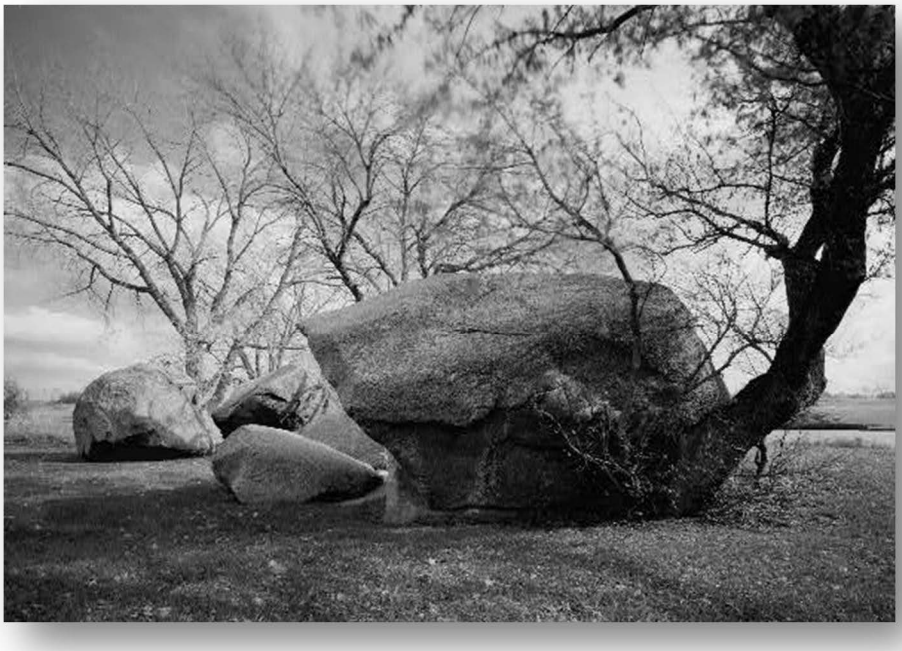
The Blood of the People

Historic Resource Study
Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota



Theodore Catton and Diane L. Krahe

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
2016

The Blood of the People

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Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota

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2016



Winnewissa Falls

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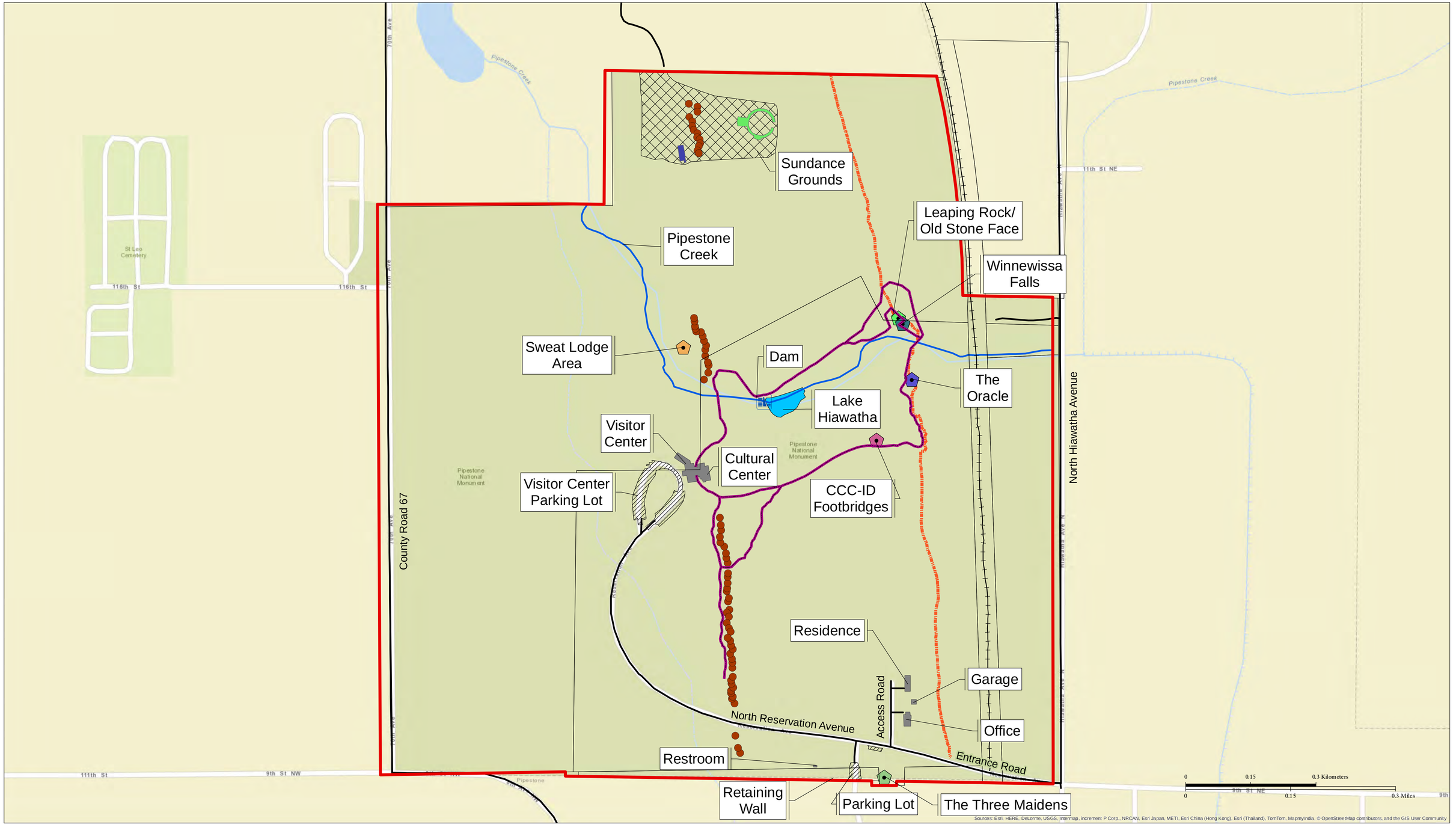
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Pipestone National Monument

Park Boundary

Circle Trail Network

Quarries

Sioux Quartzite Escarpment

Cultural Resources Base Map

National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior

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Pipestone National Monument Map 1 of 1

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Introduction
Toward an Indigenous History

The subject of this study is American Indian use of the Pipestone Quarry in southwest Minnesota from prehistory to the present day. Since time immemorial American Indians have visited the Pipestone Quarry to obtain the soft, red pipestone from which they make pipes. Rituals surrounding the pipe and oral traditions about how it was first acquired are central to the religions of most Plains Indian tribes. Because the pipe and the red pipestone itself are so sacred, the prairie landscape and distinctive rock formations found at the Pipestone Quarry constitute a sacred place for many American Indians. Some oral traditions identify it as the place where human beings were created. For numerous Plains Indian tribes, the Pipestone Quarry has long been not only the source of their pipestone, but also a sacred place where people pray to the Creator, honor their ancestors, and put aside enmities.

Long ago, many tribes' oral traditions spoke of the Pipestone Quarry as neutral ground where all met in peace. Today, members of many tribes still visit the site to quarry the sacred pipestone using hand tools and methods similar to those used by their ancestors. The law establishing Pipestone National Monument provides that access to the quarries shall be "expressly reserved to Indians of all tribes."[1] American Indians' continuing use of the Pipestone Quarry for quarrying is a powerful testament to the tribes' cultural persistence in the face of grave threats to their survival over the past three hundred years.

Pipestone National Monument is located in Pipestone County, Minnesota. The roughly 300-acre site is bordered on the south by the town of Pipestone. East and west of the national monument are agricultural lands. North of the national monument lie the Pipestone Indian State Wildlife Management Area and the Pipestone Campus of the West Minnesota Community and Technical College. The latter two properties, together with Pipestone National Monument, compose most of the former one-square-mile Pipestone Reservation, set aside by the Treaty with the Yankton Sioux of 1858. Pipestone National Monument was designated in 1937.

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) is a National Park Service (NPS) management document that serves to assess known historic properties and address their eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places in that nomination. The HRS also provides managers with a comprehensive synthesis of primary and secondary source material that is pertinent specifically to Pipestone National Monument. The document is an aid to managers in meeting federal agency

[1] *U.S. Statutes at Large* 50 (1937): 804.



Figure 1. The Pipestone Quarry painted by George Catlin from his 1836 visit. This view shows the quarry in relation to the escarpment and Pipestone Creek. The Three Maidens are in the background on the right. (Courtesy of commons.wikimedia.org.)

requirements set forth in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and in protecting a unit's cultural resources generally.

Previous historical studies on the Pipestone Quarry and/or Pipestone National Monument include Robert Murray, *A History of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (1965); a master's thesis and two articles by William T. Corbett from the late 1970s; Hal K. Rothman and Daniel J. Holder, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular: An Administrative History of Pipestone National Monument* (1992); Sally J. Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota* (2005); and Denise Louise Mundy's master's thesis, "George Catlin and the Pipestone Quarry: Paradise of the Red Gods" (2011). This HRS differs from those previous studies in its aim of making American Indian use of the area the central theme of the work. While virtually everything that has been written about the Pipestone Quarry does already feature American Indian use to some degree, most of those previous works treat American Indian use in relation to the actions of Euro-American explorers, settlers, archeologists, preservationists, and national monument managers. The objective of this report is to place American Indians front and center in the narrative and trace the history of how they mined the quarries, utilized and traded the pipestone, and treated the place as sacred ground – over generations and through drastically changing circumstances. In

short, the goal is to focus on *historical change and continuity in the American Indian experience*.

Nearly everything that is known about the human history of the Pipestone Quarry comes from three types of sources: archeological investigations, written records, and oral traditions. All three types of sources offer an imperfect record of the past. Each type of source has its strengths and weaknesses, and taken altogether, they may be viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive ways of understanding the past.

Archeology has the advantage of reaching far back in time, offering glimpses of a world preceding the advent of written records, sometimes even a world predating almost all cultural memory. It provides a view of the past which is based on physical evidence and which is grounded in scientific methodology. Consistent with the scientific method of developing knowledge through observation, hypothesis, testing, and data collection, it interprets the past through the recovery of artifacts and the comparison of one archeological site with another. The knowledge that archeology yields, however, is limited to the insights that can be gleaned from physical traces of material culture. Material culture is only a pale shadow of all that makes a particular culture distinct. Artifacts can barely hint at a people's religious life, for example, or their spiritual connection to a place. Moreover, since archeological findings rest so much on comparisons between sites, the findings for any one site tend to be modest and tentative.[2]

Written sources have obvious advantages over archeological finds in giving shape to the past. They provide a record of human events, convey cultural values, and articulate abstract ideas, filling in many of the huge blanks that are present when there is nothing but the archeological record to go on. Written sources have significant limitations, too, however. In the first place, historical documents are obviously limited to the historic period. The earliest written descriptions that exist for American Indian tribes who are traditionally associated with the Pipestone Quarry come from French explorers in the seventeenth century. The oldest written descriptions of the Pipestone Quarry itself come from French and English explorers

[2] The leading works about Pipestone National Monument by archaeologists or anthropologists are David T. Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred: A Review of Selected Native American Groups and their relationships with the Catlinite Quarries* (Anthropological Research Laboratories, Wichita State University, Kansas, 1995); Hughes and Alice J. Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument: Ethnographic Resources of Pipestone National Monument*, report prepared for the National Park Service (Omaha: National Park Service, 1997); María Nieves Zedeño and Robert Christopher Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report* (Tucson: University of Arizona, Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, 2004); and Douglas D. Scott, Thomas D. Thiessen, Jeffrey J. Richner, and Scott Stadler, *An Archeological Inventory and Overview of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (Lincoln: National Park Service, 2006).

in the eighteenth century, even though it is known from other sources that Indian use of the quarry began many centuries before then.

Besides their temporal limits, written sources reveal more about some historic peoples and considerably less about others. They contain a biased record of the past. Virtually everything written about American Indian use of the Pipestone Quarry before the twentieth century was produced by non-Indian chroniclers and commentators. Practically all of those non-Indian authors of historical documents, whether they were French, British, Spanish, or Euro-Americans, wrote from a cultural perspective in which it was assumed that European cultures were superior to native ones.

The assumption of European and Euro-American cultural superiority persisted even as the basis for assuming cultural superiority changed over time. In the seventeenth-century European worldview, all peoples around the globe were divided between Christian and non-Christian societies, and for Europeans of that era, any peoples who were not a part of Christendom were considered and treated as "others" and "lesser than." During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the European worldview became more secularized, but it remained chauvinistic. According to Enlightenment thought, humankind's many diverse races and cultures were on a universal path to a so-called civilized state as determined by Europeans.

After the American colonies won independence, citizens of the young American Republic were proponents of "Manifest Destiny." They presumed that the United States would eventually span the continent, and that their settler society would inevitably come to dominate and displace the many American Indian nations who inhabited those lands. Indigenous peoples obviously had different perspectives, but coming from oral cultures, their perspectives were rarely committed to writing. Consequently, the indigenous perspective was neglected in the written record.

Historians who study and write about American Indians have long recognized the great disparity which exists in the historical source material and many have tried to interpret the available source material judiciously, making allowance for the ignorance, prejudice, or narrow interest of the source materials' original authors. Historians recognize that fur traders, for example, wrote about American Indian tribes from the standpoint of their trading relationships. Fur traders created a rich body of records about American Indian tribes, yet every observation that they made was tinctured by the fur companies' economic interests. Similarly, missionaries wrote about American Indians in the context of wanting to convert them to Christianity. Military officers and soldiers wrote about American Indians while perceiving them as potential or actual foes. Federal Indian agents wrote about them as wards of the federal government. Since the late nineteenth

century, many historians have aimed to tell the American Indians' stories with greater "objectivity" than exists in any of these original sources.

And yet, all historians, too, inevitably bring their own cultural biases to the process, whatever their own heritage or ethnicity might be. Foremost among the historians' biases is a preference for the written word. While they may question the objectivity of their written sources, they still give them more credence than they do non-written sources. It is a deeply ingrained perception of western civilization that to write something down is to give it greater force, credibility, and permanence. Showing this bias, academically trained historians tend to be more skeptical toward historical information that has been passed down orally, or that was only put into writing long after the events occurred that are being narrated in any given oral tradition. As a result, it would appear, historians tend to "privilege" the white man's written records over the indigenous people's source material. Despite their best intentions, the result is another retelling of history from the perspective of the Euro-American colonizers.

Kent Nerburn, a writer who holds a doctorate in religious studies and who worked for several years on the Red Lake Reservation on a project with students and tribal elders, describes American Indians' weariness with this type of history in his novel *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: On Forgotten Roads with an Indian Elder*. As Nerburn's fictional elder, Dan, explains to the book's narrator:

> "Look at what your way did to our people. When you came among us you didn't care what was alive in our hearts. You wanted to know facts.
>
> "If you asked us when something happened, we might tell you it was in the year when all the buffalo froze. Then you'd get mad and ask us, when was that? So maybe we'd tell you it was the year the stars fell. That's how we kept track of years.
>
> "But that wouldn't be a good enough answer for you. You would want to know what year it was by a number. As if it made any difference to know a number of a year. You got mad when we couldn't give you a day with a number on it and said we didn't remember.
>
> "So you made our history from the things your people could remember. And all you remembered were the things the traders wrote down, or the things the missionaries wrote down, or the soldiers. When we fought with you, you wrote down what weapons we used and how many people got killed….

> "You are still writing down our story, using your words, and you are still getting it all wrong. Your words are full of sharp edges that cut us. But we have been bleeding so long we don't even feel it anymore."[3]

Nerburn points out that from the tribal elder's point of view, the white man's history fails to tell the truth on several counts. The white man's insistence on accurate chronology – using the Christian calendar – is a form of control, even oppression. The insistence on "facts" actually shows a predilection for trusting what the trader or missionary or soldier said over what the native person said. And most importantly, perhaps, Nerburn reflects that the very language of modern discourse is demeaning to the indigenous person. Words as seemingly benign as "explore," "survey," "reservation," and "Indian agent" serve to perpetuate the colonists' perspectives.

While indigenous peoples have long taken exception to the dominant society's telling of their history Indigenous scholars and spokespersons are engaging with academic and NPS historians, and contesting the colonizer's way of doing history. They are demanding another retelling, a new kind of revisionist history, one that aims to decolonize how the past is represented.

A note about the key term "decolonization." The term came into common usage with reference to the dismantlement of European colonial empires in Africa and elsewhere around the globe after World War II. Much like the term "indigenous peoples," the term "decolonization" is useful in the way that it begs comparison between the United States and other places in the world where European settler societies met with indigenous tribal societies that were rooted in oral tradition. Until recently, U.S. historians have tended to view American Indian history as peculiar to the context of United States westward expansion. With the rise of indigenous studies in universities, and with the provocation of American Indian intellectuals such as Lakota author Vine Deloria, Jr., and Cherokee anthropologist Robert K. Thomas, U.S. historians have begun to take a wider view, comparing the United States experience with that of other "settler societies" in New Zealand, Argentina, South Africa, and elsewhere. Just as "decolonization" in the political world refers to the dismantlement of political institutions that were designed for keeping colonies under the domination of imperial powers, so, too, "decolonization" in the academic world refers to the dismantlement of academic canons that have served to keep indigenous perspectives from challenging the dominant society's version of the past.[4]

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[3] Kent Nerburn, *Neither Wolf Nor Dog: On Forgotten Roads with an Indian Elder* (Novato, Calif.: New World Library, 1994), 271, 278.

[4] Susan A. Miller, "Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography," *Wicazo Sa Review* 23, no. 2 (Fall 2008), 19-20.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith offers a summary of the indigenous critique of the Western (i.e. Western civilization) approach to history in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999; second edition, 2012). The indigenous critique, she writes, is premised on the idea that "history is a modernist project which has developed alongside imperial beliefs about the Other." She lists nine ideas that have underpinned the writing of history since the Age of Enlightenment. She argues that these ideas need to be challenged if indigenous people are to "decolonize" history, or reclaim it from the grip of colonization. The nine suspect ideas are quoted here in full, as each one is pertinent to the historiography on the Pipestone Quarry:

> *1 The idea that history is a totalizing discourse*
> The concept of totality assumes the possibility and the desirability of being able to include absolutely all known knowledge into a coherent whole. In order for this to happen, classification systems, rules of practice and methods had to be developed to allow the knowledge to be selected and included in what counts as history.
>
> *2 The idea that there is a universal history*
> Although linked to the notion of totality, the concept of universal assumes that there are fundamental characteristics and values which all human subjects and societies share. It is the development of these universal characteristics which are of historical interest.
>
> *3 The idea that history is one large chronology*
> History is regarded as being about developments over time. It charts the progress of human endeavour through time. Chronology is important as a method because it allows events to be located at a point in time. The actual time events take place also makes them "real" or factual. In order to begin the chronology a time of "discovery" has to be established. Chronology is also important for attempting to go backwards and explain how and why things happened in the past.
>
> *4 The idea that history is about development*
> Implicit in the notion of development is the notion of progress. This assumes that societies move forward in stages of development much as an infant grows into a fully developed adult human being. The earliest phase of human development is regarded as primitive, simple and emotional. As societies develop they become less primitive, more civilized, more

rational, and their social structures become more complex and bureaucratic.

5 The idea that history is about a self-actualizing human subject
In this view humans have the potential to reach a stage in their development where they can be in total control of their faculties. There is an order of human development which moves, in stages, through the fulfillment of basic needs, the development of emotions, the development of the intellect and the development of mortality. Just as the individual moves through these stages, so do societies.

6 The idea that the story of history can be told in one coherent narrative
This idea suggests that we can assemble all the facts in an ordered way so that they tell us the truth or give us a very good idea of what really did happen in the past. In theory it means that historians can write a true history of the world.

7 The idea that history as a discipline is innocent
The idea says that "facts" speak for themselves and that the historian simply researches the facts and puts them together. Once all the known facts are assembled they tell their own story, without any need of a theoretical explanation or interpretation by the historian. This idea also conveys the sense that history is pure as a discipline, that is, it is not implicated with other disciplines.

8 The idea that history is constructed around binary categories
The idea is linked to the historical method of chronology. In order for history to begin there has to be a period of beginning and some criteria for determining when something begins. In terms of history this was often attached to concepts of "discovery," the development of literacy, or the development of specific social formation. Everything before that time is designated as prehistorical, belonging to the realm of myths and traditions, "outside" the domain.

9 The idea that history is patriarchal
The idea is linked to the notions of self-actualization and development, as women are regarded as being incapable of attaining the higher orders of development. Furthermore they were not significant in terms of the ways societies developed because they were not present in the bureaucracies or

> hierarchies where changes in social or political life were being determined.[5]

While Linda Tuhiwai Smith is a Maori educator at the University of Waikato in New Zealand, she addresses indigenous peoples around the globe. Her work has been widely embraced by American Indian scholars, for example, by Dakota scholar Waziyatawin, co-editor of *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (2004). Waziyatawin and a number of other American Indian scholars are advancing a new "indigenous paradigm" for the reworking of American history from an indigenous perspective. Some of their writings were anthologized in the recent book, *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, edited by Susan A. Miller and James Riding In (2011). Waziyatawin offers an in-depth discussion of her own thoughts about the indigenous paradigm in her book *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives* (2005). "One of my major goals," she writes, "is to promote the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives into the written historical record, with the hope and belief that this will lead to greater understanding and dialogue between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples on the North American continent as well as a more comprehensive and broadly defined understanding of history."[6] In particular, she urges her fellow historians to acquire and understand indigenous oral accounts alongside European and Euro-American written accounts.

Which brings up the third type of source used in this study: oral tradition. In oral cultures, storytelling is a revered social activity and form of art; stories that are passed down from generation to generation are known as oral traditions. Erin Hanson, a researcher for the First Nations Studies Program at the University of British Columbia, has written, "Throughout history, Aboriginal societies in North America have relied on the oral transmission of stories, histories, lessons and other knowledge to maintain a historical record and sustain their cultures and identities….Oral societies record and document their histories in complex and sophisticated ways, including performance practices such as dancing and drumming."[7] In oral cultures, storytellers were (and still are) selected for their oratorical skills, which included memorization. Everyone in the oral culture acquired skills of listening, remembering, and reciting that went far beyond the

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[5] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999; second edition, London: Zed Books, Ltd., 2012), 31-33.
[6] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 23.
[7] Erin Hanson, "Oral Traditions," *Indigenous Foundations* at http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca <May 13, 2015>.

average abilities of people in societies with writing. The Dakota scholar Charles Eastman described how those oral skills were inculcated from an early age:

> Very early, the Indian boy assumed the task of preserving and transmitting the legends of his ancestors and his race. Almost every evening a myth, or a true story of some deed done in the past was narrated by one of the parents or grandparents, while the boy listened with parted lips and glistening eyes. On the following evening, he was usually required to repeat it. If he was not an apt scholar, he struggled long with his task; but as a rule, the Indian boy is a good listener and has a good memory, so that his stories were tolerably well mastered. The household became his audience by which he was alternately criticized and applauded.[8]

Certain oral traditions about the Pipestone Quarry were put into writing by the frontier artist George Catlin as well as other early Euro-American visitors. They were published in the nineteenth century and identified as Indian stories, myths, and legends, which marginalized the original purpose of the oral tradition. Those terms are now eschewed in favor of the more neutral and accurate term "oral traditions."

Peter Mazikana and William Moss have provided the following definition of oral traditions for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

> Oral traditions are those recollections of the past, orally transmitted [and] recounted, that arise naturally within and from the dynamics of a culture. They are shared widely throughout the culture by word of mouth even though they may be entrusted to particular people for safekeeping, transmittal, recitation, and narration. They are organic expressions of the identity, purpose, functions, customs, and generational continuity of the culture in which they occur. They happen spontaneously as phenomena of cultural expression. They would exist, and indeed they have existed in the absence of written notes or other more sophisticated recording devices. They are not direct experiences of the narrators, and they must be transmitted by word of mouth to qualify as oral tradition.

Their definition aims at distinguishing oral tradition from oral history, which they define as follows:

[8] Charles Eastman quoted in Wilson, *Remember This!*, 27.

> Oral history, on the other hand, is usually identified as an activity, a detached and academic process of inquiry into the memories of people who have experienced the recent past directly. This inquiry and the responses it generates are recorded to supplement written records that have been found wanting in some measure for historical analysis. It is a studied, abstract, and analytical practice of historians and other social scientists, and it relies heavily on a recording device, whether manual, mechanical, or electronic.[9]

Waziyatawin favors a more inclusive definition of oral tradition that covers oral history, too, provided that the person recounting the oral history belongs to the oral tradition. In this sense, an oral tradition is not a specific narrative but rather a whole body of knowledge that is passed down orally.[10]



Figure 2. American Indians have exclusive privileges to quarry at Pipestone National Monument. Quarrying is done by hand tools only. (Photo by the authors.)

[9] Peter Mazikana and William Moss, "Oral tradition and oral history," in UNESCO, *Audiovisual Archives: A Practical Reader* at www.unesco.org <May 19, 2015>.
[10] Wilson, *Remember This!*, 27.

Regardless of the relative standing of oral tradition and oral history, the crucial point that indigenous scholars make is that historians must give greater standing to oral traditions relative to written sources of history. Oral cultures have developed their own ways of ensuring accuracy, consistency, and veracity in the storytelling. Oral traditions have been vetted and given authority by the oral culture in much the same way that things which are put into writing acquire a sense of factualness according to a culture that depends on the written word.

As stated near the beginning of this introduction, the goal of this study is to provide an American Indian history of the Pipestone Quarry – to present a document in which the American Indian experience is at the center of the narrative. The authors of the study are non-Indian and do not pretend to offer an indigenous perspective according to all the precepts of the indigenous paradigm. Instead, they ask that their readers accept this history of the Pipestone Quarry as *consciously aiming toward an indigenous perspective*.

A note about terminology. The report uses the term "American Indian" to refer to the indigenous people of North America. The term "Indian" is used here and there in its historical usage to avoid confusion, as in the common phrases Indian treaties, federal Indian policy, Plains Indian culture, and pan-Indian. The report refers to tribes according to how tribes self-identify today, except where the older names appear in direct quotations from historical records. Readers are directed to Appendix 1 for a complete list of tribes identified in the study. The report uses the term "Euro-American" to refer to people in North America who were predominantly of European ancestry. It uses the term "white" to refer to people of the United States who were predominantly Caucasian. The term "non-Indian" is used to refer to people who did not belong to any American Indian tribe.

Chapter 1
One Sacred Place, Many Stories

The Pipestone Quarry sits in a prairieland of subtle, undulating ridges and swales. The surrounding height of land known as the Coteau des Prairies, which divides the waters of the Missouri and Mississippi basins, is barely distinguishable to the naked eye. Long before the landscape was diced up by roads and powerlines and dotted with towns and farms, American Indians found their way across the ocean of prairie to this spot using their intimate knowledge of all the stream courses in the region. After many days of travel, they would finally come over a low rise and see the jagged row of cliffs. If the hour was late, and the cliffs were catching the slanting rays of the sun, their view would be of a blood-red escarpment, nearly thirty feet tall and three-quarters of a mile long, cropping out of the shimmering tallgrass prairie. They might stop at the grouping of boulders which they knew as the Three Maidens, and make an offering, before heading further on to the quarries themselves, which formed a long row of pits and waste piles paralleling the cliffs.

Oral Traditions

The late Wilmer Mesteth, Oglala Lakota spiritual leader, related a story about the red pipestone and the sacred place where the rock layer crops out of the prairie. This oral tradition is used as the basis for the film which is presented to visitors who come to Pipestone National Monument.

> When we were children they used to tell us stories of the Channupa-aykay and how it was formed you know. They call it On-aka, the story of the ancient ones. They said it rained for many days. It rained for many days on end non-stop and pretty soon the people became afraid….And pretty soon people started drowning….And there's this one young girl. She saw this high hill and so she went up there…And a lot her people had already drowned. So she ran up there, and she was all alone. She went to this high hill, and there was nowhere to go.... So she began to pray. And here, all of a sudden, the rain stopped. So she was standing there, and all she could see around was water. She felt something. So she looked up and here from above there was this giant, giant bird. The Wam-be-le-tacha, Spotted Eagle..... And then it opened its wings like that and here a man emerged from there. And he was a handsome man. And he told her not to be afraid that he came to rescue her. And that all her people were killed in the flood. They all drowned and she was the only one left.... So she became saddened by this. But he said, he told her, not to be discouraged. He said the reason he came to rescue her because he wanted to marry her. And through their

> marriage together they're going to begin the human, the humans are going to start again anew... And they eventually became all the tribes of the earth. And when the the waters receded, in the story they said the water drained, drained down the drainage and came to one place. And here it was all the blood of the people that drowned formed in that area. And that's what became the Channupa-aykay. It was the blood of the people . The blood was *red* into the stone.[11]

Another story, which comes from the oral traditions of the Ihanktonwan Nakota, identifies the site of the Pipestone Quarry as the place where human beings were created. Before there were humans, a great being whom the people called Wakiya, the thunderbird, preyed on buffalo. Eating its buffalo kills on its perch at the top of the rock ledge, it allowed the animals' blood to run over the precipice and turn the rock red. One day, a snake crawled into the thunderbird's nest to eat its eggs. In a clap of thunder, one of the eggs was hatched, and Wakiya, taking up a piece of the pipestone to throw at the snake, molded it into a man. The man's feet grew fast to the ground and he stood there like a tree for many, many years. Finally, another tree, in the shape of a woman, grew up beside him. A large snake came and devoured their roots, and the man and woman walked away together. From those two came all of the human beings who walk the earth.[12]

Another oral tradition associates the site of the pipestone quarry with the gift of the sacred pipe. The frontier artist George Catlin was told this oral tradition amongst the Dakota bands residing in the Mississippi Valley as well as those who lived nearer the Pipestone Quarry, and rendered the story as follows:

> Many ages after the red men were made, when all the tribes were at war, the Great Spirit sent runners and called them all together at the "Red Pipe."—He stood on the top of the rocks, and the red people were assembled in infinite numbers on the plains below. He took out of the rock a piece of the red stone, and made a large pipe; he smoked it over them all; told them that it was part of their flesh; that though they were at war, they must meet at this place as friends; that it belonged to them all; that they must make their calumets from it and smoke them to him

[11] *Pipestone: An Unbroken Legacy*, directed by Sonny Hutchison and Chris Wheeler (National Park Service, 2009); Christina Rose, "Wilmer Mesteth, Oglala Lakota Spiritual Leader, Walks On," *Indian Country Today*, January 19, 2015.

[12] Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe: People of the Pipestone, 1634-1888," Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1993, 8. Bruguier quotes from George Catlin (1844), who attributed the story to unidentified tribes of the Upper Missouri. While noting that some scholars doubt the authenticity of Catlin's rendering of the story, Bruguier, himself a member of the Yankton Sioux Tribe, finds it credible and states that it belonged to the Yankton.

> whenever they wished to appease him or get his good-will—the smoke from his big pipe rolled over the rocks, and melted their surface—at that moment two … [women] went in a blaze of fire under the two medicine rocks, where they remain to this day, and must be consulted and propitiated whenever the pipe stone is to be taken away.[13]

In a variation of this story, three girls hid under some boulders during the great battle. When the fighting was over they emerged to find that they were the only survivors. Thanks to their lives being saved by these rocks, human beings were not wiped out. Hence the name "Three Maidens" was given to the rocks.[14]

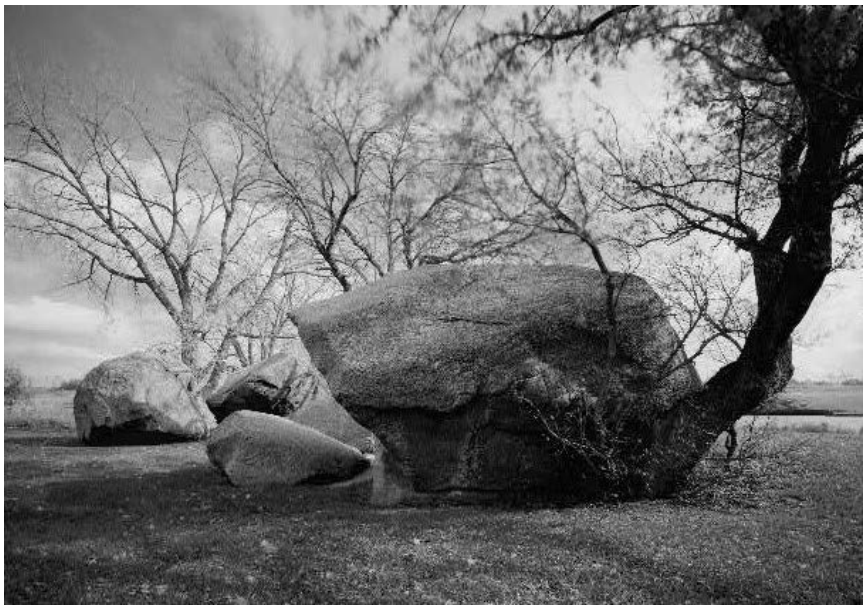


Figure 3. The Three Maidens. (Courtesy of Library of Congress.)

The Pipestone Quarry is sacred to many tribes. Historically and in recent times, people from various tribes made long journeys to the Pipestone Quarry to obtain the raw material from which to make pipes and other objects for their spiritual use. Both the hand-crafted objects and the precious stone itself were carried back home or traded over great distances. Pipestone artifacts have been found in the archeological record hundreds of miles from the quarry, as far away as Alabama and Oklahoma. Tribes that used the quarry at some time in the past are now located on reservations from Minnesota westward to Montana, and from North and South Dakota southward to Oklahoma.

Many of these tribes have oral traditions that assert that the Pipestone Quarry was a neutral ground, a place where people of different tribes laid down

[13] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians* (Reprint, 1844; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), 2: 169.
[14] Alfred Wenz, "The Pipestone Quarry," *South Dakotan* 12, no. 1 (April-May 1904), 6.

their weapons and entered only for the purpose of quarrying the sacred pipestone. When Lewis and Clark passed through the area on August 21, 1804, they were informed by American Indian contacts of the nearby quarries and the indigenous peace policy. William Clark wrote in his journal: "below the falls on the ⟨left⟩ right a Creek coms in on which ⟨all⟩ the red pipe Stone is percured, & in the praries about, a place of Peace with all nations." He elaborated in a second entry: "on the right below the falls a Creek Coms in which passed thro Clifts of red rock which the Indians make pipes of, and when the different nations Meet at those queries all is piece.…"[15]



Figure 4. The escarpment at sunset. (Photo by the authors.)

Among many Plains Indian cultures, the most important origin story is the one that relates how the people received the gift of the sacred pipe. In many of these oral traditions, the pipestone quarry does not feature in the story at all. The oral traditions are significant to Pipestone National Monument because they express how central the sacred pipe is to each one of these cultures.

One hundred years ago, Ioway Chief David Tohee related how his people obtained the sacred pipe:

> In the beginning, *Mao* (The Earthmaker) made the earth and all the universe. Then there was a man who fasted under an elm tree. His face was blackened with charcoal and he strove to gain a vision. While he was there four bears came out from under the ground. They were the four who became the ancestors of the Bear gens, and whose names are borne by the subgentes of that division. They told the faster that they would give him

[15] Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,* sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Center for Great Plains Studies, the University of Nebraska Center for Digital Research in the Humanities, and University of Nebraska Press at http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/ <May 12, 2015>.

power and that they would become people. At the time that he saw them they had the appearance of bears, but acted like human beings.

Then they passed on, and he saw them on their journey as though he was in a dream. As they traveled they heard a distant noise as of someone pounding. Henghru, the eldest, ordered one of the others to go on ahead and see what it was. He returned soon and reported that he saw an old man, very old indeed, hard at work at something. Henghru, the first born, sent him ahead to investigate again. This time he returned and said that the white headed one had disappeared. Then all four bears rushed forward and found no one, only a stone pipe bowl lay there. The pipe was made in the shape of a man, for the old person whom they had heard hammering had turned himself into a pipe bowl.

"This will be for some good and great use," said Henghru, and he took and carried it.

The bears went on and came to a place along the river where they saw a stick floating upright as though it was standing. On it were streamers of green or blue weeds or moss. It looked pretty, so Henghru took it for his pipe-stem. That is why the pipe stem was anciently ornamented with thongs wrapped with dyed porcupine quills, though colored ribbons are now used to represent the moss. All this was told to the man who fasted with darkened face.

As they journeyed, the four bears met the four ancestors of the Buffalo gens. These brothers also had a pipe, and they offered it in peace to the bears. Each sat on the ground, and crossing the stems, each accepted the mouthpiece of the other's pipe. That peace conference was the origin of the custom of dividing the government of the tribe for the year between the Buffalo and Bear gentes. The chief of each of these gentes is chief of the tribe for half a year. The Bears in the fall and winter, the Buffaloes in spring and summer.

A feast was being prepared by both hands, but the Henghru bear was so ravenous that he seized the pipe in his mouth with such a grip that he split the stem, hence there has always been in this gens the name Mangrudge or "Splitting the Pipestem." He gave himself the name at the time with a laugh to smooth things over.[16]

Perhaps the most well-known story about the gift of the sacred pipe is that of the White Buffalo Calf Woman. As with all oral traditions, there are multiple versions. In its essentials, the same story is shared among the seven subdivisions of

[16] Alanson Skinner, "Ethnology of the Ioway Indians," *Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee* 5, no. 4 (June 12, 1926), 218-19.

the Lakota people.[17] The one given here is from *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie. DeMallie's footnotes are omitted.

Origin of the Peace Pipe

The Indians were in camp and they had a meeting to send scouts out to kill buffalo. They were on top of a hill and as they looked to the north in the distance something was appearing. They were going on, but they wanted to find out what it was and they kept looking and finally it came closer; then they found out it was a woman. Then one of the men said, "That is a woman coming." One of them had thoughts of her and one of them said, "That is a sacred woman; throw all bad thoughts aside." She came up the hill where they were. She was very beautiful, her long hair hanging down, and she had on a beautiful buckskin coat. She put down what she was carrying and covered it up with sage. She knew what they had in their minds. She said, "Probably you do not know me, but if you want to do as you think, come." So the one said to the other, "That is what I told you, but you wouldn't listen to me." So the man went and just as he faced her there was a cloud that came and covered them. The beautiful woman walked out of the cloud and stood there. Then the cloud blew off and the man was nothing but a skeleton with worms eating on it. That is what happened to him for being bad.

She turned to the other one and said, "You shall go home and tell your nation that I am coming. Therefore in the center of your nation, they shall build a big tipi and there I will come." So this man left at once and he was very scared, for his friend was a skeleton. He told the tribe what had happened and they all got excited and right away they prepared a place for her to come. They built a tipi right in the center and she was now in it. She put what she was carrying facing the east. All the people gathered right there. She sang a song as she entered the tipi.

With a visible breath I am walking.
A voice I am sending as I walk.
In a sacred manner I am walking.
With visible tracks I am walking
In a sacred manner I am walking.

Then she presented the pipe to the chief. It was an ordinary pipe but there was a calf carved in one side and there were twelve eagle feathers tied on with a grass that never breaks. She said, "Behold this, for you shall

[17] Patricia L. Kaiser, "The Lakota Sacred Pipe: Its Tribal Use and Religious Philosophy," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 8, no. 3 (1984), 1-26.

> multiply with this and a good nation you shall be. You shall get nothing but good from this pipe, so I want it to be in the hands of a good man, and the good shall have the privilege of seeing it, but the bad shall not have the privilege of seeing it." The pipe is still in the possession of the Sioux. The first man who kept it was a man by the name of High Hollow Horn. The pipe is handed down from son to son.
>
> She taught them to "keep spirits" and if a man's son dies, the father keeps a piece of his son's hair. This woman was really a white buffalo. Thus the respect for the white buffalo. She told them that when there was no food they should offer this pipe to the Great Spirit. And they would know from this pipe when they were going to have trouble. The pipe gets long at certain times and this means hard times. After she went back she sang another song. As she went out of the tipi everyone saw a white buffalo kicking up her hind legs and leaving in a hurry, snorting as she went.
>
> Some hunters went out and got a buffalo and it was in the spring of the year when the calves are in the womb yet. They got the insides out and found a calf in it and cut the womb open and to their surprise it was a human in there. It looked more like an old woman. The hair was pure white. All the men gathered there and saw it. It was too long ago for any white man to have been there and so it was a real miracle.[18]

When the Lakota were presented with the sacred pipe, they were taught certain rituals in its use and care that came to underpin their religion and ethics. How the pipe was stored, how the pipe-stem was handled or pointed in the cardinal directions, how the bowl was prepared and lit, how the ash was disposed of – all these things had religious meaning. "The pipe was a tangible, visible link that joined man to Wakan Tanka and every puff of smoke that ascended in prayer unfailingly reached His presence," wrote Chief Ota K'Te (Luther Standing Bear), an Oglala Lakota, in the early 1930s. "All the meanings of moral duty, ethics, religious and spiritual conceptions were symbolized in the pipe."[19]

In the 1989 *Coteau Heritage* journal, Lakota traditional practitioners, Sam and Jace DeCory, also stressed the pipe's significance in Lakota religion and culture:

[18] Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 283-85.
[19] Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), 201.

> When the Sacred Pipe was originally brought to the people, the White Buffalo Calf Woman gave instructions in the use and care of the pipe. These unwritten rules and regulations, so to speak, are basic and coincide with our Lakota values of respect, generosity, courage and fortitude. When one prays for the good of oneself, one's family, the nation and universe, then only good can come from the use of the pipe. The pipe, as an integral part of the Lakota way, helps individuals to reach the ultimate goal of strength and wisdom as we live on Mother Earth.[20]

Soon after the Lakota were visited by the White Buffalo Calf Woman, two men died in a scuffle in the village. Just as the White Buffalo Calf Woman had directed them to do, the people cut an ear off one of the deceased and tied it on the pipe-stem. Subsequently, various offerings were made to the pipe by different tribes, such as ornaments, arrows, stones, and brushes, and all of these items were added to the bundle as well. According to White Buffalo Calf Woman's injunction, the pipe and its accessories were wrapped together and the whole bundle was treated as a most sacred object. The sacred bundle was entrusted to one individual, the keeper of the sacred pipe, who was selected by the medicine people. When that keeper died, the responsibility for caring for the sacred bundle passed to the person's eldest son or another kinsman of the next generation. There was an expectation that the sacred bundle would be passed down from generation to generation until the end of time.[21]

The bundle has strong powers to heal, to promote peace, and to provide for the general welfare of the people, it is only brought out on rare occasions such as in times of famine, epidemic, or to enforce a treaty. Its contents are usually kept secret. However, around 1940, the Keeper allowed anthropologist Sidney J. Thomas to examine and photograph all the items contained in the bundle. Thomas carefully described it in a paper published in *American Anthropologist*. He noted that the large bundle hung on a wooden tripod inside a small log structure built specially for the purpose. According to Thomas, the bundle's orientation on the tripod was changed twice daily so that it could face the sun both morning and afternoon.[22]

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[20] Sam and Jace DeCory, "The Gift of the Sacred Pipe," *Coteau Heritage* 2, no. 1 (April 1989), 18-19.
[21] George A. Dorsey, "Legend of the Teton Sioux Medicine Pipe," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 19, no. 75 (October-December 1906), 326-29; James R. Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980), 82; Arvol Looking Horse, "The Sacred Pipe," *Coteau Heritage* 2, no. 1 (April 1989), 13-14.
[22] Sidney J. Thomas, "A Sioux Medicine Bundle," *American Anthropologist* 43, no. 4 (October-December 1941), 605.

Chapter 2
Tribal Affiliations with Pipestone

Today, the NPS identifies twenty-three American Indian tribes as "culturally affiliated" with Pipestone National Monument and it stipulates that an undetermined additional number of tribes are "traditionally associated" with Pipestone National Monument. The General Management Plan cites the 2006 NPS *Management Policies* on what constitutes a traditionally associated group.

> Traditionally associated peoples – may include park neighbors, traditional residents, and former residents who remain attached to a park area despite having relocated. For purposes of these *Management Policies*, social/cultural entities such as tribes, communities, and kinship units are "traditionally associated" with a particular park when (1) the entity regards park resources as essential to its development and continued identity as a culturally distinct people; (2) the association has endured for at least two generations (40 years); and (3) the association began prior to establishment of the park.[23]

The NPS has published a list of twenty-three federally recognized tribes having a cultural affiliation with Pipestone National Monument. This identification comes out of the 2004 study by Maria Nieves Zedeño and Robert Christopher Basaldú titled *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study*. As Zedeño and Basaldú explain, cultural affiliation has a specific, technical meaning in their study, which is derived from the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). NAGPRA was enacted in 1990 to establish a legal process for repatriating human remains and certain categories of cultural artifacts to tribes with cultural patrimony over the items. NAGPRA defines cultural affiliation as "a relationship of shared group identity which can be reasonably traced historically or prehistorically between a present day Indian tribe or native Hawaiian organization and an identifiable earlier group." With respect to the Pipestone National Monument study, Zedeño and Basaldú state that "cultural affiliation" refers to the relationship between contemporary American Indian individuals or groups and cultural artifacts held in the Pipestone National Monument museum collection.

As Zedeño and Basaldú discuss in the introduction to their report, cultural affiliation research adheres to certain principles that stem from the NAGPRA

[23] Quoted in U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument* (Pipestone, Minnesota: NPS, 2008), 287.

legislation. A claim of cultural affiliation for purposes of establishing cultural patrimony over human remains or other items can be made on the basis of various types of evidence showing lineal descent, including "geographical, kinship, biological, archeological, anthropological, linguistic, oral tradition, or historical evidence or other relevant information or expert opinion." Given the fact that kinship or biological evidence is often absent, or lacking scientific certainty, cultural affiliation can be established "by a simple preponderance of the evidence." Zedeño and Basaldú postulated that 23 federally recognized tribes have cultural affiliations with Pipestone National Monument on the basis of six lines of evidence: prehistoric and/or protohistoric archeologyarcheology, physical anthropology, geography, historic records, oral history, and ethnography. No tribe is linked to Pipestone National Monument through an abundance of evidence in all six categories, but all tribes are linked to the site through a substantial body of evidence spread across a majority of the categories.[24]

Zedeño and Basaldú organized the twenty-three culturally affiliated tribes into three groups corresponding to three broad cultural traditions: "Great Oasis," "Oneota," and the Oceti Sakowin. The three cultural traditions correspond with prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic time periods. Much more will be said about these cultural traditions in later chapters of this study. Zedeño and Basaldú identified one contemporary tribe with the "Great Oasis" cultural tradition, six tribes with the "Oneota" cultural tradition or its contemporary period, and the remaining sixteen tribes with the Oceti Sakowin. The Mandan are the first-named tribe and are part of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota (with the Hidatsa and Arikara). The Ioway, and possibly the Otoe, are descended from the "Oneota" cultural tradition, while the Omaha and Ponca are descended from groups who were present with the Oneota, and those peoples now form six federally recognized tribes: the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, the Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma, the Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians, Oklahoma, the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska, the Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, and the Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma. Present-day tribes that make up the Oceti Sakowin are sixteen in number, and they are: Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana; Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota; Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota; Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe of South Dakota; Lower Brule Sioux Tribe of the Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota; Lower Sioux Indian Community in the State of Minnesota; Oglala Sioux Tribe, Prairie Island

[24] María Nieves Zedeño and Robert Christopher Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report* (Tucson: University of Arizona, Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, 2004), 1-11. Also see table on page vi.

Indian Community in the State of Minnesota; Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota;, Santee Sioux Nation, Nebraska; Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of Minnesota; Sisseston-Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation, South Dakota; Spirit Lake Tribe, South Dakota; Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North and South Dakota; Upper Sioux Community, Minnesota; and Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota.[25]



Figure 5. Joyce Big Soldier Miller, Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma, Winnewissa Falls, May 2013. (Photo by the authors.)

The remainder of this chapter provides a brief introduction to each of the twenty-three culturally affiliated tribes. The purpose is to connect the Pipestone story with the contemporary geography of Indian Country, and to highlight the fact that the Pipestone Quarry has significance for numerous tribes in more than a half dozen states. In what follows, the description, history, and cultural information has

[25] Tribal names are used as they appear in the Federal Register/Vol. 8 No. 9/Wednesday, January 14, 2015/Notices. https://www.federalregister.gov/articles/2013/05/06/2013-10649/indian-entities-recognized-and-eligible-to-receive-services-from-the-united-states-bureau-of-indian#h-6 <June 6, 2015>.

been directly quoted from each of the affiliated tribe's official websites. In some cases, when that information is not available, descriptions have been quoted from the Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center website. Known oral traditions specific to Pipestone have been included at the end of each section of the affiliated tribe. It bears repeating that in addition to the twenty-three culturally affiliated tribes discussed below, there are other tribes that are traditionally associated with Pipestone National Monument, including the Cheyenne, Ojibwe, Pawnee, Sac and Fox, and the Shoshone, who have oral traditions specifically related to the Pipestone Quarry.

Great Oasis

"Great Oasis" is a term used by archeologists to define a cultural period that developed in the eastern prairielands around A.D. 900 to 1150. Recognized chiefly from pottery styles, it represents a transition between the Late Woodland Tradition and the Initial Variant of the Middle Missouri Tradition. Archeological remains found at Pipestone National Monument suggest that a prehistoric group belonging to the latter tradition inhabited the area around A.D. 1100 to 1250. Archeologists postulate that the Initial Variant of the Middle Missouri Tradition was ancestral to some Plains Village groups, including the Mandan.

Further support for the affiliation is provided by oral traditions. According to Zedeño and Basaldú,

> These traditions relate a northwestward migration up the Mississippi River and into the Missouri River drainage and mention specifically the existence of an ancestral Mandan village located in the immediate vicinity of the Pipestone; there is at least one known candidate site at the location mentioned in the stories. Likewise, these traditions explicitly mention the discovery and use of the red pipestone by Good Furred Robe, as well as the taboos instituted by Lone Man. Instances of ritual use of the Leaping Rock by the Mandan and authorship of nearby petroglyphs were recorded by George Catlin.[26]

Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota (New Town ND)

A historical overview as presented on the MHA Nation Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Nation: Home of the Three Affiliated Tribes official website:

[26] Zedeño and Basaldú, iv.

The Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish live in the Missouri River area. Historians document the first tribes to occupy this area were the Mandan with the Hidatsa, and the Sahnish, who moved up the river later. The Mandan and Hidatsa people were originally woodland people who moved to the plains at various times. One theory is the Mandan moved from the area of southern Minnesota and northern Iowa to the plains in South Dakota about A.D. 900 and slowly migrated north along the Missouri River to North Dakota about A.D. 1000. The Hidatsa moved from central Minnesota to the eastern part of North Dakota near Devils Lake, and moved to join the Mandan at the Missouri River about A.D. 1600. The Mandan and Hidatsa believe they were created in this area and have always lived here.

According to anthropologists, the Sahnish people lived in an area that extended from the Gulf of Mexico, across Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota. Dates of migrations for all Three Tribes have been determined by archeological investigation of village sites constructed along the Missouri and elsewhere. Many of these sites, although collapsed and abandoned long before, were excavated along the Missouri River during the 1950's and 1960's. In 1995, the North Dakota Historical Society completed the Missouri Trench National Historical Landmark Theme Study that summarized the archeological investigations of the Missouri River area from southern South Dakota through North Dakota to Montana. Many of the sites were of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sahnish origins.

Ethnographers (people who study cultural societies) group people by the languages they used and that were likely to be used by a single group at one time. Indian nations were divided into several linguistic groups. The Mandan and Hidatsa tribes belong to the Siouan linguistic group, along with the Crow, Dakota, Lakota, Yanktonai, Assiniboine, Iowa-Oto- Missouri, Quapaw, Omaha-Ponca-Osage-Kansa. The Sahnish belong to the Caddoan linguistic group, along with the Pawnee, Caddo, Wichita, Anadarko, Skidi, Tawakoni and Waco. This guide links the oral and written histories of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Sahnish to provide a more accurate view of the people. The oral tradition preserved the history and ceremonies of the Tribes through a strict and sacred process, thereby adding to the validity of oral tradition.[27]

The first known account of the Mandan is that of the French trader, Sieur de la La Verendrye, in the fall of 1738. McKenzie visited the

[27] MHA Nation: Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara Nation: Home of the Three Affiliated Tribes http://www.mhanation.com/main2/history.html <June 6, 2015>.

Mandan in 1772. Written accounts came from Lewis and Clark, who arrived among the Mandan in the fall of 1804. They furnished only the location and early condition of the archeological remains both of the Mandan and Arikara. Alexander Henry, a trader for the Northwest Company, came to trade fur with the Mandan in 1806. After Henry Brackenridge and Bradbury came to the area together in 1810, they wrote additional information about the Mandan, but mostly about the Arikara.

The next visitor was the artist, George Catlin, who visited in the spring of 1833. Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, spent the winter months of 1833-34 among the Mandan. Maximilian may be recognized as the best of the various authorities (Will, Spinden, pp. 86-88). According to McKenzie and Sieur de la La Verendrye, the nine villages they visited in 1738 and 1772 were the oldest villages. Verendrye described the Mandan as being powerful and prosperous. The Mandan had not yet suffered the losses from disease and war, which caused them to leave these villages.

Lewis and Clark wrote in their journals on March 10, 1805, “The Mandan's formerly lived in six large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River.” Maximilian says, “After the first alliance with the Hidatsa, the Mandan's lived in eight or nine villages at and above the Heart River.” These villages were abandoned between 1772 and 1804 (Will, Spinden, p.90).

The Mandan have an origin narrative of their coming out of the earth. In relating their story to Maximilian, they came from the east out of the earth and entered the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandan both linguistically, and to a considerable extent, culturally belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal where the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave that area consisted, apparently, of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of those people the Mandan probably migrated a number of years ahead of the other tribes.

The Mandan's have vivid recollections of the coming of the Hidatsa many years later, when they established fixed villages on the Heart River. They describe the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables. They soon moved up to the Knife River (Will, Spinden, p. 97). In the earliest historical accounts, the Mandan were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye said they were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors.

Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes and in trade the Mandan were able to dictate their own terms. Their forts were well fortified. The smallest village he visited had one hundred and thirty houses. Verendrye's son visited one of the larger villages and declared that it was twice as large. There were at least one thousand houses in several villages. Lewis and Clark declared that in the two villages of one hundred houses there were three hundred and fifty warriors. Using that calculation there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandan in 1738 that were dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns (Will, Spinden, p. 99).

The Mandan created a focal point of trade on the Missouri River. All of the plains tribes came to barter for agricultural good and products. Called the "Marketplace of the Central Plains," the Mandan established what was to become the forerunner of trading posts that came later to the area. There is little information for the next sixty-six years. The Mandan prospered and grew more powerful up to 1772. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clark and Maximilian. Formerly the Mandan lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these villages were on the west side and two or three were on the east side of the river. For a great many years the Mandan lived there, when one day smallpox came to those on the east side of the river.

The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they settled in one large village. After smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, the five villages were moved up river to the neighborhood of some Arikara and settled in two villages. A great many Mandan had died and they were no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. All this happened before 1796 and is chronicled in Henry and Schoolcraft accounts. Lewis and Clark found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. Both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, when united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clark describe the Mandan as having united with the Hidatsa and were engaged in continual warfare against the Arikara and the Sioux.

The description given by Lewis and Clark agrees with the conditions two years later when Henry visited them. In 1837, smallpox attacked the Mandan again, raged for many weeks, and left only one hundred and twenty-five survivors. The Mandan's were taken in by the Arikara with whom they intermarried. They separated, again forming a small village of their own at Fort Berthold. In 1850, there were three

> hundred and eighty- five Mandan, largely of mixed blood, that were still alive. Today, there are only a few of the full-blooded Mandan left. The culture has changed, the language has changed, and as a nation the Mandan are practically extinct (Will, Spinden, p. 101).
>
> In 1700, the entire section of the Missouri, from the Cannonball to the mouth of the Yellowstone, was occupied by groups of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow. The largest villages were near the mouth of Heart River. The Nuptadi and Nuitadi bands were living on both banks of the Missouri.
>
> The Awigaxa band of Mandan and the Awaxawiband of Hidatsa lived further upstream at the Painted Woods. All these bands practiced agriculture and were less nomadic than the Awatixa bands of Hidatsa and the Crow. These groups moved little until the close of the 18th century, when their populations were sharply reduced by smallpox and other epidemics. Each village had an economic unit, hunting and protection for the older remaining people, and each had a garden section. The Mandan were divided into bands while living at the Heart River. The bands were Is' tope, meaning "those who tattooed themselves"; Nup'tadi (does not translate), which was the largest linguistic group; Ma'nana'r "those who quarreled"; Nu' itadi "our people"; and Awi' ka-xa (does not translate). These groups combined as the tribe was decimated with each smallpox epidemic (Bowers, 1950).[28]

The Mandan have oral traditions about the sacred pipe. They traveled over long distance to visit the Pipestone Quarry and bring back pipestone, at least until the early nineteenth century, when conflict with the Oceti Sakowin made it more dangerous. The artist George Catlin visited the Mandan in 1833, and recorded this statement given to him by a Mandan man:

> I am a young man, but my heart is strong. I have jumped on the medicine-rock – I have placed my arrow on it and no Mandan can take it away. The red stone is slippery, but my foot was true – it did not slip. My brother, the pipe which I give to you, I brought from a high mountain, it is toward the rising sun – many were the pipes that we brought from there – and we brought them away in peace. We left our *totems* or marks on the rocks – we cut them deep in the stones, and they are there now. The Great Spirit told all nations to meet there in peace, and all nations hid the war-club and the tomahawk. The *Dah-co-tahs*, who are our enemies, are very

[28] Ibid.

> strong – they have taken up the tomahawk, and the blood of our warriors has run on the rocks. My friend, we want to visit our medicines – our pipes are old and worn out. My friend, I wish you to speak to our Great Father about this.[29]

Oneota

Oneota is the name given to a cultural complex that flourished in the eastern prairielands and Great Lakes region from around A.D.900 to 1650 or 1700. It is associated with the Upper Mississippian culture, which included maize-based agriculture, permanent village settlements, and mound building. Two variants or phases of the Oneota culture are present in the archeological record in and around Pipestone National Monument. These are known as Orr and Blue Earth-Correctionville. The Orr phase of Oneota has been firmly linked to the Ioway people of the historic period. The Blue Earth-Correctionville phase of Oneota has been tentatively linked to both the Ioway and Otoe tribes of the historic period. Another variant of Oneota (not named) is present in the archeological record at the Blood Run Site National Historic Landmark (NHL), a major Oneota archeological site that is just 50 miles from the Pipestone Quarry and closely associated with it. The unnamed variant has been linked to ancestral Omaha and Ponca. The name of the NHL and of the portion of the site in the state of Iowa have not changed, but the portion of the site located in South Dakota is now called "Good Earth State Park at Blood Run."

In addition to the archeological evidence, oral traditions of the Ioway, Omaha, and Ponca explicitly mention the Pipestone Quarry as a place where their ancestors lived during their migration. The Blood Run/Good Earth site is thought to be the remains of villages that the ancestral Ioway, Omaha, and Ponca inhabited toward the end of the Oneota cultural complex. From the large amount of pipestone found at the site, it is believed that Blood Run/Good Earth served as a staging area for manufacturing pipestone blanks into finished objects.

Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska (White Cloud KS)

The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska website provides the following information:

> **Location and Lands**
>
> The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska is located along the Missouri River on an approximately 2,100-acre reservation straddling the borders of northeast Kansas (Brown County) and southeast Nebraska

[29] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, 2: 170.

(Richardson County). According to 1995 figures, the Tribe owns 947.63 acres in Kansas, and 181.01 acres are in tribal member allotments. In Nebraska the Tribe owns 280 acres and 210.06 acres are in tribal member allotments. The BIA indicated that there were 1,618.7 acres of Iowa tribal lands in trust status in 1995. Tribal headquarters are located on reservation lands, west of White Cloud, Kansas. Tribal enrollment in 1995 was 2,147.

Government

The Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska is organized and chartered under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Its first constitution and bylaws were adopted on November 6, 1978. The Executive Committee was established as the governing body of the tribe. It consists of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and one member. Each serves a three-year term.[30]

The website also provides the following accounts about Ioway history and culture:

The Iowa Indians (or Ioway Indians) lived in Iowa for ages untold. Women were the heart of the Ioway people, for it was through women that Life passed and children were born. While the men were in charge of hunting, the women were in charge of farming, and owned the fields. In "Working Together," an illustration by Ioway artist Lance M. Foster (Hengruh: "Oldest Son"), it is spring (Behu), the time of planting crops: corn (waduje), beans (honyi), and squash (wadwan). The women of a family are together, out in the field. Some are using hoes made from the shoulder blades of elk and bison. Others are using rakes made from deer antlers. They are singing to the corn and encouraging it to grow, and talking to each other and enjoying themselves. There are four generations represented here: a mother and her two small daughters, and her teen-aged daughter work with the grandmother, while the oldest daughter carries her new baby in the cradleboard on her back. The little girls work right alongside everyone else, because that's how they learned how to be adults. Everyone's efforts were valued, and the family enjoyed itself while they were "Working Together."[31]

The Iowa Indians (or Ioway Indians) lived in Iowa for ages untold. Iowa culture and history was passed on though stories. Stories might be of

[30] Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, http://iowatribeofkansasandnebraska.com/n and Baxoje, the Ioway Nation: Resources on the Ioway or Iowa Tribe http://ioway.nativeweb.org/iowayksne.htm <June 6, 2015>.
[31] Ibid., http://ioway.nativeweb.org/culture/ancestrallife.htm <June 6, 2015>.

