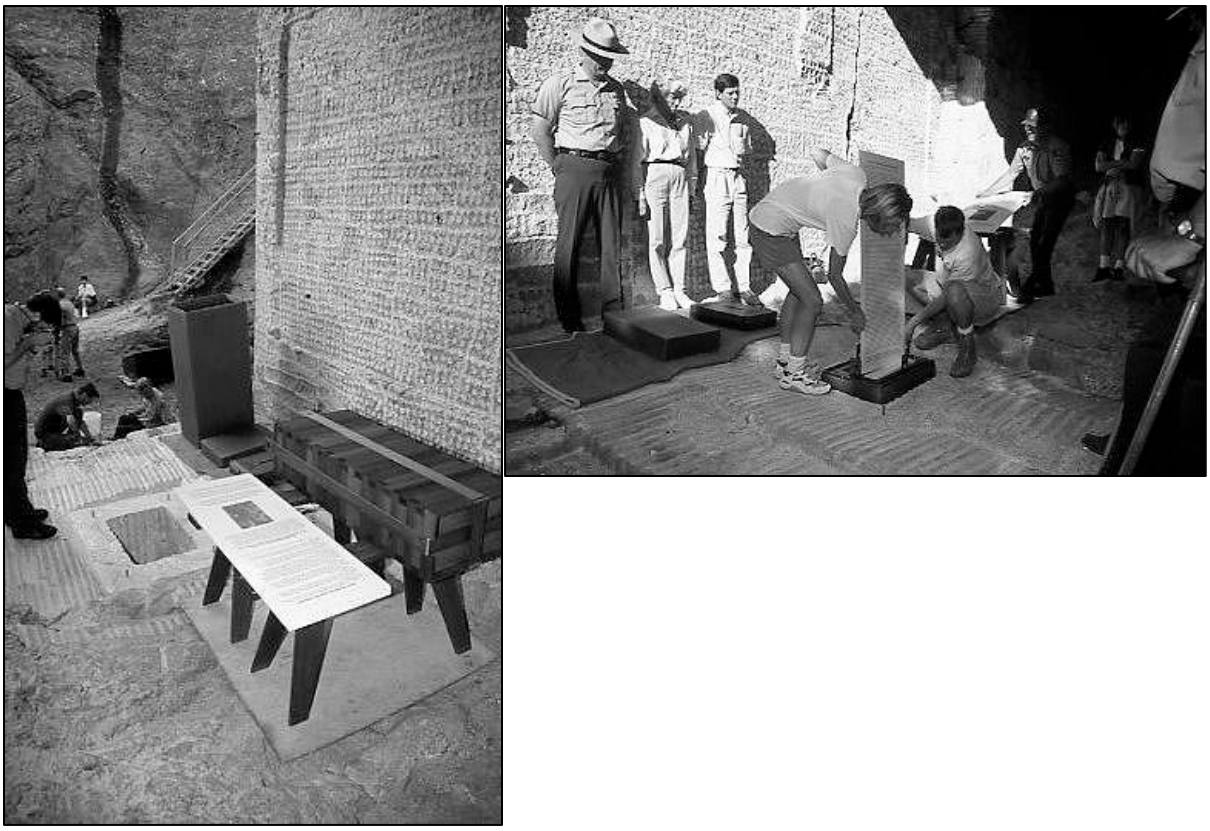
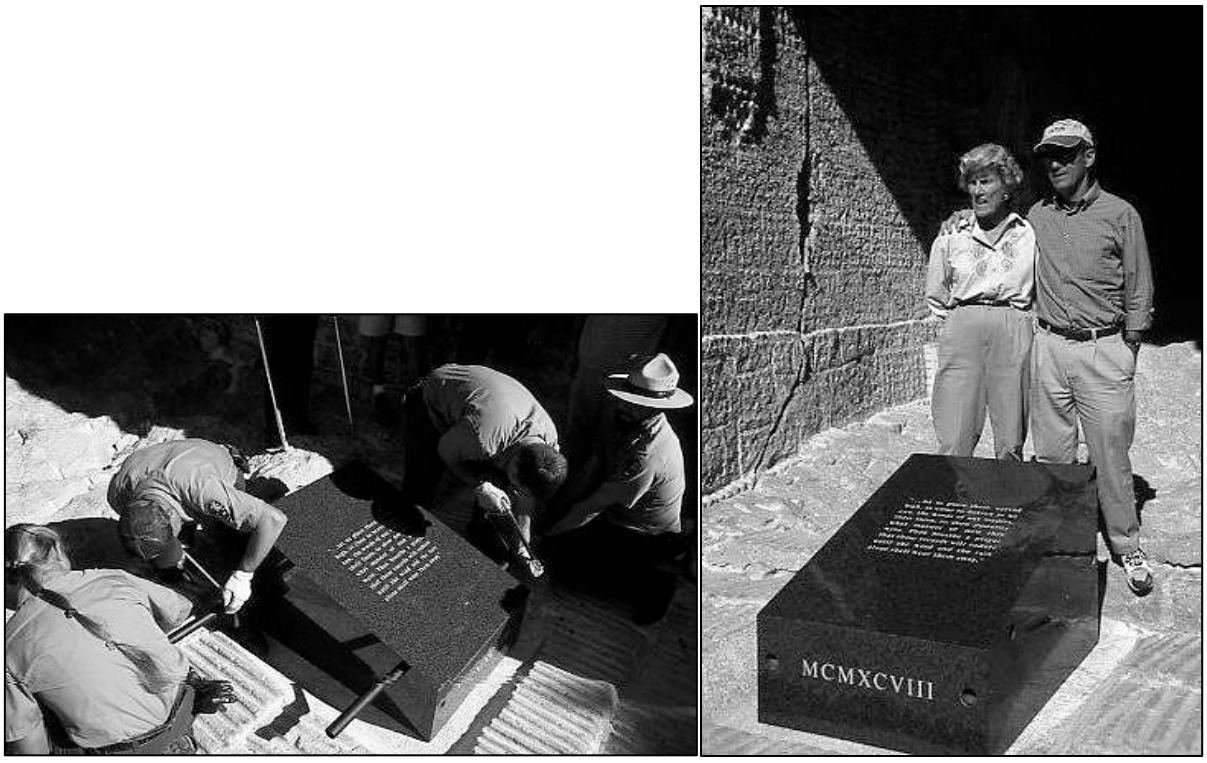


Figure 94: Photo series of the 1998 Hall of Records installation ceremony, with Mary Ellis (Borglum) Vhay in attendance (MRNM Archives, #7285 MORU061, 072, 078, and 065)



construction is to be done at Rushmore National Memorial – it is to be left in its present unfinished condition as a memorial to Gutzon Borglum. Perhaps there is a story in this."[36]

In fact, a memorial to Gutzon Borglum was exactly what some people had in mind for Mount Rushmore. According to historian Gilbert Fite, Russell Arundel contacted Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes on the day of Borglum's death suggesting a crypt on the mountain, "of a design approved by the Park Service and the Commission..."[37] On March 14, 1941, just eight days after Borglum's death, family friend Edward A. Rumely stated in a letter to Mary Borglum his belief that "Gutzon must rest finally in the mountain."[38] Someone else may have suggested a crypt within the Hall of Records, causing Romely to add, "I ask myself whether it wouldn't be better that he should be in a separate crypt a little to one side rather than in the archives."[39] Francis Case moved forward with the proposal in July 1941 preparing a bill before Congress, "Authorizing the construction of a crypt for the remains of Gutzon and Mary Borglum."[40] On July 8, 1941, Secretary Ickes responded negatively to the idea. Noting that the sculpture itself would be "a greater recognition of the man and his genius," he continued, "I believe the precedent that would be established by virtue of the approval of this measure undoubtedly would result in the exertion of pressure to grant similar requests in the future."[41] Despite the Interior Department's disapproval, the bill was passed on July 11, 1941, though no money was appropriated.[42]

All of the crypt proposals however, seem to have overlooked the desires of the Borglum family and of Gutzon Borglum himself. According to Mary Borglum's biography of her husband, "...Gutzon, some time before his death, had extracted a promise from Lincoln that he should be buried among the flowers of California."[43] Thus, with the interment of his father in a mausoleum in Forest Lawn Memorial Park, in Glendale California, Superintendent Lincoln Borglum was able to sustain the wishes of both his father and his National Park Service supervisors. Oddly, two years later Congress restored the Mount Rushmore Commission specifically to raise private money for the Borglum crypt at Mount Rushmore, though no funding ever materialized.[44]

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[36] "Chief of Information," June 14, 1941, RG79, Box 2678, bound papers (not in a folder) "Mount Rushmore National Memorial – General," NARA II, College Park, MD. No name was attached to this document.
[37] As cited in Fite, p. 241. Fite did not provide a citation for this quote and the letter was not found within the NPS records held at the National Archives during research for this Historic Resource Study.
[38] Edward A. Rumely to Mrs. Gutzon Borglum, March 14, 1941, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 37, Folder "R" [#10], Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Dr. Edward A. Rumely was known for many things including the invention of the Rumely Oil Pull Tractor, as founder of the Interlaken School in Indiana, and as trustee and executive secretary of the Committee for Constitutional Government (CCG) – an anti-FDR group ("Edward Rumely," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Rumely, accessed 10/2/15).
[39] Ibid.
[40] Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes "To the House of Representatives," July 8, 1941, RG79, Box 2678, Folder "H.R. 3857, Crypt for remains, Gutzon Borglum," NARA II, College Park, MD
[41] Ibid.
[42] *Seventy-Seventh Congress: Calendars of the United States House of Representatives and History of Legislation*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942, 54.
[43] Casey and Borglum, *Give the Man Room*, 316.
[44] Thompson 1975, Appendix C. See also Russell Arundel to Mary Borglum, October 23, 1953, in which he states "I think there is no question but that the Mount Rushmore Commission has legal existence, although at present its powers are limited to the construction of a memorial and crypt for Gutzon." (Library of Congress, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore 1949-54.")

Superintendent Lincoln Borglum: Administering the Memorial

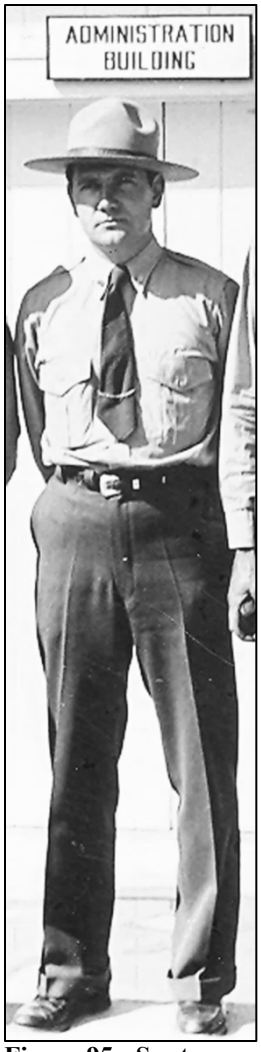


Figure 95: Supt. Lincoln Borglum (MRNM Archives, "Lincoln Borglum Images")

Despite his first year's focus on the sculpture and his father's legacy, Lincoln Borglum's duties as superintendent at Mount Rushmore also included planning and development of visitor facilities. As early as 1939, when the NPS was given administrative control of the Memorial (exclusive of the ongoing sculpture work), the question of providing food, drink, souvenirs, and comfort facilities for visitors became the central focus of planning. Some extant park resources from this period are located near the concessioner dormitory and near the eastern boundary point to the earliest park visitor services, including picnic areas, a spring well, a fire place, a wood outhouse, and a "free ice water" tin sign.[45]

Beginning in 1933, Mrs. (May) Wilcox operated a small concession in the old studio under the auspices of the Commission's Publicity Committee. Gutzon Borglum had tightly controlled the offerings in the studio concession in an effort to avoid, in his words, "the cheap clap-trap stuff that is found in every tourist camp."[46] By 1937, though still under the watchful eye of Borglum, Mrs. Wilcox's operation in the studio was administered by the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society (Mount Rushmore Society), according to John Boland, "with permission of the National Park Service."[47] Mrs. Wilcox continued her small souvenir and information shop, adding drinks and sandwiches to her offerings in June 1941 as crowds continued to swell.[48] However, with the National Park Service now fully in charge, the process for awarding the concession permits would change.

In mid-July 1941, Charles L. Gable, Chief of Park Operators Division, was sent on a fact-finding tour of Mount Rushmore, specifically to review the concession operation. Gable's report to Associate Director Demaray and Chief of Operations, Hillory A. Tolson described the current arrangement under the direction of Mrs. Wilcox as "not entirely satisfactory." He prefaced his statement however with the following comments:

> Any criticism later in this memorandum or later memoranda as to deficiency as to concession operations should not necessarily be taken as a criticism or reflection on Mrs. Wilcox's efficiency or ability, because in the days of Gutzon Borglum she had no opportunity to exercise judgment or

[45] This early picnic area site is part of MORU 33 (Molyneaux et al., "A Park-Wide Cultural Resources Survey," 145).
[46] Gutzon Borglum to John Boland, April 12, 1934, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 162, Folder "John A. Boland 1933-34," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[47] John Boland to E.R. Phelps, American Lithographic Division, August 18, 1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 175, Folder "MRNMS Gen. Corr. 1937," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
[48] Charles L. Gable to Demaray and Tolson, July 26, 1941, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

> initiative, but, on the contrary, was apparently greatly hampered. Under the present arrangement, while not being as restricted or hampered, she is given little encouragement and no financial backing in developing the operations. Until a few weeks ago, only picture postcards and pictorial matter about the Memorial and a few souvenirs were offered for sale, even though there has been for several years a demand for soft drinks and light refreshments.[49]

Gable suggested that plans for a future concession "layout" be drawn up, concluding, "In the meantime we could continue the present not entirely satisfactory operation under the Commission Association [sic] with Mrs. Wilcox."[50]

There were others besides Mrs. Wilcox who also expressed interest in landing the potentially lucrative concession permit at Mount Rushmore. Several letter applications were sent to the Park Service in the spring of 1940. Many, like Rapid City restaurant owner George J. Douros, sent their applications first to South Dakota Senator Bulow or to Francis Case.[51] Lincoln Borglum stepped into the fray in August 1941, just prior to his appointment as superintendent, when he wrote a letter to Russell Arundel urging that the Park Service should review all applications before making a decision:

> There are a number of people here in the Hills who would like an opportunity of bidding when the Park Service finally lets them. However there is one man here who is trying very hard to get a concession for a restaurant using the old studio as a building for it. He is a member of that old group that Mr. Borglum tried so hard to remove from any connection to the memorial several years ago... He will commercialize it to the limit if he gets it. What I want to say is this, I do not think the Park Service should give any concession without giving the other interested people an opportunity to secure them. It will cause a great deal of ill-will out here if they do.[52]

It is not entirely clear who the "one man" was that Lincoln Borglum was referring to, possibly Gutzon Borglum's past nemesis, John Boland, now president of the Mount Rushmore Society. The Society was also vying for a chance at the official concession permit. Arundel passed the letter on to NPS Director Newton B. Drury.

Just a few days later, Drury received a letter from Mrs. Wilcox requesting that she be considered for the concession at Mount Rushmore.[53] It appears she too contacted her Congressman, Francis Case, whose letter also reached Director Drury. Her campaign was successful. Drury responded that he would request "the Superintendent of Mount Rushmore National Memorial to prepare a permit authorizing Mrs. Wilcox to continue her operation of the concession until June 30, 1942," with the caveat:

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[49] Charles L. Gable, "Memorandum for Demaray and Tolson," July 28, 1941, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[50] Ibid.
[51] George J. Douros to NPS Dir. Arno Cammerer, March 1940, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[52] Lincoln Borglum to Russell Arundel [August 1941], RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[53] Russell Arundel to Newton Drury, August 7, 1941, and May H. Wilcox to "Director of National Park Service," August 13, 1941, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

> In the meantime a study will be made to determine what facilities should be provided for the accommodation of the public in that area. When a decision has been reached we will be in a position to advise Mrs. Wilcox relative to the continuance of her permit.[54]

In fact, Mrs. Wilcox lost her permit in 1942 and the concession operation was transferred to the Mount Rushmore Society, headed by John A. Boland.

The results of that facilities survey ordered by Director Drury suggested significant changes to the old Borglum studio, a test of Superintendent Lincoln Borglum's ability to juggle both family interests and those of the National Park Service. Through the winter season of 1941-1942, plans were drawn to make improvements to Gutzon Borglum's old studio for use as a restaurant and souvenir shop. **(Figure 96)** Plans were also drawn to construct a dormitory building to house concession employees.[55]

The building plans were apparently presented by Park Service staff, including Charles Gable, at a meeting of the Mount Rushmore Society with Society trustee Mary Borglum in attendance. Mrs. Borglum recalled her reaction in a letter to Lincoln, "...when it was mentioned that the old office was to be used as a kitchen, I protested, on account of the beautiful stone fireplace in that room."[56] Mrs. Borglum's letter to "Mr. Lincoln Borglum, Park Superintendent," was in fact a retraction of her initial protest: "When it was explained to me that there seemed to be no other place for the kitchen, without the expenditure of more money than we could possible hope for, and that the fireplace would be preserved for some future time, I withdrew my objection."[57] Chief of Regional Planning, Howard Baker, did include an alternate, more expensive, plan for the studio renovation that would preserve Borglum's office by constructing a kitchen addition to the building. However, with the withdrawal of Mrs. Borglum's objections, the original plan was apparently adopted with Superintendent Borglum's support.[58]

Actual work on the studio renovation did not occur until after World War II. By then Mary Borglum had apparently withdrawn her support of the reuse of the studio. With the concession operation now firmly under the control of the Society, it is likely Mrs. Borglum's feelings were influenced by the difficulties that had occurred between her husband and John Boland. In April 1946 she sent a letter of complaint to Boland, who replied, "I was not in favor of converting the studio into a restaurant or café, but the National Park Service insists that the service be provided to the public, and inasmuch as the Service is unable to provide a new concession building, it was agreed that the Studio should be used for this purpose until funds are available to construct a new concession building."[59] It seems Mrs. Borglum held her disapproval until December 1948, when she carried her complaint to Director Drury:

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[54] Newton Drury to Francis Case, August 22, 1941, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 901 "Privileges and Permits (Mt. Rushmore Memorial)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[55] "Branch of Plans and Design Comment," March 18, 1942, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-01 "Operators, Mr. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[56] Mrs. Gutzon Borglum to Mr. Lincoln Borglum, Park Superintendent, February 28, 1942, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-01 "Operators, Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[57] Ibid.
[58] NPS Dir. Newton Drury to Mary Borglum, January 17, 1949, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-08 "Complaints, Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[59] John A. Boland to Mary Borglum, April 11, 1946, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works: Mt. Rushmore 1942-48," Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

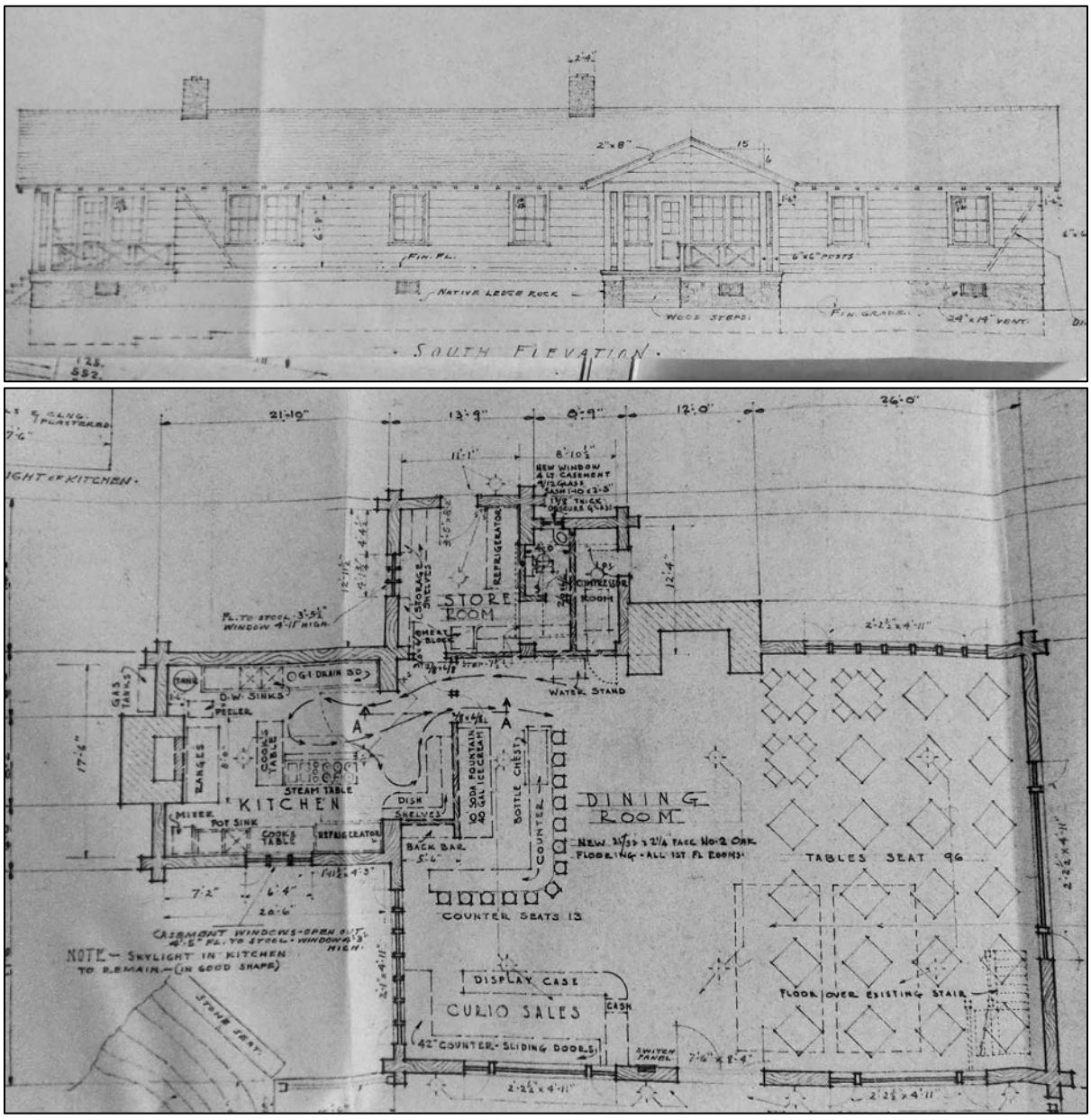


Figure 96: Elevation and plan drawing, "Alterations to Old Studio," 1942 (RG79, Box 2683, Folder "900-01, Operators, Mt. Rushmore," NARA II)

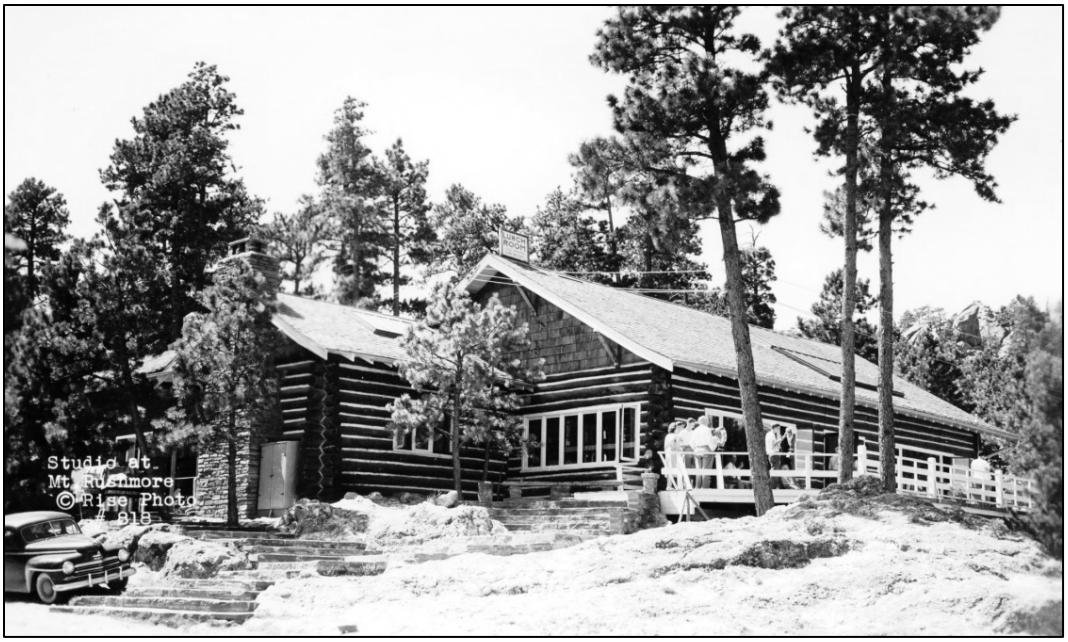


Figure 97: Old Studio "Lunch Room" (MRNM Archives, #6619MORU)

> I am keenly disappointed in the utter commercialization which prevails there now... Even the room which Mr. Borglum used to work, where he kept the portrait busts he had made of his co-workers and where he built a fireplace which was a work of art is, I understand, being used as a KITCHEN.[60] [emphasis hers]

Drury's careful reply noted that the concession arrangement "was worked out in conferences in Rapid City in 1942, when Lincoln was superintendent of the memorial..."[61] He assured Mrs. Borglum that Lincoln would again be consulted on "the points regarding the memorial which you have raised."[62]

Superintendent Borglum was indeed closely involved in the facilities survey of 1942. In his March 1942 report, Regional Chief of Planning Howard Baker noted that NPS architect Earhart had toured the buildings with "Messers. Liek, Borglum and Lindberg," reviewing the possibility of using the two studio basements for living quarters. Together they concluded that a new building would be required, which was included with the plans submitted.[63] A plan to have the Old Studio renovation and the concession dormitory construction completed by the local Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp fell through in 1942 when the park's request was denied because, according to the NPS Regional Director Lawrence C. Merriam, "the people planning to operate the concession facilities in this area during the coming season are unable to procure the equipment necessary to make the proposed buildings function properly."[64] In June 1942, among the last projects completed by

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[60] Mary Borglum to Dir. Newton Drury, December 31, 1948, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-08 "Complaints, Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[61] Drury to Mary Borglum, January 17, 1949, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-08 "Complaints, Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[62] Ibid.
[63] "Branch of Plans and Design Comment," March 18, 1942, RG79, Box 2683, Folder 900-01 "Operators, Mr. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[64] "Memorandum for the Coordination Superintendent, Mount Rushmore National Memorial," April 21, 1942,

the CCC at Mount Rushmore was gravelling the parking area.[65] That same month, facing declining CCC enrollments due to the expanding war economy and fading public support, Congress appropriated eight million dollars "for the liquidation of the CCC."[66]

From 1941 through 1945, while the resources of the United States – both financial and human – were dedicated to fighting World War II, Mount Rushmore National Memorial and National Parks around the nation made do without. They made do without money, without improvements, without repairs, and – largely due to gas rationing – without many visitors. Instead, by 1943, many of the visitors to the Shrine of Democracy were servicemen from the nearby "Army Air Base and Officer's Training at Rapid City and from the Glider School at Sturgis," according to South Dakota Congressman Francis Case.[67] Case even suggested to NPS Associate Director Demaray that,

> ...records of this travel be secured from Superintendent Borglum and be presented to the House Appropriations Subcommittee when we have our hearing. He [Case] thought it might be helpful to show the amount of visitation Mount Rushmore National Memorial was receiving from men in the Armed Forces.[68]

Congressman Case seemed to believe the Park Service might be allotted more funds if it was seen as helping in the war effort. The Memorial itself was viewed as a highly patriotic venue that could be used to rally Americans in support of the war. In February 1943, Superintendent Borglum advocated a plan for a national radio broadcast from Mount Rushmore, noting it would "be definitely a contribution to the war effort" and would "help to sell war bonds, which is the primary purpose of the broadcast."[69] The event took place on May 2, 1943, with Wendell Wilkie as the principal speaker.[70] Private commercial establishments used the Mount Rushmore image to sell war bonds – and to advertise their business.