> the long-ago time or of prophecies for the future. The stories told people how to live in this world and how to prepare for the next one. In "Only Stories," by Ioway artist Lance M. Foster (Hengruh: "Oldest Son"), it is winter, the traditional time of telling stories. At this time, snakes, the protectors of stories, were asleep and would not hear the stories they were told to defend by Wakanda, God. In this illustration, two families are visiting the warmth of their lodge, the chakiruthan. One man is telling a story of the past as well as a story of the future. The time of the past, of the coming of the Ioway clan ancestors, becomes the story of the future, the coming of a strange group of bearded white men with machines. Finally, the end of time becomes the beginning of time. In this way, everything becomes a circle and things are made right again. This is the way things have been and will be. This is what the stories tell us. As hard as it may be to believe, can we be certain they are..."Only Stories?"[32]

Ioway oral traditions hold that the tribe was once the keeper of the Pipestone Quarry. According to the former Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) F. Martin Fee, the Ioway were:

> …allies to our relatives the Sioux; we were sometimes grouped with the Nadouwessioux. After hostilities broke out between us and the Sioux around 1700, our northern reaches shrank south. Up until that time, we were the keepers of the sacred Pipestone, where any tribe could go to collect the pipestone freely, and it was kept a neutral sacred ground for all. We were just the doorkeepers. After that time, the Sioux asserted their rights to Pipestone as exclusive and kept others out.[33]

The current THPO Lance Foster wrote in correspondence to the NPS:

> We certainly saw the place as ours to be Keepers of, and the Oneota tradition is about the oldest to have used the stone for pipes, and trade pipestone throughout the midwest. The Big Sioux River (we called it the Redstone River) was a corridor for trade, especially between Pipestone and Blood Run/Good Earth. As Dale Henning notes, the big Oneota sites all have significant catlinite occurrence, in raw stone, worked fragments, whole pipes and tablets. From north (nearer the source) to south, the

[32] Baxoje, the Ioway Nation: Resources on the Ioway or Iowa Tribe, "Only Stories" by Lance Foster, http://ioway.nativeweb.org/culture/legends.htm <June 6, 2015>.
[33] F. Martin Fee to Mark Calamia, October 2, 2012, Pipestone National Monument, administrative files, H18 Tribal Consultations, Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska.

> amount/frequency of pipestone decreases, with a LOT at Blood Run/Pipestone, lesser amount at the Leary Site (here on the reservation) and lesser at the Utz site in Missouri.
>
> Our older effigy bowls from our clan pipes have a distinct Mississippian or Hopewellian style to them, especially like the 'buffalo' pigeon bowl which also looks somewhat like a raccoon. Some have fins representing an open hand. Our later bowls are elbow type bowls. The real later ones are the T-shape which are pretty much Lakota/Dakota forms, some call the married man's pipe type.
>
> Although in our territory (at the time) we saw it as a neutral place other tribes could come in a sacred manner to get what they needed as well, as long as no weapons were brought or no violence/conflict. But we also do not want to contradict the traditions of others who may see things differently, even though archeologyarcheology supports our claim as earliest KNOWN connection through the Oneota.[34]

Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma (Perkins OK)

The Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma has the following summary of tribal history on its website, *Bah Kho-Je (People of the Grey Snow)*:

> We are the center of a Sovereign Nation, with inherent powers of self-government recognized as such by treaties and legislation, located in Perkins, Oklahoma. In the Iowa language we call ourselves Baxoje (Bah Kho-je), meaning People of the Grey Snow. The story of our name has been handed down from generation to generation. It was told that at one time the Iowa Tribe was '1100' strong, meaning the warriors or men numbered that many. When men had to leave our village, upon their return, they looked down from a rise and they saw that our village had been burned. At this point, we have lost some of the translation to the story – it could have been another tribe or others that had burned it. But it appeared as though the village was covered with "Grey Snow," even though the winter season was not upon us. For you see, the ashes had settled over the village site and all that was visible to the warriors were the burned remnants of what used to be our homes. Other versions of this story have been printed, but this is the one that we have been told.
>
> The Ioway, lived for the majority of its recorded history in what is now the state of Iowa; therefore, the state of Iowa takes its name after the Ioway people. Also, our language is of the Chiwere dialect of the Sioux

[34] Lance Foster email correspondence to Michele Curran, March 10, 2015.

> Nation. We began as a Woodland culture, but because of the migration to the south and west, we began to pick up elements of the Plains Culture. In the earliest historical period of 1600, the Ioway, descendants of the Oneota, were in the area of the Red Pipestone Quarry in southwestern Minnesota. In 1730 they were found living in villages in the Lake Okoboji and Spirit Lake Region of Northwest Iowa. They moved south to the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa. In the middle of the 18th century, part of them moved up along the Des Moines River. The remainder established themselves on the Grand and Platte Rivers in Missouri. In treaties, they ceded their claims to lands in Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. The Treaty of 1836 assigned part of them to a reservation along the Great Nemaha River in Nebraska and Kansas. Later, some of the Ioway were moved to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. The original Iowa Reservation in Oklahoma was established by Executive Order dated August 15, 1883. The Iowa Nation is now divided into two tribes. The Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma, and the Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska: their tribal headquarters are located in Whitecloud, Kansas.
>
> The way of life within the Ioway people has survived by a deep spirituality and strength that enabled them to conceive in their own way and on their own ground how to sustain hardship, injustice, and confront the historical changes forced upon them. The Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma is complete with its own constitution and bylaws. There are many aspects of the Tribal Government, all necessary to ensure the best for our tribal community and members. As of today, we have over 800 members enrolled within the tribe and a jurisdictional area covering all or parts of Payne, Oklahoma, Lincoln, and Logan counties. We are also the largest employer in the area with over 160 employees in several different departments, including Administration, Accounting Departments for the various Tribal Enterprises that also include three casinos spread throughout our jurisdiction, and a tribal operated police and fire department.[35]

Omaha Tribe of Nebraska (Macy NE)

The Omaha Tribe of Nebraska's website contains this history of the tribe's movements and cultural adaptations from 1600 to 1856:

> The Omaha tribe began as a larger woodland tribe comprising both the Omaha and Quapaw tribes. This tribe coalesced and inhabited the area

[35] Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma, "Bah kho-je (People of the Grey Snow)," at www.bahkhoje.com <April 30, 2015>.

near the Ohio and Wabash rivers around year 1600. As the tribe migrated west, it split into what became the Omaha and the Quapaw tribes. The Quapaw settled in what is now Arkansas and the Omaha tribe, known as U-Mo'n-Ho'n ("upstream") settled near the Missouri River in what is now northwestern Iowa. Another division happened when the Ponca became an independent tribe, but they tended to settle near the Omaha.

The first European journal reference to the Omaha tribe was made by Pierre-Charles Le Sueur in 1700. Informed by reports, he described an Omaha village with 400 dwellings and a population of about 4,000 people. It was located on the Big Sioux River near its confluence with the Missouri River, near present-day Sioux City, Iowa. The French then called it "The River of the Mahas."

In 1718, the French cartographer Guillaume Delisle mapped the tribe as "The Maha, a wandering nation", along the northern stretch of the Missouri River. French fur trappers found the Omaha on the eastern side of the Missouri River in the mid-18th century. The Omaha were believed to have ranged from the Cheyenne River in South Dakota to the Platte River in Nebraska. Around 1734 the Omaha established their first village west of the Missouri River on Bow Creek in present-day Cedar County, Nebraska.

Around 1775 the Omaha developed a new village, probably located near Homer, Nebraska. Ton won tonga, also called the "Big Village," the village of Chief Blackbird. At this time, the Omaha controlled the fur trade on the Upper Missouri River. About 1795, the village had around 1,100 people.

Around 1800 a smallpox epidemic, resulting from contact with Europeans, swept the area, reducing the tribe's population by killing approximately one-third of its members. Chief Blackbird was among those who died that year. Blackbird had established trade with the Spanish and French and used trade as a security measure to protect his people. Aware they traditionally lacked a large population as defense from neighboring tribes, Blackbird believed that fostering good relations with white explorers and trading was the key to their survival. The Spanish built a fort nearby and traded regularly with the Omaha during this period.

After the United States made the Louisiana Purchase and exerted pressure on the trading in this area, there was a proliferation of different kinds of goods among the Omaha: tools and clothing became prevalent, such as scissors, axes, top hats and buttons. Women took on more manufacturing of goods for trade, as well as hand farming, perhaps because of evolving technology. Those women buried after 1800 had

> shorter, more strenuous lives; none lived past the age of 30. But they also had larger roles in the tribe's economy, as the later women's skeletons were buried with more silver artifacts than those of the men or of women before 1800. After the archeological excavation and research on those burials, the tribe reburied the ancestral remains in 1991.
>
> When Lewis and Clark visited Ton-wa-tonga in 1804, most of the inhabitants were gone on a seasonal buffalo hunt. The expedition met with the Oto Indians, who were also Siouan speaking. The explorers were led to the gravesite of Chief Blackbird before continuing on their expedition west. In 1815 the Omaha made their first treaty with the United States, one called a "treaty of friendship and peace." No land was relinquished by the tribe.
>
> Semi-permanent Omaha villages lasted from 8 to 15 years. They created sod houses for winter dwellings, which were arranged in a large circle in the order of the five clans or gentes of each moiety, to keep the balance between the Sky and Earth parts of the tribe. Eventually, disease and Sioux aggression from the north forced the tribe to move south. Between 1819 and 1856, they established villages near what is now Bellevue, Nebraska, and along Papillion Creek.[36]

Also on the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska's website, they share the following cultural accounting:

> In pre-settlement times, the Omaha had an intricately developed social structure that was closely tied to the people's concept of an inseparable union between sky and earth. This union was viewed as critical to perpetuation of all living forms and pervaded Omaha culture.
>
> The tribe was divided into two moieties or half-tribes, the Sky People (Insta'shunda) and the Earth People (Hon'gashenu). Sky people were responsible for the tribe's spiritual needs and Earth people for the tribe's physical welfare. Each moiety was composed of five clans or gente. Each gens had a hereditary chief through the male lines, as the tribe had a patrilineal system of descent and inheritance. Children were considered to be born to their father's clan.
>
> The hereditary chiefs and clan structures still existed at the time the elders and chiefs negotiated with the United States to cede most of their land in Nebraska in exchange for protection and cash annuities. Only men born into hereditary lines or adopted into the tribe could become

[36] Omaha Tribe of Nebraska, "History: Where We Came From" at www.omaha-nsn.gov <April 30, 2015>.

chiefs; Joseph LaFlesche (Iron Eye) was adopted by the chief Big Elk in the 1840s. Big Elk designated LaFlesche as his son and successor chief of the Weszinste. LaFlesche was the last recognized head chief selected by the traditional ways and the only chief with any European ancestry. He served for decades from 1853.[37]

The Sacred Pole

The Omaha revere an ancient Sacred Pole made of cottonwood that dates from before the time of their migration to the Missouri. It is called Umo^{n}'ho^{n}'ti (meaning "The Real Omaha") and considered to be a person. It was kept in a Sacred Tent in the center of the village, where only men who were members of the Holy Society could enter.

In 1888 Francis La Flesche, a young Omaha anthropologist, helped arrange for his colleague Alice Fletcher to take the Sacred Pole to the Peabody Museum of ArcheologyArcheology and Ethnology at Harvard University. There the Sacred Pole and its stories were to be preserved, at a time when the tribe's continuity seemed threatened by pressure for assimilation. The tribe was considering burying the Pole with its last keeper after his death. The last renewal ceremony for the pole was held in 1875, and the last buffalo hunt in 1876. La Flesche and Fletcher gathered and preserved stories about the Sacred Pole by its last keeper, Yellow Smoke, a holy man of the Hong'a gens.

In the twentieth century, about 100 years after the Pole had been transferred, the tribe negotiated with the Peabody Museum for its return. The tribe planned to install the Sacred Pole in a cultural center that is to be built. When the museum returned the Sacred Pole to the tribe in July 1989, the Omaha held an August pow-wow in celebration.

The Sacred Pole is said to represent the body of a man. The name by which it is known, a-kon-da-bpa, is the word used to designate the leather bracer worn upon the wrist of an Indian for protection from the bow string (of the weapon of bow and arrow). This name demonstrates that the pole was intended to symbolize a man, as no other creature could wear a bracer. It also indicated that the man thus symbolized was one who was both a provider for and a protector of his people.[38]

After crossing the Mississippi River, the Omaha completed their journey somewhere in the vicinity of the Pipestone Quarry. In some versions of the

[37] Omaha Tribe of Nebraska, "Culture: What Defines Us" at http://omaha-nsn.gov/tribe/culture/ <May 20, 2014>.
[38] Ibid.

migration story, the upriver group lived for a time near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers below a high bluff, and later, when they resumed their migration up the Missouri, they broke into separate tribes. The Osage went up the Osage River, the Kansa went farther up the Missouri, and the Omaha went up the Des Moines River into present-day Iowa. One version of the migration story, told by tribal member Francis La Flesche to ethnographer Alice C. Fletcher, concludes with a reference to the Pipestone Quarry:

> The people were moving down the Uha'i ke river. When they came to a wide river they made skin boats in which to cross the river. As they were crossing, a storm came up. The Omaha and Iowa got safely across, but the Quapaw drifted down the stream and were never seen again until within the last century. When the Iowa made their landing they camped in a sandy place. The strong wind blew the sand over the people and gave them a grayish appearance. From this circumstance they called themselves *Pa'xude*, "gray head," and the Omaha have known them by that name ever since. The Iowa accompanied the Omaha up the Mississippi to a stream spoken of as "Raccoon river" – probably the Des Moines, and the people followed this river to its headwaters, which brought them into the region of the Pipestone quarry.[39]

In 1884, Joseph LaFlesche and Two Crows relate this account from the Omaha:

> The two sacred pipes still in existence are kept by the Iñke-sabe gens. These pipes are called "Niniba waqube," Sacred Pipes, or "Niniba jide," Red Pipes. They are made of the red pipestone which is found in the famous red pipestone quarry. The stems are nearly flat and are worked near the mouth-piece with porcupine quills.[40]

Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians, Oklahoma (Redrock OK)

The Otoe-Missouria Tribe has the following summary of tribal history on its website:

> At one time the Otoes and Missourias, along with the Winnebago and Iowa Tribes, were part of a single tribe that lived in the Great Lakes Region of the United States. In the 16th century the tribes separated from

[39] Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (1911, reprint; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 36.
[40] Zedeño and Basaldú , 79.

each other and migrated west and south although they still lived near each other in the lower Missouri River Valley.

The Otoes also call themselves Jiwere (jee-WEH-ray) and the Missourias who call themselves Nutachi (noo-TAH-chi) were related to each other in language and customs, but they were still two distinct people.

The state of Nebraska gets its name from the Otoe-Missourias. It is from two Otoe-Missouria words "Ni Brathge" (nee BRAHTH-gay) which means "water flat". This name came from the Platte River which flows through the state and at some places moves so slowly and calmly that it is flat.

The state of Missouri and the Missouri River are both named after the Missouria Tribe, which once lived in the region and controlled traffic and trade along the Missouri River and its tributaries. Trade was a vital part of Otoe and Missouria life for centuries. They traded with the Spanish, French and Americans for various goods. All three nations courted the Otoes and Missourias for exclusive trading agreements.

In the summer of 1804, the Otoe and Missouria were the first tribes to hold Council with Lewis and Clark in their official role as representatives of President Jefferson. The captains presented to the chiefs a document that offered peace while at the same time established the sovereignty of the United States over the tribe.

Unfortunately, contact with Europeans also brought new diseases. Smallpox decimated both tribes and weakened their hold on the region. The Missouria Tribe lost many people to disease and warfare with other tribes killed many of the healthy warriors. In the late 1700s, with few people remaining, the Missourias went to live with their relatives the Otoes.

The Otoe-Missourias were predominately hunter-gatherers. They did grow and harvest corn, beans and squash, but this mostly subsistence farming was intended to supplement the bison and other game that made up the majority of the Otoe-Missouria diet. As was their tradition, the tribes would migrate to follow the buffalo, but they stayed in a general area of Nebraska, Iowa, Missouria and Kansas.

The traditional lands of the Otoe-Missouria people were desirable farming lands to the settlers from the east. As more and more settlers came onto Otoe-Missouria land, the tribal people fought to protect it. Although a small tribe, the Otoe-Missourias bravely fought any who attacked them including the white settlers who had essentially squatted on the tribe's land. This created a conflict for the United States government and they took action to protect settlers. In 1855 the Otoe-Missouria people were

confined by the United States government to a reservation on the Big Blue River in southeast Nebraska.

Life on the Big Blue Reservation was hard. The tribe was not allowed to hunt for buffalo. The government encouraged a shift from a migratory lifestyle to an agrarian one without consideration of long established tradition or social structure. For years the tribe watched as acre by acre of their land was sold off by the government to non-Indians. They suffered as treaties were broken and food, medicine, livestock and basic essentials were not delivered as promised. Sickness was rampant, children starved and the mortality rate climbed higher year after year.

In 1881 they were moved to Red Rock, Oklahoma, where the tribe is currently located. Otoe and Missouria children were taken away from their parents and sent to government boarding schools to be "civilized". The children had to learn English. Tribal elders remember being punished for speaking their native language at school. The stigma of speaking the traditional language passed into the home. Some tribal members did not teach their children their language because they did not want them to be punished in school or because they thought it would be better for them to learn "white ways."

Because so many of the traditions and the language were discouraged by the government, much of the language has been lost. Today the tribe is struggling to maintain what knowledge of the language still exists. Some of the information gathered by the tribe regarding the language was document by non-Indians, missionaries and government agents.

In 1834, a missionary named Reverend Moses Merrill created a system of writing the Otoe language. He published a book of Otoe church hymns called Wdtwhtl Wdwdklha Tva Eva Wdhonetl. The title of the book translates to "Otoe book their song sacred". This book is considered to be the first book ever published in Nebraska.

Otoe-Missouria land was again taken from the tribe in 1887 when the U.S. government passed the Dawes Act. The act provided for the distribution of tribally held lands in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) into individually-owned parcels. This broke up the Otoe-Missouria reservation and opened land deemed as "surplus" to settlement by non-Indians and development by railroads. It was not long before one-half of the allotted lands were lost from Indian possession due to arbitrary and exploitive practices of so-called guardians. The Otoe-Missourias fought in court for justice and received judgment on their land claims case in the 1960s.

> Today most of the nearly 3,000 tribal members still live in the state of Oklahoma, but there are members who live throughout the United States including New Jersey, California, Hawaii and Alaska. The tribe is still one of the smaller tribes in Oklahoma, but led by a progressive Tribal Council, they have parlayed their gaming revenue into long-term investment in other sustainable industries including retail ventures, loan companies, agriculture, natural resource development, hospitality, entertainment and several other projects still in development. Tribal members perpetuate tribal traditions with feasts, dances, an annual powwow and song leaders continue lineage, clan and tribal ties.[41]

The tribe's website also contains the following creation story:

> Today there are seven surviving clans in the tribe. These are the Bear, Beaver, Elk, Eagle, Buffalo, Pigeon and Owl. The story that follows is one of many versions that describe the origin of these clans.
>
> Nothing existed at the beginning, except an abundance of water. It flowed everywhere, eventually pushing all life out of it. In time, the water receded and land surfaced. Vegetation sprouted. Forests reached towering heights. In the recesses of these forests, animals and birds dwelt. All life spoke the same language.
>
> From the life-giving waters, the Bear Clan rose and came ashore. They peered about the dry world, and thought that they were the first people here. But they were quickly disappointed when they came upon the tracks of others which were embedded in the soft mud, leading out and away from the water.
>
> Following these signs, the Bear Clan chased the Beaver Clan, whom they eventually caught. The Beaver Clan, a diplomatic people, suggested that the clans become brothers and live together in harmony, because alone life was so hard.
>
> The intent of the Bear Clan was to kill the Beaver Clan when they found them, but the Bears were soon pacified by their new kin and resigned themselves to the fact that they were not the first people. So the Bear and Beaver Clans kept each other company and were companions at the Beginning.
>
> Some time passed before the Bear and Beaver Clans met other peoples and the two were content to think no others existed. Then it

[41] Otoe-Missouria Tribe, "History, Otoe & Missouria: Five Hundred Years of History," at www.omtribe.org <April 30, 2015>.

> happened. The Bear and the Beaver Clans came upon the Elks, whom they desired to kill.
>
> But instead the Elks proposed that they be allowed to accompany the two clans. After a time, the Bear and Beaver Clans had a change of heart and agreed that all could be brothers and help one another.
>
> Now the sky people came through the sky opening and swooped down to earth, where they found evidence of three other clans. The Eagles knew that there were more people in the other three clans than in the Eagles. The Eagles approached these clans and once more the clans grew.
>
> Having decided to live together, they began sharing among themselves certain things and knowledge that had before belonged solely to individual clans, but it was now used to help all of the clans.
>
> In order to learn how to live, the clans called upon Waconda, the Creator. Waconda taught each clan certain things and gave each group certain sacred knowledge, and therefore, rights associated with a sacred pipe that also was a gift from Waconda. In this manner (of the sacred pipe) the four clans lived.
>
> In time the Bear, Beaver, Elk and Eagle Clans met the Buffalo (head), Snake, Owl and Pigeon Clans. The last two, like the Eagles, were from the sky. The Buffalohead (renamed Buffalo), Owl, Pigeon and Snake (now extinct) had their own people, and this sacred possession they offered to the Bear, Beaver, Elk and Eagle Clans.
>
> At first, this gesture was ignored by the Bears and the pipe rejected. But the Bears softened and finally Bear, Beaver, Elk and Eagle Clans accepted the pipe which was an offering of friendship and co-existence. They reciprocated, making a similar gesture of friendship. So it was in these acts that everything began….[42]

In the Pipestone Cultural Affiliation Study, Zedeño and Basaldú provide the following account about the Otoe and Pipestone:

> Among the Otoe, the Hoot Owl origin story contains a reference to the creation of the pipe out of redstone. In Whitman's (1938:196) version, Hoot Owl and three brothers came across from the great water and, following the eldest brother, they began the search for good land. Each brother in turn flew and touched the ground and became a person. The brothers built a grass hut and began to plan. Each brother would go out to find something good and then would come back to show its siblings. They

[42] Ibid.

> made bows and arrows. Third brother found four grains of blue corn and came back and planted it on a big earth mound. It sprouted. Then, eldest brother went out for a time and in his searches came across a red stone. He made a pipe with a hole, but it was not complete. Upon his return the second brother realized the pipe needed a stem; he found a walnut branch and hollowed it by removing the marrow. Third brother then said that he had found a good thing for the pipe—tobacco. They hunted an otter and made a tobacco pouch from its hide. But it was still not complete, as they could not smoke it. So the youngest brother went out, believing he could find something good to complete pipe. He found a stone and tried to carve it into a pipe, but it was flint, so he could not. But upon striking it three times it sparked and the dry grass caught a fire. He brought back the flint to his brothers and showed them how it could be used to light the tobacco in the pipe. He lit it at the first strike and all smoked.[43]

Ponca Tribe of Nebraska (Niobrara NE)

The Usni (Cold) Ponca Tribe of Nebraska's website provides a history of their tribe as follows:

> **Homeland**
>
> The Usni Ponca Tribe of Nebraska…are believed to have been part of the Omaha Tribe, having separated by the time Lewis and Clark came upon them in 1804. At that time, they were situated along Ponca Creek, in Knox County, near present-day Verdel. They lived in earth lodges, were primarily horticulturists, but also made seasonal hunting trips. They were on such a trip when Lewis and Clark came upon their village. Although the tribe's exact origin is unknown, some scholars believed the Ponca migrated from an area along the Red River near Lake Winnipeg. However, by the early 1700s, the warring Sioux had forced them to relocate to the west bank of the Missouri River. The Usni Ponca Cultural Director states:
>
> > We lived in the Ohio River valley for years; we lived in Pipestone and Blood Run near Sioux Falls, South Dakota, from around 1200 to 1700. We lived in what is now known as Rapid City, near Big Horn Mountain, and a few other places in South Dakota, Iowa and Nebraska When we left the Sioux Falls area we went to what is now

[43] Zedeño and Basaldú, 64.

known as Ponca, Nebraska, and then to Niobrara, Lynch, Verdel, etc…[44]

Size

The Ponca as a whole were never a large tribe. The tribe's probable size in 1780 was estimated at 800. By 1804, largely because of smallpox, their numbers dwindled to around 200. By 1829, their population had increased to 600 and by 1842, to about 800. In 1906, the Ponca in Oklahoma numbered 570 and those in Nebraska, 263. The census of 1910 listed 875 Poncas, including 619 in Oklahoma and 193 in Nebraska. By 1937, the Ponca population reached 1,222 with 825 in Oklahoma and 397 in Nebraska. Today, the Usni Ponca Tribe of Nebraska alone numbers close to 3,500.

Trial of Chief Standing Bear

A very significant moment in the Tribe's history was the "Trial of Standing Bear" in 1879. "We [the Ponca] were forced to move from our homeland because of the Fort Laramie Treaty in 1868. This treaty gave our land to the Sioux tribe. The government gave our land away; instead of fixing their mistake they pushed the Ponca tribe to Indian Territory in Oklahoma."[45] Many died along the way, including Standing Bear's daughter, and, upon arrival, his son would also die.

Promising to honor his son's dying wish to be buried in his homeland, Standing Bear and a small group of his fellow Ponca began the arduous journey home to bury his son. They realized that they were doing so in defiance of orders not to leave the Oklahoma reservation. When Standing Bear and the group of Ponca reached the Omaha Tribe's reservation in Nebraska, the Omaha (sister tribe) saw the poor condition the group was in and took them in, offering them a place to stay and land to farm. Standing Bear and the other Ponca were soon arrested and about to be returned to Indian Territory when their plight was publicized in the Omaha Daily Herald.

As a result of the public sympathy generated by coverage of the story, attorneys filed a *Writ of Habeas Corpus* on behalf of Standing Bear while he was being held at Fort Omaha. As the trial drew to a close, Judge E. S.Dundy announced that Chief Standing Bear would speak on his own behalf. Standing Bear held out his right hand:

[44] Randy Teboe editing notes via email correspondence to Michele Curran, June 29, 2015.
[45] Ibid.

> The hand is not the color of yours, but if I prick it, the blood will flow, and I shall feel pain. The blood is of the same color as yours. God made me, and I am a man. I never committed any crime. If I had, I would not stand here to make a defense. I would suffer the punishment and make no complaint.
>
> I seem to be standing on a high bank of a great river, with my wife and little girl at my side. I cannot cross the river, and impassable cliffs arise behind me. I hear the noise of great waters; I look, and see a flood coming. The waters rise to our feet, and then to our knees. My little girl stretches her hands toward me and says, 'Save me.' I stand where no member of my race ever stood before. There is no tradition to guide me. The chiefs who preceded me knew nothing of the circumstances that surround me. I hear only my little girl say, 'Save me.' In despair I look toward the cliffs behind me, and I seem to see a dim trail that may lead to a way of life. But no Indian ever passed over that trail. It looks to be impassable. I make the attempt.
>
> I take my child by the hand, and my wife follows after me. Our hands and our feet are torn by the sharp rocks, and our trail is marked by our blood. At last I see a rift in the rocks. A little way beyond there are green prairies. The swift-running water, the Niobrara, pours down between the green hills. There are the graves of my fathers. There again we will pitch our teepee and build our fires. I see the light of the world and of liberty just ahead.
>
> But in the center of the path there stands a man. Behind him I see soldiers in number like the leaves of the trees. If that man gives me the permission, I may pass on to life and liberty. If he refuses, I must go back and sink beneath the flood. You are that man.[46]

The outcome was that an Indian was declared a "person" according to law, and that Standing Bear and his followers were free to return to their homeland. However, as all of the Tribe's land had been

[46] *Timeless Truths: Free Online Library: "Standing Bear's Speech" from The Indian Journal* http://library.timelesstruths.org/texts/Stories_Worth_Rereading/Standing_Bears_Speech/ <June 29, 2015>.

taken from them, they had no home to return to. Eventually, 26,000 acres in Knox County, Nebraska, would be restored to them.

Today, a bust of Standing Bear sits in Nebraska's State Capitol Hall of Fame, honoring him for his efforts on behalf of Native American Rights.

Termination

Ironically, as late as 1966, the Usni Ponca would, yet again, be considered "persona non-grata" when the United States government, in its infinite wisdom, terminated the Tribe. The policy of terminating tribes began in 1945. This policy affected approximately 109 tribes and bands and almost 1.5 million acres of trust land. In 1962, Congress decided that the northern Usni Ponca would be one of the tribes terminated. Thus, by 1966, the tribe's termination was complete. The termination removed 442 Usni Ponca from tribal rolls. In effect, this meant the Usni Ponca no longer existed as a tribe and their remaining land and holdings were dissolved. It was not until 1990, almost a quarter of a century later, that the Usni Ponca would, once again, gain federal recognition. As a result of termination and in combination with the negative effects of boarding school education much of the Tribe's cultural heritage was undermined: "We lost a lot but not FOREVER, it isn't lost completely, its only sleeping. The Creator will return it to us."[47]

Restoration

The Usni Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is structurally unlike any other Tribe in Nebraska; "We don't have a land base or reservation—we have service areas that are supposed to be treated like reservation land. We have 15 county service areas in South Dakota, Nebraska, and Iowa."[48] This uniqueness made the Tribe embark upon a vigorous program of educating and lobbying state and federal legislator officials to ensure that its membership receive all the benefits and programs that the status as a federally recognized Tribe of Indians implies. The Usni Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is one of the most successful Tribes in Indian Country when it comes to effective lobbying and passage of favorable legislations and administrative policies.

The Tribe's Legislative prowess developed in the days before its actual restoration. Even though Congress recognized that termination was a failed policy, it required that each terminated tribe bear the burden of

[47] Teboe.
[48] Ibid.

> individually petitioning for the reversal of that status. Congress established six Administrative Criteria that all terminated Tribes had to satisfy for restoration. The Usni Ponca Restoration Committee was founded for this purpose in 1986-87. Nearly all of the terminated Tribes had been restored by this time, except the Usni Poncas. The experiences of restored tribes in Oregon suggested the value of securing state recognition from the Nebraska Unicameral before approaching the US Congress. In 1988, the Tribe successfully lobbied the Nebraska Unicameral to grant their "state recognition" and secured an endorsement to support a quest to become a federally recognized Tribe. Support was also sought, and granted, by various local and Tribal Governments, as well as Indian non-profit organizations.
>
> By 1989, the Northern [Usni] Ponca Restoration Committee drafted language for Federal Restoration of the Northern Ponca Tribe. The first challenge was to secure a member of the Nebraska Congressional delegation to sponsor the legislation. In 1989, Senator J. James Exon and Senator Bob Kerry agreed to introduce and sponsor the "Ponca Restoration Act" in the United States Senate. Achieving this same support in the House of Representatives proved to be much more difficult. In fact, the original [Usni] Ponca Restoration Act was opposed by the Tribe's "home" district representative, because he didn't want "another dirty reservation in the state of Nebraska."[49] There was a concern that the Usni Poncas would one day choose to re-establish a reservation in northeastern Nebraska. Once language was added to the bill to specifically deny the Ponca Tribe the ability to establish a reservation the bill passed unanimously. The process was completed on October 31, 1990, when, then President George Herbert Walker Bush, signed the [Usni] Ponca Restoration Act into law.
>
> The Usni Ponca Tribe of Nebraska is the name used to describe the northern Ponca Tribe after the Tribe was officially restored in 1990.[50]

Ponca tribal historian, Peter Le Claire, wrote of his people:

> They came and lived in Pipestone, Minnesota. While they were living there they found a pipe stone after a hard rain in a deep buffalo trail. They saw the red stone and the head chief was called and he told them to dig it and get it out as God has given us a pipe.
>
> … When they were in Pipestone they started marking their trail on boulders. This was done by the Medicine Men. It was a two-toned picture,

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ponca Tribe of Nebraska . http://www.poncatribe-ne.org/History <June 6, 2015>.

> part of the picture is already on the wall and it is finished and only a few Poncas can see it, make out what it is. We will come to some more of these pictures later. Pa-dah-gah, he was the chief that kept the Sacred Pipe, he was the head chief and handed down to sons and grandsons for thousands of years until by some error, it fell into white mans hands.[51]

Catlin related the following during his visit with the Ponca:

> My friend, this pipe, which I wish you to accept, was dug from the ground and cut and polished as you now see it, by my hands. I wish you to keep it, and when you smoke through it, recollect that this red stone is a part of our flesh. This is one of the last things we can ever give away. Our enemies the Sioux, have raised the red flag of blood over the Pipe Stone Quarry, and our medicines there are trodden under foot by them. The Sioux are many, and we cannot go to the mountain of the red pipe. We have seen all nations smoking together at the place – but, my brother, it is not so now.[52]

The Ponca regarded the red pipestone as a gift from the Great Spirit and worshipped the pipe as a sacred object. A Ponca version of the migration story relates that when the people lived in a village near the pipestone quarry, "they found the pipe stone after a hard rain in a deep buffalo trail. They saw the red stone and the head chief was called and he told them to dig it and get it out as God has given us a pipe."[53]

Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Ponca City OK)

The Maste (Warm) Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma's website is currently under construction. The Oklahoma Indian Tribe Education Guide provides the following information:

> Homeland – present day Kentucky, Indiana, and Nebraska.
> Location in Oklahoma – North central Oklahoma primarily in Kay County[54]

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[51] Zedeño and Basaldú, 68.
[52] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditons of North American Indians*, 2: 170.
[53] Quoted in James H. Howard, "Known Village Sites of the Ponca," *Plains Anthropologist* 15, no. 48 (1970), 115.
[54] Oklahoma Indian Tribe Education Guide: Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma http://www.ok.gov/sde/sites/ok.gov.sde/files/documents/files/Tribes_of_OK_Education%20Guide_Ponca_Tribe.pdf <June 6, 2015>.

Traditionally the Ponca share common social and cultural characteristics with the Omaha, Osage, Kaw and Quapaw peoples. They once lived in the area of northern Kentucky and southern Indiana along the Ohio River, then migrated west into what is today known as Nebraska. The Ponca first encountered Europeans in 1789 when they lived in villages along Ponca Creek near the Niobrara River in northeastern Nebraska. Despite several treaties with the U.S., in 1868 due to an "administrative blunder" by federal agents, the entire Ponca Reservation was given to the Sioux. When the error was discovered, the U.S. government chose to remove the Poncas south to Indian Territory rather than admit the mistake. The tribe protested for nearly a decade, but under military escort, the Ponca's forced removal to Indian Territory began in the spring of 1877. Their trek was beset by great hardship and upon their arrival in northeastern Oklahoma, they found no shelter and little food. After the first two years almost one-third of the tribe had perished and many others were ill and disabled. It was at this time one of the most famous Ponca leader's sagas began. When his eldest son died in 1878, the Ponca Chief Standing Bear and 65 followers began a journey back to Nebraska to bury his son in traditional Ponca territory. Standing Bear was arrested in Nebraska for leaving the reservation without permission. The ensuing trial in federal court resulted in the landmark decision which declared Indians to be considered "persons" with individual rights under the law.

Allotment and the Land Rush of 1889 dramatically undermined tribal lifestyle, yet in spite of the allotments, the Ponca continued to gather together as a tribe for the winter months and take part in traditional tribal life. Late in the 19th century non-Indian homesteaders began moving into areas surrounding the Ponca Reservation. In 1889 Ponca City was incorporated north of the Reservation and then a large percentage of the Ponca land was leased to the Miller Brothers and became the basis for the famous 101 Ranch. As original allottees died, the Miller Brothers purchased their allotments as they became available for sale. In 1911 oilman E.W. Marland struck oil on land leased from a Ponca tribal member named Willie Cries. It proved to be a major strike ushering in an era of unprecedented oil production in central Oklahoma. By the early 1920s local oil refineries began to dump oil waste into the Arkansas River and Ponca City used the river for disposal of raw sewage. Quickly the river water became unfit to drink, life in the river died off and the animals which had lived adjacent to the river all but disappeared, making already trying circumstances for the Ponca even more difficult. In 2010, the Ponca

Tribe would win a major law case against the oil refineries and recover damages made to their lands.[55]

Ponca language

Dhegiha Siouan language family. Ponca is most closely related to the Omaha language. The language has two primary dialects which dissect amongst female and male lines. Today there are approximately twenty fluent speakers of the tribal language. Language materials for learners are available at the tribal complex.[56]

[History]

In the 1700s, the Ponca Indians separated from the Omaha tribe and established villages along the Niobrara River and Ponca Creek in present Nebraska and South Dakota. There they subsisted on horticulture and bison hunts. Until the arrival of the Teton Sioux circa 1750, the Ponca's territory stretched from the Missouri River to the Black Hills. Smallpox and other diseases in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reduced their numbers. Sioux warfare forced their withdrawal to an area near the mouth of the Niobrara River.

The Ponca never warred with the United States, with whom they signed their first peace treaty in 1817. A trade agreement followed in 1825. In 1858 and 1865 the Ponca also signed land cession treaties in return for military protection and economic assistance. During the 1860s and 1870s, droughts, failed bison hunts, and an incessant Sioux threat brought the Ponca to the brink of starvation. Instead of honoring its treaty obligations, the United States ceded Ponca land to the Sioux in 1868. Rather than renegotiate the Sioux treaty, the federal government removed the Ponca to Indian Territory in 1877.

The Ponca removal was grossly mishandled. The United States not only failed to obtain the consent of the Ponca chiefs but also neglected to provide a reservation with adequate facilities. According to some estimates, nearly 158, almost a third of the tribe, perished during the first years in Oklahoma. After the death of his son in 1878, Ponca subchief Standing Bear returned to Nebraska with a group of followers. His arrest and trial led to a landmark decision in federal Indian jurisprudence. The court ruled in *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879) that Indians were recognized as persons under the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore could sue for

[55] Ibid., p. 1-2.
[56] Ibid., p. 4.

their rights. The decision split the tribe into northern and southern bands, as Standing Bear's followers were allowed to remain in Nebraska.

The southern Ponca under principal chief White Eagle settled on a 101,000-acre reservation near the confluence of the Salt Fork and Arkansas rivers in the Cherokee Outlet (present Kay and Noble counties in Oklahoma). They established winter camps along the Arkansas River, where they continued to practice their tribal customs. They leased most of their land to Euro-American farmers and ranchers, including the Miller brothers of the 101 Ranch.

Ponca culture came under pressure in the 1880s and 1890s. Agents and missionaries sought to abolish traditional dances, marriage practices, and religious customs. Despite tribal opposition, the government also imposed its allotment policy on them in 1892, resulting in the eventual alienation of much of their land. The Ponca again came under pressure after the discovery of oil on and near their reservation by oilman Ernest Whitworth Marland in 1911. The development of the Ponca and Tonkawa oil fields caused environmental problems, forcing the Ponca to abandon their winter camps along the Arkansas River and move onto individual allotments.

Despite these pressures, the Ponca continued to shape their culture. Many joined the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show, which allowed them to reenact aspects of their traditional lifestyle. The introduction of the peyote religion permitted them to establish their own version of Christianity. Two educated young Poncas, Frank Eagle and Louis McDonald, were cofounders of the Native American Church in 1918.

In 1919 Ponca World War I veterans formed an American Legion chapter called Buffalo Post 38. This organization revived such traditional war-related practices as the Ponca war dance (*heluska*). Dancing remained the central expression of traditional Ponca culture. Throughout Oklahoma the Ponca were known for their knowledge of songs and dances. They made important contributions to the development of powwow culture on the southern Plains. In 1926 Gus McDonald was crowned the first world champion fancy dancer, earning the Ponca the honor of organizing the world championships each year. The annual Ponca powwow, the oldest powwow in the United States, is held every August.

In 1950 the Ponca organized a tribal government in accordance with the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1936. The tribal headquarters are located at White Eagle, five miles south of Ponca City. In 1961 Clyde Warrior, a Ponca activist, cofounded the National Indian Youth Council.

Warrior's call for tribal self-determination paved the way for a new generation of Indian activists in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Turmoil characterized Ponca tribal politics during the 1970s and 1980s. Accusations of fraud and mismanagement led to a high turnover ratio of officials in the tribal business committee, the tribe's governing body. When the federal government reduced tribal funding in the 1980s, the committee began a bingo operation to increase revenues. Presently, Indian gaming is one of the most contentious issues between the State of Oklahoma and the Ponca community.

Relations between the Ponca of Oklahoma and the Ponca of Nebraska improved after the U.S. government restored recognition to the latter in 1990. Since then, both have cooperated on numerous issues, including the repatriation of human remains and artifacts under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). One of the greatest challenges facing Oklahoma's Ponca community is the retention of their language.[57]

Since 1876, the Ponca Tribe has hosted the nation's longest running powwow. The Ponca Tribe are the originators of the most colorful and vibrant dance in Indian Country (men's fancy). Each Sunday in April, the Ponca play their traditional shinny games at White Eagle, Oklahoma. The Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma currently provides a full range of services to their tribal members to include: health, education, housing, cultural, and social programming. The Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma is one of two Ponca tribes in the United States. The other tribe, which has its own government and tribal lands, is located in Nebraska.[58]

Oceti Sakowin

The Oceti Sakowin or Seven Council Fires is comprised of three divisions: the Dakota-speaking Santee, consisting of four Council Fires – Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, and Sisseton; the Nakota-speaking Yankton consisting of two Council Fires – Yankton (Ihanktonwan) and Yanktonai (Ihanktonwanna); and the Lakota-speaking Teton, the seventh and last Council Fire. Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota are different dialects of one language, and a speaker of one dialect has no difficulty understanding the speech of another. The Oceti Sakowin share a common language, culture, and origin. According to linguistic analysis and some early historical references, it is generally thought that the ancestors of the Oceti Sakowin lived in the prairie region of southern Wisconsin, southeastern Minnesota, northeastern Iowa, and northern Illinois.

[57] Ibid., p. 5-6.
[58] Ibid., p. 7.

According to oral tradition, the Oceti Sakowin began moving westward in pursuit of buffalo, with the Teton in the vanguard. In the late seventeenth century, the three major divisions of Oceti Sakowin – Santee, Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwanna and Teton – inhabited an area stretching from the upper Mississippi to the Missouri River. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Teton, who had become the most numerous of the three divisions, were mostly living west of the Missouri River. Also known as the Lakota, the Teton include seven bands: Oglala, Sicangu or Brule, Hunkpapa, Minneconjou, Oohenumpa or Two Kettles, Itazipco or Sans Arc, and Sihasapa or Blackfoot.

Assiniboine and Sioux Tribe of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana (Poplar MT)

The following is excerpted from the history published on the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribe's website:

> The Fort Peck Reservation is home to two separate American Indian nations, each composed of numerous bands and divisions. The Sioux divisions of Sisseton, Wahpetons, the Yanktonais, and the Teton Hunkpapa are all represented. The Assiniboine bands of Canoe Paddler and Red Bottom are represented. The Reservation is located in the extreme northeast corner of Montana, on the north side of the Missouri River.
>
> The new Fort Peck Indian Agency was established in 1871 to serve the Assiniboine and Sioux Indians. The Agency was located within the old stockade of Fort Peck, purchased from traders Durfee and Peck.
>
> In 1878, the Fort Peck Agency was relocated to its present day location in Poplar, because the original agency was located on a flood plain, suffering floods each spring.
>
> Attempts by the U.S. government to take the Black Hills and bind the Sioux to agencies along the Missouri in the 1860s resulted in warfare, reopening the issues that had been central to the Great Sioux War (1866-68). As part of the Sioux agreed to come in to agencies, part chose to resist. Army efforts to bring in the other Sioux (characterized as "hostiles") led to battles in the Rosebud country, and culminated in the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876.
>
> As the victors dispersed, Sitting Bull led followers north into the Red Water country, where contact with the Sioux of Fort Peck Agency kept the Hunkpapas and assorted Tetons supplied. When military pressure increased, Sitting Bull led most of his followers into Canada in 1877. The U.S. military presence increased in an effort to induce Sitting Bull to surrender.

Camp Poplar (located at Fort Peck Agency) was established in 1880. Finally, without supplies and barely tolerated by Indians in the area of present day southern Saskatchewan, Sitting Bull came in to surrender at Fort Buford on July 19, 1881. Some of his Hunkpapas intermarried with others at Fort Peck and resided in the Chelsea community.

The early 1880s brought many changes and much suffering. By 1881, all the buffalo were gone from the region. By 1883/84, over 300 Assiniboines died of starvation at the Wolf Point sub-agency when medical attention and food were in short supply. Rations were not sufficient for needs, and suffering reservation-wide was exacerbated by particularly severe winters. The early reservation traumas were complicated by frequent changes in agents, few improvements in services, and a difficult existence for the agency's tribes. Negotiations the winter of 1886-87 and ratified in the Act of May 1, 1888, established modern boundaries.

Also in 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Act, which provided the general legislation for dividing the hitherto tribally-owned Indian reservations into parcels of land to be given to individuals. During the turn of the century, as the non-Indian proceeded to inhabit the boundary areas of the Reservation, the prime grazing and farmland areas situated within the Reservation drew their attention. As more and more homesteaders moved into the surrounding area, pressure was placed on Congress to open up the Fort Peck Reservation to homesteading.

Finally, the Congressional Act of May 30, 1908, commonly known as the Fort Peck Allotment Act, was passed. The Act called for the survey and allotment of lands now embraced by the Fort Peck Indian Reservation and the sale and dispersal of all the surplus lands after allotment. Each eligible Indian was to receive 320 acres of grazing land in addition to some timber and irrigable land. Parcels of land were also withheld for Agency, school and church use. Also, land was reserved for use by the Great Northern (Burlington Northern) Railroad. All lands not allotted or reserved were declared surplus and were ready to be disposed of under the general provisions of the homestead, desert land, mineral and townsite laws.

In 1913, approximately 1,348,408 acres of unallotted or tribal unreserved lands were available for settlement by the non-Indian homesteaders. Although provisions were made to sell the remaining land not disposed of in the first five years, it was never completed. Several additional allotments were made before the 1930s.

Educational history on the Reservation includes a government boarding school program which was begun in 1877 and finally discontinued in the 1920s. Missionary schools were run periodically by the Mormons and Presbyterians in the first decades of the 20th century, but with minimal success. The Fort Peck Reservation is served by five public school districts, which are responsible for elementary and secondary education. In addition, an independent post-secondary institution is located on the Reservation: Fort Peck Community College, which offers nine associate of arts, six associate of science, and ten associate of applied science degrees.

Fort Peck Reservation is home to two separate Indian nations, each composed of numerous bands and divisions. The Sioux divisions of Sisseton/Wahpetons, the Yanktonais, and the Teton Hunkpapa are all represented. The Assiniboine bands of Canoe Paddler and Red Bottom are represented. The Reservation is located in the extreme northeast corner of Montana, on the north side of the Missouri River.

The Reservation is 110 miles long and 40 miles wide, encompassing 2,093,318 acres (approximately 3,200 square miles). Of this, approximately 378,000 acres are tribally owned and 548,000 acres are individually allotted Indian lands. The total of Indian owned lands is about 926,000 acres. There are an estimated 10,000 enrolled tribal members, of whom approximately 6,000 reside on or near the Reservation. The population density is greatest along the southern border of the Reservation near the Missouri River and the major transportation routes, U.S. Highway 2 and the Amtrak routing on the tracks of the Burlington Northern Railroad.

The Fort Peck Tribes adopted their first written constitution in 1927. The Tribes voted to reject a new constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. The original constitutionoriginal constitution was amended in 1952, and completely rewritten and adopted in 1960. The present constitution remains one of the few modern tribal constitutions that still include provisions for general Councils, the traditional tribal type of government. The official governing body of the Fort Peck Tribes is the Tribal Executive Board, composed of twelve voting members, plus a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary-accountant, and sergeant-at-arms. All members of the governing body, except the secretary-accountant are elected at large every two years.[59]

[59] Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes, "Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal History," at www.fortpecktribes.org and http://www.fortpecktribes.org/tribal_history.html <April 30, 2015>.

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota (Eagle Butte SD)

The Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe shares the following information on their website:

> Our Lakota Nation is comprised of over three million acres of beautiful nature with three major waterways including the Missouri River, the Cheyenne River and the Moreau River located in central South Dakota.
>
> The Cheyenne River Reservation is home to the four bands (Tiospaye) of the "Titunwan" People of the Plains: The "Mnikoju" Planters By The Water, "Owohe Nupa" Two Kettle, "Itazipa Cola" Without Bows, and "Siha Sapa" Black Foot.[60]
>
> *Lakota Community*
>
> Community is a way of life and it encompasses people from near and far and it also includes those who do not live on our land. We see people, nature, the system of commerce and trade, and even ceremony as our community. We take great care to preserve our way of life which is demonstrated in our communities so whenever we gather for a ceremony, a business meeting, a Council meeting or a social event…we are a community. We gather with the purpose of accomplishing our goals of course, but we also remain aware that community is a time of visiting and showing respect to our elders and seeing that they are well. We conduct our community affairs that set an example for any children who may be present.
>
> We behave with respect for all those present and we enjoy ourselves. We socialize, we laugh, we tease one another and we are relaxed in our approach to accomplishing our goals that were set for the occasion. We still get things done, but we have not ignored the community of all gathered there. In our own way, we keep negative aspects such as complaining and gossip out of our circles. We present all things in light of possibility and options…versus finger pointing and criticism. Thus we build community and make it stronger…we do not destroy the bonds of our oneness.
>
> We strive to remember that what is business related is community related because business choices affect the community and the community

[60] Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, http://www.sioux.org <June 6, 2015>.

affects business because all are intertwined and intermingled in a common web of togetherness. We plan for today, yet do not neglect to acknowledge tomorrow and see the vision of our children in the future. We make our final decisions accordingly. Traditionally, we would consider those of generations far beyond our children, our children's children and so forth. We know our future depends on the strength of our community today.

We must live by this Way because the future depends upon our decisions now, the awareness of the people, and the strength of each fiber of the web that is woven. We look to our ancestors for guidance and to those we trust to make every attempt to secure our people's future. Community is our focus and our way of life. Community is our culture just as it has always been.

We are all one. [61]

Under the "Our History" section of the website there are cited entries about the Battle of Little Big Horn, the Wounded Knee Massacre, and Religious Freedom, and the following:

Our History

If our ancestors were to tell stories of the history and unity of the Lakota Nation... the Oglala (Scatter their Own) of the Pine Ridge reservation, the Sicangu (Burnt Thigh) of the Rosebud reservation , the Hunkpapa (Camps at the Entrance) of the Standing Rock reservation and the Cheyenne River reservation; Mnikoju (Planters by the Water), Siha Sapa (Black Foot), Owohe Nupa (Two Kettle), Itazipa Cola (Without Bows), they would proudly teach that these are the seven bands of the Titunwan (People of the Plains) one of the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires) of the Lakota/Dakota/Nakota Nation.

If the old ones shared today the wisdom they garnered in their lifetimes they would likely explain that human history reflects man's inability to find peace because in peace there is no need for power and man has not learned to live without power. They would remind us of the crisis all mankind faces in the path of destruction of our planet. Greed is killing our Mother. All ancient texts teach of a time of peace after a great travail. The earth is in labor trying to deliver a new and enlightened people that can understand oneness, equality, sharing and generosity. She has labored long. Because we will not be born she is in great travail. We are all children of the Earth, all came from her womb for creation is present in all

[61] Ibid., "Lakota Community," http://www.sioux.org/index.php/main/inner/sioux/lakota_community <June 6, 2015>.

> life if it is as simply defined as the nature that surrounds and sustains us all. Many who are awakened now know…All must learn to walk a Red Road as a way of life.[62]

In the "Our Story, Our Culture" section, the website shares the following creation stories:

> Our ancient story began with living a life of peacefulness, having respect for Mother Earth and understood that all things are related (Mitakuye Oyasin) and alive in spirit. It is part of creation that all things have life and that we live as one and in command of nothing. We do not own Mother Earth but that we belong to the earth. We respect that Mother Earth provides for us and in return we take care of her like she was own mother.[63]
>
> In the beginning, prior to the creation of the Earth, the gods resided in an undifferentiated celestial domain and humans lived in an indescribably subterranean world devoid of culture. Chief among the gods were Takushkanshkan ("something that moves"), the Sun, who is married to the Moon, with whom he has one daughter, Wohpe ("falling star"). Old Man and Old Woman, whose daughter Ite ("face") is married to Wind, with whom she has four sons, the Four Winds. Among numerous other spirits, the most important is Inktomi ("spider"), the devious trickster. Inktomi conspires with Old Man and Old Woman to increase their daughter's status by arranging an affair between the Sun and Ite. The discovery of the affair by the Sun's wife leads to a number of punishments by Takuskanskan, who gives the Moon her own domain, and by separating her from the Sun initiates the creation of time. Old Man, Old Woman, and Ite are sent to Earth, but Ite is separated from the Wind, her husband, who, along with the Four Winds and a fifth wind presumed to be the child of the adulterous affair, establishes space. The daughter of the Sun and the Moon, Wohpe, also falls to earth and later resides with the South Wind, the paragon of Lakota maleness, and the two adopt the fifth wind, called Wamniomni ("whirlwind").

[62] Ibid. "Our History," http://www.sioux.org/index.php/main/inner/sioux/our_history <June 6, 2015>.
[63] Ibid. "Our Beginnings," http://www.sioux.org/index.php/main/inner/sioux/our_story_our_culture <May 7, 2015>.

The Emergence

Alone on the newly formed Earth, some of the gods become bored, and Ite prevails upon Inktomi to find her people, the Buffalo Nation. In the form of a wolf, Inktomi travels beneath the earth and discovers a village of humans. Inktomi tells them about the wonders of the Earth and convinces one man, Tokahe ("the first"), to accompany him to the surface. Tokahe does so and upon reaching the surface through a cave (Wind Cave in the Black Hills), marvels at the green grass and blue sky. Inktomi and Ite introduces Tokahe to buffalo meat and soup and shows him tipis, clothing, and hunting utensils. Tokahe returns to the subterranean village and appeals to six other men and their families to travel with him to the Earth's surface. When they arrive, they discover that Inktomi has deceived them: buffalo are scarce, the weather has turned bad, and they find themselves starving. Unable to return to their home, but armed with a new knowledge about the world, they survive to become the founders of the Seven Fireplaces[64]

Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation (Fort Thompson SD)

The Crow Creek Sioux Tribe's website provides the following introduction:

Crow Creek is located on the Missouri River 60 miles southeast of Pierre and is inside Buffalo County, South Dakota. The reservation and the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe are organized into three Districts: Big Bend, Crow Creek, and Fort Thompson. Crow Creek Tribal Schools include an elementary school at Fort Thompson and a K-12 boarding and day school approximately 10 miles away. The Tribe leases land to ranching families and operates the Lode Star Casino and Hotel.[65]

The Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center includes the following information about the Crow Creek Sioux Reservation:

The Crow Creek Sioux Reservation is located in the central portion of South Dakota, 26 miles northwest of Chamberlain, South Dakota, which is on Interstate 90. The reservation boundaries on the west and south include Lakes Sharpe and Francis Case - the large reservoirs

[64] Ibid., Creation Story, http://www.sioux.org/index.php/main/inner/sioux/lakota_sioux_creation_myth_wind_cave_story <April 30, 2015>.
[65] Crow Creek Connections, http://www.crowcreekconnections.org/index.html <June 6, 2015>.

formed by mainstream dams, Fort Randall and Big Bend dams, on the Missouri River.

The reservation covers an area of about 400 square miles within Hughes, Hyde and Buffalo counties. Of this area, about 35 square miles are covered by major reservoirs and about 201 square miles are owned by the Tribe and Tribal members.

The terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 placed the Lakota on one large reservation that spanned parts of North Dakota, South Dakota and four other states. After the defeat of the Indian tribes in the Indian Wars of the 1870s, the United States broke the original reservation into smaller ones. Not only did the U.S. government reduce the Indians' acreage, but it also splintered the Tribe.

In 1889, the United States reclaimed 7.7 million acres of the Sioux's sacred Black Hills and randomly assigned Sioux families to live on the Crow Creek Reservation, splitting up many extended families. The Crow Creek Sioux Tribe consists of the members of the Isanti and Ihanktowan divisions of the Great Sioux Nation.

Today, the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe's major economic occupation is cattle ranching and farming for 20 tribal operators. The Tribe operates a large irrigated farm under the Big Bend Farm Corporation, guided hunting for small & big game and a goose camp operation. The Tribe also operates the Lode Star Casino. The majority of employment is provided by the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, Lode Star Casino, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service.[66]

The website of the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe gives this synopsis of tribal history from first contact with Europeans and Euro-Americans to the end of the U.S. Dakota War and its aftermath:

Sept 3, 1783

The Second Treaty of Paris was signed at the end of The American Revolutionary War, and a small piece of land to the east of the Mississippi river was obtained, in what is now modern day Minnesota.

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[66]Akta Lakota Museum Cultural Center: South Dakota Reservations, http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/PageServer?pagename=alm_culture_reservations and http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=8654 <June 6, 2015>.

July 4, 1803

President Jefferson announced the Louisiana Purchase to U.S. citizens. This was a giant tract of land that encompasses over 1/3rd of the continental United States. Included with this land, was the part of Minnesota, west of the Mississippi and to the south of the Minnesota river.

1803-1839

Over the next few years, daring Euro-Americans started to explore these new lands, including one Zebulon Pike. In 1805, he bargained with the Dakota to acquire land where the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers meet.

Fort Snelling was built on this land between 1819 and 1825. This became the foundation for modern day Minneapolis as more settlers, tourists and squatters came and settled near the fort. In 1839, the Army forced the Dakota to move downriver, and they settled in the area that became St. Paul.

March 3, 1849

The area officially became the Minnesota Territory. Settlers arrived en masse and begin farming, hunting, logging and trading. Tensions between the Dakota and the settlers grew.

May-July 1851

Two treaties were signed that ceded most of the land in Minnesota to the United States: the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux, and Treaty of Mendota. The language of those treaties suggested good intentions, but one interesting fact remains; during the ratification process, the United States Senate deleted Article 3 of each treaty, wherein a detailed description of the Minnesota reservations was laid out and guaranteed to the tribes in perpetuity. It is also worth noting that the land bought from the Sioux was sold back to white settlers at a massive profit, in most cases ten to twelve times the original cost.

May 11, 1858

When Minnesota became a state on May 11, 1858, representatives of several Dakota bands, led by Little Crow, traveled to Washington, D.C., to negotiate the enforcement of the existing treaties. The trip ended badly when the Dakota delegation ceded the northern half of the reservation to the U.S. government. The land session severely damaged Little Crow's reputation among his people.

This leads us to 1862.

The money promised to the Sioux was delivered via government appropriations that were filtered through either the Upper Agency or the Lower Agency on the Sioux land. What often happened in these situations was that traders would give the Sioux goods on credit, and then would hold back inappropriate sums of money for themselves. Payments from the government were often late due to the demands of the American Civil War.

The Dakota complained and pleaded several times. They were often successful, but in early August things escalated further.

Early August, 1862

The Dakota arrived at the Lower Agency and were met with insults, and derisive remarks. The most famous of which was Andrew Myricks "[you can] eat grass, for all I care." Later, as the story goes, he was found murdered with grass stuffed in his mouth.

August 16, 1862

The treaty payments finally arrived, but too late to prevent violence.

August 17, 1862

Four young Dakota men were on a hunting trip stole food and killed five American settlers. Soon after, a Dakota war Council was convened and their leader, Little Crow, agreed to continue attacks on the European-American settlements to try to drive out the whites.

This is where things become controversial. The Dakota warriors basically marched down the Minnesota river from settlement to settlement, burning and killing anybody they encountered, including women and children. The final death toll was said to be between 1200-1800.

Most Dakota fighters surrendered shortly after the Battle of Wood Lake at Camp Release on September 26, 1862. Little Crow himself escaped capture, but was killed over a year later. He and his son had wandered onto the land of white settler Nathan Lamson, who shot them to collect the bounty.

In total, 303 Dakota warriors were captured and brought to Mankato, Minnesota, to face military tribunal. They were quickly tried and convicted of murder and rape. Some of the trials lasted less than 5 minutes. All were sentenced to death. However, President Lincoln commuted many

of the sentences which reduced the number of those hung to 39. One more man was eventually spared which brought the number of those hung to 38.

December 26, 1862

38 Dakota men were hung at Mankato. This event remains the largest public execution in American history. The survivors were interned at Fort Snelling through the winter, and the reservations in Minnesota were thereby abolished.

May 1863

Dakota survivors were forced aboard steamboats and relocated to the Crow Creek Reservation in the southeastern Dakota Territory, a place stricken by drought at the time. The land would later be flooded.[67]

Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe of South Dakota (Flandreau SD)

The Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe includes the following account of their tribe's history on their website:

> The Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe is comprised primarily of descendants of "Mdewakantonwan," a member of the Isanti division of the Great Sioux Nation, and refer to themselves as Dakota, which means friend or ally. The Flandreau Santee Sioux Indian Reservation is 2,500 acres of land located along and near the Big Sioux River in Moody County, South Dakota, in a region known as the Prairie Coteau, which consists primarily of undulating or gently rolling land.
>
> At European contact, the Dakota lived in Minnesota and Wisconsin. After many years of semi-nomadic existence, and due to pressure from white settlers, the Santee ceded their land and entered a reservation in 1851.
>
> In 1862, the Santee revolted against reservation life, when the government did not meet its treaty obligations and white traders refused to allow food and provisions to be distributed. This uprising, led by Little Crow, was quickly crushed. Twelve hundred Indians, many innocent of any involvement in the uprising surrendered. Over 306 were sentenced to death by a military tribunal, and after President Lincoln granted some pardons, 38 were hung on December 26, 1862. The remaining survivors were shipped to concentration camps (prisons), in Davenport, Iowa and Ft. Thompson, South Dakota.

[67] Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, "Crow Creek Sioux Tribe History," at www.crowcreekconnections.org <April 30, 2015>.

In 1866, the Ft. Thompson and Davenport groups were re-united at Santee Agency at the mouth of the Niobrara in Nebraska. One third were converted to Christianity. In 1869, twenty-five families gave up tribal rights and annuities to become citizens, and acquired homesteads along the Big Sioux River at an area that would become Flandreau, South Dakota.

They soon built their little Presbyterian Church in what was to become Flandreau and that fall, were joined by 15 additional families. This church, built in 1873, is one of the oldest continually used churches in South Dakota. The graveyard memorializes many of those early Christian names who shared in the journey from Mankato to Flandreau.

In 1934, the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe was formally organized and recognized under the authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934.[68]

The Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe website's History and Culture section shares "Pipemaking…The Story" the source of which comes from the Pipestone National Monument. What follows are portions of the account:

Digging the Pipestone

Late summer and fall are the most desirable times to dig, at other times of the year water collects in the pits. After the soil is shoveled away, the top layer of quartzite is broken up carefully with a sledgehammer and wedge to minimize damage to the relatively soft pipestone underneath.

Since the pipestone bed slopes downward to the east, quarries must dig through an increasingly thick layer of quartzite as they quarry new pipestone. Under the quartzite are 1 to 3 inch sheets of catlinite. Quarriers lift the broken sheets from the pits, and then cut them into smaller blocks from which the pipes are carved.

Quarrying here has always been accomplished with respect for the earth and for what it yields. The Sioux traditionally leave an offering of food and tobacco beside the group of boulders known as the Three Maidens in return for this land's gift of stone.

Carving Pipes from Stone

The work of Native American pipecarvers takes many forms. Since the mid-19th century, the inverted T-shaped calumet has been perhaps the shape most recognizable as Plains Indian work. Metal tools acquired from white traders in

[68] Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe: History and Culture," at http://www.santeesioux.com/ and http://www.santeesioux.com/FSSTHistory01.html <April 30, 2015>.

historic times facilitated more detailed carving, but even in many highly ornate effigy pipes the basic calumet shape is distinct.

The shape is further refined by filing. Carvers sometimes postpone filing until after drilling, since the boring process can split the stone. The bowl is secured to prevent movement as the stem hole is drilled through the longer leg of the inverted T, a connecting shaft to hold tobacco is bored perpendicular to the stem hole.

The hand drill shown is wooden with a flint bit and leather thong. George Catlin in 1841 described a drilling process whereby the carver rolled a sharpened stick between his hands; sand and water poured in the hole intensified the abrasive action of the wooden point.

After drilling, the bowl might be left plain, or decorated by carving it into a human or animal effigy or by inlaying bands of metal. Finally, the pipe is polished with a sand rubbing, then buffed to a gloss.

Making the Stem

Stems are hewn from branches of ash or other hardwood. After rough shaping, the branch is split lengthwise. The pith is scraped from both halves to create a narrow shaft. The halves are rejoined and secured with a sap glue and cord. Alternatively, a heated wire is run through the core of a sumac branch to burn out the pith, eliminating the need to split the stem. Traditionally, plains women "dressed" the stem by wrapping porcupine quills around part of its length. Paint, carvings, feathers, beads, and even animal heads adorned the stem and signified the pipe's ceremonial role.[69]

Interviews conducted with American Indians by NPS employees at Pipestone National Monument in 2006 include the following information about the place:

Rick Flute--Flandreau Santee Dakota (Quarrier, instructor of quarrying, and carver)

What happens when you arrive?

I begin getting my boys (three sons and two nephews) ready for the visit here about a day in advance. "Tomorrow we're going to quarry." We begin to start really getting serious the night before we come over. All the boys have assigned jobs while they are here to quarry. Now over a period of time, each boy knows how to take a seam out.

[69] Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone, Minnesota. National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.

Some people who see us quarry are envious and downright jealous of what we are doing. It is not "child labor" that we are doing. It is educational and while they are working I get the boys to think back on how we have it so much easier today. My youngest son, Hepi, especially likes it here. It is also the third year for them to Sun Dance.

How do you feel when you arrive?

When we arrive we smudge with "pejou hote" ***sp?*** (sage) This is an important plant which we believe grows where our ancestor relatives were buried. Smudging in this way gives us an important connection with these ancestors.

It's a real eye-opener to visit here. We try to keep aware of the sacredness of this place. … It is important to understand that a pipe isn't really sacred until an *interpreter* (medicine man**)** takes it into a sweat lodge ceremony. After that, it becomes a "vessel of communication" between this and the other world.

What makes you feel that way?

In the pit it is just like being in the confession booth at a church.

Do you have the privacy you need?

In the beginning (2001) we sometimes had problems with privacy from rude tourists wandering down to our pit. Now we have put up this large rubble wall (between the trail and the quarry pit). If they come here with a respectful attitude we invite them back to watch and answer questions. Others who just come here to look around we don't ask them back here. If they have seen the film (slideshow in the center) they usually understand the reasons for this place by the time they get to us. We have a system worked out that one boy stays on top outside the quarry to answer any questions people might bring with them. They take turns, so it gives all of them a chance to practice at being articulate, even if they are shy at first.

How long have you been quarrying?

Since 2001 – We are now in our fifth year. I make about one pipe per year. I give it away as an offering for getting good stone from this place. The rest of the stone, I take to my yard around my house in Flandreau. It helps to protect my property.

The majority of this stone ends up being given to medicine men or other people we work with. Sometimes we can bring our family to a ceremony or an event of some kind for free in exchange for the pipestone.

Much goes to my medicine man who runs a Sun Dance near Cedar Creek.[70]

Lee Taylor--Flandreau Santee Dakota (Quarrier and pipe carver)

My first memory of this place is when I was a really little kid. The thing I remember most is the old contact station and the 1 pound cannon ball that used to be there. It was from the Civil War when some soldiers stopped here, they gave the Indians the cannon ball to use to break the quartzite. It sure was beat up too, I'm sure they had used it for breaking rock.

I also remember when the steam train came through here. I rode it with my Grandmother from Flandreau to the depot at Pipestone so we could go to Roe's Trading Post. … The trail along the south quarry line used to be on the east side of the quarries (laughs); that didn't work to well since most of it is gone now that we have quarried that far eastward. You can still see it in some places (points to a high area adjacent to his quarry that appears to have been built up.)

Back when my grandfather was here quarrying, no one else was here. My grandmother, Julia Crow came here from Santee Nebraska. Harvey Derby came right after him and then the Bryan's and the Crow's....

Quarrying is many things: spiritual, physical, mechanical, engineering. It has a lot of aspects but you're supposed to be out here thinking of good things like your family.

I don't recall having any issues with water in the quarries when I was young but old enough to see what was happening here (1950's). We used to just show up and quarry wherever we wanted since there was hardly anyone here; it was an honor system, you always knew where someone else had been working so you stayed away from their quarrying work.[71]

Lower Brule Sioux Tribe of the Lower Brule Reservation, South Dakota (Lower Brule)

The Lower Brule Sioux Tribe website does not provide a section on history, but offers this message to visitors:

Immerse yourself in the vast, sweeping prairies of the Great Plains of South Dakota, the land of the buffalo! We are the Kul Wicasa

[70] Interviews Conducted at Pipestone National Monument in 2006, by National Park Service Employees, Pipestone National Monument, September 21, 2006.
[71] Ibid., November 21, 2006.

Oyate (Lower Brule Sioux Tribe), a band of the Lakota Nation. We warmly welcome visitors to our homeland along Mni Sose, the Missouri River, a place of endless recreational and educational opportunities and unforgettable experiences!

The Native American Scenic Byway winds through the valley breaks and broad river terraces of the Reservation, now and then rising to the river bluffs, with their spectacular views of the Missouri and the vast grasslands that extend west over the horizon to the Black Hills.

The Buffalo Interpretive Center, on one of the Tribe's buffalo pastures along the Byway just seven miles southeast of Ft. Pierre, offers visitors a glimpse into the life and traditions of the Lakota people, past and present. The gift shop offers craft items made by local artisans.

The Reservation is rich in natural life. Pronghorn antelope, and mule and whitetail deer, roam freely, there are prairie dog towns scattered across the uplands and valleys, and the Tribe maintains a six square mile wildlife reserve for buffalo and elk. Pheasants, wild turkeys and other game birds are abundant, and Lake Sharpe, a Missouri River reservoir, teems with walleye and other fish. The river valley is a natural focus for migratory birds, with enormous flights of snow geese and Canada geese covering the skies in the spring and fall seasons.

The Visitor Information Center in the town of Lower Brule provides current information on attractions, activities and summer programs. The annual Lower Brule Fair, Powwow and Rodeo is a colorful, exciting, and highly recommended stop the second weekend in August.[72]

The Akta Lakota Cultural Center has the following information on the Lower Brule:

The Lower Brule Sioux Reservation is located in the central portion of South Dakota, 15 miles southeast of Pierre, SD and 16 miles north of Reliance, SD on Interstate 90.

The reservation boundaries on the east and north include Lakes Sharpe and Francis Case, the large reservoirs formed by mainstream dams on the Missouri River.

The reservation covers an area of about 404 square miles within Lyman and Stanley counties. Of this area, about 35 square miles are covered by major reservoirs and about 201 square miles are owned by the Tribe and Tribal members.

[72] Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, "Lower Brule Sioux Tribe," at www.lbst.org <April 30, 2015>.

The terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 placed the Lakota on one large reservation that covered parts of North Dakota, South Dakota, and four other states. After the defeat of the Indian tribes during the Indian Wars of the 1870s, the United States created several smaller reservations. In 1889, the government confiscated 7.7 million acres of the Sioux's sacred Black Hills and relegated the Brule to the small reservation along the banks of the Missouri River.

The Tribes of the Great Sioux Nation signed treaties with the United States in 1824, 1851, 1865, and 1868, which are legal documents that established their boundaries and recognized their rights as sovereign governmental entities. Today there are 6 members on the Lower Brule Tribal Council whom are elected by the tribal members.

The Lower Brule Sioux Tribe has always been known among the Lakota Nation as the *Kul Wicasa Oyate* and with the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, or Upper Brules composed the Sicangu Oyate, the Burned Thighs. The Lakota Nation or Great Sioux Nation includes the Oglala, Brule, Minnecoujou, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Without Bows and Two Kettle. They were expert horsemen and buffalo hunters on the plains.

Today, the Lower Brule Sioux Tribe's major economic occupation is cattle ranching and farming for 26 tribal operators.

The Tribe operates two large irrigated farms, 5,900 acres under the Lower Brule Farm Corporation, a tribal construction enterprise and guided hunting for small & big game and a goose camp operation. The Tribe also operates the Golden Buffalo Casino and Motel with a convention center, an RV Park and a gas station. A recent tribal venture is the offering of tour packages on a daily and weekly basis including historical and cultural attractions for both national and global tourists from several countries.

Lower Brule is also one of the nation's top popcorn producers.[73]

Lower Sioux Indian Community in the State of Minnesota (Morton MN)

The Lower Sioux Indian Community's website contains the following information:

The Lower Sioux Indian Community is a federally recognized Indian tribe located in south central Minnesota in Redwood County, approximately two miles south of Morton. The Community Center is located on the southern bluffs of the Minnesota River valley.

[73] Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center, http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=8656 <June 6, 2015>.

Approximately 145 families live on 1,743 acres of tribal land. A total tribal population of 982 resides throughout a 10-mile service area and beyond.

While "Lower Sioux" was the name given to our band and our homeland after treaties with the United States in 1851, members of the Lower Sioux Indian Community are part of the Mdewakanton Band of Dakota. The Dakota, which translates closely to "friend" or "ally" in our language, referred to our traditional Minnesota River Valley homeland as Cansa'yapi (where they marked the trees red).

Pride in our history and our culture are the heart and spirit of everything we do. Today, the Lower Sioux Community has almost 930 enrolled members, more than half of who reside on Tribal lands.

History of the Mdewakanton

Minnesota, the place where the water reflects the sky, is the place of Dakota origin. The Dakota have thrived in this area since time immemorial.

Prior to 1862, the Minnesota Dakota, also known by the French term, "Sioux," consisted of four bands known as the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute (together comprising the "lower bands"), and the Sisseton and the Wahpeton (known as the "upper bands" or "Dakota Sioux"), all of whom lived along the Minnesota River.

In August of 1862, young traditionalists in these four bands waged war against the United States following two years of unfulfilled treaty obligations, including the failure to make payment on lands and provide health care or food. Although, some 500 settlers and hundreds of Mdewakanton lost their lives, hundreds of Mdewakanton came to the aid of both non-Indians and Indians during the war.

After defeating the bands, the United States punished the Dakota by nullifying its treaties with them, voiding annuities that had been granted as part of the terms of the treaties, and removing all Dakota from what is now the State of Minnesota.

Many families returned to their homeland in spite of this government imposed exile, and because some had been loyal to the United States during the "Outbreak," those loyalists were permitted to stay on the Minnesota lands provided for the Dakota under the treaties.[74]

[74] Lower Sioux Indian Community, "History of the Mdewakanton," at www.lowersioux.com <April 30, 2015>.

Oglala Sioux Tribe (Pine Ridge SD)

The Oglala Sioux Tribe's official website section of history of the tribe is currently under construction. The Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center includes the following information about the Oglala Sioux Tribe:

> The land that makes up Pine Ridge Reservation is an integral part of the Lakota culture and the economic base of the reservation. The reservation is situated in southwestern South Dakota on the Nebraska state line, about 50 miles east of the Wyoming border. The area includes over 11,000 square miles contained in seven counties; Bennett, Custer, Fall River, Jackson and Oglala Lakota counties in South Dakota.
>
> Pine Ridge, Kyle and Wanblee are the largest communities on the reservation.
>
> There are three diverse geographic regions with in Pine Ridge.
>
> 1. The southern and eastern sections consist of wide open grassy plains.
> 2. The west central section merges into the small eastern spurs of the Black Hills which are further to the west. The result is an area of rolling pine covered hills and ridges, providing the inspiration for the name Pine Ridge.
> 3. To the north of the wooded area are approximately 160,000 acres of Badlands.
>
> The Oglala Sioux Tribe is part of the Great Sioux Nation of the Titowan Division. The Black Hills are located in the center the Great Sioux Nation. In 1874, General George A. Custer and his 7th Cavalry entered the Black Hills and found gold. The Gold Rush started the conflict between the United States and Great Sioux Nation. The United States Government wanted to buy or rent the Black Hills from the Lakota people, and the Great Sioux Nation refused.
>
> The Great Sioux Nation went through years of battles, massacres and broken treaties ... all while trying to keep ownership of their land.
>
> On December 29, 1890, the 7th Cavalry massacred 300 of Chief Big Foot's band of Minneconjou Teton Sioux at Wounded Knee, located on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Years of fighting for their land had finally left the Great Sioux Nation demoralized and defeated.
>
> Today, the Oglala Sioux Tribal government maintains jurisdiction within the boundaries of the reservation. The Tribe is governed by an elected body consisting of a 5 member Executive Committee and a 16 member Tribal Council, all of whom serve a four year term.
>
> The Oglala Sioux Tribe's major economic occupation is cattle ranching and farming for tribal operators. The Tribe operates a large Parks

> and Recreation Department and guided hunting for small game and large game like buffalo and elk. The Tribe also operates the Praire Wind Casino.[75]

The Pine Ridge Reservation has remained a stronghold of traditional Lakota culture. Numerous ethnographic studies have been done on the Pine Ridge Reservation, from James Walker's *Lakota Belief and Ritual* and John G. Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* to a host of more recent studies. Oglala Lakota College, founded in 1971 by the tribal Council, is among the oldest of tribally controlled colleges. The *Lakota Times*, the first American Indian-owned newspaper in the nation, was founded by Tim Giago at Pine Ridge in 1981. The late Wilmer Mesteth, Oglala spiritual leader and former Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, related the oral tradition of the Pipestone Quarry that is told in the film shown to visitors at Pipestone National Monument. That oral tradition is included in the previous chapter.

Prairie Island Indian Community in the State of Minnesota (Welch MN)

The tribal website provides the following history of the:

> **Prairie Island Indian Community History**
>
> Although the rich tribal heritage lives on, an unfortunate series of historical events contributed to great suffering – primarily from the impact of European settlers and the subsequent imposition of government treaties. Many families were faced with countless injustices, forced into poverty, war and imprisonment, and eventually evicted from the Prairie Island territory.
>
> However, hope inspired some families to return to Prairie Island and buy back small parcels of their ancestral home. In 1936, nearly 50 years later, the federal government officially recognized the Prairie Island Indian Community as a reservation, awarding them 534 acres. Although poverty was still prevalent, the culture of home was redefining itself. The seeds of self-sufficiency were once again being planted in these sacred grounds.
>
> Economic revival began taking root in 1984 when Treasure Island Bingo opened, and subsequently in 1988 when gaming was expanded – known today as Treasure Island Resort & Casino.

[75] Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center, http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=8657 <June 6, 2015>.

How the Prairie Island Indian Community Came to Be

Prairie Island Indian Community Members are descendants of the Mdewakanton Band of Eastern Dakota, also known as the Mississippi or Minnesota Sioux, who were parties to treaties with the United States from 1805 to 1863. In the treaty of Oct. 15, 1851, the Tribe ceded much of their Minnesota lands to the U.S. government, keeping for themselves a 10-mile-wide strip of land on either side of the Minnesota River from Little Rock to Yellow Medicine River. However, the Treaty of June 19, 1858, allotted this land in 80-acre plots to each family head. The surplus land was sold for 10 cents an acre. Reduced to starvation, the Dakota were forced to fight for their survival.

In August 1862, fighting erupted between the Dakota and white settlers because the Dakota were not receiving annuity payments for selling their lands and were struggling to survive. This was known as the Dakota Conflict, resulting in the deaths of many Dakota and whites. Thirty-eight Dakota were hung in Mankato in December 1862 upon the order of President Abraham Lincoln.

The Creation of the Prairie Island Reservation

The Prairie Island reservation was created when the Secretary of the Interior purchased land and placed it into trust. About 120 acres was purchased at Prairie Island for the landless Mdewakanton residing in Minnesota on May 20, 1886. Subsequent purchases by the Secretary under congressional appropriations, and later the Indian Reorganization Act, expanded the reservation's borders. Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, an additional 414 acres was purchased for other Indian residents whose names appeared on the Minnesota Sioux rolls.

The Tribe has a limited land base. In 1938, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built Lock and Dam Number 3, which flooded Community land including burial mounds and created a larger floodplain, leaving the Tribe with only 300 livable acres. More recently, in 1973, Xcel Energy (formerly known as Northern States Power Company) began operating a nuclear power generating plant on the island and now stores spent nuclear fuel in dry cask storage containers only three blocks from the community.[76]

Since passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988, the tribe has owned and operated the Treasure Island Resort and Casino together with related

[76] Prairie Island Indian Community, "Community," at www.prairieisland.org <April 30, 2015>.

businesses. The tribally-owned enterprise employs upwards of 1,500 people, including most tribal members. As the tribe's website explains:

> We call gaming the new buffalo because it has helped restore our self-sufficiency. It is responsible for improving life on the reservation, strengthening our Tribal Government, and helping preserve our culture.
>
> Indian Gaming is what gives our Tribal Government the tools we need to operate our community and provide for our people. But it also has given us a new and welcomed responsibility as an employer to thousands of Minnesotans. We are proud to be Goodhue County's largest employer and an important contributor to Minnesota's economy.[77]

In 1935, anthropologist Ruth Landes recorded the following story when she was among the Prairie Island Mdewakantonwan Dakota:

> These mystic women [i.e., Double Woman] were harmless when left alone, but if a hunter became inquisitive or mocking they punished him, causing him to lose his orientation and die in the woods. At Pipestone, Minnesota, in 1935, there was a stone called Standing Rock, which formerly served camping Indians as a windbreak. Here they saw Double-Women oftenest, not in her twin form but by the evidence of sparks flying where the women supposedly hacked pictures out of the rock. Early mornings, insolent little boys used to visit the rock and ridicule the mystic pictures with clumsy scrawls. Once, two "old men" did the same after they found incisions on the rock outlining two running deer pursued by two men with grass tied on their heads. The "old men" realized that these were drawn by Double-Woman, yet they scrawled offensive pictures over the rock. Next day, the two men were hunting. Towards noon they saw two deer lying in the grass beyond the reach of bow and arrow. They ran and ran toward the deer but never reached them; they shot arrows, but the deer only raced north with the arrows. On and on the Indians pursued, growing so warm from exertion that they threw their blankets away and later their leggings until they were completely naked. (The story-teller laughed.) But they aimed steadily at the deer. Day ending, clouds gathering, sleet, rain, and snow falling, the Indians left off to search for the blankets and leggings. They could not remember where they had been. Naked, they hacked the frozen ground with knives and themselves

[77] Ibid.

froze to death on the prairie. Next day, people found them. It was Double-Woman who caused them to lose their minds, punishing their mockery.[78]

Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota (Rosebud SD)

The Rosebud Sioux Tribe's website includes the following account of their history:

> In the 1880's, the Tribes of the Great Sioux Nation signed treaties with the United States establishing the boundaries of the Tribes and recognized their rights as a sovereign government. The Sioux Tribes is one of the Seven Original Council Fires and are known as the Lakota. The Sicangu (Rosebud) people are from that Council Fire. The Rosebud Sioux Tribal lands were originally reduced to a reservation by the U.S. Congress in the Act of March 2, 1889 which identified all the Lakota/Dakota /Nakota reservations in what is known as the Great Sioux Settlement. The boundaries were further reduced by subsequent Homestead Acts. The Sicangu people were moved five times before the Rosebud Agency was finally established. Previous agencies included the Whetstone Agency near the Missouri River, White River Agency along the Big White River, Spotted Tail Agency at Rosebud Creek, and the Ponca Agency was between the Niobrara and Missouri Rivers. The Sicangu Lakota (Rosebud Sioux) have the status of a sovereign nation which gives them the right to elect their own officials, regulate their own territory, manage tribal affairs, and create and enforce their own tribal laws.
>
> The Tribal governments maintain jurisdiction within the boundaries of the reservation including all rights-of-way, waterways, watercourses and streams running through any part of the reservation, and to such others lands as may hereafter be added to the reservation under the laws of the United States. The Tribal government operates under a constitution consistent with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 and approved by the Tribal membership and Tribal Council of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior of the United States approved the constitution and the by-laws on December 20, 1935. The Tribal Council consists of a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, a Sergeant-At-Arms, and twenty additional Council members that are elected by the Tribal members.

[78] Douglas D. Scott, etal., *An Archeological Inventory and Overview Of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (Midwest Archeological Center, Occasional Studies in Anthropology, No. 34, 2006), 286.

> The Rosebud Sioux Reservation is located in south central South Dakota and borders the Pine Ridge Reservation on its northwest corner and the State of Nebraska border to the south. The reservation is located in Todd County; however, the Rosebud Service Unit includes Gregory, Mellette, Todd, Lyman and Tripp Counties in South Dakota. The Reservation has a total area of 922,759 acres (1,442 sq. mi.) whereas the Unit covers some 5,961 sq. mi. The Tribal headquarters is located in Rosebud, South Dakota. There are twenty communities within the Reservation including Ideal, Winner, Butte Creek, Okreek, Antelope, Ring Thunder, Soldier Creek, St. Francis (Owl Bonnet), Spring Creek, Two Strike, Grass Mountain, Upper Cut Meat, Swift Bear, Parmelee,, Rosebud, Black Pipe, He Dog, Corn Creek, Horse Creek, Bull Creek, and Milks Camp.[79]

Santee Sioux Nation, Nebraska (Niobrara NE)

The Santee Sioux Nation's website includes the following information about the tribe and a timeline of their tribal history:

> Santee is located in the beautiful rolling hills of Knox County, Nebraska. Santee was founded in June of 1866 when our ancestors moved here due to conditions in Crow Creek.
>
> Modern day Santee has grown as a community with a state of the art health clinic, a new casino, new fire hall, new swimming pool, youth centers, and a new building for The Nebraska Indian Community College Santee campus. Housing continues to be constructed as well as a new justice center. Santee continues to thrive and grow as a community.[80]
>
> May 1866 - The 247 Santees are shipped from Davenport, Iowa. Arrive at the Niobrara River by Niobrara Township.
>
> June 11, 1866 - Santees removed from Crow Creek. Arrive at Niobrara River by Niobrara Township (first site of the Agency was a mile East of Niobrara.)
>
> During the winter, the Agency was moved 3-4 miles East of Niobrara at the mouth of the Bazile Creek, where present day Maiden's Leap is located.

[79] Official Site of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe, http://www.rosebudsiouxtribe-nsn.gov/visit-us/culture <June 6, 2015>.
[80] Santee Sioux Nation, http://www.santeesiouxnation.net/home.html and http://www.santeesiouxnation.net/about-us.html <June 6, 2015>.

Summer 1867 - Santee Agency moved to its present day site, which at the time was called Breckenridge.
1867 - First church built by Samuel D. Hinman where present day Our Most Merciful Savior Church is located, which also served as the first Agency School.
1868 - Fort Laramie Treaty signed.
1868 - First School Building built by Samuel D. Hinman.
1869 - Group of Santee families left to establish homesteads at what is now Flandreau, S.D.
1869 - An addition added to schoolhouse to serve as a hospital.
August 1869 - Santee Reservation Land established.
October 1869 - Santee agent Samuel M. Janney established the first police force of 1 member from each of the 6 bands with the pay of $5 a month.
June 1870 - Tornado wiped out church and school building.
Winter 1870 - Santee Normal Training School established by A.L. Riggs, with an enrollment of 111 students.
June 1871 - Samuel M. Janney builds 3-story chalkstone sawmill on Bazile Creek so the Santees could grind their own grain into flour.
August 1871 - Santee Normal Training School opened its own printing press and began printing the lapi Oaye (Word Carrier).
1873 - Breakout of smallpox epidemic claimed 70 Santees' lives.
1874 - Industrial School opened with an enrollment of 36 pupils and 3 teachers.
1875 - Day schools established by Episcopal Mission at Blessed Redeemer at Howe Creek and Wabasha's Village near the Holy Faith Church at Hobu Creek.
April 23rd, 1876 - Head Chief Wabasha dies.
January 22, 1878 - First election held to elect 2 representatives from 4 districts to replace old chief system.
1882 - Hope School. A small institution for boys opened up by the Episcopal Mission in Springfield, S.D.
1884 - After the burning of the Indian Missions, the girls' school, St. Mary's, moved to Springfield, S.D.
Summer 1884 - A Court of Indian Offenses is instituted. But the court and police force were eliminated in 1891.
February 2, 1887 - Dakotah language prohibited in the classrooms at The Normal Training School.
1893 - Government support of Normal Training school was terminated.
Summer 1893 - First per capita payment is made to the Santee Agency in the sum of $34.93.

1898 - Santee population rose to 1,098.
1917 - Withdrawal of government services led to closing of Santee Agency.
1935 - 2 Room School House built across the street from what is now Takoja Tipi Daycare, which would serve as the primary school after the Normal Training School permanently closed its doors in 1936.[81]

Shakopee Mdewakanton Indian Community of Minnesota (Prior Lake MN)

The Shakopee Mdewakanton Indian Community shares the following information about their history on their website**:**

Before European Contact

The Minnesota River Valley has been home to the Dakota for hundreds of years; the existence of our ancestors was sustained by their relationship with the earth and their surroundings. For generations Dakota families fished from the river, gathered rice from area lakes, and hunted game on the prairies and in the river valley woodlands. Along the banks of the lower Minnesota River, leaders of the Eastern Dakota including Sakpe, Mazomani, Chaske, and Wambdi Tanka established villages. From these sites, the Dakota traveled for hunting, gathering, and meeting with other tribes. Our ancestors lived in harmony with the world around them, and Dakota culture flourished.

Treaty and Reservation Era

In 1805 U.S. soldiers arrived at Mendota, and a series of treaties forced on the Dakota Nation over the next 50 years would see their homeland taken away, their ability to provide for themselves destroyed, and an increasing reliance upon the government's promises for payments and goods. The traditional Dakota way of life was stolen and replaced by confinement to reservations.

After another winter of starvation and months spent listening to the agent's lies about the arrival of annuity payments and provisions as promised by treaties, the Dakota could tolerate no more and were forced to fight. In 1862 the Dakota battled for their homelands, their culture, and their way of life.

The largest mass execution in United States history was the result when 38 Dakota were hanged at Mankato, Minnesota, on December 26, 1862. The United States Congress abrogated all treaties with our ancestors

[81] Ibid., http://www.santeesiouxnation.net/history-and-culture.html <June 6, 2015>.

and decreed that the Dakota were to be removed from Minnesota. The majority were sent on barges to Crow Creek, South Dakota, and eventually removed to Santee, Nebraska. Other Dakota traveled to Canada and settled there. But some Dakota never left their homeland.

Those Dakota who remained in Minnesota spent many impoverished years attempting to gain support and help from the government. It was not until the early 1880s that Congress finally began to realize the strong Dakota presence in Minnesota. In the 1890s land was re-acquired for the Mdewakanton Dakota in Minnesota. For the next 50 years, life for the Dakota people was one of poverty and hardship. Children were sent away to Indian boarding schools, and the government's policy to destroy Dakota culture continued.

In the 1950s and 1960s Dakota families living on trust land in Prior Lake fought hard to make ends meet and to put food on the table. Health care, educational opportunities, and steady employment were out of reach. In 1969 after years of persistence in dealing with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community was finally given federal recognition as an Indian tribe and began the difficult process of creating a government and economic system. During the early 1970s Community members depended on food subsidies called commodities, and low paying jobs were still the norm. The economic reality of life on the reservation was harsh. But Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota families did not give up. Through a number of tribal initiatives, members developed a health care program, a childcare facility, and a home improvement program. All of these programs began to change life on the reservation, though most reservation roads remained unpaved.

Prospects Begin to Improve

In the 1980s, the economic future began to look brighter. On October 16, 1982, due to the hard work of Community members, the Little Six Bingo Palace opened, and this new source of economic opportunity brought many changes to the Community. Tribal government services began to improve, and opportunities for the tribe and its members increased. Healthcare, housing, and education are examples of services the SMSC began to provide for its members.

During the 1990s, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community continued its transformation from an economically distressed reservation to one of the most economically successful Indian tribes in the United States. In this new era of self-sufficiency, the Community was able to use its inherent sovereign rights and growing economy to purchase additional

lands and to radically improve its economic base. In May 1992, Mystic Lake Casino was unveiled, and the impact on the SMSC was positive.

In 1993 a new Community Center was built and dedicated to the children of the SMSC. Diversification of the tribal economy throughout the 1990s was a priority with the opening of Dakotah! Sport and Fitness, the Shakopee Dakota Convenience Store, the Dakota Mall, Playworks, Dakotah Meadows RV Park, and adding the hotel to the casino complex. The infrastructure of the Community went through major improvements as well, with new sewer, water, and roads. New subdivisions offered major changes in housing for Community members.

Growth continued throughout the first decade of the new century. Since the year 2000, the SMSC built Tiowakan Spiritual Center, two additional hotel towers, Dakotah Meadows Mini Storage, Playworks LINK Event Center, parking decks for Mystic Lake Casino Hotel, two phases at Dakotah Meadows RV Park, The Buffet at Mystic Lake, The Meadows at Mystic Lake, the Mystic Lake Store at Mall of America, and opened a second Shakopee Dakota Convenience Store.

In 2002 the SMSC began development of Mdewakanton Emergency Services, a full-time, professional fire and ambulance department staffed 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The department responds to an average of 250 calls and transports an average of 60 patients monthly, providing mutual aid to area departments on request. Six solar panels heat water at the SMSC Fire Station for washing fire trucks and ambulances and for showers. Skylights with daylight harvesting sensors used in the SMSC Fire Station reduce energy use. The Mdewakanton Emergency Services Department also administers the Mdewakanton LIFE Program which has donated 775 automatic external defibrillators. The program has documented 21 lives saved because of the use of defibrillators donated by the SMSC.

At the SMSC Gaming Enterprise, a new Entertainment Center containing a Showroom for concerts and events and a Bingo Hall opened in the fall of 2007. On December 13, 2007, a new Little Six Casino opened at the site of the original Bingo Hall.

In July 2008 the SMSC opened a Water Bottling Facility on the reservation to bottle water for use in tribal enterprises, special events, and for sale commercially. The plant also produces the plastic bottles in various sizes from preformed plastic. In 2011 production began for distilled water products.

In November 2010 Mazopiya, a natural food market, opened as the Community's newest enterprise. Featuring a large variety of organic,

natural, and local foods, Mazopiya also also holds classes designed to help Community members, employees, and the general public live healthy lives.

The Community's newest restaurant, Mystic Steakhouse, opened December 14, 2011, featuring the freshest entrées from land and sea.

Land Stewardship

The Dakota way is to plan for the Seventh Generation, to make sure that resources will be available in the future to sustain life for seven generations to come. Conserving and protecting the earth today ensures that there will be food, trees, natural areas, traditional wild foods and medicines, cultural resources, and open spaces in the environment for coming generations. As a steward of the earth, the SMSC conducts a number of activities to preserve and protect the land for future generations.

Prescribed burns are used to improve native prairie conditions. Wild rice is sown in Community wetlands. Beehives are maintained, and honey is gathered. Maple syrup is made from sap collected from trees on the reservation. Environmental specialists are active in restoring and managing wetlands and taking an inventory of existing natural communities, both floral and faunal. Trees and other native flora are planted. Water resource staff assesses water quality, coordinates the Community's Wellhead Protection Program, plans projects to improve water quality, and implements erosion control. A total of 548 acres of former farmland has been restored to native prairie and wetlands.

A Water Reclamation Facility (WRF) utilizing European technology to treat wastewater for reuse as irrigation opened in 2006. Leftover, treated biosolids are used as fertilizer. The WRF also has one of the largest green roofs in the Midwest, which reduces energy costs and consumption, prolongs the life of the roof, and treats storm water. The WRF has been honored by three entities for its excellence: the Minnesota American Council on Engineering Companies (ACEC), Minnesota Society of Professional Engineers (MSPE), and the Minnesota Governor's Award for Excellence in Waste and Pollution Prevention.

In 2008 a second sheet of ice opened at Dakotah! Sport and Fitness. Dakotah! Ice Center is home ice for the Prior Lake High School Girls' and Boys' hockey teams. The facility features a 32,648 square foot green roof. The facility also has 16 solar panels to heat water for use in the ice-making equipment, skylights with daylight harvesting sensors, and a compressor system and heat exchanger to take the waste heat from the ice-

making equipment and redirect it through the bleachers to heat the seating area.

In a unique collaboration, a compost site created by the SMSC opened for joint use by the residents of the City of Prior Lake in 2008. For three years the site accepted leaves and other yard waste for organic recycling directly from local residents in exchange for use of the City's tree range to grow native trees and shrubs for planting on the reservation. Today, a new 25-acre Organics Recycling Facility is operational. The new facility accepts commercial food waste and yard waste to create compost.

A 1,000,000-gallon water tower was built near Mystic Lake Casino. A second water treatment facility and another water tower were constructed on the northern portion of the Community. In early 2009, a reverse osmosis facility was added to provide enhanced water treatment by eliminating the need for water softeners in Community enterprises and homes.

The SMSC is a partner in Koda Energy, a joint venture with Rahr Malting of Shakopee to produce heat and electricity by burning agricultural by-products and grown energy crops. Fully operational since May 2009 as a combined heat and power plant, Koda Energy is the first biomass facility in the country that burns only natural, non-manmade materials.

Another innovative project now converts the Community's waste motor oil to partially heat buildings, which reduces the use of natural gas. Additionally, each year 18,800 gallons of used cooking oil from tribally owned restaurants is converted into as much as 17,900 gallons of bio-diesel used to fuel casino shuttle buses and other Community-owned vehicles and equipment.

In 2009 a 262-foot, 1.5 megawatt wind turbine became operational in the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community. This turbine generates the equivalent of all the SMSC's residential energy demands, though the energy it generates is metered into a nearby power substation and sold on the open market.

In 2010 the SMSC built two mirror-image buildings using a number of environmentally responsible initiatives incorporated into the building design. A geothermal system for temperature control captures heat and cooling from the ground. In addition, sustainable and local materials, non-toxic finishings and surfaces, water conservation through the use of rain gardens, and other systems make these buildings uniquely "green."

One building is leased to South Metro Federal Credit Union while the other houses Mazopiya, a natural food market. The South Metro building received LEED certification from the Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design Green Building Rating System, a voluntary, consensus-based national rating system for developing high-performance, sustainable buildings, emphasizes sustainable site development, water savings, energy efficiency, materials and resources selection, and indoor environmental quality. The building housing Mazopiya will be submitted in the future for LEED Certification under LEED 2009 for Retail Guidelines.

Honoring Our Culture

To honor our ancestors and continue our Dakota traditions, the Community engages in a variety of cultural activities. Each August the SMSC hosts its' annual Wacipi, or Pow Wow. Thousands attend the three day weekend filled with drums, contest dancing, Native American crafts, and foods. Children and adults are learning the Dakota Language. Each spring students perform in Young Native Pride under the watchful eyes of their elders, demonstrating various traditional dance styles for audiences at a local high school. Members of a Beading Club are learning traditional beading techniques.

Traditional ceremonies and a sweat lodge are also part of the SMSCs commitment to preserving the Dakota culture. In addition, the Community works to preserve cultural sites throughout the area, advising construction companies, developers, and other governments about the sacred sites so prevalent in the region.

The Shakopee Mdewakanton Dakota are proud of our accomplishments, and we honor our ancestors, for it is because of their strong sense of survival and pride in being Dakota, that we have the ability to prosper today.[82]

The initial location of the Mdewakanton Dakota in Minnesota is described in an article in the *Dakota Tawaxitku Kin or The Dakota Friend,* published by the Dakota Mission, Editor G.H. Pond (1851) under the heading "Gatherings from the Traditionary History of the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas." The article stated:

[82] Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community, "History of the Skakopee Mdewakanton Dakota," http://www.shakopeedakota.org/history.html <July 8, 2015>.

> One great natural fact which perhaps ought to be recognized and recorded at the start, is this, viz: That the mouth of Minnesota river (Watpa Minisota,) lies immediately over the centre of the earth and under the centre of the heavens. Believing this, it is quite natural that the Dakotas should infer that their own tribe…is the tribe which is the peculiar favorite of the great supernatural disposer of all things; and it is equally natural that the Mdewakantonwan division of the Dakotas should infer, that they are the most favored family of the tribe. This idea makes them proud. We often hear it expressed in their speeches on important occasions, with evident self-satisfaction.
>
> Among the Thousand Lakes, (Mille Lac,) which dot the region of country which lies around the head of Rum river, is one which the Dakotas call I-san-ta-mde (Knife Lake.) It is said that this name was given it because that around its shores, the stone which in early times they used for making knives, was found in abundance. One days walk from I-san-ta-mde, was another Lake, to which they gave the name Mde-wa-kan, (Spirit Lake.) About these lakes we first find the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas, so denominated because they erected their lodges on the shore of Mde-wa-kan. The name is a compound of three words, Mde, Wa-kan and Ton-wan, (Lake, Spirit, and a verb which signifies to dwell.
>
> The Mdewakantonwans occupied the country extending from the mouth of the Minnesota river, on the south, to the most western point of Lake Superior on the north.[83]

Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation, South Dakota (Sisseton SD)

The Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate website provides the following introduction:

> The Lake Traverse Reservation is located in the Northeastern part of South Dakota and a small portion of southeastern corner of North Dakota. The reservation boundaries extend across seven counties, two in North Dakota and five in South Dakota.
>
> We have a total of 13,177 tribal members located throughout the United States and others serving overseas in the Armed Forces which is one of the many reasons we have created this website to help keep our

[83] "Gatherings from the Traditionary History of the Mdewakantonwan Dakotas," *The Dakota Friend* 1, no. 7 (May 1851), 3. Source provided by Leonard Wabasha, THPO Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community.

tribal members living either on or off of the reservation in touch with their tribe.[84]

The Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center includes the following information on the history of the Sisseton-Wahpeton:

> As river-plains people, the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux farmed and hunted buffalo. Great numbers of miners from many non-Native cultures from the east headed west during the Gold Rush of 1862 forcing the Sisseton-Wahpeton to migrate. The Tribe eventually settled in northeastern South Dakota. The Act of 1889 divided the Great Sioux Nation into smaller reservations, including the Sisseton Reservation. The reservations created in 1889 amounted to less than half the acreage granted by treaty to the original Great Sioux Nation.
>
> The Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota are members of the Great Sioux Nation. The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe is composed of descendants of the *Isanti* people. The Isanti is comprised of four bands that lived on the eastern side of the Great Sioux Nation. The *Isanti* speak the 'D' dialect (Dakota) of Siouan language. They were a river-plains people who did some farming as well as buffalo hunting.
>
> Today, the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe operates under a constitution and is governed by a Tribal Council. The Tribal Council consists of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer and additional Council people who are elected by the tribal members.
>
> The Tribe claims jurisdiction over all right-of-way, waterways, watercourses and streams running through any part of the reservation and to such others lands as may hereafter be added to the reservation under the laws of the United States.
>
> The major economic occupation on the Sisseton-Wahpeton reservation is cattle ranching and farming for a number of Tribal operators.
>
> The Nation also employs a number of people in their plastic bag manufacturing industry. The Tribe operates an irrigated farm, a hunting program for small game, big game and waterfowl. The Tribe also operates the Dakota Sioux Casino and Agency Bingo.

[84] Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate, http://www.swo-nsn.gov/ <June 6, 2015>.

> The majority of employment is provided by the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe, Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College, Dakota Sioux Casino, Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service.[85]
>
> In 1887, T.H. Lewis related a Dakota tradition that could be attributed to the Sisseton-Wahpeton as he was discussing boulders located near their reservation; the story may provide an explanation for the petroglyphs found at Pipestone:
>
> In olden times there used to be an object that marked the boulders at night. It could be seen, but its exact shape was indistinct. It would work, making sounds like hammering, and occasionally emit a light similar to that of a fire-fly. After finishing its work it would give one hearty laugh, like a woman laughing, and then disappear. The next morning the Indians would find another pictured boulder in the vicinity where the object had been seen the night previous.[86]

Excerpts from interviews conducted at Pipestone National Monument in 2006 contain the following:

> **Pete Mucil--Sisseton/Wahpeton (Quarrier and pipe carver)**
>
> **What happens when you arrive?**
>
> I give tobacco offerings and offer prayers when I first arrive to do work.
>
> **How do you feel when you arrive?**
>
> The more 'in balance' you are, the better you will do when you quarry here. If you bring a problem with you and try to work, it can affect the quality of the stone you get out of here….You get another sense after working here quite a while. You'll probably say "Yeah, old Pete is crazy", but I can sometimes sense someone coming here before they even arrive, and sometimes see things that aren't really here. Once I felt two people standing over there. When I looked up I saw an old Indian couple. They talked to me for a while & asked me questions about my quarry, then said to me: "Now we are going back to the earth." Then they were gone. Have you ever heard of the "Choan-chedas"***sp*** ? *(he pronounced Chew-wan-chay-dah)* You know, those little people here. They are all over this place.
>
> **Do you have the freedom to do what you came to the park for?**
>
> ....Don't put yourself above the pipe traditions when imposing rules. There is no use in dialog with people who can't understand this

[85] Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center, http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=8659 <June 6, 2015>.
[86] Scott, *Archeological Inventory,* 286.

thought. It causes controversy and negative tensions with the pipe and the quarries. This should never happen here.

The stone in this pit can vary quite a bit. I only got 20% to 50% useable stone from it at first. I could get two tops and two bottom layers in a row in a good area. I run into bad areas still sometimes. Every once in a while I run into an area in the vein I call "purple snake." – It usually ruins stone from nine inches to one foot wide and winds all over. It was where the clay was laid down different way back and can vary where you find it. It will disappear for a while in the ground and then you will run into it again a while later. Another problem we find sometimes are what I call "black steelies" These are small pin-head sized bits (occlusions) that will just take the teeth off your saw when you cut into them. They are only found on one side of the layer and can be cut out without losing the rest of the layer.

How do you feel about efforts to restore vegetation?

It is good to try and preserve the plants here for the people of the future. I don't know much about their uses. I know there are wild onions here, turnips, and some kind of mint. Sage is used in the hanbleche and other ceremonies, to plug the pipe bowls when not being used, also for smudging.

My Grandpa knew all the uses of the plants. (Jonah Wilson – Sisseton Wahpeton band) They work better than the pills from the hospital. The people are losing traditions like these over the years. Keeping the plants like this can help.[87]

Alice Erickson – Sisseton-Wahpeton (Quarrier, pipestone carver, and former interpretive ranger at Pipestone National Monument for thirty years)

My family has quarried for survival and other reasons. Someone quarried, made a pipe and used it. That's how it was long ago.

When I was young, I remember that old contact station. And the old roads, it looks a lot different now. I remember my parents (Harvey and Ethyl Derby) talking to a lot of people out here, that's what they used to do, sit out along the trail and talk to the visitors. Ephriam Taylor was out there too but he kept to himself.

My mother taught me to carve turtles when I was 9 or 10. I used to help the family sand some of their pieces too. When I was 10 I used to help with some quarrying, hauling dirt and building the rock wall. We

[87] Pipestone National Monument interview, September 20, 2006.

would quarry by the seasons usually to avoid the water. We were always taught that we need to be happy when we come here otherwise the work will be hard. …[88]

Spirit Lake Tribe, North Dakota (Fort Totten ND)

The Spirit Lake Tribe's website provides the following information:

> The Spirit Lake Tribe reservation was established by Treaty between the United States Government and the Sisseton Wahpeton Sioux Bands in 1867. The Reservation is located in east central North Dakota. According to BIA Labor Force report as of 2005 there were 6,677 enrolled members of the Spirit Lake Tribe. Total population within the Spirit Lake Tribe boundaries is 6223.
>
> The topography of the Reservation is generally consistent with the Northern Plains region, with both flat terrain and rolling hills, and some wooded areas. The major surface water feature of the Reservation is Devils Lake, which comprises 90,000 acres of area stretched over 200 miles. There are also numerous small lakes on the Reservation, including; Twin Lakes, Spring Lake, Free Peoples Lake, Elbow Lake, and Skin and Bone Lake.
>
> The Spirit Lake Tribe Indian Reservation covers approximately 405 square miles primarily in Benson County, the southern part is in Eddy County, Nelson on the east boundary and Ramsey County to the north. Total acres, as of 1998, was as follows; total tribally owned is 26,283 acres, allotted (trust) land; (trust) is 34,026 acres, U.S. Government and State is 375 acres. And fee land is 184,451 acres. Total acres within the exterior boundaries of the reservation include 245,141 acres.
>
> The major river surface water body is the Sheyenne River, which forms the southern boundary of the Reservation. The portion of the Sheyenne within the Reservation is approximately 50 miles long: ultimately the Sheyenne River discharges into the Red river, which flows northerly between North Dakota and Minnesota into Manitoba, Canada. Numerous small streams and springs within the Reservation also contribute flows to the Sheyenne River. In addition, the rivers and streams of the Reservation have substantial areas of associated wetlands and prairie potholes.[89]

[88] Pipestone National Monument interview October 13, 2006.
[89] Spirit Lake Tribe, http://www.spiritlakenation.com/About_The_Tribe.htm <June 6, 2015>.

A recent report produced by the tribe contains a Dakota creation story as related by tribal elder Alvina Alberts:

> There was a band of people who lived under the earth, even under the water. There was a young brother and sister, who always played together in the same area. One day, the young boy went exploring. But this time, he went a little farther than he ever did before, until he came to a very different area. When he looked up, he could see something blue. So he reached up and it took him. It was a whirlpool. It took him up to the surface of the earth. He couldn't swim, but he did his best to stay on the surface of the water. When he got to the shore, he was very tired. The water threw him up onto the shore. He did not know where he was or how he even got there. He began looking around. He found this was a very beautiful place. He wandered away from where he surfaced. As he did, he lost this place. He again began to wander around. Meanwhile, his sister was looking for him. After many days, she went where he usually went, but he was not there. She noticed there were tracks and followed them. She hoped to find her brother. The tracks kept going and she kept following. She came to the same whirlpool. She was also very curious. So she reached up and the whirlpool took her. Just as her brother, the water put her on the shore. She looked around, but she did not see her brother. She did see trees and hills. This was a very different place. But she thought to herself, "how beautiful!" because it was not much different from where she had come. She began to walk in the direction that she thought he might have gone. She was also looking for shelter. As all young people of this time, she knew the skills of survival. She did not need much to eat for there were berries and roots. The weather was warm. After many, many days, she came to a stony ridge. From walking for so many days, she became very thirsty. To keep from getting too thirsty, she put a small stone into her mouth. By accident, she swallowed the stone. This stone traveled through her body and developed into a child. When the boy child was born, she named him "STONE BOY." This is how the Dakota people began on the surface of the earth. This is why the Dakota honor a stone. In both stories, we began from a stone.[90]

[90] Spirit Lake Nation, *Spirit Lake Nation Recovery Plan*, at www.spiritlakenation.com, http://www.spiritlakenation.com/Documents/Spirit%20Lake%20Nation%20Recovery%20Plan.pdf p. 1-3. <May 23, 2015>.

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North and South Dakota (Fort Yates ND)

The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe's website has this description and history of the tribe:

> The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation is situated in North and South Dakota. The people of Standing Rock, often called Sioux, are members of the Dakota and Lakota nations. "Dakota" and "Lakota" mean "friends" or "allies." The people of these nations are often called "Sioux," a term that dates back to the seventeenth century when the people were living in the Great Lakes area. The Ojibwa called the Lakota and Dakota "Nadouwesou" meaning "adders." This term, shortened and corrupted by French traders, resulted in retention of the last syllable as "Sioux." There are various Sioux divisions and each has important cultural, linguistic, territorial and political distinctions.
>
> The Dakota people of Standing Rock include the Upper Yanktonai, in their language called Ihanktonwana, which translates "Little End Village" and Lower Yanktonai, called Hunkpatina in their language, "Campers at the Horn" or "End of the Camping Circle." When the Middle Sioux moved onto the prairie they had contact with the semi-sedentary riverine tribes such as the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. Eventually the Yanktonai displaced these tribes and forced them upstream. However, periodically the Yanktonai did engage in trade with these tribes and eventually some bands adopted the earthlodge, bullboat, and horticultural techniques of these people, though buffalo remained their primary food source. The Yanktonai also maintained aspects of their former Woodland lifestyle. Today Yanktonai people of Standing Rock live primarily in communities on the North Dakota portion of the reservation.
>
> The Lakota, as the largest division of the Sioux, subdivided into the Ti Sakowin or Seven Tents and Lakota people of the Standing Rock Reservation included two of these subdivisions, the Hunkpapa which means "Campers at the Horn" in English and Sihasapa or "Blackfeet," not to be confused with the Algonquian Blackfeet of Montana and Canada, which are an entirely different group. By the early 19th century the Lakota became a northern Plains people and practically divested themselves of most all Woodland traits. The new culture revolved around the horse and buffalo; the people were nomadic and lived in tee pees year round. The Hunkpapa and Sihasapa ranged in the area between the Cheyenne and Heart Rivers to the south and north and between the Missouri River on the east and Tongue to the west. Today the Lakota at Standing Rock live

predominantly in communities located on the South Dakota portion of the reservation.[91]

In his manuscript "History of the Dakotas," James W. Lynd (S. R. Riggs 1864:145) shares an oral tradition from the Ihanktonwana (Yanktonai):

> The Pipe Stone Quarry is a place of great importance to the Sioux. From it they obtain the red stone clay Catlinite of which their pipes and images are formed; and a peculiar sacredness is, in their minds, attached to the place. Numerous high bluffs and cliffs surround it; and the alluvial flat below these, in which the quarry is situated, contains a huge boulder that rests upon a flat rock of glistening, smooth appearance, the level of which is but a few inches above the surface of the ground. Upon the portions of this rock not covered by the boulder above and upon the boulder itself are carved sundry wonderful figures lizzards, snakes, otters, Indian gods, rabbits with cloven feet, muskrats with human fee, and other strange and incomprehensible things all cut into the solid granite, and not without a great deal of time and labor expended in the performance. The commoner Indians, even to this day, are accustomed to look upon with feelings of mysterious awe, as they call to mind the legend connected therewith.
>
> A large party of Ehanktonwanna and Teetonwan Dakotas, says the legend, had gathered together at the quarry to dig the stone. Upon a sultry evening, just before sunrise, the heavens suddenly became overclouded, accompanied by heavy rumbling thunder, and every sign of an approaching storm, such as frequently arises on the prairie without much warning. Each one hurried to his lodge expecting a storm, when a vivid flash of lightning, followed immediately by a crashing peal of thunder, broke over them, and, looking towards the huge boulder beyond their camp, they saw a pillar or column of smoke standing upon it, which moved to and fro, and gradually settled down into the outline of a huge giant, seated upon the boulder, with one long arm extended to heaven and the other pointing down to his feet. Peal after peal of thunder, and flashes of lightning in quick succession followed, and this figure then suddenly disappeared. The next morning the Sioux went to this boulder, and found these figures and images upon it, where before there had been nothing; and ever since that the place has been regarded as wakan or sacred.[92]

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[91] Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "History," at www.standingrock.org <April 30, 2015>.
[92]James W. Lynd manuscript "History of the Dakotas," Library of the University of California, https://archive.org/stream/historyofdakotas00riggrich/historyofdakotas00riggrich_djvu.txt <June 25, 2015> and
Scott, *Archeological Inventory*, 286.

Upper Sioux Community, Minnesota (Granite Falls MN)

The Upper Sioux Community has posted this history on their tribal website:

> This land we call Pejuhutazizi Kapi (the place where they dig for yellow medicine) has been the homeland for our people, the Dakota Oyate (Nation), for thousands of years. We have always occupied this area bordering the Minnesota River Valley, with the exception of a short period of time in the late 1800's following the U.S./Dakota Conflict of 1862. At that time, the Dakota were either exterminated, forcibly removed to reservations located somewhere else, or they voluntarily fled to avoid harm.
>
> Many Dakota died during those difficult years. Some of those who survived the forced removal defied the state and federal governments by not remaining on the assigned reservations located outside of Minnesota, but rather chose to return to our ancient homelands in the Minnesota River Valley.
>
> In 1938, 746 acres of original Dakota lands in Minnesota were returned to our people, and the Upper Sioux Indian Community came into existence. Provisions for governing the Upper Sioux Community were adopted, and a Board of Trustees was elected to carry out the responsibilities identified in these Provisions. In 1995, the Provisions were modified and the governing document is now called the Constitution of the Upper Sioux Community.
>
> Since its formal designation as an Indian community, Upper Sioux has struggled with poverty, substandard housing, inadequate health care, and the subtleties of racism. Tribal leaders continually strived to improve the standard of living and the quality of life on the reservation. The population was small, and Upper Sioux's share of program monies from the federal government was minimal, yet elected tribal leaders still managed to provide "bare-bones" programs in housing, health care, and education. Through the 1970's and 80's, conditions improved very little, despite many vocal supporters, both Indian and non-Indian, and we continued to struggle for survival on our small tract of land along the Minnesota River.
>
> By the late 1980's the legal standing of tribes as sovereign nations had been acknowledged in the highest federal courts. In 1990, following these court decisions, the Upper Sioux Community did as many other tribes had done—we exercised our rights as a sovereign nation to

capitalize on a financial opportunity by building and opening Firefly Creek Casino.

In the years since, our businesses have helped to revitalize and energize the Upper Sioux Community, allowing us an opportunity to obtain economic independence. Through obtaining an additional 654 acres of Dakota ancestral lands, the community can work towards meeting the growing demands of an increasing population, now at 482. We are finding ways to preserve our dignity, our culture and our traditions, free from the burden of meeting basic survival needs. Total land base stands at 1,440 acres.[93]

Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota (Wagner SD)

The new official website of the Yankton Sioux Tribe, Ihanktonwan Nation will have a tab entitled "Who we are" which contains sections on history, mission, vision and values.[94] The following information about the Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota is related on the Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center website:

The Yankton Sioux Reservation is located in the south central part of South Dakota, occupying the eastern half of Charles Mix County. The Yankton Service Unit is comprised of six counties; Bon Homme, Charles Mix, Douglas, and Hutchinson, South Dakota and Boyd and Knox, Nebraska.

The reservation is mostly farmland with some small areas of timber. The remainder is rolling hills and prairie suitable for grazing. The Missouri River is the southern border of the reservation. Fort Randall Dam on the Missouri River creates Lake Francis Case which is on the southwestern part of the reservation. The land around the lake area is high rolling hills with wooded coulees providing drainage into the lake.

The Yanktons, a Sioux tribe from the Mississippi Region, settled into South Dakota and Minnesota in the 18th century. The Yanktons ceded 2.2 million acres to Iowa between 1830 and 1837. In 1858 the Tribe ceded another 11 million acres. By 1860, it had turned over almost all of its remaining land to the U.S. government, and most Yanktons moved to the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota. On establishment, the Reservation had 435,000 acres, but homesteading by white settlers, starting in 1887, withdrew much of the Reservation from tribal control.

[93] Upper Sioux Community of Minnesota, "History," at www.uppersiouxcommunity-nsn.gov <April 30, 2015>.
[94] Yankton Sioux Tribe , Ihanktonwan Nation, website at http://www.yanktonsiouxtribe.net/ <October 8, 2015>.

> … Although many of the Yankton refer to themselves as Dakota, they are actually a group of the Middle Sioux division also known as Nakota. There are also members of the Northern Ponca and Santee Sioux Tribes, both from Nebraska, residing in the Yankton Sioux area.
>
> Today, the major employers of the Yankton Sioux Tribe are the Fort Randall Casino, Marty Indian School, Yankton Sioux Housing Authority, Yankton Sioux Substance Abuse Program facilities and Indian Health Services.
>
> The governing body of the Yankton Sioux Tribe is the Tribal Business and Claims Committee. The committee is comprised of nine elected members.[95]

The Yankton Sioux Tribe, who identify themselves as the Ihanktonwan Dakota Oyate (People of the End Village) are descended from the Nakota-speaking Yankton division of the Oceti Sakowin. Leonard Bruguier, a tribal member and author of a dissertation on the history of the tribe, states that the Ihanktonwan share oral traditions about the origins of their people with other divisions of the Oceti Sakowin. Among the origin stories of the Ihanktonwan is one that relates how human beings were created at the tribe's sacred site, the Pipestone Quarry:

> Before the creation of man, the Great Spirit used to slay the buffaloes and eat them on the ledge of the Red Rocks on the top of the Coteau des Prairies, and their blood running on to the rocks turned them red. One day a snake had crawled into the nest of the bird to eat his eggs, one of the eggs hatched out in a clap of thunder, and the Great Spirit catching hold of a piece of the pipestone to throw at the snake, moulded it into a man. The man's feet grew fast in the ground where he stood for many ages, like a great tree, and therefore he grew very old; he was older than a hundred men at the present day; and at last another tree grew up by the side of him, when a large snake ate them both off at the roots, and they wandered off together; from these have sprung all the people that now inhabit the earth.[96]

Another oral tradition related to the Yankton as told by Philip Deloria at Andes, South Dakota, in 1926 is reported as follows:

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[95] Akta Lakota Museum and Cultural Center, http://aktalakota.stjo.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=8661 <June 6, 2015>.

[96] George Catlin quoted in Leonard Rufus Bruguier (Tashunke Hinzi, Buckskin Horse), *The Yankton Sioux Tribe: People of the Pipestone, 1634-1888*, Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1993, 8.

> In old days an old man came down to earth. He motioned to the medicine-men and chiefs of two rival tribes to come together and he told them how the world was big enough for all and the animals were given them to hunt, not man. But that had not been enough for them, they must kill one another. So they had fought and killed, and the blood that flowed down the river had come together and formed the red pipe-stone. The stone is the blood of Indians. He made the shape of a pipe and sent them down to the reeds for a stem and wove it about with porcupine quills of mixed colors-in old times a color for each direction. Where the old man stepped was formed a bluff, and there live two fire women who make figures on the bluff.[97]

Yankton elders and tribal members, who gave depositions in 1927 during the U.S. Court of Claims litigation, related the following oral traditions. From Julia Conger:

> ...I have been to Sioux Falls, but never went to Pipestone Quarry. My grandmother told me that in olden times the Indians had that to worship and that they would make sacrifices when they went there. She said, "There is something there that you don't see, something there they pray to and make sacrifices to." I said, "When they go there what do they do there?" She says, "There is something there that they call `Twin Maidens.'" She said, "They make pictures on this rock. Nobody ever saw them with their eyes, but after it was done they could see marks, and they could hear them at night working on this rock, and if anybody went there the next day they could see the pictures on that rock of dogs, ponies, or whatever they had, their pictures would be marked there," and she said, "That is kind of a sacred place." I never went there myself.[98]

From Simon Antelope:

> I first visited the Pipestone Quarry 52 years ago [i.e., ca. 1875) and the things I saw at that time were somewhere right near where they had the quarry. It is within a quarter of a mile of it. There were several stones that were standing up in the nature of hills. At night I heard noises over there and I could see sparks fly from these stones that I have just described. The following morning I visited these stones and saw what was there, and I found pictures on the stones that were chiseled on, good pictures of

[97] Scott, *Archeological Inventory*, 287.
[98] Ibid., 287, 288.