Figure 98: Knott Hotels war bond ad (W0157 – Ad*Access Digital Collection, Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History, Rubenstein Library, Duke University)

RG79, Box 75, Entry P-124, Folder "Mt. Rushmore Correspondence," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[65] "Job Completion Record," June 26, 1942, RG79, Box 75, Entry P-124, Folder "Mt. Rushmore Active Jobs," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[66] John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Duke University Press, 1967), Chapter 12.

[67] "Memorandum for the Director" from Associate Director A. E. Demaray, March 1, 1943, RG79, Box 2678, Folder 101-01 "Mt. Rushmore, Dedications," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[68] Ibid.

[69] "Memorandum for the Superintendent, Wind Cave National Park" from Superintendent Lincoln Borglum, Mt. Rushmore National Memorial, February 6, 1943, RG79, Box 2678, Folder 101-01 "Mt. Rushmore, Dedications," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[70] "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report, Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Fiscal Year 1943," RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-01.4 "Supt. Annual Report Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.

Transitioning through the Post-War Tourism Boom

In May 1944, Superintendent Borglum took an extended leave from his post at the Memorial, finally resigning in January 1946.[71] He was replaced in 1944 by Acting Superintendent Albert R. Taylor, who served through October 1944, then by J. Estes Suter, promoted from his post as ranger at Wind Cave, who stayed at Rushmore until 1948.[72] Lincoln Borglum ran his park with just one ranger and a laborer, Gene Wilcox, who was employed beginning in October 1941. Taylor and Suter apparently operated with a similar skeleton crew, according to Liek's report.[73] From 1948 to 1951, Albert E. Elliot served as superintendent, still under the guidance of Coordinating Superintendent Liek.[74] In July 1951, at the height of the summer season, Superintendent Charles Humberger began his tenure at Mount Rushmore. By then the park employed four seasonal rangers, one shy of a "full crew" according to Superintendent Liek. Superintendent Humberger reported in his July 1951 report, an "Insufficient number of rangers to handle visitors adequately."[75]

The span of years between 1941 and 1953 saw remarkable changes in visitation at Mount Rushmore, reflected to some degree in the staffing at the park. From a high of over 300,000 visitors in 1941, the number plummeted to just over 31,000 in 1943. In the 1944 season visitation fell to 29,899, rebounding in 1945 to over 84,000. By 1953 the number of tourists coming to Mount Rushmore had mushroomed to 950,000.[76] In the face of these dramatic increases, and an improving economic outlook nation-wide, Mount Rushmore National Memorial was preparing for major improvements to all visitor facilities in order to accommodate the growing tourism boom.

Even before this explosive growth in visitation the facilities at Mount Rushmore were insufficient to meet the needs of tourists. Parking automobiles and tour buses was among the most pressing problems facing the Park Service. As late as 1942, only the lot at the Museum/Administration Building ("New Studio") served official parking duty. By 1953, with more than three times the number of visitors, parking was still limited to six small lots accommodating an estimated 200 vehicles.[77] In a 1953 letter to South Dakota Governor Sigurd Anderson, the Mount Rushmore Society proposed that the state of South Dakota build the necessary by-pass road leading to a dedicated parking area that would be associated with

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[71] "Coordinating Superintendent's Annual Report, Mount Rushmore National Memorial – Fiscal Year 1945," RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-01.4, NARA II, College Park, MD; "Application for Federal Employment," James Lincoln Borglum, ca. 1954, MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.
[72] "Coordinating Superintendent's Annual Report, Mount Rushmore National Memorial – Fiscal Year 1945," RG79, Box 2679, Folder 207-01.4, NARA II, College Park, MD.
[73] Ibid.
[74] "Superintendents of National Park System Areas," *Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials*, on-line book, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist.htm, accessed 6/10/2016.
[75] "Summary of the June 1951 Monthly Narrative Report for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," July 1951, RG79, Box 258, Entry P-11, Folder "Part 1 Closed MORU, July 1949 to Dec. 31, 1951," NARA II, College Park, MD. Liek continued to coordinate with the Memorial superintendent as late as 1953, two years into Superintendent Humberger's seven-year stay.
[76] Paul Bellamy, Chairman Mount Rushmore Society committee, to SD Gov. Sigurd Anderson, October 19, 1953, RG79, Box 1067, Folder "D30 MORU (Development, Roads and Trails," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[77] "Justification for Parking Area, Mt. Rushmore N. Mem.," from "1955 Program," RG79, Box 1067, Folder "D30 MORU (Development, Roads and Trails," NARA II, College Park, MD.

planned building improvements. It was, according to Mount Rushmore Society committee chair Paul Bellamy, part of a "Master Plan" for Mount Rushmore visitor facilities.[78]

Development of the Mount Rushmore "Master Plan" had actually begun ten years earlier with the proposed redesign of the Old Studio and construction of the employee's dormitory. It was not until 1948 that the studio was remodeled and two temporary frame dormitories were constructed, the Boy's Dorm (Bldg No. 33) and the Girl's Dorm (Bldg No. 32). By 1953 it was clear that these improvements would not be capable of keeping pace with the ever-increasing crowds at the park. The Mount Rushmore Society proposal in 1953 promised a $50,000 contribution from the Society toward the improvements, money earned through their profitable concessions at Mount Rushmore. The Society anticipated that with the improved facilities potential profits would "exceed $50,000 a year," which, noted Bellamy, "under its charter must be used by the Society for the development and



Figure 99: Boy's Dormitory, Bldg. 33 (MRNM Archives, #4985, Box 67)

improvement of Mount Rushmore."[79] The promise of building improvements did not convince the state of South Dakota to immediately commit its federal highway dollars to the road and parking side of the plan. However, the unveiling of the Mount Rushmore "Master Plan," prepared by the Park Service and the Mount Rushmore Society, was perfectly timed to coincide with a new and ambitious National Park Service-wide development plan known as Mission 66.

[78] Paul Bellamy, Chairman MRNMS committee, to SD Gov. Sigurd Anderson, October 19, 1953, RG79, Box 1067, Folder "D30 MORU (Development, Roads and Trails," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[79] Paul Bellamy, Chairman MRNMS committee, to SD Gov. Sigurd Anderson, October 19, 1953, RG79, Box 1067, Folder "D30 MORU (Development, Roads and Trails," NARA II, College Park, MD.

Mission 66 and Mount Rushmore

Conrad Wirth was appointed Director of the National Park Service in 1951. As an Assistant Director under NPS Director Newton Drury following the war, Wirth was well aware of the problems that the national parks faced after years of neglect. While Drury observed that the parks were "victims of the war," Wirth added, "It was quite evident that the cold war was damaging our parks more than the war itself had."[80] By 1955, Director Wirth had determined that a new strategy toward Congressional appropriations for the National Park Service was needed.



Figure 100: Mission 66 construction sign at Mount Rushmore (MRNM Archives, #6233d MORU)

Mission 66 was formulated as a ten-year plan to modernize facilities and to protect and conserve the historic and natural resources the parks were originally created to preserve. Wirth's request to Congress was for a budget of over 700 million dollars spread out over ten years, enough to provide a steady funding source for building construction and conservation in parks across the nation. The 1966 target date for completion sought to have the National Park system fully modernized in time to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the agency. In his own words, Wirth described it simply: "Mission 66 was conceived in 1956 and was designed to overcome the inroads of neglect and to restore to the American people a national park system adequate for their needs."[81]

Shortly before his appointment as Director of the National Park Service, Associate Director Wirth visited Mount Rushmore in June 1951.[82] Little had changed at the Memorial since the 1930s construction years. Administration and interpretive exhibits were still housed in Borglum's "New Studio" built in 1939. Concessions were located in the renovated Old Studio, with additional remodeling just recently completed in April 1951. New floodlights, installed for evening light shows on the Memorial in 1949 and 1950, and recently expanded to include a third bank of lights, could not be turned on that evening due to low cloud cover.[83] New comfort stations, under construction since late 1950 and slated to be completed by April 1951, were still not finished by the time of Wirth's June visit.[84] With the exception of the still un-finished restrooms, all

[80] Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, Intro.
[81] Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People*, Chapter 9.
[82] Wirth was promoted to Associate Director under Director Arthur Demaray, April-Dec. 1951 (www.nps.gov/parkhistory/hisnps/NPSHistory/directors.htm).
[83] "Memorial Lighting History," *Mount Rushmore*, accessed 11/20/15, www.nps.gov/moru/learn/historyculture/memorial-lighting-history.htm, "Summary of the June 1951 Monthly Narrative Report for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," July 1951, RG79, Box 258, Entry P-11, Folder "Part 1 Closed MORU, July 1949 to Dec. 31, 1951," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[84] "Summary of the June 1951 Monthly Narrative Report for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," July 1951, also Dec. 1950 and Jan.-May 1951, RG79, Box 258, Entry P-11, Folder "Part 1 Closed MORU, July 1949 to Dec. 31, 1951," NARA II, College Park, MD.

of the buildings in use by the Park Service at Mount Rushmore during Associate Director Wirth's visit were built in the 1930s during the Memorial construction.

The same remained true in 1953, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower visited Mount Rushmore to deliver a speech to a gathering of the National Young Republicans.[85]



Figure 101: President Eisenhower signing the register, with Supt. Humberger, June 1953 (RG79, Box 258, Folder "Part 2 Closed MORU, Jan. 1, 1952-Dec. 31, 1953, NARA II)

Mount Rushmore facilities clearly demonstrated that the need for modernization was real. When Director Wirth presented his Mission 66 plan to the President in January 1956, Eisenhower was fully supportive, noting in his State of the Union address to Congress: "The administration will submit recommendations to provide more adequate facilities to keep abreast of the increasing interest of our people in the great outdoors."[86] Congress followed with the necessary appropriations, starting with the fiscal year (1957) beginning in July 1956. Mount Rushmore was ready immediately with plans to build a new concession building and amphitheater, based on the Master Plan for improvements proposed in 1953. These would serve as an early test of Director Wirth's Mission 66 program.

The prospectus for the Mission 66 plans at Mount Rushmore clearly laid out the specific needs of the park:

> All of the developments and services must be planned and managed so that large crowds in a receptive frame of mind can be smoothly and comfortably accommodated, without damage to the beauty of the natural setting. These developments include roads, parking area, trails, eating facilities, and restrooms. Interpretive facilities designed to aid the visitor to a better understanding and appreciation of the Memorial's purpose, are also essential. These facilities include a Visitor Center which will principally contain exhibits which will heighten appreciation of the area's inspirational values; an amphitheater for illustrated or recorded talks and occasional commemorative

[85] General Supt. Liek to Mr. Gerald Tiffany (Young Republicans), May 11, 1953, RG79, Box 700, Folder "A8227, MORU (Special Events 1950-53)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[86] As cited in Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and People*, Chapter 9b.

> and patriotic programs; trailside exhibits which help to tell the story of the area; and quiet places for meditation. Most of the developments require utilities, including water, electricity, sewers, and communications. ...Housing for employees of the National Park Service and the concessioner is necessary along with storage, utility and administrative buildings.[87]

By the time the prospectus was written, probably about August 1956, several of the identified improvements were already underway. A 450-car parking lot, "recently constructed," was noted in the report, as well as the 500,000 gallon underground water storage reservoir. Reconstruction and realignment of the Doane Mountain (headquarters area) access road, part of Horse Thief Lake Road, was "expected to be complete and in use during the 1957 travel season."[88] Under an agreement between the National Park Service, the state of South Dakota, and Pennington County, the section of Horse Thief Lake Road located within the park boundaries was transferred to NPS ownership. The state also agreed to share the cost of the improvements using their federal highway funds.[89]

The concessioner's dormitory was also described as completed in the prospectus, adding that it was "a MISSION 66 accomplishment." The concessions building and amphitheater were noted as under construction, the contract having recently been awarded to the Rapid City firm of Corner, Howe and Lee in July 1956:

> The spacious, well-planned Concessions Building is under construction, a MISSION 66 project. It will be in operation early in the summer of 1957. Its dining room will seat 150 to 200 people and its coffee shop from 50 to 60 people. A souvenir shop and restrooms are also in the building. This structure will be self-liquidating from revenues of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society, which has a contract for the operation.[90]

The concessions building, named the Mountain View Building, as well as the dormitory would be paid for by the Society as per a 1954 agreement with the Park Service. The Society agreed to pay back the $500,000 estimated cost of the two buildings through donations (a total of nearly $200,000 between 1954 and 1957) and through franchise fee payments to be paid over their twenty-year concession contract. In fact, the actual cost was more than $800,000.[91] In its first season of operation in 1957, the concession employed up to eighty people. By August, noted artist David Humphreys Miller completed a mural of a buffalo hunt on the wall of the concession lobby.[92]

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[87] "Mission 66 for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," NPS 1956, RG79, Box 81, Entry P-84, Folder "Mission 66 M," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[88] Ibid.
[89] "Memorandum of Agreement," Jan. 1956, RG79, Box 1067, Folder "Folder D30 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[90] Memorandum, "Advance Notice of Intent to Award Contract," July 6, 1956, RG 79, Box 1123, Folder "D46, MORU (Development, Buildings, Construction, Maintenance)," NARA II, College Park, MD; "Mission 66 for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," NPS 1956, RG79, Box 81, Entry P-84, Folder "Mission 66 M," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[91] Memorandum, Regional Director, Region Two, to Director, May 8, 1959, RG79, Box 972, Folder "C58 MORU (Concessions, Buildings and other Facilities), NARA II, College Park, MD. The franchise fees included three percent of food sales and twelve percent of souvenir sales. The 1959 memorandum indicated that the amounts of these fees rose from over $28,000 in 1956 to over $44,000 in 1959.
[92] Aug. 1957 report, RG 79, Box 259, Folder "P-5 MORU, From July 1, 1957," NARA II, College Park, MD.



Figure 102: Helicopter view of the concession building and dormitory under construction, 1957 Superintendent's Report (RG79, Box 258, Folder "Part 4 MORU, From Jan. 1 1956," NARA II)

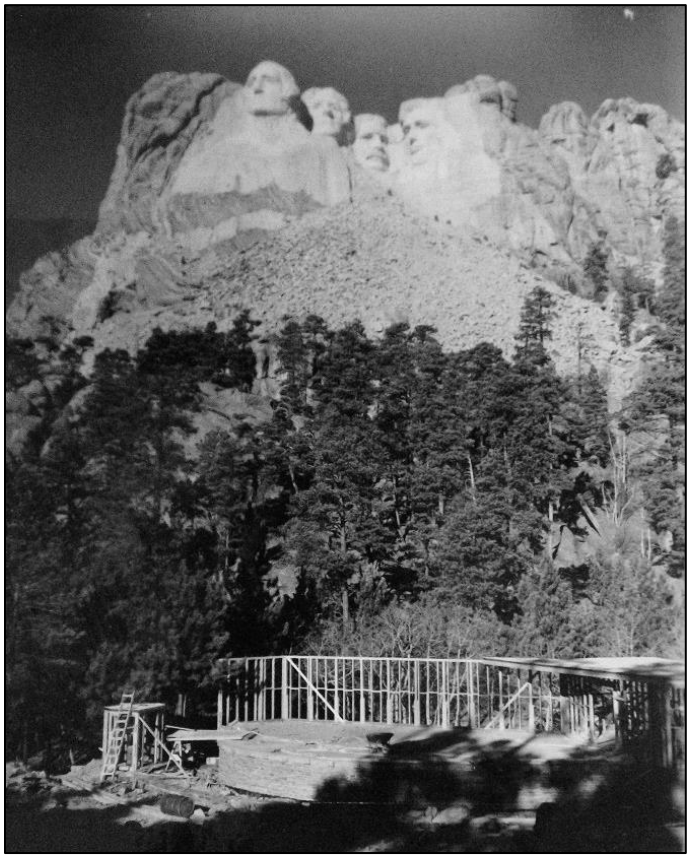


Figure 103: Amphitheater stage under construction, 1957 Superintendent's Report (RG79, Box 258, Folder "Part 4 MORU, From Jan. 1 1956," NARA II)

The Amphitheater was described in the prospectus as part of the interpretive program planned for Mount Rushmore:

> The 700-seat Amphitheater now under construction will be in use in the 1957 travel season. It is located in a natural bowl and is dominated by the towering sculpture. Daytime use will include frequent scheduled interpretive talks on the history and significance of Mount Rushmore. The Amphitheater will also be used for occasional special patriotic and commemorative programs.

The "natural bowl" directly below the sculpture had also caught the eye of Gutzon Borglum, who described in a 1937 letter to George Philips his vision of an amphitheater "in the slope of the ground that lies between the studio and the mountain."[93] Borglum's plan to build the structure "with the stone that comes off that big pile" was not used in the Park Service construction, though the NPS did use native granite in its construction. The Amphitheater, when finished in 1957, actually seated 800 people, had a fifty by twenty-five foot stage with dressing rooms, storage, "a high-fidelity sound system," restrooms, and a projection booth at the back.[94] With the floodlights already in place, evening programs were also slated for the new Amphitheater.



Figure 104: 1960 photograph of the Mission 66 amphitheater (MRNM Archives, #4991, Box 67)

Employee housing, both for the concession employees, already completed, and for Park Service staff, was also included in the Mission 66 plan. The prospectus noted that only one previously existing residence was "adequate, and scheduled for continued use," that being the 1939 Superintendent & Treasury Office, later converted to the Superintendent's residence. Several of the cottages built in 1930 for men working on the sculpture, were remodeled in 1940 and 1951 to accommodate Park Service employees. Built of light framing without benefit of full foundations, these "temporary" buildings were ready to be replaced.

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[93] Gutzon Borglum to George Philips, Nov. 27, 1937, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 107, Folder "Rushmore 1940 #1," LOC.

[94] "Dedication of New Facilities," August 25, 1957, 321 MORU, digital file "MORU Artifacts," MRNM park archives.

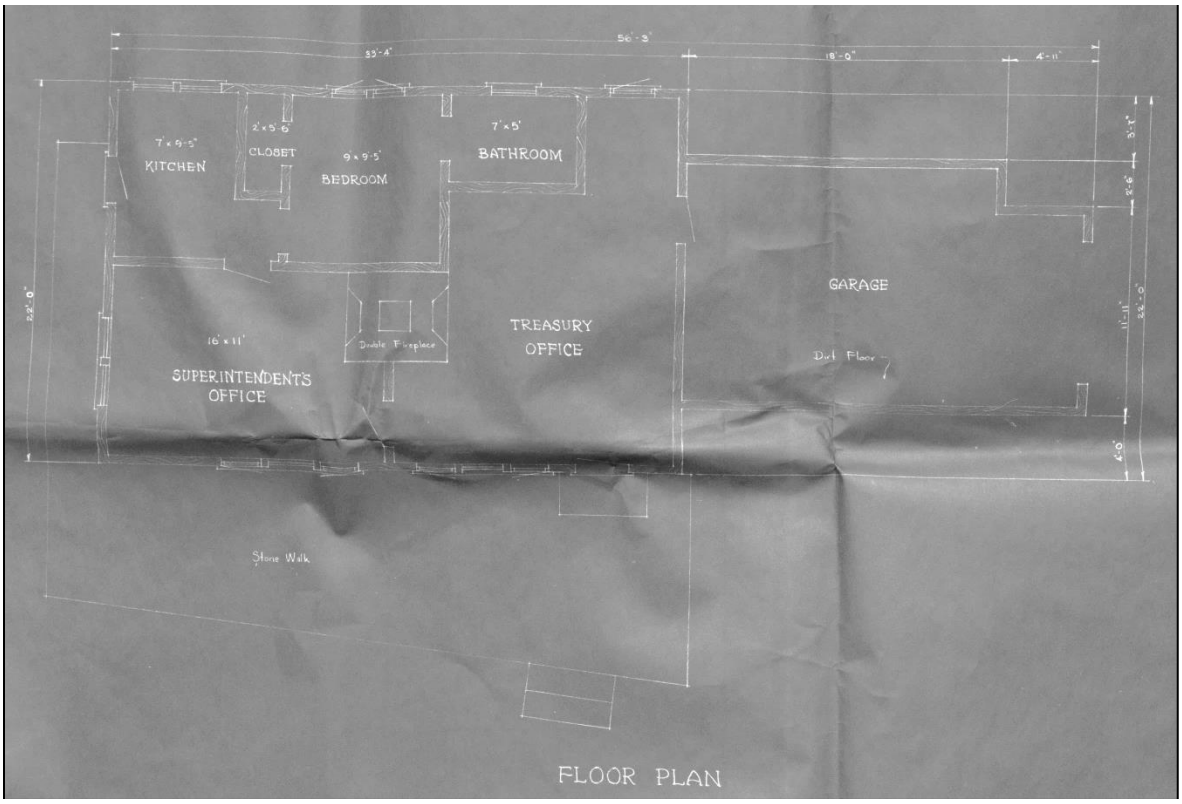


Figure 105: 1939 Floor Plan for the Superintendent's/Treasurer's Office building (GB Papers, Box 184, Folder "Supt. & Treasury Offices at Rushmore," LOC)

It was anticipated that a dedicated residential area would include up to six houses for permanent staff and a "multi-unit apartment building" of one or two stories would house the seasonal staff. In January 1957, that plan remained essentially intact, though the permanent housing would be reduced to two or three residences due to budgetary constraints.[95] The buildings, including a two-story, ten-unit apartment building and three ranch-style single-family houses, were completed in 1959-1960.

The Mission 66 prospectus for Mount Rushmore indicated that the "existing headquarters-museum building," the former "New Studio," would be converted to administrative offices, storage, and maintenance shops. The report, however, was silent on the Old Studio, most recently used as the concessioner's building. The superintendent's report from August 1957, by which time the new concessions facilities and amphitheater were completed and occupied, noted that the Old Studio (Building No. 8) was now being used as a "Temporary Museum." Located closer to the new parking and concessions area, exhibits were moved from "the lower and more remote Administration Building (Bldg. No. 4)" in an effort to improve visitor attendance at the interpretive exhibits.

The name "Temporary Museum" implied that this was not intended to be a permanent solution. In fact, plans were in the works for a new Visitor Center, a Mission 66 concept, built specifically to house exhibits and fully orient visitors, but it was still years away from construction. It was indeed a "temporary" reprieve for the Old Studio, as indicated by

[95] Memorandum, "Summary of Discussions at WODC, Week of January 14, 1957, Mount Rushmore National Memorial," February 12, 1957, RG79, Box 1026, Folder "D22 MORU (Development, Construction Programs)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

comments from Director Wirth in August 1957. At a meeting of the Society and NPS staff, Wirth presented the next phase of improvements planned for Rushmore, "including the Visitor Center and Viewing Terrace at the site of the old Studio Building No. 8."[96] Noting that Senator Case was on board with the plan, Superintendent Humberger felt that "everyone now concerned has a full and true picture of what is proposed."[97] That understanding had not come easily, and there was still resistance from former superintendent Lincoln Borglum to be resolved.

The original Park Service plan, as outlined in the April 1956 "Design and Construction Program," was for the restoration of the "Sculptor's Studio," at an estimated cost of $25,000.[98] By the following spring, the line item to restore the Studio had been removed from the development plan. In June 1957, a plan to demolish the Studio became public with an editorial in the *Rapid City Daily Journal*, titled "What! Tear Down Borglum's Studio?"[99] The article was written by Warren Morrell, editor of the paper and a member of the Mount Rushmore Society. Morrell wrote that tearing down the studio would be "a colossal mistake" for which the Park Service "would never be forgiven," and advocated for the studio's restoration and use as a museum of Gutzon Borglum's work.[100]

The editorial caught the eye of South Dakota Senator Francis Case and Representative E. Y. Berry. While Berry entered his dissent into the *Congressional Record*, Senator Case wrote directly to Director Wirth, concluding, "I hope you can assure me that the rumor which reached Mr. Morrell was unfounded and that you can set forth the definite plan of the Park Service for rehabilitation of the studio."[101] By the time Director Wirth met with NPS and Society members, including Morrell and Case, at the Memorial in August 1957, he was able to placate their fears with a reasoned explanation:

> It was generally agreed that to retain the old studio would be very expensive since it would have to be rebuilt and perhaps only a little of the original material would be left…
> A suggestion was offered, in the form of a sketch drawing, to remove the old studio which was used as a concession building, leaving the delightful chimney which Mr. Borglum and his apprentice had built. A shelter will be built around it, with a terrace in front as a memorial to the sculptor. This suggestion was considered by those attending the meeting to be the proper thing to do for the over-all development of Mount Rushmore.[102]

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[96] August 1957 Superintendent's Report, RG79, Box 259, Entry P-11, Folder "P-5 MORU, From July 1, 1957," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Memorandum, "Design and Construction Program for Mount Rushmore National Memorial Park – 1956 F.Y. and 1957 F.Y.," RG79, Box 1026, Folder "D22 MORU (Development, Construction Programs)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[99] "What! Tear Down Borglum's Studio," *Rapid City Daily Journal*, June 9, 1957, newspaper clipping, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 MORU (Development, Buildings, Construction, Maintenance)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[100] Ibid.
[101] "Extension of Remarks of Hon. E.Y. Berry of South Dakota in the House of Representatives, Friday, June14, 1957," copy of record, and Sen. Francis Case to Dir. Conrad Wirth, June 18, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 MORU (Development, Buildings, Construction, Maintenance)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[102] Dir. Wirth to Lincoln Borglum, November 4, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 2 From July 1, 1957 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.

Having gained the support of the state politicians and local interests, Wirth and Humberger now turned to convincing Lincoln Borglum of the plan's efficacy.