> buffalo, deer, and other animals, and they were very well done, and there were pictures of Indian men and women, and the pictures were very well done. Upon another visit to the pipestone Quarry I looked at these stones again, and in addition to the pictures that were on there there were characters made on the stone which appear to be some sort of writing or printing. I couldn't read it, but there was something there that wasn't the pictures or animals. The third visit I made there all these picture writings and things I have just spoken of had departed. Apparently some white people had removed them, taken them away.[99] …
>
> I don't remember the exact year, but it was somewhere about 40 years ago [i.e., ca. 1887]. The Yanktons considered these rocks and picture writings and all that as being their property. When they were they taken away by somebody we were just robbed of that amount of property. We regarded it equal to the quarry that was there, that it was a part of it.[100]

From Many Dogs:

> I visited the Pipestone Quarry when I was about 13 years old [i.e., ca. 1873]...I saw large rocks there. There were markings on them, pictures of strange animals, and writings on the rocks.[101]

Oral Traditions Related to the Pipestone Quarry from Non-Affiliated Tribes

A number of American Indian tribes have oral traditions that connect them to the quarries at the Pipestone National Monument:

Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation (Lame Deer MT) and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes (Concho OK)

There are several oral traditions related to the Cheyenne and their connection to the Pipestone Quarries. According to David Hughes' anthropological study it is known that the Cheyenne traded catlinite to the Plateau Tribes. There is a specific story related by Mary Little Bear Inkanish in 1930:

> …the men made an expedition to the pipestone quarry in Minnesota. There were other stones that could be used for making pipes, but the soft red stone that cuts easily was the kind needed to make ceremonial pipes.

[99] Ibid., 288, 289.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 289.

> Uncle and some of the other men missed the Sun Dance this year so they could get a good start on their trip. Mary watched her uncle and brothers get ready: each with a spare horse to carry back a pack of stone; each with his weapons, although they were not likely to meet any enemies; and each with eight pairs of moccasins, so they would have shoes on their feet at all times. It was like a war party getting ready to go, Little Bear Woman said. The men even took dried meat and mesquite meal with them, although they would meet friends on their travels and would be fed.
>
> No woman might go on this trip, or see or touch the stone after it was brought back, until it had been ceremonially cleaned and made ready for working (Marriott and Rachlin 1977:32).[102]

In Tom Weist's work on the history of the Cheyenne people, he relates the following oral tradition:

> Legend tells that, while they were living near the Yellow Medicine River, a war party set out, intending to attack an enemy tribe living toward the Missouri River. As they were journeying across the prairie, the warriors came upon a large red buffalo bull. When they got close enough, they shot him with arrows, then went over and examined him. The bull was coated with a strange kind of red dust or mud. The men became curious and decided to follow the bull's trail. After a time they came to a place where there were bright red rocks all around them. This was how they first discovered the famous red pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota.[103] [An interpretive display at Pipestone National Monument credits this account to "White Frog, Northern Cheyenne (1914)"].

Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma (Pawnee OK)

The Hughes study also includes a brief statement about the Pawnee's preference for pipes made of catlinite: "When men were in southwest Minnesota 'they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry.'"[104]

Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin (Bayfield WI)

In an interview conducted at Pipestone National Monument, Sam Gurnoe related the following information:

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[102] David T. Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred: A Review of Selected Native American Groups and their Relationship with the Catlinite Quarries* (Anthropological Research Laboratories, Wichita State University, Kansas, 1995), 71.
[103] Tom Weist, *A History of the Cheyenne People* (Montana CoUsnil for Indian Education, Billings: Montana, 1977, Revised ed. 1984), 13.
[104] Hughes, 89.

Sam Gurnoe, Red Cliff Band of Ojibwe (Quarrier and pipe carver)

How do you feel when you arrive?

SG- We remember that this is a sacred place. We stop all quarreling at this place. We ask permission to get the stone and for a safe and successful time here. We sometimes bring kids along to help. This is a good time and place to talk with them on the importance of the site and the behavior and expectations we have. At this place it is important to take care of each other.

From whom did you learn about quarrying?

SG – The old timers like Harrison and Lloyd Crow helped us often. Dick and Bill (Bryan), Chuck Derby and Swede Crow came to help with problems when we needed it. There was also a nephew of Lloyd Crow (can't remember his name) who helped a lot. He was a massive man with huge arms and could swing the big sledge with one arm. I remember he also made very beautiful pipes. The older quarriers were always very generous with their time. They kept us going and helped us.

Sweat Lodge

SG – I can remember when there were no lodges, then at one time there were as many four over there. Now the area where the lodges are seems to have gotten smaller and there are only two there at present. We use our own lodge and don't use Lakota lodges, as they face their door to the west and Ojibwe to the east. Chuck Derby and a couple of guys once built a "hybrid" lodge that had a door on each side. (laughs) I don't really know who built the present sweat lodges. We are hesitant to use them - not knowing the energies that are connected to them.[105]

Sac & Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa (Tama IA) and the Sac & Fox Nation, Oklahoma (Stroud OK)

Catlin recorded an oral tradition from the Sac and Fox that directly relates to their quarrying at the Pipestone Quarries in southwestern Minnesota:

> My friend, when I was young, I used to go with our young men to the mountain of the Red Pipe, and dig out pieces for our pipes. We do not go now; and our red pipes as you see, are few. The Dah-co-tah's have spilled the blood of red men on that place, and the Great Spirit is offended. The white traders have told them to draw their bows upon us when we go there; and they have offered us many of the pipes for sale, but we do not

[105] Pipestone National Monument interview October 7, 2006.

> want to smoke them, for we know the Great Spirit is offended. My mark is on the rocks in many places, but I shall never see them again. They lie where the Great Spirit sees them, for his eye is over that place, and he sees everything that is here.[106]

Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone Indians of Nevada (Four constituent bands: Battle Mountain Band; Elko Band; South Fork Band and Wells Band (Elko NV)

The Shoshone have an oral tradition about Pipestone as follows:

> Back when our people first traded with the Spanish for horses, we were hunters and gathers; we traveled with the game. When we got the horse we traveled further quickly, our people traded with the Sioux people and other tribes, but learned of the pipestone from the Sioux people. We traveled there and got the stone; the old ones called it "the blood of the sacred earth" that all (Newe) Indian people could use for pipes for prayer. The stone is sacred to all Natives and whatever is made out of it is also.
>
> Back when we could still travel across the countries there were no boundaries, the government didn't put us in little squares and called that home; we hunted—where the game went we went. The biggest thing is: People all think that we always fought with each other; that wasn't the case, we all utilized this land for each other.[107]

[106] Hughes, from (Weltfish, 1965: 393), 82.
[107] Email correspondence from Joe Holley, Chairman, Te-Moak Tribe of Western Schoshone Indians of Nevada, to Michele Curran. July 11, 2015.

Chapter 3
Prehistoric Habitation and Use

When people first opened the Pipestone Quarry a few thousand years ago, they did so against a backdrop of many thousands of years of habitation and use of the area by their ancestors. Two recent, definitive archeological studies of the area are Scott F. Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology: 12,000 Years in the Prairie Lake Region* (1997), and Douglas D. Scott, Thomas D. Thiessen, Jeffrey J. Richner, and Scott Stadler, *An Archeological Inventory and Overview of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (2006). The former study provides an interpretation of the prehistory of the whole Prairie Lake Region, while the latter study focuses more specifically on archeological resources in and around Pipestone National Monument. Also pertinent are the chapters on archeology in María Nieves Zedeño and Robert Christopher Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report* (2004), and the work of Dale R. Henning and other scholars on Oneota culture in the protohistoric period.

This chapter begins with a brief sketch of the geology and natural history of the area. It then draws mainly on the recent sources listed above to provide a summary of findings about the human prehistory of the area. The discussion of human prehistory starts with a chronological account of the sequence of cultures that were present in the area from approximately 10,000 B.C. to around A.D. 1600. When it comes to the central issue of how prehistoric peoples discovered and quarried the Minnesota pipestone, and how they treated the site, the chapter looks at older sources as well. On the vital issue of how widely catlinite was distributed to other geographic regions in prehistoric times, the chapter moves into a discussion of what archeologists once thought compared with what they think today.

Geology

The area of the Pipestone Quarry lies on the western slope of the Coteau des Prairies, a subtle height of land that runs on a northwest to southeast tangent through the southwest corner of Minnesota. The Coteau des Prairies forms a divide between the Mississippi and Missouri River basins. The western slope of the dividing ridge, which includes most of Pipestone County, is almost imperceptible to the eye in the expanse of gently rolling prairie. Elevations in the area range from approximately 1900 feet above sea level on the crest of the Coteau des Prairies to about 1350 feet where the Rock River crosses the state line.[108]

[108] N. H. Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Johnson, Smith & Harrison, State Printers, 1884), 534-35.

The region around Pipestone County bears the imprint of the Pleistocene Ice Age, as it lies at the southern margins of glaciation. In the most recent glacial maximum, which began about 25,000 years ago, a tongue of the continental ice sheet advanced southward up the Red River valley and forked at the Coteau des Prairies into western and eastern lobes. The western lobe followed the channel of the James River Lowland, while the eastern lobe spread through the Minnesota River Lowland and farther southward, reaching a maximum near Des Moines, Iowa, about 14,000 years ago. Although the Coteau des Prairies diverted the ice around the area of Pipestone County, at earlier stages in the Pleistocene between around 130,000 and 300,000 years ago, the continental ice sheet did extend over the area.[109]

Each time the vast, continental glaciers melted back, they left behind a mantle of debris called drift. In some places the drift is hundreds of feet thick, in others it is a thin layer or practically non-existent. Much of the area around the Pipestone Quarry is overlaid by a thin mantle of glacial drift somewhat less than ten feet in depth.

The boulders known as the Three Maidens come from a single giant boulder that was transported to the site by glacial ice. Such boulders are known as "glacial erratics," because they differ from the native rock around them. Often glacial erratics sit in exposed positions all by themselves, looking oddly out of place in their settings. The giant boulder that became the Three Maidens was carried in glacial ice from hundreds of miles away, and it happened to be left near the future quarry site when the ice melted away. After being deposited there, it subsequently broke into a half dozen separate pieces through the process of weathering.[110]

Wherever the layer of drift is thin or non-existent, one may see occasional outcrops of bare rock. The outcrops result from the fact that the slowly advancing glaciers carried boulders embedded in the ice and the boulders acted like giant earth scrapers on the ground underneath, scraping the land surface down to a hard, resistant layer of granitic or quartzite bedrock. In places where little or no drift was deposited on the land surface when the ice melted back, new soils were slow to form on the exposed bedrock. Wherever the rate of wind and water erosion exceeds the rate of soil formation, those outcrops of bedrock have remained bare.

The outcrops in southwest Minnesota are characterized by a formation known as Sioux quartzite. The distinctive pink or purple rock is composed of fine grains of sand and silt that were deposited in shallow, braided stream channels perhaps a billion and a half years ago, and turned into metamorphic rock by intense

[109] Scott Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology: 12,000 Years in the Prairie Lake Region* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1997), 9-10.
[110] W. H. Holmes, *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities: Part 1, Introductory, The Lithic Industries*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 60 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 264.

pressure and heat. The ledge of rock that runs through Pipestone National Monument occurs where the formation breaks the surface at a five to ten degree dip to the east. Eastward from the top of the escarpment, the Sioux quartzite outcropping soon disappears under the prairie. To the west, the effect of water erosion on the rock, particularly the effect of freezing and thawing in vertical cracks, has pried apart the exposed layers into large, angular blocks. These blocks have toppled over and have been further broken down into boulders and rubble, creating a cliff face some twenty-five to thirty feet high in places. The escarpment extends north and south for nearly three miles. At either end it gradually lessens in height and disappears under the prairie as the ground rises over it like the sides of a basin. As the vertical, broken-off surfaces of the pinkish Sioux quartzite face west, they catch the rays of the setting sun. Viewed at a distance, the whole, long escarpment turns to a stunning blood-red hue in the late hours of the day. Much of the rock has been worn smooth by the abrasion of wind-borne particles of sand, giving the rock ledge a glossy patina on closer inspection.[111]



Figure 6. A block of quartzite. Note the wind polish evident on the nearest surface. (Photo by the authors.)

The layer of red pipestone, or catlinite, lies sandwiched between layers of the Sioux quartzite, mostly deep within the bedrock. In contrast to the extremely

[111] Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota*, 538-39; Scott et al, *Archaeological Inventory*, 46-47.

hard Sioux quartzite above and below it, the catlinite is an unusually soft rock that can be hand-carved. It is composed of a finer-grained clay material that was laid down during major floods. The absence of quartz crystals in the pipestone gives it a reddish hue and makes it soft and easy to carve.[112]

The catlinite layer is presumed to occur in fairly rare and discontinuous patches within the Sioux quartzite formation. This assumption is based on the fact that the clay deposits from which it was formed would tend to have become desiccated and mud-cracked when the flood waters that deposited the clay receded, and further, the layer of clay would have been quickly eroded by laterally migrating river channels at some later point in time. Owing to the formation's dip to the east at Pipestone National Monument, the catlinite layer approaches the surface about a quarter mile west of the escarpment. In the area of the quarry pits, it lies under eight to ten feet of Sioux quartzite and is a little over one foot thick. The catlinite layer is itself divided into sheets by a soft, shaly deposit, with each sheet measuring one to three inches thick. Only the bottommost sheet is suitable for pipemaking.[113]

Geologic mapping of the catlinite by the U.S. Geological Survey in 1979 and the Minnesota Geological Survey in 1980 suggests that the catlinite deposits are confined to a zone approximately 200 to 300 feet wide, which is more or less centered along the line of the quarry pits. The larger catlinite deposits are as much as three feet thick and extend over fairly long distances, while others are only tens of feet long and lens-shaped, tapering to a thickness of just one to two inches. Regardless of their extent, many of the catlinite beds grade laterally into clayey siltstone and then into argillaceous quartzite, while their upper layers are characterized by ripple marks and mud cracks.[114]

As the pipestone quarry lies on the western slope of the Coteau des Prairies, the surrounding area drains generally south and west toward the Missouri River. The Rock River is the largest stream in Pipestone County and flows from north to south through Pipestone and Rock counties, eventually joining the Big Sioux River in Iowa, which enters the Missouri River near Sioux City, Iowa. Pipestone Creek rises to the west of the Rock River drainage and flows westward out of Pipestone County, joining the Big Sioux River near Flandreau, South Dakota. At its upper end, Pipestone Creek flows directly over the escarpment in a waterfall (Winnewissa Falls). Below the waterfall it forms a chain of little lakes or ponds. Prior to

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[112] G. B. Morey and Dale R. Setterholm, "Pipestone National Monument: The Sioux Quartzite – An Early Proterozoic braided stream deposit, southwestern Minnesota," *North Central Section of the Geological Society of America (Centennial Field Guide)*, (Boulder, Colo.: Geological Society of America, 1987), 75.
[113] G. B. Morey, *Evaluation of Catlinite Resources, Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota*, report prepared by the Minnesota Geological Survey for the National Park Service (Omaha: National Park Service, Midwest Region, 1983), 1, 5, 14; Murray, *Pipes on the Plains*, 25.
[114] Morey, *Evaluation of Catlinite Resources*, 1, 14.

modifications made to the stream and waterfall in the early twentieth century, the Minnesota state geologist N. H. Winchell stated that the stream sometimes ran dry, though the ponds always contained water. He also gave the height of the waterfall as about eighteen feet.[115]

The broad topographic feature of the Coteau des Prairies notwithstanding, the region's drainage patterns were largely shaped by glaciation. The pipestone quarry lies practically in the center of a geographic province known as the Prairie Lakes Region. The uneven distribution of glacial drift at the end of the Ice Age created numerous shallow depressions that became lakes. Most of the lakes are quite shallow, with mean depths of less than five feet. Some of the deeper lakes were formed by the melting of ice blocks buried in the glacial drift. In general, there is very little groundwater interchange between the lakes in the region, and as a result lake levels have fluctuated markedly over time and are unusually sensitive to drought. These hydrological factors in turn have had a sharp effect on flora and fauna in the region.[116]

Flora and Fauna

Besides the water surface pattern, the other major effect on flora and fauna is from climate. The region has a continental climate characterized by a steep temperature gradient from winter to summer. In winter, fronts generally come from the north, bringing cold, dry weather. Occasional air masses come down from the Arctic and stand still over the region, creating extreme cold snaps. In summer, fronts mostly come from the Gulf of Mexico, bringing heat and humidity. Shoulder seasons are relatively brief. The frost-free season generally extends from early May to around the beginning of October. Lakes freeze over around the first of December and remain frozen until early April.[117]

At the end of the Ice Age, land not covered by ice mainly supported the growth of spruce and larch forests in the lowlands and mostly sedge-covered parklands in the higher elevations. When the climate began to warm about 13,500 years ago, the parklands began to fill with black ash, birch, and alder, and the spruce forest gradually retreated northward. As the warming continued, deciduous forests of oak and elm came to predominate about 10,000 years ago. Further warming and drying led to the development of more prairie around 6,000 years ago. Some lakes dried up. A return to cooler, wetter conditions brought back the oak forest around 5,000 years ago. Finally, the prairie once again came to predominate after about 3,000 years ago. For the past few millennia, a fairly stable climate and environment prevailed until about 150 years ago, when modern agricultural

[115] Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota*, 539.
[116] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 10-13.
[117] Ibid, 15.

settlement and industrialization wrought sweeping changes to the water surface and vegetation and precipitated a new era of climate change.[118]

Pipestone National Monument contains a remnant of the tallgrass prairie that has long since been plowed up and turned into farmland throughout most of the surrounding region. The dominant native vegetation within the unit is the Bluestem Prairie grass (*Andropogon-Panicum-Sorghastrum*). Two exotic species, smooth bromegrass (*Bromus inermis*) and Kentucky bluegrass (*Poa prantensis*) are common in the western portion of the unit, which was under cultivation prior to its acquisition by the NPS in the 1950s. Numerous other exotic species are also present in the tallgrass prairie, notably yellow sweetclover (*Melilotus officinalis*), white sweetclover (*Melilotus alba*), quackgrass (*Agropyron repens*), Canada thistle (*Cirium arvense*), and red clover (*Trifolium pretense*).[119]



Figure 7. Pipestone Creek and tallgrass prairie. (Photo by the authors.)

The largest and most prolific animal in the area prior to Euro-American settlement was the bison. Overhunting of the bison began with the rise of the Plains horse culture in the eighteenth century and greatly accelerated with the advent of transcontinental railroads. Bison were extirpated in Minnesota by 1879. Elk were also formerly present in the Prairie Lake Region. Deer were less common. Other mammals included white-tailed jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit,

[118] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 16-17.
[119] Scott et al., *Archaeological Inventory*, 29.

woodchuck, raccoon, muskrat, and possibly grizzly bear. Reptiles included painted turtle and snapping turtle.[120]

A few descriptions by visitors to the Pipestone Quarry in the nineteenth century provide some colorful, anecdotal descriptions of what the flora and fauna were like before the major environmental changes occurred. The field notes of Snow and Hutton, surveyors of the Pipestone Reservation, indicate than in the year 1859 there was no timber within the entire square-mile reservation; however, Winchell (1884) states that in the vicinity of the falls, and at one or two places farther south, dwarf bur oak and shrubs grew along the base of the escarpment. Although the site was much less treed then than it is today, even those few patches of stunted trees formed a contrast with the treeless prairie extending for many miles in all directions.[121]

Philetus W. Norris, Superintendent of Yellowstone National Park from 1877 to 1882, published a volume of poetry featuring the Pipestone Quarry. He states (1884) that the ponds below Winnewissa Falls were well stocked with pickerel and other fish, and were often covered with waterfowl. He also remarked on the "carpet of flowers" that bloomed along Pipestone Creek. The creek itself sometimes ran dry, but in springtime after a hard rain it would turn into a "prairie deluge, breaking over the ragged cliffs in several additional cascades."[122] Early photographers captured those several waterfalls on film. In the early twentieth century, the streambed was lowered and channelized in order to drain the surrounding wetlands and convert them to agricultural use. As a result, all but the main falls disappeared.

Habitation and Use Prior to the Start of Quarrying

Anfinson makes a convincing case for defining the Prairie Lake Region as a distinct environmental and cultural area located along the northeastern edge of the central Great Plains. Anfinson's Prairie Lake Region includes the better part of some 42 counties in southwest Minnesota, northwest Iowa, and eastern South Dakota, with Pipestone County lying near the center of the region.[123] Within this region, a grassland prairie environment and a subsistence pattern dominated by

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[120] Scott et al., *Archaeological Inventory*, 30.

[121] Report accompanying Field Notes of Survey of the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, Minnesota, Snow and Hutton, Surveyors, 1859, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Winchell, *The Geology of Minnesota*, 539.

[122] Philetus W. Norris, *The Calumet of the Coteau and other Poetical Legends of the Border* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1884), 173.

[123] Technically, Pipestone National Monument lies just outside Anfinson's Prairie Lake Region, because he ascribes boundaries for the region as following the farthest edges of the terminal moraines left by the Wisconsin glacial maximum, whereas the pipestone quarry occupies the high ground between the James and Des Moines Lobes of the continental glacier system. However, if the deeply indented boundary is generalized to an oval shape, Pipestone County lies near the center of the region. See Figure 7 in Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 31.

bison hunting formed the foundation for human occupation and use for many thousands of years.

The all-important bison, or buffalo, migrated from Eurasia to North America across the Bering Land Bridge long before the Wisconsinan glaciation, many tens of thousands of years in advance of human migrations. A long-horned variety of the bison, *Bison latifrons*, which stood eight feet tall at the shoulder and weighed more than a ton, arrived in North America about 500,000 years ago and went extinct about 20,000 years ago. A second variety, *Bison antiquus*, similar in form to the modern species but about 20 percent more massive, arrived about 250,000 years ago and came to occupy the whole midcontinent from Alberta to Texas, roaming the prairies and parklands with mammoths, camels, and giant sloths. It went extinct about 5,000 years ago, but not before giving rise to the modern species, *Bison bison*. The modern bison survived and flourished because the species was ideally suited to thrive on the short-grass prairies that developed across the midcontinent at the end of the Pleistocene. Though humans hunted wooly mammoth and other Pleistocene mammals for perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 years before the animals went extinct, hunters on the Great Plains developed their particular reliance on the buffalo by as early as 10,500 years ago.[124]

The Paleoindian Tradition

Most of what archeologists say about those earliest humans in North America comes from the archeologists' analysis of stone tools and spear points that the hunters left behind, and analysis of the faunal bones that have been recovered from their kill sites. Archeologists refer to very broad cultural patterns exhibited across large time spans as "cultural traditions." They have given the name "Paleoindian Tradition" to the oldest recognized cultural pattern found in the archeological record. Archeologists refer to the suite of stone tools and other artifacts that are diagnostic of a particular archeological culture within a tradition as a "culture complex." Archeologists generally name a cultural complex after a geographical place or region where the artifacts occur. A culture complex does not refer to a distinct people, nation, or tribe in history, but rather to the archeological record that humans left behind.

The earliest culture complex in North America features a distinctive style of spear point that is lanceolate in shape (meaning it tapers to a point) and fluted at the basal end to allow the point to be hafted to a spear shaft. Named "Clovis" for the original site of its discovery in New Mexico, this style of projectile point is now known to have been widely disseminated across North America at the end of the Pleistocene. Based on radiocarbon dating, archeologists believe the oldest Clovis

[124] Brian M. Fagan, *The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 199-200.

artifacts date from perhaps 11,000 to 11,500 B.C. In eastern North America, the oldest Clovis points date from about 9,000 B.C. A few Clovis points have been found in southwestern Minnesota and one was found in Woodbury County, Iowa, one hundred miles south of Pipestone National Monument.

A new complex of chipped-stone tools known as Folsom appeared on the Great Plains from about 9,000 to 8,000 B.C. The Folsom point has projecting ears at the base, and other tools in the Folsom complex include a variety of knives, scrapers, and blades. The record of Folsom occupation in the Prairie Lake Region is nearly as thin as it is for Clovis. A few Folsom points have been recovered from counties near to Pipestone County in Minnesota and South Dakota.

The last phase of what archeologists call the Paleoindian Tradition featured a variety of complexes collectively known as Plano, and these prevailed in the region from approximately 8,000 to 5,500 B.C. Altogether, Paleoindian remains are scarce in the Prairie Lake Region; however, the best known site, the Browns Valley site located at the southeast end of Lake Traverse, discovered in 1933, yielded five Plano points and two abraders as well as fragments of a human skeleton. The human remains were subsequently radiocarbon dated to approximately 7,000 B.C., making this human skeleton one of the oldest found in North America. The person was a male in his mid twenties to early forties, and he was placed in a burial pit with tools.[125]

Clovis points are associated primarily with hunting of mammoth, while the Folsom and Plano sites reflect a shift to hunting of bison (*Bison antiquus*) as well as medium and small mammals. Anfinson suggests that the Paleoindian peoples who first inhabited the Prairie Lake Region subsisted by a combination of big game hunting and procurement of small mammals, fish, and edible plants. They traveled in bands of perhaps 20 to 40 individuals, moving frequently and seldom returning to former campsites.

The Archaic Tradition

The Archaic Tradition developed in the Prairie Lake Region around 5,500 B.C., when a warmer, drier climate produced a more stable environment of mixed-grass prairie and a greater abundance of bison. In general, archeologists consider the Archaic Tradition as embracing a set of complexes that reflect more diverse forms of subsistence yet still lack the horticulture, ceramics, and burial mounds associated with the subsequent Woodland Tradition. Much of what is known about this period in the Prairie Lake Region comes from three sites: the Cherokee Sewer site in northwest Iowa, the Granite Falls Bison site in the upper Minnesota River valley, and the Itasca Bison site in north-central Minnesota. Together, the artifacts

[125] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 28-35.

recovered from these sites represent "a climax of pedestrian bison hunting in the northeastern Plains," Anfinson argues. While considerable variety of faunal remains have been recovered at the sites, bison bones are predominant. The bison kills apparently included a mix of *Bison antiquus* and *Bison bison*, together with the transitional subspecies, *Bison occidentalis*. The emphasis on bison hunting occurred in response to the expansion of large bison herds eastward during the period of warmer, drier climate, and the drying up of many prairie lakes and concomitant loss of fish and other aquatic resources. Other cultural adaptations at this time included the domestication of dogs, which helped with hunting and transportation of articles from camp to camp, and the gathering and milling of seeds as an important dietary component.[126]

As the climate became cooler and wetter again around 3,000 B.C., the environment of the Prairie Lake Region more or less took the shape it would have until Euro-American settlement in the nineteenth century. Lakes reappeared where the shallow basins had been dry for hundreds of years, while flora and fauna showed considerable variation, from prairie in the uplands to biologically rich wetlands in the river valleys. Anfinson finds that the region's human inhabitants entered upon a long period of cultural stability based on the region's distinct environment. The culture was characterized by a more sedentary way of life, with village sites frequently located by lakes, a dependence on local sources of stone for making stone tools, and a general resistance to outside influences. Anfinson posits that the human population remained relatively stable as resident peoples pursued subsistence strategies that enabled them to get through occasional periods of drought as well as the yearly hardships of winter. Their success in hunting made them disinclined toward horticulture, even as horticulture began to appear in adjacent regions. Their self-sufficiency, together with the absence of easy travel ways through the area, tended to discourage trade with outside groups. By the same token, the Prairie Lake Region's distinctive environment and relative inaccessibility tended to inhibit outside groups from making inroads there. As a result, the broad cultural manifestation known as the Woodland Tradition generally made a slow appearance. Pottery, for example, was slow to appear, as were burial mounds and the use of horticulture.[127]

The Woodland Tradition

The Woodland Tradition is broadly understood to have developed around 800 B.C. in eastern North America and to have continued down to the Mississippian or proto-historic period. The earliest archeological evidence of the Woodland Tradition in the Prairie Lake Region, Anfinson reports, dates from

[126] Ibid. Quotation on p. 39.
[127] Ibid, 42-47, 122-23.

around 200 B.C. and is named the Fox Lake Phase for a village site found on an island in Fox Lake, located three counties east of Pipestone County. Artifacts recovered from this site and other Fox Lake Phase sites, Anfinson writes, "appear to document a relatively stable ceramic manufacturing tradition lasting perhaps a thousand years." Attributes of the pottery include thick vessel walls, sand temper (sand worked into the clay as a strengthening agent) and impressions in the ceramic left by cord wrapping. The variety of large and small points found at Fox Lake Phase sites suggests the adoption of the bow and arrow alongside the older spear and atlatl. Out of thirty-five known Fox Lake Phase sites, twenty-six are located by lakes. Many of those sites are on islands, peninsulas, isthmuses, or prominent hills. From their topographic distribution, Anfinson speculates that the people chose their village sites with an eye to escaping from prairie fires, and possibly for protection from hostile humans as well. Moreover, the trees that grew in those sheltered locations would have provided the occupants with construction material, fuel wood, and shade.[128]

Anfinson's terms and dates for describing the sequence of cultural traditions in the Prairie Lake Region differ in some important respects from the standard culture history sequence used by other archeologists. While Anfinson refers to Woodland culture in the broadest sense, he avoids the terms "Early Woodland," "Middle Woodland," and "Late Woodland." Rather, he defines a "Middle Prehistoric Period" dating from 3000 B.C. to A.D. 900, which he subdivides into the Mountain Lake Phase, the Fox Lake Phase, and the Lake Benton Phase.[129] The thrust of Anfinson's culture history sequence is to recognize that Prairie Lake Region peoples remained strongly oriented to a hunting and gathering way of life and largely resisted the move toward horticulture, the central feature of the Woodland Tradition. They adopted certain aspects of Woodland culture, including village settlements, pottery, the bow and arrow, and even mound-building, but those cultural manifestations appeared later in the Prairie Lake Region than they did to the east. Mound-building remained relatively simple in form: mortuary treatment involved placing the deceased in a shallow pit with a few grave goods, placing one gravesite next to another, and piling earth over the whole complex in the form of a low, conical mound. It seems from the lack of differentiation of age groups and sexes in the burial mounds that the society was egalitarian. No effigy mounds exist in the Prairie Lake Region like those found in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys.[130]

The Fox Lake Phase is an important cultural horizon for Pipestone National Monument, because fragments of pottery recovered within the national monument

[128] Ibid, 65-71.
[129] Scott et al., *Archaeological Inventory*, 31-33.
[130] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 88.

have been associated with this cultural complex and appear to indicate that people began to visit the area more frequently perhaps around 2,000 years ago. Paul L. Beaubien, an archeologist with the NPS, recovered some 350 ceramic artifacts in 1949. Subsequent archeological investigations by John S. Sigstad in 1965, and by other investigators in the 1980s and 1990s, brought the total number of pottery sherds recovered within the national monument to 435. Beaubien and Sigstad each dated the assemblage to the Woodland period, which was as precise as the state of archeological knowledge at the time would allow. In 1998, the NPS commissioned three experts – Scott Anfinson, Dale Henning, and Craig Johnson – to re-examine the artifacts in light of all the archeological investigations conducted in the region since Beaubien and Sigstad performed their work. The latter team determined that some of the material dates from the Middle Woodland or Fox Lake Phase, while the majority of ceramic artifacts dates from the Late Woodland Lake Benton Phase, or from roughly A.D. 700 to 1200. Meanwhile, archeological surveys in 1997 and 1998 recovered a dozen projectile points, some of which appear to be older than the ceramics. The oldest points are thought to date from Late Archaic times, which would place people in the area upwards of 3,000 years ago.[131]

Thus, it is now evident from archeological investigations conducted at Pipestone National Monument and in the surrounding region that people were passing through the area of the quarries long before they came to the site to obtain pipestone. No archeological evidence has been found of permanent or long-term habitation sites within the national monument, but people made transient use of the area, presumably searching for game and other resources while on their subsistence rounds. They would have been drawn to the area by the presence of game in the tallgrass prairie habitat above and below the escarpment, as well as by the fish, waterfowl, and other aquatic resources concentrated along Pipestone Creek. From the collection of pottery fragments and stone tool artifacts recovered from localities all over the national monument, it is assumed that use of the area began to intensify some 1,000 to 2,000 years ago as people came not only in pursuit of subsistence, but also for purposes of quarrying the pipestone. Before this chapter turns to the prehistoric quarrying activity, however, it will be helpful to understand changes in the population and culture of the region from approximately A.D. 900 to 1650.

Changing Occupation and Use in the Last Millennium of Prehistory

Around A.D. 900, significant cultural changes occurred within the Prairie Lake Region, which altered the context for habitation and use of the Pipestone Quarry site itself. Resident peoples gave more attention to horticulture, and their

[131] Scott et al., *Archaeological Inventory*, 134-35, 211, 215, 299; Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 32.

village sites shifted from lakeshore locations to river valleys. A key feature of the cultural manifestation was the cultivation of maize. Anfinson posits that in contrast to the Middle Prehistoric Period, the population was less stable and there was an increase of movement in and out of the region. Many different groups came to occupy the region, some year-round and others only seasonally. The newcomers may have introduced the stronger orientation to horticulture, but as they did so they also assimilated many of the cultural patterns of the earlier inhabitants, as revealed by the pottery, stone tools, and mortuary practices.[132]

The new cultural pattern has been termed the Plains Village or Middle Missouri Tradition. It extended across southern Minnesota, northwest Iowa, eastern Nebraska, and parts of eastern South Dakota, and reached up the Missouri River valley into southern North Dakota. It is in the Late Prehistoric Period that some groups become recognizable as ancestral to contemporary American Indian nations. In their work, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, anthropologists Zedeño and Basaldú write that the Plains Village Tradition was characterized by the start of sedentary or semi-sedentary maize horticultural societies that were essentially tribal in organization. Separate tribes had "more or less distinctive territorial and material culture markers," while all took part in a mixed economy of hunting and gathering and crop production for local consumption. Contemporary American Indian nations that are descended from the Plains Village Tradition include the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan on the upper Missouri and the Pawnee who once inhabited the Central Plains and were removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in the nineteenth century.[133]

The cause of the rise of the Plains Village Tradition is subject to debate. Archeologists originally suggested that it was an outgrowth of Mississippian culture. Faced with population pressure, the hypothesis stated, groups from the Mississippi Valley moved into the Plains, introducing maize and bean horticulture and various technological innovations to the hunting and gathering peoples of the Plains. This model was challenged when archeologists determined that the Plains Village Tradition appeared about A.D. 900, a century before the emergence of the Mississippian culture. Instead, it seems that the Plains Village Tradition arose in the context of the Late Woodland period and was an indigenous development. One hypothesis holds that a change in climate facilitated the northwestward expansion of maize cultivation and that the spread of maize horticulture was through a gradual process of accretion. Maize was important because it could be preserved for up to two years for future use. With its greater potential for food storage and

[132] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 89.
[133] Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 32, 36.

redistribution in time of need, maize cultivation encouraged population increase. Population increase in turn prompted resident peoples to put progressively more emphasis on maize horticulture in order to increase food supply for a denser, more sedentary population. Anfinson contends that the evidence for climate change in the Prairie Lake Region does not support this explanation, so he finds it more likely that the development of new varieties of maize and beans, more suitable to northern environments, precipitated the population increase. In any case, the Plains dwellers gradually converted to a less nomadic, more village-based way of life with a greater emphasis on food production and storage in order to support their larger numbers. As they did so, they formed into groups of allied villages for purposes of trade, intermarriage, collaborative hunting, and mutual defense of hunting territory.[134]

Contemporaneous with the emergence of the Plains Village Tradition, another cultural manifestation known as the Oneota Tradition appeared in northern Iowa. It, too, probably grew out of Late Woodland antecedents, but by its geographic placement nearer to the Mississippi Valley, it developed an early connection with the Mississippian trade system centered on Cahokia, which was located on the Mississippi River across from present-day St. Louis, Missouri. Distinguishing features of the Oneota Tradition in the archeological record include its use of shell-tempered pottery (with shell material traded all the way from the Gulf of Mexico), and its bison bone tool kit. Oneota village sites were typically located on terraces and floodplains within broad river valleys. The Oneota subsistence economy revolved around a mix of big game hunting, small game foraging, and maize, bean, and squash horticulture. Zedeño and Basaldú state that the Oneota Tradition "may be convincingly tied to early historic Siouan-speaking groups, including the Winnebago or Ho-Chunk, cognate groups of Chiwere Sioux and cognate groups of the Dhegiha Sioux, including Omaha, Ponca, and Kansa and, arguably, Osage."[135]

By around A.D. 1200, the Oneota peoples vied with the Plains Village peoples for control of territory. Within the Prairie Lake Region, Oneota villages clustered along the Minnesota River valley and the Blue Earth River, north and east of Pipestone County and the Coteau des Prairies. "Southwestern Minnesota at this time appears to have been partitioned," Anfinson writes. The two cultures coexisted in the region for about a century; then the Plains Village culture withdrew westward to the upper Missouri River.

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[134] Anfinson, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 124; Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 33.

[135] National Park Service, *Special Resource Study, Blood Run National Historic Landmark, Lyon County, Iowa and Lincoln County, South Dakota* (Omaha: National Park Service, 2000), 16; Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 36.

Two interpretations have been offered for what happened. Anfinson suggests there was conflict between the two cultures, with the Plains Village peoples being pushed out. He notes that Plains Village sites showed an increasing tendency toward fortification during the last phase of the Plains Village Tradition (the so-called Big Stone Phase) at the very time that the Oneota was experiencing its greatest expansion. "It would appear that the best explanation for the cultural changes that occurred in the western Midwest at about A.D. 1200 is that Oneota expansion caused a great deal of friction in the area," he posits. "The expansion and the conflict it caused with other cultures is the most plausible explanation for the abandonment of the southern northeastern Plains by Plains Villagers."[136]

Zedeño and Basaldú suggest that Oneota peoples absorbed and merged into the Plains Village population rather than displacing them. Citing the work of D. W. Benn, they describe the Oneota mode of production as a "predatory expansion model." Zedeño and Basaldú write: "Kin-based economic organization promoted the split and migration of segmentary self-sufficient units as well as the exchange of marriage partners who, in turn, carried with them some technological and symbolic elements that defined the Oneota." In addition to colonizing an area through intermarriage with the inhabitants, Zedeño and Basaldú state, the Oneota peoples also expanded their influence through exchange networks and alliance building. In contrast to Plains Village sites, Oneota villages appear not to have been fortified. One possible explanation for the difference is that Oneota settlements relied on large population numbers for their defense.[137]

The Oneota proclivity for trade and assimilation is revealed in the distribution of catlinite objects, ceramics, shell ornaments, and bone tools recovered at Oneota archeological sites. Zedeño and Basaldú point to the fact that western Oneota sites in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota reflect close relations to Plains cultures, while eastern Oneota sites in Wisconsin show a stronger Mississippian influence. Archeologist Dale R. Henning, an expert on the Oneota Tradition, was first to describe that west-to-east spectrum.[138]

After occupying the Blue Earth and Minnesota River valleys, the Oneota spread into northwestern Iowa after about A.D. 1350, perhaps forming settlements farther west as well. Three important archeological sites are located on the Little Sioux River, a tributary of the Missouri below the Big Sioux River, in northwestern Iowa. The oldest of these, a complex of sites near Correctionville, possibly consisting of two prehistoric village sites, has yielded artifacts showing strong

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[136] Scott, *Southwestern Minnesota Archaeology*, 112-13, 125.
[137] Dale R. Henning and Thomas D. Thiessen, Chapter 3 in "Dhegihan and Chiwere Siouans in the Plains: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives," Part Two, edited by Dale R. Henning and Thomas D. Thiessen, *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 192 (November 2004), 385.
[138] Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 37.

continuities with the so-called Blue Earth Phase of Oneota culture in southern Minnesota. The Correctionville sites are distinct from them, however, in the fact that the chipped stone tools are composed of material derived from sources in Kansas and Nebraska, and more importantly, the assemblage includes small pieces of catlinite derived from the Minnesota pipestone quarry. Upriver from Correctionville, another site known as the Bastian village site has yielded one radiocarbon date of between A.D. 1425 and 1550. Finally, still father upriver at Lake Okoboji there is another site that appears to reflect Ioway and Otoe occupations in the mid to late 1600s. Pottery and stone tools recovered from the site are consistent with late Oneota artifacts found elsewhere.[139]

The largest Oneota archeological site in northwestern Iowa is on the Big Sioux River at a place now known as the Blood Run Site (NHL) and was designated in 1970. The portion in South Dakota was named "Good Earth State Park at Blood Run," when it became a state park in 2013. The portion of the NHL in Iowa is also known as "Blood Run." The prehistoric settlement, ceremonial site, and trade center covered around 3,000 acres and contained some 120 known burial mounds. Oneota occupation of this site dates from around 1500 and merges into Omaha and Ioway occupation in the early historic period. For approximately two centuries, the Oneota/Omaha/Ioway settlement existed as the largest population center in the region, with a fluctuating population of perhaps 2,000 to 5,000 residents.[140] The population was likely augmented by migrations of indigenous peoples from the east who were fleeing from epidemics that swept through the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys as a consequence of European contact.[141] Around 1685, the Blood Run /Good Earth site was abandoned. A large quantity of catlinite artifacts have been recovered from there, indicating that the settlement had a close relationship of some sort to the Pipestone Quarry situated some fifty miles to the north. More will be said of Blood Run/Good Earth later in the chapter, but first it is necessary to consider how the quarries were opened and developed in the long period of prehistory before Blood Run/Good Earth came into existence.

Discovery of Catlinite and Early Quarrying

The pipestone is a thin red layer of soft stone lying sandwiched between thick layers of hard quartzite, and where quarriers are working the layer of

[139] Henning and Thiessen, Chapter 3 in "Dhegihan and Chiwere Siouans in the Plains: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives," 387-91.
[140] Dale Henning with Gerald Schnepf, "Blood Run: The 'Silent City'" (pamphlet; Rock Rapids, Iowa: Lyon County Historical Society, 2012), 5.
[141] George R. Milner, "Population Decline and Culture Change n the American Midcontinent: Bridging the Prehistoric and Historic Divide," *Beyond Germs: Native Depopulation in North America,* edited by Catherine M. Cameron, Paul Kelton, and Alan C. Swedlund (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 53-59.

pipestone today it lies buried beneath some eight to ten feet of quartzite and another two to three feet of overlying glacial till and prairie sod. Originally the layer of pipestone rose on a plane to break the surface of the bedrock on a line, known in mining geology as its "strike." Before quarrying began the strike lay mostly hidden beneath the glacial till and prairie sod, but presumably it was exposed to view in one place or another by some natural force cutting through the soft upper layers down to bedrock.

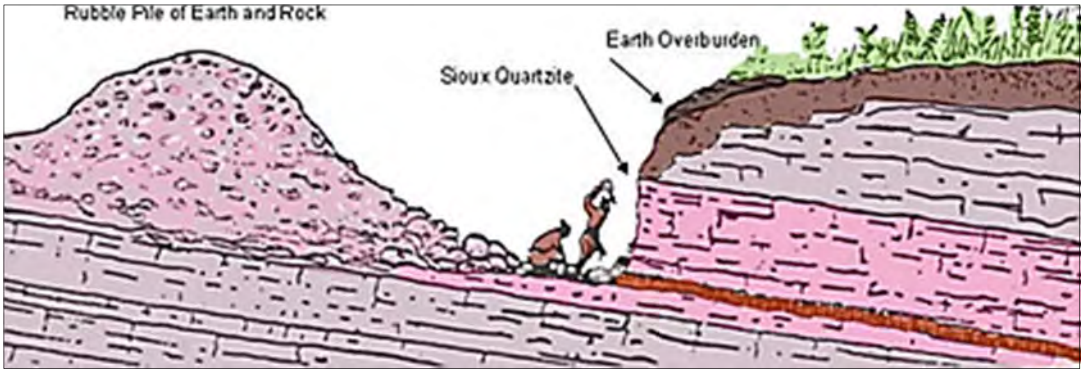


Figure 8. Schematic of how the layer of pipestone is exposed and quarried. (NPS adapted from Holmes, 1892.)

One possibility is that bison wore a trail in the earth that exposed the pipestone layer. According to oral tradition, people discovered the red pipestone by following a buffalo trail down to Pipestone Creek and finding the soft red layer of rock exposed along the edge of the trail. One can imagine the scene where the many buffalo, trailing to water time after time, would have worn a deep trench through the topsoil and drift. The oral tradition was first recorded in writing by explorer Joseph Nicollet after he inquired among nearby Dakota about the discovery of the pipestone and was told the story of the buffalo trail. Giving the oral tradition credence, Nicollet wrote in 1838 that "the pathway made formerly by the passage of the animals is still clearly visible for nearly a mile."[142]

The ethnologist William H. Holmes offered another possibility as to how American Indians discovered the red pipestone. He suggested that the pipestone layer may have been exposed where Pipestone Creek cut a channel across the prairie, exposing the pipestone where the course of the creek intersected the strike of the pipestone formation. If that were the case, then one might presume that Spotted Quarry, located immediately north of the creek, lies nearest to the discovery site of any of the present-day quarries. NPS archeologist Paul L. Beaubien investigated the Spotted Quarry in 1957 with that theory in view, but found only historic-period metal tools and metal-cut pieces of catlinite. Archeologist Roy W. Reaves conducted a salvage survey for archeological remains

[142] Nicollet quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 80.

in the area just south of the Spotted Quarry in 1971, in an area designated for construction of an addition to the visitor center. Reaves's study found no evidence of prehistoric quarrying in that location, either. It did point to a later period of quarrying from perhaps the 1890s to the 1930s. Reaves recovered one chipped hammerstone from this location, but contended that it was probably an "erratic." As with many other prehistoric tools recovered in Pipestone National Monument, the object would likely have been abandoned and reused numerous times, changing locations with each re-use. To date, there is no archeological evidence to suggest precisely how or where people discovered the thin, mostly subsurface layer of pipestone.[143]

Written records of how the quarries appeared in the 1830s do not offer much more than the archeological record to suggest where the earliest quarrying took place. By the time the first written accounts were made in the 1830s, the prehistoric workings were already obscured by later workings using metal tools. When fur trader Philander Prescott visited the pipestone quarry in 1832, he observed that the workings ran in a north-south line along the strike. The north end of the diggings was about two feet deep and ten feet wide and the south end of the diggings were about ten feet deep, he wrote. The depth of the diggings is not a very precise measure of where the quarrying was located at that time in relation to the point of discovery, but it suggests that they had moved aways. The artist George Catlin, on his visit in 1836, recorded what he saw with a bit more precision. He thought the workings ran for a distance of about a quarter mile. He described the quarry as a long ditch rather than a series of pits, with the exposed layer of pipestone being about eight to twelve inches thick and lying beneath about four to five feet of red quartzite.[144] The plane of the pipestone layer tilts on an angle of about one vertical foot for every ten feet of horizontal distance. In mining geology the angle of the rock layer is called the "dip." Since Catlin states that the thickness of the quartzite layer resting on top of the pipestone was from four to five feet, it may be presumed that the line of quarrying that he described in 1836 was about forty to fifty feet horizontal distance from the original strike. The advance of the line of quarrying was apparent to Catlin from the many piles of debris he saw in back of the line. He wrote: "From the very numerous marks of ancient and

[143] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 185, 196; Roy W. Reaves III, "Report on Archeological Salvage, Upper Midwest Cultural Center and Six-Unit Apartment Complex, Pipestone National Monument," 1971, copy provided to Don Stevens by Tom Thiessen, Donald L. Stevens, Jr., Research Files, Midwest Regional Office (MRO).
[144] George Catlin, *Catlin's Indians: Being a Deeply Interesting and Truly Celebrated Series of Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1891), 700.

modern diggings or excavations it would appear that this place for many centuries has been resorted to for the red stone."[145]

Later in the historic period, as the quarriers went deeper and deeper along the dip, the method of quarrying was to dispose of the overburden on the opposite, or west side of the ditch, effectively burying the prehistoric workings under heaps of waste rock as the line advanced eastward. The ethnologist W. H. Holmes, who visited the Pipestone Quarry in 1892 and made a detailed sketch map of the site, confirmed that the "ancient pits and trenches are being absorbed by the new."[146] In his treatise *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities* (1919), he wrote:

> With the rude stone implements in use in aboriginal times the process [of quarrying] was a very tedious one, and the excavations were consequently quite shallow. The ledge which crosses the stream at right angles was followed to the right and left by the quarrymen until the line of pittings was nearly a mile in length. These ancient diggings have been almost obliterated by natural filling or by the more recent mining operations. The latter, since the advent of the whites, have been greatly accelerated by the introduction of steel sledges, picks, shovels, and crowbars. Some of the present excavations are as much as 10 feet in depth, and have advanced 20 feet or more with the dip of the strata to the east.[147]

In Holmes's 1892 sketch map, the line of quarries more or less conforms to how it exists today. Holmes shows today's North Quarry and Spotted Quarry as two distinct lines of "ancient pits." He shows today's Main Quarry Line (the pits extending south of the visitor center) as a double row of "ancient pits" and "recent quarries." And he shows today's South Quarry as a southward extension of the Main Quarry Line, which he also labels "ancient pits."

Since 1892, all parts of the quarry line have seen further excavation and the North Quarry has been extended northward. As archeological investigations have shown, no section of the line of quarries is free of the imprint of quarrying during historic times.[148]

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[145] George Catlin, "Account of a Journey to the Côteau des Prairies, with a description of the Red Pipe Stone quarry and Granite bowlders found there," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 38, no. 1 (1839), 141.
[146] Holmes quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 123.
[147] W. H. Holmes, *Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities, Part I: Introductory, the Lithic Industries*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 60 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 253-55.
[148] Douglas D. Scott and Thomas D. Thiessen, "Catlinite Extraction at Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Social and Technological Implications," in *The Cultural Landscape of Prehistoric Mines*, edited by Peter Topping and Mark Lynott (Oxford, England: Oxbow Books, 2005), 142-43.

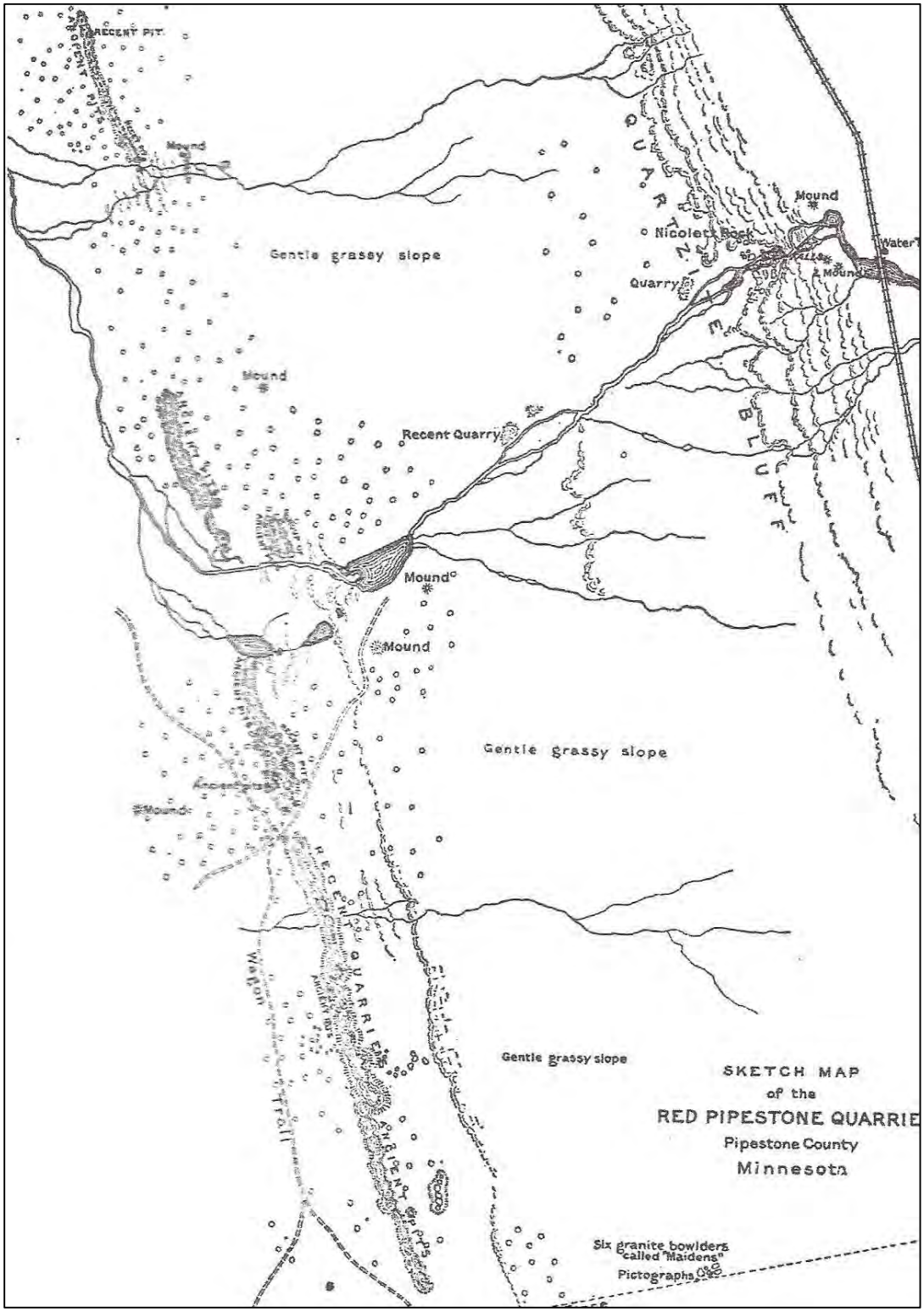


Figure 9. Map of the Pipestone Quarry from W. H. Holmes, 1892.

Because quarrying in the historic period tended to obliterate the prehistoric workings, very little is known about how prehistoric peoples did the quarrying despite the extensive archeological resources at Pipestone National Monument. A variety of hammer stones have been recovered that were apparently used in quarrying. At the southern end of the quarry line, Beaubien found a dozen granite cobbles or small boulders that appeared to have been used to break up the overlying quartzite. Sigstad, returning to the same area in the mid 1960s, found a single "large basaltic boulder" that may have been used for the same purpose.[149]

Fur trader Prescott reported that quarriers, to whom he referred as "Sioux," would take a rock as large as could be lifted by two men, and they would throw it down on the quartzite to crack it. Once they got a crack started, they worked on widening it and prying pieces loose with the aid of metal tools. Prehistoric quarrymen may have used the same method to crack the quartzite, and one can imagine them proceeding to the use of stone wedges and hammers to exploit the cracks and break the quartzite into pieces. Prescott noted that among the heavy objects the "Sioux" quarrymen used to crack the quartzite was a cannonball they had brought from a fort on the Missouri River. A lead or cast iron cannonball was obviously a handy tool that prehistoric quarrymen did not have available to them.[150]

Prehistoric peoples apparently camped at the quarries for a few days or weeks at a time while they quarried. As they extracted large tablets of pipestone, they shaped the material into smaller blocks, or "blanks," from which single pipes would later be carved. The aim was to lighten their loads by getting rid of excess stone, while putting off the actual work of carving until they were resituated somewhere else. This is known from the scattering of pipestone they left behind. In particular, it is known from a site discovered by Park Service archeologist Jeff Richner in 1994 and further investigated in 1997. An apparent campsite and catlinite workshop area, it contains over ninety artifacts, including projectile points and other discarded stone tools, worked and unworked catlinite, a few fragments of bone, and two potsherds. The potsherds and projectile points suggest the site was occupied sometime in the Late Woodland through Late Prehistoric timeframe, between 400 and 1650. Since none of the catlinite pieces appear to have been worked by metal tools, the Richner site provides a rare view of prehistoric use of the Pipestone National Monument area.[151]

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[149] Scott and Thiessen, "Catlinite Extraction at Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota," 142-43.
[150] Paul L. Beaubien, "Report of an Archeological Reconnaissance at Pipestone National Monument," 1949, typescript, National Archives – Central Plains Region [NA-CPR], Record Group 79 [RG 79], Region II (Midwest Region), Pipestone National Monument, Box 195, File 732 Geology – General; Philander Prescott, *The Recollections of Philander Prescott: Frontiersman of the Old Northwest, 1819-1862*, edited by Donald Dean Parker (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 137.
[151] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 192-93.

Prehistoric peoples used the pipestone primarily to make pipes, though they used it to make ornaments as well. Because it was so soft, the pipestone could be easily worked with tools such as stone scrapers, knives, and drills. Prehistoric peoples used stone points to peck the blank pieces into shape, taking care not to strike in the plane of lamination. They hollowed out the pipe using stone drills or wooden shafts in combination with sand and water. They polished the pipes with wood ashes or a wetted sandstone, and gave it a final burnishing with a bone. It is thought that a basic, unornamented pipe took about one day to manufacture. The manufacturing was done elsewhere, however, not at the site. No finished pipes have been recovered in Pipestone National Monument, indicating that the work of fine carving was reserved for a later time.[152]

Cultural Traditions at the Quarry Site

While they took their pipe carving elsewhere, prehistoric peoples did take time to carve rock art, or petroglyphs, in the exposed quartzite while they were at the quarry. Around the Three Maidens there used to be numerous quartzite outcroppings on which these peoples made most of their carvings. In addition to the Three Maidens petroglyphs, a single petroglyph has been identified on top of the quartzite ledge, and a panel of petroglyphs has been recorded on a quartzite outcrop below the ledge. Some of the petroglyphs were produced by pecking hundreds of small holes in the rock face, others by carving grooves or impressions with a scraper or abrader. Each image appears as an indented line drawing or shape, and is rendered visible by the play of light and shadow on the rock's surface or by variations in the rock's pigment where it has been recessed. Petroglyphs are different from pictographs, which are made by painting on the rock with a color substance. About one hundred separate glyphs have been identified within Pipestone National Monument, representing a variety of human figures, animal forms, and geometric or abstract shapes. Animals are the most common images, with birds and turtles occurring most frequently. Bird tracks are also numerous.[153]

The thunderbird, turtle, bird track, and human handprint and footprint are important recurring motifs in what has been called the Hoofprint Tradition of Plains Indian rock art. The Hoofprint Tradition is dated to the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods, or about 500 to 1800. It is associated with so-called Siouan speakers, or peoples who were broadly associated by language similarities, ancestors of the Dakota, Nakota, Lakota, Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Assiniboine, Ponca, Omaha, Ioway, Otoe, and Ho-Chunk nations. It may also have included

[152] R. H. Landon, "The Story of Pipestone," *Minnesota Archaeologist* 1 (April 1939), 7.
[153] Thomas D. Thiessen and Charles R. Bailey, "The Pipestone Petroglyphs," *1999 IRAC Proceedings* 1, edited by P. Whitehead and L. Loendorf (Tucson: American Rock Art Research Association, 2000), 124; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 225.

some Algonquian-speaking peoples who lived on the Plains, such as the ancestors of the Cheyenne and Plains Cree. The tradition has been linked to a broader form of rock art in the Woodland Tradition that has been found in locations from western Pennsylvania to Minnesota. Within the larger Woodland context, the most common motifs are the thunderbird, animal and turkey tracks, and human handprints and footprints.[154]

While the rock art's antiquity cannot be measured by radiocarbon dating, contemporary archeologists nevertheless make a convincing case that it dates from prehistoric times. In their archeological inventory and overview of Pipestone National Monument, Scott et al. state:

> Although the age of rock art is difficult to establish, a gross estimation may sometimes be made on the basis of the subjects depicted as glyphs, or what is omitted. At Pipestone, for example, no subjects from recent historical time are depicted, such as horses or firearms. This would suggest a prehistoric age for the monument's rock art. Also missing from the Pipestone petroglyphs are motifs that have been interpreted at the nearby Jeffers Petroglyph site as dating from Archaic times. These glyphs depict spear throwers called atlatls, atlatl weights, tanged copper projectile points, and copper crescents – all artifacts restricted to cultures that existed during the Archaic period, i.e. prior to circa 200 B.C.

On the basis of these clues, Scott et al. hold that the Pipestone petroglyphs were created between about 200 B.C. and A.D. 1750.[155]

In prehistoric times, the Three Maidens rested on a platform of exposed quartzite bedrock, smoothed by glacial polish and perpetually swept clear of soil by the force of prairie winds whipping under and around the standing boulders. Rock artists made the petroglyphs on the smooth slabs of quartzite surrounding the boulders. The prehistoric setting for the petroglyphs needs to be imagined, for both the artwork and the quartzite outcropping can no longer be seen there. Those slabs of quartzite were chiseled off and removed in the late nineteenth century in order to protect the petroglyphs from vandals and preserve them for posterity. Topsoil was spread over the area in the early twentieth century to make the place more inviting for Euro-American recreational use. The former outcropping is now covered by a carpet of grass. Trees, buildings, and a pond have further transformed the setting. The Three Maidens would have made a more imposing sight in prehistoric times,

[154] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 281-82.
[155] Ibid, 281.

being surrounded by relatively featureless prairie and resting as they were on a kind of rock altar.[156]

The original cultural significance of the rock art is open to interpretation. Some have argued that the images have sacred meanings, representing totems or spiritual guides. American Indians in historic times were known to treat the Three Maidens reverentially, and it is tempting to assume that prehistoric peoples held the conspicuous boulders in similar high regard. Yet, others have suggested that the petroglyphs did not necessarily have sacred meanings, but may in fact have been offerings or cultural expressions.