It appears that up to this time Lincoln Borglum, then living in Beeville, Texas, had not been included in the studio discussions. In October 1957, Lincoln wrote to Wirth indicating that Superintendent Humberger had "recently" asked him to come to Rushmore to "discuss plans with them for the tearing down of the old studio building."[103] In his reply to Humberger, Borglum noted that in earlier discussions with Director Wirth he was given the impression that "you planned to move the models back and restore the old building."[104] He continued:

> There will be no purpose in my making a trip to South Dakota for this matter. I am opposed to the destruction of the old studio, and will do everything that I can to prevent it."[105]

In his letter to Wirth, Lincoln Borglum made a strong argument for the building's preservation:

> I think the studio is a definite part of the Memorial, and it played a very important part in the history of the project. Nearly all of the working models were made in that building, all the design problems were worked out there, many of the commission meetings were held there and it was the focal point for all of the ceremonies held during the work. With the background the NPS has for doing so much to preserve other historical buildings, I find it hard to understand the thinking behind this move. I should love to hear from you.[106]

Wirth responded in early November with the NPS reasoning and the plan for the memorial terrace (see quote above), suggesting that Lincoln should, "visit Mount Rushmore and go over the plan on the ground with Superintendent Humberger..." Director Wirth concluded: "I believe you will agree that a permanent, dignified commemorative structure will be more appropriate than to try to retain the log building out of sentiment."[107]

By March 1958, Lincoln Borglum was reluctantly on-board with the commemorative terrace plan, saying to Wirth, "I have not changed my mind on this subject, but I would be happy to try and work out a solution with you."[108] In 1961 Borglum was hired as a "Design Consultant" to help prepare the final design of the Viewing Terrace. Borglum's plan called for the preservation of both fireplaces, the display of a "bust of Dad" he had sculpted, and two bronze plaque inscriptions – one detailing the history of the Memorial and the other telling the Gutzon Borglum story.[109] Superintendent Humberger, who was replaced in 1958

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[103] Lincoln Borglum to Dir. Wirth, October 13, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 2 From July 1, 1957 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[104] Lincoln Borglum to Supt. Humberger, October 11, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 2 From July 1, 1957 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Lincoln Borglum to Dir. Wirth, October 13, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 2 From July 1, 1957 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[107] Dir. Wirth to Lincoln Borglum, November 4, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 2 From July 1, 1957 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[108] Lincoln Borglum to Dir. Wirth, March 10, 1958, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 MORU (Development, Buildings, Construction, Maintenance)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[109] Lincoln Borglum to Dir. Wirth, February 4, April 14, and May 5, 1961, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 Pt. 1-1-60, MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.

by Superintendent W. Leon Evans, believed the people who had fought to preserve the log studio were "sentimentalists who feel that there should be a Borglum Shrine at Mount Rushmore."[110] In the end, the Borglum Memorial View Terrace served to commemorate the sculptor Gutzon Borglum while keeping the focus on the Shrine of Democracy. The project was completed in the fall of 1963.



Figure 106: Demolition of the Old Studio, 1963 (MRNM Archives, #6178MORU)

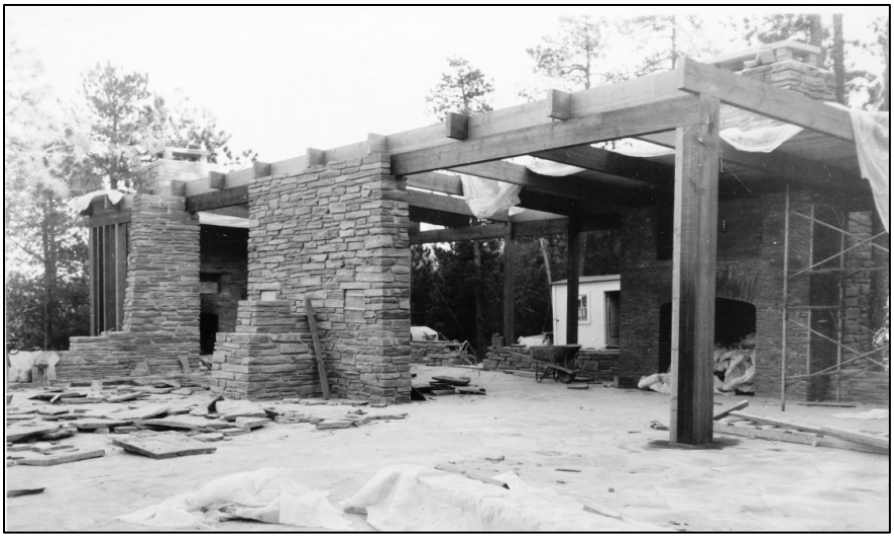


Figure 107: Borglum View Terrace under construction, 1963 (MRNM Archives, #6175MORU)

It was not until May 1963 that the long-awaited Visitor Center was completed at Mount Rushmore. Designed by Park Service architect Cecil Doty, the modern, yet low-key building fit comfortably on the Doane Mountain landscape. Named the Lincoln Borglum Visitor Center, it was the centerpiece of the Mission 66 vision. A place where the visitor would find general information, interpretive exhibits, and spaces for relaxation and comfort, the NPS Mission 66 publication *Our Heritage* described the Visitor Center as "the center of

[110] Memorandum, "Editorial – Sculptor's Studio – *Rapid City Daily Journal*," June 13, 1957, RG79, Box 1111, Folder "D3415 MORU (Development, Buildings, Construction, Maintenance)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

the entire information and public service program for a park."[111] The 1956 Mount Rushmore Mission 66 prospectus described the planned Visitor Center as "an information station and a two-level museum," with an auditorium, restrooms, historian's office, library and archives, work rooms, "and a small infirmary."[112] The Visitor Center was sited between the parking area and the sculpture, so that visitors would first pass through the museum exhibits before reaching the view terraces outside. The old water reservoir, a heavy stone construction completed in 1939, was covered to serve as a viewing platform located just north of the Mountain View concession building



Figure 108: Visitor Center, designed by Cecil Doty, completed in 1963 (MRNM Archives, #7293MORU046)

With the headquarters area as envisioned by the Mission 66 prospectus completed, little remained of the 1930s infrastructure associated with Gutzon Borglum and the work of creating the Memorial. **(Figures 109 and 110)** But with more than a million visitors reported during the 1963 season, efficient movement of people through the Memorial experience was clearly a necessity. Key to that experience from the Park Service point of view was interpretive programs.

The purpose of the Visitor Center idea grew directly out of the Mission 66 concept of the enhanced visitor experience in the national parks. "A Survey of the Public Concerning the National Parks," completed in 1955 as Director Wirth sought input on the Mission 66 goals, showed that nearly twenty percent of respondents wanted "more information about the sights to be seen, plaques, printed material, guide maps, lectures, etc."[113] Clearly, the museum installations, like that located in the Old Studio "Temporary Museum," did not provide the educational and interpretive experience expected by an increasingly savvy public.

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[111] As cited in Allaback *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, Introduction, "A New Building Type."
[112] "Mission 66 for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," NPS 1956, RG79, Box 81, Entry P-84, Folder "Mission 66 M," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[113] Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers*, "Origins of Mission 66," citing "A Survey of the Public Concerning the National Parks" (Princeton: Audience Research, Inc., December 1955).

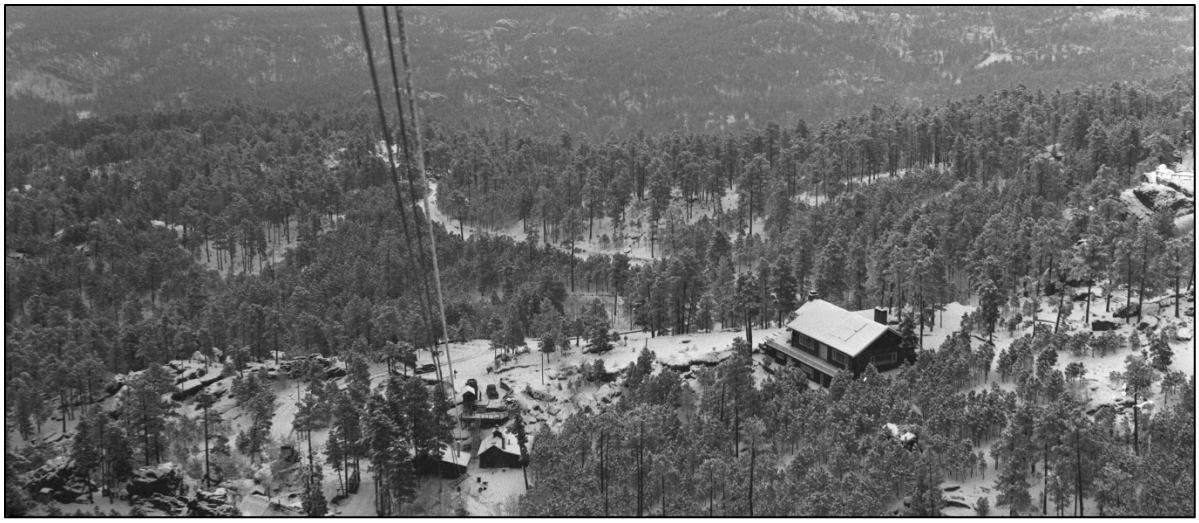


Figure 109: Pre-1939 view of the Old Studio and support buildings (MRNM Archives, #265MORU)

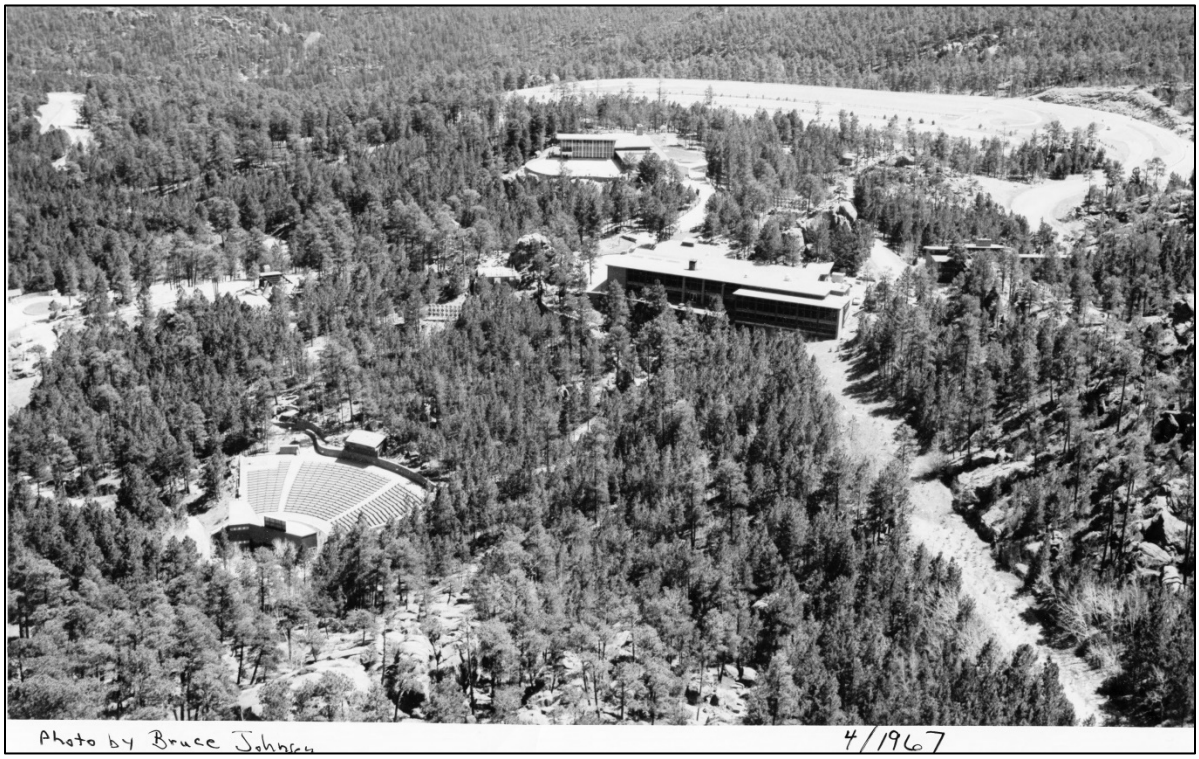


Figure 110: 1967 photograph of the Mission 66 headquarters area. Borglum View Terrace (Old Studio) is center-left (MRNM Archives, #7293MORU006)

The 1957 interpretive prospectus, developed early to identify requirements in the Visitor Center design, envisioned a "two-level museum" that would be a multi-faceted educational experience with information about the Memorial and the history of the sculpture itself: "the idea behind the Memorial, the story of sculptor Borglum, and of the actual construction of the sculpture."[114] Additional installations would provide a context to the

[114] Ibid.

Memorial with exhibits on "our American heritage, of democracy, liberty, freedom, unity, and justice." Other exhibits would cover the geology of the Black Hills and the role of the NPS in "conservation of historical and natural resources." The interpretive program also included outdoor installations on the trails and viewing terraces, providing "inspiration from the many close views of the sculpture." Lectures could be held in an indoor auditorium and larger events in the outdoor amphitheater.[115]

This very ambitious interpretive program raised concerns in the Division of Interpretation in the Washington office. Ronald F. Lee, chief of the division, responded with a six-point review of the plan, essentially suggesting that the whole plan, including the design of the Visitor Center, should be simplified, keeping the focus of the visitor on "the sculptured heads."[116] Lee commented on the "difficult problem" of interpreting "the democratic principles of our government," suggesting it should be limited to "using great quotations from the speeches and writings of the four men as the principal means of interpreting their meaning in American history."[117]

By the time the Visitor Center was constructed in 1963, the interpretive plan was significantly stream-lined, consisting of "four presidential quotes," an exhibit on the "rocks of the area," and a wall panel providing "Memorial information." Outdoor exhibits along the trails addressed natural resources and "Identification of the four Presidents."[118] Interpretation of the mountain carving history would be given its own space in the planned "Construction Museum," located in the 1939 Borglum studio used most recently as administrative offices.

The new Construction Museum, planned for development in 1964, received a major donation in August 1963, when Lincoln Borglum gave the original model of the mountain sculpture to the park. Memorial superintendent, W. Leon Evans, accepted the gift, reporting to Director Wirth, "Mr. Lincoln Borglum has been extremely helpful over the years in all activities the Park Service has engaged in relative to the Memorial and this important gift is but one of the many expressions of his desire to be of assistance in all interpretive and administrative functions."[119] Completion of the museum was delayed several years, but continues today (2016) as an important interpretive focus as one of the last remaining buildings from the Memorial construction period.

Public Events, Celebrations, and Occupations

With the inspirational backdrop of the Shrine of Democracy sculpture, it was the outdoor programing that would garner the most attention from the visiting public. Since its initial enabling legislation (Organic Act 1916) the National Park Service maintained a relatively open policy of public use of park land for special events, despite the 1918

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[115] "Mission 66 for Mount Rushmore National Memorial," NPS 1956, RG79, Box 81, Entry P-84, Folder "Mission 66 M," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[116] Ronald F. Lee to Howard Baker (Dir., Region II), July 12, 1957, RG 79, Box 1219, Folder "D6215 Part 2, MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[117] Ibid.
[118] George F. Baggley (Assis. Dir. Region II) to "The Director," April 2, 1962, referencing the "Interpretive Prospectus" approved in September 1959, RG 79, Box 1219, Folder "D6215 1/1/62, MORU Part 1," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[119] W. Leon Evans to "The Director," August 29, 1963, RG 79, Box 1219, Folder "D6215 1/1/62, MORU Part 1," NARA II, College Park, MD.

amendment providing that "national interest" should take precedence over public use. Permits were required for events and demonstrations, "Provided...there is a meaningful association between the park area and the events, and the observance contributes to visitor understanding of the significance of the park area."[120] Thus patriotic events have been the most common use, though there have been a wide variety of activities over the years including a beauty pageant in 1961, the annual Easter Sunrise Service, and numerous conferences and reunions.

Among the first major events to take place in the new amphitheater was the July 23, 1962 Telstar broadcast. Telstar was the first international communications satellite, a new technology that would change global communications forever. On July 23, the 312-member Mormon Tabernacle Choir squeezed onto the stage in front of the four colossal presidents and sang "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" to the world as the camera panned across the sculpture. The segment included images of the bison herd at Custer State Park and Benjamin Black Elk, son of Hehaka Sapa (Nicholas Black Elk) and a long-time tourist fixture at Mount Rushmore, in traditional Lakota dress. The broadcast concluded with iconic images of the United States: the Statue of Liberty, Mount Rushmore, the New York World's Fair, and the United Nations building in New York City, while the choir at the Memorial sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."[121] It was an opportunity to impress U.S. patriotic fervor on a world in the depths of the Cold War.

Other patriotic public events held regularly at the Memorial include naturalization ceremonies, Memorial Day and Labor Day celebrations, and perhaps the most beloved, the Independence Day celebrations. Beginning with the George Washington unveiling in 1937, the Fourth of July has been a day of particular patriotic pageantry. From 1998 through 2009 the Independence Day Celebration sponsored by the Mount Rushmore Society included fireworks displays from the top of the mountain carving. Fireworks have been banned since 2010 due to potential fire concerns, resource protection, and security of the sculpture. In 1976, the year of the United States' Bicentennial anniversary, each of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, and the four U.S. Territories were highlighted throughout the summer season with patriotic staging, while July 4th was celebrated as "United States Day."

Public events surrounding Presidential visits to the Memorial began with Calvin Coolidge in 1927. Since then, five additional sitting presidents have taken the stage at Mount Rushmore: Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1936, Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953, George H. W. Bush in 1991 (Fiftieth Anniversary), Bill Clinton in 1999, and George W. Bush in 2002. **(Figure 111)** The pageants associated with many of the Presidential visits were highly orchestrated events. President George H. W. Bush took part in the 1991 Fiftieth Anniversary of the Memorial, a large-scale celebration that included an audience of approximately 3,500 people. The Associated Press article published in the *Rapid City Journal* described the unfolding spectacle:

> ...the 75-minute show was conducted on a scale in keeping with what is called the world's most colossal sculpture. Military bands and nationally known singers belted out patriotic songs against a red, white, and blue backdrop. Bi-

[120] 36 CFR 2.50, "Special Events," *Cornell University Law School, Legal Information Institute*, https://www.law.cornell.edu/cfr/text/36/2.50, accessed 6/14/2016. Permits, issued by the park superintendent, are now required for special events in national parks.

[121] Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers*, 341; "First Live Worldwide Television Broadcast via Telstar Satellite," *YouTube*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=0IX7vC4Ts_A , accessed 6/15/2016.

planes, jet fighters, and a B-1 bomber soared past the mountain. And at the end, the wind dropped enough that a helium balloon was able to hoist a 120-by-80 foot U.S. flag into the blue sky and fluffy white clouds above the monument.[122]



Figure 111: Presidents at Mount Rushmore: Calvin Coolidge, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower, George H. W. Bush (MRNM Archives)

The day also served to honor the men who carved the mountain, including Norman "Hap" Anderson, aged seventy-eight, one of sixteen surviving workers who attended the dedication that day.[123] Also sharing the stage with President Bush was a group of nationally-known entertainers, including noted opera singer, White Eagle. Described in the newspaper article as "Sioux," White Eagle was the son of a Lakota father and a mother of German descent. His

[122] Chet Brokaw (AP writer), "Sculpture Has Day of Glory," *Rapid City Journal*, July 4, 1991, "5904 MORU(1)," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.
[123] Pat Dobbs (Assis. City Ed.), "Bush tells of Hap's wife belly dancing," *Rapid City Journal*, July 4, 1991, "5904 MORU(1)," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD. Worker tributes also occurred in 1980 and 1988.

comments provided a perspective of the Memorial that had only begun to reach the general public's attention with the American Indian occupations in the 1970s:

> I can feel the dignity and the pain of my father's ancestors as we stand on this sacred land we call the Paha Sapa. I stand with my mother's ancestors and feel the pride that inspired the sculpting of this magnificent monument.[124]

The audience responded with a standing ovation.

American Indian participation at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial over the previous fifty years had rarely seen the spotlight that White Eagle was given. Gutzon Borglum's pageants through the 1930s typically included Lakota dancers as part of the event. In the 1950s, Benjamin Black Elk would become the face, and for some the voice, of the Lakota people at Mount Rushmore. Ben Black Elk, as he was known, was born in 1899 on

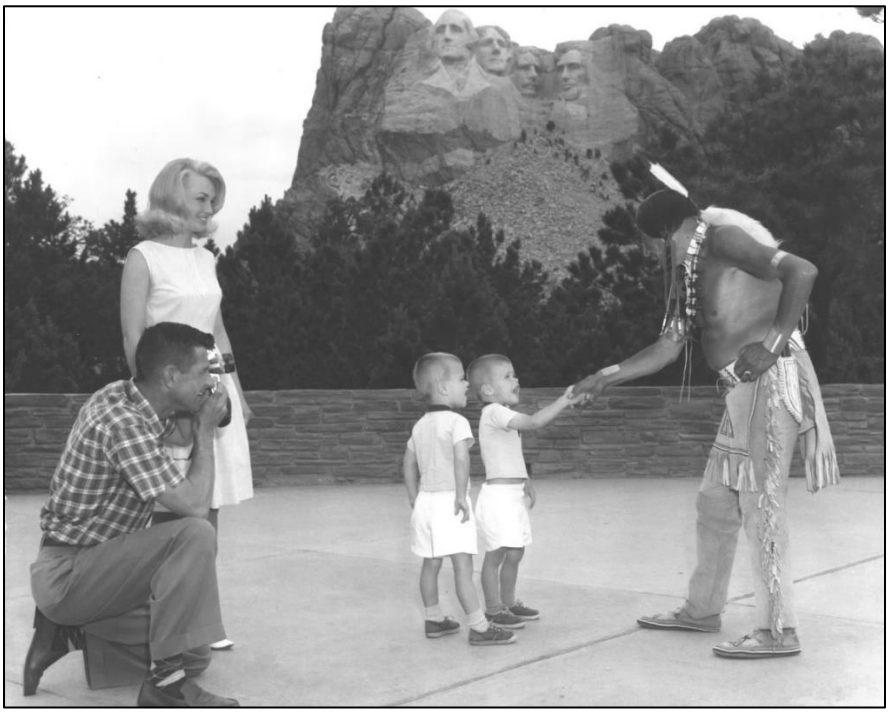


Figure 112: Ben Black Elk greeting tourists on the Grand View Terrace, ca. 1965 (MRNM Archives, #3767-01MORU)

the Pine Ridge reservation and attended the well-known government-run Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He had a successful career as a Black Hills rancher, "winning awards for both crops and livestock," according to his *South Dakota History* biography. But Ben Black Elk is best known for his twenty years at Mount Rushmore where he "became one of the most photographed men of all time...having his picture taken as often as five thousand times in one day":

> Seen through the camera viewfinders of thousands of visitors to Mount Rushmore, Benjamin Black Elk, dressed in traditional Sioux clothing, seemed to epitomize the popular image of the Sioux Indian. Those few visitors who

[124] Journal staff and AP, "Familiar faces among celebrity ranks on stage," *Rapid City Journal*, July 4, 1991, "5904 MORU(2)," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.

> also paused to talk with the man known as the "Fifth Face of Mount Rushmore" found an articulate spokesman working for the preservation of his heritage.[125]

Benjamin Black Elk died at the age of seventy-four in 1973. His gentle reminder of the Lakota presence in the Paha Sapa was replaced by AIM-sponsored demonstrations, still peaceful on the surface, but veiled with threats from certain voices.



Figure 113: Postcard (in color) of Ben Black Elk (MRNM Archives, #7269aMORU)

Another Round of Changes – 1970s through 1998

By 1970, annual visitation at Mount Rushmore had reached nearly two million people.[126] The Mountain View concession building received a 6,000-square foot addition, completed in 1972, in order to accommodate the summer crowds.[127] Incidents of boisterous parties around the carving and of people making the dangerous, and now-banned, climb to the top of the carved heads were also on the rise. But crowds and parties at the Memorial were not the only concern for the NPS. The rise of AIM (American Indian Movement) and the occupations and demonstrations taking place at Mount Rushmore were the catalyst to significant changes in the security arrangements at the Memorial.

Throughout the construction of the colossal sculpture in the 1930s, Gutzon Borglum had delighted in bringing visitors to the top of the carving. However, after 1939 the Park Service frowned on providing access to the mountain top for several reasons. In 1947,

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[125] Jeanne Kilen Ode, "Dakota Images: Benjamin Black Elk," *South Dakota History*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1984.
[126] https://www.nps.gov/moru/learn/management/statistics.htm.
[127] Clayton Hagen memorandum, "Notice of Pending Award of Construction Contract...," October 26, 1971, RG 79, Box 2692, Folder "C58 Pt. 1 MORU," NARA II, College Park, MD.

Coordinating Superintendent Harry J. Liek cited the danger of falling and vandalism as primary reasons to reject the construction of the Grand Stairway. Liek also pointed to the natural cracks in the granite that were maintained by the NPS with a filling of "dry white lead and oil," noting that "constant walking on these would have a tendency to open them up allowing moisture to collect which would freeze during the winter months having a tendency to enlarge the cracks..."[128] Still, it was not until 1967 that climbing Mount Rushmore was prohibited by federal regulation and the manpower to enforce the regulation did not come until after the 1970 American Indian Movement/United Native Americans (AIM/UNA) occupation.[129]

Prior to the extended AIM/UNA encampment on the Memorial in the fall of 1970, Leo Zwetzig recalled that as the "Park Technician" in charge of law enforcement he was "the only ranger authorized to carry a gun."[130] But immediately after the last of the American Indian participants left the mountain in December 1970, Zwetzig was "sent back to Washington to train with the U.S. Capital Park Police" and given five additional law enforcement positions at the Memorial.[131]

In early December 1970, the *Rapid City Journal* carried an Associated Press article reporting on the Congressional appropriation to the NPS for "a riot control squad of 40 officers to move from park to park as needed."[132] The newspaper cited the "Indian demonstrations" as the impetus for better security at Mount Rushmore, according to Superintendent Wallace O. McCaw. However, the article went on to note that there was a general problem in the Black Hills with "beer or pot parties, motorcycle gangs, hippie occupations of campgrounds, thefts in campgrounds, and other law enforcement situations," that required a greater law enforcement presence.[133] Reuben Snake, Publicity Chairman for the Crazy Horse Mountain Movement (the name given to Mount Rushmore by the 1970 occupying group), responded to the newspaper article in a letter to the editor:

> We sincerely regret the necessity for the U.S. Park Service to establish a riot control squad to handle the problems created by non-Indians through beer parties, pot parties, [etc.]...
>
> However, we take exception to the inclusion of the Indian people into this group. Supt. Wallace McCaw and all other U.S. Park Service personnel can attest the fact that never has the Crazy Horse Mountain Movement members committed any of these acts willfully or otherwise.
>
> The fact that we occupied the mountain is a well-known proven established certainty. Whether or not such an occupation was illegal has not yet been resolved.
>
> Until the Government of the United States commits its last shameful act of treachery against the Great Sioux Nation by legal slight-of-hand [sic], Indian people will continue to climb Crazy Horse Mountain to shout their

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[128] Coordinating Superintendent Harry J. Liek, "Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region Two," July 21, 1947, RG79, Box 2682, Folder 611 "Repairs & Improvements Mt. Rushmore," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[129] 32 FR 13071, September 14, 1967, cited in "Code of Federal Regulations, Title 36, Parks, Forests, and Memorials" (Office of the Federal Register, 1972), Section 7.77, 82.
[130] Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers*, 350.
[131] Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers*, 356.
[132] Washington AP story, "Rushmore, Hills to receive funds for law, order," *Rapid City Journal*, December 10, 1970, RG 79, Box 2753, Folder "W34 MORU (Law Enforcement)," NARA II, College Park, MD.
[133] Ibid.

> message to the world that we desire justice, equality and recognition of our rights.[134]

AIM leader Russell Means followed through on the pledge and occupied the mountain briefly in the summer of 1971. They were immediately removed and no other occupation has since occurred.[135]

Veiled threats to bomb the Memorial continued through the lead-up to the 1976 Bicentennial celebrations. In 1975, a bomb exploded on the viewing terrace, apparently perpetrated by a lone suspect, "with long brown hair and beard," in an old pickup truck.[136] Though the tense atmosphere cooled as the decade wore on, it proved to be the tip of an iceberg that was forming under the surface of national and international security that would culminate with the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York City, at the Pentagon, and in Pennsylvania. Technologically enhanced security at Mount Rushmore operates year-round and unseen by the average tourist.

Throughout the 1980s a steady flow of 1,500,000± visitors passed through Mount Rushmore National Memorial each year.[137] The aging Mission 66 buildings were found to be inadequate to meet the needs of visitors. Available parking areas filled to overflowing on peak visiting days. In October 1988, the Mount Rushmore Society announced its "bold new plan" for the Memorial visitor facilities. The Society's plan to improve "facilities and exhibits" began with a three-year national fundraising campaign to raise the forty million-dollar projected cost of the improvements.[138] In many ways mirroring the original Mount Harney Memorial Association funding scheme, the Society anticipated large donations from

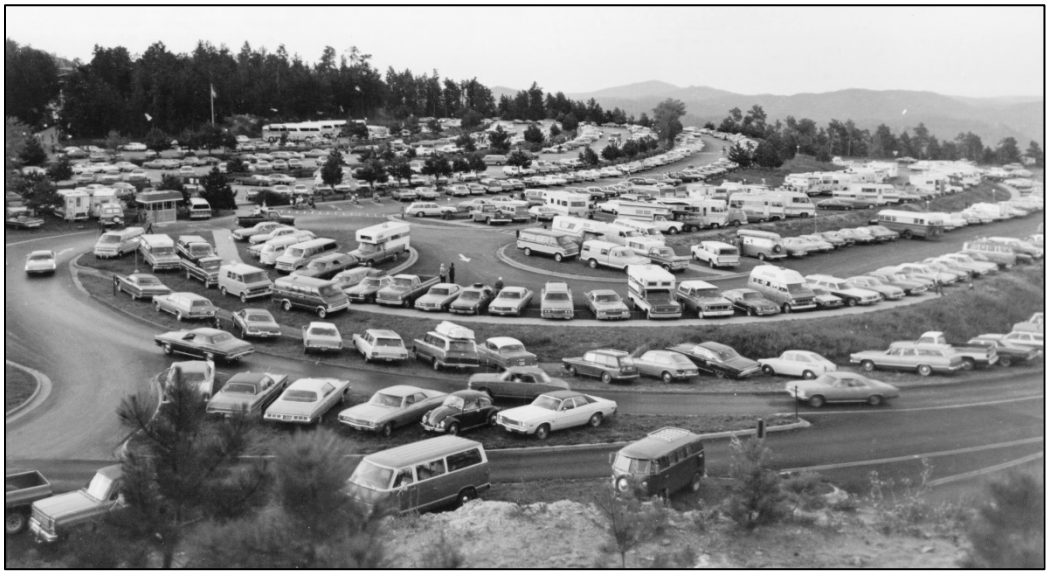


Figure 114: Overflowing parking lot, July 4, 1976 (MRNM Archives, #7293MORU111)

[134] Reuben Snake, "Connection resented," *Rapid City Journal*, n.d. (December 1970), RG 79, Box 2753, Folder "W34 MORU (Law Enforcement)," NARA II, College Park, MD.

[135] In 2009, members of the Greenpeace organization scaled the mountain and unfurled a banner about climate change next to Lincoln.

[136] Taliaferro, *Great White Fathers*, 360. Taliaferro notes that although the official incident report did not indicate the suspect's ethnicity, the beard implied that "he was presumed to be Caucasian."

[137] https://www.nps.gov/moru/learn/management/statistics.htm.

[138] MRNMS "Press Release," October 6, 1988, Box 71, folder "Golden Anniversary, July 4, 1991, Fundraising," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.

private citizens and corporations, beginning first in the Black Hills and expanding nationwide. In 1989, they turned to the federal government to press for an idea first championed by Borglum in the 1930s, a U.S. Mint commemorative coin. In March 1990, Congress passed the legislation proposed by South Dakota Representative Tim Johnson, authorizing three coins honoring the fiftieth anniversary of the Memorial, to be available for one year. Half of the thirty-five dollar surcharge on the sale of the limited edition coins would go to the Mount Rushmore Preservation Fund.[139] An enormous image of the five dollar gold coin was prominently displayed on the Memorial stage during the Fiftieth Anniversary celebrations, at which President George H. W. Bush was the highlighted speaker.

The 1991 Fiftieth Anniversary Dedication at the Memorial served as the public kick-off of the Mount Rushmore Preservation Fund. The official Preservation Fund flier, "Preserving the Vision," laid out the redevelopment vision. Items to be addressed by the forty million dollar redevelopment included:

1. "Preserving the Sculpture," a maintenance plan for cracks in the granite sculpture.
2. "Completing the Hall of Records," including a "structural analysis of the Hall, which will lead to its completion."
3. "Protecting Historic Features," focusing particularly on the Borglum Studio (Construction Museum), removing the maintenance facility from the basement of the studio and "to preserve and exhibit hundreds of artifacts associated with the carving."
4. "Interpreting the Memorial," identified the current facilities as "inadequate" and again described the need for improved exhibits covering the carving history. Their ambitious plan included "A new Interpretive Center" providing "expanded educational programs, exhibit halls, museums, theaters and libraries."
5. "Enlarging the Amphitheater," entailing removal of the old structure and building a new amphitheater with "expanded seating, improved access, audio visual and staging capabilities, and a better view of the memorial."
6. "Improving Visitor Access," would address accessibility for disabled and elderly visitors, as well as improve parking and trails.
7. "Increasing Security," envisioned "electronic security devices...to detect physical threats to the memorial."[140]

It was indeed an ambitious project that would require several more years of planning and fundraising.

Work did begin, however, in 1991 on the preservation plan for the sculpture. A 1990 structural analysis, contracted by a partnership of the NPS and the Society, produced a

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[139] Congressman Tim Johnson Newsletter, March 1990, "Tim Johnson Testifies for Mt. Rushmore Coin Bill," #2572, Box 73 "Golden Anniversary; Mt. Rushmore Society Preservation Fund," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD; see also Public Law 101-332 "Mount Rushmore Commemorative Coin Act."

[140] Mount Rushmore Preservation Fund flier, "Preserving the Vision," #2518a, b, Box 73 "Golden Anniversary; Mt. Rushmore Society Preservation Fund," MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.

detailed map of the mountain and sculpture, "including the fractures and other structural features."[141] Based upon the findings of the analysis, in the fall of 1991 a silicone sealant was chosen to replace the old "compound of granite dust, white lead, and linseed oil originally formulated by Borglum for the purpose."[142] The new sealant would allow the rock to expand and contract as needed in the variable conditions of the Black Hills interior, but prevent damaging moisture from penetrating the cracks. Today (2016), electronic crack monitors provide continuous data on the movements of the granite.

The new "Comprehensive Design Plan" for the visitor facilities on Doane Mountain was developed by a team of landscape architects, architects, and civil engineers. It was a unified plan with the purpose of directing the visitor through the Mount Rushmore experience. **(Figure 115)** A visitor would be presented with dramatic views of the sculpture from their first step out of the parking facility, through the Avenue of Flags, to the Grand View Terrace and the 1,500-seat amphitheater. The Interpretive Center, tucked below the

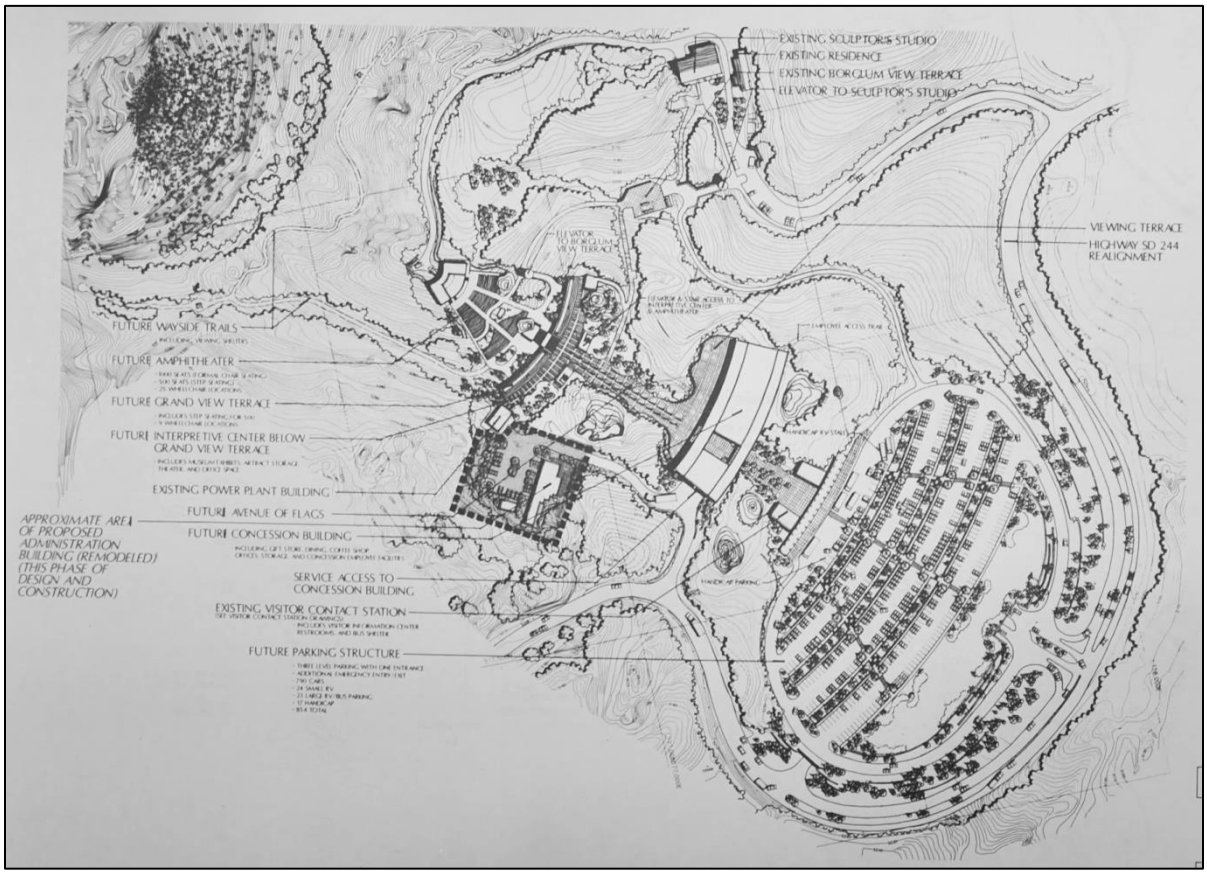


Figure 115: 1994 Comprehensive Design Plan (MRNM Archives, #12112MORU(3))

Grand View Terrace, would feature a sweeping, unobstructed view of the Memorial. Granite would cover the reinforced concrete construction of all the buildings. Of the Mission 66 buildings, only the concession dormitory – converted to administrative offices in 1994 – and the ranger housing would survive. Borglum's old studio fireplaces (incorporated into the

[141] "Briefing Statement," March 15, 1990, #5712, Box 64, MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.
[142] "Mount Rushmore Protected with Silicone Sealant," *Materials* (Dow Corning, Nov./Dec. 1991), #2461, Box 70, MRNM Archives, Keystone, SD.

Borglum Viewing Terrace), his 1939 studio and residence, and the CCC stone steps and pathways would remain the lone survivors of the Borglum era.

Actual construction began in 1992 with the Visitor Orientation Center, encompassing the entrance pergola (dividing the parking area from the viewing area and serving as a bus shelter), the information station, and comfort station. In 1993, the Mission 66 Visitor Center, designed by NPS architect Cecil Doty, was demolished to prepare the site for the new Concession Building, constructed in 1994. **(Figure 118)** In 1996, as grading and construction began on the new amphitheater, the old Mountain View concession building was demolished to make way for the new Grand View Terrace and Interpretive Center. **(Figures 119)** Finally, in 1996, the new Avenue of Flags was assembled as the old amphitheater was removed and two multi-level parking decks were completed. **(Figure 120)**

By the summer season of 1998, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial had a completely new look and visitor experience **(see 2014 photos after Figure 120)**. The interpretive focus was expanded to include extensive information about the sculpting of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. The Grand View Terrace features a larger-than-life bronze bust of Gutzon Borglum, based upon the bust sculpted by Lincoln Borglum after his father's death. Significantly, a large granite plaque, displayed prominently on the terrace wall, lists all of the more than 400 workers who made Gutzon Borglum's vision a reality.

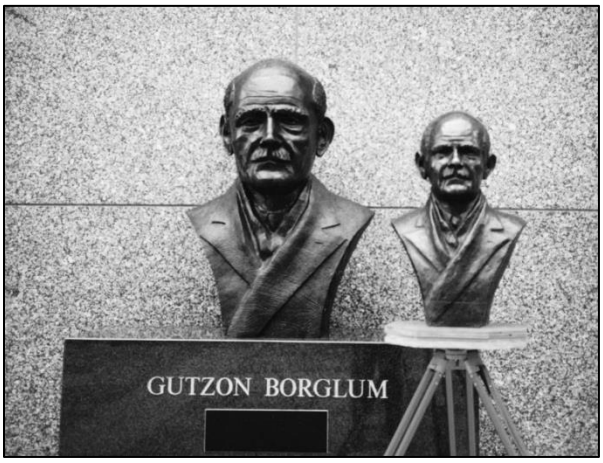


Figure 116: Bust of Gutzon Borglum by Lincoln Borglum (on right) beside 1990s replica (MRNM Archives, #7293MORU269)



Figure 117: 2014 photo of the granite plaque naming all of the Rushmore workers (EBW)

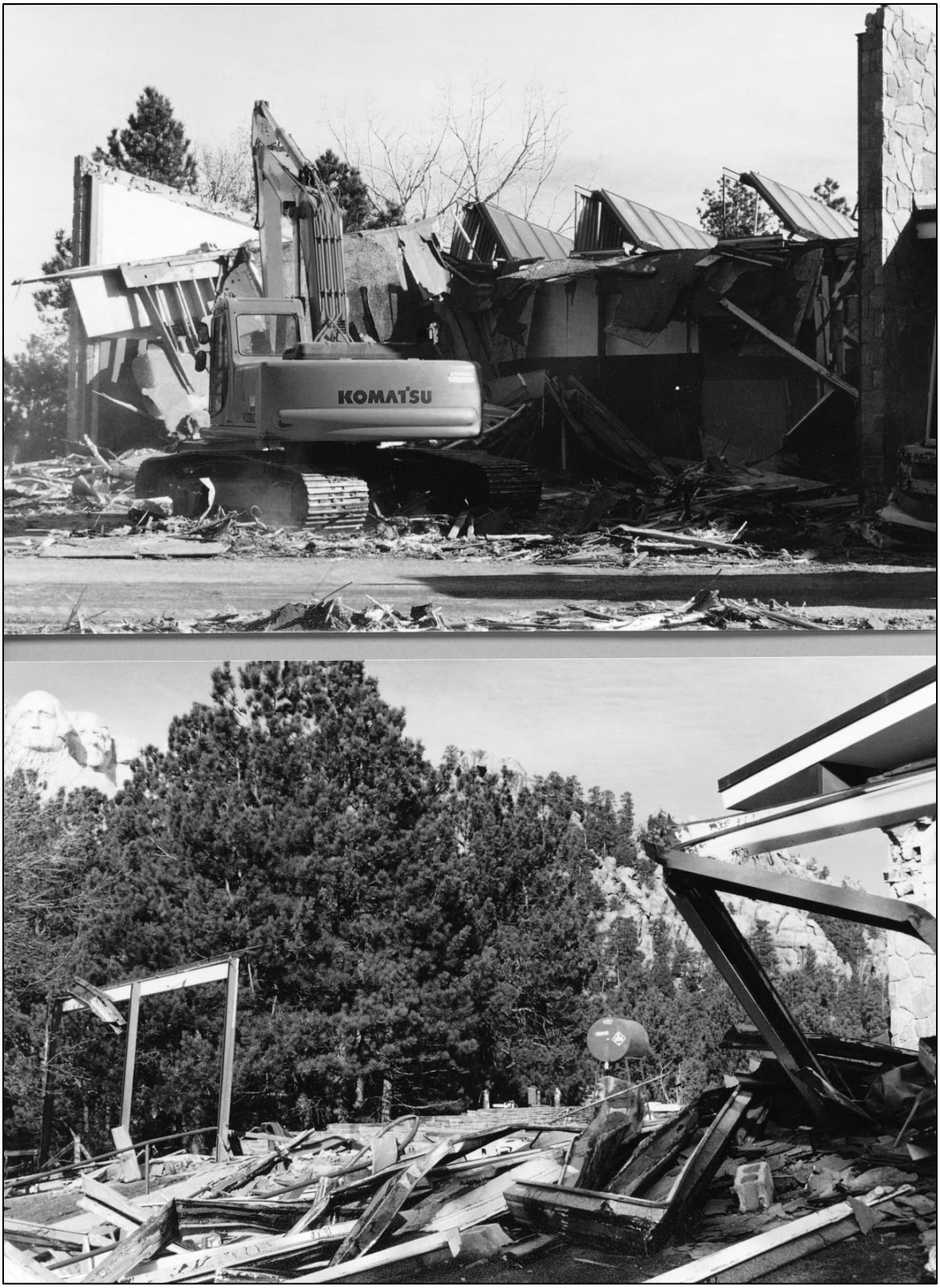


Figure 118: 1994 demolition of the Visitor Center (MRNM Archives, "Redev Batch N002")

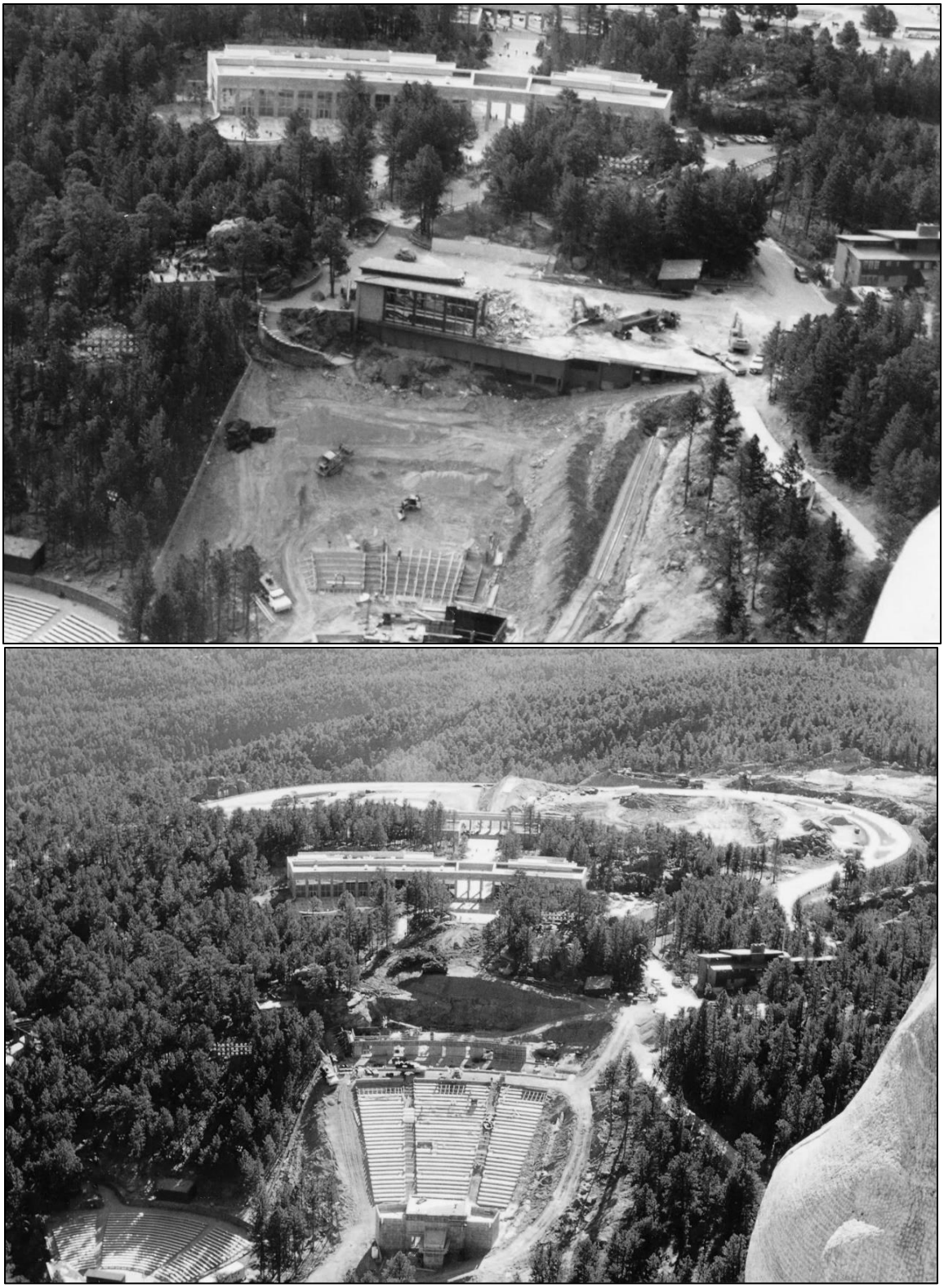


Figure 119: 1996 demolition of the Concession Building and construction of the amphitheater and Interpretive Center (MRNM Archives, "Redev Batch T, 1996035" and "Redev Batch T, 1996016")

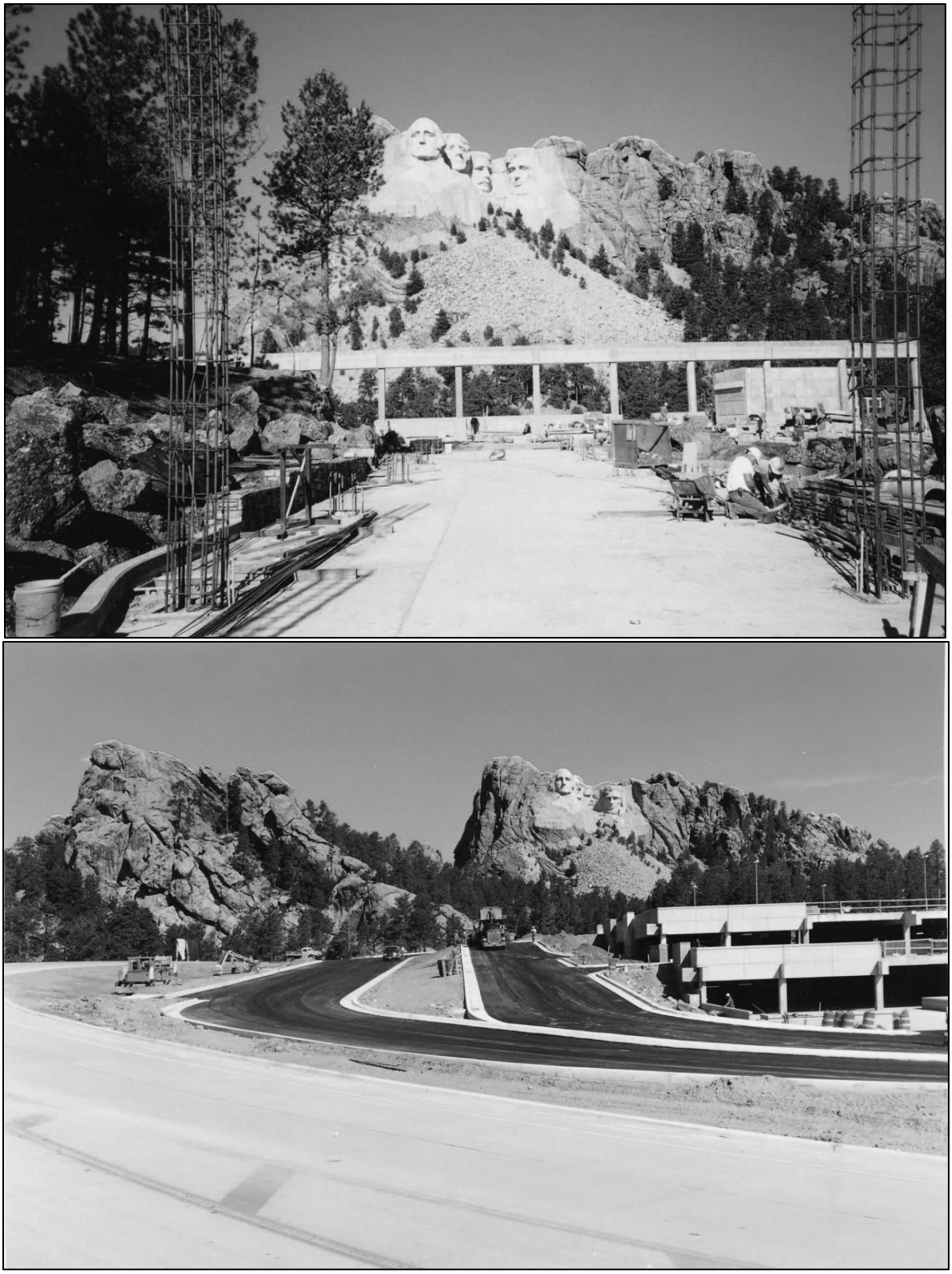
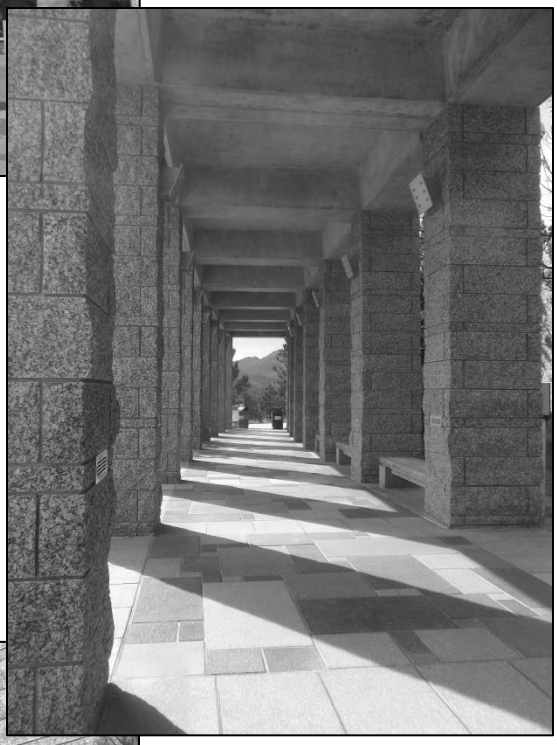