Garrick Mallery, a member of the Bureau of Ethnology and author of "Picture-Writing of the American Indians" (1893), was inclined to interpret the rock art through oral traditions recorded in historic times. "There is a tradition that it was formerly the custom for each Indian who gathered stone [catlinite] for pipes, to inscribe his totem [whether clan or tribal or personal totem is not specified] upon the rock before venturing to quarry upon this ground," Mallery wrote. Although Mallery never visited the pipestone quarry himself, he collected written descriptions and drawings of the petroglyphs from many who did, including the state geologist N. H. Winchell, who investigated the pipestone quarry around 1878, and Mallery's colleague in the Bureau of Ethnology, W. H. Holmes, who went there in 1892. It should be noted, however, that Mallery seems not to have realized that the petroglyphs were likely prehistoric in origin. He did not venture his own opinion as to their age, but merely quoted the view of the state geologist, Winchell, that "it is probable that they date back to no very great antiquity." Winchell seemed to think that images of turtles and bears were the predominant motif among the Pipestone petroglyphs, and he pointed out that turtles and bears were the most powerful totems among the clans of indigenous peoples of eastern North America when Europeans encountered them. From this, Winchell generalized that the subject matter contained in the Pipestone petroglyphs all pertained "to the dynasty of the present Indian tribes." Subsequent investigations found that Winchell's representations of the Pipestone petroglyphs were quite inexact and incomplete. Mallery's interpretation of the meaning of the rock art, though based substantially on Winchell's flawed information, still has the force of his own considerable expertise behind it. Mallery's study of American Indian rock art was the first

[156] Garrick Mallery, "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," in *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, edited by J. W. Powell (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 87; Thiessen and Bailey, "The Pipestone Petroglyphs," 121; N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1911), 565. Winchell describes the petroglyphs' original setting as follows: "The '3 Maidens' rest on red quartzite, the color of which ranges from dark red to light pink. The pictographs [sic] are on the quartzite only, at and around the base of the six boulders, mostly on the south side, but there are a few on the north side and on the quartzite between the boulders. The surface of the quartzyte is slightly undulatory, with numerous seams and cracks, cutting it into slabs of various sizes with irregular outlines."

survey of its kind in North America, and he interpreted the Pipestone petroglyphs from that broad perspective.[157]

A much more recent traditional use study of Pipestone National Monument provides a different view. In the course of doing ethnographic research for the study in the mid 1990s, researchers David T. Hughes and Alice J. Stewart interviewed a number of American Indians who treat the pipestone quarry as a sacred site, asking them to share any traditional knowledge they have of the origin, purpose, and significance of the Three Maidens petroglyphs. The informants offered little information to the ethnographers on that topic, and their views varied widely. The report states:

> The general consensus among informants, both formally interviewed and in casual conversation, is that the meaning of the petroglyphs is forgotten. Five informants who live in the area attempted to make a guess or inject a personal opinion about what the petroglyphs might have meant including winter counts, graffiti, personal markers, spiritual guides, a mark left by one or more spirits, and landmarks or directions on the prairie. Two other informants argued that the original placement or arrangement of the petroglyphs at the Three Maidens might have had meaning, either spiritual or mundane, and that the ceremonies traditionally held at the Three Maidens with the petroglyphs present may have had some special significance in relation to those petroglyphs. Others simply refused to guess whether or not there is or was any spiritual significance or traditional meaning to the petroglyphs.[158]

Whatever cultural meaning the petroglyphs had for prehistoric peoples, the markings undoubtedly acquired sacred significance for later groups in historical times and in the present. The historical and present-day significance of the petroglyphs for American Indians will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The Age and Distribution of Catlinite Artifacts

Pipes and ornaments made from the soft red pipestone were traded over long distances. Artifacts made from pipestone quarried in Minnesota have been recovered from sites as far west as Montana, as far east as New York, as far south as Alabama and Oklahoma, and as far north as northern Manitoba. Archeologists have long been interested in tracing recovered pipestone objects back to the original source of the pipestone for at least three reasons: it illuminates the geographic

[157] Mallery, "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," 87-88; Thiessen and Bailey, "The Pipestone Petroglyphs," 117.
[158] Quoted in Thiessen and Bailey, "The Pipestone Petroglyphs," 123.

scope of prehistoric trade networks; it sheds light on the cultural diffusion of the ceremonial pipe and its attendant ideology; and it assists in dating the actual quarrying at the site where the pipestone came from. Catlinite artifacts recovered from remote archeological sites provide some of the best evidence for interpreting prehistoric use of the quarry on Pipestone Creek.

Yet the problem of connecting pipestone artifacts with particular quarries is a complicated one. Like matching a fingerprint to a person, it requires matching the chemical signature of the worked pipestone with the chemical signature of the pipestone source through sophisticated testing in the laboratory. Geologically, all pipestone is a claystone or argillite. Argillite deposits are not common, but sources have been identified in other locations besides Pipestone County, Minnesota, including places in Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, South Dakota, Montana, and Arizona. These sources include argillite beds that occur in bedrock formations like the one underlying Pipestone National Monument, as well as argillite fragments that were transported in glaciers and deposited randomly in glacial drift. While all argillites are similar in origin and structure, each argillite deposit is unique in mineralogical composition and has its own chemical signature. Although the pipestone formation underlying Pipestone National Monument tends to shade from a dark solid red at one end of the bed to a lighter spotted hue at the other, nonetheless the whole bed is chemically uniform enough that it is distinguishable from other argillite deposits when analyzed under laboratory conditions. To trace pipestone artifacts back to their source, archeologists have faced the technical challenge of finding a laboratory test that will produce accurate results without harming the artifacts.

The attempt to correlate pipestone artifacts with specific quarries began in the late 1930s, but in fact pipestone was brought into the laboratory for chemical analysis for the first time a century before that, when George Catlin took a sample of the Minnesota pipestone back East and had it assayed. Dr. Charles T. Jackson of Boston, a noted geologist of the time, performed the mineralogical analysis, and the unique substance received the name "catlinite."[159] Ironically, Catlin's aim appears not to have been to identify the Minnesota pipestone's unique "fingerprint" to distinguish it from other argillites, but rather to provide scientific evidence for his belief that he had discovered the source material for all aboriginal red pipes. Catlin's contemporaries were perhaps too easily swayed by that notion, yet they did find ample evidence for it in American Indian oral tradition as well as in the

[159] Jackson recorded the pipestone's mineralogical composition in terms of parts per one hundred grains, as follows: water, 8.4 grains; silica, 48.2; alumina, 28.2; magnesia, 6.0; perox. iron, 5.0; ox. manganese, 0.6; carb. lime, 2.6; loss (probably magnesia), 1. See miscellaneous note 18 in *American Journal of Science* 1st series, 35 (1839), 388.

historical texts left by early French explorers – all of which, they thought, pointed to a single, almost mythical quarry in southwestern Minnesota.[160]

As nineteenth-century writers assumed that the famed catlinite deposit in Minnesota was the sole source of all red pipestone, the term "catlinite" came to be applied loosely to all types of red pipestone carved by indigenous peoples. Charles Rau, a curator at the Smithsonian Institution, wrote a paper in 1872 entitled "Ancient Aboriginal Trade in North America." After stating without a shred of doubt that the Minnesota pipestone quarry was the only location on the whole North American continent where the red pipestone was found, Rau proceeded to discuss the significance of several "catlinite" artifacts recovered from various places:

> Not long ago a small Catlinite pipe of unusual shape was sent to me, which had been ploughed up in a maize-field near Centreville, in Southern Illinois (St. Clair County). Such older specimens are even met in the New England States, near the Atlantic coast. The collection of the Smithsonian Institute contains some pipes and ornaments made of Catlinite, which were taken from Indian graves in the State of New York, or obtained from the Iroquois still inhabiting the same State. The raw or worked red pipestone, therefore, constituted an article of barter, which was brought from its original place of occurrence to the present Eastern States of the Union. A passage in Loskiel, who chiefly treats of the Delawares and Iroquois, refers to this trade. In describing the pipes of those Indians, he says: "Some are manufactured from a kind of red stone, which is sometimes brought for sale by Indians who live near the Marble river, on the western side of the Mississippi, where they extract it [sic] from a mountain." This passage, it will be noticed, implies a direct trade-connection of great extent, the distance between the red pipestone quarry and the Northern Atlantic States being equal to twelve or thirteen hundred English miles.[161]

Rau assumed that the catlinite artifacts were "ancient" or prehistoric, that they came from Minnesota, and that the location where they were found was evidence of a "direct trade-connection" back to the quarry dating from when the pipes were manufactured. In all likelihood the artifacts did come from Minnesota but were of more recent origin.

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[160] Thomas E. Emerson and Randall E. Hughes, "De-Mything the Cahokia Catlinite Trade," *Plains Anthropologist* 46, no. 175 (May 2001), 151.

[161] Charles Rau, "Ancient Aboriginal Trade in North America," in U.S. House, *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., Misc. Doc. No. 107, 1873, p. 369-70

Before archeologists began to question the assumption that all red pipestone or catlinite derived from the quarry in southwestern Minnesota, artifacts purported to be made of the southwestern Minnesota catlinite were recovered from Hopewell mounds in Ohio and from Ancestral Pueblo ruins in the Southwest. The discoveries led to the theory that tribes from virtually every region of the United States had ancient ties to the Minnesota pipestone quarry. No less of an authority than John W. Powell, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, contributed to the theory when he wrote in 1898 that "the great Pipestone Quarry" was "known to the tribesmen of a large part of the continent."[162]

By the time the National Park Service began to administer Pipestone National Monument in the 1940s, archaeologists had come to realize that pipestone artifacts derive from multiple sources. Edward A. Hummel, regional supervisor of historic sites, commented on the change of perspective in a memorandum outlining the research needs for the new national monument:

> Until quite recently it was believed that the Pipestone National Monument quarries was the only source of red pipestone in the United States. However, during the past two decades archaeological investigations have revealed catlinite [that is, pipestone] quarries in Wisconsin and Ohio, and it is possible that others may be found in future years. None of the other known quarries are as extensive as those in Minnesota. The latter always will be the type locality in geology.[163]

Hummel identified seven specific research needs, one of which was the need to begin correcting the errors of interpretation that had come about as a result of the long-held notion that all red pipestone is catlinite from the Minnesota quarry. He proposed that the NPS work with an expert to prepare a report on "an analysis of red pipestone pipes in the various museums to determine, if possible, which came from the Pipestone National Monument quarries and the preparation of a chart showing the diffusion of Minnesota catlinite through the American continent." While no such report was completed at that time, the idea took hold that the Park Service should support research aimed at establishing a compositional standard, or "fingerprint," for the Minnesota catlinite so that true Minnesota pipestone artifacts could be properly identified. In 1949, Superintendent Lyle

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[162] Major J. W. Powell, Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 12, 1898, in U.S. Senate, *Title of Yankton Indians to the Pipestone Reservation in Minnesota*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 55, Serial Set 4220, 1901, 7-8.

[163] Edward A. Hummel, "Preliminary Historical Development Report of Pipestone National Monument," October 1940, NA-CPR, RG 79, Pipestone National Monument, Box 194, File 621 Construction Projects. See also Wesley Reinhold Hiller, "A Comparison of Minnesota and Wisconsin Catlinites," *Minnesota Archaeologist* 14, no. 1 (January 1948), 29.

Linch corresponded with P. W. Bridgman, a Harvard University physicist, to arrange for a lab test of catlinite by the university's Department of Mineralogy. In 1960, park officials arranged with the Wisconsin Geological Survey to conduct a lab test of catlinite using the technique of X-ray powder diffraction analysis. While the test gave the NPS the "fingerprint" it was looking for, several more years passed before the NPS located an expert to do the desired study.[164]

Meanwhile, in the absence of hard data on the origins of the ancient red pipes, scholars offered widely divergent interpretations as to the age of the Minnesota pipestone quarry. On one side were those who were inclined to trust the old assumptions. True, other sources of red argillite were now known to exist, but none of those other quarries were known to have been worked in prehistoric times. It seemed reasonable to hold, therefore, that most of the red pipestone artifacts recovered from prehistoric mounds had indeed come from the quarry on the Coteau des Prairies.[165] On the other side were those who wondered whether prehistoric use of the Minnesota quarry had been overblown, or at least too readily assumed when there was no strong evidence for it. Perhaps the quarry only dated back to early historic times. In a short article that appeared in *Minnesota Archaeologist* in 1962, Bertha L. Heilbron, a longtime editor of *Minnesota History* magazine, observed that the earliest occurrence of catlinite in substantial quantities in archeological sites in the upper Midwest were in Oneota/Ioway sites where some of the earliest European trade goods were also present. "This, and the limited amount of archeological evidence directly obtained from the quarry area tends to point to a beginning of quarrying in the area in the period roughly around A.D. 1600," she wrote.[166]

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the NPS sponsored John S. Sigstad, a doctoral graduate student at the University of Missouri, to conduct a study of catlinite and other red pipestone artifacts. Sigstad's project more or less matched the one first proposed by Hummel some twenty-five years earlier. Sigstad experimented with various laboratory methods to distinguish catlinite from other red pipestones and finally settled on a technique called neutron activation analysis. Seemingly cutting edge at the time (the research involved use of the University of Missouri-Columbia's nuclear reactor) Sigstad's technique was subsequently challenged and found to be unreliable. Consequently, his interpretation of the age and distribution of catlinite artifacts was disproven. Sigstad had concluded that prehistoric peoples exploited the quarry from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 700, trading catlinite primarily eastward where it turned up in Adena, Hopewell, and Plains

[164] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 53.
[165] Theodore L. Nydahl, "The Pipestone Quarry and the Indians," *Minnesota History* 31, no. (1950), 200.
[166] Bertha L. Heilbron, "The Minnesota Pipestone Quarries," *Minnesota Archaeologist* 24 (January 1962), 42.

Woodland sites, and that exploitation use intensified after A.D. 700, from which time the resident peoples traded catlinite primarily southwestward, where it turned up in Ancestral Pueblo and Hohokam sites in Arizona.[167]

Sigstad's findings were not seriously challenged until about twenty years later. In the 1990s, James N. Gunderson, an archeological geologist at Wichita State University, began experimenting once again with X-ray powder diffractometry analysis (XRD). Using their refined method of XRD, Gunderson and his collaborators have identified 360 catlinite objects from 44 different archeological sites. According to their findings, a few catlinite objects come from Early/Middle Woodland sites, and probably date from around 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. A far greater number of catlinite objects date from about 1100 A.D. and later. Although Gunderson refutes Sigstad's assertion that pipestone from the Minnesota quarry reached the American Southwest, he finds artifacts located as far afield as Ohio, Alabama, and Oklahoma.[168]

Gunderson and his colleagues brought about a new archeological consensus on the age and distribution of pipestone objects derived from Minnesota's Pipestone Quarry. According to their thinking, prehistoric peoples may have begun to exploit the deposit as much as 2,500 years ago, yet it was only with the rise of the Oneota culture that the quarry became a major producer. Focusing on the relationship between the Minnesota pipestone quarry and Oneota and Cahokian sites in the upper Mississippi River valley, Gunderson and his colleagues contend that trade or transport of catlinite into the upper Mississippi River valley began only late in the thirteenth century. Judging by the number and distribution of recovered catlinite artifacts, production from the quarry underwent a dramatic rise during the historic period.[169] Part of the evidence coming from XRD analysis is negative evidence: it has shown that red pipestone artifacts recovered from sites associated with the prehistoric city of Cahokia that were once assumed to be Minnesota catlinite are not from Minnesota after all. They are not made of stone from the quarry on Pipestone Creek, but are derived instead from sources in Wisconsin and Missouri. Two other researchers have used the XRD results not only for determining when the Minnesota quarry was in production, but also to argue "against exaggerating the importance of long-distance trade, specifically in

[167] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 54; John S. Sigstad, "The Age and Distribution of Catlinite and Red Pipestone," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, 1973, 51.
[168] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 57. Scott et al. list the 44 sites by state, with the number of catlinite objects, cultural affiliation, approximate age, and reference for each listing in their Table 4, pp. 58-64. See also James Novotny Gunderson, "'Catlinite' and the Spread of the Calumet Ceremony," *American Antiquity* 58, no. 3 (July 1993), 560-62.
[169] J. T. Penman and J. N. Gunderson, "Pipestone Artifacts from Upper Mississippi Valley Sites," *Plains Anthropologist* 44, no. 167 (February 1999), 47.

the political and economic history of Cahokia and more generally in Mississippian societies."[170]

Archeologists continue to make other refinements to the current state of scientific knowledge on the age and distribution of catlinite. One recent study of Hopewell pipstone artifacts recovered from Tremper Mound in the Scioto Valley, Ohio, identified catlinite using Portable Infrared Mineral Analyzer (PIMA) technology. Radiocarbon dating indicated that the cache of material items were placed in the mound between about 50 B.C. and A.D. 79. The researchers theorized that a west-to-east trade route existed between the Minnesota pipestone quarry and Ohio for only a brief period and then the trade ceased until the late prehistoric period.[171] While archeologists assert a fair level of confidence about recent findings, it should be noted that the laboratory tests are still evolving, and the effort to source red pipestone artifacts continues.[172]

Pipestone carvers, meanwhile, offer a somewhat different perspective, which they derive from traditional knowledge as well as their direct, tactile experience of quarrying and carving the stone. In the first place, they prefer the term "pipestone" to "catlinite" even as they affirm that no two sources of pipestone are identical. They insist that they can distinguish Minnesota pipestone from other soft, red pipestones by its carvability, its degree of softness, which is neither too soft nor too hard but just right. Moreover, they can detect differences in quality in the pipestone depending on whether it comes from near the top or bottom of the pipestone layer. The pipestone is more coarse-grained at the top of the layer and shades to more fine-grained at the bottom of the layer. The whole layer is comprised of mini layers compressed together. Toward the top, the pipestone is more prone to splitting along tiny fraction lines when the pipestem is inserted with pressure into the completed pipe so as to be held firmly in place. Based on these variables, some carvers have developed personal preferences for the top or bottom layers. And yet, they find that all of it from top to bottom is superior to pipestone imported from other sources.[173]

The Minnesota pipestone can also be distinguished from other pipestones by its hue. In the gifting and ceremonial use of pipestone, traditionalists regard the

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[170] Emerson and Hughes, "De-Mything the Cahokia Catlinite Trade," 156.
[171] Thomas E. Emerson, Randall E. Hughes, Kenneth B. Farnsworth, Sarah U. Wiseman, and Mary R. Hynes, "Tremper Mound, Hopewell Catlinite, and PIMA Technology," *Midcontinent Journal of Archaeology* 30, no. 2 (Fall 2005), 189.
[172] See, for example, Richard P. Mason, "Unusual Catlinite Pendants from Northeastern Wisconsin," *Minnesota Archaeologist* 67 (2008), 63-71; and Richard L. Fishel and Jason M. Titcomb, "Sourcing Red Pipestone Artifacts from Northwest Iowa," *Newsletter of the Iowa Archeological Society* 59, no. 1 (Spring 2009), 6-7.
[173] Glen Livermont, telephone communication with Theodore Catton, December 18, 2015.

Minnesota pipestone as sacred and unique. It is not at all interchangeable with other pipestones.[174]

Blood Run/Good Earth and the Pipestone Quarry

From what is now known about the age and distribution of catlinite artifacts, it appears that Oneota people came to play a primary role in exploiting the quarry for a period of several centuries as nearby groups began to supply the highly valued stone to other, more distant, Oneota groups. Oneota use of the quarry culminated during Oneota occupation of the Blood Run/Good Earth site from approximately 1250 to 1685, or possibly into the early 1700s. The four and a half centuries of habitation at Blood Run/Good Earth happen to bridge the time when knowledge about American Indian tribes comes from a mix of archeological, historical, and oral tradition sources. During this "protohistoric" period, Oneota people gave rise to the Ioway and Omaha nations at Blood Run/Good Earth, while Oneota people elsewhere separated into other Plains Indian nations including the Missouria, Ho-Chunk, Kansa, and perhaps the Osage.[175]

Dale R. Henning is knowledgable about Oneota culture and is a leading authority on the Blood Run/Good Earth site. He summarizes his interpretation of Oneota use of the quarry as follows:

> From 1250 to about 1700 Oneota people, probably ancestral to Ioway and, later, Omaha, controlled and exploited the quarries, carrying quantities of raw stone back to their nearby village. There they produced finished pieces, pipes, tablets and ornaments that were traded to other Oneota people, most notably the ancestral Missouria and Winnebago [Ho-Chunk]. Many of these objects, especially pipes, were subsequently passed on, quickly reaching non-Oneota groups in the Mississippi valley and east to the Atlantic coast. By 1600, catlinite was an important part of an evolving exchange network that eventually included many eastern tribes.[176]

The Blood Run/Good Earth site shows evidence of intermittent human occupation dating back to Archaic times, but the main culture component represented in archeological remains is Oneota. Ceramics recovered at the site reflect the classic Oneota style of jar-shaped vessel with constricted neck, flaring rim, and paired handles. Arrow points from the site are in the Oneota tradition.

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[174] Ibid.
[175] Zedeño and Basaldú, *Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota: Native American Cultural Affiliation and Traditional Association Study Final Report*, 36.
[176] Dale R. Henning, "Minnesota Pipestone: Out of the Quarries and into the World," paper presented March 24, 2013, at State Historical Society Museum Building, Des Moines, Iowa. Copy in authors' possession.

Bone tools, including bison scapula hoe blades and antler-and-stone end scrapers, are also part of the Oneota tool kit. The latter tool was used to scrape fat and hair from hides and consisted of a triangular stone flake embedded into a piece of antler for a handle. The Oneota hunted bison, elk, deer, and smaller mammals, and also ate birds, fish, and shellfish. They were also horticulturalists, growing corn, beans, and squash, and they harvested wild plants, too. Several food storage pits have been found at the Blood Run/Good Earth site. The site has yielded a total of ten radiocarbon dates spanning the years 1480 to 1740.[177]



Figure 10. Blood Run Creek. (Photo by the authors.)

The site was named "Blood Run" for Blood Run Creek, which enters the Big Sioux River in the extreme northwest corner of Iowa about ten miles southeast of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Oneota habitations once stretched along the creek for nearly three miles but the main village area probably covered less than a thousand acres in its heyday. Known features located within the 844-acre national historic landmark site include house sites, burial mounds, food storage pits, refuse pits, one fortification or enclosed area, and one effigy mound in the shape of a serpent. More features in and around the area await discovery. It is by far the largest Oneota occupation site yet found. Typical Oneota villages covered perhaps twenty-five to one hundred acres and were seldom fortified, so the Blood Run/Good Earth site is truly grand by comparison.[178]

Oneota people were probably drawn to the area by a combination of the abundant bison resources and the nearby pipestone quarry. As the village grew from perhaps a few hundred residents to as many as 5,000 within three or four generations, the population must have been greatly augmented by in-migration.

[177] National Park Service, *Special Resource Study, Blood Run National Historic Landmark, Lyon County, Iowa and Lincoln County, South Dakota*, 15-16; Henning, "Minnesota Pipestone: Out of the Quarries and into the World."
[178] Henning and Schnepf, "Blood Run: The 'Silent City,'" 11-12.

House sites were interspersed with garden plots, food storage pits, trash pits, and burial mounds. Houses were probably made of pole structures covered with bison hides and woven mats. Food storage pits were usually about four feet in diameter and perhaps seven feet deep. Burial mounds appear to have been made by mixing different types of soil together for strength and pounding them into place. Although the burial mounds have been largely obliterated by farming, due to the hardness of the packed earth many of them can still be detected from the air and by using geophysics.[179]

Archeologists say that the many stone, bone, and ceramic artifacts found at the Blood Run/Good Earth site provide convincing evidence that it was once a robust trading center. Some of the evidence comes from diverse stone materials found at the site that came from elsewhere. These include obsidian flakes from Wyoming and Idaho, flint tools and flakes that probably derived from material quarried in North Dakota, cherts from Nebraska, and quantities of greenish quartzite from South Dakota. In addition, various ornaments made of copper probably were made with copper from the Keweenaw Peninsula of Michigan.[180]

Many of the catlinite objects that have been recovered at the site were probably items that had been discarded or lost while in various stages of manufacture. The assemblage of catlinite artifacts suggests that the Blood Run/Good Earth site functioned as a habitation site for quarrying and as a workshop for making catlinite objects for trade. Among the catlinite artifacts that most interest Henning are stone tablets bearing etchings of various kinds. Flat on both sides and usually less than a foot in length, they are variously adorned with images of bison, birds, thunderbirds, lightning bolts, birdmen, human figures, water monsters, snakes, arrows, and other motifs. Henning speculates that the tablets had some kind of sacred significance to the Oneota. They are not found in burial mounds, a pattern which suggests they were not held as private property. Perhaps because of their size and weight they did not travel as far as pipes, but catlinite tablets have been recovered in the Oneota Bastian village site in northwest Iowa as well as the important Oneota/Ioway site near LaCrosse, Wisconsin. In 1936, a farmer named Jim Utz unearthed a catlinite tablet on his farm in Saline County, Missouri. The Utz site, now a national historic landmark, is recognized to be another major Oneota village site and a historic-period Missouria village site.[181]

Henning also focuses attention on what he calls the "disk bowl" or "disk pipe." He views the disk pipe as an early version of the calumet peace pipe. The design is common in pipes dating from the period when the Blood Run/Good Earth

[179] Henning and Schnepf, "Blood Run: The 'Silent City,'" 12.
[180] Ibid, 15.
[181] "American Indian Rock Art: The Utz tablet," at www.mostateparks.com/default/files/Utz-tablet.pdf <August 11, 2013>.

village supported a large population, and Henning believes that many if not most of those disk pipes were made at Blood Run/Good Earth. From there, they were introduced to the LaCrosse area and eastern Wisconsin, to the Arikara on the Missouri, and to peoples south of the Missouri River via the Utz village. Perhaps, Henning suggests, the disk pipes were traded from there into the Ohio and St. Lawrence River valleys. The disk pipes were already widely distributed among northeastern tribes when Europeans arrived, Henning notes. Early accounts by the French hint at an important relationship between the Ioway and the Ottawa-Huron.[182]

Archeologist Ian Brown has analyzed the age and distribution of catlinite elbow pipes recovered at sites in the lower Mississippi Valley and the South. Elbow pipes are of a design associated with the calumet. He hypothesizes the elbow pipes were traded southward as the calumet ceremony spread to those areas in the early to mid-seventeenth century. He theorizes that the calumet ceremony came to serve an important function when the old chiefdoms of the Mississippian culture disintegrated and alliances broke apart in the tumultuous period after European contact. Archeologist and historian Robbie Ethridge has proposed the concept of a "shatter zone" where indigenous cultures and polities underwent a rapid and chaotic transformation under the multiple hammer blows of introduced European diseases, increasing intertribal warfare, migrations, and a rising American Indian slave trade induced by European colonization. Ethridge's shatter zone moved from the East Coast westward to the Mississippi Valley and beyond, and the turmoil it engendered was prolonged. "Something was needed to quell these dark undercurrents and to reinstate some sort of balance, something to allow some modicum of normalcy – and especially the essential trade – to continue," she writes. "The calumet ceremony served this purpose, and its quick spread throughout the Mississippi Valley and into the interior South attests to its positive function in a time of great uncertainty."[183]

During this stormy proto-historic period did the Oneota/Omaha/Ioway have exclusive control of the pipestone quarry? Did they allow access to the quarry by other peoples? Archeological evidence sheds little light on that issue. American Indian oral tradition holds that the pipestone quarry was considered by all to be a neutral zone where people laid down their weapons and met in peace. The oral tradition was recorded by the eighteenth-century traveler Jonathan Carver, the explorers Lewis and Clark, and the frontier artist George Catlin, among others. Those sources are taken up in the following chapters.

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[182] Henning, "Minnesota Pipestone: Out of the Quarries and into the World."
[183] Robbie Ethridge, *From Chicaza to Chickasaw: The European Invasion and the Transformation of the Mississippian World, 1540-1715* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010), 131.

Chapter 4
Northern Plains Tribes in Transition, 1650 to 1803

Starting around the mid-seventeenth century, Plains Indian peoples began to undergo an extended period of cultural transition resulting from new European influences in North America. Some northern plains tribes had direct encounters with French explorers and traders who penetrated the region by way of the St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes. Of far greater consequence to native peoples than these rare human contacts, however, were the indirect encounters with Europe that reached them by way of intertribal trade networks. There were three European influences that had profound effects on the indigenous population in the interior of the continent: the introduction of the horse, the spread of guns in intertribal warfare, and the terrible loss of life wrought by epidemics. The diffusion of horses, guns, and epidemics across the continent each followed a different pattern, with the result that tribes experienced the effects at different times, or in a different order, with variable outcomes. No people were isolated or immune from these influences, and so the period from about 1650 to 1803 was one of cultural transition and adjustment for all.[184]

American Indians acquired guns through the fur trade. The French in the St. Lawrence Valley and the English on Hudson's Bay supplied American Indians with guns to increase their efficiency as hunters. Tribes who were positioned most advantageously to trade with the French and English soon took the role of middlemen, communicating between the French trading posts located in the St. Lawrence Valley or English trading posts on the shore of Hudson's Bay and tribes living deeper in the interior. As tribes competed with one another for that favored middleman position, tribes used their guns for weaponry in fighting other tribes, driving their adversaries back. Possession of guns could provide a decisive edge in intertribal warfare. The British fur trader David Thompson reported, "A war party reckons its chances of victory to depend more on the number of guns they have than on the number of men." The Iroquois were the first American Indian nation to utilize guns in warfare, having been armed by the Dutch. Empowered by their strong political organization and military alliance as well as their superior arms, the Iroquois made war on the Huron and their allies in the 1630s and 40s. As these tribes fell back under the Iroquois attacks, the warfare precipitated a general westward movement of tribes around the Great Lakes region that continued through the seventeenth century.[185]

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[184] Colin G. Calloway, "The Inter-tribal Balance of Power on the Great Plains, 1760-1850," *Journal of American Studies* 16 (1982), 25-27.
[185] Calloway, "The Inter-tribal Balance of Power on the Great Plains, 1760-1850," 31; John C. Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian-White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains,"

Among the tribes who were dislodged and pushed westward were the Ojibwe. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ojibwe were occupying the role of middlemen between French traders operating in the Great Lakes region and tribes living farther west. Well armed with guns themselves by this time, the Ojibwe fought with tribes who inhabited the region north and west of Lake Superior who were by and large armed only with bow and arrow. Some of those tribes, including the Blackfeet and Cheyenne, left the area and started on a migration that eventually took them far to the west to present-day Montana and Wyoming. Another tribe, the Dakota, put up resistance against the Ojibwe in present-day Minnesota, halting the Ojibwe's advance where the woodlands turned to prairie.[186]

Since guns emanated from the fur trade, the spread of guns into interior North America generally began in the St. Lawrence River valley and around Hudson's Bay and proceeded in a westward direction. The horse frontier, meanwhile, began in the Southwest and moved northeastward. The Spanish introduced the horse in North America in what is now New Mexico in the early seventeenth century. Horses were traded from tribe to tribe starting with the Apache and spreading across the Great Plains and up the Rocky Mountain cordillera by way of the Comanche, Ute, and Shoshone. Eventually horses reached the northern Great Plains through trade with the Mandan. Plains Indian tribes easily grew their horse herds as horses flourished in the grasslands environment. The French and English brought a few horses from Europe as well, but the eastern woodland environment was not as suitable for raising herds and stood as a barrier to the diffusion of the horse in eastern North America. Consequently, the horse frontier moved in a southwest to northeast direction across the interior of the continent until it reached the eastern and northern edges of the prairie (or roughly the Mississippi River on the east and the Saskatchewan River on the north), where it stopped.[187]

The introduction of the horse had a profound effect for many Plains Indian tribes. For hundreds of years, Plains Indian cultures had been trending toward the establishment of permanent villages in riverine settings, placing greater reliance on horticulture for their subsistence. Then, with the acquisition of the horse, there came a relatively sudden shift back toward bison hunting and nomadism. Mounted

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Western Historical Quarterly 6, no. 4 (October 1975), 397-407; Mary Lethert Wingerd, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 4-5.

[186] William R. Swagerty, "History of the United States Plains Until 1850," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. De Mallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 256; Tom Weist, *A History of the Cheyenne People* (Billings, Mont.: Montana Council for Indian Education, 1977), 16-17.

[187] Frank Raymond Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains (17th Century through Early 19th Century)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1953), 1-5, 104-06.



Figure 11. Assiniboine hunting buffalo, by Paul Kane, 1850. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.org.)

tribes were able to hunt over wider distances, follow migrating herds of bison, transport more baggage from camp to camp, expand their trade networks, and raid enemy villages. Numerous tribes adopted the horse and evolved a rich material culture centered on bison. A prime example was the Teton, or Lakota, who sprung from the Dakota and moved steadily westward in the eighteenth century, flourishing in their new prairie environment in the present state of South Dakota. Not all Plains Indian tribes embraced the new mobility facilitated by the horse. Some tribes held to the more sedentary village way of life, profiting from the overall increase in trade that the horse culture brought. The prime example of the latter cultural pattern was the Mandan tribe, whose villages on the upper Missouri became the great trading center of the northern plains.[188]

Besides guns and horses, the third European import was deadly disease-causing germs. The introduction of germs was utterly unintentional but profoundly

[188] Ruth Murray Underhill, in her classic history of American Indians, characterized the two kinds of Plains peoples as the "Old Settlers" and the "new rich." Among the latter, the possession of the horse "was like the discovery of gold in modern days, drawing people from every language and every background," she wrote. "The buffalo Plains became a melting pot where the most diverse tribes joined together in pursuit of the new wealth. The way of life which they evolved was compounded of customs drawn from the east, west, north, and south." Underhill likened the mounted, buffalo-hunting Plains Indian tribes to *nouveau riche* in the way they borrowed from older cultures around them while capitalizing on new economic opportunities. More recent interpretation of Plains Indian history finds the horse culture to have been every bit as original and influential as the village-based ones, and indeed, even more revolutionary. Ruth Murray Underhill, *Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 144; Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of American History* 65, no. 2 (September 1978),

significant nonetheless. Introduced diseases produced what historian Alfred Crosby termed "virgin soil epidemics," or outbreaks "in which the populations at risk have had no previous contact with the diseases that strike them and are therefore immunologically almost defenseless." Smallpox, measles, cholera, and other diseases that had been present in Europe for centuries could produce devastating effects on American Indian populations with no history of exposure to them. Mortality rates of up to 90 percent were documented in some places.[189]

Virgin soil epidemics probably spread to the northern Great Plains as early as the seventeenth century. Early outbreaks are poorly documented, yet circumstantial evidence points to the fact that many indigenous populations had already been greatly reduced by virgin soil epidemics when Europeans first visited tribes and sought to record their relative numbers of people. The first epidemic in interior North America that is well documented in contemporary historical records was a smallpox epidemic that swept the Great Plains and reached into the Great Lakes region in 1780-81, reducing the population of some tribes by as much as two-thirds.[190] Crosby listed the following epidemics as having occurred among the Dakota Indians between 1780 and 1851:

1780-1781	Smallpox
1801-1802	Smallpox
1810	Smallpox
1813-1814	Whooping cough
1818-1819	Measles
1837	Smallpox
1845-1846	Disease or diseases not identified
1849-1850	Cholera
1850-1851	Smallpox

Despite that frightful record, most northern plains tribes fared even worse than the Dakota and some were virtually wiped out by disease altogether. Virgin-soil epidemics ravaged the region's indigenous peoples again and again for a number of

319-43; Dan Flores, "Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains from 1800 to 1850," *Journal of American History* 78, no. 2 (September 1991), 465-85. For a discussion of the controversy, see the chapter on "Buffalo" in Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1999), 123-49. Also see Jeffrey Ostler, "'They Regard Their Passing as Wakan': Interpreting Western Sioux Explanations for the Bison's Decline," *Western Historical Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1999): 475-97.

[189] Alfred Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics," in *Major Problems in the History of the American West*, edited by Clyde A. Milner II (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1998), 63; Swagerty, "History of the United States Plains Until 1850," 257-58.

[190] Mary Lethert Wingerd, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 63.

reasons. There were several killer diseases, each one finding a new lack of natural immunity in the population. Additionally, each outbreak struck among villages and tribes who had not been previously infected. Furthermore, a killer disease might revisit the same population after several decades had passed, finding purchase in a younger generation who had been born since the last outbreak.[191]

Virgin soil epidemics impacted tribes unevenly. Village tribes located on the Missouri River were more vulnerable than nomadic tribes. Rivers were the main routes of travel and therefore the most common vectors for the spread of epidemics. Moreover, contagious diseases struck harder where people were concentrated and the sick were not easily separated from the healthy. The large dome-shaped earth lodges in which the Mandan dwelt were more condusive than tipis to the spread of germs. The smallpox epidemic of 1780-81 took a fearsome toll on the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes. According to one account from 1795, the Arikara were reduced from 4000 warriors to 500, and had to consolidate "32 populous villages" into just two. Others have estimated that the epidemic of 1780-81 reduced the Mandan-Hidatsa people from 9,000 to fewer than 4,000, and the Arikara from 24,000 to 2,000.[192]

Just as the acquisition of guns and horses increased a tribe's strength relative to other tribes, an epidemic could seriously weaken a tribe by suddenly diminishing its population. Since epidemics struck unevenly, they could create power vacuums. A relatively unscathed tribe could be induced to push a weakened tribe out of its hunting territory.[193]

The introduction of guns, horses, and virgin soil epidemics each contributed to making the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a time of cultural change and fluidity on the Great Plains. Intertribal warfare increased in frequency and intensity.[194] Tribes jostled for territory, with some tribes such as the Ojibwe and the Lakota migrating long distances. Tribal cultures adapted to their new environments, responded to the fur trade and the presence of the European powers, and above all took advantage of the horse.

These cultural changes, migrations, and conflicts across the region formed the context for American Indian habitation and use of the Pipestone Quarry in the period from 1650 to 1803. Numerous tribes possess oral traditions that refer to their people's connection with the sacred quarry at some distant point in time,

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[191] Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics," 67.
[192] White, "The Winning of the West," 325; Swagerty, "History of the United States Plains Until 1850," 258.
[193] Calloway, "The Inter-tribal Balance of Power on the Great Plains, 1760-1850," 43-44.
[194] Christina Synder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 13-45; Marvin D. Jeter, "Ripe for Colonial Exploitation: Ancient Traditions of Violence and Enmity as Preludes to the Indian Slave Trade," in *Native American Adoption, Captivity, and Slavery in Changing Contexts*, edited by Max Carocci and Stephanie Pratt (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 23-46.

sometimes at a stage in the tribe's westward migration. The remainder of this chapter relates the various tribal stories of the Cheyenne, Omaha, Ponca, Ioway, Otoe Missouria, and Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana tribes as they pertain to the Pipestone Quarry, and then moves into a broader discussion of the French, British, and Spanish presence in the region and its effects on the allied Dakota-Nakota-Lakota tribes, or Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires).

Cheyenne

The Cheyenne people are one of a large number of tribes whose language is in the Algonquian language family. Other Algonquian peoples include the Algonquin, Arapaho, Blackfeet, Cree, Ojibwe, Potawotomi, Sac and Fox, and Shawnee. In prehistory, Algonquian peoples inhabited a vast region of North America centering on the Great Lakes and stretching from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence River to the Rocky Mountains. They were adapted to northern woodland environments with an abundance of freshwater resources. As Algonquian tribes such as the Cheyenne migrated into the Great Plains, they underwent a cultural transformation to adjust to their new environment. The Cheyenne migration began in central Ontario and ended on the western plains. Along the way, they acquired dogs (in the area of the present-day Minnesota/Ontario border), learned how to cultivate corn (in the area of the upper Minnesota River), and began to hunt buffalo for a major part of their subsistence (along the Sheyenne River in present-day North Dakota). Along the way they participated in the fur trade and armed themselves with guns. Around 1750, they acquired horses.[195]

The route taken by the Cheyenne on their migration is well known from oral tradition. Mention of the Cheyenne in other tribes' oral traditions, fur trade records, archeological evidence, and on early maps shed light on their movements as well. The tribe was located on the upper Mississippi near Prairie du Chien (Wisconsin) in 1673, when the French explorers Jacques Marquette and Louis Jolliet journeyed down the Mississippi. They moved to the upper Minnesota River near the mouth of the Yellow Medicine River about 1675, and to the portage between Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake a few years after that. By 1700, they had moved farther west to the Sheyenne River.[196]

The Cheyenne have an oral tradition that when they dwelt by the Yellow Medicine River a war party set out, intending to attack an enemy people to the

[195] Weist, *History of the Cheyenne People*, 9-25.
[196] Ibid, 12-15; George F. Will, "The Cheyenne Indians in North Dakota," *Proceedings of the Mississsippi Valley Historical Association* 7 (1913-1914), 68. Weist notes that the tribe is shown on a map, drawn by Joliet and Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin about 1673, on which they are named "Chaiena." A detail of this map is reproduced in Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce*, p. 46. Weist states further (p. 14) that Franquelin made another map in 1688 that shows the Cheyenne living on the upper Minnesota River, with the Otoe and Ioway living downstream from them.

south, across the Coteau des Prairies. As the warriors traveled over the prairie, they came upon a large red buffalo bull. When they approached close enough, they shot him with arrows. They found the bull was coated with a strange kind of red dust or mud. Curious, the men followed the bull's trail. This led them to a place of bright red rocks, and this was how they discovered the Pipestone Quarry.[197]

Omaha and Ponca

The Omaha and Ponca tribes are Dhegihan speakers. They share the language with three other tribes, the Kansa, Osage, and Quapaw. The Dhegihan language is grouped with other similar languages in a language family known as Siouan. Other Siouan languages include Chiwere, which is spoken by the Ioway and Otoe Missouria tribes, and the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota language with its three dialects of Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota, also known as "Sioux." Through the similarity of their several distinct languages it is assumed that all the Siouan-speaking tribes have a common origin in the remote past. Some believe that they migrated from an ancestral homeland located in the Eastern Woodlands, perhaps centered at one time in the Ohio Valley, and possibly centered somewhere in the Upper South before that. As these ancient people migrated westward, they broke into numerous separate peoples with distinct languages, dialects, and cultures, who collectively came to occupy a major portion of the Great Plains region.

Besides language, the five Dhegihan-speaking tribes once shared similar tribal organization and religious rites. According to tradition, the Omaha, Ponca, and three other tribes were originally one people who traveled down the Ohio River to the Mississippi. At the junction of the rivers the people divided, one portion going down the Mississippi, the other portion going up. Those who went up the river called themselves "Omaha" from the word "kemoha," meaning "against the current." Those who went down were the Quapaw, from the word "quapaw" or "uga'xpa," meaning "with the current." In 1541, the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto's party met with the Quapaw in the present state of Arkansas, so it is known that the migration by the Omaha took place before that date.[198]

After crossing the Mississippi River, the Omaha seem to have completed their journey in the vicinity of the Pipestone Quarry. In some versions of the migration story, the upriver group lived for a time near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers below a high bluff, and later, when they resumed their westward movement up the Missouri, they broke into their respective tribes: the Osage going up the Osage River, the Kansa going farther up the Missouri, and

[197] Weist, *History of the Cheyenne People*, 13.
[198] Henry Fontanelle, "History of Omaha Indians," in *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* 1, edited by Robert W. Furnas (Lincoln: State Journal Co., State Printers, 1885), 77; Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *The American Naturalist* 20 (March 1886), 222.

the Omaha going up the Des Moines River into present-day Iowa, being joined along the way by the friendly Ioway, though the two peoples spoke different languages. One version of the migration story, which concludes with a specific reference to the quarry, was presented in a report on the Omaha tribe by ethnographer Alice C. Fletcher and tribal member Francis La Flesche in 1911:

> The people were moving down the Uha'i ke river. When they came to a wide river they made skin boats in which to cross the river. As they were crossing, a storm came up. The Omaha and Iowa got safely across, but the Quapaw drifted down the stream and were never seen again until within the last century. When the Iowa made their landing they camped in a sandy place. The strong wind blew the sand over the people and gave them a grayish appearance. From this circumstance they called themselves *Pa'xude*, "gray head," and the Omaha have known them by that name ever since. The Iowa accompanied the Omaha up the Mississippi to a stream spoken of as "Raccoon river" – probably the Des Moines, and the people followed this river to its headwaters, which brought them into the region of the Pipestone quarry.[199]

Around the same time that Fletcher and La Flesche recorded this story, a number of Omaha elders provided testimony about their tribes' former lands for a case before the U.S. Court of Claims in 1912. They all made allusions to the same migration story, although none of the witnesses mentioned the presence of the Ioway in his testimony. The witnesses were prodded by the examiners to provide details on the Omaha occupation of the pipestone quarry site because it was particularly relevant to the tribal claim for two reasons: it was the point in the migration when the Omaha became a distinct tribe, and that occupation site seemed to be the farthest north of any that the tribe claimed. Highlights of their testimony are as follows.

White Horse, or Ellis Blackbird, who was then in his eighties, stated that the Omaha were the first people to settle at the quarry site, that they founded a village there because they found an abundance of game, that they stayed there about ten years, and that when they left the quarry site there were no other people around. They moved from there to "a place above where Sioux City now is" and remained there until they were driven off by the Dakota/Nakota.[200]

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[199] Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (1911, reprint; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1970), 36.

[200] White Horse testimony in witness testimony of *Omaha Tribe v. United States*, Folder 2 (Omaha), Box 1, Series 4, Record Group 512, Records of the U.S. District Court, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, p. 29. Copy of selected pages of witness testimony were made by Tom Thiessen

Yellow Fox, or George H. Fox, who was 74 years old in 1912, stated that the Omaha lived at the pipestone quarry for ten years – the same length of time given by White Horse. He said that after leaving the quarry site, they lived at the "Place of Rushes" for about ten years and then "came down to Sioux City and formed a village on the bluffs."[201]

Instanazawe, or Jesse Morris, age 90, testified that after the Omaha broke off from the other tribes they camped at various places but stayed the longest at the pipestone quarry. He would not say for how long but he noted that traces of the old village, including worn paths and lodge sites, could still be found. Asked why the Omaha left the quarry site, he said: "There was nothing good but the pipe stone at the Quarries so they hunted for something else."[202]

Good Old Man, or Arthur Ramsey, who did not state his age, gave the most detailed account of the Omaha occupation of the quarry site. The examiner's questions and his answers were as follows:

Q. Did you ever hear about the Omahas having once occupied the place which is known now as the Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota?
A. Near Sioux City are two small streams and following the larger stream to its source is a place that they call "He" – meaning "Buried" and at the source of this creek is where the Pipestone Quarries are. And the Omaha lived right at the source of that creek to guard the Pipestone.
Q. From where did you hear that tradition?
A. My father had two brothers. They all grew up to be very old men and in travelling with them they showed the old village sites and this was among them.
Q. Were you up there yourself to the Pipestone Quarry?
A. Yes, I have seen it myself.
Q. Your pipe that you were smoking came from there didn't it?
A. Yes.
Q. Did you hear that the Omahas had any sites up there at the Pipestone Quarry when they were there?
A. While the main camp was right at the Quarry there was a bend in the creek "He" and in that bend was a camp of the Omahas. The Sioux came down and killed them all.
Q. How far was that from the Pipestone Quarry?
A. About seven miles.

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and transmitted to David Hughes in 1995 and came into the authors' possession by way of Don Stevens.

[201] Yellow Fox testimony, op. cit., p. 138.

[202] Instanazawe testimony, op. cit, pp. 60-61.

Q. How long had the Omahas been at Pipestone when this attack was made by the Sioux?
A. They were there a long time. The first village was at the cut-off bluff; from there they went to the Pipe Quarries, then crossing the River they formed a camp at the Place of the Rushes, then going from there they formed the village of Bad Town on Omaha Creek. They staid [sic] a very long time at that.
Q. How long did those of the Omahas that remained alive stay at the Pipestone Quarry after they were attacked by the Sioux?
A. After the Sioux had killed the people at the small camp my understanding is that they did not stay there very long. They left that place and came back across the River and founded another village.
Q. Across the Missouri River?
A. Yes. They crossed then first the Niobrara and the Place of Rushes is on the other side of the Niobrara and they lived there.
Q. When the Omahas were travelling from Pipestone Quarry south making several camps they were looking for a good place to settle were they not?
A. Yes.
Q. They kept on coming, travelling, looking for a good place to live until they got to Homer did they not?
A. While at the cut-off bluff they sent some one out to look for land where they would have a good field. They had to look for ground they would not have to break because what they used for hoes was the shoulder-blade of a buffalo tied to a stick for a handle and at Homer they found the tall weeds and cleaning off the weeds they found that this was just the soil that they were looking for so they settled at Homer.[203]

The French explorer Jacques Marquette included the Omaha ("Maha") on his map of 1673-74. Later maps produced by the French in 1703 and 1718 show the Omaha as occupying the lower reaches of the Big Sioux River or another nearby tributary of the Missouri. Some sources place the Omaha's main village at the mouth of Bow Creek, farther up the Missouri, in the early 1700s, after which they made a series of moves back down the Missouri to the above-mentioned Omaha Creek and town site of Homer. There the Omaha resided under the strong leadership of Chief Blackbird (grandfather of the above witness Ellis Blackbird)

[203] Good Old Man testimony, op. cit., pp. 126-27.

during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, at which time they entered a treaty of friendship with the Spanish governor in St. Louis.[204]

The Ponca broke off from the Omaha tribe and became a separate people in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The separation may have occurred when the Omaha resided at or near the Pipestone Quarry, or it may have been later, when the main village was located at the mouth of Bow Creek (just below the James River). By about 1735, the Ponca moved to the valley of Ponca Creek, near the confluence of the Niobrara and Missouri rivers. While the Ponca kept their main village in this vicinity until the mid-nineteenth century, their hunting territory stretched westward between the Niobrara and White rivers as far as the Black Hills.[205]

The Omaha and Ponca villages resembled those of the Mandan and Arikara farther up the Missouri. The people lived in dome-shaped earth lodges, the earthen walls of each structure resting on a lattice of wooden posts and lintels and narrowing to a hole in the top from which smoke from a cooking fire could escape. The lodges were fixed and semi-permanent, providing a warm shelter in winter and a cool refuge in summer. They were placed close together, and a defensive stockade of cottonwood logs was built around the perimeter of the village. When the Ponca went on hunting expeditions, they vacated their earth lodges and used the transportable buffalo-hide tipi instead.[206]

Omaha and Ponca subsistence was based on a mix of horticulture, hunting, and gathering. The Omaha have a tradition that the people were living near the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers in a destitute condition when one of them stumbled upon an ear of corn growing out of a mole hill. From this single plant the kernels were divided among the different bands and henceforward all of them enjoyed corn as a staple crop. Besides corn, they grew squash (planted in the same mounds with corn), beans, pumpkins, and gourds. They dried their produce on scaffolds and packed it in storage pits for winter consumption. They grew tobacco for ceremonial use, mixing it with the inner bark of dogwood and red willow to smoke in their pipes.[207]

The Omaha and Ponca, like other Siouan peoples, consider the pipe to be a sacred object, and the red pipestone to be a gift from the Great Spirit. A Ponca version of the migration story relates that when the people resided in their village near the pipestone quarry "they found the pipe stone after a hard rain in a deep buffalo trail. They saw the red stone and the head chief was called and he told

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[204] Liberty, et al., "Omaha," 399-400; Fontanelle, "History of Omaha Indians," 78.
[205] Brown and Irwin, "Ponca," 416-18; James H. Howard, "Known Villages Sites of the Ponca," *Plains Anthropologist* 15, no. 48 (May 1970), 115.
[206] Joseph H. Cash and Gerald W. Wolff, *The Ponca People* (Phoenix: Indian Tribal Series, 1975), 3-4.
[207] Brown and Irwin, "Ponca," 418; Cash and Wolff, *The Ponca People*, 4.

them to dig it and get it out as God has given us a pipe."[208] According to Bird Head, a Ponca elder who testified in the same legal proceeding as Omaha elders did in 1912, the Ponca and the Omaha "were separate tribes…but when they were at Pipestone the villages were close together."[209]

The Ponca had their own customs and rituals surrounding their people's sacred pipe bundle. A tribal pipe was passed down from generation to generation of hereditary keepers, each keeper being expected to pass it to a son when he attained about fifty years of age. It is likely that the Ponca tribal pipe dates to the time when the Ponca lived near the quarry. Joe Birdhead, the son of Bird Head and the keeper in 1912, identified himself as the tenth in a line of keepers.[210]

Ioway and Otoe Missouria

The Ioway and Otoe Missouria are Chiwere speakers, a language they share with the Ho Chunk or Winnebago people. According to Ioway oral tradition recorded in the late nineteenth century, the Ioway people broke away from their ancestral group near the western shore of Lake Michigan in the general vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and migrated westward to the Mississippi River valley. Those who remained behind became the Ho-Chunk. As the Ioway migrated westward, their culture took on elements from various sources. From their Siouan-speaking forebears the Ioway inherited a tendency toward horticulture and a sharply defined class system. From contact with early Algonquian peoples they developed a new social structure based on patrilineal descent, clans, and kinship. And as they moved from woodland to prairie they borrowed from other Plains cultures many elements of material culture based on hunting the bison as a resource.[211]

The Ioway, like the Omaha and Ponca, have a very old association with the Pipestone Quarry. While some traditions place the Ioway alongside the Omaha when the latter first reached the quarry site, others suggest that the Ioway arrived some time after the Omaha were settled at Blood Run/Good Earth. In any case, the Ioway presence in the vicinity of the quarry is important for two reasons. First, archeologists have traced strong linkages in the archeological record from the prehistoric Oneota culture to the proto-historic Ioway, whereby archeologists have constructed a chronological narrative around the Oneota that spans from approximately 1300 to 1700. Second, descriptions of the Ioway made by French

[208] Quoted in Howard, "Known Village Sites of the Ponca," 115.
[209] Bird Head testimony in witness testimony of *Omaha Tribe v. United States*, op. cit., Folder 3 (Ponca), p. 136.
[210] Joe Birdhead testimony, op. cit., p. 67. Joe Bird Head was the son of Birdhead (cited above).
[211] Mildred Mott Wedel, "Iowa," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), Part 1, 432.

explorers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provide a fairly clear picture of how the Ioway (perhaps in close partnership with the Omaha and Ponca) used the quarry and traded catlinite before they were displaced by the Ihanktonwan at the end of the seventeenth century.

Archeologists have investigated early Ioway village sites located on the Iowa River in northeast Iowa and the Root River in southeast Minnesota. Together with older village sites located near La Crosse, Wisconsin, these are thought to constitute the original homeland of the Ioway tribe after their separation from the Ho-Chunk and initial westward migration. Archeologists refer to the pottery and other cultural manifestations found at these sites as the Orr Phase of Oneota culture.[212] It is thought that the village sites near La Crosse, which are situated on a terrace above the Mississippi River, were occupied starting around 1300 and that these sites were abandoned in favor of the village sites on the nearby Iowa and Root rivers perhaps around 1500. Those latter sites were still occupied when French explorers made the earliest written reports on the Ioway in the second half of the seventeenth century. Through the recovery of European trade items at these locations, as well as the weighing of historical evidence, archeologist Dale Henning has established that the period from 1650 to 1700 saw a rapid expansion of east-west trade with the Ioway being well situated to take on the role of middlemen in that trade. As a result, the Pipestone Quarry entered a period of greater production and cultural importance.[213]

The Ioway were first described in writing in 1676 by Father Louis Andre, who met a group of them in a village of the Ho-Chunk. According to Andre, those Ioway reported that their people were on good terms with both the Dakota and Algonquian-speaking tribes, and that they counted their wealth chiefly in buffalo hides and catlinite pipes. Their "very large" village lay twelve days' journey to the west of the Mississppi River.

The Ioway were also mentioned in accounts by the French explorers Renè-Robert Cavalier, sieur de La Salle (1680) and Nicholas Perrot (1685). Although the descriptions are scanty they support the view that the Ioway were at peace with their neighbors in this period, enjoying a prosperous trade in buffalo hides and catlinite. Indeed, scholars have interpreted an earlier historical reference to an unnamed neutral tribe in the Mississippi Valley as most likely the Ioway. The historical reference is found in the early chronicle, *Jesuit Relations*, and it alludes to a group of Algonquian-speaking Odawa and Huron traveling west in the years 1656-57 and making contact with an unnamed neutral tribe located on a tributary of the Mississippi River. Orr Phase Oneota objects have been recovered from

[212] Martha Royce Blaine, *The Ioway Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 8-9.
[213] Dale R. Henning, "The Archeology and History of the Ioway/Oto Exchange Patterns 1650-1700," *Journal of the Archeological Society* 50 (2003), 199, 210, 216.

Ojibwe/Odawa/Huron archeological sites in northern Michigan that date to about 1670-1705. A number of scholars have combined the historical and archeological evidence to suggest that an Odawa/Huron trade relationship with the Ioway formed around 1657-60.[214]

When did the Ioway occupy Blood Run/Good Earth and begin to work the Pipestone Quarry? Two scholars of the Ioway provide two different interpretations. Mildred Mott Wedel has made a close analysis of French explorers' accounts from the period 1650-1700 to determine where the Ioway villages were located in that period. Since the French explorers focused their attention on the upper Mississippi Valley and did not venture into the Missouri River drainage until the 1700s, they did not record Ioway village sites as far west as Blood Run/Good Earth. Wedel takes the conservative view that the Ioway may have only visited Blood Run/Good Earth as middlemen before 1700. She writes: "Ioways must surely have traveled west to the Oto and Omaha villages although this author has no record of such visits until they sought refuge with the Omahas around 1699." Before that date, she argues that the Ioway only lived as far west as Spirit Lake, about seventy miles east of Blood Run/Good Earth:

> Le Sueur was informed in 1700 by traders he sent to the Ioway village near Spirit Lake that it was then deserted and evidently had been for the past year. Its inhabitants had joined their friends, the Omahas, who were living perhaps on the Big Sioux River, near the mouth of Blood Run Creek, where the Blood Run archeological site lies. From there, at Le Sueur's invitation, the Ioways evidently moved east to live for a time in 1701-02 near Fort l'Huillier on the Blue Earth River. The French post was abandoned in 1702. The Ioways must then have returned to the Spirit Lake region. Thereupon, those French traders who were seeking trade with them in beaver furs, or possibly still in bison hides, ascended the Missouri River to its tributary, the Nishnabotna River, to follow it northward and overland, or turned off the Missourii to follow up the Little Sioux River.[215]

Henning believes the Ioway came to inhabit Blood Run/Good Earth sooner. Finding evidence in the archeological record of a strong Oneota presence at both Blood Run/Good Earth and the Pipestone Quarry, he is inclined to view the Ioway occupation of Blood Run/Good Earth and the Ioway exploitation of the quarry as

[214] Blaine, *The Ioway Indians*, 16-24; Mildred Mott Wedel, "Peering at the Ioway Indians through the Mist of Time, 1650-circa 1700," *Journal of the Iowa Archaeological Society* 33, no. 1 (1986), 7-11; Henning, "The Archeology and History of the Ioway/Oto Exchange Patterns 1650-1700," 200-01.
[215] Wedel, "Peering at the Ioway Indians through the Mist of Time," 46, 48.

simply the end point of a long Oneota/Ioway connection to the area that began around 1250 to 1300. Henning points to the seeming abandonment of many large Oneota villages in the Mississippi Valley after about 1500, and posits that some of the people who left those sites went to Blood Run/Good Earth. Their reasons for moving west probably included flight from epidemics and intertribal warfare, which were themselves the products of European contact, as well as the attraction of good bison hunting as bison numbers grew. The westward migrations enabled the population at Blood Run/Good Earth to grow far faster than was possible through natural increase alone. As the Ioway formed out of the Oneota culture, they fed the migration. Thus, as the interest in catlinite pipes intensified, the Ioway were well-placed to utilize the resource. Henning thinks the Ioway made their main village at Blood Run/Good Earth from about 1650 to 1700.[216]

The Otoe and Missouria tribes were closely related to the Ioway. They spoke the same language (Chiwere). They were sedentary village horticulturalists and hunters of the bison like the Ioway. Tradition has it that the Otoe and Missouria migrated as one people up the Missouri to the mouth of the Grand River, in present-day Missouri, where they split into two tribes, the Otoe migrating northward into Iowa, and the Missouria staying behind on the Grand River.[217]

The Otoe "(Otontanta") are shown on Father Jacques Marquette's map of 1673 as inhabiting an area vaguely in the vicinity of southwestern Minnesota, with the Ponca ("Pana") and Omaha ("Maha") being their immediate neighbors to the west.[218] The Otoe were with the Ioway on the upper Iowa River in 1680, and perhaps with the Ioway on the Blue Earth River around the year 1700. Some sources suggest that the Otoe confederated with the Ioway through most of the seventeenth century, or from the beginning of the historic period. Wedel finds that the Otoe and the Ioway are described as two separate tribes by the French from about 1695, whereas other scholars suggest that they split from one another a little later. Henning concludes that the Otoe were most likely present at Blood Run/Good Earth before that place was abandoned in the early 1700s.[219]

While the Otoe were at Blood Run/Good Earth the Missouria dwelt between the Grand River and the mouth of the Missouri in present-day Missouri. The Missouria certainly traded for catlinite, but there is no evidence that they themselves ever quarried or dwelt at the Pipestone Quarry. They are noted here

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[216] Henning, "Minnesota Pipestone: Out of the Quarries and into the World," 3-4, 12-13; Henning, "The Archeology and History of Ioway/Oto Exchange Patterns 1650-1700," 210.
[217] Berlin Basil Chapman, *The Otoes and Missourias: A Study of Indian Removal and the Legal Aftermath* (Oklahoma City: Times Journal Publishing Company, 1965), xi.
[218] Map reproduced in Wedel, "Peering at the Ioway Indians through the Mist of Time," 12.
[219] Chapman, *The Otoes and Missouria*, xiii; Marjorie M. Schweitzer, "Otoe and Missouria," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), Part 1, 447; Henning, "The Archeology and History of Ioway/Oto Exchange Patterns 1650-1700," 200.

because of their prior and subsequent attachment to the Otoe. They were a numerous people, numbering perhaps 5,000 or more in 1673. Epidemics severely reduced their numbers during the eighteenth century and by the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition there were perhaps fewer than 400 people remaining. In the nineteenth century, the two tribes came together again and they now call themselves the Otoe Missouria.[220]

What caused the Ioway and Otoe to leave Blood Run/Good Earth and the nearby Pipestone Quarry? Henning states:

> The Ioway maintained good relationships not only with their indigenous neighbors, including the Sioux to the north, the Ojibwa to the northeast, the Ho-Chunk to the east, and the Omaha to the west, but were friendly and helpful to groups forced to seek new homes west of the Mississippi River, notably the Ottawa/Huron and, later, the Miami and Kickapoo. These good relationships, which persisted from at least the mid-1600s to ca. 1700, allowed the Ioway easy passage east to west between at least Green Bay, Wisconsin, to the Big Sioux River near present Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Some time prior to 1700, they had established villages in Iowa's lake country to the west, but probably made at least intermittent use of their old haunts near the Mississippi until nearly 1700.[221]

With their emphasis on maintaining good relationships, the Ioway had no inclination to defend the Pipestone Quarry by force. They simply monopolized it by living close by and supplying it to other groups through trade.