Figure 120: 1996 construction of the Avenue of Flags and parking decks (MRNM Archives, "Redev Batch U 1997012" and #7293MORU110)

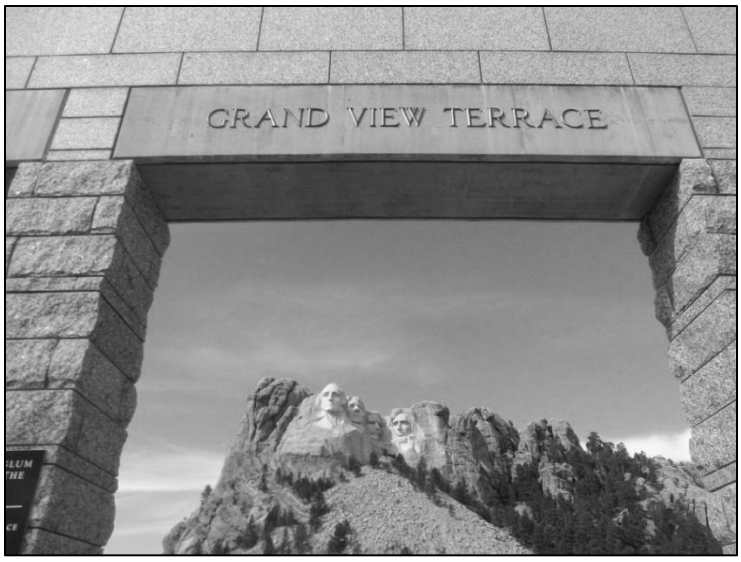


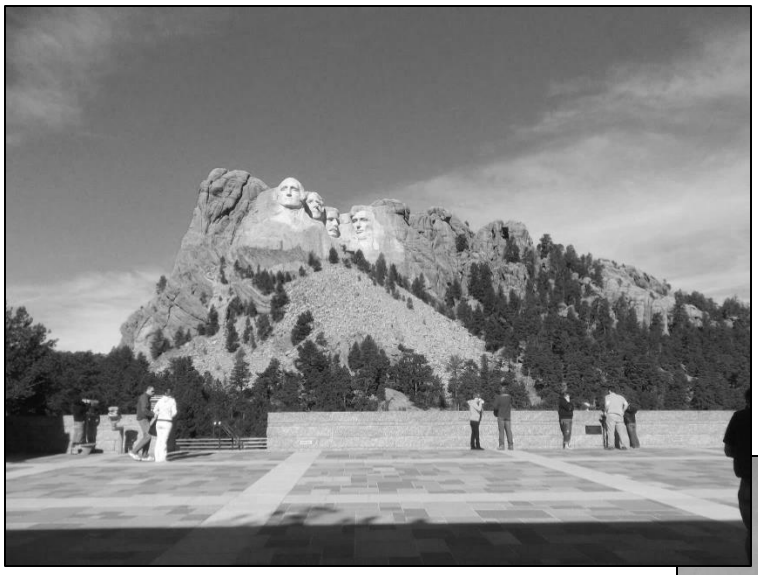


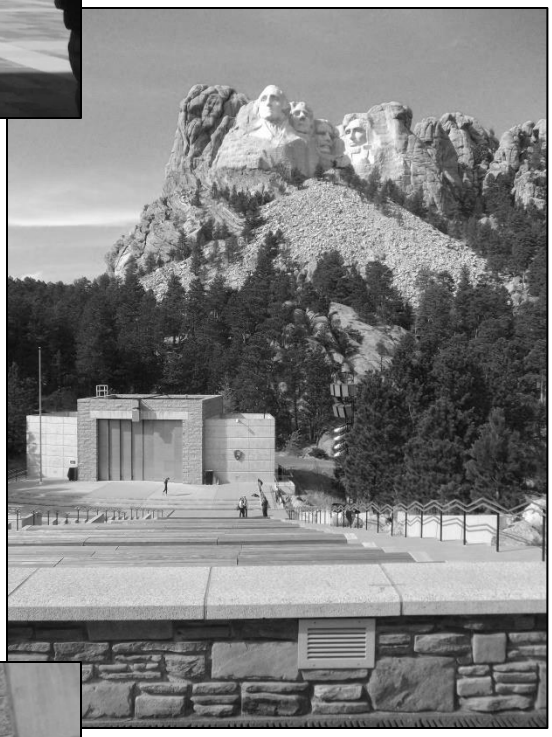

Information Center & Bookstore

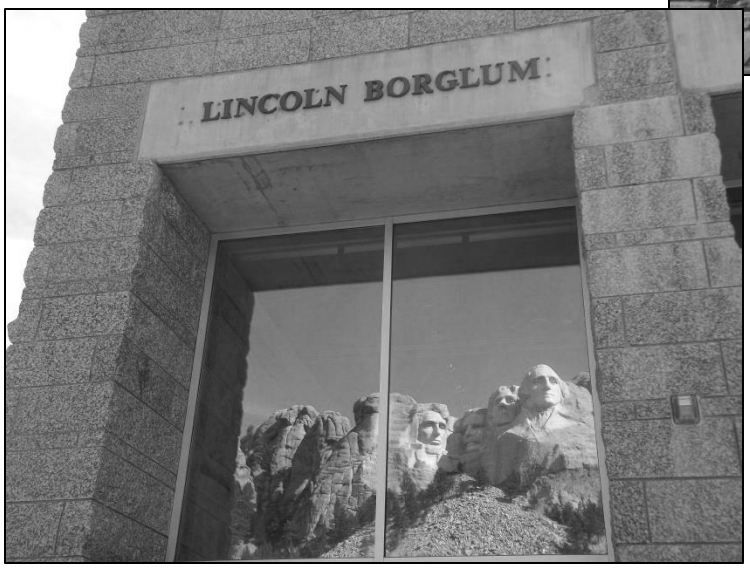

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LINCOLN BORGLUM

Conclusion

Interpretation at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial continues to evolve to include all of the mountain's layers of history. The primary focus has always been on the patriotic meaning of the Memorial and the democratic ideals represented by the four Presidents. The story of how the carving was done, the primary attraction for tourists in the 1930s, was considered secondary by the National Park Service. But by 1959 NPS historian Russell Apple observed that the general public was often more interested in the carving story than the patriotic message, "Without the story of the carving to tell, we could probably never sell the patriotic significance."[1] Thus the Construction Museum located in the 1939 Sculptor's Studio expanded the interpretive scope, and in the 1990s, the carving story was brought into the primary exhibit space in the new Interpretive Center. The new Center also featured expanded exhibits on the geology and natural history, identified as "Secondary" interpretive themes in 1978.[2] But there was still one theme missing.

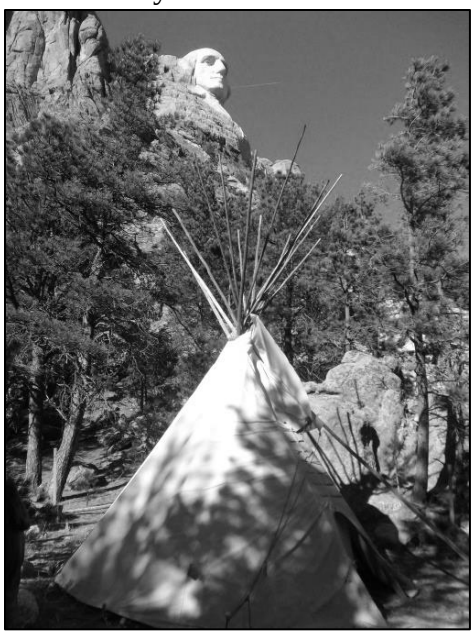


Figure 121: 2014 photo of Heritage Village exhibit (EBW)

In 2004, Gerard Baker (born Zaa-sha-shee-dish or Yellow Wolf), a member of the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara), was appointed the Superintendent at Mount Rushmore National Memorial. His appointment marked a new era of interpretation at the Memorial. As an American Indian, Baker recalled his reaction to the offered position:

> Coming here—it was very challenging just to accept the job, because growing up I understood what [Mount Rushmore] meant. And for us, for Indian people, it doesn't mean "Success of America." It means the desecration of the sacred Black Hills; it means the losing of the Black Hills to the United States government, to white people that came in and shoved everybody out of here and put us on a reservation. So it meant a lot of negative things.[3]

But Gerard Baker also saw an opportunity to begin to right some of those wrongs. He did take the job and began to enact changes at Mount Rushmore intended to reflect the as-yet untold American Indian history that surrounds the rock outcrop called Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Six Grandfathers Mountain). In 2006, a group of NPS staff from Mount Rushmore, the Midwest Regional Office, and the Harpers Ferry Design Center visited Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota reservations seeking input into future Memorial programs that would be inclusive of American Indian history and culture. Tribal elders gathered at the Memorial in 2007 and

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[1] "Mount Rushmore National Memorial Interpretive Plan" (National Park Service, 1978), 3.
[2] Ibid, 10.
[3] As cited in Susan Shumaker, "Untold Stories from America's National Parks," *A Film by Ken Burns, The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, Part 13, 255, www.pbs.org/nationalparks/untold-stories/, accessed 6/20/2016.

again in 2008 to continue the dialogue and solidify the relationship of the park with the affiliated tribes.[4] One outcome of these contacts came in 2008 when the Heritage Village exhibit opened at the base of the outcrop. **(Figure 121)** The furnished tipi was a hands on educational exhibit showing the lifeways of the American Indians who utilized the Paha Sapa. Baker's more-inclusive interpretation of the meaning of the mountain also included special events highlighting the many cultures that make up the fabric of America. The Roots of American Music Series included American Indian flute players, drum groups, and hoop dancers, as well as "performances ranging from the Faith Temple Choir to rockabilly-inspired Gail and the Tricksters to a German 'oompah' band."[5] Many of the featured cultures were represented by the workers who carved the mountain, including Gutzon Borglum, the son of a Danish immigrant. "It's not just a teepee here," noted Baker, "We're promoting all cultures of America..."[6]

As the Mount Rushmore National Memorial moves toward its one hundredth anniversary in 2027, the National Park Service faces challenges of preserving the sculpture and its associated historic features. Though the granite of Mount Rushmore is said to erode no more than one inch per 10,000 years, still fissures and cracks develop and some of the smaller facial features of the busts are vulnerable. Preservation efforts include regular inspections of the condition of the monument and in certain cases the application of surface treatments and repairs. Moreover, unfortunately, in the twenty-first century, security concerns and protection from intentional harm increase the vulnerability of the Memorial and require constant vigilance. Preservation of the remaining historic buildings and sites at Mount Rushmore is also important. Much of the original construction era fabric was lost in the 1940s-1960s developments, making remaining resources from the construction era particularly significant. They are integral to interpreting the carving story.

One ancient granite mountain with many names: Tunkasila Sakpe Paha (Six Grandfathers), Cougar Mountain, Mount Rushmore, and the Shrine of Democracy. Mount Rushmore represents many layers of history and meaning to all Americans. It is a geological wonder, a sacred site of cultural vision, a symbol of democratic ideals, and for some, it represents the expansive greatness that is the United States. It is all these things and more. Capable of moving visitors to tears, the inspirational carving is also an effective marketing image used in movies, television commercials, and paper advertisements. It attracts visitors from all over the world and holds the devotion of the Mount Rushmore Society, a group of primarily Black Hills residents, who have supported and promoted the Memorial for more than eighty years. And it continues to be at the center of the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho claim to the Paha Sapa.

Additional Areas of Research

This Historic Resource Study project provided an enormous opportunity for in-depth research into the history and prehistory of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial. However, the mountain of available documents relating to the history of Mount Rushmore

[4] Briefing Statement, "2008 Mount Rushmore National Memorial Elders Summit," Mount Rushmore National Memorial, National Park Service, January 27, 2008.
[5] Shumaker, "Untold Stories," 256.
[6] Ibid, 256.

and the surrounding area precludes any truly exhaustive search. Therefore, we suggest the following additional areas of research:

1. The Mount Rushmore carving story has several relevant large collections: the Gutzon Borglum Papers at the Library of Congress; the Peter Norbeck Papers in the Richardson Collection, I.E. Weeks Library, University of South Dakota; and the Doane Robinson Collection located in the South Dakota State Archives. Of these three, we spent the most time going through more than three quarters of the 70,000-piece Borglum Papers. The collection is only marginally organized and would benefit greatly from reorganization. There are a large number of large-format maps and plans that are currently folded and should be removed to over-size storage containers. The Norbeck Papers are similarly disorganized. If both collections were properly organized, along with the Robinson Papers, it would be possible to cross-reference correspondence to get a clearer picture of the evolving story. There are other smaller, scattered collections such as the National Park Service Mount Rushmore records at the National Archives College Park, Maryland, and the Borglum Museum in Keystone. These other repositories could be catalogued and referenced. Additional research about the workers at Mount Rushmore should include detailed review of census and naturalization records. Some material has been collected digitally at www.rushmoremedia.com, but the information gathered has not been verified for accuracy.
2. A Mount Rushmore National Memorial Administrative History would benefit from the extensive, but scattered, records located at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland. Record Group 79 (National Park Service) is arranged by administrative categories, which would lend itself well to an Administrative History, but was difficult to navigate when looking for more general history. A comprehensive list of all NPS reports completed for Mount Rushmore National Memorial needs to be compiled. We do not believe we have seen all available reports, particularly the earliest management plans.
3. An Ethnographic study (currently under way) should help to understand the relationship of American Indian groups with the mountain now called Mount Rushmore. Its significance has grown since the 1870s when it became associated with the Six Grandfather's vision of Hehaka Sapa, and since Borglum began work on the sculpture. The "Shrine of Democracy" became a symbol of U.S government oppression to American Indians, and Lakota in particular, which is also part of the story.

Appendix B is a table detailing the existing buildings from the NPS 1951 and 1960 Building Report records (MRNM Archives, Box 51 and Box 67) and should be amended to include the "unknown" buildings. Those records may be in the cited boxes and were missed or are located elsewhere in the MRNM collection. This table serves as a record of all of the

buildings that stood at the Mount Rushmore National Memorial prior to the Mission 66 changes. Additional similar tables could be generated for buildings located on top of the mountain during the carving and one for all of the Mission 66 buildings.

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Appendix A

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Anderson, Dorothy Hamilton	Information Booth	F			Married to Otto Anderson. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Anderson, Norman E. "Hap" Jr.	Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Assistant carver, Carver	M	1935, $.65; 1936, $.75; 1937, $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25		Said that Borglum asked him to "put the curl in Lincoln's beard and the twinkle in Roosevelt's eye." Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331; Injured when cable car broke loose and he jumped or was thrown out of the bucket, June 3, 1940. Richard Cerasani, *Love Letters from Rushmore* , 2014.; hospitalized Black Hills Methodist Hospital, L. H. Sparks, Rapid City, 1940; Letter from Hospital requesting S 69 forms for workers. (LOC, GB Papers, Box 185, File Lincoln Borglum)
Anderson, Oscar	Laborer	M	1929, $.50; 1932, $.35		
Anderson, Otto "Red"	Driller, Asst. Driller, Asst. Carver, Carver	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60; 1931, $.60, 1932, $.60; 1933; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00; 1937, $1.25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25	Keystone, SD	Played catcher on the baseball team. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"; worked for masonry contractor Bod Perry, then hired by Dennison as rough driller, 1929 (Rex Alan Smith, *Carving of Mount Rushmore* , p. 189)
Anderson, Peter	Laborer, Carpenter	M	1929, $.50	Keystone area, SD	Lived in cabin in Grizzly Gulch. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Andrews, Cecil M.	Laborer	M	1939, $.50	Born Dec. 25, 1916, Bloomfield NE	Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Anton, Edward "Tony" "Pee Wee"	Callboy, Jackhammer operator	M	1936, $.75, $1.00	Born May 20, 1914, Exeter NE, Died July 8, 2007, Jackson AL	Ashes scattered at Rushmore. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Aronson, J. A.	Carpenter	M	1934, $.75		
Arundel, Russell	Secretary	M	1939, 1940, 1941, $100/month	Washington, DC?	replaced Boland on the Commission. Source, "Changes in Payroll, 8/10/38," MRNM digital file #334
Attwell, Walter					No information available
Bacchieri, Louie	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		MRNM Archives Personnel Lists
Backer, Ned					No information available
Baier, Elizabeth "Betty"	Worked Bunkhouse and Restaurant, laundry and food service	F	1935, $.50	Died 2008, Buried Black Hills National Cemetery	Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Bailey, M.	Electrician	M	1931, $.60		
Baird, Carl Jr. "Stouty"	Laborer, Driller	M	1932, $35; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1937, left May 15		
Baird, H.E. "Bud"	Night Watchman	M	1935, 1936,1937, 1938, left Oct. 25. $75/month		List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (night watchman)

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Bames, Adolph	Asst. Pointer	M	1938, $.60	1902-1976, lived near San Francisco, CA	Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Barr, Howard	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Also worked at Homestake Gold Mine and Chuck Birdsall Construction Co. on nearby roads per son Jerry. 12/02/1904-7/1/1980 Buried in Sun City, AZ . Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Barr, Jess	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Barufaldi, Dan	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Buried in Keystone SD. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Beck, Louis J.	Driller, Engineer	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60		
Bell, Ed	Stone Cutter	M	1927, $1.00	Sioux Falls, SD	Claims to have been laid-off by Dennison for being Catholic. (Letter from Bell to Boland, Oct 13, 1930, Mount Rushmore National Memorial Commission, 1930, B, Box 151, GB Papers, LOC) Applied for work with Tallman, Sept 3, 1930. Noted that he'd lost a hand, but worked with hook.
Berg, Alfred "Pop" "Al"	Laborer, Callman, Driller, Asst. Powderman, Chief Powderman	M	1930, $.50; 1931, $.50; 1932, $.45; 1933; 1934, $.55; 1935, $.55; 1936, $.65, $1.00; 1937, $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $.55, $1.00		Lost hand in a buzz saw. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (Chief Powderman)

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Berg, Raymond "Ray"	Callman, Jr. Driller	M	1935, $.55; 1936, $.55; 1937, $ .55; 1938, $.55; 1939, $.65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65		Born Sep 17, 1917 - Died Feb 23, 2001. Son of Alfred Berg. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (callboy); wife Sylvia present at Rushmore, June 1940, Richard Cerasani, *Love Letters from Rushmore* , 2014
Berg, Sylvia (wife of Ray)	Worked in boarding house, cook, food service	F	1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Beuck, Elmer J.	Driller	M	1934, $.35		Died Dec. 16, 1993, Omaha NE. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Biddle, Boyd	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		
Bintliff, Pat Leroy	Jr. Driller, winchman, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst Carver	M	1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00		Died Roseburg OR 1972. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," mobile.rushmoremedia.com;List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Bird, L.W.	Laborer	M	1929, $ .50; 1932, $.35		
Blewitt, Thomas	Winchman	M	1929, $.55		Powerplant operator for Consolidated Feldspar Corp. Born 1900, Died April 1966. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Boland, John	Secretary	M	1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, $100/month	Rapid City, SD; born Keystone, SD (Rex Alan Smith, The Carving of Mount Rushmore, 186)	Born: May 2, 1884, Died: October 9, 1958. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; bought out father's store in Keystone, moved to Rapid City, about 1917 and bought Rapid City Implement Co. (Smith, *Carving of Rushmore* , p. 186-187)
Borglum, Lincoln	Chief Pointer, Supt. Rock, Superintendent of the Works	M	1933 (w/o pay), 1934, $1.00; 1935, $1.00; 1936, $1.50; 1937, $1.50; 1938, $400/mo. 1939, $400/mo. 1940, $400/mo. 1941, $400/mo.		Died Jan. 27, 1986; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331; became superintendent of the works, annual salary, $4,800. Source: "Changes in the Payroll, 8/10/38," MRNM digital file, #334; began work in 1933, but unpaid. Started in top eschelon as pointer. (Smith, 233)
Bradford, Alvin (brother of Glen) also recorded as "Alfred E."	Carpenter, Chief Carpenter	M	1938, $.80; 1939, $.90		Died April 1976. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Letter of recommendation from Lincoln Borglum, 12/17/49, good, reliable worker [Alfred E. Bradford]. (LOC GB Papers, Box 185, File, Lincoln Borglum)

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Bradford, Glen (brother of Alfred/Alvin)	Asst. Carpenter	M	1939, $.65	Folsom, SD	Born Dec 6, 1913, Died December 18, 2006. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; letter of recommendation from Lincoln Borglum, 4/4/42, good sober worker. (LOC, GB Papers, Box 185, File, Lincoln Borglum); Interview transcript, 1978, 2004 MRNM Archives
Brainard, Floyd	Asst. Carpenter	M	1940, $.65		Died in Iowa, 1965. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Brandt, Roy	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1935, $.50, $65; 1936, $.65; left, 5/17/37		Born 1911, died Nov. 26, 1974, Rapid City SD. Buried Keystone SD. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Brewer, Lewis H.	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		
Brooks, Jack	Carpenter	M	1939, $.80		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Brosnahan, Martin	Blacksmith	M	1930, $.75		Died 1960 in Lead, SD. Mount Moriah Cem. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Brown, Claude	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		
Brown, Harvey Jacob	Blacksmith	M	1930, $.75		
Brown, Hubert	Laborer	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.50		
Bruner, Joseph August, "Joe"	Carver	M	1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25	Stonecutter from Indiana. Had previously worked for Borglum in Marietta, Ohio	Died, 1972. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Burchard, Harry	Winchman, Driller, Laborer	M	1929, $.55; 1930, $.60; 1931, $6.00/day		Died 1979. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Burd, W.A.	Laborer?	M	1932, $.35		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Burns, Thomas					No information available
Burrow, Lee	Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1935, $.65, $.75; 1936, $.75, left 7/1/36	Worked for P.E. Schundler Company, Custer, SD (mining and milling of feldspar)	Grandson played in NFL. Born about 1896. Died 1968. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Bush, J.	Stonecutter	M	1930, $1.00		
Byrd, William Jewel "Ruby"	Blacksmith's Helper, Driller's Helper	M	1933, 1934	Rapid City, SD	Borglum apparently spoke at his high school graduation for 2 hours. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Cahoe, Chester E.	Laborer	M	1938, $.50; left 8/18/38		Died Sept. 1, 1975. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Campbell, Cecil	Bumper Operator	M	1936		Stayed at Alex Johnson Hotel while at Rushmore. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Canfield, Albert Basil "Bake"	Blacksmith, Compressor Engineer	M	1936, $.75; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75; 1941, $ .75		Died Apr 1, 1972 in Hill City. Rebuilt pigtail bridges on Iron Mountain Road. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (compressor engineer)

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Carson, Kenneth	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1939, $.50, .65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65		
Cass, Earl	Driller	M	1929, $.60?		Worked on Washington's nose. Lived in a tent with 6 others at the bottom of the mountain. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Cerasani, Arthur J.	Asst. Pointer	M	1940, $.65	Rochester, NY	Died 1970, age 61. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; worked with Gutzon Borglum on a sculpture in Rochester, NY prior to Rushmore project; at Rushmore, worked on models in studio and as pointer. Richard Cerasani, *Love Letters From Rushmore* , 2014
Cerasani, Mary (wife of Arthur)	Tour Guide	F	1940, June, $.25 per person for tours	Rochester, NY	Source: *Love Letters from Mount Rushmore* , Richard Cerasani
Champion, James E. (son of James R.)	Callman, Jr. Driller, Asst. Powderman, Sr. Driller, Carver	M	1932, $.50; 1934,$.55; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75,1.00; 1940, $1.00		born January 5, 1915 and died December 23, 1947. His death was caused by silicosis of the lungs. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331

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Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Champion, James R. (Father of James E.)	Carpenter	M	1934, $.70, $.80; 1935, $.80; 1936, $.80; 1937, $.80; 1939, $.80; 1940, $.80	Correctionville, IA; Glendale SD (Smith, 190)	born March 19, 1875 and died December 15, 1941. Built first cage to transport workers and worked on steps up mountain. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Had gold mine claim near Glendale SD (Smith, 190)
Cheney, Charles O. "Pop"	Laborer, Driller	M	1927, $.40; 1929, $.50; 1930, $.50		Roomed at Hayes Store, Keystone SD. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Christon, Robert H.	Blacksmith Helper, Jr. Driller, Blacksmith	M	1936, $.65; 1937, $.60; 1938, $.60; 1939, $.75,1940, $.75; 1941, $.75		Born Nov 16, 1915, Died Dec 11, 2002 Created door handles for studio doors. Sharpened over 600 bits a day during busy times. Usually sharpened 200 bits per day. Molded steel plates to hold studio beams. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (blacksmith helper)
Cindel, Matthew I. "Matt"	Blacksmith	M	1930, $.75, 1931, $40/week; 1932, $.60; 1933, 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75		Fired by Borglum in dispute over wages. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"; description of duties, letter to M.I. Cindel from Borglum, 10/10/33, LOC, GB Papers, Box 162.
Clark, Abram H.	Laborer	M	1927, $.40; 1932, $.35		
Clark, Charles T.					No information available
Clark, William	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Clifford, Charles	Laborer, Call Boy	M	1930, $.50; 1939, $.50; 1940, $.50; 1941, $.50	Keystone, SD	Died June 20, 1996, age 83. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Married Margaret Lang, 1935, moved to Klamath Falls and started construction business. "Etched into History," by Lee Juillerat, *Herald and News* , n.d. MRNM Archives digital file, 12156, Clifford Lunchbox.
Clifford, Donald "Nick"	Winchman, Jr. Driller	M	1939, $.55; 1940, $.55,$.65	Keystone, SD	1938 Helped build Sculptor Studio. 1939 Winchman. 1940 Driller. Baseball team pitcher & right fielder. 1940 Driller Roosevelt & Lincoln. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; "Etched into History," by Lee Juillerat, *Herald and News,* n.d. MRNM Archives digital file, 12156, Clifford Lunchbox.
Coad, Edward	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		Died Jan. 11, 1987, Rapid City, SD. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Conklin, Reuben	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Crain, Charles	Mechanic, Carpenter, Engineer	M	1927, $.75, $.65;1928, $35.00/week; 1930, $.85		Operator of first generator plant in Keystone. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Crain, Raleigh J. (son of Charles)	Driller	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60		
Crain, Ralph	Mechanic	M	1927, $5.00/day; 1928, $30,00/week; 1929, $35.00/week		Worked at Etta Mine. Died April, 1977. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Crane, Roland					No information available

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Crawford, Ted	Laborer, Callman	M	1939, $.50		Baseball team pitcher (photo). Died Sept 20, 2004 in CA. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; recruited from CCC for baseball team. (Smith, 361)
Daley, Ray	Callman, Jr. Driller, Laborer	M	1939, $.55, $.50		Later worked as miner for Cons. Feldspar, Keystone. Source "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Dann, ?	Driller	M	1934	Spearfish, SD	"New Man from Spearfish" mentioned in memo from Borglum to Boland, 7/23/34, sculptor's assistant. LOC, Borglum papers, Box 162, Folder John A. Boland, 1933-34
Davis, Cliff	First Foreman or assistant to Borglum, 1925?	M			May have worked in 1925. Mentioned in letter from Borglum to Norbeck, 8/28/25 "I want my first foreman or assistant Cliff Davis, who is a regular steeplejack who would go down over the mountain and make all of the measurements." LOC, GB Papers, Box 160, Doane Robinson Papers.
Davis, Lewis J. [L.G.? 1932]	Laborer, Winchman, Blacksmith Helper, Engineer	M	1932, $.35; 1935, $.60; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.65, left 5/19/37		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Del Bianco, Luigi	Driller, Chief Carver	M	1933, $.90; 1935, $1.50; 1936, $1.50; 1940, $1.50	Port Chester, NY, Born in Italy	1933 worked on Washington & Jefferson. 1935 salary raised to $1.50/hr.; finish work on Washington and Jefferson, 1936 - Chief Carver worked on Washington; came back in 1940 but not in 1941. Worked for Borglum at Stone Mountain and other projects in early 1920s. Died September 1969 - Age 76. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; "Chief Carver in charge of all Close Drilling and Carving" letter to Del Bianco from Borglum with orders. (LOC, GB Papers, Box 162, Folder John A. Boland, 1933-1934); Letter to Bianco from Mary Borglum, 4/23/33, asking Bianco to report to Black Hills as soon as possible. (LOC, GB Papers, Folder Luigi Del Bianco, 1941); worked at Rushmore after work stopped July 29, 1940 with Hugo Villa and Arthur Cerasani, sculptors, (Richard Cerasani, *Love Letters from Rushmore,* 2014); Certificate of Naturalization document says he arrived in New York September 10, 1920, from Mandua Italy
Denison, Stephen	CCC Worker	M			source: rushmoremedia.com
Dennison, John Calvin	Foreman, Superintendent	M	1927, $50.00/week; 1928, $50,00/week; 1929, $50.00/week; 1930		Born April 11, 1878, Died September 27, 1936 Hot Springs, SD. Prominent mining promoter Keystone area. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Denton, Clyde R. "Spot"	Asst. Powderman, Powderman, Chief Powderman?	M	1936, $.65; 1937, $.65; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75		List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (asst powderman); Letter of recommendation from Lincoln Borglum, 11/26/41, jackhammer and powder work, highly recommended. (LOC, GB Papers, Box 185, File, Lincoln Borglum)
Docken, Albin	Laborer, Sr. Driller	M	1935, $.50, $.75; 1939, $.50		
Donahoe, John	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		Sgt in US Marine Corp fought at Iwo Jima. Died Oct 5, 1987 buried in St. Joseph Cemetery Council Bluffs, IA. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Downing, Clyde	Laborer	M	1927, $.40; $.50		No information available
Doyle, Orval	Winchman	M	1939, $.55		Died Dec. 1972. Source rushmoremedia.com
Doyle, Robert	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		Died Sept 4, 1981. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Ducolon, William F.	Laborer, Winchman	M	1932, $.35; 1934, $.50; 1935, $.55; 1936, left 7/1/36		Deceased, buried, Keystone SD. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Dunlap, A.B. (Robert B.)	Laborer	M	1934, $ .50		Died 1994. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Dunmire, W. L.	Mason	M	1940, $.80		
Ehlers, Henry E.					No information available

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Eilbeck, B. "Red"	Powderman, Chief Powderman	M	1933, $.75?; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00, left 7/1/36		Worked at ? Plant in Custer. Died, 1975. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Elmore, Ted B.	CCC Worker (jack hammer, dynamite)	M	1934		source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Ely, Donald A.	Asst. Pointer, Time Clerk, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1938, $.60; 1939, $.65,$.75		List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (asst. pointer)
Ermish, L.D.	Truck driver	M	1934, $.75		
Escott, Albert	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Etzel, George	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Evans, Elbert "Rufus"	Powderman, Foreman	M	1927, $.55; 1928, $.60; 1929, $.75		MRNM Personnel Lists; "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Evans, Harry	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Also worked at Etta Mine. Source "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Felton, Conrad	Laborer, Truck Driver	M	1939, $.50		
Ferguson, John	Plasterer	M	1927, $1.50		
Fisher, Frederick Holbrook	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Flathers, Charles	Laborer, Driller, Engineer, Carpenter, Winchman, Sr. Driller, Winchman	M	1927, $.40, .55; 1928, $.55; 1929, $.60; 1932, $ .35; 1939, $.55; 1940, $. 55; 1941, $ .55, $.75		Died 1969. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Flathers, Floyd	Driller, Laborer	M	1927, $.55, $.40; 1928, $.55; 1929, $.55; 1930, $.60, $.50		Worked and died in Mullan ID. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Flick, Christine	restaurant worker?	F	1940		Richard Cerasani, Love *Letters from Rushmore,* 2014
Fuson, Elmer	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Gabur, Henry "Gabe"	CCC Worker	M	1934, 1935		$1 per day plus room and board. Born Jan 26, 1914. Died Feb 24, 1992 age 78. Buried in Hillside Cemetery Lily, SD. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Gallagher, Neal (Neil)	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Keystone Postmaster. Veteran WWI and WW2. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Gardner, Miles E.	Laborer, Winchman, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1927, $.40, 1932, $.35; 1936, $.55; 1937, $.55,$.65, 1938, $.75, 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75		List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Gates, Clyde Henry	Laborer	M	1938, $.50		List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)
Gensler, Albert	Laborer	M	1939, $.50; 1940, $.50		Excavated and graded roads with team of horses. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Gideon, C.C.					Rode with Borglum to find Mt. Rushmore. Helped design the second studio. First concessioner at the old studio. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Gillette, Perry "Dode"	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Lived and worked in Kellog, Idaho 83827. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Goble, Ray	Laborer	M	1939, $.50; 1940, $.50		
Goettsch, Henry F.	Winchman	M	1932, $.35; 1934, $.55		Died 1965. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Gordon, Eldon	Winchman, Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Carver	M	1930, $.50, $.55; 1932, $ 45; 1933, 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00; 1937, $1.25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25	Huron, SD	Was Gerald Snedigar Died 1944 silicosis. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"
Gould, Claude					No information available
Graham, William	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Head butcher at Keystone Trading Co. and Halleys Store. Died 1962. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Graning, Harold	Plasterer	M		Canton, SD	Plasterer in second studio. Worked in new studio. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Green, Chauncey (brother Irvin)	Laborer, Callman, Winchman, Jr. Driller	M	1929, $.59; 1934, $.50, $.55, $.60; 1935, $.65		Calcimine and house painter. Died 1961. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Green, Fred E. (brother of James)	Laborer		1938		Lived in Junction City OR. Drove dump truck Died in 1982. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Green, Irvin (Brother of Chauncy)	Driller	M	1934, $.60		Mine foreman for Consolidated Feldspar Corp. in Keystone. Died December 23, 1972. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Green, James E. (brother, Fred)	Laborer	M	1938		Died March 13 1990 Florence, OR . Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Green, James H. (father Chauncy &Irvin)	Laborer		1934, $.50		Early Holy Terror miner. Died 1949 . Source "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Greer, Jefferson	Asst. Jr. Pointer, Asst. Sr. Pointer	M	1934, $.60; 1935, $.70, $1.00, 1937, left, 5/15/37		Died 1972. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Grover, Able Ray, "Ray"	Laborer, Driller, Winchman, Laborer	M	1927, $.40; 1931, $.65; 1933; 1935, $.55; 1936, $.55, $. 50; 1937, $.55; 1938, $.55; 1939, $.55; 1940, $.55; 1941, $.55		Died May 1964. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (winchman); former miner (Smith, 190)
Grover, Daniel	Watchman	M	1927, $.20		Had only one thumb. Lost both hands in farm machinery accident. Died: Feb. 17, 1939. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Grover, George	Laborer, Carpenter	M	1927, $.40, $.60		Died Sept 27, 1964. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

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Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Grover, Walter L.	Helper, Jr. Driller, Laborer	M	1931, $.50; 1934, $.65; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1938, $.50; 1939, $.50		Died 1950-electrocuted mine accident Juniper Mine. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)
Haas, Francis W.	?	M		Black Hills, SD	Hired by Lincoln Borglum to make protractors for the models. Reportedly received $18 for his efforts. Born Black Hills Aug 1899, Died January 31, 1994. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Hall, Thomas	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hallsted, Charles W. (brother Edward) "Chuck"	Engineer	M	1929?; 1930, $.60; 1931, $.65; 1932, $.50; 1934, $.65; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.75		Died Sept 18, 1991. buried Mt. Pisgah Cemetery, Gillette, Wy. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; ran boardinghouse at Rushmore, 1929 (Smith, Carving of Mount Rushmore, p. 188)
Hallsted, Edward Roy (brother Charles)	Laborer, Truck Driver, timekeeper	M	1932, $35; 1936, $.50, $.55 1937, $.55; 1938, $.55, $125/month; 1939, $150/month		Died Jan 14, 1983. Buried in Palm Mausoleum in Boulder City, NV. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Ham, Herbert	Laborer	M	1935, $.50		Mined near and died at Smelterville, Idaho. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hamley, James	Driller	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60		
Hansen, Pete	Stone Mason	M			Stone mason for 3 years. Died, 1944. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Harold, Eugene	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Lived in Hill City SD. Died 1968. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hartman, Martin	Laborer	M	1938, $.50; 1939, $.50; 1940, $.50		Worked at Etta Mine. Died April 1978. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)
Hartshorn, Lyle	Laborer	M			
Hayes, Charles Luther	Laborer	M	1932, $.35	Bloomington, SD	Charles Luther Hayes, Born: 02/05/1895, Entered Army: 07/22/1918, Served: Army of Occupation, Germany. Discharged: 08/18/1919. Sailed for Europe: 11/23/1918. Worked at Ellsworth AFB. Died: 12/30/1970. Buried: Black Hills National Cemetery, Sturgis, S.D. Grave: 1451. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Hayes, John Edwald "Ed"	Laborer, Truckdriver, Blacksmith Helper, Hoist Engineer	M	1934,$.50,$.55; 1935, $.55, $.60 1936, $.60; 1937,$.75; 1938, $.75; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75	Keystone, SD	Address: Keystone, SD. Died Jun 5, 1992. Born Sep 5, 1903. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (hoist engineer)
Hayford, Lyle	Carpenter	M	1939, $.80		Born Mar 17, 1907. Died Oct 31, 1989. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Hazeltine, Dallas (brother Lloyd)	And team	M	1932, $.60		Died in 1944 when split rim exploded. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hazeltine, Lloyd (brother Dallas)	And Truck	M	1932, $8.00/day		Died 1969. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hazeltine, Paul (father of Lloyd & Dallas)	Team and Truck	M	1927, $1.00; 1929, $1.00; 1930, $20/day, $ 25/day; 1932, $.45 skidding		Teamster who worked on original road & trail to Rushmore. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hedlun, Theodore	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Chevrolet Mechanic in Rapid City. Died April 1973. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hein, Hugo	Laborer, Engineer, Driller	M	1927, $.40, $.55, $7.00/day		Born Aug 26, 1900. Died Sep 15 1988. Park Rapids, MN. Source: rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Hendricks, John	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Henry, Joseph Ernest	Laborer, Chief Powderman, Sr. Driller, Laborer	M	1935, $.50; 1936, $1.00, $.75; 1939, $.50; 1940, $.50		Killed in Holy Terror mine in 1941. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Heppner, Edward Charles	Winchman, Jr. Driller	M	1937, $.55, $.65		Died, Feb. 1975. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hesnard, George (also Hasnard)	Callman, Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1932, $.40; 1933, 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75; 1936, $.75		Died Nov 1, 1973, age 69, OR. Electrician for Union Pacific RR. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"
Hicks, Miriam	Stenographer, Secretary	F	1938; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75, 1941, $.75	Washington, DC	Worked with John Boland and Mount Rushmore Memorial Commission in Rapid City. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hill, George	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		Died 1962. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Hilliard, Eula Everett					No information available
Himebaugh, Robert "Bob"	Laborer, Jr. Driller, Laborer, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1934, $.50, $.60; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.50; 1938, $.50; 1939, $.50, $.65; 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75	Keystone area, SD	Born May 15, 1906. Died Apr 5, 1991. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)

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Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Hogan, Frank	And Truck	M	1930, $20.00/day		
Hoisington, Elmer	Laborer	M	1932, $.35	Keystone, SD	Killed in fall in the Holy Terror mine, Aug. 16, 1939 . Buried Evergreen Cemetery, Hot Springs, SD - Fall River County - Plot: Section K Block 93 Lot 3. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Holcomb, W.A.	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		
Holland, Albert E.	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Holmes, James	Laborer	M	1932, $.35	Keystone, SD	Worked in Etta mine. Raised 7 boys in Keystone, SD Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hough, Arthur	Laborer, Winchman, Jr. Driller	M	1936, $.50; 1937, $.55,$.65		Helped unveil the American flag during the Theodore Roosevelt dedication. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Houser, Ivan	Sculptor's Asst.	M	1932, $.40; 1934, $45.00/week		Worked with Borglum on figure of Christ stilling the waters; Sacco Vanzetti Memorial in Boston; Trail Drivers Monument in Corpus Christi, TX. Co-owner of Rushmore Pottery in Keystone. Died Dec., 1972. Ivan Houser was assistant sculptor to Gutzon Borglum in the early years of carving Mount Rushmore. He began working with Borglum shortly after the inception of the monument and was with Borglum for a total of seven years. When Houser left Gutzon to devote his talents to his own work, Gutzon's son Lincoln took over as assistant sculptor to his father. Ivan Houser was a member of the Lewis & Clark College faculty and staff and was Assistant Professor of Ceramics & Sculpture (1950-1966). Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Howe, Ellon C.	Clerk of the Works	F	1929, 1930	Vermont	Clerk of Works for Borglum, Notary for Commission. Fired summer of 1930. Birth: 15 October 1891 in Barre, Washington Co., Vermont. Death: 13 April 1935 in Virginia. Source: rushmoremedia.com
Hoyt, L. M.	Stone Mason	M	1939, $.80		
Hubbard, Earl J.	Laborer	M	1939		Died 1957. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Hudson, E. A.	Jr. Driller	M	1935, $.65; 1936, $.65		
Hudson, Frank	Laborer	M	1930, $.50; 1932, $.35		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Hull, L.	Laborer	M	1934, $24.00/week; $36.00/week		
Huntimer, H.V. "Dick," "Big Dick"	Jr. Driller	M	1935, $.65	Minnehaha County, South Dakota.	Concentrated on left side of Jefferson's chin. Ball player and boxer in Black Hills. "Jack Rose" was his boxing name. Died January of 1972 of heart attack. Buried in St. Joseph's Cemetery, Huntimer, SD. born June 2, 1900. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Ikast, Jens	Stone mason	M	1939, $.80; 1940, $.80		
Iverson, Elwood P. "Whitey"	CCC Worker	M	1938, $30.00/month	near Meckling, SD	Interviewed by Zane Martin, Museum Specialist, in 2012 at Mr. Iverson's home in IA. Volunteer Otto Bochman was videographer. February 23, 1921 - February 24, 2015. Helped build scaffolding and clean up. Hauled lumber and drill bits. Obit and more info on "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; "Ninety-two-year-old Sioux Countian worked with CCC on Mount Rushmore," *My Turn* by Douglas Gladstone, n.d. MRNM Digital File, "CCC"
Jacobs, W.	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Jarvis, William	Carpenter	M	1927, $.60; 1929, $.85		
Jatko, Richard	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Worked Construction, Feldspar. Killed in traffic accident near Wall, SD in 1968; Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Jensen, Pete	Laborer	M	1932, $.32; 1935, $.50	Keystone, SD	Died in Jan 1942 at Holy Terror Mine, Keystone, SD. Same accident as Ernest Henry. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Johnson, Alfred T.	Laborer, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1937,$.50,$.65; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75		First baseman on Rushmore Baseball Team. Died Feb 1987? Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com;List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Johnson, Charley	Borglum's chauffer and handyman	M	1929		Smith, 196
Johnson, Ernest	Carpenter	M	1929, $.85; 1930, $.85		
Johnson, John Arthur "Art"	Foreman, Foreman F. W.	M	1930, $.70, $.60 (winter); 1931, $.80; 1932, $.60; 1933;1934, $.90; 1935, $.90, $1.25		Died Feb. 2, 1985. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; description of duties, letter to Arthur Johnson, foreman, construction on the mountain, from Borglum, 10/10/33, LOC, GB Papers, Box 162.
Jones, Frank E. (Brother Glen) "Casey"	Jr. Driller	M	1937, $.65; 1938, $ .65; 1939, $.65; 1940, $.65		Center fielder for Rushmore Baseball Team. Brother of Glen Jones. Died Nov 30, 1978. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (junior driller); recruited from CCC for baseball team (Smith, 361)
Jones, Glen T. (Brother Frank)	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1938, $.50; 1939, $ .50, .65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65	eastern SD	Second baseman on Rushmore Baseball team. Served in WW2. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor); recruited for baseball team (Smith, 361)
Jones, Walter	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Joyce, Thomas F.	CCC Worker	M	1940; 1941	born Miller, SD; raised Sykeston, ND	Carried material up mountain, built scaffolding, strung wire for blasting, ran jackhammer. Navy Pilot WW2. July 26, 1923 - April 6, 2015. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com. more info and obit
Judson, Ed	Laborer	M	1932, $.35; 1939, $.50		Died Feb. 1951 Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Junglas, Joseph	Carver	M	1929, $1.50		
Jurisch, Gustav R. "Bay"	Laborer, Toolman	M	1935, $.50; 1936, $.60; 1937, $.60; 1938, $ .65; 1939, $.65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65	Keystone, SD?	Owned and operated barbershop in Keystone, SD. Died Jul 25, 1980. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia .com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (toolman)
Katsch, Walter Roy	Carpenter	M	1939, $.80		
Kersten, Charles V.	Laborer	M	1930, $.50; 1936, $.50		Died 1960. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Kidder, Harley	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Died 1966. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Kieffer, Orland F.	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		Died March 11, 1988. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
King, Arthur M.	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		Butte Miner, Feldspar. Died 1971. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
King, Charles P.	Laborer	M	1940, $.50		
Kingsbury, Raymond George	Asst. Carpenter	M	1940, $.65	Keystone, SD?	Preacher of The Gospel Church in Keystone, SD. Died 1980. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Kinzie, Bert	Laborer, Driller	M	1927, $.40, $.55		
Kirk, Ellen	Stenographer	F	1938, $65.00/week		Worked for John Boland and the Mount Rushmore Memorial Commission in Rapid City. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers,"rushmoremedia.com
Kotzebue, I. O.	Millwright, carpenter	M	1927, $1.00; 1929, $.85; 1930, $.85		Roomed at the store of John Hays in Keystone. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
LaBelle, Alfred M.	Superintendent?	M	1928, $1.70; 1929, $1.70; 1930, $1.70		Died Oct. 28, 1938 Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
LaBelle, Emmet A. (son of Alfred)	Apprentice Stone Cutter	M	1928, $.80; 1929, $.80		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Lacey, Paul	Laborer	M	1932, $ .35		
Lang, Karl T.					"Worked for Borglum" no citation, no information available
La Rue, James "Jim"	laborer, Asst. Pointer Jr., Asst. Pointer, Pointer, Carver	M	1929, $.50; 1932, $.35; 1934, $.70; 1936, $ 1.00; 1937, $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.00; 1940, $1.00, 1.25		Built & operated Country Store in Keystone for 8 years. Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (asst pointer)

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Leach, Alton Parker "Hoot"	Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Callman, Laborer	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60; 1931, $.65; 1932, $.35; 1933; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00, 1937. $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.00; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00, $.55,$.50	Keystone, SD?	Licensed Auctioneer for 10 yrs. Died 1956 in Keystone of SilIcosis. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933";List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Leach, Arthur	Laborer	M	1930, $.50	Lowell, MA	Worked 2-3 months in summer of 1930 as a driller in bosun chair on Washington. Moved to California in Fall. Died 1980. Born 1898 Lowell, MA. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Leach, Clyde Arthur "Little Hoot"	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		
Leach, Lloyd A.	Winchman	M	1936, $.55		Died 1989, Alexandria, SD Source:"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Leden, Nile V. (Nels)	Carpenter	M	1940, $.80		Letter of recommendation from Lincoln Borglum, 2/7/42, saying he worked in 1940 on new studio building. Highly recommended, (LOC Borglum papers, Box 185, File, Lincoln Borglum)

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Lewis, Lawrence Lorenzo	Laborer. Jr. Driller, Winchman	M	1932, $.35; 1935, $.50,.65, $.55; 1936, $.55		Died April 1977. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Lewis, E.O.	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Linde, Arthur	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Owned and operated sawmills in the area. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Linde, Carl	Guide,	M	$0.25		MRNM personnel
Linde, Ernest A.	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Lintz, John	Asst. Pointer Jr. Laborer	M	1935, $.60; 1939, $.50		Died 1970. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Lodge, Herman "Ossie"		M	1935	Minnesota?	Worked 1935 for Borglum Age 19, had built 5 towers in Minnesota. Came by Rushmore & Borglum asked if he liked heights. Left when his cable broke. Worked 1 year. Lived in bunkhouse. Cable breaking scared him and he left. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Long, Walter K.	Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver	M	1935, $.65	Auburn, NY	Worked 1935 for Borglum 30 years old. Ass't pointer. Asked by Borglum to help repair Washington's upper lip and eye for 5 weeks. Died Feb 1986 Cancer. A sculptor by trade, he had studio in New York according to info from daughter. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com (Obituary) Professor at Auburn.
Lyndoe, Arthur H.	Laborer	M	1927, $.40	Rapid City, SD?	Worked through first season drilling, taking tools up Mt. 1st payroll through season. .40/hr. Died 1984. Worked in Lyndoe's Grocery for father. Bolands Store? Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; Transcribed interview, 1978, MRNM Archives.

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Madill, Waldo George	Laborer, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst Carver	M	1932, $.35; 1934, $.60; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.75; 1937, $.75; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.00; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00	Keystone S.D.?	Born Oct 21, 1911. Died Sep 8, 1999 Washington, stroke, 87 yrs old. Buried Olympic Memorial Gardens, Tumwater, WA. Madill Street in Keystone named for family according to Al Johnson. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Malone, Will	Blacksmith	M	1927, $6.00/day		
Marsh, Frank C.	Winchman, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Laborer, Asst. Carver	M	1932, $.40; 1934, $.65; 1935, $.55; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.65; 1938, $.75; 1939,$.75, $.50; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00	Keystone, SD	Died 1971, buried in Rockerville, SD Source: Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Maxwell, Frank J.	Laborer, Carpenter, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst Carver	M	1938, $.50; 1939, $.50, $.75; 1940, $.50, $.80; 1941, $1.00		Died 1964, Grants Pass OR, rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331; Jr. Driller to Sr. Driller, $.65 to $.75, 8/4/38. Source: "Changes in the Payroll, 8/10/38," MRNM digital file, #334.