Scholars of the Ioway agree that the tribe's advantageous trade position broke down around 1700. The French primarily sought beaver skins rather than buffalo hides and catlinite. When the French persuaded the Ioway to hunt beaver and enter into trade with them, it encroached on the Ojibwe position as middleman in the fur trade and led to hostilities between the two American Indian tribes. The same conflict soon developed between the Ioway and Ihanktonwan as well, because the latter wanted to assume the role of middleman in trade with the French. Faced with mounting hostilities, the Ioway found their position on the Iowa River, near La Crosse, Wisconsin, untenable and soon retreated westward, seeking refuge with their close relations, the Otoe. Eventually the Ihanktonwan drove the Ioway (and other tribes) out of the region of the Pipestone Quarry.

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[220] Michael Dickey, *The People of the River's Mouth: In Search of the Missouria Indians* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 37.
[221] Henning, "The Archeology and History of the Ioway/Oto Exchange Patterns 1650-1700," 216.

The Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana

The Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana speak Nakota, the middle dialect in the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota language. The Nakota dialect is closest to Dakota and is sometimes grouped with it. Because of that linguistic ambiguity, some historical sources refer to the Nakota-speaking Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana tribes as "Western Dakota." Some early French and British sources spelled Ihanktonwan as "Yankton." Later, the U.S. government generally identified the tribes as "Yankton Sioux" and "Yanktonai Sioux."

The term "Sioux" is every bit as problematic as the term "Yankton." It is a corruption of the Ojibwe word "Nand-owa-se-wug," meaning "snake-like," or more loosely translated as "enemy." It was applied by the Ojibwe to all Dakota-Nakota-Lakota speakers. The French spelled the Ojibwe word as "Nadouesioux," or simply "Sioux," and the British and Americans adopted that name for them as well. While the term "Sioux" entered common usage, it was not what the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota people called themselves. In describing their nation they referred to the Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires. The word "Dakota" (or its equivalent in the other dialects) means "allied."



Figure 12. Map by Vincenzo Coronelli and Jean Baptiste Nolin, 1688. The notation in the upper left refers to the great nation of the Nadonession. The smaller notations east and west of the Upper Mississippi say "Issatis peoples qui ont 24 Villages" and "Tinthonha ou Gens des Prairies." (Courtesy commons.wikimedia.org.)

Ihanktonwan historian Leonard Bruguier has suggested that the name of his tribe, which means "Village at the End," derives from the period when the Oceti Sakowin migrated from the Ohio Valley into present-day Wisconsin and

Minnesota. He postulates that the Ihanktonwan were on the southern wing in this westward migration, the Dakota tribes were on the northern wing, and the Teton, or Lakota, occupied the center. The Ihanktonwan ended their migration in the area of the Pipestone Quarry, and the Dakota tribes settled around Mille Lacs, while the Lakota kept moving west. In that way, the Lakota and the Ihanktonwan essentially swapped places among the Seven Council Fires. The "Village at the End" people made their new home in the vicinity of the Pipestone Quarry and thereby came to hold the middle position between the Dakota tribes in Minnesota and the Lakota tribes farther west.[222]

The Ihanktonwana were culturally very close to the Ihanktonwan. (The name of the former is simply the diminutive form of the latter, or "Little Village at the End," signifying that it was a smaller tribe of the same people.) The two tribes shared one territory, spoke the same dialect of the Sioux language, intermarried, and generally considered themselves kinsmen in the truest sense. The Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana occupied facing positions in the camp circle of the Seven Council Fires. By the mid-nineteenth century, the two consanguine tribes were divided into exactly eleven bands: seven Ihanktonwan and four Ihanktonwana. Eventually, because the bands were dispersed over such a large territory, the Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana were separated into several tribes on widely scattered reservations. In the present chapter they may be considered together as two closely related tribes.[223]

The Ihanktonwan took possession of the country around the Pipestone Quarry following a battle with the Omaha and their allies. An oral tradition of the battle was recorded by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey in an ethnography published in 1886. Here, the Omaha's village at Blood Run/Good Earth is identified as a fort on the Big Sioux River:

> When they [the Omaha, the Ponca, and the Ioway] arrived at the Big Sioux river they built a fort. At that time the Yankton Dakotas were called "Jaⁿ'-a-ta ni'-ka-ciⁿ'-ga, people (dwelling) in the woods." By and by the Dakotas made war on the Omahas and their allies, defeating them and killing about a thousand warriors. This obliged the three tribes to abandon their habitat.[224]

Another record of the battle is found in the John K. Bear winter count. In a winter count, a significant event in the life of a people was represented on a buffalo

[222] Bruguier, *The Yankton Sioux Tribe*, 27.
[223] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 777; Jacobson, "A History of Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 9.
[224] Rev. James Owen Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes," *The American Naturalist* 20, no. 3 (1886), 219.

hide for each year, and a tribal historian was appointed to keep the hide and memorize the story behind each picture on it. Several such winter counts are still in existence, and one, the John K. Bear winter count (named for its keeper in the 1960s), records the battle. The John K. Bear winter count is a history of one band among the Ihanktonwana, and it happens to be the longest record of any Plains Indian winter count known. Ethnographer James H. Howard made a careful study of it in conjunction with written records, and he supplied a year and a translation for each picture. The picture for the year 1685 was said to mean "Isanyati Omaha ob kicizapi kin" – the year that "the Santee Dakota fought with the Omaha tribe." The fact that it names the Santee rather than the Ihanktonwan or Ihanktonwana is confusing and possibly means that the Santee fought with the others as allies in the battle. If Howard's interpretation of the winter count is accurate, then the battle occurred in or about 1685.[225]

French explorer and trader Pierre-Charles Le Sueur visited the Ihanktonwan in their new homeland in 1700. His description of the tribe, whom he called the "Hinhanctons," is the earliest mention of the tribe in writing. Le Sueur apparently first learned of the tribe's existence when he visited with nine Dakota at the mouth of the Minnesota River and was informed that the country bordering the stream was inhabited by the "Sioux of the West," or Ihanktonwan. The land beyond, they informed him, was inhabited by the Ioway and Otoe. Le Sueur took his men up the Minnesota River to the mouth of the Blue Earth River, where he built Fort L'Huillier. He later recorded meeting the "Hinhanctons" (Ihanktonwan) at that site, and he stated further that they were said to live in the area of the red stone quarry.[226]

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[225] James H. Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," *Plains Anthropologist* Memoir 11 (1976), 21.

[226] Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor, "Le Sueur's Voyage up the Mississippi," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 16 (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1902), 186-87, 193. Another contender for earliest notation of the Dakota/Nakota at the pipestone quarry is a map of the upper Mississippi drawn by Jean-Baptiste Louis Franquelin in 1697. The only surviving version of the map is a tracing of the original made by the geographer Claude Delisle some time after 1702. The Delisle copy depicts the "Nation de la Pierre" of the "Hinhancton" in the Minnesota River valley. It is thought that Franquelin got his information from Le Sueur when Le Sueur was briefly back in France prior to 1697, and that Delisle, too, relied on Le Sueur after Le Sueur's final return to France in 1702. Whether the notation was on the original 1697 map or was added to it on the later tracing is not known. Furthermore, the notation itself can be interpreted as either a reference to the St. Pierre River (the French name for the Minnesota) or as a shortening of the phrase "Carriere de pierre rouge" or "quarry of the red stone." If the latter interpretation is correct, the notation is in the wrong place, being north of the Minnesota River. Moreover, it would then appear that the notation must date from the tracing in the early 1700s, not from the original 1697 map. Therefore, it seems safe to say that La Sueur's written report is the earliest document in writing. (Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 69; Westerman and White, *Mni Sote Makoce: The Land of the Dakotas*, 49.)

Le Sueur built his fort with the hope of finding a copper ore deposit and mining it. Unsuccessful in that endeavor, he abandoned the fort the next summer. Le Sueur mentioned several groups belonging to the Oceti Sakowin in his reports, but generally he did not indicate where each group lived. Two exceptions were the "Titoha" (Teton), whom he placed eighty leagues to the west of St. Anthony Falls (present-day Minneapolis), and the Hinhancton (Ihanktonwan), whom he placed at the Pipestone Quarry. He implied that all the other groups were located to the east.[227]

LeSueur's Fort L'Huillier at the mouth of the Blue Earth River was as close as the French came to the Pipestone Quarry while France attempted to colonize Louisiana. Soon after France lost all of its territory in North America to Britain in the Seven Years War, a British subject by the name of Jonathan Carver journeyed to the area and allegedly lived among the Ihanktonwan for a period of seven months. A shoemaker and adventurer from Massachusetts, Carver wrote about his travels in a popular narrative, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*. His critics charged that his book contained many embellishments and mistruths. With regard to his visit to the Ihanktonwan he contradicted himself, saying that the visit began in December 1766 and ended in April 1767, for a span of five – not seven – months. Moreover, the account includes other details that have led some modern readers to conclude that he did not actually live with them at all. Nonetheless, Carver's book provides one of the fullest descriptions of the region for that period. He reportedly traveled up the Minnesota River about 200 miles, where he joined the Ihanktonwan. He described their method of burying the dead, their smoking rituals, and various dances. The Pipe Dance was the principal dance, he stated, and "the most pleasing to a spectator of any of them, being the least frantic, and the movement of it the most graceful. It is but on particular occasions that it is used; as when ambassadors from an enemy arrive to treat of peace, or when strangers of eminence pass through their territories."[228]

Carver reported that the chiefs of the Oceti Sakowin informed him that when all the tribes united they numbered 2,000 warriors. He claimed that the

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[227] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakotas*, 61. Westerman and White describe the early French accounts, and historians' problematic use of them, by making a superb analogy. "Early French accounts about the Dakota were not very detailed, but as time went on they provided more information, some of it contradicting previous reports. Some interpreters have concluded that these differences are evidence of cultural and geographic change among the peoples described. But, while it is true that all peoples undergo such changes, the fragmented and shifting record may simply represent evolving understanding as the French gained more extensive contact with the Dakota. Similarly, though the French viewed the shape of Lake Superior in multiple ways before mapping it accurately, one would not conclude that their records indicate a change in the lake's actual shape." (*Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 34.)

[228] Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (Reprint, 1778; Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1956), 76-77; 268-69.

separate tribes met annually in a grand council at the "Great Cave." The cave was located in the vicinity of present-day St. Paul, Minnesota, and is now known as "Carver's Cave." He stated that many tribes met regularly at Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi River (present-day Wisconsin) where they observed a customary truce and held a "great mart." He stated further that the same "rule of forebearance" to mingle in peace applied to their visits to the Pipestone Quarry.

While Carver mentioned the Pipestone Quarry's status as neutral ground only in passing, it stands as the earliest known record of it in writing. Carver knew about the quarry only through second-hand information and referred to it as "the Red Mountain." Carver wrote:

> [At Prairie du Chien] enemies…were bound to forebear hostilities while there. The rule is long established for their mutual benefit. The same rule of forebearance is observed also at the Red Mountain from whence they get the stone of which they make their pipes: these being indispensible to the accommodation of every neighboring tribe, a similar restriction becomes needful and of public utility.[229]

Seven years after Carver's visit, an American trader named Peter Pond entered the country of the Oceti Sakowin. Joining a Frenchman who already had some familiarity with the region, Pond went up the Minnesota River and built a trading house and passed the winter of 1774-75 there. In his journal, Pond claimed to have passed Carver's "old hut" at a point just fourteen miles from the mouth – contradicting Carver's claim that he ascended the river for a distance of about 200 miles. Pond wrote that word of their presence soon traveled to the "Notawaseas" (Sioux) living far up the river on the prairie, and in January those people began to arrive with furs to trade. In the spring, Pond and his French companion went to Prairie du Chien, where they met with numerous French traders who had come from New Orleans or the Illinois country.[230]

While at Prairie du Chien, Pond heard some American Indian people talking about a man with evil powers whom they called the "Manitou." This man had taken another man's pipe, which was "three times larger than his mouth," and had told the fellow to watch as he swallowed it. He then assured the man he would give it back after it passed through him. Three days later he offered him his pipe back as promised, but the original owner refused it and so the one called the "Manitou" kept it. Pond interpreted this incident as a clever ruse on the one man's part and a superstitious dread on the other man's part. Pond described the pipe as

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[229] Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, 99.
[230] Peter Pond, "Journal of Peter Pond," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 18 (1908), 339-41.

being made of the "red stone of St. Peters River" (the Minnesota River), indicating that he was informed about the quarry but ignorant of the fact that it lay on the other side of the Coteau des Prairies.[231]

Following this incident, a party of five men from the Ihanktonwana tribe who were attending the fair at Prairie du Chien persuaded Pond to follow them back to their country. While the party of Ihanktonwana traveled by land, Pond followed by canoe for a distance of "about 200 miles up river." After nine days of travel this way, Pond left his canoe and accompanied the party of Ihanktonwana by horse for another five days. Although Pond did not say what direction they went, the overland trip may have taken him over the Coteau des Prairies. After he arrived in their camp and opened his bale of goods for trade, the Ihanktonwana made it clear that he was the first trader ever to come upon their own ground.[232]

The Ihanktonwana received Pond at their village with elaborate ritual. As he approached their camp, they made him stop and sit on the ground. Five men went out to greet him, four carrying a finely painted beaver-skin blanket and the other a peace pipe, which was decorated with feathers and painted horsehair. The four men with the blanket sat by him while the fifth ceremoniously lit the pipe. This man took a few puffs and then pointed the pipe stem to the east, west, north, and south, and upward to the sky and downward to the earth, after which they all smoked together. After their smoke, they removed Pond's shoes and replaced them with moccasins and laid him on the blanket. Each man taking a corner of the blanket, they lifted him up and carried him to the village. They brought him to a tipi, carried him inside, and set him down in the place of honor opposite the door. Twelve principal men were seated in a circle around him. The chief stood up, smoked a pipe, and then laid a hand on Pond's head and made a sound of crying over him. After the chief sat down, the gesture was repeated one at a time by all the other men in the assembly. Then one of these men took an eating utensil and spoon-fed their visitor from a kettle of stew that was simmering on a low fire in the center of the lodge. After allowing Pond to eat to his content, they made him lay on the blanket again so he could be carried to a second lodge, where the whole ritual was repeated by another set of men. And after this, he was taken to a third lodge for a third ritual greeting. Finally, he was taken to a fourth lodge that was prepared for his use, the Ihanktonwan having laid in a pile of wood for him. In order to keep order when Pond initiated the anticipated trading session, the chief assigned six men to guard his bale of trade goods.[233]

Pond remained with the Ihanktonwana only a short time, for it did not take long for him to exchange all his goods for furs and he wanted to return to base

[231] Pond, "Journal of Peter Pond," 346.
[232] H. A. Innis, *Peter Pond: Fur Trader and Adventurer* (Toronto: Irwin & Gordon, 1930), 53.
[233] Ibid, 54-55.

before the onset of winter. He recorded that the Ihanktonwana tribe hunted buffalo, lived in buffalo-hide tipis, and roamed over a considerable territory between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. He observed that they had a great number of horses and dogs, which they used for transporting their baggage from camp to camp. He noted that the Ihanktonwana village consisted of seventy-five lodges. He guessed there was an average of ten persons in each, for a total population of 750.[234]

Population estimates for the Ihanktonwan, Ihanktonwana, and all of the Oceti Sakowin in the eighteenth century are very approximate. They are drawn from written reports of the period, such as Jean Baptiste Truteau's "Description of the Upper Missouri" of 1796, and Zebulon M. Pike's census of 1805. The reports' authors usually based their figures on counts they received when they querried tribal members. Tribes often reported their population numbers in terms of how many warriors they had. Another measure of population was how many lodges there were when the tribe was camped in one place. Many of the population figures in the historical record are extrapolated from the number of warriors or the number of lodges. Peter Pond, for example, counted seventy-five lodges in the village of the Ihanktonwana and estimated the population at ten times that number based on an assumed average of ten persons in each lodge.[235] The historian Gary Clayton Anderson has offered 38,000 as a best guess for the total number of Oceti Sakowin at European contact, declining to perhaps 25,000 at the end of the eighteenth century. The historian Herbert T. Hoover has suggested that the Ihanktonwan numbered perhaps 2,000 in the eighteenth century.[236]

Epidemics ravaged the Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana many times in the eighteenth century. Nothing could have been as terrifying as when an unknown disease appeared in the people's midst, killing and maiming indiscriminately and causing great misery. The John K. Bear winter count records that an epidemic in 1722 struck hard and the people fled the camp. This frightful event followed an earlier epidemic in 1714. What type of disease was involved each time is not known. The Jesuits reported that a type of fever – probably yellow fever – killed many people in the Illinois country and the upper Mississippi Valley early in the eighteenth century, and the yellow fever may have menaced tribes farther west as well. Smallpox appeared later. This band of Ihanktonwana experienced further epidemics in 1746 and 1781, the latter one being part of a deadly smallpox epidemic that swept the whole northern plains. Despite these terrible epidemics,

[234] Innis, *Peter Pond*, 55-58.
[235] Pond, "Journal of Peter Pond," 349.
[236] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 22; Herbert T. Hoover, "A Yankton Sioux Tribal Land History," 1995, typescript, Ihanktonwan Community College Library, p. 2.

the Ihanktonwana seemed to replace their losses with the help of a high birth rate.[237]

The John K. Bear winter count chronicles some of the major cultural developments and geographical movements of one band of Ihanktonwana. It shows, for example, that this band had acquired horses by the year 1707, that it fought the Arikara near the Missouri River in 1711, and that it held a Sun Dance in 1713. (The latter reference is thought to be the earliest known mention of the Sun Dance in anthropological literature.) The John K. Bear winter count carries a pictorial record for the year 1817 that has been rendered "Canom oqe ed wicoti," or "They camped at the pipestone quarry."[238] This reference is one of few pieces of concrete evidence of Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwana occupation of the quarry at an early date, albeit after the eighteenth century.

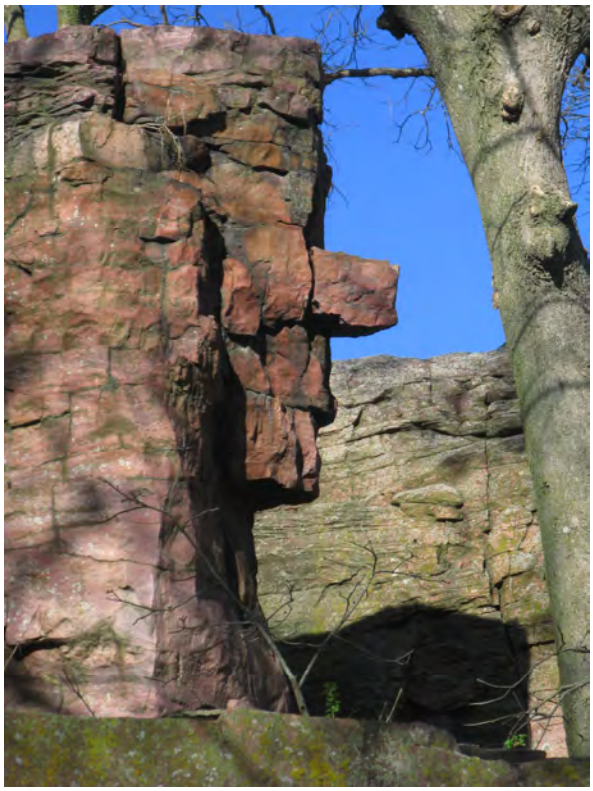


Figure 13. Old Stone Face, 2013. (Photo by the authors.)

Although no one ever wrote an account of Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwana village life near the Pipestone Quarry in the eighteenth century, from what is known about them a little later and about the Oceti Sakowin generally it is possible to form a picture of what it was like. Besides the writings of explorers and traders, there is some oral history of the nearby Sisseton, as well as a few kernels of

[237] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," 25-42.
[238] Ibid, 44.

information about the Ihanktonwana from the John K. Bear winter count, and there is archeological evidence from the historical period recovered in and around Pipestone National Monument.

The Ihanktonwan divided into several bands, and each band moved its main village twice per year, shifting between summer and winter locations. The village was a base camp from which smaller groups would go away on food-gathering expeditions and return. In general, the summer season was a time of planting and harvesting crops, gathering wild plants, and preparing and storing foods for winter. In the shoulder season between summer and winter the group broke into smaller bands to go deer hunting, wild rice gathering, or fall fishing and trapping, after which the people returned to the summer village to join in the general movement to a winter location. The winter season was largely given to rest and storytelling. In the shoulder season between winter and summer, the village once again splintered into smaller units, the men going off to hunt muskrats for the fur trade, the women going off to sugar-bush locations to extract sugar, all the people recombining several weeks later for the general movement to a new summer village site.[239]

While the village was the main economic unit for the procurement and distribution of food, the several bands of Ihanktonwan joined together in late summer for a tribal buffalo hunt. The ethnographer Alanson B. Skinner obtained a fine description of the buffalo hunt by a Dakota informant, Amos E. Oneroad,

> Buffalo were formerly abundant only periodically; when they were scarce, scouts were sent out to look for them on the prairie. When the scouts were sent out to look for the buffalo they might be gone a day or more, so the akicita went through the village and announced to the people to be very quiet so the buffalo could not hear or smell them. Boys and girls were not allowed to play or make any noise. No dancing was permitted. Even the dogs seemed to know enough to keep quiet. When the scouts were seen returning over the hill they would raise their blankets as a sign of good news. If they had seen the buffalo then the people yelled and the dogs barked.
>
> If the scouts were successful in locating the buffalo, they would return with the news, going to the council lodge or tiyotipi. There the councilors and leader came together with their akicita or officers who executed the orders. These akicita were called *waawanyaka* or overseers and were selected from the braves by the council. Their office only lasted during the buffalo hunt and had no reference to their position in any of the warrior societies. Sometimes the men might be chosen from half a dozen

[239] Mary K. Whelan, "Dakota Indian Economics and the Nineteenth-Century Fur Trade," *Ethnohistory* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1993), 250-51.

different societies. However, when one division of the Eastern Sioux, say the Wahpeton, was camped by itself, they might make use of an organization, the *tokana*, for instance, if they chose.

A herald was selected to tell the people that buffalo had been found, and after the announcement of the discovery of the buffalo by the scouts to the council, the herald would call through the village that the people must get their running horses ready, clean their guns, and prepare their arrows for the signal. These running horses were not hobbled or staked out on the prairie with the ordinary steeds but were kept close to the lodges where they were carefully watched and tended. After a while the herald would pass through camp again, announcing that everyone should start for the place where the buffalo had been seen. The cavalcade started slowly, the warriors leading their running horses to keep them fresh. The akicita led the expedition, and it was their duty to punish those who went ahead of the main body by killing the culprits' horses, whipping them with a club, whip, or gun, and breaking their weapons.

When the buffalo were sighted, the leader would prepare his gun and then yell "Hukahe" when all was ready. The hunters then mounted their running horses and charged the herd in a body, picking out and shooting the best buffalo. It was thought that orphan boys were the cleverest and best hunters and very wealthy men who owned two or three running horses would hire orphans to ride for them during the hunt.

After the buffalo had been killed, the men usually did the skinning unless the main body of the women had arrived there in time. They would work two and two and brought off all they could of the buffalo meat, hoofs, horns, tongue, head, and entrails. The latter were often eaten raw with the liver. The liver, sprinkled with gall, was prized as a dainty and devoured raw on the spot.[240]

The Ihanktonwan had a unique way of drying buffalo meat. First they cut it into thin sheets of even thickness and threaded a long stick down each edge to spread it out. Then they hung the sheets on a drying rack for a day. Then, they placed the leafy bows of an elm tree on the ground and placed the meat on top, and covered the meat with more bows and a large hide. Next, a person trampled on it, which flattened the meat some more, broke down the fibers, and pressed out

[240] Amos E. Oneroad and Alanson B. Skinner, *Being Dakota: Tales and Traditions of the Sisseton and Wahpeton*, edited by Laura L. Anderson (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2003), 110-11.

moisture. Finally, they returned the meat to the drying rack. Buffalo meat prepared in this way could keep for two years or more.[241]

The Ihanktonwan also hunted deer, elk, and moose and, in contrast to the Lakota, they did considerable fishing. They caught fish using hook and line or bow and arrow. They also built fish traps on the Missouri River modeled after those used by the Mandan, and they made seines by weaving together willow branches and weighting the contraption with rocks. Some of the Ihanktonwan practiced a fishing technique called "fish crowding" by which men and boys would wade along the edge of a shallow lake, corralling the fish into a narrow spot where they could be scooped out by hand.[242]

How often did one band or another camp at the quarry? One clue to the answer comes from the nineteenth-century reporting of numerous tipi rings found on the prairie around the quarry. Unfortunately, the tipi rings have long since been obliterated or buried by agricultural land use and other disturbance, so the nineteenth-century reporting is the only record of their existence.[243] George Catlin was the first writer to note the tipi rings on his visit to the quarry in 1836. Charles H. Bennett, an early settler of Pipestone County (and the same individual who interviewed the two chiefs), observed the tipi rings on first coming to the area in 1873. In a later statement, he described what he saw around the time of his arrival:

> Among other things which attracted my attention were hundreds upon hundreds of places within a mile of here of circular form, surrounded by stones of from six inches to two feet in diameter, some of which were sunken in the ground so as to be scarcely visible, all indicating unmistakably that some time in the years or centuries gone by, they were the habitations of Indians, and that they constituted villages of considerable size.[244]

William Henry Holmes, an archeologist with the Smithsonian Institution, mapped some 300 stone circles and mounds in the immediate vicinity of the quarry in 1892. In his accompanying notes, he referred to the stone circles as "camp sites and lodge rings." The results of his field work were published in the form of a detailed map in 1919. Scott et al., in their archeological inventory and overview of Pipestone

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[241] Raymond J. DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 789.
[242] Ibid, 789.
[243] During the archeological inventory investigations at Pipestone National Monument in the 1990s, just two possible stone circles and one mound were identified. The two stone circles, if that is what they are, lie buried under a thin soil cover. Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 302.
[244] Quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 97.

National Monument, state that the Holmes map "served as the most detailed archeological base map of the quarries for nearly 80 years," and that Holmes "deserves recognition as one of the most important scientific chroniclers of the quarries." Neither Holmes nor the latter team of archeologists ventured an opinion as to how long ago the stone circles were formed.[245]

Clusters of stone circles were once commonly observed in the northern plains and are still found today on lands that have never been plowed up or put to other use. These archeological features long ago came to be known as "tipi rings," based on the supposition that the stones had been placed around the bottom of a tipi cover to hold it snug on the ground, then rolled aside, and left there when the tipi was taken down and moved. Around the mid-twentieth century, anthropologists made systematic study of the many occurrences of stone circles. While some anthropologists thought the circular patterns denoted a ceremonial purpose, the prevailing view was that in the vast majority of cases the stone circles were indeed simply the remains of a tipi setup and that the popular term "tipi ring" was apt.[246]

Most tipi rings are late prehistoric. As American Indian tribes acquired metal axes, they made wooden pegs to stake down the tipi cover instead of weighing it down with heavy rocks. The word for "prehistory" in the Crow language has been translated as the time "when we used stones to weigh down our lodges." The acquisition of the horse also made a difference. One American Indian said that his people began using wooden pegs back in the day when horses replaced dogs as their main beast of burden. The horses enabled them to carry wooden pegs from camp to camp, saving them the effort of finding and moving heavy rocks at each new camp. The oldest tipi rings are about 2,500 years old, while most tipi ring sites date from just a few centuries ago. Some tipi ring sites date from as late as the nineteenth century, however. The archeologist Thomas F. Kehoe, using an ethnological approach in his study of tipi rings on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, found that some of his informants remembered using stones to weigh down the tipi covers within their own life spans, though others recalled hearing about the old practice from their parents and grandparents.[247]

Considering the evidence from the Blackfeet Reservation and other places, it seems reasonable to conclude that the many tipi rings mapped by Holmes were

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[245] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 119-24. See also "Pipestone in the Museum," *Pipestone County Star*, November 25, 1892, which states: "For miles around the quarry the plains are covered with the rings which mark the sites where Indian lodges were once established, and everywhere are scattered fragments of pipestone representing the waste of manufacture."

[246] Carling Malouf, "The Tipi Rings of the High Plains," *American Antiquity* 26, no. 3 (January 1961), 381-89.

[247] National Park Service, "Documenting Tipi Rings along the Bad Pass Trail, Bighorn Canyon NRA," 2008, at www.nps.gov/archeology/sites/npsites/bighornCanyon.htm <September 12, 2013>; Thomas F. Kehoe, "Tipi Rings: The 'Direct Ethnological' Approach Applied to an Archeological Problem," *American Anthropologist* 60 (1958), 861-73.

left by the Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwana during their occupation of the quarry in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Holmes' map shows a random, fairly even sprinkling of stone circles along the entire quarry line as well as a lighter sprinkling of them below the escarpment near Winnewissa Falls. The random distribution of tipi rings does not point to the existence of a particular favored village site. Rather, it appears to indicate that the Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwana camped all over. As each band laid out its village, the people would have scavenged material from stone circles left in previous years, thereby partially obliterating past village sites. What Holmes found in 1892, then, would appear to be the scattered remains of many village sites overlaying one another. The placement of the stone circles also shows that the village sites were situated right by the quarry. The stone circles on the Holmes map do not extend to the vicinity of the Three Maidens, which is consistent with American Indian accounts that the people never camped directly beside the boulders out of respect for them.

Nineteenth-century visitors to the quarry also recorded the existence of numerous mounds in the area, which they assumed to be burial mounds. George Catlin drew a sketch of one mound on his visit in 1836. In his notes, he described it as ten feet high and conical in shape. He was told that the mound covered the remains of a young man who had fallen to his death from the Leaping Rock only two years prior to his visit. His Dakota informant, he wrote, was none other than the deceased's father, who happened to be there at the time of his visit, and whom the artist observed crying over his son's grave. The account was later cited by another writer as evidence that the Oceti Sakowin were still making burial mounds in the area around the time of Catlin's visit.[248]

Nineteenth-century observers took a keen interest in the mounds. Some thought they might relate to the prehistoric mound-building cultures that centered on the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Philetus W. Norris, a former superintendent of Yellowstone National Park, who visited the quarry in 1882, debunked that idea and argued that they were of much more recent vintage, belonging to the Oceti Sakowin. Consistent with Euro-American attitudes of his day, Norris had no compunctions about digging into American Indian grave sites in the name of scientific discovery. Norris excavated no fewer than ten mounds, and found fragments of catlinite, bones, and bone chips in some that convinced him they were the burial mounds of the Oceti Sakowin. [249]

The idea that the mounds were the works of an earlier culture, distinct from the Oceti Sakowin, persisted into the early twentieth century. It is now known that

[248] George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, edited by Michael MacDonald Mooney (New York: Gramercy Books, 1975), 334; Warren Upham, "Mounds Built by the Sioux in Minnesota," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal* 27, no. 4 (July/August 1905), 221-22.
[249] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 373.

burial mounds were indeed a part of Oceti Sakowin burial practices and that the mounds were once visible on the landscape in many parts of southern Minnesota.[250] Like tipi rings, burial mounds have been largely effaced from the land by agricultural practices. Others have been eroded or obliterated by a natural process called bioturbation. Bioturbation is the gradual churning, mixing, and displacement of soil caused by burrowing animals.[251]

Contemporary archeologists are skeptical about the origins and purpose of the mounds in Pipestone National Monument. The archeological inventories made in the 1990s identified just one mound that was thought to be a likely burial mound. There is nothing left of most of the mounds that were reported in the nineteenth century, nor are there any known collections of artifacts recovered from any of them. Norris, in his report on the excavation of ten mounds in the area, admitted to a "want of relics found in them." Of the ones still remaining inside the monument boundary, most now appear not to be burial mounds at all, but rather piles of refuse or rock spoil or simply the natural undulations on the prairie caused by rodent burrowing. It is worth noting that Norris recorded the approximate dimensions of each of the ten mounds he excavated, and most were gently rounded and no more than three to four feet high; they did not show the more dramatic profile and height suggested by Catlin.[252]

Oceti Sakowin mortuary practice usually involved wrapping the body of the deceased and placing it on a scaffold in the open air. Often the relatives would return at a later time to collect the bones for burial. The collected bones might be transported to another site and interred either by themselves or with others in a burial mound. Many burial mounds were erected on the top of bluffs or hills or along the banks of the larger rivers in southern Minnesota.[253] While it is possible that the Ihanktonwan/Ihanktonwana erected burial mounds near the quarry, the archeological record does not appear to support that idea. Catlin's report in 1836 of a recent burial in a burial mound could perhaps be a match with the one likely burial mound identified in the archeological inventory.

The French in Louisiana and the Expansion of the Oceti Sakowin

On April 9, 1682, Robert Cavelier de La Salle stood on soggy ground at the tip of the Mississippi River delta and took possession of the entire Mississippi Valley in the name of the French king, Louis XIV. French Louisiana, embracing roughly the middle third of the continent, included the Pipestone Quarry together with all of the tribes who inhabited the Missouri-Mississippi Basin. La Salle,

[250] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakotas*, 31-33.
[251] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 297.
[252] Ibid, 302. The Norris quotation is at 373, and Norris's report is reproduced as Appendix B, pp. 367-75.
[253] Upham, "Mounds Built by the Sioux in Minnesota," 221.

having completed a journey of a few thousand miles from Montreal up the St. Lawrence River, through the Great Lakes, and down the Mississippi River, claimed the vast territory for his sovereign by right of discovery.[254]

In claiming territory in the New World and asserting sovereign powers over the land, resources, and indigenous peoples, European nations invoked the Doctrine of Discovery. The Doctrine of Discovery has been traced back to a series of papal bulls issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 pursuant to Columbus's "discovery" of America. The papal bulls built upon earlier papal legal discourse concerning the rights of Christendom in Africa and the Holy Land which dated all the way back to the Crusades. The Doctrine of Discovery held that the discovery of territory by one Christian state before any other state had knowledge of it gave that state a sovereign claim to the territory. In the first instance, the papal bulls of 1493 gave all of the Americas to Spain rather than Portugal, since Columbus had sailed for the Spanish sovereign. According to the papal bulls' logic, a sovereign claim by a European state embraced all the indigenous, non-Christian, non-European inhabitants within the territory being claimed by the sovereign. The Doctrine of Discovery was part of the Eurocentric worldview that divided all of humanity into Christian and non-Christian peoples. It posited that indigenous peoples, being non-Christian, had no comparable sovereign interests of their own. It provided a rationale for European colonization of the rest of the world and a system for managing imperial rivalries.[255]

France's claim to Louisiana was important to France but it meant relatively little to the tribes. Tribes responded to the French as new trading partners and potential allies in their conflicts with other tribes. As the years passed, tribes acquired a clearer understanding of the imperial rivalry that existed between France, Britain, and Spain in North America. They accepted the ritual surrounding France's sovereign claims as being a part of the peculiar terms of American Indian-European relations. Yet they had no reason to recognize French sovereignty in Louisiana because the French were not very powerful there. Historian Michael Witgen emphasizes France's weakness in Louisiana in his book, *An Infinity of Nations*. "Making sense of the relationships between European empires and the Native peoples of the Great Lakes and western interior of North America requires recognition of an important fact," he writes. "Native social formations within these overlapping territories were not, in spite of European claims, the subjects of European empires or their settler colonies. Neither was their territory meaningfully incorporated into any of the empires with colonies on North American soil." Witgen describes European claims of sovereignty as an "illusion" and shows how

[254] W. J. Eccles, *France in America* (NewYork: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 89.
[255] Robert A. Williams, Jr., *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 13-18, 81-83.

indigenous politics and intertribal alliances still held sway over the region through the colonial era.[256]

Across the Great Plains region, intertribal relations came to be governed by four major alliances of tribes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the northwest, the dominant power was the Blackfeet alliance, comprising the Piegan, Blood, and Blackfoot tribes, and sometimes the Sarsi and Gros Ventre as well. In the northeast, the Assiniboine-Cree alliance dominated the northern plains in present-day Saskatchewan and Manitoba. They were joined by the westernmost branch of the Ojibwe, known as the Plains Ojibwe. To the south of those allied tribes, the Mandan-Hidatsa held a commanding position in their fortified villages on the Missouri River. Below the Mandan villages on the Missouri River, the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota tribes formed a strong alliance known as the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires.)[257]

The French, British, and Spanish made inroads into this intertribal system of alliances through the fur trade. Tribes coveted trade relations with the European powers largely because they could acquire guns from them. With better armaments, they could conduct war against other tribes more effectively. The Dakota wanted to trade with the French so they could obtain guns to fend off the well-armed Ojibwe. The French, for their part, were eager to trade with the Dakota to bring them into their alliance against the Iroquois, who were backed by the British.[258]

French explorers' and traders' written accounts of their dealings with American Indians shed light not only on the system of American Indian-European relations, they also provide information about the significance of pipes and pipestone in this early period. Of most interest for this history, the written records of the French confirm that the pipe was sacred among the Dakota well before the Oceti Sakowin got possession of the Pipestone Quarry, and they help to explain the westward movement of the Oceti Sakowin, with its profound ramifications for intertribal relations on the Great Plains over the next century and a half.

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[256] Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 215. For a similar interpretation of American Indian-European relations in the Arkansas Valley see Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[257] Ewers, "Intertribal Warfare as the Precursor of Indian-White Warfare on the Northern Great Plains," 404-07.

[258] On the interplay of intertribal alliances and imperial rivalries, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*. On the role of the French in the war between the Ojibwe and the Oceti Sakowin, see Gary C. Anderson, "Early Dakota Migration and Intertribal War: A Revision," *Western Historical Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (January 1980), 17-36; and Tim E. Holzkamm, "Eastern Dakota Population Movements and the European Fur Trade: One More Time," *Plains Anthropologist* 28, no. 101 (1983), 225-33.

What was probably the Dakota's first encounter with the French occurred in the winter of 1659-60, when Pierre Radisson, with his brother-in-law Médard Chouart des Groseilliers, visited a party of Dakota men and women south of Lake Superior in present-day northern Wisconsin. Radisson's colorful account is not very trustworthy. He wrote it in English with the hope of influencing the English monarch to charter the Hudson's Bay Company. As English was not Radisson's first language, his phrasing was at times a bit faulty and cryptic. Moreover, he wrote his account some years later from his journals, and as it was a piece of propaganda aimed at persuading the English government to invest in the North American fur trade, Radisson obviously took liberties in describing the nature of the country and the extent of his own travels. The work was not published until 1885, so it never got vetted by his contemporaries. Nevertheless, Radisson's account is the earliest written description of the Dakota.[259]

The Dakota found Radisson and his brother-in-law at a post that the two Frenchmen had built for the winter. Radisson referred to the Dakota as "Nadoueceronons," using the Ojibwe name for them. He also called them "the Nation of the beefe," or Buffalo Indians, because the Dakota told him that their people lived near the prairie and hunted bison for a major part of their subsistence. These Dakota also expressed their people's interest in trading with the French for iron and other items of European manufacture. While the party of Dakota was at the post, a large number of Ojibwe visited as well, and their relations were amicable. Radisson's account therefore supports a contention made by the nineteenth century Ojibwe historian William Warren in his *History of the Ojibway Nation*, that the Ojibwe and the Dakota were on friendly terms until the beginning of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the Ojibwe use of their word for "snake" to describe the Dakota.[260]

Radisson wrote that the party of Dakota made a great ceremony in greeting the two Frenchmen. First they made the two men strip naked and grease their arms and legs, then they dressed them in their own buffalo hides and beaver skins, and then they wept over them. Following the wailing ritual, the Dakota brought out their peace pipes, shared smoke with Radisson and his brother-in-law, and perfumed their garments and metal accoutrements with their tobacco smoke, afterwards throwing a quantity of unused tobacco into the fire. In this way, the

[259] Westerman and White, *Mne Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 37-38; Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917), 32; Donald J. Blakeslee, "The Calumet Ceremony and the Origin of Fur Trade Rituals," *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1977), 78-88.

[260] Pierre Esprit Radisson, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson: being an account of his travels and experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684* (1885, reprint; New York: B. Franklin, 1967), 207; Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 37-38. See also Bruce M. White, "Encounters with Spirits: Ojibwa and Dakota Theories about the French and Their Merchandise," *Ethnohistory* 41, no. 3 (Summer 1994), 369-403.

Dakota made Radisson and his brother-in-law their "relatives," brought them into the circle of Dakota reciprocity, and thereby symbolically made the French their new partners in the intertribal trade network.[261]

Radisson wrote a detailed description of the peace pipe and the calumet ceremony:

> That pipe is of red stone, as big as a fist and as long as a hand. The small reed as long as five foot in breadth and the thickness of a thumb. There is tied to it the tail of an eagle all painted over with several colors and open like a fan, or like that makes a kind of wheel when it shuts; below the top of the stem is covered with feathers of ducks and other birds that are of a fine color. We took the tail of the eagle, and instead it we hung 12 iron bows in same manner as the feathers were, and a blade about it along the staff, a hatchet planted in the ground, and that calumet over it, and all our armors about it upon forks. Every one smoked his pipe of tobacco, for they never go without it. During the while there was a great silence.[262]

From Radisson's account of the calumet ceremony, it is understood that the Dakota already had the sacred pipe by the mid-seventeenth century and that the pipe already held a central place in their external relations with other peoples. The *Jesuit Relations* for 1669-70 makes further passing reference to the Dakota and the French partaking in a calumet ceremony.[263]

The next known written record of the calumet was made by Father Marquette, who traveled down the upper Mississippi in 1673. Two men of the Illinois nation hailed the party of French on the river, presented the pipe, smoked with them, and then led them to their village. Marquette was impressed by the pipe's significance:

> I must speak here of the *Calumet*, the most mysterious thing in the World. The Scepters of our Kings are not so much respected; for the …[Indians] have such a Deference for this Pipe, that one may call it, *The God of Peace and War, and the Arbiter of Life and Death*. One, with this *Calumet*, may

[261] Radisson, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, 207; Wedel, "Iowa," 432; Blakeslee, "The Calumet Ceremony and the Origin of Fur Trade Rituals," 81; Gary Clayton Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 30.
[262] Radisson, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, 207-08. Spelling has been standardized.
[263] Westerman and White, *Mne Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 39.

> venture amongst his Enemies, and in the hottest Engagement they lay down their Arms before this Sacred Pipe."[264]

Marquette went on to distinguish the pipe of peace from the pipe of war:

> It is made of a Red Stone like our Marble; the Head is like our common Tobacco-Pipes, but larger; and it is fixt to a hollow Reed, to hold it for smoaking. They adorn it with fine Feathers of several Colours; and they call it *The Calumet of the Sun*, to whom they present it, especially when they want fair Weather or Rain, thinking that that Planet can have no less respect for than Men have, and therefore they shall obtain their Desires.[265]

It is of interest that the Illinois were an Algonquian-speaking people, indicating that the sacred pipe tradition had spread beyond the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota, Omaha, Ponca, Ioway, and other peoples who were directly associated with the Pipestone Quarry.

In 1678, Daniel Greysolon, sieur Dulhut, set out on a journey to the upper Mississippi River for the purpose of making contact with the Dakota and establishing peaceful relations with all the native peoples around Lake Superior. In July 1679, he visited "the great village of the Nadouesioux called Izatys." Some scholars believe the place was Knife Lake, southeast of Mille Lacs, where the Dakota obtained stone to make knife blades. Izatys may equate to the Dakota word "Isanti." From this word come the name Isanti County in southeast Minnesota and the name "Santee" for the Dakota tribes.[266] Dulhut made further contact with the Dakota along the Mississippi, but his account offers no hint as to where the Ihanktonwan were located at this time, or whether the Oceti Sakowin had yet expanded westward to the Pipestone Quarry.

Contemporaneous with Dulhut's expedition, Father Louis Hennepin visited the Dakota. He journeyed with the French explorer Robert Cavalier de La Salle to Green Bay (Wisconsin) and then made his own way to the Mississippi River. Hennepin was taken captive by the Dakota and stayed with his captors for a time near Mille Lacs. Eventually he joined Dulhut and returned with him to Canada in 1680 or 1681. From Hennepin's popular account of his travels, it is evident that the Oceti Sakowin at that time included the Issati, Nadouessans, Tinthonha (men of the prairie), Oudebathon (men of the river), and Chongaskethon (tribe of the dog or wolf). Hennepin stated further that there were other tribes called as a group,

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[264] Quoted in Father Louis Hennepin, *New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (1698, reprint; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 653-54.
[265] Ibid, 654.
[266] Westerman and White, *Mne Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 41-42.

"Nadouessioux." He reported that the whole nation could assemble eight or nine thousand warriors. Minnesota historian Grace Lee Nute, who edited a reprint of Hennepin's work, suggests that the five tribes he identified were the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Teton, Wahpeton, and Sisseton, respectively. The absence of the Ihanktonwan and Ihantonwana in Hennepin's list may suggest that those two tribes of the Seven Council Fires were located farther west at this time, as their name – Village at the End – could imply.[267]

There is a tradition among the Ihanktonwana that their first direct contact with Europeans occurred in the area of present-day Chicago. French historical records indicate that French traders started up the Minnesota River around the mid 1680s. It would seem that either the French traders were responding to the Ihanktonwana's invitation made to them in the area of Chicago, or that the original encounter may in fact have occurred at France's initiative closer to the Ihanktonwana home area. Around that same time, the French trader and diplomat Nicholas Perrot ventured into the Mississippi Valley from his main post at Green Bay and established several posts along the Mississippi for the express purpose of securing trade with the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota tribes.[268]

The John K. Bear winter count records an event that may attest to the Oceti Sakowin taking possession of the Pipestone Quarry. The picture is said to signify "Isanyati Omaha ob kicizapi kin" or "the Santee Dakota fought with the Omaha tribe," and it may have been in the year 1685. Other sources suggest that the battle occurred around 1700.[269]

In 1689, Nicholas Perrot built a fort on the shore of Lake Pepin (a wide stretch of the Mississippi River near Red Wing, Minnesota) and in a formal ceremony there on May 8, 1689, he claimed possession of the upper Mississippi region in the name of Louis XIV. Perrot's declaration specifically mentioned certain Dakota-Nakota-Lakota tribes occupying both sides of the upper Mississippi River. His declaration did not mention the Ihanktonwan specifically. It referred to the mouth of the Minnesota River but gave no details as to the inhabitants

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[267] Father Louis Hennepin, *Father Louis Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, edited by Grace Lee Nute (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1938), 92. Ihanktonwan historian Leonard Bruguier suggests that the Ihanktonwan were located farthest west as the Oceti Sakowin migrated into southern Minnesota: "It may be conjectured that the Seven Council Fires moved north from the Santee River headwaters, then west over the midwestern prairies, then northwest on a three-pronged front with the *Isanti* on the right, *Titonwan* in the center, and the *Ihanktonwan* on the left into Wisconsin and Minnesota. Their migration is deflected somewhat on the right by the *Anishinabeg, Cree*, and former relatives of the *Assiniboine*, but the expansion continues in basically the same formation, pivoting on the *Ihanktonwan* left and changing to a west, northwest angle. The *Titonwan* continue moving with, or forcing west, the *Sahiyela* (Cheyenne), until the early 1700s when the *Titon* reached the Missouri River. See Bruguier, *The Yankton Sioux Tribe*, 27.

[268] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," 21.

[269] Ibid, 21. For the later date, see Wedel, "Peering at the Ioway Indians through the Mist of Time," 48.

westward along that stream. From this document's lack of mention of any other American Indian tribes on the Minnesota River, it may be inferred that in Perrot's estimation, at least, none but the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota was there.[270]

In 1700, Pierre-Charles Le Sueur built Fort L'Heilleur on the Blue Earth River and reported that the Ihanktonwan lived by the Pipestone Quarry. Le Sueur visited the upper Mississippi region several times between the years 1683 and 1701. He seems to have been the first writer to describe the Dakota/Nakota-Lakota as two distinct groups: one occupying the woodland country in the Mississippi River valley, the other occupying prairie land west of the Mississippi. In 1699, he wrote that these "two nations" had once combined and gone on a nineteen-day journey to the west to make war on the tribes there. It would seem that he was referring to the battle that resulted in the abandonment of Blood Run/Good Earth and the takeover of the Pipestone Quarry. Some scholars have suggested that the Omaha, Ponca, and Ioway tribes remained at Blood Run/Good Earth until the early 1700s, but that appears to be doubtful in light of Le Sueur's reporting.[271]

What prompted the Oceti Sakowin to move from woodlands to prairie, to seek territory to the west, and in particular, to go to war with the Omaha and their allies? For a long time, historians and anthropologists argued that the westward movement of the Oceti Sakowin was primarily a defensive response as they suffered relentless attacks from the more numerous and better-armed Ojibwe. More recent scholarship challenges that view, finding that the westward movement was more of a deliberate effort to go where the buffalo hunting was best. Buffalo herds were moving westward and were disappearing east of the Mississippi. The Nakota and Lakota tribes – the tribes Le Sueur called the Sioux of the West – chose to follow the buffalo, adapt to a prairie environment, and embrace a new way of life revolving around the bison hunt. The Dakota tribes – those who Le Sueur called the Sioux of the East – preferred to stay behind and continue making subsistence rounds with an emphasis on fishing, gathering wild rice, and hunting game where woodland met prairie. Once the split occurred, the bison-hunting tribes moved

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[270] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 45. See also Perrot's account in E. H. Blair, ed., *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. 1 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1911), 25-272. Perrot stated that the Dakota made the marshlands in the Minnesota River valley a defensive stronghold through their skill in handling canoes. They lived in villages of just five to six families and through the use of their canoes and their intimate knowledge of the waterways and portages, they could escape their enemies and combine with other villages to counterattack any hostile force in that country (p. 166).

[271] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 48-55. To be clear, LeSueur did not report that the battle had just occurred; rather, he mentioned the battle in the context of describing the relationship between the two wings of the Oceti Sakowin when they went on the offensive. It could be inferred from Le Sueur's account that when the Ihanktonwan met him in 1699 or 1700, they informed him about an Oceti Sakowin conquest that had happened around the year 1685 – as memorialized in the John K. Bear winter count. Significantly, the John K. Bear winter count does *not* record a second great battle as having occurred around the year 1700.

farther and farther west, prospered, and caused the Oceti Sakowin to inhabit a larger and larger swath of the Great Plains. Archeologist Guy Gibbon has described what happened over the course of the next hundred years and more:

> As each of the three divisions adapted to different prairie-plains environments, their lifeways changed and diverged from one another, and while they spoke the same language, each developed its own dialect. The Middle Sioux, the Yankton-Yanktonai, became middlemen in a far-flung trade system between the Lakota, who had pushed westward as far as Wyoming and eastern Montana, and the Dakota (the Sioux of the East), who were closely involved in the French fur trade. While the Lakota became bison-hunting, nomadic horsemen and the principal grain of the Dakota shifted from wild rice to maize (corn), some Yankton-Yanktonai adopted many of the traits of their Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara neighbors, including earthlodge dwellings and their style of dress. With the horse for transportation, the Lakota prospered and their numbers grew until, by the nineteenth century, they outnumbered all other Sioux bands combined.[272]

According to the modern interpretation, the Oceti Sakowin's population movements in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries resulted from an interplay of push and pull factors. While conflict with the Ojibwe was an underlying "push" factor, bison hunting was a compelling "pull" factor as well. Historian Gary Clayton Anderson has argued that the older view that the Ojibwe overwhelmed the Oceti Sakowin by superior numbers is wrong because the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota population in the seventeenth century was bigger than once thought. He estimates that the nation numbered about 38,000 in the seventeenth century, and that epidemics and other stresses reduced the population to about 25,000 at the end of the eighteenth century – still a sizable number to stand up to the Ojibwe. Moreover, the population was weighted toward the east and north, toward their frontier with the Ojibwe. The initial cause of the population shift to the prairie was to escape the intertribal conflicts resulting from the Iroquois wars happening far to the east as the area between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi Valley (present-day Wisconsin) became a refuge for embattled Algonquian peoples. At the same time, the attraction of the prairie grew as more bison migrated into the area and as woodland game resources such as deer and elk diminished. In particular, Anderson finds evidence that a plague decimated elk numbers in the Wisconsin region around 1717-18. The push and pull factors

[272] Guy Gibbon, *The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota Nations* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 4-5.

reinforced one another, because when groups moved onto the prairie, they depleted the ranks of those remaining behind and made them more vulnerable to attacks by the Ojibwe and other enemies, so that more and more were inclined to follow for their own protection.[273]

Archeologist Tim E. Holzkamm has suggested that the French presence added another significant layer in this tapestry of push and pull factors. Each tribe's desire to obtain guns from the French and to keep guns from the hands of its enemies meant that each tribe wanted the role of middleman in the fur trade. It was once thought that the Ojibwe held that role to the exclusion of the Oceti Sakowin. The modern view is that conflict between the two nations was punctuated by periods of truce when the latter established direct trade with the French. Holzkamm finds that the Oceti Sakowin were prompted to expand their territory westward in part by a desire to secure the middleman role for themselves with respect to other neighboring tribes. In short, "the growing orientation of the Eastern Dakota toward the Plains was a response to their increasing involvement in the fur trade."[274]

Holzkamm's interpretation offers an explanation for why the Oceti Sakowin should have made war on the Omaha and other tribes at the end of the seventeenth century, driving them away from Blood Run/Good Earth and the Pipestone Quarry. In this view, the aggression supported two larger aims: to push those tribes out of reach of the French, and to occupy more bison-hunting territory. Taking over the Pipestone Quarry might have been incidental to those larger aims.

Ihanktonwan historian Bruguier suggests that if the Oceti Sakowin's takeover of the Pipestone Quarry was not necessarily a war aim, it was a valuable prize of war. It is known that the pipe was already sacred among the Oceti Sakowin before they acquired the site within their territory. Yet acquisition of the site may have deepened the culture's reverence for the pipe, and it certainly deepened the Ihanktonwan's reverence for the site itself. Bruguier provides a subtle interpretation of how the Oceti Sakowin's westward movement corresponded with their reverence for the pipe:

> The Pipestone Quarry, in southwestern Minnesota, gave the Seven Council Fires material to produce their Sacred Pipes. The Pipe, shaped from the pipestone mined at the quarry, became the physical manifestation that embodied the holistic, philosophical understanding of the Dakota world. Ideology growing from this knowledge required a reverence for all living beings occupying the *maka* (earth) and *towanjina* (sky). Dakota people believed they were just one part of that universe and they were no

[273] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 20-27.
[274] Holzkamm, "Eastern Dakota Population Movements and the European Fur Trade," 226.

> greater nor less than any other object within the cosmos. Living in a sacred manner among the gifts of *Tunkashina Wakantanka* (Grandfather, Great Spirit) became an ideal, and the teaching and maintenance of these philosophical tenets was passed on to each succeeding generation by example and oral tradition regardless of the changes going on around them.
>
> The *canumpa wicowoyake* (pipe narrative) comes from the Minnesota Quarry, the place where Grandfather, Great Spirit gave the gift of the Pipe to the *Oyate* (People). A Sacred Pipe origin story tells how the Red People engaged in a great battle and their blood flowed onto the ground. When the Great Spirit saw them fighting, he forced them to stop. When all was quiet, he took a piece of the red stone and fashioned a Pipe, filled it with tobacco, and smoked it to the four directions, the earth, and the sky. When he was done, he told them this was the Pipe of Peace, and when men or women displayed it they should be shown respect. Further, when Red Men of any tribe came to the Pipestone Quarry to acquire pipestone, all hostilities and bad thoughts must be laid aside. The Quarry was Sacred and they should act accordingly. The strongest and most widely believed Lakota Pipe narrative tells that the White Buffalo Calf Woman brought the Pipe to them in a different manner.
>
> It is possible the Dakota acquired the Pipe from one of the twelve or more sites where pipestone is located in the continental United States. During their many migrations, they constructed a religious ideology surrounding the use of the Pipe. Historically, it is indisputable that they recognized the Minnesota Quarry's significance on their arrival in the area. Using military force, they evicted the Omahas, Mandans, Sacs, and Poncas who were in the locale and incorporated the site into the boundaries of their nation. The Ihanktonwan, due to their strategic location on the southwestern side of the land occupied by the Dakota, acquired the task of keeping the Pipestone Quarries secure for the Seven Council Fires in the consolidation and expansion of a cultural center.[275]

The movement of the Oceti Sakowin into the area of the Pipestone Quarry was the first stage in what would become a three-stage expansion of their territory over the next century and a half. In this initial stage, it should be noted, the Oceti Sakowin had not yet adopted the horse culture that would become so pronounced by the nineteenth century. Historian Richard White has observed that "the assimilation of the horse into existing culture patterns occurred only gradually,"

[275] Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe: People of the Pipestone, 1634-1888," 32-34.

and did not take full effect until some time after the mid eighteenth century. In the period from about 1685 to 1750, the western tribes of the Oceti Sakowin hunted buffalo both on foot and by horse, and they also trapped beaver for the fur trade. "For years the two systems of hunting existed in an uneasy balance: during the summer the Sioux followed the buffalo; in the winters they trapped beaver; and with spring the bands traveled to the trade fairs," White suggests. "But by the late eighteenth century it had become obvious that the Teton bands to the west were devoting more and more time to the acquisition of horses and to the hunting of buffalo, while the Yankton and Yanktonais still concentrated on beaver trapping."[276]

While the Oceti Sakowin increasingly faced westward, their European trading partners were gradually infiltrating the western Great Plains as well. After Le Sueur, the next French explorer and trader to approach the territory of the Oceti Sakowin was Etienne de Véniard, sieur de Bourgmont. In 1713, he led an expedition up the Missouri River. It is likely he did not get very far up the river, although his reports contain some vague notes on the American Indian tribes living as far up as the mouth of the Platte. A decade later, he made a second expedition up the Missouri. The written record of his journey leaves it unclear as to his route, but as he came to focus on establishing friendly relations with a tribe he called the "Padoucas," presumably the Plains Apache, it seems that he left the Missouri well



Figure 14. Lower Mississippi River painted by George Catlin, 1832. (Courtesy of commons.wikimedia.org.)

[276] White, "The Winning of the West," 323.

below the territory of the Ihanktonwan and ventured into present-day Kansas. Even so, Bourgmont's second expedition produced a description of the Louisiana territory with a valuable reference to the Dakota-Nakota-Lakota people. The report combined first-hand and second-hand information, and was probably authored by Bourgmont's engineer, La Renaudière.[277]

With reference to the Missouri River, the report identified the American Indian tribes in ascending order as the Osage, Kansa, Otoe (located on the Platte River at Salt Creek), Pawnee, Skidi Pawnee, Ioway, Omaha (at the mouth of the Niobrara), and Arikara. No tribe of the Oceti Sakowin was listed. However, with reference to the upper Mississippi, it gave the following description:

> Let us descend [the Wisconsin River] to follow the Mississippi to its source, a stretch in which there are no tribes except the Scyous [Sioux], who are very numerous, allies, and in trade with the French. They trade in beavers and all sorts of peltries, which are beautiful and good and abundant. These are the most beautiful of all the countries of which we have been speaking. The tribe is quite difficult to control and when trading.[278]

The report provides evidence that the Oceti Sakowin maintained exclusive possession of both sides of the Mississippi below St. Anthony Falls, that they engaged in the fur trade, and that they were more nomadic (or "difficult to control") than the other tribes.