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
McDonald, Floyd E.	With Truck, hauled gravel, laborer, Asst. Pointer, Jr. Driller	M	1930, $15.00/day; 1938, $.50; 1939, $.50, $.60, $.65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $ .65		List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)
McDonald, Harry	Laborer	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.50; 1932, $.35		Died 1970 Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
McDonald, Vincent	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
McGregor, Donald Edgar	Chauffeur	M	1938	Hill City, SD	Worked 1938 for Borglum. Was chauffeur for Gutzon and Mary Borglum, helped on Hermosa Ranch, steel carrier, did some paperwork, anything that came up. 1940: worked for Feldspar Corp in Keystone. Donald "Don" Edgar McGregor was born December 22, 1917 in Hill City, South Dakota to Wilson and Sadie McGregor. Donald McGregor, 88, of Woodway, Texas, passed away Wednesday, September 13, 2006. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
McGregor, Wilson T.	Electrical Worker, Air Compressers	M	1938		
McIntyre, D.	Laborer	M	1930, $.50; 1932, $.35; 1939, $.50		
McLaughlin, John C.		M	1935		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
McNally, Robert	Laborer, Asst Pointer, Jr. Driller	M	1939, $.50, $.65 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65		Catcher on Mt. Rushmore baseball team. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Measel, Glen	Laborer - logging	M	1927, $.40; 1928, $,40		
Mechels, August Christian	Powderman	M	1929, $5.00/day		On loan from local gold mine. Source: MRNM personnel
Meiners, R. F. (Dick)	Driller, Laborer	M	1934, $.60; 1936, $.50		
Merrick, Jack	Truckdriver, Timekeeper	M	1936, $.55, $125.00/week		
Merrick, John C.	Asst. Pointer, Sr. Pointer	M	1935, $.60, $.70 1936, $.70		
Miller, Hally	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1936, $.50, $.65		
Mims, Thomas	Asst. Pointer	M	1934, $.60		
Miner, Tom					No information available
Mischa, Frank (also spelled Micka on payroll records)	Sculptor's Asst.	M	1934, $1.00, $40.00/week	New York?	Died 1950. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Montgomery, Giles	Asst Pointer, Sr. Pointer	M	1935, $.60; 1939, $.70		Mary Borglum's Nephew. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Morrison, Donald R.	Laborer, Jr driller, posing, driller	M	1935, $.60, $.50, $1.00; 1939, $.50		Worked 1935 for Borglum Age 21 Laborer .50/hr. Jr. driller .65/hr. Truck driver .35/hr. Posing .50/hr. Driller, mostly Lincoln's face & vicinity $1/hr. Positions held: Truck driver (hauling dynamite .35/hr) Posing for Gutzon Borglum as he was sculpting the model (.50/hr.), and driller mostly on Lincoln's face and vicinity ($1/hr.) Buried Black Hills National Cemetery. Born Nov 4, 1914. Died Oct 21, 2000, Age 85. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Munk, Harold	Clerk of the Works	M	1927		
Murner, Lawrence C.	Truck driver	M	1933	Rapid City, SD ?	Hauled gravel. Died Nov, 1985. Lived at 411 N. 4th Rapid City. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Nason, Roy	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Naugle, John	Laborer	M	1930, $.50	Custer, SD	Lived 1 mile E of Custer, SD. Deceased From RC Journal 3/25/1955 Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Nelson, Neil	Blacksmith Helper, Sr. Driller, Toolsharpener, Sr. Driller Blacksmith	M	1935, $.65; 1936, $.75; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.90; 1939, $.75; 1940, $.75		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Nickels, John, Jr.	Blacksmith helper, Blacksmith,Jr. Driller, Tool Sharpener, Sr. Driller	M	1934, $.60; 1935, $.65; 1936, $.65, $.75; 1937, $.75. $.90; 1938, $.75; 1939, $.75, 1940, $.75; 1941, $.75		List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (Blacksmith)
Norman, Ed	Laborer, Driller	M	1932, $.35; 1934, $.60	Keystone, SD	Mine Foreman - Keystone Consolidated Mines. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Oaks, Earl E.	Laborer, Winchman, Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Carver	M	1932, $.35; 1934, $.55,$.60; 1935, $.75; 1936,$.75,$1.00 1937, $1.00, $1.25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $.75		Died Dec 24, 1970. Wife Elsie died March 1996. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331; suffered from silicosis, (letter from Mrs. Earl E. Oaks to John Boland, Nov. 14, 1953, MRNM Archives, Box 58, MRNM 1084)
O'Brian, E.	Laborer	M	1932,$.35		
O'Reilly, Matthew P.	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		MRNM Archive personnel lists
O'Riley, George	Laborer, Truck Driver	M	1939, $.50		Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Osborn, Jack	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		Died 1967. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.Rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Osland, Emmet	Carpenter Helper, Winchman, Driller	M	1929, $,50; 1930, $.55, $.60		Died: Jun 3, 1995. Helped build sugar beet factory in Belle Fourche. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Oslund, Ole	Carpenter	M	1929, $.75		
Otto, O. E.	Winchman	M	1929, $.55		
Owens, Ben	Laborer?	M	1932, $.35		
Parish, Charles B.	Mason's Helper	M	1929, $1.375/day		
Parish, Clair J.	Mason's Helper	M	1929, $1.75/day	Rapid City, SD	Possibly helped build fireplaces on Borglum Memorial View Terrace, site of first studio. Deceased. T.J. was father. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Parish, Robert Earl	Mason	M	1929, $2.00/day	Rapid City, SD	Built fireplaces and chimneys first studio. Killed - hit & run Rapid City 1934. T.J. was father. Source: "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmore media.com
Parish, Thomas Joseph	Laborer, winchman	M	1929, $.55		
Payne, A.S.	Driller	M	1930, $.60		
Payne, Forrest	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1932, $.35; 1939, $.50; 1940, $.50, $.65; 1941, $.65		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Payne, A. B. Jack, "Palooka"	Laborer, Winchman, Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Carver	M	1929,$.50; 1930, $.50; 1931, $.50; 1933; 1934, $.70, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00; 1937, $1,25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $1.25	Keystone, SD	Deceased 1984 age 74. AKA "Palooka" Payne, prizefighter in Keystone. Boxing name was the Keystone Cutter. Wife's name was Melba Swenson Payne. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"
Payne, James Thompson	Laborer, Call Boy, Winchman, Driller, Asst Carver	M	1930, $.50, $.55; 1931, $.65; 1933; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.50, $.55; 1936, $1.00; 1937, $1.25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $1.25		Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"
Payne, James T. Sr.	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		
Payne, Melba Swenson	Cook, Tour Guide	F	1930, 1935		Assisted sister Gladys & husband Chuck with the operation of bunkhouse and dining room. Helped with the cooking of meals for workers and visitors, escorted visitors on "tours" and was also camp cook. Sister of Gladys Swenson Hallsted Spotts and Carol Swenson Payne Pope. Brother was Boyd Swenson, laborer. Born: 12/12/1915, "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Peabody, Stephen	Laborer, Jr. Driller	M	1939, $.50; 1940, $.65		Left, June 2. 1941. graduated, School of Mines, retired in Mexico."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Perry, "Bod"	Masonry Contractor, Studio	M	1929		Hired Otto "Red" Anderson to work on fireplaces for studio, (Smith, *Carving of Rushmore* , 188)
Peterson Brothers (Probably Howard and Merle)	Got out logs	M	1929, $.035/foot	Keystone, SD (Smith, 189)	
Peterson, Howard L. "Howdy"	Toolman, Repairman, Laborer, Repairman, chief repairman	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.55; 1931, $.60; 1932, $.45; 1934, $.60; 1935,$.60,$.65 1936,$.50,$.75 1937, $.75; 1938, $.90; 1939, $.90; 1940, $.90; 1941, $.90	Keystone, SD (Smith, 189)	Born Oct 1, 1908 - Died Mar 4, 1998, played on baseball team. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (chief repairman); former miner who became logger (Smith, 189); hospitalized Black Hills Methodist Hospital, L. H. Sparks, Rapid City, 1940; Letter from Hospital requesting S 69 forms for workers. (LOC Box 185, File Lincoln Borglum)

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Peterson, Merle Everett	Laborer, Toolman, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Carver	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.55; 1931, $.65; 1932, $.50; 1933; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75, $1.00; 1936, $1.00; 1937, $1.25; 1938, $1.25; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25	Keystone, SD (Smith, 189)	Outfielder, manager of baseball team. Died 11/1974. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, 1933, LOC, GB Papers, Box 164, Folder "Borglum 1933"; former miner who became logger (Smith, 189)
Peterson, Orwell	Laborer,	M	1940, $.50; 1941, $.50		Died, Oct. 3, 1966, Buried at Orient SD. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," www.rushmoremedia.com
Philip, Jean (married names, Goodhope, Mitchell)	Asst. to Office Manager	F	1938, $85.00/month; 1939, $108.33/month 1940, $108,33/month 1941, $108.33/month	Rapid City, SD	Father, George Philip was a member of the Rushmore Memorial Commission and mother descended from an American Indian. Source: letter from Mary Borglum to Mrs. Ogden Reid, *Herald Tribune* , November 24, 1947, LOC, GB Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works Mt. Rushmore 1942-1948"
Philips, Robert (Phillips?)	Helper	M	1934, $2.00/day		
Phillips, Ed	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Pierce, Harold L.	Laborer, Winchman	M	1932, $.35; 1934,$.50,$.55; 1935, $.50; 1936, $.50	Keystone, SD	Lived in cabin near Etta Mine spoil pile. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Pierce, Prince Howard	Driver, Secretary	M	1939;1940		Let go for being too young. known as Howard, first name was Prince."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Pierce, Walter	Survey	M	1939, $.50		Headed survey crew, surveyed memorial boundary. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Pietz, Ervin	Laborer	M	1935, $.50		
Pope, Carol Swenson Payne (married to Jim Payne)	Gift Shop/information Center in 1st studio	F	1930, 1931, 1932, 1934		Hired age 16 by John Boland to operate gift/information center in first sculptor's studio. Married Jim Payne, laborer & winchman Duties included:, Giving out information, Operating cash register, counting number or visitors, ordering supplies. Worked 4 or 5 summers before and after highschool graduation in 1933. Worked 2 or 3 years before Mrs. George Wilcox came to help. Carol and Mrs. Wilcox shared the operation of the gift shop. Sister of Melba Swenson Payne and Gladys Sweson Halsted Spotts. Brother was Boyd Swenson, laborer."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Pope, Charles					No information available
Pryde, A.A.	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Pryde, Edward	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Died April 23, 1988, age 86. last address Minneapolis MN "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Pulver, Fred	Painter	M	1930, $.75	Keystone, SD?	Owned barbershop in Keystone. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Radovich, Jack	Driller	M	1929, $.60		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Raga, Ernest (brother of John)	Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. Carver, Laborer	M	1935, $.65; 1936, $.65; 1937,$.65,$.75; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.00; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00, $.50		List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (junior driller)
Raga, John (brother of Ernest)	Guide, Mason Winchman, Jr. Driller, Laborer	M	1940; 1941 $.65, $.50	Rockerville, SD, Rapid City, SD	Died Feb 18, 1996, Born Nov 11, 1914, 81 yrs old Buried in Mt View Cemetery, Rapid City, SD. Brother of Ernest. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; "It Was Just Another Job to Drillers," Tom Griffith, *Rapid City Journal* , July 3, 1987, MRNM Archives, Box 74, Clippings, 1986-1992
Rand, Charles W.	Survey	M	1939, $.50		
Raschka, Clarence	Driller	M	1932	Lead, SD?	worked on Washington bust. Later built rock walls & steps, probably around studio & water tank After 1932 worked for Homestake mine until it closed during World War II."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Rayford, Julian "Judy"	Studio Asst.?	M	1930	Mobile, AL	Rayford apprenticed under Borglum in the summer of 1928 in Connecticut and the winter of 1929 in San Antonio. - See more at: http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2588#sthash.JO9KwtxO.dpuf; see also Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 38, Folder "R," LOC.
Reedy, Jeremiah	Carpenter	M	1939, $.80		Died Oct, 1966 at age 85-86. Buried in Watertown. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Reilly, Matthew P.	Laborer, Asst. Pointer, Foreman, R.W., Chief Pointer	M	1929, $.50; 1936, $.60; 1937, $.60; 1938, $.90; 1939, $1.10; 1940, $1.10; 1941, $1.10, $1.00	Stamford, CT	Letter, Reilly to Mary Borglum, 3/30/36 requesting employment. LOC, GB Papers, Box 104, Folder Rushmore, 1936; Was neighbor to Borglum in Stamford, CT. Born Jun 28, 1911. Died Mar 11, 2001 age 89 yrs. Stamford, CT. Buried St. John Cemetery in Darien, CT. rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (asst pointer); put a steel bar through the wheel in hoist house to stop a cable car that was falling out of control, June 3, 1940. Richard Cerasani, Love Letters from Rushmore, 2014.
Reisetter, Holden	Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Blacksmith	M	1930, $.55, $.60, $.70		
Rentzell, Oscar	Laborer, Driller	M	1927, $.40, $.55		
Reynolds, Ernest W. "Bill"	Laborer, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller	M	1936, $.50; 1937, $.50, $.65; 1938, $.65; 1939, $.65; 1940, $.65		Lived in Rocky Gulch MT later in life. Rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (junior driller)
Rhodes, Ed	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Rice, Robert P.	Laborer, Carpenter	M	1927, $.40, $.75		
Richardson, Fred Jr.	Stone mason	M	1938, $.80; 1939, $.80; 1940, $.80		Son of stonemason - convicted of counterfeiting. Rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (stone mason)

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Richardson, Fred, Sr.	Laborer, Stone mason	M	1927, contract $188.00/month 1932, $.35; 1938, $.80; 1939, $.80; 1940, $.80		
Riley, George	Laborer, Truck Driver	M	1939, $.50		
Roberts, Theodore	Laborer	M	1927, $.40; 1930, $.50		
Robertson, Friend G.	Laborer, Blacksmith Helper, Winchman	M	1935,$.50,$.60; 1936, $,60; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.55	Keystone, SD	"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (winchman)
Robinson, Charles (Vern's Brother)	Lineman	M	1931, $.60		Died Mar 17, 1999, Pierre, SD. Wife Kathleen, Brother Vern, Son Larry, Daughters Judy Day, Brenda Kay. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Robinson, Vern, (Charles' brother)	Lineman	M	1931, $.60		
Roush, Clifford	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Roush, Edward Roosevelt	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		
Rumley, L.	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Rumple, George Lloyd	Laborer, Driller, Helper, Blacksmith, Foreman Finishing Work, Asst. carver, Carver, Truck Driver	M	1932, $.35; 1933, $.35?; 1934, $.75; 1935, $.75; 1936, $1.25; 1937, $1.25; 1938, $1.25, $.50; 1939, $1.25, $.50, $.60; 1940, $.75, $1.00; 1941, $1.00, $1.25?	Keystone, SD	Worked on Jefferson's eye & was powderman. Brother-in-law to Clyde Denton. Parents had cafe in Keystone, "Franks Cafe" Born Nov 9, 1904 - Died Mar 19, 1992. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (foreman finishing work)
Sagdalen, Carlton "Cortie"	Laborer	M	1930, $.50	Keystone, SD?	Son: Jack Sagdalen, Keystone, SD "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Sagdalen, Marian	restaurant worker?	F	1940		Richard Cerasani, *Love letters from Rushmore,* 2014
Sagdalen, Oscar	Transformer Work, Engineer	M	1934, $.75; 1939, $.75	Keystone, SD?	
Sanders, Ray C.					No information available
Sanders, Virgil	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		
Sanders, W. Ray	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		Born Aug 18, 1894 - Deceased Aug 25, 1986, 92 yrs old. Buried BH National Cemetery. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Schaunamen, Frank	Laborer	M	1932, $.35; 1933, $.35?		
Schell, William	Winchman	M	1939, $.55		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Schramm, Gustav Louis "Gus"	Laborer, Jr. Driller, Sr. Driller, Asst. carver	M	1932, $.35; 1935,$.50,$.65; 1936,$.75,$1.00 1937, $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.00; 1940, $1.00; 1941, $1.00		Died cable car accident CA 1967, "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331; hospitalized Black Hills Methodist Hospital, L. H. Sparks, Rapid City, 1940; Letter from Hospital requesting S 69 forms for workers. (LOC Box 185, File Lincoln Borglum)
Schrull, William	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		Died 1970 "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Schuler, Ralph Ruehle	Laborer, Winchman, Jr. Driller	M	1932, $.35; 1935, $.55; 1936, $.65; 1937, $.65		Died Jul 1, 1987 - confirmed by his son July 2, 1987 "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Sheely, Charles S.	Laborer, winchman	M	1936, $.50		Carried steel, call boy, winchman, powderman's helper. Born Nov 8, 1914. Died Jul 2, 1996 Died near Sturgis, SD age 81, buried Mt. View Cemetery, Keystone.
Shepard, Jay Fernando	Laborer, Winchman	M	1932, $.35; 1935, $.55; 1936, $.55; 1937, $.55; 1938, $.55; 1939, $.55; 1940, $.55; 1941?		Died May 8, 1961. Wife: Myrtle died Jan 26, 1966. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (winchman)
Shimin, Ed	Blacksmith	M	1929, $.75		
Sitfin, Vance	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Skells, Frank	Office Manager	M	1938, $155.00/month 1939, $155.00/month 1940, $155.00/month 1941, $155.00/month		Died, 1951 rushmoremedia.com
Smith, Ted	Laborer, Driller	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.60		Worked on old studio and model; rushmoremedia.com
Snedigar, Gerald "Jerry"	Callboy, Jr. Driller	M	1938, $.50		rushmoremedia.com
Snowie, John "Jock"	Plasterer	M	1927, $15.00/week		Character in Stewart Edward White's "The Westerner;" rushmoremedia.com
Snyder, Frank	Driller	M	1934, $.60, $.65		Died Nov. 1978; rushmoremedia.com
Spangler, A.B.	Laborer	M	1929, $.50		
Sparks, Albert "Al" E.	Driller	M	1930, $.55, $.60		Quit after he swung out from rock & broke ankle hitting rock cliff. Born Jan 20, 1902 Died 1991; rushmoremedia.com
Sparks, Harry James (Al's brother)	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		Quit after brother Albert broke ankle. Born Oct 9, 1903. Died Jan 1, 1992. rushmoremedia.com

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Spotts, Gladys Swenson Hallsted	Operated Bunkhouse, cook	F			Operated bunkhouse and dining room with husband Charles Halsted. Meals were .35, room & board $1/day. Bunkhouse slept 10-14 men. Gladys was also the camp cook and sold candy and meals to visitors. Sister of Melba Swenson Payne and Carol Swenson Payne Pop. Brother was Boyd Swenson, laborer. Died 1998. Julian Spotts married Gladys Swenson in 1944. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Spotts, Julian C. "Clyde"	Resident Engineer	M	1936, 1937		Married Gladys Swenson in 1944. Died Feb 1977 "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Spriggs, A.J.	Carpenter, Laborer, Night Watchman	M	1929, $.75; 1932, $.35; 1940, $75.00/week; 1941		Separated 9/30/41 lack of funds. Deceased Buried in Rockerville; "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Spriggs, Archie D.	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Stangle, A.B.	Laborer, Driller	M	1929, $.50; 1930, $.60		
Stanley, Carl	Laborer	M	1927, $.40		
Stevens, James	Laborer	M	1932, $.35; 1939, $.50		Was also with survey crew - boundary line. Graduated SD Tech Civil Engineer 1934. Born 1916. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Strong, C.F.	Police	M	1929, $.50		
Stutzke, Max	Stone Mason	M	1932		Helped build two stone fireplaces in Borglum's first studio. Died 1968. Wife Rosie May. Son Cal. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Swanson, Theodore	Carpenter Foreman	M	1927, $.85		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Swanzey, Harold David "Red"	Laborer	M	1927, $.40; 1930, $.50; 1932, $.35; 1934, $.50	Keystone, SD	Born 1906. Died, 1939. More family information at "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Swenson, Boyd	Laborer	M	1938, $.50; 1939, $.50		Carol Swenson Pope's brother. Died 1979."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Tallman, William S.	Pointer, Superintendent	M	1929, $1.11; 1930, $10.00/day, $1.00, $10.50/day; 1931, 1932, 1933, 1935, $250.00/month $125.00/winter 1936, $250.00/month $125.00/winter	Stamford Connecticut?, New York?	worked for Borglum in San Antonio, TX while working on N. Carolina Memorial. Worked for Borglum in Stamford, CT during summer vacation from High School on Wars of America Monument. Born April 13, 1906 - Died Jun 19, 1997 Signal Mountain, 91 yrs. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; studied art in New York City (Smith, 190)
Thompson, Jean W. "Beaner"	chuck tender, driller	M	1938		Worked between Washington, Jefferson & Hall of Records crevasses.
Thompson, Pat					No information available
Thornton, W.A.	Laborer, Driller	M	1934, $.50, $.60		
Tone, David	Laborer	M	1930, $.40, $.50, $10.00/week		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Townsend, Emmet	Driller	M	1930, $.55; 1932, $.35		Died 1968. rushmoremedia.com
Tucker, Jesse G.	Superintendent Contractor	M	1927, 1927, retired, Sept. 1929, $10,000/year		May have worked in 1925 at Rushmore as superintendent, mentioned in letter form Borglum to Norbeck, 8/28/25, LOC, GB Papers, Box 160, Doane Robinson Papers, copy.
Twining, John	Driller	M	1929, $.55; 1930, $.60	Keystone, SD?	Buried in Keystone."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Udean, Frank	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		
Valdez, Adolf (brother, Leo, Zeke)	Laborer, Driller	M	1940, $.50; 1941, $.60		
Valdez, Leo (brother of Adolf, Zeke)	Laborer	M	1939, $.50		Pictured in Rushmore baseball uniform. Died 2000. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Valdez, Zeke (brother of Leo, Adolf)	Laborer	M		Keystone, SD?	Buried Keystone Cemetery, Keystone, SD. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Vandenburg, Kieron	Driller	M	1934, $.60, $.65		

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Villa, Hugo	Sculptor's Asst.	M	1929, $20.00/day for half time; 1930, $10.00/day for half time; 1940; 1941	New York	Previously worked with Borglum. Born Nov 10, 1883. Died Nov 4, 1948. 1934-41 employed by NPS in Goliad. Worked with Borglum on Trail Drivers Monument in TX at this time as well. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com. May have worked at Rushmore in 1925. mentioned in letter from Borglum to Norbeck, 8/28/25, "then I want Hugo Villa, who is my assistant in the studio, and who will make a small scale model from the measurements that will be called down to him by [Cliff] Davis from the mountain..." LOC, GB Papers, Box 160, Doane Robinson Papers, copy; brought to Rushmore in July 1931 to carry on the work while Borglum was in Poland, Villa quit later that summer in wage dispute with Borglum. (Smith, 221, 223)
Virtue, Lloyd "Lively"	Winchman, Repairman, Property man, Blacksmith, Foreman of Ground Work	M	1932, $.40; 1933; 1934, $.65, $.70; 1938, $.90; 1939, $.90		Foreman of ground work .90/hr. Died 1970. Buried Keystone Cemetery, Keystone, SD. Father of Ralph Virtue."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; description of duties, property man, letter to Lively Virtue from Borglum, 10/10/33, LOC, GB Papers, Box 162; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (foreman ground work)
Virtue, Ralph (son of Lloyd)	Laborer, winchman	M	1938, $.50; 1939, $.50		Helped on Hall of Records & Studio. Died 1-28-2002 Age 83. Son of Lloyd. Rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1938, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (common labor)
Vodicka, Joseph	chauffeur				"worked for Borglum on the ranch" no citation, no other information available

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Vranich, Chris	Laborer, Sr. Driller, Asst Carver	M	1932, $.35; 1933, $.75; 1934, $.75; 1935, $1.00; 1936, $1.00; 1939, $.75		rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, Oct. 1933;List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Wagner, Marvin (Wagar)	Laborer, Driller	M	1927, $.40, $.55		Mined and died in Coeur d' Aline District, Idaho. Died 1960. rushmoremedia.com
Walker, Alonzo "Lon"	Driller	M	1931, $.65; 1933		Supt of Peerless Mine, Bother-in-law of Doc Brewer. Rushmoremedia.com; Daily Record, Men on the Granite, Drilling and Carving, Oct. 1933
Wasser, Maxine	Clerk of the Works	F	1935, $.75; 1936, $.75; 1937, $.75; 1938, $.75		Worked for John Boland and Rushmore Memorial Commission. Died Oct 28, 1984. rushmoremedia.com
Watson, Marion G. "Mony"	Laborer, Sr. Driller, Carver	M	1927, $.40; 1930, $,50; 1931, $.50; 1932, $.35; 1935, $.75; 1936, $.75; 1937, $1.00; 1938, $1.00; 1939, $1.25; 1940, $1.25; 1941, $1.25		rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331
Webb, Joe (Mike?)	Laborer	M	1927, $.40; 1928, $.45		Worked on Washington's nose. Lived in boarding house in Keystone, SD."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Wellman, Ivan B.	Laborer	M	1939, $.50; 1940, $.50		rushmoremedia.com
Westrack, Eric	Carpenter	M	1927, $.75		
Whitney Loid E.	Driller	M	1930, $.60		
Wilcox, Gale, (son of May)	Driller, custodian	M	1934, $.60; 1939, $75/month		Worked for Grand Teton N.P. Brother of George Orson Son of George Sr. rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (custodian)
Wilcox, George Orson (brother of Gale, son of May)	Callman, Laborer	M	1936, $.55; 1937, $.55; 1938, $.55; 1940, $.50		Died Nov 3, 1984. Buried Black Hills National Cemetery, Deadwood. Brother of Gale and son of Orson Horton Wilcox. Rushmoremedia.com
Wilcox, Mrs. Orson H. (May Reed Hill Wilcox)	Concession	F	1932; 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936; 1937; 1938; 1939; 1940		Worked 1932-44 for Borglum In charge of Borglum's studio & Concession. Was close friend of Borglums. Deceased, buried in Mt. Moria Cemetery, Deadwood. Rushmoremedia.com
Wilkinson, Walter D.	Driller, Laborer, Asst Powderman, Winchman, Carver?, Jr. Driller, Winchman	M	1929, $.60; 1930, $.60; 1932, $.35; 1935,$.65,$.55; 1938, $.65; 1939, $.55, $.65		"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (asst powderman)
Wilson, William	Stone mason	M	1934, $1.20		Died May 8, 1962."Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Winkowitsch, Ben (Winterink)	Driller	M	1934, $.65		Died March 9, 1975. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Woody, Cecil	Laborer	M	1932, $.35		

Mount Rushmore Workers List

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Worman, Orville	Laborer, Asst Carpenter, Jr. Driller	M	1939, $50, $.65; 1940, $.65; 1941, $.65	Rapid City, SD	Shortstop on baseball team 1939-41. Deceased Born Feb 11, 1915. Died Feb 26, 2000 in Rapid City, SD age 85. Buried Black Hills National Cemetery. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; manager of Red Owl Grocery in Rapid City before Rushmore. (Smith, 361)
Young, Edward Richard	Winchman	M	1935, $.55; 1936, $.55; 1937, $.55; 1938, $.55; 1939, $.55; 1940, $.55; 1941, $.55		"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com; List of employees by job, ca. 1937-1941, Lincoln Borglum, Superintendent, MRNM Archives, Box #1, Item 331 (winchman)
Young, Edwin Arnold (son of Edward)	Laborer, driver	M	1939, $.50		"Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com
Young, Frank	Laborer	M	1930, $.50		
Zasadil, Jack	Laborer	M	1939, $.50; 1940, $.50; 1941, $.50	Rapid City, SD?	Died Oct 19, 1966. Rock Shop Hermosa, Violin Maker. Played violin for Rapid City Symphony. Buried Mt. View Cemetery. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com
Zens, Albert	Laborer	M	1932, $.35	Epiphany, SD	Died in the Battle of the Bulge, 1944 U.S. Army Private Albert Peter Zens from Epiphany, South Dakota in Hanson County was born on July 22, 1905 and was Killed in Action at Luxembourg on January 3, 1945. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Name	Occupation(s)	M/F	Years worked/ wages	Place of Origin	Notes
Ziolkowski, Korczak	Carver	M	1939, $1.25	New England, Connecticut?	Worked on Hall of Records. Crazy Horse sculptor died Oct 20, 1982. Custer, SD. Information below from Crazy Horse Memorial Facts 1939 - Korczak Ziolkowski [core-chalk jewel-cuff-ski] a noted New England sculptor, first came to the Black Hills to help Gutzon Borglum on Mount Rushmore. That year Korczak also won first prize for a sculpture at the New York World's Fair. Chief Standing Bear read news reports of Korczak's achievements and invited him to create a mountainous tribute to the North American Indians. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," Rushmoremedia.com. Borglum fired Ziolkowski after a few weeks on the job. Source: letter from Borglum dismissing Ziolkowski, n.d., LOC GB Papers, Box 107, Folder "Works-Mt. Rushmore, 1942-48."
Zwanziger, Leonard "Red"		M	1927, 1928	Tyndall, SD	Worked part time. Was barber in Rapid City. Died 1988. Was from Tyndall, SD. Birth: Feb. 26, 1902, Bremer County, Iowa, USA. Death: May 4, 1988, Tyndall, Bon Homme County, South Dakota, USA. Burial: Tyndall Cemetery, Tyndall, SD. "Mount Rushmore National Monument Workers," rushmoremedia.com

Appendix B

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Reports

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

Bldg. #	Name	Year Built	Other dates	Notes	Photograph
1	Residence or Rangers Quarters	1930	remodeled 1940, 1951	Located HQ area (demolished)	
2	Quarters (Office/Superintendent's House)	1939	remodeled 1950-51	Located HQ area	
3	Maintenance man's Residence or Quarters	ca. 1941	remodeled 1948, sold 1959	Located HQ area	
4	Unknown				

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

5	Hoist House or Oil-Paint Shed	ca. 1939	remodeled 1951, moved 1950	HQ area	
6	Compressor Shack	1931		"Will be surveyed and destroyed" (1960)	
7	Blacksmith Shop	built 1926 or ca. 1930	1951 "partially dismantled"	"...portions of walls, ceiling, and existing equipment may become Museum exhibits in Bldg 4. Contains heat treating and drill bit sharpening machines and forge." (1960)	

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

8	"Temporary Museum (Old Studio – Abandoned Concession Building)"	1929	remodeled 1949, 1958		 [MORU 6619]
9	Comfort Station	1938			
10	Upper Comfort Station	1938			[no pic]
11	Unknown				
12	Unknown				
13	Unknown				
14	Unknown				
15	Unknown				
16	Unknown				
17	Unknown				
18	Unknown				
19	Unknown				
20	Unknown				
21	Unknown				
22	Unknown				
23	Unknown				
24	Unknown				

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

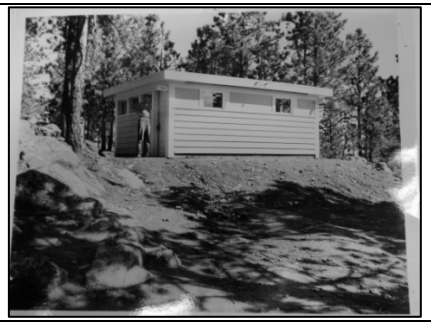
25	Comfort Station	1951			
26	Comfort Station	1951			[no picture]
27	Unknown				
28	Unknown				
29	Mountain View Building (Concession Building)	1956-57	[enlarged 1972; demolished 1996]		 [7283MORU042]
30	Unknown				
31	Concession Dormitory (Boland Hall)	1955-56	[remodeled 1994]		 [7283MORU106]

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

32	Girls Dormitory	1948	demolished 1959?		
33	Boys Dormitory	1946	sold 1959		
34	"Pit Privy" Comfort Station	ca. 1930		located west of studio, "to be torn down" (1960)	
35	Pump House	ca. 1931		located in the "Spring Area"	[no picture]

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

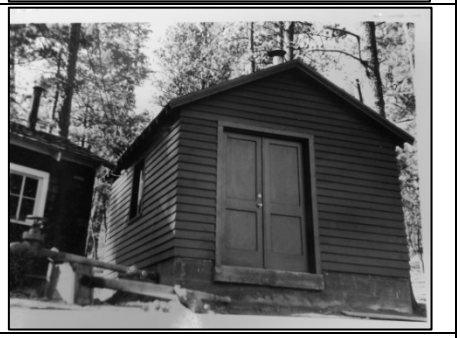
36	Rangers Quarters	1949	remodeled 1951, sold 1959	"razed"	
37	Pump House	1951			
38	Unknown				
39	Comfort Station	1960		located "Doane Mt. Flank"	
40	Unknown				

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

41	Amphitheater	1956-57			
42	Unknown				
43	Apartment House	1959		Ten units, located in "Residential Area"	
44	Quarters	1958-59		"Residential Area"	

Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

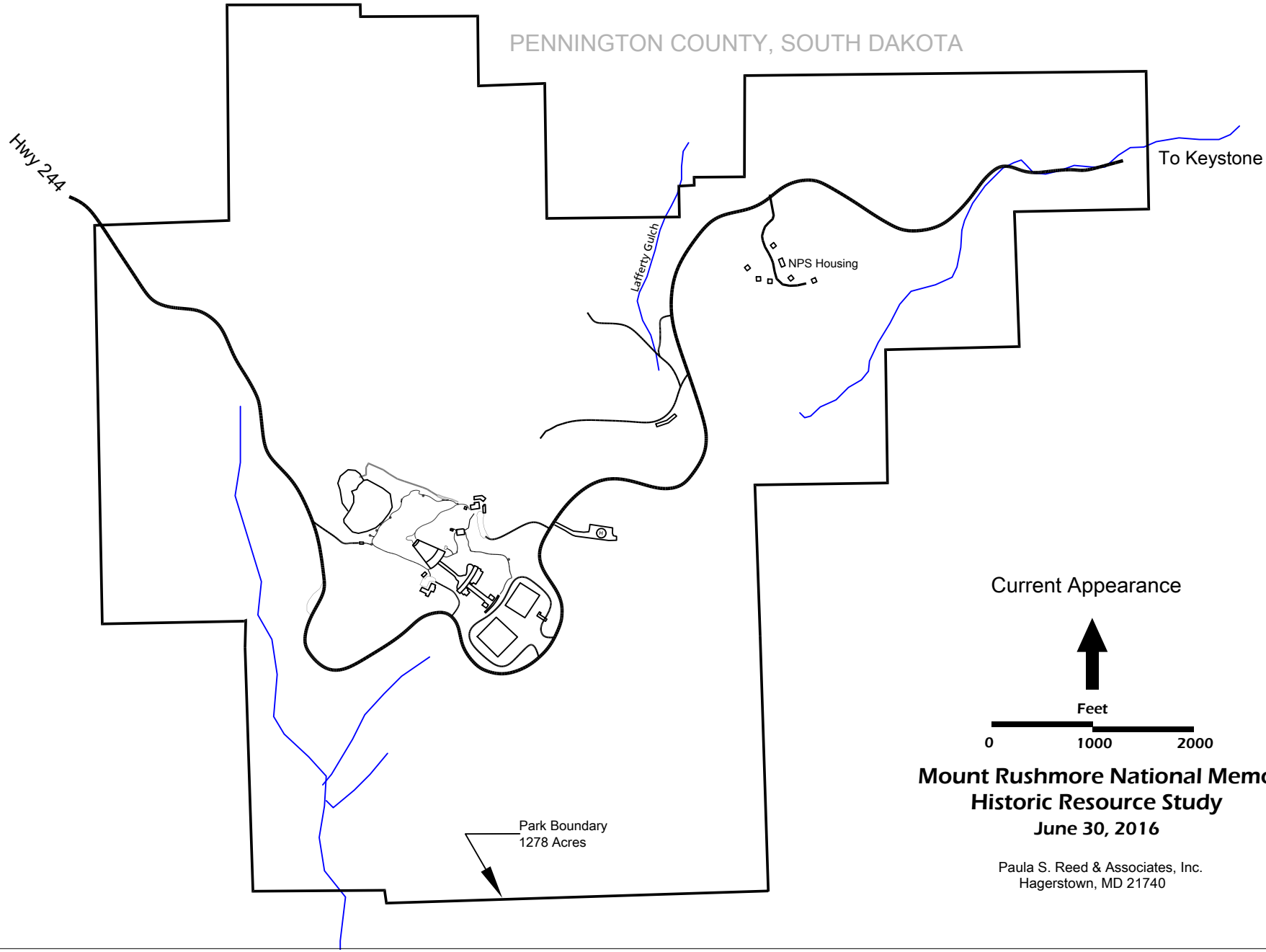
45	Quarters	1958-59		"Residential Area"	
46	Quarters	1958-59		"Residential Area"	
47	Quarters	1960		"same as #51"; "Residential Area"	
48	Unknown				
49	Unknown				
50	Unknown				
51	Unknown				
52	Unknown				

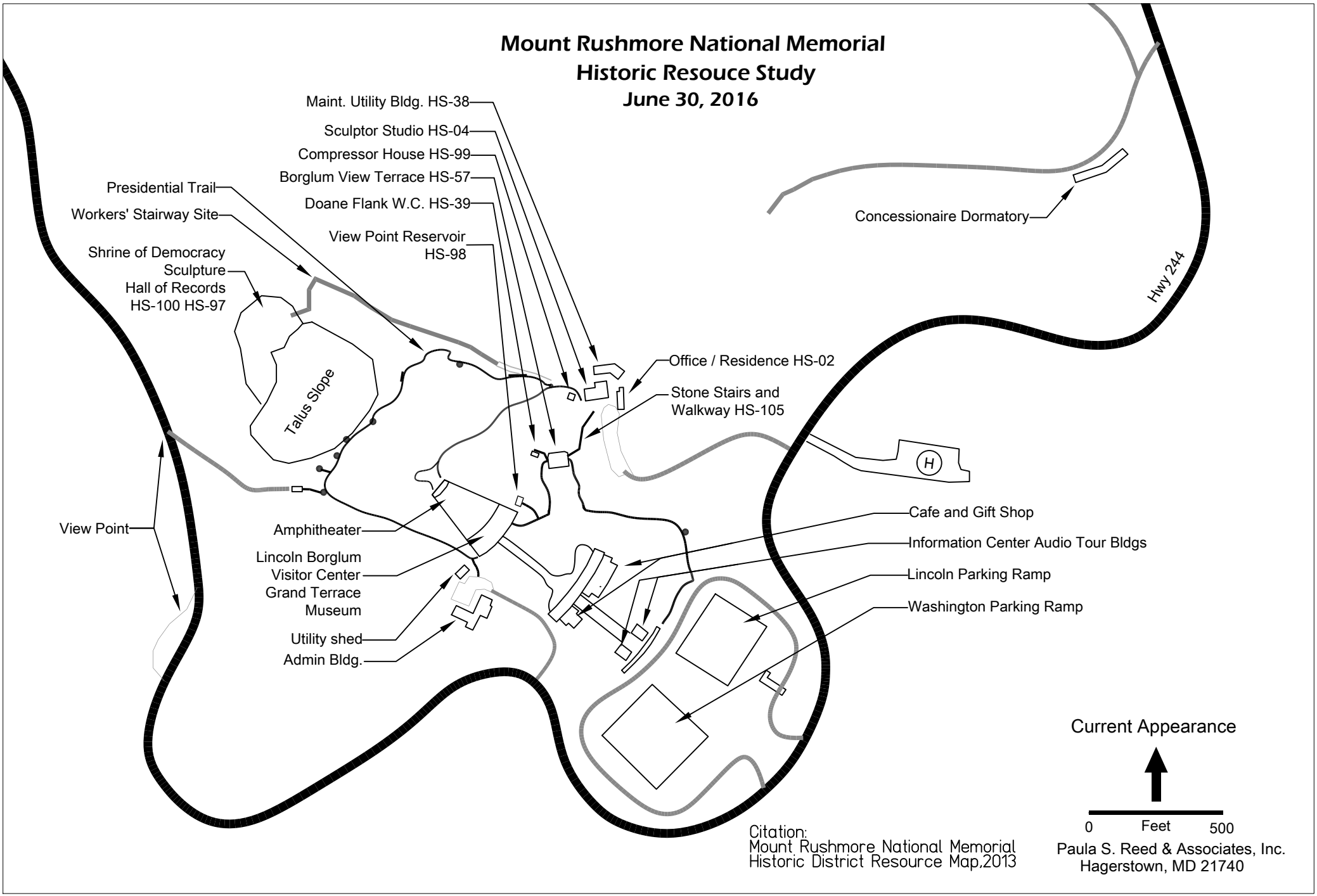
Table of Buildings from 1951 and 1960 Building Reports (MRNM Archives Box 51 and 67)

53	Unknown				
54	Unknown				
55	Steam Cleaner House	1960		"Sewer Area"	
56	Unknown				
57	Borglum Memorial View Terrace	1963		1964 Building Report	

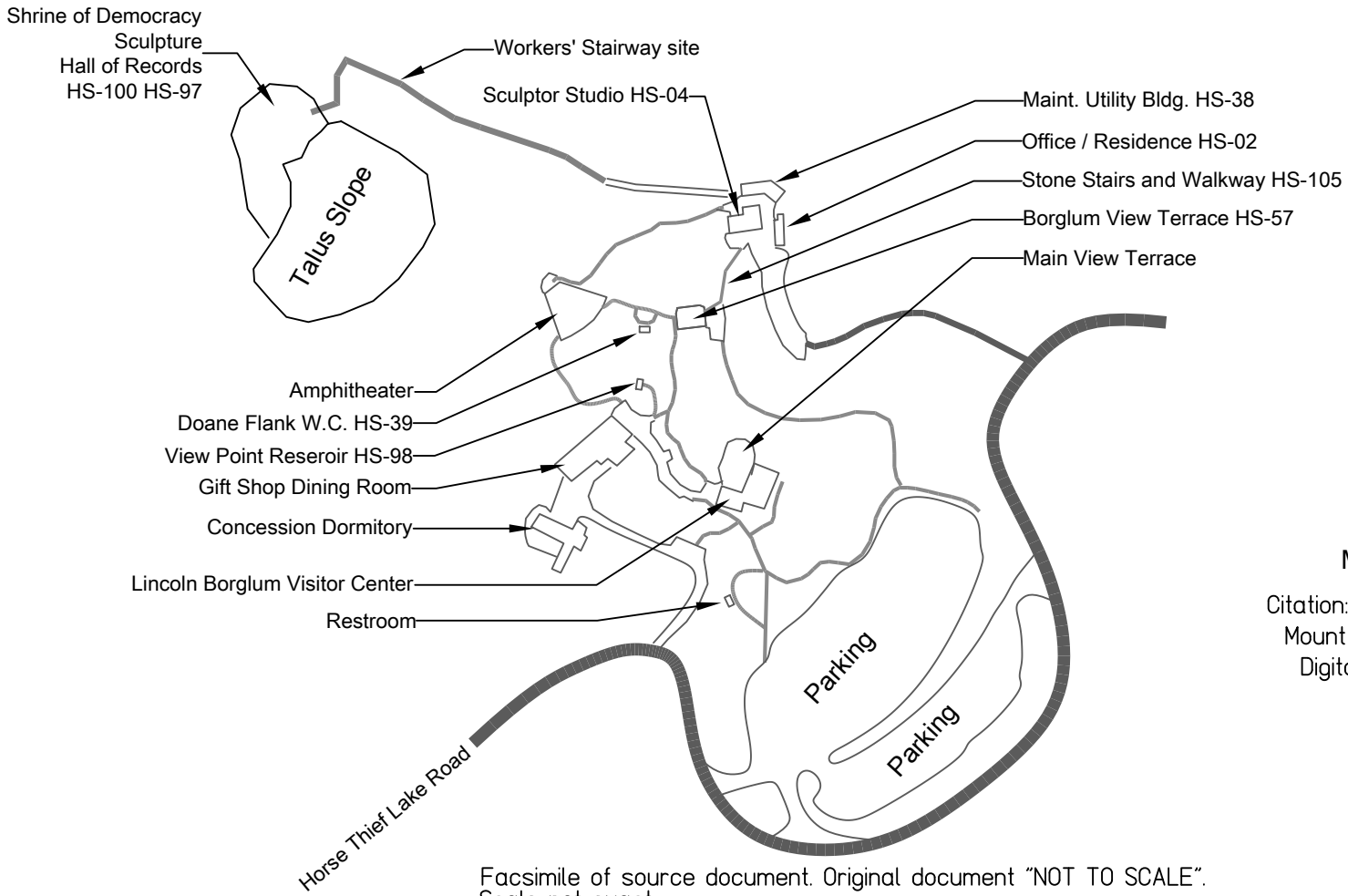
Appendix C

Cultural Resources Map Series
(no archeology)


PENNINGTON COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA
Hwy 244
To Keystone
Lafferty Gulch
NPS Housing
Park Boundary
1278 Acres
Current Appearance
Feet
0
1000
2000
Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic Resource Study
June 30, 2016
Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.
Hagerstown, MD 21740


Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic Resouce Study
June 30, 2016
Maint. Utility Bldg. HS-38
Sculptor Studio HS-04
Compressor House HS-99
Borglum View Terrace HS-57
Doane Flank W.C. HS-39
View Point Reservoir HS-98
Presidential Trail
Workers' Stairway Site
Shrine of Democracy Sculpture
Hall of Records HS-100 HS-97
Talus Slope
Concessionaire Dormatory
Hwy 244
Office / Residence HS-02
Stone Stairs and Walkway HS-105
H
View Point
Amphitheater
Lincoln Borglum Visitor Center Grand Terrace Museum
Utility shed
Admin Bldg.
Cafe and Gift Shop
Information Center Audio Tour Bldgs
Lincoln Parking Ramp
Washington Parking Ramp
Current Appearance
0
Feet
500
Citation:
Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic District Resource Map,2013
Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.
Hagerstown, MD 21740

Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic Resouce Study
June 30, 2016



Facsimile of source document. Original document "NOT TO SCALE".
Scale not exact.

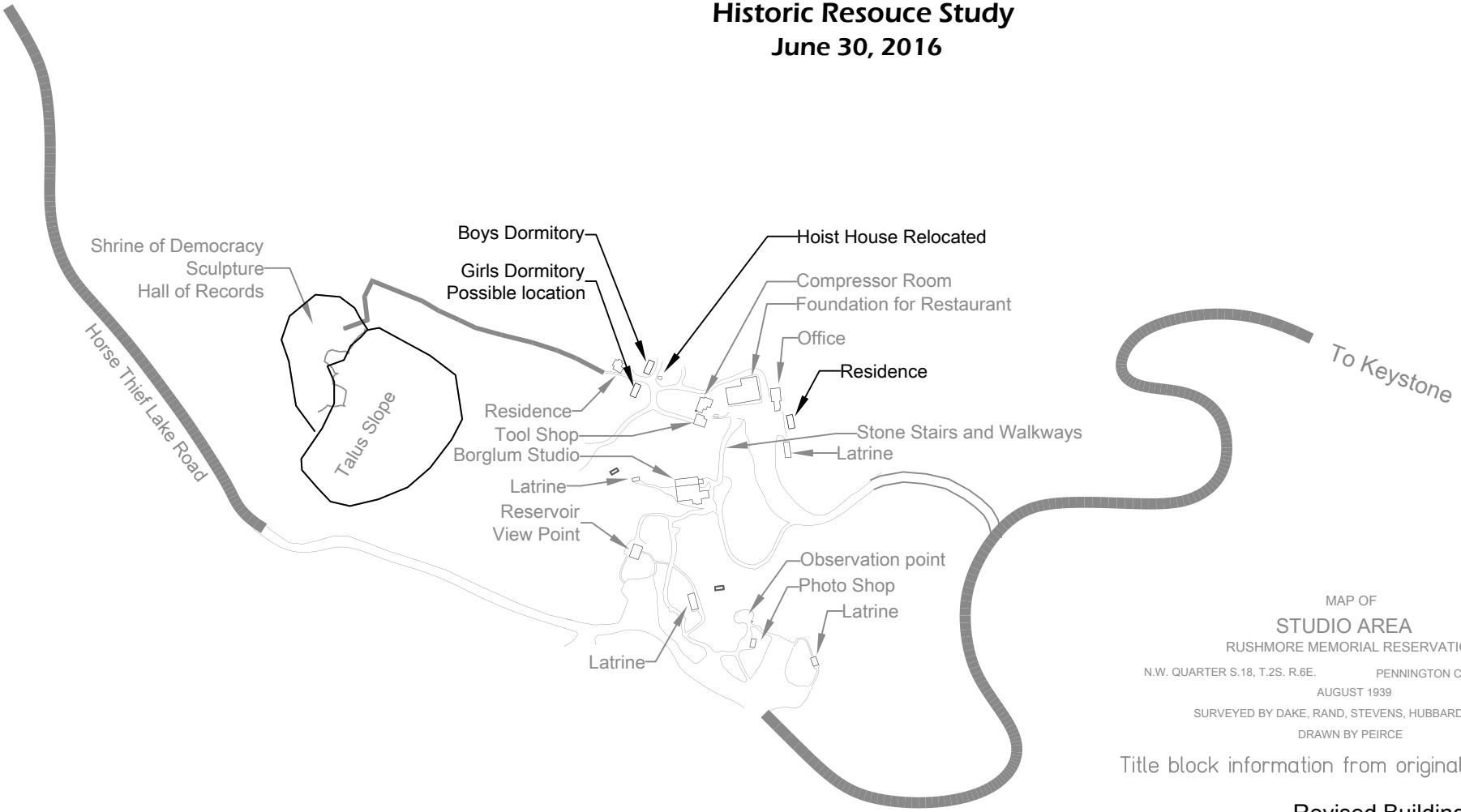
Mission '66 Era Appereance

Citation: Core Visitor Area Map, ca 1966
Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Digital Archives, 7293 MORU089

0 Feet 500

Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.
Hagerstown, MD 21740

Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic Resouce Study
June 30, 2016



MAP OF
STUDIO AREA
RUSHMORE MEMORIAL RESERVATION
N.W. QUARTER S.18, T.2S. R.6E. PENNINGTON COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA
AUGUST 1939
SURVEYED BY DAKE, RAND, STEVENS, HUBBARD & PEIRCE
DRAWN BY PEIRCE

Title block information from original document

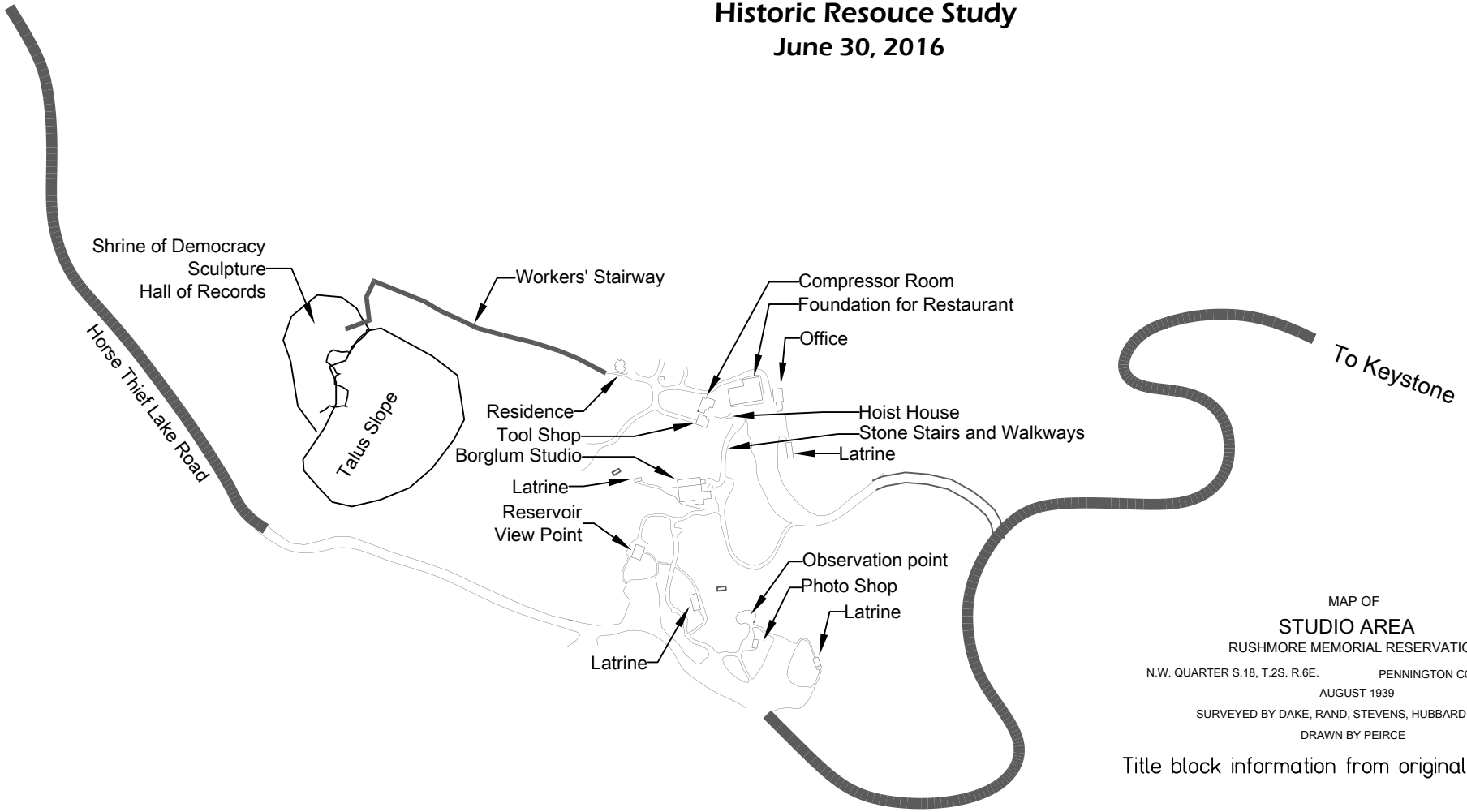
Revised Buildings, circa 1951
1939 Appearance

0 Feet 500

Citation: Library of Congress, Gutzon Borglum Papers, Box 184
Facsimile of source document. Original document in poor condition. Scale not exact.

Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.
Hagerstown, MD 21740

Mount Rushmore National Memorial
Historic Resouce Study
June 30, 2016



MAP OF

STUDIO AREA

RUSHMORE MEMORIAL RESERVATION

N.W. QUARTER S.18, T.2S. R.6E. PENNINGTON COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA

AUGUST 1939

SURVEYED BY DAKE, RAND, STEVENS, HUBBARD & PEIRCE

DRAWN BY PEIRCE

Title block information from original document

1939 Appearance

0 Feet 500

Paula S. Reed & Associates, Inc.
Hagerstown, MD 21740

Appendix D

List of Dedications

- **October 1, 1925** – Dedication of Mount Rushmore as a National Memorial
- **August 10, 1927** – President Coolidge makes address at Memorial, focusing national attention on the project
- **July 4, 1930** – Dedication of the Washington head
- **August 30, 1936** – Dedication of the Jefferson head, President Roosevelt present
- **September 17, 1937** – Dedication of the Lincoln head on the 150th anniversary of the signing of the U.S. Constitution
- **July 2, 1939** – Dedication of the Roosevelt head, Golden Jubilee of South Dakota statehood
- **July 3, 1991** – Dedication of the Memorial (Golden Anniversary), President George H.W. Bush present
- **August 17, 2002** – 75th Anniversary of Dedication, President George W. Bush present

Appendix E

List of Tribal Contacts who received a copy of the Mount Rushmore National Memorial Historic Resource Study for review (2016)

Mr. Harold Frazier
Chairman
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 590
2001 Main Street
Eagle Butte, SD 57625-0590
605-964-4155

Mr. Stephen Vance
Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 590
19 Dupree Street
Eagle Butte, SD 57625
605-964-7554

Mr. Brandon Sazue, Sr.
Chairman
Crow Creek Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 50
Fort Thompson, SD 57339-0050
605-245-2221

Ms. Wanda Wells
Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Crow Creek Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 50
Fort Thompson, SD 57339
605-245-2250

Mr. Anthony Reider
President
Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 283
Flandreau, SD 57028-0283

605-997-3891
Mr. James B. "JB" Weston
Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe
P.O. Box 285
603 W. Broad Avenue
Flandeau, SD 57028
605-997-3891

Mr. Darrell “Curley” Youpee
Tribal Historic Preservation Officer
Director, Cultural Resource Department
Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board [Fort Peck Tribes of Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes]
P.O. Box 1027
2001 Main Street
Poplar, MT 59255
406-768-2382

Mr. Floyd Azure
Chairman
Fort Peck Tribal Executive Board [Fort Peck Tribes of Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes]
P.O. Box 1027
2001 Main Street
Poplar, MT 59255
406-768-2300

Mr. Michael B. Jandreau
Chairman
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