In 1727, the French reoccupied Perrot's old fort on Lake Pepin (on the upper Mississippi) for the purpose of trading with the ninety-five Dakota tipis assembled nearby. These Dakota apparently made their winter camps somewhere else and returned in the spring. In addition, a group of about sixty men of the Ihanktonwan visited the fort.[279]

The renewal of French-Dakota trade relations antagonized the Fox tribe, who lived along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and who counted the Dakota as their enemies and did not want them to acquire guns. The Dakota allied with the French against the Fox and defeated that tribe in the early 1730s. The victory over the Fox secured the French supply route between Green Bay and Lake Pepin and cemented the French-Dakota alliance.[280]

In 1731, Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, led an expedition of fifty men into the country west of Lake Superior. Starting in

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[277] Frank Norall, *Bourgmont, Explorer of the Missouri, 1698-1725* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 96.
[278] Norall, *Bourgmont, Explorer of the Missouri, 1698-1725*, 110.
[279] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 62.
[280] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 41.

Montreal, they traveled through the Great Lakes and passed the winter of 1731-32 at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River on the north shore of Lake Superior. The following year, he established two forts at Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods. This area, along the border of present-day Minnesota and Ontario, was then on the frontier between Dakota and Cree territory (with Plains Ojibwe increasingly joining the Cree). La Vérendrye hoped to find an all-water route to the Pacific Ocean, and he expected, like other French explorers, to engage in the fur trade to cover his expenses.[281]

The French presence among the Cree made the Dakota uneasy, for they did not want the French to provide guns to their enemies in the north. Rising tension over the French advance into Cree territory finally came to a head in 1736. A party of Dakota found twenty-four of La Vérendrye's men on an island in Lake of the Woods and killed all of them. Soon after this incident, a Dakota chief informed the commander of the French garrison at the post on Lake Pepin that his people would not allow trade with any other tribes upon the Dakota lands. This included not only the Cree in the north, but the Ojibwe and Ho-Chunk in the upper Mississippi Valley. That fall, a party of Dakota burned down a stockade that the Ho-Chunk had built near the French fort.[282]

The French-Dakota alliance was so shaken by these events that the French abandoned the post on Lake Pepin in 1737 and the Dakota did not invite them back. The Dakota began making attacks upon the Ojibwe, and in the historian Anderson's view, this was the start of the long-running conflict between the two peoples that would continue over the next hundred years. It is worth noting that Anderson's interpretation revises the older view that the Dakota were driven out of their traditional home in the woods onto the prairie by their inveterate enemies, the Ojibwe. Anderson insists that the accepted history of a traditional enmity between the two peoples, based on an endless cycle of revenge, is a myth that began with Warren's *History of the Ojibway People* (1851) and was reinforced by numerous historical accounts until fairly recently. Citing evidence that the Dakota and Ojibwe were actually on friendly terms before 1737, Anderson characterizes the Dakota-Ojibwe conflict as being a direct result of intertribal frictions introduced by the French fur trade.[283]

Despite the partial French withdrawal, the Dakota continued to trade with independent traders, or *coureurs du bois*. The most persistent of these traders was Paul Marin, whose venture came to center on the upper Mississippi and Minnesota rivers in the years 1750-53. With his son, Joseph Marin, and perhaps a dozen other

[281] Ted Catton, *Special History: The Environment and the Fur Trade Experience in Voyageurs National Park, 1730-1870* (Omaha: National Park Service, 2000), 12.
[282] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 43-44.
[283] Ibid, 42-50. See also Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 62-72, especially 71; and Wingerd, *North Country*, 30-35.

men, Marin lived upon the Dakota lands on the Dakota's terms. It is likely they intermarried with the Dakota; certainly, they behaved in ways that were consistent with the bonds of kinship. Joseph Marin kept a journal, and from this document it is evident that the main Ihanktonwan camp consisted of 160 tipis – perhaps 2,400 people – and that the tribe roamed as far west as the Missouri River.[284]

The Dakota saw the French pull out of their territory once more at the commencement of the Seven Years War (called the French and Indian War in the British colonies). There is a Dakota oral tradition that their Chief Wabasha traveled with a delegation to Quebec to participate in peace talks with the British. According to the oral tradition, Wabasha was presented with a chief's medal together with six more medals – one for each chief of the Seven Council Fires. French records show that Wabasha visited Montreal in the 1740s and 1750s, but there are no British records.[285]

In the Treaty of Paris of 1763, all of the territory once claimed by France in North America was divided between Britain and Spain. All of the land east of the Mississippi River went to Britain, and the rest of French Louisiana went to Spain. The Oceti Sakowin lived on both sides of the Mississippi and therefore straddled that dividing line, although the greater number of them lived west of the Mississippi.

The British Fur Trade and Oceti Sakowin Expansion

With the revival of the European fur trade after the Seven Years War, the Oceti Sakowin acquired new trading partners in the British and Spanish. Spanish (and French) traders operated along the Missouri River and its tributaries, while British traders infiltrated the region from the northwest.[286]

The British traders, known as "peddlers," went almost alone into Indian country, usually with one or two experienced French or Métis to serve as their guide and translator. The peddlers operated with the financial backing of a sponsor in the east, taking their bales of goods by canoe and packhorse and returning to the east with their valuable furs one or two years later. In the mid 1770s, merchants in Montreal began to organize and enhance the peddlers' efforts by forming the North

[284] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 50-54. Governor Louis Billouart de Kerlérec reported on his knowledge of the tribes along the Missouri River at this time as well. He noted the Big Osage, Little Osage, Missouria, and Kansa on the lower Missouri. About eight leagues above the Kansa were the Otoe and Ioway. Four hundred leagues above Fort Charles was the Omaha tribe, numbering about 800 men. "They would be little known if it were not for some French *coureurs*, who report that they number forty villages, extremely populated, as well as other nations of which we have very little knowledge." Quoted in A. P. Nasitir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri 1785-1804*, Vol. 1 (1952 reprint; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 52.
[285] Westerman and White, *Mne Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 72.
[286] Wingerd, *North Country*, 53.

West Company. By the 1780s, the North West Company had a well-established hold on the fur trade in the Great Lakes region and west of Lake Superior. The company had a main emporium at Grand Portage on the north shore of Lake Superior, built numerous posts where its principal traders passed each winter, and employed hundreds of French voyageurs or canoemen for transporting supplies and furs to and from these far-flung posts. The North West Company's system of trade barely touched on the territory of the Oceti Sakowin, however, and as a result the tribes were left in a somewhat stronger position relative to their European trading partners. Historian Mary Lethert Wingerd has described the Dakota relationship to the fur trade at the end of the eighteenth century:

> The balance of power between Indians and competing traders reinforced the culture of mutual obligation and the value of kinship bonds. While the powerful Nor' Westers established rigid hierarchies of class and race that eroded connections that had distinguished fur trade society for generations, such relationships remained integral elements of the Dakota trading realm. French traders, with a long history in the region, maintained their status and success in the so-called British era. Intermarriage was a critical key to this accomplishment. They built solid trading relationships through kinship ties to Dakota bands, established through their Indian wives – ties that carried obligation as well as benefits. British traders who went among the Dakotas quickly learned to follow the example set by the French and Indians. By the 1790s a dense web of family ties knit the traders to one another and to their Dakota trading partners. Joseph Renville, Jean Baptiste Faribault, Joseph Rolette, James Aird, Archibald John Campbell – virtually every trader who became important in the region – wed Dakota women *à la façon du pays*. Almost invariably, they treated the relationship and its obligations seriously. The children born from these unions often married one another and became important figures in the trade themselves. In the years ahead, this "mixed blood" generation also would become key brokers between the Dakota and American expansionists.[287]

While the Dakota formed alliances with British traders to the east and north, Spanish and French traders moved up the Missouri River, establishing relations with the powerful Mandan and Hidatsa village tribes as well as nomadic tribes who roamed the Plains on the Oceti Sakowin's southern and western flanks. As it had on the upper Mississppi earlier, the fur trade on the Missouri heightened conflict

[287] Wingerd, *North Country*, 69-70.

between neighboring tribes. Then the smallpox epidemic of 1780-81 swept over the region, devastating the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara and other village tribes, and breaking the military power of the Mandan-Hidatsa alliance. By this time, the western tribes of the Oceti Sakowin were intent on acquiring more horses to facilitate buffalo hunting. Raids on villages were an effective way to build up their horse herds. These multiple factors produced the second stage of Oceti Sakowin expansion in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The Teton crossed the Missouri and came to inhabit the western half of present-day South Dakota. The Oceti Sakowin thus formed three major divisions: a western (Lakota) division oriented to the plains, an eastern (Dakota) division oriented to the prairie-lake country of southern Minnesota, and a middle (Nakota) division, whose environment and culture were something of a blend of the other two.[288]

Within the Oceti Sakowin, the population slowly shifted from the eastern to the western tribes. The western tribes prospered on the high-protein diet of buffalo meat and the relative freedom from disease that accompanied their nomadic existence. Good nutrition and a mobile way of life helped to buffer them from epidemics. With the acquisition of the horse, they enjoyed a greater material prosperity. All of these factors contributed to an increase in birth rate and a decline in child mortality. While most American Indian nations drastically declined in numbers in the eighteenth century, the western division of the Oceti Sakowin grew. Some of the population growth was by natural increase and some of it came from internal migration within the Oceti Sakowin.[289]

As its population swelled, the Teton divided into more bands. When the tribe crossed the Missouri and took up lands formerly claimed by the Arikara, those in the vanguard comprised two groups, the Oglala and Sicanju. The Oglala settled near the Arikara and experimented with the Plains village way of life for a few years, growing corn and vegetables and building earth-covered lodges. Then they moved out toward the Black Hills. The Sicanju, meanwhile, occupied the White River Valley in present-day south-central South Dakota. Maintaining their alliance with the Ihanktonwan, they often combined for hunting expeditions to the Black Hills.

The rest of the Teton were called the Saones by the French. In time, the Saones moved west and took up lands north of the Oglala and Sicangu. The Saones divided into five more bands, making a total of seven Lakota-speaking Council Fires. So numerous were the Lakota by this time that each of the seven fires was comparable in size with many other Plains tribes. Besides the Oglala (Scatters Their Own) and Sicangu (Burnt Thighs), the other five were the

[288] White, "The Winning of the West," 324-25; Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 47-58. Gibbon suggests that it was at this stage that the Sioux language split into three major dialects (p.4).
[289] White, "The Winning of the West," 329-30.

Oohenumpa (Two Kettles), Sihasapa (Blackfeet), Miniconjou (Planters by Water), Hunkpapa (Campers at the Opening of the Circle), and Itazipco or Sans Arc (Without Bows).[290]

With the Lakota established west of the Missouri River, the site of the Oceti Sakowin's annual trade fair moved westward to the James River. A good description of this rendezvous is found in Pierre Antoine Tabeau's "Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri," based on Tabeau's journal from about 1803. Held late in the spring, the rendezvous attracted the various Lakota tribes ("Titons" in Tabeau's account), as well as the Ihanktonwana and Ihanktonwan ("Yinctons of the North and of the South"), the Sisseton ("Scissitons"), some bands of Wahpeton and Wahpekute ("people of the *Leaves*") and even some bands of Mdewakanton (people "of the *Lakes*"). Tabeau's listing of the participants was a complete roster of the Seven Council Fires.

The gathering sometimes numbered from a thousand to twelve hundred lodges, or perhaps three thousand warriors. (The Oceti Sakowin had a formula for counting the military strength of such a group: they estimated one hundred warriors for every forty lodges.) Much trading took place as everyone brought articles from their tribal territory which they knew the other part of the nation was in need of. The Dakota and Ihanktonwan brought guns and kettles obtained in the fur trade, bows made of walnut, and pipes made from the red pipestone. The Lakota brought horses obtained from Southern Plains tribes, buffalo hides, and shirts and leggings made of antelope skins. The Lakota also brought beaver skins for exchange, which the Dakota and Ihanktonwan accepted as a kind of currency with a view toward later cashing the skins for other items at the Europeans' trading posts. By this time, beaver populations in the upper Mississippi were so depleted that the Dakota obtained most of their furs by trade with other Indian groups – either from the Lakota or other tribes located to the north.

According to Tabeau, the annual gathering involved not just trade, but an important opportunity for diplomacy between the various divisions of the Oceti Sakowin. While existing tensions between groups sometimes erupted into conflicts, there was an overarching drive toward reconciliation and a settling of differences. The Dakota still had influence over the western divisions even though they were no longer the most populous part of the Oceti Sakowin. Owing in part to their closer relations with the Europeans, the Dakota stressed the need for unity and restraint among their more numerous western kinsmen.[291]

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[290] George F. Hyde, *Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brulé Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 3-5.

[291] Annie H. Abel, ed., *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 121; G. Hubert Smith, "Trade Among the Dakota," *The Minnesota Archaeologist* 13, no. 3 (1947), 66-67.

Another purpose of the gathering was to bring young men and women of different bands together so that they might marry outside their own bands. Being an important social occasion, the annual gathering was a time for games, dances, songs, storytelling, and religious ceremony as well as trade and diplomacy. The term "trade fair" was given to these gatherings by non-natives who were principally interested in their trade function.[292]

While the annual gathering brought together all tribes of the Oceti Sakowin, it nonetheless reinforced the position of the Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana as middle men between the Dakota and the Lakota, because the central location of the rendezvous assured that they were always present in larger numbers. They benefited from the east-west trade much as the Ioway had done more than a century before.

The historian Doane Robinson suggested that the gathering took place at the Grove of Oaks near the present village of Mellette in Spink County, South Dakota. The location is on the upper James River in the northeast quarter of the state, about twenty miles south of the city of Aberdeen. The rural location is now known as Armadale Park. The explorer Joseph Nicollet encountered an encampment of three hundred lodges of Ihanktonwan, Ihanktonwana, and Sisseton on their summer hunt in that vicinity in July 1839, and Nicollet's map shows a trading house at the site which is thought to have been that of William Dickson.[293] It is a notable fact that the Oceti Sakowin did not hold the rendezvous at the Pipestone Quarry even though the quarry was about as close to the geographic center of the Oceti Sakowin territory as the James River.

Fairly strong evidence exists both in oral traditions and in the archeological record that the Oceti Sakowin had to repel an adversary near the quarry. About two miles east and a little north of the quarry, some sort of battle or military stand-off probably occurred, most likely in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Oral traditions of the Ihanktonwan and Omaha refer to a battle having been fought in the area. The explorer Joseph N. Nicollet described some remains of fortifications when he visited the site in 1838, and later visitors in the nineteenth century investigated those same earthworks. There is nothing remaining of them today.[294]

> Nicollet described the fortifications in his journal as follows:
> We soon stumble upon a circular breastwork about 2,000 feet in circumference that is evidently the work of man's hands. The parapet that

[292] Smith, "Trade Among the Dakota," 68; White, "The Winning of the West," 322.
[293] Smith, "Trade Among the Dakota," 68.
[294] For a detailed survey of the evidence, see Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, Appendix E, pp. 391-400. The following discussion is based on the sources digested there.

> surrounds it is made after the manner of the plains Indians, just high enough to cover the bodies of those who defend it from within, lying down and using a gun or a bow and arrow. The principal entrance is still marked by the lodges of the chiefs and important men who, according to custom, always occupy the position that shows the direction from which their enemies come. Two miles farther on we find a second encampment like the first. Although the system of fortifications was in neither case complicated, it indicated there had been long talks and the issue of the matter may have been war. The small number of graves evident within the forts showed that the parties remained here some length of time, but that a serious battle did not take place.[295]

Philetus T. Norris examined the breastworks on his first trip to the Pipestone Quarry in 1842, and he made a second, more systematic investigation of one of the two enclosures in 1882. On his second visit, Norris could find just one of the two enclosures and assumed that the other one had been plowed up. On the latter visit he dug into two mounds connected with the surviving enclosure, the first being situated along the parapet and the second being positioned inside it. Neither excavation yielded any artifacts.

At the time of his 1882 investigation, Norris obained a sketch of the fortification by Pipestone County pioneer Charles T. Bennett. Norris later supplied the sketch together with his own notes to the Smithsonian Institution's Cyrus Thomas, who made a map of the fortification and published it in his *Report on the Mound Explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1894).

Another field researcher, Theodore H. Lewis of the Northwestern Archeological Survey, investigated the surviving enclosure in 1889. Minnesota

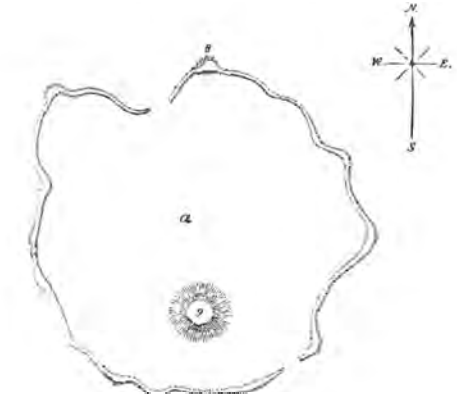


Figure 15. Sketch map of the archeological remains of a fortification found north of the Pipestone Quarry. (From Scott et al., adapted from Thomas, 1894.)

[295] Quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 391-92.

state geologist W. H. Winchell later published a map based on Lewis's notes and measurements. Whereas Nicollet and Norris were convinced that the enclosure was built for military purposes, Winchell argued that it was a habitation site similar to the fortified village sites found along the Minnesota River.

Meanwhile, four separate oral traditions or testimonies were reported in the course of these nineteenth-century investigations, all pointing to the two enclosures being of a military nature. The oral traditions or testimonies were reported as follows.

Ojibwe. On his first trip to the quarry in 1842, Norris was accompanied by five Ojibwe and a Frenchman. Norris wrote that some of the Ojibwe in the party were already familiar with the fortifications, having been there before. They informed Norris they did not know who had built them. When their party came near the fortifications, one of the men led Norris over to the earthworks for the purpose of "judging their fitness for defense if necessary from the Sioux." Norris's account indicates that the Ojibwe had approached the quarry previously, and that they were taking precautions on this occasion in 1842, recognizing that they might come under attack. The reporting does not suggest who built the fortifications in the first place, but it does suggest that they had been there a long time and were known to the Ojibwe.[296]

Ihanktonwan. The esteemed Ihanktonwan chief Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe (Struck-by-the-Ree) and another Ihanktonwan leader named Ma-wa-ce-pa (Fat Mandan) were interviewed by Charles T. Bennett and an interpreter named Eastman in 1879. In the interview, Strikes-the-Ree and Mawa Cepa said that the fortification had been built during a war with another tribe when the Ihanktonwan fought for control of the quarry. Unfortunately, two different versions of this oral history were recorded in writing. In one version, Norris, citing the interview, wrote that the fortification was about 80 years old and that the Ihanktonwan built it during its "great war with the Eastern Indians." The *Pipestone County Star*, citing the same interview, stated that the fortification was 90 to 100 years old and that the Sisseton built it during their war with the Omaha.[297]

Omaha. In 1883, Francis La Fleshe of the Omaha tribe wrote a letter to F. W. Putnam of the Peabody Museum in which he stated that three miles east of the Minnesota Pipestone Quarry was a circular embankment with a mound inside the circle that was supposed to contain the remains of warriors and their weapons. Although La Fleshe's letter has not survived, Putnam's description of his letter seems to imply that Omaha warriors had died there in a battle with the Oceti Sakowin.[298]

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[296] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 393.
[297] Ibid, 395.
[298] Ibid, 397.

Oceti Sakowin. In 1838, Nicollet interviewed some tribesmen of the Oceti Sakowin about the origins of the fortifications, which he called "camps." His informants were probably a group of Wahpekute who were following the expedition, but Nicollet did not say to which tribe they belonged, referring to them only as "Sioux." Nicollet wrote in his journal, "The Sioux have lost the tradition of these camps; they suppose that they served to end the difficulties which divided the Teton and the Yankton." Nicollet did not elaborate on the "difficulties" he alluded to, either in his journal or in the notes he subsequently compiled concerning the Oceti Sakowin's tribal divisions.[299] Curiously, an article in the *Marshall Messenger* dated June 28, 1878, made a similar reference to a contentious break between the Teton and the Yankton: "An old fort is reported to have been discovered in Pipestone County, about 3 miles from Pipestone City. It has earth works regularly thrown up. It is claimed to be 100 years old, and to have been built when war raged between the Yanktons and Teutons [sic]."[300]

Although the oral traditions and testimonies vary, they do offer compelling evidence that one tribe or another built the fortifications to defend the quarry from trespass by another tribe. Whichever tribes were involved, it points to the fact that when intertribal warfare intensified during the fur trade era, the tradition of a standing peace at the Pipestone Quarry broke down. Tribal historians generally agree that long ago when the Ioway were the keepers of the Pipestone Quarry the tradition of peace was maintained, and that around 1700 when the Ihanktonwan took control the tradition went away.

[299] Raymond J. DeMallie, Jr., "Joseph N. Nicollet's Account of the Sioux and Assiniboin in 1839," *South Dakota History* 5, no. 4 (1975), 343-59; Martha Coleman Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and his Map* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1980), 210.
[300] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 393.

Chapter 5
Northern Plains Tribes in the Early American Period, 1803 to 1851

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Oceti Sakowin controlled the Great Plains from the upper Mississippi westward to the Missouri River in the vicinity of the Great Bend in present-day central South Dakota. The Oglala and Sicangu tribes were established on the west bank of the Missouri River, the other Lakota tribes on the east bank. Farther to the east, the Ihanktonwan and Ihanktonwana tribes inhabited the rolling prairieland in the James and Big Sioux River drainages, including the site of the Pipestone Quarry. From there eastward to the Mississippi River, Dakota villages were spread out down the length of the Minnesota River (across present-day southern Minnesota, with the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands located in the upper part of the valley and the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands concentrated in the lower part down to its confluence with the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to Lake Pepin.[301]

No tribes challenged the Oceti Sakowin for this area.[302] Rather, the Oceti Sakowin pressed on the lands of other tribes, particularly in the west. There, the Arikara had to concede their former territory around the Great Bend and move northward up the Missouri River. The Omaha and Ponca abandoned their village sites around the mouth of the Niobrara River, retreating southward and westward. The Cheyenne made an alliance with the Lakota tribes and shared their hunting territory with them. Even the well-armed Ojibwe to the north respected a territorial boundary between the Oceti Sakowin and the Ojibwe running along the ecological frontier between woodland and prairie. The natural edge between woodland and prairie runs on a northwest to southeast tangent across present-day Minnesota. After the Oceti Sakowin became well-stocked with horses in the mid to late eighteenth century, their superior mobility on horseback effectively neutralized the Ojibwe's advantages in armaments and population size wherever the two peoples clashed in open terrain.[303]

In 1803, the United States acquired all of these tribal lands through the Louisiana Purchase. The Pipestone Quarry was included within that enormous tract. If the Louisiana Territory is pictured on a map of North America as a parallelogram tilting on a northwest axis across the midcontinent, with one corner

[301] White, "The Winning of the West," 326-27.
[302] In his report for the Indian Claims Commission on land occupancy by the Mdewakanton band of Dakota, Harold Hickerson wrote, "By 1803 the Sioux had quiet and undisturbed occupancy of Area 289 south of the Minnesota River." Area 289 covered southwestern Minnesota including the Pipestone Quarry. See Harold Hickerson, *Sioux Indians I: Mdewakanton Band of Sioux Indians* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), 239.
[303] Secoy, *Changing Military Patterns on the Great Plains*, 72-77.

sitting at the mouth of the Mississippi and the other reaching to the headwaters of the Missouri, the Pipestone Quarry was positioned near the center of the territory's northeast quarter. A well known geographic landmark to the Oceti Sakowin, Omaha, Ponca, Ioway, and numerous other tribes inhabiting the midcontinent, it was virtually unknown to Euro-Americans at the beginning of the nineteenth century. How the tribes lost control of the site to the Euro-Americans in the coming century was tied into the wider picture of how the tribes lost most of the Great Plains. The Louisiana Purchase heralded a new phase in Europe's colonization of North America, as the United States, with imperialist ambitions of its own, began to expand its territory westward. The young republic's desire for more land for its citizens was soon to conflict with native possessory rights at the site of the quarry and across the entire Great Plains region.

The Louisiana Purchase and Manifest Destiny

In 1800, Napoleon of France acquired Louisiana from Spain and re-established French rule over the territory west of the Mississippi River. Although Napoleon dreamed of founding a new French empire in North America, his nation's claim of sovereignty had no more impact on American Indian tribes than France's or Spain's claims earlier in the eighteenth century had had on them. American Indian tribes still had control over how they lived and exercised their own form of sovereignty over their tribal territories. The Oceti Sakowin, for example, went on demanding tribute from French and Spanish traders passing up the Missouri.[304] Napoleon soon lost interest in his imperial adventure and sold Louisiana to the United States in 1803.

President Thomas Jefferson acquired the Louisiana Purchase for the United States with a view to founding "an empire of liberty" in the interior of the continent lying west of the Appalachian Mountains. Jefferson wanted to acquire those lands and make them available for settlement by "yeoman farmers" – a class of people, according to Jefferson's vision, who were intent on clearing and farming the land, owning their own property, and safeguarding their economic self-sufficiency and political freedom. Yeoman farmers, in Jefferson's view, would solidify the American republic's commitment to democratic principles brought forth in the American Revolution. His vision of American expansion rested on the idea that westward pioneering yeoman farmers would acquire lands vacated by Indian peoples.[305]

[304] Calloway, "The Inter-tribal Balance of Power on the Great Plains, 1760-1850," 38-39.
[305] Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006), 79; Blake A. Watson, *Buying America from the Indians:* Johnson v. McIntosh *and the History of Native Land Rights* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012): 177-97.

Non-Indian Americans justified their taking over native people's lands based on an ideology that would eventually come to be known as Manifest Destiny. Historians have shown how the roots of Manifest Destiny run deep in the American colonial experience. The origins of Manifest Destiny are found in Puritan New England more than a century before Jefferson's time when the idea took hold that New England colonists were a "chosen people." The Puritans who left England during the Reformation in Europe to found their own religious society in the New World drew an analogy between their experience and the Old Testament story about Abraham. In the Bible, Abraham obeyed God's injunction to lead the Isaelites into the land of Canaan and take possession of it from the Canaanites. As God's chosen people, the Israelites were directed to multiply and make the desert bloom. The New England Puritans perceived that they, too, lived in a fallen world and that they were doing God's work to redeem it. To the New England colonists, the American Indians were like the fallen Canaanites; they reasoned that American Indians had to be dispossessed of their lands to make room for a new birth of virtue. Historian Steven T. Newcomb has observed that the story in Genesis of Abraham taking his people into the land of Canaan is "the tale of a divine land grant." Both consciously and unconsciously, the New England colonists appropriated the Biblical story for themselves and ultimately for their new nation, insisting that the continent was a promised land, promised by God to the United States. The story acquired new meaning through the struggle for independence and the rise of U.S. nationalism in the early nineteenth century; citizens of the United States were the chosen people to lead the world toward freedom and democracy.[306]

By the early nineteenth century, as the United States entered the industrial age, the ideology of Manifest Destiny was harnessed to capitalism. The western frontier became a field for resource development. Euro-American settlement of the continent was re-imagined as a process of environmental transformation leading to greater prosperity. According to this formulation, settlers cleared the forest, made farms, built towns, laid down roads, and created industries around mining, logging, and other kinds of resource extraction, whereas American Indians wandered over the land without doing anything to "improve" the land for use. Settlers subdued the land and put it to work for human use according to God's injunction, in contrast with American Indians who subsisted on the land by hunting and gathering. The ideology overlooked the obvious fact that many American Indian cultures were based around farming, as well as the more subtle reality that all native peoples modified their environment to some extent by cultivating wild plants, setting fires, and taking various other actions. Since American Indians supposedly did not modify their environment, they were viewed as inhabiting an inert "waste land"

[306] Steven T. Newcomb, *Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 2008), 39.

that awaited the farmer's plow, the miner's pick, the lumberman's axe, and all the transformative effects of colonization.[307] The notion that American Indians did not interact with the environment in any meaningful way was patently wrong, of course, and perhaps nowhere was it as fallacious as at the site of the Pipestone Quarry.

The Louisiana Purchase doubled the nation's land area. The U.S. government paid France just $15 million for it. It is often said that the United States acquired the vast Louisiana Territory for just 3 cents per acre, but that is a misconception because the federal government still had to buy the land from American Indians. It was already evident in 1803 that the federal government would take that course. In the preceding decade it had negotiated major land sales with tribes in the Ohio country, part of the Northwest Territory assigned to the United States by the Treaty of Paris of 1783. In fact, a land sale between the Kaskaskia tribe and the United States for a piece of the Illinois country, also within the Northwest Territory, was pending when Jefferson announced the Louisiana Purchase. It would not be long before the U.S. government began demanding land sales from tribes living within the Louisiana Territory.[308]

At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the United States took a similar view toward tribes' land rights as did the European powers. Jefferson and other American statesmen subscribed to the Doctrine of Discovery, which held that all "civilized" nations – that is, all European states together with the United States of America – could claim sovereignty over an area by right of discovery. The sovereign claim included sovereignty over the territory's indigenous peoples. Once a territory became an imperial possession, it could be transferred from one civilized nation to another by international agreement or treaty. Thus, the United States could acquire sovereignty over land and indigenous peoples through a treaty with a European power, acquiring the right of discovery along with the land. Moreover, in those parts of North America that were still unclaimed or where title was unsettled, the United States could assert its own claim by right of discovery. Jefferson organized the Lewis and Clark expedition with just such a claim in view. A major objective of the Lewis and Clark expedition was to discover the shortest practical route between the Missouri and a navigable river flowing to the Pacific – just the kind of discovery that would assist the United States in claiming more western territory. The expedition set out three months before Jefferson concluded the Louisiana Purchase. After the United States acquired Louisiana, the Lewis and

[307] Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 25.
[308] Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered*, 79; Watson, *Buying America from the Indians*, 206-07.

Clark expedition still served to reinforce the nation's claim to the territory as well as position the nation for a future claim in the Pacific Northwest.[309]

While the Doctrine of Discovery was invoked or implied in numerous statements of American policy from the Revolutionary era through Jefferson's time, it was U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Marshall who made it a cornerstone of U.S. land policy in an opinion in 1823. The case was *Johnson v. M'Intosh*. The court was asked to rule on the validity of two claims to the same piece of land, one based on land sales between an Illinois tribe and a private land company in 1773 and 1775, the second on fee patents issued by the government of Virginia to veterans of the state militia. The dispute revolved around whether Indian tribes could sell land to private citizens or companies. The Marshall court held that Indian title to the land was limited to a "possessory right" of use and occupancy, while the sovereign government held the right of "preemption." Preemption meant that American Indian tribes could not dispose of their possessory interest to anyone but the sovereign government. When it came to buying Indian lands, the native possessory interest was called "aboriginal title." Land speculators could not acquire tribal lands directly from tribes but had to wait until the U.S. extinguished aboriginal title, adding the land to the public domain.

As Marshall interpreted the Doctrine of Discovery in his opinion, it was a system the European powers devised to avoid conflict with one another as they colonized the New World. It contained the important principle that no European power could meddle in the affairs between another European power and native peoples living under its dominion. Marshall found that when the United States won independence, the United States joined European powers in recognizing the Doctrine of Discovery and began to deal with tribes accordingly. The U.S. government, and some state governments including the state of Virginia, inherited rights of preemption from the former British imperial regime.[310]

Historian Lindsay G. Robertson has argued that the U.S. government subsequently interpreted *Johnson v. M'Intosh* in ways that the chief justice never intended, using it as a weapon for taking tribes' lands and forcing them to move westward. After Andrew Jackson became president in 1828, advocates of a policy known as "Indian Removal" got the upper hand in the federal government and began evicting eastern tribes on grounds that the U.S. had title to their lands. Marshall tried to check Indian removal with two further opinions that, together with

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[309] Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered*, 59-76, 99-107. See also John Marshall, "Chief Justice John Marshall Explains the Discovery Doctrine, Johnson and Graham v. M'Intosh, Opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court, Feb. 28, 1823," in Stephen K. Williams, ed., *Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court of the United States*, Book 5 (Rochester, N.Y.: Lawyer's Cooperative Publishing Co., 1910), 570-603.

[310] Lindsay G. Robertson, *Conquest by Law: How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 97-104.

Johnson v. M'Intosh, would become known as the Marshall trilogy. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Marshall established two more cornerstones of American Indian law: the principle that tribes have sovereign powers as "domestic dependent nations," and the principle that a trust relationship exists between the U.S. government and American Indians. Still, while the two latter opinions afforded tribes a measure of protection, the principle articulated in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* that the U.S. acquired title to Indian lands by right of discovery went on to cause tribes irrevocable losses.[311]

Starting with the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1803-06, the United States government sponsored a series of army explorations of the West that focused on geographic and scientific discovery. In 1805, before Lewis and Clark had yet returned from the Pacific, Captain Zebulon M. Pike was sent to explore the upper Mississippi River to the head of navigation. In 1820, Major Stephen H. Long led an expedition to the Rocky Mountains under orders to trace the course of the Platte, Arkansas, and Red rivers across the central Great Plains and if possible to find the source of each river. It was no coincidence that all of these explorations focused on water courses. Since rivers formed the principal corridors of travel and commerce across continents in the early nineteenth century, geographic knowledge of the rivers was vital to establishing sovereign claims of territory under the Doctrine of Discovery.

By 1803, Plains Indian tribes had extensive experience with the European concept of sovereign ownership of territory, for they had been pressured to take sides with one European power or another in numerous imperial struggles over the previous century. But the United States' interest in the land was different. Plains Indian tribes well knew, through their communications with eastern tribes, that the Euro-Americans were a numerous and expansionist people who were steadily displacing American Indians from their hunting grounds and territorial lands, pushing them westward ahead of the U.S. line of settlements. Thus, when Plains Indian tribes encountered the Lewis and Clark expedition going up the Missouri River in 1804, who informed them that they had acquired a new "Great Father" in Washington, the tribes were not favorably disposed. Yet, consistent with past experience, they did not view the U.S. sovereign claim as an immediate threat to their independence. Rather, they regarded the Euro-Americans as a distant, advancing enemy.[312]

Plains Indian tribes had no way of anticipating how rapidly the United States would expand its power in the sixty years following the Louisiana Purchase. They could not have imagined the many strong forts that the U.S. Army would

[311] Robertson, *Conquest by Law*, 117-42.
[312] Wingerd, *North Country*, 71-73. On the French taking possession, see Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 39-40.

build on the upper Mississippi and Missouri rivers after the War of 1812, nor the appearance of steamboats on the two rivers in the 1820s, nor the surge of trans-Appalachian settlement in the 1830s, nor the federal government's relentless pursuit of American Indian land cessions thereafter. Nor could Plains Indian peoples have foreseen how rapidly their own position would deteriorate in the coming decades, as market hunting destroyed the bison herds and took away their subsistence base, as liquor infused the fur trade and weakened their defenses, as missionaries challenged their cultural existence, and as famine and disease increasingly stalked their lives. In 1851, just a couple of generations from 1803, the U.S. government would extract major land cessions from the Oceti Sakowin. Along with many other threats to their land rights and way of life, the Oceti Sakowin would be left with only a tenuous hold on the Pipestone Quarry.

Army Exploration and the Fur Trade

President Jefferson conceived of the Lewis and Clark expedition as a diplomatic mission to the American Indian tribes in the West. Jefferson's instructions to Captain Meriwether Lewis emphasized the need to collect information on the various American Indian nations and to convey the desire by the United States to establish trade with them. Jefferson's interest in trade was plain: if tribes on the upper Missouri and farther west could not be induced to trade with the United States, then those peoples would trade with the British instead. And as long as tribes traded with the British, then they would be inclined to ally with them in any future war between Britain and the United States. In Jefferson's view, the United States had to supply the American Indian tribes with their desired goods as a first step toward creating allies.

The Lewis and Clark expedition, therefore, constituted a major initiative in a long-running effort by the United States to dominate the fur trade within U.S. territory – to evict British traders operating in the Great Lakes, upper Mississippi, and upper Missouri, and supplant them with Euro-American traders. While the United States had a commercial interest in the fur trade, it also had a security interest in obtaining the allegiance of American Indian nations living within its borders.

The young United States republic lacked the necessary strength to take control of the fur trade immediately. President Washington sought to put trade with American Indians on a stronger footing by means of the Trade and Intercourse Acts. Commencing with the first of those laws in 1790, the federal government took responsibility for licensing traders and regulating intercourse between American Indians and U.S. citizens. The army was called upon to track the traders, removing violators while protecting legitimate traders against American Indian attack. But enforcement of the Trade and Intercourse laws was weak. In fact,

during the first three decades of U.S. independence, licensed Euro-American traders played a relatively insignificant role in the fur trade. British traders vastly outnumbered them and operated inside U.S. territory with impunity. In Jay's Treaty of 1794, British traders were specifically guaranteed the right to maintain their trading posts on U.S. soil. Much as Euro-American settlers in the West bridled at the situation, the U.S. government allowed it to continue for some time.[313]

The main reason British traders were not easily dislodged from U.S. soil was that Euro-American traders had neither the organizational capacity to compete with the British fur companies nor the good will of the American Indian tribes to receive their attentions. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the British still dominated the fur trade in all of the United States' Northwest Territory from the Ohio frontier westward. Most of the British trade was controlled by two large rival companies, each of which had an elaborate system for transportation, supply, and management of a large labor force. One, the powerful North West Company, a partnership of British and Canadians based out of Montreal, still held forts across the present-day states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The other, the Hudson's Bay Company, a London-based firm whose operations centered on the vast Hudson Bay watershed, was pushing its trade southward to the Mandan villages located at the great bend of the Missouri River in present-day North Dakota. Other traders who were mostly independent of the two main British firms were ensconced among the Dakota tribes along the Minnesota River from the Mississippi to Lake Traverse. Most of the traders among the Dakota were married into the tribe, so their commercial relations with the Dakota were reinforced by ties of kinship.[314]

The Lewis and Clark expedition inaugurated a new phase in the fur trade. The Euro-Americans would enter the field in sufficient numbers that they would finally be able to drive off their British competitors. The army would play a crucial part. Army explorers would gather information while impressing upon the American Indian tribes that they should accept the Euro-Americans as their new trading partners. Eventually, after the War of 1812, army garrisons and forts would serve to protect U.S. traders while suppressing intertribal conflict.[315]

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[313] Leo E. Oliva, "The Army and the Fur Trade," *Journal of the West* 26, no. 4 (October 1987), 21-22; Edgar B. Wesley, "Some Official Aspects of the Fur Trade in the Northwest, 1815-1825," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* 6 (April 1932), 201-09; R. S. Cotterill, "Federal Indian Management in the South 1789-1825," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20 (December 1933), 337-40.
[314] Wingerd, *North Country*, 64-74, 96-100.
[315] Cotterill, "Federal Indian Management in the South 1789-1825," 337-40; John A. Alwin, "Pelts, Provisions & Perceptions: The Hudson's Bay Company Mandan Indian Trade, 1795-1812," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 29, no. 3 (July 1979), 17-27; Oliva, "The Army & the Fur Trade," 21-26; Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 67-79.

When the Lewis and Clark expedition journeyed up the Missouri River in the summer of 1804, the explorers sought information about the geography surrounding the various tributary streams. On August 21, after passing the mouth of the Big Sioux River, Clark wrote in his journal about this river and the Pipestone Quarry:

> Mr. Durrien our Scones intptr. Says "navigable to the falls 70 or 80 Leagues and above these falls" Still further, those falls are 200 feet or there abouts & has princapal pitches, and heads with the St. peters passing the head of the Demoien, on the right below the falls a Creek Coms in which passes thro Clifts of red rock which the Indians make pipes of, and when the different nations Meet at those queries all is piece.[316]

The source of the information was Pierre Dorion, Sr., a French trapper who was married to an Ihanktonwan and was fluent in Nakota as well as French and English. The expedition had encountered Dorion ten weeks earlier, coming down the Missouri with a party of trappers in two pirogues laden with furs, and had persuaded him to join their expedition and accompany them up the river as far as the Ihanktonwan villages. They wanted Dorion to serve as their interpreter when they addressed the chiefs of that tribe.[317]

Dorion relayed to Lewis and Clark the oral tradition that tribes met in peace at the Pipestone Quarry. It is significant that Clark recorded the information as fact, without comment, in spite of the Ihanktonwan's reputation for defending their territory against trespass. The journal entry stands as the only known written record of the Pipestone Quarry from Jonathan Carver's description of it prior to the American Revolution until the explorer Stephen H. Long's mention of it in 1823.[318]

One week after passing the Big Sioux River, the Lewis and Clark expedition came to the mouth of the James River. While passing the river mouth, the explorers were hailed by three Ihanktonwan men, who informed them that their people were encamped a short distance up the tributary river. The Ihanktonwan were the first truly nomadic Plains Indian tribe the explorers encountered. Lewis and Clark stopped to council with them, making their camp below a promontory that they named Calumet Bluff. For the next three days, August 29 to 31, they were joined by a large group of Ihanktonwan who came down the James to meet them. On August 29, Clark recorded in his journal that their lodges had a conical

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[316] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Vol. 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), page?
[317] Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 146-47.
[318] William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (Reprint, 1824; Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1959), Vol. 1, 336-37, 356.

form and were covered with buffalo robes painted in various colors. Each lodge had a place for cooking detached, and each one accommodated some ten to fifteen people. On August 30, Clark wrote that about seventy men attended their council. They were dressed in buffalo robes that were highly decorated with quillwork and equipped with a few French muskets as well as bows and arrows. On August 31, the council convened again, all the tribesmen directing the stems of their peace pipes toward the two captains. Their chief, Clark wrote, was dressed in fine clothes, and on each side of him was a warrior holding a club and spear and wearing honorary feathers.

Later, Lewis wrote about the Ihanktonwan that they and the Sisseton traded furs for guns and ammunition with the British trader Murdoch Cameron on the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River. These two tribes then traded the guns and ammunition for horses and buffalo robes with the Teton and Ihanktonwana. The Oceti Sakowin had an annual "trade fair" on the James River, held in the latter part of May. The trade fair, Lewis wrote, kept the western tribes "tolerably well supplied with arms and ammunition, thus rendering them independent of the trade of the Missouri." In Lewis's view, those circumstances helped explain why the Oceti Sakowin were in such a strong position to discourage American traders from penetrating to the upper Missouri River. Thinking like a diplomat and strategist, he continued in his journal that the best course for the United States would be to interdict the British supply of guns to the Ihanktonwan and Sisseton, thereby restricting the trade of guns at the fairs and causing the gradual disarmament of the Teton and Ihanktonwana. Only then would American traders be able to advance up the Missouri.[319]

The Lewis and Clark expedition spurred Euro-American activity in the fur trade even before the journey was completed. On their return trip down the Missouri River, Lewis discharged one member of the expedition, John Colter, so that he could pursue hunting and trapping on the Yellowstone River with two men who had followed the expedition up the Missouri. Then, in 1807, a Spaniard and St. Louis adventurer by the name of Manuel Lisa led an expedition of 42 men, mostly Euro-Americans, up the Missouri with the aim of establishing a series of forts or trading posts – a scheme that finally matched the British in scale of organization. Although Lisa's Missouri Fur Company largely bypassed the Oceti Sakowin in its haste to obtain the rich beaver pelts found in the Rocky Mountains, it was nonetheless a key factor in opening the upper Missouri country to American traders.[320]

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[319] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, Vol. 3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 17, 22-23, 28, 356.
[320] William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 19-28.

Winter counts recorded by various Teton bands attest to the Oceti Sakowin perspective on these changing times. A Sicangu winter count records the first visit by a white man, a missionary, in 1801. A trader whom they called "Little Beaver" visited them for the first time in 1804, and returned to establish a trading house on an island in the river in 1810. Other winter counts made by the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa refer to the same trader and suggest that the year of his return may have been 1808 or 1809 or 1811. The High Dog winter count, from the Standing Rock Reservation, yielded the following description of this trader: "A white man came to live with them. He built a small house. He was a small man and he inclined to stay in his house a good deal so they named him Little Beaver." References to individual traders are common in these winter counts for the early decades of the nineteenth century.[321]

Meanwhile, to the east, the Dakota began to encounter American traders on the upper Mississippi. As on the Missouri, the American traders proceeded up the river in the wake of an army expedition. In September 1805, Captain Zebulon Pike journeyed up the Mississippi to St. Anthony Falls (in present day St. Paul, Minnesota), to locate sites for the army to build forts. Near the junction of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, Pike called a meeting with the chiefs of two nearby Dakota villages and negotiated a treaty by which the "Nation of Sioux Indians" ceded two tracts, one at the mouth of the St. Croix River, the other from St. Anthony Falls down to the mouth of the Minnesota River. These relatively small tracts were the first land cessions by the Dakota to the United States. Article 1 stated that "the Sioux Nation grants to the United States, the full sovereignty and power over said districts forever, without any let or hindrance whatsoever." It was implied that the tribe would be compensated "two thousand dollars, or deliver the value therof in such goods and merchandise as they shall choose" for the land cession. Article 3 of the treaty reserved the Dakota's right to "pass, repass, hunt or make other uses of the said districts, as they have formerly done…;" thus, the Dakota probably did not perceive the grants as permanent. In council, Pike informed the chiefs that the U.S. government desired the land for the purpose of establishing military posts. Pike contended that the military presence would be good for them as it would protect the nearby villages from attacks by the Ojibwe. Furthermore, the United States would establish a government-run trading post or "factory" that would provide goods at lower prices than those demanded by the British. These Dakota were disappointed when the U.S. government did not follow

[321] Lucy Cramer Cohen, "Big Missouri's Winter Count – A Sioux Calendar, 1796-1926," *Indians at Work* 6, no. 6 (February 1939), 16-20; James H. Howard, "Dakota Winter Counts as a Source of Plains History," Anthropological Papers No. 61, Smithsonian Institution, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 173* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1960), 358; Mallery, "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," 108-11; James H. Howard, "Two Teton Dakota Winter Count Texts," *North Dakota History* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1960), 67-79.

through on its commitment to build the fort and factory. Even so, their encounter with Pike made them more receptive to the growing number of American traders coming into their country.[322]

Rising competition between British and American traders had both good and bad consequences for American Indians. In the short term, competition between traders put American Indian hunters in a stronger bargaining position, enabling them to demand a higher price for their furs. Yet in the long term, competition between traders had a decidedly pernicious effect. To counteract the American Indians' bargaining power, traders imported more liquor and became more manipulative. American Indian and trader alike recognized how destructive liquor was to the American Indians' health and welfare, but no one could stop its use. The traders, to offset their higher costs, sought to increase the quantity of furs they took out at the end of the season even at the risk of wiping out beaver populations. They manipulated the American Indian hunters to increase their hunts by plying them with gifts of liquor. As the population of furbearers declined, traders urged the American Indian hunters to go farther afield and invade other tribes' hunting grounds. Overhunting and scarcity of fur animals led directly to more intertribal conflict.

In the years following the Lewis and Clark and Pike expeditions, the tensions between the Ojibwe and Dakota flared up. Since the enmity of the two peoples had begun some sixty years earlier, the fighting had largely become confined to a swath of territory that ran along the border between woodland and prairie. Both sides sent war parties into this "contested zone" to patrol and fight the enemy, but neither side would establish villages there or even dare to go hunting. On either side of the contested zone there existed a kind of military standoff: the Dakota would not venture too far into the hardwood forests, where the better-armed and more numerous Ojibwe had a decided edge; the Ojibwe would not stray too far onto the prairie, where the Dakota, mounted on horses, had the advantages of mobility and surprise. The situation tended to contain the scope of the fighting to the narrow belt of mixed woodland and prairie. Battle casualties were minimal. From the Dakota point of view, the contested zone functioned as a good protective buffer at a relatively small cost in human lives; without it, the Ojibwe would overrun their hunting grounds. Moreover, animal populations flourished in the contested zone because they were not being hunted there. Surplus animals migrated out of the area, replenishing the hunting grounds north and south of it.[323]

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[322] Kappler, Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, Vol II. Treaties, "Treaty with the Sioux, 1805), page 1031, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/Kappler/Vol2/treaties/sio1031.htm <October 20, 2015>;Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 140-42; Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 78-85.

[323] Wingerd, *North Country*, 85-88; White, *The Middle Ground*, 487; Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, fighting between the Ojibwe and Dakota spilled out of the contested zone. War parties of both nations went on search and destroy missions deep into the other side's territory. Around 1804, an enormous Ojibwe war party, augmented with contingents of Assiniboine and Cree, marched boldly out onto the prairie to Turtle Mountain in present-day North Dakota. In 1805, a Dakota war party fell on a small band of Ojibwe encamped near the North West Company trading post at Pembina, deep within Ojibwe territory, and killed them. Later that year, an avenging Ojibwe war party tried unsuccessfully to sneak up on a Dakota village near Lake Traverse. Scouts alerted the people to the danger and the whole population took refuge at the nearby trading post of Robert Dickson.[324]

Not long after this, Chief Shappa of the Cuthead band of Ihanktonwana arranged a peace with the Pillager band of Ojibwe. But a group of warriors promptly broke the peace, killing some Ojibwe who were gathering wild rice in a lake, and Chief Flatmouth of the Pillager band accused Shappa of treachery. Shappa called for a meeting with Flatmouth at the trading post of Robert Dickson to restore peace. Flatmouth's men then laid a trap for the Ihanktonwana chief and killed him as soon as he left the trading post. After the killing of Shappa, his son, Wanatan, succeeded him as chief and renewed the war with the Ojibwe in the region north of Lake Traverse.[325]

It is not known whether the warfare between the Dakota/Nakota and Ojibwe in this decade reached as far south as the Pipestone Quarry. The nineteenth-century Ojibwe historian William W. Warren wrote the most detailed chronicle of this conflict based on oral traditions of his people. His book makes no mention of it. Nevertheless, it is possible that fortifications located two miles northeast of the quarry were built around this time to defend against the Ojibwe. As noted in the previous chapter, Philetus T. Norris wrote that at least one Ojibwe man who accompanied him to the Pipestone Quarry in 1842 had been there before and knew about the fortifications.[326] Whether or not Norris's statement is accurate – other accounts contradict it – the Dakota bands that lived near the Pipestone

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Inc., 1970), 64-88; Harold Hickerson, "The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study," *American Anthropologist* Memoir 92, Vol. 64, no. 3, Part 2 (June 1962), 1-110; Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 79-80.

[324] Alexander Henry, *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814* Vol. 2, edited by Barry M. Gough (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1988), 173-74; John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U.S. Interpreter at the Saut De Ste. Marie) During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America*, edited by Edwin James (reprint, 1830, Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1956), 111-14, 124-31. William Warren describes another attack by an Ojibwe war party on a Dakota village at Long Prairie that coincided with the Dakota attack near Pembina. William W. Warren, *A History of the Ojibway People* (Reprint, 1885; Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, 1956), 353-54.

[325] Warren, *History of the Ojibway People*, 359-64.

[326] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 395-96.

Quarry were likely drawn into the war with the Ojibwe at one time or another in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

To the west, the Oceti Sakowin continued to expand. The various winter counts of the Lakota allude to frequent wars between them and other Plains Indian tribes. A number of winter counts refer to a calumet ceremony held in the year 1805 when several bands joined forces to make war on their enemies. One translation refers to that year as "sung-over-each-other-while-on-the-war-path-winter." The ethnographer James Howard reported an interpretation of the No Ears winter count of the Oglala for that year as "They sung medicine song over each other with horse tail." The Lakota winter counts refer most often to killing Arikara, Crow, Gros Ventre, and Mandan. The identity of the enemy tribes in the winter counts cannot be stated with certainty since one interpretation often differs from another; still, the overall impression is one of incessant conflict with a host of adversaries as the Lakota spread westward.[327]

It is revealing of the Oceti Sakowin's political geography at this time that not one extant Lakota winter count memorializes the War of 1812. For the Lakota, the outbreak of war between the United States and Britain was an event of no great consequence. Although the war did temporarily interrupt the flow of trade goods up the Missouri River, the Lakota had so little direct contact with British and American traders that there was no pull of allegiance one way or the other. For the Dakota, however, the War of 1812 presented itself as a test of their shifting loyalties. The John K. Bear winter count of the Ihanktonwana marks 1812 as the year in which the band held a council with the Santee. The winter count probably refers to the efforts by the British trader Robert Dickson to enlist Dakota warriors in joining the British forces. Many Dakota had experienced famine in the previous winter and were motivated to join the British cause in part by the promise of obtaining food rations. Dickson, for his part, had been under instructions by the British government for some years to prime the Dakotas for a potential war with the United States. When the war came, Dickson claimed to have 300 warriors ready to march. Over the following year, he distributed some £2,000 worth of gifts to the Dakota to keep as many as possible on the British side. Meanwhile, the Mdewakanton, who had by this time developed closer trade relations with the Euro-Americans on the upper Mississippi, chose to remain neutral in the conflict.[328]

After the War of 1812, British influence waned. Although the British and American Indian alliance defeated U.S. forces in the upper Mississippi valley during the war, the area did not hold strategic importance to the British and

[327] Mallery, "Picture-Writing of the American Indians," 104-05; Howard, "Two Teton Dakota Winter Count Texts," 71.
[328] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," 43; Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 88-89; Wingerd, *North Country*, 79-80.

consequently it was returned to the United States by the terms of the Treaty of Ghent of 1815. The American Indian nations felt betrayed by their erstwhile ally. Some had fought with the hope of acquiring some kind of pan-Indian nation-state in the region that would exist apart from the United States, most likely in the form of a British protectorate. The Dakota only vaguely shared in that vision, which was inspired by the great chief Tecumseh, a Shawnee, and centered on a grand alliance of Algonquian peoples who were distributed around the Great Lakes. Nevertheless, the Dakota shared in the American Indians' general disillusionment with the British.

The United States emerged from the War of 1812 with a renewed interest in westward expansion. For a few years, frontier defense and army exploration received strong support in Congress. In 1816, the army built a cordon of forts on the upper Mississippi stretching from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien. In 1817, Major Stephen H. Long of the Topographical Engineers was sent up the Mississippi River with a small party in a six-oared skiff to examine the country below the St. Anthony Falls that Pike had investigated in 1805 and to determine once more a site for a fort there. In 1818, the army prepared to mount a formidable expedition to the upper Missouri with the aim of establishing a strong outpost at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, then an ardent nationalist, conceived of the so-called Yellowstone Expedition as an important measure to impress upon northern Plains Indians the power of the United States and to demonstrate to the British that the young republic was firmly in control of its far-flung western territory. The Panic of 1819 forced the federal government to scale back the military venture, but one component of it was allowed to go forward: Major Long completed his exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1820. While Long was completing his expedition, the army built Fort Snelling at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers – on the tract obtained by Pike in 1805 and re-examined by Long in 1817.[329]

During these same years, the United States was actively expanding its territorial interests in other ways as well. A treaty with Britain in 1818 established the United States border across the northern plains at the forty-ninth parallel. A treaty with Spain in 1819 defined the boundary between the United States and New Spain. Several new western states were admitted to the Union: Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). Although Minnesota statehood still remained many years off, the Pipestone Quarry and the American Indian inhabitants of the region were no longer as remote from the United States as they had been only a few years earlier. With the establishment of an army garrison at Fort Snelling in 1820, the federal government assigned an

[329] Cardinal Goodwin, "A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-1820," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 4, no. 3 (December 1917), 299-313.

Indian agent, Lawrence Taliaferro, to reside at the post and become a liaison between the United States and the American Indian tribes. Missionaries and travelers soon followed. The first passenger steamboat arrived at Fort Snelling in 1823.

Stephen H. Long returned to Fort Snelling in 1823 to explore the north country. His orders for this, his last expedition, were to follow the Minnesota River to its source, cross over the low divide into the Hudson Bay watershed, descend the Red River of the North to the forty-ninth parallel, and then follow the northern border of the United States eastward through the sprawling Michigan Territory of 1823, which at that time embraced the future states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and the eastern half of Minnesota. His two major objectives were to gain a wider knowledge of the Oceti Sakowin in the upper Mississippi Valley and to determine whether the Hudson Bay Company settlement of Pembina lay within U.S. territory.[330]

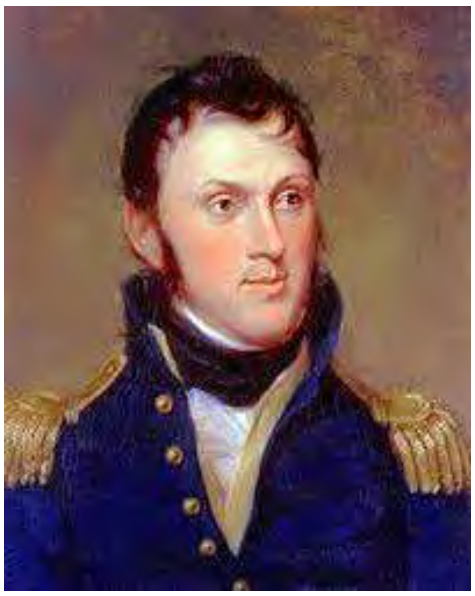


Figure 16. Stephen H. Long, explorer and cartographer, by Charles Willson Peale, 1819. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.org.)

Long's route did not take him to the Pipestone Quarry, but it did take him nearer to the site than any previous explorer had come. The more than 700-page official narrative of the expedition, which was written and compiled by the expedition's geologist, William H. Keating, was published in 1824. There is just one passing reference to the quarry; the mention is in connection with the Blue Earth River and the alleged copper mine discovered by Le Sueur. Keating

[330] Roger L. Nichols and Patrick L. Halley, *Stephen Long and American Frontier Exploration* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1980), 183-84; Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 392-93.

reported: "The locality of this blue earth, as well as that of the red stone used for pipes, were considered as neutral grounds, where the different nations of Indians could meet and collect these substances without apprehension of being attacked; but we have not heard this report confirmed." Although Keating did not indicate the source of his information, it is likely that it came from the work of Jonathan Carver. Long and his men approached Carver's work with a great deal of skepticism, believing, for example, that everything Carver had written about the Dakota was actually based on his acquaintance with the Sac or some other Algonquian tribe.[331]

Keating's *Narrative* also refers to the existence of red pipestone along the banks of the Redwood River, another stream emanating from the Coteau des Prairies and feeding into the Minnesota River.[332] Long and his men did not take time to investigate any of these deposits themselves, since Long was intent on completing their whole northern circuit before the onset of winter. Keating did not give the source of his information about the Redwood River, either, but the information likely came from the trader Joseph Renville.

Renville joined Long's expedition at Fort Snelling as a guide and interpreter and accompanied the party as far as Lake Traverse. Like so many traders of this era, Renville was of Dakota and European heritage. His father was a French trader and his mother was the daughter of a Mdewakanton chief. He was born in 1779 near present-day St. Paul and raised among his mother's people. As a young man he went to work for the North West Company under the direction of Robert Dickson. During the War of 1812, Renville fought against U.S. forces alongside Dickson and a contingent of Dakota warriors at the siege of Fort Meigs in Ohio. When the war ended, Renville went to live north of the border for a few years; then he went to work for the Hudson's Bay Company in the Red River valley. All the while, he remained in contact with his mother's people on the upper Mississippi. After U.S. forces occupied Fort Snelling, Renville joined with other traders in forming the Columbia Fur Company. This outfit, along with the much bigger American Fur Company, aimed to take over the trade with the Dakota as the British pulled out.[333] Long was fortunate to find Renville at Fort Snelling in 1823. Keating wrote: "We have met with few men that appeared to us to be gifted with a more inquiring and discerning mind, or with more force and penetration than Renville."[334] It is evident that Long and his men obtained most of their information about the Dakota from him.

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[331] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 336-37, 356. See also pp. 329-335 for a brief history of Le Sueur's adventures based on an original French manuscript cited on p. 331.
[332] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 363.
[333] Rev. E. D. Neill, "A Sketch of Joseph Renville," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. 1 (St Paul: Ramaley, Chaney & Co., Printers, 1872), 196-201.
[334] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 324-26; 392.

Keating's *Narrative* provided the fullest description of the Dakota that had yet been put in print. It described the Dakota as a "large and powerful nation of Indians, distinct in their manners, language, habits, and opinions" from all of the Algonguian peoples, as well as from the Pawnee, Mandan, and Gros Ventre tribes. Their lands encompassed an area extending from Prairie du Chien up the east side of the Mississippi Valley to the first branch of the Chippewa River, then on a line running northwest to the valley of the Red River, then on a line running southwest to the Mandan villages, then down the Missouri River perhaps to the mouth of the Soldier River, and then on a line running northeast to Prairie du Chien. It was a huge tract spanning about seven degrees of latitude and nine degrees of longitude. In their internal relations they called themselves the Dakota, or "allied," while in their external relations they referred to themselves as the Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires.[335]

Keating's *Narrative* divided the Oceti Sakowin into the divisions of Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, Sisseton, Ihanktonwan, Ihanktonwana, and Teton. It also made the familiar distinction between the people of the lakes and the people of the prairie, employing the terms "Gens du Lac" and "Gens du Large." It differed from some earlier accounts in stating that the first of the two great divisions included only the Mdewakanton, or "people of the Spirit Lake," while the second great division embraced all of the rest. Furthermore, it broke the Mdewakanton tribe down into seven separate villages or tribes, even though in total population the Mdewakanton tribe was no bigger than the others. Keating's *Narrative* attributed greater standing to the Mdewakanton at some time in the past, stating: "When they lighted the common calumet at the General Council Fire, it was always among the Mende Wahkantoan, who then resided near Spirit Lake, and who were considered as the oldest band of the nation, their chiefs being of longer standing than those of the other tribes."[336] The historical preeminence of the Mdewakanton was noted by others, for example Tabeau in his report of 1803.[337]

Long and his men tried to develop an accurate estimate of the Oceti Sakowin's total population. Weighing the earlier estimates made by Pike and Lewis and Clark and others, as well as a census conducted by Renville for the Hudson's Bay Company just a few years earlier, they offered population figures that were probably as near to the truth as any given in that period. They gave population estimates for the seven Mdewakanton bands and the six other divisions of the Seven Council Fires, as well as figures for the Assiniboine:

[335] Ibid, 392-94.
[336] Ibid, 394, 442-43.
[337] Abel, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, 121.

Names of villages or parties of Dacotas.	No. of lodges.	Warriors.	Souls.
Gens du lac, or Mendewahkantoan.			
1. Keoxa (Wapasha's, &c.)	40	70	400
2. Eanbosandata (Red Wing's)	10	25	100
3. Kapoja (Petit Corbeau's)	30	70	300
4. Oanoska (Black Dog's)	30	40	200
5. Tetankatane	10	30	150
6. Taoapa	30	60	300
7. Weakaote	10	10	50
Gens du large, or roving Dacotas.			
8. Makiechakesa (or Sisitons)	130	260	1000
9. Wahkpakota	100	200	800
10. Wahkpatoan	120	240	900
11. Kahra (band of the Sisitons)	160	450	1500
12. Yanktonoan	460	1300	5200
13. Yanktoan	100	200	800
14. Tetoans	900	3600	14,400
Adding for stragglers	100	200	800
	2330	7055	28,100
Strength of the Hoha or Assiniboins	3000	7000	28,000
Total force of Dacotas (before their division)	5330	14,055	56,100

Near Lake Traverse, Long's expedition met with Chief Wanatan of the Cuthead band of Ihanktonwana. Wanatan was about twenty-eight years old and renowned as a great warrior, having shown much valor in fighting the United States in the War of 1812. Since the war, this influential chief had advised his people to stay on friendly terms with the United States. Long and his men were very impressed by his sagacious mind, noble bearing, and striking appearance. Keating wrote:

> He is a tall man, being upwards of six feet high; his countenance would be esteemed handsome in any country, his features being regular and well-shaped. There is an intelligence that beams through his eye, which is not the usual concomitant of Indian features. His manners are dignified and reserved; his attitudes are graceful and easy, though they appear to be somewhat studied.[338]

[338] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 448-49.

The expedition's painter, Samuel Seymour, made a portrait of him standing with his eight-year-old son. Besides this portrait, there are two detailed descriptions in



Figure 17. Wanotan sketched by Samuel Seymour (from the Northern Expedition of Stephen H. Long, 1823).

the *Narrative* of the chief in both contemporary and traditional attire, one from their first encounter and the second on the occasion when Seymour made his live sketch.

> The chief's dress presented a mixture of the European and aboriginal costume; he wore moccassins [sic] and leggings of splendid scarlet cloth, a blue breech-cloth, a fine shirt of printed muslin, over this a frock coat of fine blue cloth with scarlet facings, somewhat similar to the undress uniform coat of a Prussian officer; this was buttoned and secured round his waist by a belt. Upon his head he wore a blue cloth cap, made like a

> German fatigue cap. A very handsome Mackinaw blanket, slightly ornamented with paint, was thrown over his person….
>
> The next day Wanotan came to pay us a formal visit; he was dressed in the full habit of an Indian chief; we have never seen a more dignified looking person, or a more becoming dress. The most prominent part of his apparel was a splendid cloak or mantle of buffalo skins, dressed so as to be of a fine white colour; it was decorated with small tufts of owls' feathers, and others of various hues, and is probably a remnant of a dress once in general use among the aborigines of our territory, and still worn in the north-east and north-west parts of this continent, as well as in the South Sea Islands; it is what was called by the first European visitors of North America, the feather-mantle and feather-blanket, which was by them much admired. A splendid necklace, formed of about sixty claws of the grizzly bear, imparted a manly character to his whole appearance. His leggings, jacket, and moccassins were in the real Dacota fashion, being made of white skins, profusely decorated with human hair; his moccassins were variegated with the plumage of several birds. In his hair he wore nine sticks neatly cut and smoothed, and painted with vermilion; these designated the number of gunshot wounds which he had received; they were secured by a strip of red cloth; two plaited tresses of his hair were allowed to hang forward: his face was tastefully painted with vermillion: in his hand he wore a large fan of feathers of the turkey, which he frequently used.[339]

Wanatan shared the peace pipe with the explorers, gave them a feast, had his warriors present a dog dance, and offered up much information about his people. Among the interesting items that he talked about, Wanatan shared details of his partaking in the Sun Dance the previous year. Keating recorded what he told them as follows:

> In the summer of 1822 he undertook a journey, from which, apprehending much danger on the part of the Chippewas, he made a vow to the Sun, that, if he returned safe, he would abstain from all food or drink for the space of four successive days and nights, and that he would distribute among his people all the property which he possessed, including all his lodges, horses, dogs, &c. On his return, which happened without accident, he celebrated the dance of the sun; this consisted in making three cuts through

[339] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 450-51, 455-56.

> his skin, one on his breast, and one on each of his arms. The skin was cut in the manner of a loop, so as to permit a rope to pass between the flesh and the strip of skin which was thus divided from the body. The ropes being passed through, their ends were secured to a tall vertical pole, planted at about forty yards from his lodge. He then began to dance round this pole, at the commencement of this fast, frequently swinging himself in the air, so as to be supported merely by the cords which were secured to the strips of skin separated from his arms and breast. He continued this exercise with few intermissions during the whole of his fast, until the fourth day about ten o'clock, A.M., when the strip of skin from his breast gave way; notwithstanding which he interrupted not the dance, although supported merely by his arms. At noon the strip from his left arm snapped off; his uncle then thought that he had suffered enough; he drew his knife and cut off the skin from the right arm, upon which Wanotan fell to the ground and swooned. The heat at the time was extreme. He was left exposed in that state to the sun until night, when his friends brought him some provisions. After the ceremony was over, he distributed to them the whole of his property, among which were five fine horses, and he and his two … [wives] left his lodge, abandoning every article of their furniture.[340]

As it happened, Long met up with Wanatan again, hunting bison with some of his men, a few days after the exploring party resumed its march northward. At his hunting camp, Wanatan shared some fresh buffalo meat with Long's party, and then volunteered to take a few of Long's men hunting in order to demonstrate how the Ihanktonwana killed buffalo with bows and arrows. On this outing Long's men killed a couple of buffalo calves, notwithstanding the fact that they had just been admonished that it was the Dakota way to desist from killing the calves when they could help it.[341] Back at Wanatan's hunting camp, Long's men observed the Ihanktonwana method of drying the meat and preparing the hide:

> The …[women] at Wanotan's lodge were engaged in jerking the meat and dressing the skins which he had obtained. We had some curiosity to observe their mode of operating. The meat was cut up in thin and broad slices and exposed on poles, all around the lodge. Two days of exposure to a hot sun are sufficient to dry the meat so that it will keep. The skins are dressed in a very simple manner; the green skin is stretched on the

[340] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 1, 449-50.
[341] Long's men found the buffalo hunt to be an immense thrill. On the next day, Long ordered his men to desist from giving chase to the buffaloes as he did not want to wear out their horses, but some of the men could not resist the temptation and killed fifteen buffaloes in one day – that is to say, far more than the small party could use.

> ground by means of stakes driven through its edges; then with a piece of bone, sharpened to a cutting edge, about an inch wide, and similar to a chisel, the softer portions on the flesh side are scraped off, and with an instrument of iron similar to the bit of a carpenter's plane, the hair is removed from the outside. If the operation be interrupted here, the product is a sort of parchment; but if the skin be intended for mocassins [sic] or clothing, it is then worked with the hands in the brain of animals, which gives it the requisite degree of softness. In order to qualify it for exposure to moisture, the skin is sometimes smoked, but this deprives it of its natural white appearance. When the skin has been prepared with care, but not smoked, the shirt and leggings made from it, with broad edges, left without the seam and cut into fringe, form a very handsome dress.[342]

Long asked Wanatan to accompany his party as it went northward into the Red River country, but Wanatan refused on the grounds that they were at the edge of the contested area and he did not want to risk a hostile encounter with the Ojibwe. Proceeding on its own, Long's party crossed into the headwaters of the Red River, where it soon met with a group of Wahpekute warriors who were apparently scouting for the enemy. Armed with guns and bows and arrows, and dressed only in breech cloths or else entirely naked, the men were in an excitable state and insisted on escorting Long's party to its next camp.[343]

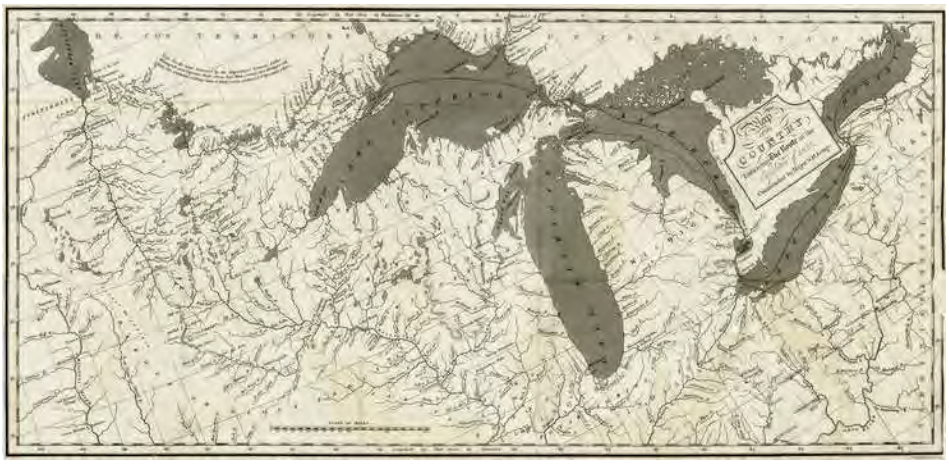


Figure 18. Stephen H. Long's map frm the report on his 1823 expedition.

The Long expedition of 1823 found the Ihanktonwan tribes still near the height of their power on the northern plains, yet heading toward a fall. By this

[342] Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition*, Vol. 2, 7-8.
[343] Ibid, 12-18.

time, the Dakota tribes already suffered from want as the bison herds had been hunted nearly to oblivion in the Mississippi Valley. Resource depletion led some of the Wahpekute bands to take up raiding as a major source of subsistence, while most of the Mdewakanton bands turned to agriculture and the assistance of Christian missionaries to help them adapt to the changing times. Long and his men observed the Mdewakanton bands' efforts to grow corn as they passed by their summer villages on the upper Mississippi and lower Minnesota rivers. Long did not make contact with the Wahpeton or Sisseton, but he was informed by the officer at Fort Snelling that the latter tribe was presently unfriendly toward the United States on account of the government having taken one of their tribal members to St. Louis to stand trial for killing a white man. As a military officer, Long recognized the pattern: as Euro-Americans encroached on the tribes' hunting grounds, tribes suffered shortages of game; then, as the tribes grew desperate for food, they depredated on the Euro-Americans. Long saw for himself that game had become scarce in the lower Minnesota River valley. It was not until the expedition met with the Cuthead band – far to the west of the Mississippi – that it found any Dakota who were well-supplied with game.

The fur trade ultimately led to the destruction of Plains Indians' aboriginal way of life. Beaver could be depleted in an area and the remnant population would still rebound, but the vast herds of bison, once destroyed, never regained their former abundance. By 1823, it had become evident what was happening to game resources west of the Mississippi. Bison, elk, deer, antelope, and bear were all in decline, and most important was the loss of bison. Long's investigation of Hudson's Bay Company account books held at the Columbia Fur Company trading post near Lake Traverse revealed that fully one fourth of the district's returns over the preceding decade consisted of bison hides. Coming to Pembina a few weeks later, Long saw the Métis inhabitants of that district returning from their long buffalo hunt on the northern plains, their wheeled carts straining under the weight of their enormous loads of buffalo hides and pemmican. Meanwhile, far to the south, on the lower Missouri and Arkansas rivers, market hunting of bison increased in the 1820s as steamboats plying the Mississippi River and its principal tributaries allowed buffalo hides to be shipped in bulk to the seaport of New Orleans. All of these signs pointed to the fact that Plains Indian cultures would face economic ruin in the coming decades.

American Interest in the Pipestone Quarry and its Effect on Plains Indians

One contemporary Euro-American who was reading the signs of impending catastrophe for Plains Indians and already regretting the loss of those aboriginal cultures was the artist George Catlin. Born in 1796 in western Pennsylvania, Catlin grew up in a young United States that began to mythologize and romanticize the

plight of American Indians, raising the long-familiar figure of the "noble Indian" into a national icon. When Catlin was still an impressionable young man struggling to find his way as a portrait painter, the writer James Fenimore Cooper tapped into that vein of national sentiment with his popular novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). In 1829, Catlin wrote a letter to Secretary of War Peter B. Porter urging that the government send an artist to an Indian agency in the upper Missouri country for the purpose of painting the Plains Indians in their native element and aboriginal dress before the opportunity was forever lost. Catlin offered himself for that task, proposing that a two-year stint on the frontier would give him time to create enough paintings to open a gallery in the East or in London upon his return. The government would only need to pay his expenses while in Indian country; the rest of his remuneration would be in the richness of the experience, in his harvest of material for a life's work.[344]

In 1830, George Catlin traveled to St. Louis, the gateway to the West, where he set up his easel in the Indian agency and began painting portraits of chiefs and headmen as they came in to discuss tribal affairs with Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark. Later that year, he accompanied Clark on a trip to Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien on the upper Mississippi (in present-day Wisconsin), to meet with leaders of the Sac nation. His successful work in the field that summer of 1830 launched his career as a painter of American Indians. After returning to the East for a few months in 1831, he made his way back to St. Louis to take passage on the steamboat *Yellow Stone* for a long voyage up the Missouri River. It was on this journey that he became acquainted with the Lakota, whom he characterized as "a bold and desperate set of horsemen, and great hunters."[345]

While slowly ascending the Missouri River, Catlin spent most of the time "riveted to the deck of the boat" watching the "fairy-land" of green prairie pass by, with its many "astonished herds of buffaloes," elk, antelope, and other wild animals fleeing at the unfamiliar sight and sound of the steamboat. He was enthralled by the Plains Indians whom they encountered at each stop along the way. At the same time, the scenes presented him with mixed emotions, for they all seemed sadly fleeting. He was particularly troubled when he thought about the wanton destruction of the bison by market hunters and what it would mean for the indigenous peoples who depended on that resource for their way of life. During a break in the journey at Fort Pierre (present day Pierre, South Dakota), Catlin penned the famous remarks that have been cited many times since as one of the

[344] Brian W. Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 15-16.
[345] George Catlin, *Catlin's Indians: Being a Deeply Interesting and Truly Celebrated Series of Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1891), 379.

original expressions of the national park idea. His vision reflects both the romanticism and the ethnocentrism of the age:

> It is a melancholy contemplation for one who has travelled, as I have , through these realms, and seen this noble animal in all its pride and glory, to contemplate it so rapidly wasting from the world, drawing the irresistible conclusion, too, which one must do, that its species is soon to be extinguished, and with it the peace and happiness (if not the actual existence) of the tribes of Indians who are joint tenants with them, in the occupancy of these vast and idle plains.
>
> And what a splendid contemplation too, when one (who has travelled these realms, and duly appreciate them) imagines them as they *might* in future be seen, (by some great protecting policy of government) preserved in their pristine beauty and wildness, in a *magnificent park*, where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffaloes. What a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world, in future ages! A *nation's Park*, containing man and beast, in all the wildness and freshness of their nature's beauty![346]

Historian Mark David Spence, in his book *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*, has commented that "Catlin's vision of 'classic' Indians grossly ignored the cultural dynamism of native societies, and his park would have created a monstrous combination of outdoor museum, human zoo, and wild animal park. Nevertheless, his ideas should not be dismissed as mere historical curiosities."[347] Catlin was a preservationist, and he would bring his preservationist sensibilities, flawed as they might be, to bear on the Pipestone Quarry a few years later.

After a voyage of nearly three months, the *Yellow Stone* reached Fort Union at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, some two thousand miles upstream from St. Louis. There, they found many American Indians of different tribes encamped in the vicinity of the fort. Catlin was given a room in one of the fort's bastions to serve as an artist's studio, and he began painting various chiefs and headmen who were willing to come in and sit for their portraits.

One of Catlin's subjects was a chief of the Blackfeet nation, Stu-mick-o-sucks, or Buffalo Bull's Back Fat. This man posed for his portrait, as so many of

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[346] Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 397.
[347] Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11.

Catlin's Plains Indian subjects did, proudly holding his pipe in front of his chest. Catlin admired the pipe's very long stem, finely ornamented with porcupine quills of various colors, and the pipe's bowl of shiny "red steatite," which the chief had carved with his own hands. It was after painting Stu-mick-o-sucks that Catlin wrote for the first time of the red pipestone and the quarry from whence it came:

> This curious stone has many peculiar qualities, and has, undoubtedly, but one origin in this country, and perhaps in the world. It is found but in the hands of the…[Indian], and every tribe and nearly every individual in the tribe has his pipe made of it. I consider this stone a subject of great interest, and curiosity to the world; and I shall assuredly make it a point, during my Indian rambles, to visit the place from whence it is brought. I have already got a number of most remarkable traditions and stories relating to the "sacred quarry;" of pilgrimages performed there to procure the stone, and of curious transactions that have taken place on that ground. It seems, from all I can learn, that all the tribes in these regions, and also of the Mississippi and the Lakes, have been in the habit of going to that place, and meeting their enemies there, whom they are obliged to treat as friends, under an injunction of the Great Spirit.[348]



Figure 19. Stu-mick-o-suck, Blood chief, by George Catlin, 1832. (Courtesy of en.wikimedia.org.)

[348] Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 61-62.

Since Catlin's name is so strongly connected with the Pipestone Quarry, this statement is significant in several particulars. First, the statement shows that Catlin believed the quarry was unique and enormously significant to American Indians long before he made his own trip there in 1836. Second, the statement shows that Catlin began making a systematic effort to gather information about the quarry in 1832, if not before. Indeed, his interest in the stone and clay pipes of American Indians went back to his youth, when his curiosity was aroused by the discovery of these objects on his father's farm.[349] Third, the fact that Catlin wrote the statement after painting the Blackfeet chief suggests the intriguing possibility that his inspiration to visit the quarry actually came to him right there at Fort Union while he was in the chief's presence. He was far from the quarry at that moment, and probably marveling to himself at the red pipestone's phenomenal distribution across the midcontinent.

Prescott and Laframboise

When Catlin made his visit to the Pipestone Quarry in 1836, he was told that no white man had ever been there before, that the Oceti Sakowin had long made it a practice not to allow any white man to see it.[350] In fact, a couple of fur traders, Philander Prescott and Joseph Laframboise, visited the quarry in the fall of 1832 and Prescott returned the following year, but neither one wrote about their experience until several years after Catlin made the Pipestone Quarry known to the American public. Eventually, Prescott wrote two separate accounts of his visits based on his recollections many years later. He prepared a brief account in 1847 in response to a request by the government for information about the Oceti Sakowin. He wrote a second, longer account in his memoir, which did not get published until long after his untimely death in the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862.[351]

As employees of the American Fur Company, Prescott and Laframboise were directed to trek across the Coteau des Prairies with a group of about one hundred American Indian men, women, and children and make two camps on the Big Sioux River for the winter of 1832-33. Their outfit was equipped with eight horse-drawn carts loaded with corn and other supplies, for the American Indians who had consented to go along and trap beaver for them "knew the country and were afraid of starvation." The party also included two French hunters and one American Indian guide, the latter accompanied by a brother and a cousin, together with the families of the two traders.[352]

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[349] John C. Ewers, editor, *George Catlin's Portfolio in the British Museum* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 7.
[350] William Watts Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1921), Vol. 1, 120.
[351] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 75.
[352] Prescott, *The Recollections of Philander Prescott*, 134-35.

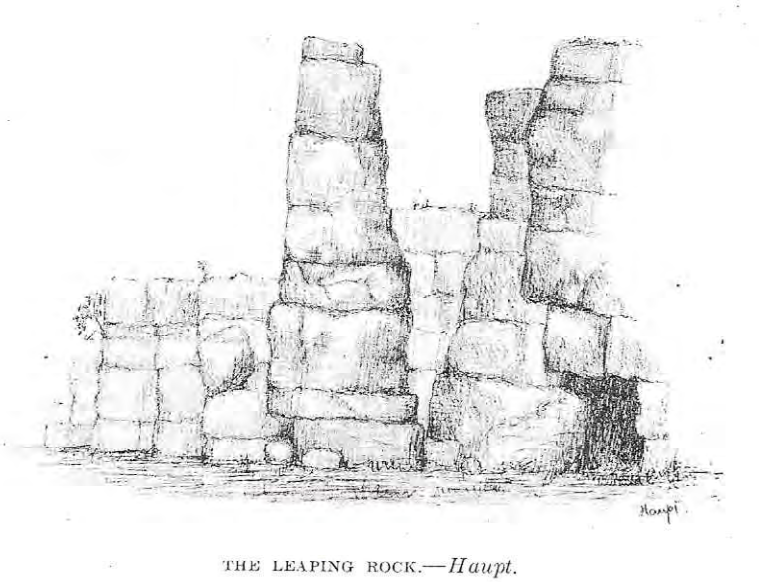
En route their guide led them to Pipestone Creek to obtain water. Finding the quarry unoccupied, Prescott and Laframboise spent one whole day digging. Using tools on hand and two charges of gunpowder, they obtained enough good pipestone for about twenty pipes. They found a six-pound cannon ball that the American Indians informed them had been fired at the Arikara, recovered from the battlefield, and brought to the quarry for use in cracking the rock. Prescott recalled:

> We got a considerable [number of] scaly pieces, of which we made some very pretty flat pipes. The Indians have labored here very hard with hoes and axes, the only tools they have except large stones which they use for breaking the rock, as the Fox and Sacks did in mining for lead, with this difference – the Fox and Sacs used to make fire on the rock, and when it was red-hot, they would dash on water. This would crack the rock for some distance around, and in this way they discovered some very large bodies of mineral.
>
> But the Sioux used no fire and could not conveniently if they wanted to, for there is no wood nearer than half a day's travel. The Sioux clean off the dirt, then get stones as large as two Indians can lift and throw them down as hard as they can, and in this way break or crack the rock so they can get their hoes and axes into the cracks and pry out piece after piece. It is very laborious and tedious and costs them considerable in the way of axes and hoes for all they get.[353]

Prescott's recollections of the quarry included other significant details. He recited the story of Leaping Rock, the pillar that stands slightly apart from the escarpment. Sometimes when American Indians were encamped at the quarry, a young man would leap from the top of the cliff to the top of the pillar to prove his bravery (and often, as well, his ardor for a young woman). There was barely enough room on the smooth top of the pillar to plant two feet, so the trick was to stop one's forward momentum after the leap.

Prescott described the extent of the quarry pits. He recollected that the north end of the diggings were about two feet deep and about ten feet wide, while the south end of the diggings were about ten feet deep. If his memory was not

[353] Ibid, 137.



THE LEAPING ROCK.—*Haupt.*

Figure 20. Sketch of the Leaping Rock by Col. Haupt in N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (1911).

faulty, then the dimensions suggest that the volume of quarrying increased significantly after this time.[354]

Prescott continued his account with the statement: "After we had worked the pipestone quarry until we were tired, we made preparations to be off, as our Indians were getting alarmed for fear of their enemies, although I never heard of any of them ever being killed at the pipestone quarry." Prescott's twentieth-century editor suggests that the American Indians in the party were afraid of an attack by Sac and Fox.[355] Another possibility is that the American Indians were uncomfortable over leading the white traders to the site and allowing them to try their own hand at mining the precious stone. Although most or all of the people in their party must have been Dakota, in their present association with the American Fur Company they may have been concerned that the Ihanktonwan would not be pleased to find them there. It should be noted that there were heightened tensions in the region in that year as a result of the Black Hawk War.

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[354] Prescott, *The Recollections of Philander Prescott*, 137. He also judged the diggings to be about 100 yards long, which seems to have been a considerable underestimate when compared with descriptions by Catlin and other nineteenth-century visitors.

[355] The Sac and Fox clashed with the Ihanktonwan as the Sac and Fox were pushed out of the Mississippi Valley into northwest Iowa. In the Black Hawk War of that summer, a band of Sac and Fox led by their chief, Black Hawk, fought against Euro-Americans and other tribes in a desperate bid to retain their lands in the Mississippi Valley. About 150 Dakota warriors entered the war against the Sac and Fox although they did not see combat. Black Hawk and his followers were defeated in August 1832. The Black Hawk War marked the last war between American Indians and Euro-Americans in the Northwest Territory until the Dakota War of 1862.

Prescott established his winter quarters on the Big Sioux River in December 1832 and remained there until spring. Most of the one hundred or so Dakota who accompanied him went to winter with the Omaha at their village on the Missouri River. A Sisseton band, destitute of food, camped near Prescott's post during an especially harsh patch of winter weather to partake of the trader's food store. "The band held on for about two weeks," Prescott remembered, "and I had to cook a large kettle of [corn] mush for them every day in order to save my horses." Prescott sent out hunters in search of bison but his hunters found no game on the prairie until spring. There were no beaver, either, so he traded for muskrat, a much less valuable commodity. The one hundred Dakota returned in the spring without any furs or game, as Prescott recalled, having "given all their powder and lead to the Omahas to feed them through the winter." On their way back over the Coteau des Prairies in April or May of 1833, Prescott and his party camped at the quarry again and spent another day digging for pipestone.[356]

Featherstonhaugh

In 1835, the English traveler and geologist George W. Featherstonhaugh, accompanied by the geologist Lieutenant William W. Mather of the U.S. Army, went by canoe from Fort Snelling up the Minnesota River as far as the Blue Earth River. A short distance above the mouth of that stream, Featherstonhaugh and Mather found a vein of blue earth that gave the river its name. After the two men were satisfied that they had located the site of Le Sueur's supposed copper mine of 1700-1702, and that Le Sueur's claim that he had found a copper ore deposit was indeed bogus as they had suspected, Featherstonhaugh tried to get their guide to take them from the Blue Earth River across the Coteau des Prairies to the pipestone quarry. Their guide, who was not Dakota, refused this request, insisting that they would have to hike overland and pack a lot of food with them since game was scarce in that country.[357]

Featherstonhaugh's account of this trip provides another glimpse of Dakota in a time of growing food scarcity. When he came to the Mdewakanton village of Shakopee, he counted seventeen large tipis. The tipis were on the left bank, while a burial ground with some scaffolds was on the opposite side of the river. The tipis were closed up, the people being away on a buffalo hunt to the Cheyenne River. If

[356] Prescott, *The Recollections of Philander Prescott*, 140-44.
[357] George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, edited by William E. Lass (reprint, 1847; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1970), Vol. 1, 280, 286, 301-305. Featherstonhaugh had high regard for his guide, whom he called Milor. Genealogists consider this man to have been Joseph Lord (as the name was spelled in the 1850 census), a voyageur whose father was French and mother was Sac. See "Who was the guide named 'Milor?'" at www.frenchindianancestry.proboards.com <September 28, 2013>. On Mather, see Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, Vol. 1, 118.

Featherstonhaugh's information was correct, then these people were on a roundtrip journey of about 800 miles to obtain their food for the winter.[358]

Catlin

The following year, the artist George Catlin made his historic trip to the Pipestone Quarry. Catlin gave information about the quarry in three separate accounts. The first was as a correspondent for the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, which published numerous missives that he wrote while touring Indian country from 1832 to 1836. Although his letter purports to be written on location, it was probably written soon after his return. Published in 1837, it was apparently known to the explorer Joseph Nicollet when he visited the quarry in 1838. Catlin's second account was a letter to Dr. Charles T. Jackson, the assayer in Boston to whom he sent a sample of pipestone. This letter was read before the Boston Society of Natural History on September 4, 1839, and published in *The American Journal of Science and Arts* later that year. Finally, Catlin revised and embellished the account published in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* for publication in his major work, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, which appeared in 1841. The description of his trip to the Pipestone Quarry is found in Letters 54 and 55 of 58, and runs to 70 pages.[359]

Catlin's detailed account of his approach to the quarry offers evidence of how the Oceti Sakowin discouraged non-Indians from visiting the site. On this, his fourth trip to Indian country, Catlin proceeded by sailing ship through the Great Lakes to Green Bay, then in a canoe piloted by voyageurs from Green Bay to Fort Snelling, and then by horse from Fort Snelling to the Pipestone Quarry. In preparation for the last leg of this journey, Catlin visited the American Fur Company potentate, Henry H. Sibley, who outfitted the artist and his traveling companion with horses, supplies, and an American Indian guide, as well as letters of introduction to the traders at the trading posts they would pass by. Word of Catlin's expedition was evidently carried up the Minnesota River ahead of him, for when he reached the trading post at Traverse des Sioux a group of warriors encircled the trading post and requested a council. With impassioned pleas, admonitions, and threats, they tried to turn back the expedition.[360]

Catlin did not record to which Dakota tribe or band the young men belonged, but they were probably a soldier's lodge of the Sisseton. Catlin

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[358] Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, 286.
[359] George Catlin, "Account of a Journey to the Côteau des Prairies, with a description of the Red Pipe Stone quarry and Granite bowlders found there," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 38, no. 1 (1839), 139-46; Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, 2 volumes (Reprint, 1844; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973), 2, 160-206.
[360] Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 655;.Sibley, "Reminiscences," 329-93.

identified the leader of this group as Te-o-kun-hko (The Swift Man), the son of a chief, and he identified another speaker as Muz-zo (The Iron). The latter person was probably Maza Sa, Red Iron, who was the leader of a soldier's lodge and one of the Sisseton chiefs and headmen who negotiated a treaty with the United States in 1851. Catlin did not indicate whether the group belonged to the local village, which was Sisseton, or came from elsewhere.[361]



Figure 21. George Catlin painted by William Fisk, 1849. (Courtesy of en.wikimedia.org.)

Although Catlin was not to be talked out of making his trip to the Pipestone Quarry, he was sympathetic enough to their point of view to include a straightforward record of their oratory in his Letter 54. Catlin gave Te-o-kun-hko's speech as follows:

> My friends, I am not a chief, but the son of a chief – I am the son of my father – he is a chief – and when he is gone away, it is my duty to speak for him – he is not here – but what I say is the talk of his mouth. We have been told that you are going to the Pipe Stone-Quarry. We come now to ask for what purpose you are going, and what business you have to go there.
>
> *Brothers* – I am a brave, but not a chief – my arrow stands in the top of the leaping-rock; all can see it, and all know that Te-o-kun-hko's foot has been there.

[361] Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 661. On Maza Sa, see Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 192.

> *Brothers* – We look at you and we see that you are Che-mo-ke-mon captains (white men officers): we know that you have been sent by your Government, to see what that place is worth, and we think that the white people want to buy it.
>
> *Brothers* – I speak strong, my heart is strong, and I speak fast; this red pipe was given to the red man by the Great Spirit – it is part of our flesh, and therefore is great *medicine*.
>
> *Brothers* – We know that the whites are like a great cloud that rises in the East, and will cover the whole country. We know that they will have all our lands; but, if ever they get our Red Pipe-Quarry they will have to pay very dear for it.
>
> *Brothers* – We know that no white man has ever been to the Pipe-Stone Quarry, and our chiefs have often decided in council that no white man shall ever go to it.
>
> *Brothers* – You have heard what I have to say, and you can go no further, but you must turn about and go back.
>
> *Brothers* – You see that the sweat runs from my face, for I am troubled.[362]

The man identified as Muz-zo said:

> My friends, we do not wish to harm you; you have heard the words of our chief men, and you now see that you must go back.
>
> *Tchan-dee-pah-sha-kah-free* (the red pipe stone) was given to us by the Great Spirit, and no one need ask the price of it, for it is medicine.
>
> My friends, I believe what you have told us; I think your intentions are good; but our chiefs have always told us, that no white man was allowed to go there – and you cannot go.[363]

After hearing these protestations, Catlin and his party slept one night in the trader's house and next morning saddled up and rode out in defiance of the warriors who were still encircling the trading post. At several more Dakota villages along the way they were told to turn back, but evidently they did not feel their lives were threatened for they pressed on anyway. Catlin justified his actions with the thought that he was *not* there to buy the American Indians' land; to the contrary, his aim was to get white men to understand and respect the fact that it was their sacred ground.[364]

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[362] Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 656-57.
[363] Ibid, 659-60.
[364] Ibid, 661-62.

Catlin's visit to the quarry coincided with that of a "Sioux chief" who was there "with thirty others of his tribe." This man informed Catlin and his traveling companion that his son was buried there, having died in a fall from Leaping Rock two years earlier. As the chief told the visitors the story, he cried over the burial mound. In Catlin's painting, the burial mound appears as a perfect cone on the left side of the scene, just north of Pipestone Creek about midway between the escarpment and the quarry pits. A figure walking nearby gives it scale. If it were not for Catlin's notes, the ten-foot-high mound could be mistaken for a tipi. Catlin's painting also shows three men smoking a pipe, another man quarrying, and tiny figures in the distance standing both on the rim of the escarpment and beside the rock formation known as the Three Maidens, also for scale. Neither Catlin's painting nor his notes give any indication that the people who were present at the quarry objected to his visit.[365]

As noted above, Catlin had collected oral traditions about the Pipestone Quarry since his encounters with northern Plains Indians on the upper Missouri in 1832, and it seems he did not record any more while at the site other than the tradition relating to Leaping Rock. He did, however, compare what he saw on the ground with what he had previously heard, and made some direct observations. For example, he recognized the boulder formation as the Three Maidens of legend, and he observed on close inspection that American Indians would not tread on the ground around the base of the boulders, but rather, would stop at a respectful distance and throw plugs of tobacco to them in "humble supplication." Since Catlin did not share the American Indians' veneration of the boulders, he went up close to examine the rock crystals and broke off a piece for assaying. (This was in addition to the specimen of pipestone that he sent to Boston to be assayed.) He also observed under the boulders "two holes, or ovens…which according to the Indian superstition, the two old women, the guardian spirits of the place, reside."[366]

Catlin reported that the quarry itself consisted of a line of pits four to five feet deep. He thought he could discern between "ancient and modern diggings or excavations," though he did not elaborate as to how that was possible. He also reported a "great number of graves and remains of ancient fortifications in the vicinity," again without elaboration.[367]

When Catlin later met with chiefs of the Sac tribe he was interested to learn that one had been to the quarry and another had avoided it out of fear of being attacked by a tribe of the Oceti Sakowin. Catlin's notes are the only known written record that describe the Sac making visits to the quarry. He wrote:

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[365] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, 334; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 79; Denise Louise Mundy, "George Catlin and the Pipestone Quarry: Paradise of the Red Gods," M.A. thesis, University of Missouri – Kansas City, 2011, 11-12.
[366] Catlin, "Account of a Journey," 142; Catlin, *Catlin's Indians*, 701.
[367] Catlin, "Account of a Journey to the Côteau des Prairies," 141.

> On my return from the Pipe Stone Quarry, one of the old chiefs of the Sacs, on seeing some specimens of the stone which I brought back with me from that place, observed as follows: –
>
> > "My friend, when I was young, I used to go with our young men to the mountain of the Red Pipe, and dig out pieces for our pipes. We do not go now; and our red pipes as you see, are few. The Dah-co-tah's have spilled the blood of red men on that place, and the Great Spirit is offended. The white traders have told them to draw their bows upon us when we go there; and they have offered us many of the pipes for sale, but we do not want to smoke them, for we know that the Great Spirit is offended. My mark is on the rocks in many places, but I shall never see them again. They lie where the Great Spirit sees them, for his eye is over that place, and he sees everything that is here."
>
> Ke-o-kuck chief of the Sacs and Foxes, when I asked him whether he had ever been there, replied –
>
> > "No, I have never seen it; it is in our enemies' country, – I wish it was in ours – I would sell it to the whites for a great many boxes of money."[368]

When Catlin revised his Letter 55 for publication in *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, he added three paragraphs near the end of the chapter that addressed the past, present, and future ownership of the quarry. Catlin believed the many tribes had treated the place as neutral ground until very recently. He thought the Dakota had probably claimed it for themselves at the urging of the traders, who were only interested in turning the prized pipestone into another trade item. Although Catlin did not say so explicitly, he seemed to be advocating a restoration of the quarry's neutral status. One is reminded of his earlier plea in 1832 for "some great protecting policy of government…a *magnificent park…*a *nation's Park*…." He wrote:

> Within a few years, the Sioux have claimed the entire quarry, probably at the instigation of the whites, who have told them that by keeping off other tribes and manufacturing the pipes themselves, and then trading them to other adjoining nations, they can acquire much influence and wealth. The quarry is in the center of their country. They are more powerful than any other tribe, and they are able to prevent any access to it.
>
> The quarry was visited for centuries in common by all tribes. They hid the war-club as they approached it and stayed the cruelties of the

[368] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, 2: 170-71.

> scalping-knife. They feared the vengeance of the Great Spirit, who overlooks it. The *totems* and *arms* of the different tribes who have visited the place for ages are deeply engraved on the quartz rocks.
>
> I am aware that the neutrality preserved as the Pipe-Stone Quarry may be opposed by subsequent travelers, who will find nobody but the Sioux here. I refer them to Lewis and Clark's tour thirty-three years ago, before the influence of traders had deranged the system and truth of things in these regions. I have often conversed with General Clark in St. Louis on this subject. He told me explicitly that every tribe on the Missouri told him they had been to this place, and that the Great Spirit kept the peace among his red children on this ground, where they had smoked with their enemies.[369]

Catlin's great significance to the Pipestone Quarry lies in the fact that his conception of it planted a seed that would germinate toward the end of the nineteenth century when townspeople in the settlement of nearby Pipestone conceived of the site as being suitable for a national park, and his idea would finally come to fruition with the establishment of Pipestone National Monument in 1937. Though the making of the national monument did not occur until a hundred years after Catlin's time – by which time American Indian use of the quarry had changed under the influence of many other factors – the end result represented a fulfillment of Catlin's inchoate vision in 1836 that the quarry would be preserved as a tribal commons or neutral space.

Nicollet

In 1838, two years after Catlin's visit, Joseph Nicolas Nicollet visited the Pipestone Quarry on an official expedition for the U.S. Topographical Engineers. A gifted astronomer and geographer, Nicollet immigrated to the United States from France in 1832 and made three explorations of the Coteau des Prairies and surrounding region in the late 1830s. His highly accurate maps and detailed reports gave the United States a much firmer grasp of the geography of the Coteau des Prairies as well as the headwaters of the Mississippi. His first expedition in 1836-37 focused on the Mississippi headwaters and was privately funded prior to his engagement with the Topographical Engineers. His second expedition in 1838 began at Traverse des Sioux, crossed over the Coteau des Prairies to the pipestone quarry, and returned by way of Spirit Lake and the Blue Earth River. His third expedition in 1839 went up the Missouri River to Devil's Lake (North Dakota), swung eastward across the Coteau des Prairie, and ended at Fort Snelling.

[369] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the North American Indians*, 331-32. Emphasis in original.



Figure 22. Joseph Nicollet. The explorer led an expedition past the Pipestone Quarry in 1839. (Courtesy of NPS.)

On his second expedition, Nicollet was accompanied by the army's John C. Fremont; a botanist named Charles A. Geyer; two American Fur Company traders, Joseph Renville, Jr., who had previously guided Long's expedition, and Joseph Laframboise, who had guided Catlin two years earlier; the son of Sisseton Chief Ishtakhaba (Sleepy Eye); eight voyageurs; and three interested travelers (two Frenchmen and one young man from a prominent New York family). The expedition camped at the quarry for seven nights, from June 29 through July 5. While they were there, six members of the party carved their initials in rock at the rim of the escarpment. The men thereby created a permanent geographic marker that would be used twenty years later as a center point for defining the boundaries of the one-square-mile Pipestone Reservation.[370]

Nicollet's information about the quarry adds several valuable details to what is known about American Indian use of the site at that time. Like Catlin, he observed that American Indians treated the grouping of boulders now known as the Three Maidens as sacred objects, as evidenced by the way the natural ground cover directly surrounding the boulders had been killed by the frequent placement of tobacco offerings.[371] He also described the rock art and referred to the story of the Three Maidens:

> It is on the red fragments which serve as paving stones for these rocks that the Sioux come to write their names as is their custom. They say, moreover, that three female spirits live in this mysterious place and that it

[370] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 79-81.
[371] Nydahl, "The Pipestone Quarry and the Indians," 201.

> is they who have engraved all of the characters that one sees on the red pavement and that one can hear them at work at night.

Interestingly, while Nicollet was skeptical about Catlin's reporting of American Indian oral traditions concerning the sacred quarry, he seemed to take more interest than Catlin in the American Indians' veneration of the Three Maidens. The fragmented glacial erratic mystified him. Without the help of ice-age theory, which had not yet been developed in Nicollet's time, the geographer commented that the several large rocks "appear to be rolled, in an isolated place where their strange characteristics contrast with everything around them….One must ask where they came from."[372]

Three families of Wahpekute worked the quarry during the period of their visit. Nicollet observed that the men dug for pipestone while the women stayed in camp some distance away. He thought American Indian custom did not allow the women to visit the quarry pits. He related how the American Indians told him their ancestors had discovered the red pipestone: they had found the sediment layer exposed along the cut of an old buffalo trail. This game trail led to Pipestone Creek, and he noted that it still made a conspicuous line across the prairie. "The discovery of the red earth is due to the passage of animals which hollowed out a deep pathway….The pathway revealed the surface of the red rock….The pathway made formerly by the passage of the animals is still clearly visible for nearly a mile."[373]

Nicollet's map of the country includes numerous interesting details. It shows an Ihanktonwan village and trading post occupying opposite sides of Lake Traverse, together with a Sisseton village on the height of land between Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake. It shows Renville's trading post at Lac Qui Parle, and a network of trails communicating between the two places. It locates another Sisseton village (Chief Ishtakhaba's village) at the mouth of the Cottonwood River, and depicts a trail leading from there across the Coteau des Prairies to the pipestone quarry.[374]

Nicollet noted the liberal scattering of debris on the Coteau des Prairies, but was unable to recognize it for what it was, glacial drift. He reported that the American Indians gathered the loose rocks into cairns and effigies, which served as

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[372] Quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 80.
[373] Quoted in ibid, 80; Bray, *Joseph Nicollet and his Map*, 210.
[374] An excellent digitized copy of Nicollet's map may be found on the Wikipedia entry for "Joseph Nicollet," at en.wikipedia.org <October 9, 2013>. For an earlier draft of the map see "Joseph N. Nicollet's 1839 Manuscript Maps of the Missouri River and Upper Mississippi Basin," compiled by W. Raymond Wood, *Illinois State Museum Scientific Papers* 24 (Springfield: Illinois State Museum, 1993), 92-96. Nicollet's comments on the effigy are quoted in "Famous Explorer's Own Story of his Expedition to Pipestone Quarry Region in Year 1838," *Pipestone County Star*, June 21, 1929.

way markers and to record people's stories. The Dakota called the site of one of these effigies "tuyan-witchashta-karapi," or "the place where has been built up a man of stone." A half century after Nicollet's expedition, archeologist T. H. Lewis went searching for this effigy and determined that it no longer existed, presumably because settlers had taken the rocks and put them to some other use.[375]

Other Accounts by Euro-American Visitors to the Quarries, 1840s and 50s

Nicollet's map definitely located the Pipestone Quarry in relation to the Coteau des Prairies, Pipestone Creek, and the Big Sioux River; nevertheless, it remained a remote place to Euro-Americans for many years to come. A few traders and travelers passed by or went out of their way to see it over the next twenty years, but there are only a handful of records of these visits and few of them say much about American Indian use of the site. Philetus W. Norris's visit in 1842 in company with some Ojibwe has been mentioned earlier (Chapter 4). A French-born Catholic missionary, Father Augustin Ravoux, reportedly visited the quarry with some Dakota in 1845, and a man by the name of Joseph H. Swan may have camped in the vicinity while on a hunting trip with a party of Dakota in 1853; neither of these two left any information about the quarry other than the fact of his visit.[376] A description of the "Great Red Pipestone Quarry" by an anonymous source was printed in the *St. Peter Statesman* and reprinted in the *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat* on December 30, 1858. It contains similar details to Nicollet's description but differs in a few particulars and appears to be a firsthand account. Unfortunately, there is no way to know how the writer obtained the information. The quarry is described as "a trench from four to six hundred feet in length, about ten feet deep, and from five to twelve feet broad, which the Indians have excavated with infinite toil and labor." The writer then says of the occupants:

> Unprovided as they are with drills or proper utensils for removing the quartzite which over and underlies the pipestone their progress has been slow; and it is not impossible that they have worked the quarry for more than a thousand years….The Indians prepare themselves for a visit to the quarry by a sort of three days' purification; all intercourse with women is forbidden, and after prayers and sacrifice one of the number begins to dig. If he does not strike a stratum fit for pipes, he is regarded as impure, and someone selects a different place to commence operations.

[375] T. H. Lewis, "Stone Monuments in Northwestern Iowa and Southwestern Minnesota," *American Anthropologist* 3, no. 3 (July 1890), 273.
[376] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 82-83.

The writer noted further that in the spring the quarry pits held water, so the American Indians limited their excavating to the months of July through October.[377]

Frederick P. Leavenworth, a surveyor and civil engineer, recorded his observation of American Indians digging for pipestone when he visited the site in 1858. His diary includes both a rare written record and a pen-and-ink drawing of quarrymen in action in this period. The "Lac Qui Parle Indians" in his description were most likely Sisseton or Ihanktonwan.

> 1858 October –
> 23rd. Saturday. Rainy. Ran eight miles camped on Red Pipe Stone River.
> 24th. Sunday. Went to Red Pipe Stone Quarry a long rift of grey granite lying E. and West. A nearer view disclosed a vein of red beneath the grey mass. A dozen ponies grazed around and seven Lac Qui Parle Indians with old axes and a boulder were quarrying out the thin layer of pipe stone. The Indians working for hundreds of years have only excavated a rough pit or trench 600 ft long, perhaps 8 feet deep.[378]

Note that Leavenworth's description of the use of a large rock to crack the quartzite corroborates Prescott's observations in 1832.

A crewman for the Snow and Hutton survey team, who surveyed the boundary of the newly established Pipestone Reservation in 1859, made a report on what he saw. Though there was no one in the quarry at the time of the survey, the description of the workings is informative:

> The stone used by the Indians is a soft "new" red sandstone, hardening rapidly by exposure, and is overlaid by a metamorphic and older sandstone, which forms the exposed high ledge, running across the Reserve; the same rock crosses out North East and South West of the quarry and is found in abundance along the Big Sioux river near the falls of the Sioux. There are numerous traces of old mines or quarries near the foot of the ledge as from their rude implements the Indians are unable to penetrate very deeply into the soft strata, requiring the frequent opening of new and more convenient quarries.[379]

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[377] "The Great Red Pipestone Quarry," *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, December 30, 1858, p. 6.
[378] Frederick P. Leavenworth Diary, Minnesota Historical Society, Frederick P. Leavenworth Papers 1855-1883. Leavenworth was probably there to survey the Osborne Township, the first township lines run in the county (in September 1858). See Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota*, 258.
[379] Report accompanying Field Notes of Survey of the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, Minnesota, Snow and Hutton, Surveyors, 1859, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Two further accounts by Euro-Americans from this period provide glimpses of how the quarry was being used. A California forty-niner, William G. Johnston, reported seeing a supply of pipes at Fort Bridger (in today's Wyoming) on his way west in 1849 – evidence that Euro-Americans were entering directly into the trade in pipestone by this time. "Other store rooms were nearly bare of goods," Johnston wrote after his visit to the fort.

> In one was a keg of whiskey, a jar of tobacco, a box of clay pipes, and but little else. I should mention, however, some large pipes made of a red stone called 'St. Peter's Rock,' said to have been brought from the upper Mississippi, and highly esteemed by Indians. The price at which they are sold too – five dollars each – would indicate that they are accounted valuable, while Mr. Bridger informed me that there is a very ready sale for them. They are not even bored out, but simply shaped as pipe bowls are, and thus sold.[380]

From this description it is not clear whether traders actually quarried pipestone themselves (as Prescott did in the fall of 1832 and spring of 1833) or obtained it through trade. At the very least, they were interposing as middlemen in the distribution of pipestone from tribe to tribe. Although the evidence is only anecdotal, it is reasonable to imagine that traders engaged primarily in trading blanks rather than finished pipes.

In 1854, a thirteen-year-old named Augustus Meyers joined the army as a musician, and in the following year he was stationed at Cantonment Miller where he had some acquaintance with Ihanktonwana encamped nearby. In a reminiscence written many years later, Meyers remembered watching the American Indians carve pipes and listening to them tell stories of how they obtained the sacred stone:

> Some of the pipes they manufactured were plain and others handsomely inlaid with lead. They were made of a dense, fine grained but soft working stone of a beautiful red color. To obtain this stone they made long and weary journeys to the Pipe Mountain, which was somewhere in the northern part of Minnesota Territory. There, it is said, they prayed to the Great Spirit before removing any of the stone which they esteemed so highly. The pipes were carefully bored and finished with a high polish, which took many hours of patient labor. The long pipe stems were made

[380] This passage from William G. Johnston, *Experiences of a Forty-Niner* (1892) is quoted in David L. Hieb, Superintendent, Fort Laramie National Monument, to Superintendent, Rocky Mountain National Park, May 11, 1950, NA-CPR, RG 79, Region II, Pipestone National Monument, Box 193, File 101 History.

> of some tough, flexible wood, the same that they made their bows of. They were round or flat in shape, sometimes twisted and the wood polish ornamented. The hole through the stem was made slowly and carefully with a piece of wire heated red hot. The mouth piece was neatly tapered and rounded. These pipes were a valuable article of trade. A fine pipe was worth a pony in trade with the Indians in remote parts of the country. I bought one and paid a good price for it. I had great difficulty to persuade an Indian to sell me a piece of the stone to make a pipe for myself.[381]

This account is factual and specific while admitting that the meaning of the pipestone in Ihanktonwana culture was far beyond the writer's comprehension.

Treaty-Making and the Struggle for Sovereignty

For American Indians who inhabited the Coteau des Prairies region, the U.S. government began to acquire greater significance in the early 1820s. U.S. troops occupied Fort Snelling in 1820. Although this fort was located on the Mississippi River far from the Pipestone Quarry, it was the first U.S. military installation in present-day Minnesota, and it signalled U.S. intentions to exert a stronger influence over Indian affairs throughout the region. U.S. officials stressed to the Mdewakanton who lived in the area that they were now under the protection of the Great Father in Washington, and that the U.S. aim was to establish peace between the Dakota and neighboring tribes. The United States desired peace between tribal nations for two reasons. Peace helped the fur trade. Additionally,

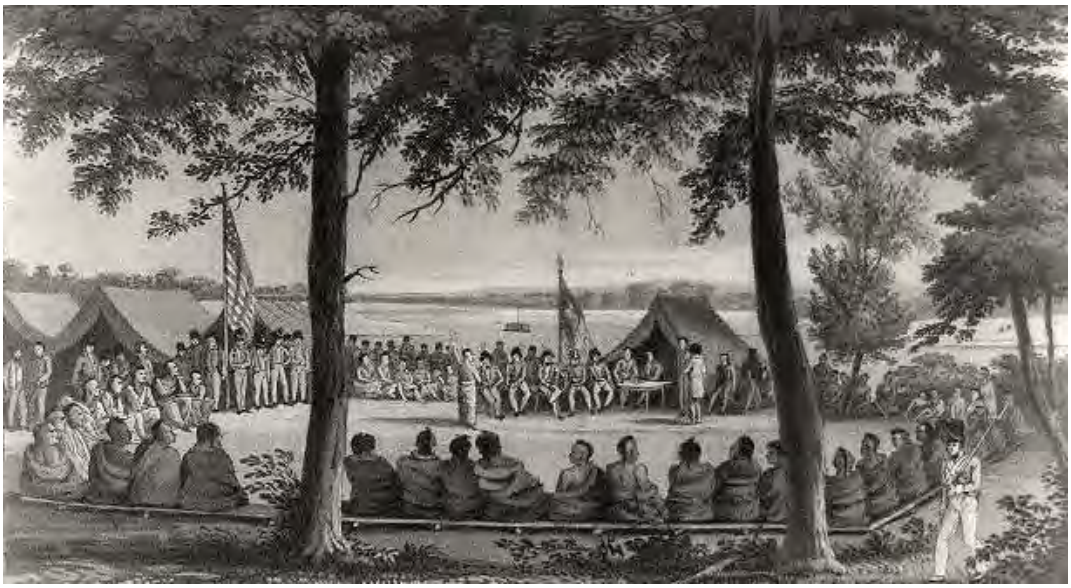


Figure 23. Pawnee Council, by Samuel Seymour, Long Expedition, 1820. (Courtesy of Library of Congress.)

[381] Augustus Meyers, "Dakota in the Fifties," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 10 (1920), 162.

the United States wanted tribes to agree on the extent of their respective territories, for fixing tribal territories was a first step toward securing land cessions from them.[382]

Soon after the army occupied Fort Snelling, Lawrence Taliaferro was appointed Indian agent. An officer with the U.S. Army, he soon became part of the U.S. Indian Office and served as agent to the tribes in Minnesota until 1839. Cetaŋ Wakuwa Mani (Little Crow), a chief of the Mdewakanton, named him "No-Sugar-in-Your-Mouth" for his straight talk when he held councils with tribal leaders. In 1823, Taliaferro built a council house near Fort Snelling. The following year, he led a party of Dakota, Ojibwe, and Menominee chiefs to Washington, D.C. to impress upon them the power of the United States. In 1825, Taliaferro requested that all tribes in the region send representatives to a great treaty council at Prairie du Chien.

Treaty with the Sioux, 1825

In August 1825, delegates from the Dakota and Nakota, Ojibwe, Menominee, Sac and Fox, Ioway, Ho-Chunk, and Odawa nations gathered at Prairie du Chien with U.S. officials to make a treaty.[383] Some 300 Dakota participated, including 26 chiefs of the Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, and Ihanktonwan tribes. The chief negotiator for the U.S. government was Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark. Taliaferro and Clark emphasized that the U.S. government was not interested in acquiring land; it only sought to arrange a general peace between Indian nations.[384]

While that was the treaty council's ostensible purpose, the U.S. government had another aim. If tribes could be put on record agreeing to certain limits of their respective territories, then it became easier for the United States to obtain clear title to their lands at a later time. Under the Doctrine of Discovery, the United States recognized that American Indians had aboriginal title, or a possessory right to use and occupy their customary and traditional hunting grounds. The United States, meanwhile, had a preemptive or exclusive right to acquire American Indian lands, either by purchase or conquest. American Indian tribes could not sell or dispose of their lands to any foreign power, state, or private citizen; they could only cede their aboriginal title to the U.S. government. Indian land cessions were essentially land sales from the American Indian tribes to the United States made under U.S. government auspices. Once U.S. officials negotiated a land cession by treaty and the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty, it extinguished aboriginal title and the land

[382] Kelly Rundle, *Lost Nation: The Ioway* (Moline, Ill.: Fourth Wall Films, 2008).
[383] The exact title of the treaty is *TREATY WITH THE SIOUX, ETC. Treaty with the Sioux and Chippewa, Sacs and Fox, Menominie, Ioway, Sioux, Winnebago, and a portion of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawattomie, Tribes*.
[384] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 121-23; Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce*, 148-49.

became public domain. At that point, it could be bought and sold by private citizens. Often the U.S. government sought to get American Indian nations to agree on the territorial limits of their respective hunting grounds as a first step toward negotiating land cessions and ultimately extinguishing aboriginal title.[385]

At the treaty council at Prairie du Chien, two things occurred that had significance for the Pipestone Quarry. In the first place, the Dakota, Ojibwe, Ioway and the Sac and Fox representatives agreed to perpetual peace and territorial boundaries between their respective peoples. The line between the Dakota (called "Sioux" in the treaty) and the Ioway, Sac and Fox ran roughly across present-day northern Iowa, while the line between the Dakota and the Ojibwe ran roughly from southeast to northwest through the center of present-day Minnesota. While neither line was very effective in maintaining peace, each one did, from the U.S. perspective, delimit the tribes' aboriginal title. Thus, the Treaty of Prairie du Chien found that the "Sioux" had aboriginal title to the region that included the Pipestone Quarry. Though the treaty named several "Sioux" tribes, it treated their lands as one territory.[386]

Of additional importance, various chiefs described the territorial limits of where their people lived. Wanatan, the Ihanktonwana chief who so impressed explorer Stephen H. Long and his men, described his people's territory with reference to their frontier with the Ojibwe. He said: "I am from the plains and it is of that part of our Country of which I speak. My line commences where Thick Wood River empties into Red River thence down to Turtle River – up Turtle River to its source, thence south of the Devils Lake to the Missouri at the Gros Ventre Village."[387] From this it can be seen that the Ihanktonwana's territory extended far north and west of the quarry.

American Indians did not usually think of claims to territory in the same sense as non-Indian Americans did. Wanatan did not describe a tract with boundaries all the way around it, but rather a segment of a line that his people defended for the Oceti Sakowin against incursions by the Ojibwe. Another chief, Coramonee of the Ho-Chunk, tried to explain to U.S. officials that American Indians had different concepts of land ownership. "The lands I claim are mine and the nations here know it is not only claimed by us but by our Brothers the Sacs and Foxes, Menominees, Iowas, Mahas, and Sioux. They have held it in common. It would be difficult to divide it. It belongs as much to one as the other."[388]

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[385] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 149; Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 51; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian*, abridged edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 19-22, 31-34.
[386] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 250-55.
[387] Quoted in Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 150.
[388] Quoted in ibid, 149.

The protest by Coramonee notwithstanding, the U.S. officials partially succeeded in their effort to get chiefs to go on record declaring their people's territory, as historians Westerman and White have observed. "Although the treaty contains no cessions, it was in effect a cessional treaty for all tribes who gave up claims to land. For the Dakota the line drawn would, for all practical purposes, 'cede' the northern portion of their ancestral homeland to the Ojibwe, who had come to dominate it only seventy-five years earlier when the Dakota moved out of the Mille Lacs area."[389] The Treaty of Prairie du Chien had little success in establishing peace between tribes. Its greater significance was that it set the stage for the land cession treaties to follow.

The Land Cession Treaties

In July 1830, Superintendent of Indian Affairs William Clark held another treaty council at Prairie du Chien, this time with the aim of obtaining land cessions. Joining the council were representatives of the Mdewakanton, Wahpekute, Wahpeton, and Sisseton tribes of Dakota, together with representatives of the Sac and Fox, Omaha, Ioway, Otoe, and Missouria. A delegation of Ihanktonwan traveled to St. Louis three months after the council and signed the treaty as well. Altogether the tribes ceded over two million acres in a wide strip extending across present-day Iowa from the Mississippi to the Missouri. In consideration for the land cession, the United States agreed to pay each tribe a monetary sum with the stipulation that it would be distributed in the form of annuities over the next ten years, the annuities to consist of farm tools and other support for their transition from a hunting to a farming way of life.[390]

Two years later, war broke out between the United States and bands of Sac and Fox who were attempting to resettle in Illinois. A Sac war captain, Ma-Ka-Tai-Me-She-Kia-Kiak (Black Hawk), led the tribal resistance in what became known to history as the Black Hawk War. At the conclusion of the war, the United States imposed peace terms on the defeated tribe that included cession of all of the tribe's territory in present-day eastern Iowa and the tribe's removal to a reservation in western Iowa. The war demonstrated that the Jackson administration would resort to military force when necessary to implement its policy of Indian removal. The treaty marked the beginning of Indian removal in the upper Mississippi region.[391] The Black Hawk War broke the power of the Sac and Fox, leaving the Ihanktonwan once more firmly in possession of the area surrounding the Pipestone Quarry.

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[389] Westerman and White, *Mni Sote Makoce*, 152.
[390] Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 86; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 305-10.
[391] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 90-92.

When George Catlin visited the Pipestone Quarry in 1836, tribes had not yet ceded any lands in present-day Minnesota. In a treaty the following year, the Mdewakanton tribe ceded an area in the upper Mississippi valley in order to accommodate white settlement. The Treaty with the Sioux of 1837 was an Indian removal treaty. Although it was not as drastic as other Indian removal treaties of the 1830s that forced tribes to relocate hundreds of miles away from their homelands, the treaty did require the Mdewakanton to move west of the Mississippi River, allowing white settlement to advance to the line of the Mississippi in Minnesota. In compensation for their land the Mdewakanton were promised various sums of money in cash and in the form of farming assistance, educational support, and settlement of their debts with traders. The Mdewakanton appear to have been content with the terms of the treaty at first, but soon became disillusioned over a hold up in the money promised for education. By 1850, the unreleased funds amounted to $50,000.[392] The area ceded by the 1837 treaty was far from the Pipestone Quarry, but the cession was the opening wedge that led to increasing pressure from land-hungry settlers.

In the 1830s and 40s, missionaries established missions among the Dakota at several locations along the Minnesota River. The missionaries sought to convert tribal members to Christianity and orient them to a farm-based economy. The missionaries' efforts dovetailed with U.S. aims to assimilate tribal peoples with the rest of American society. The U.S. government opened schools for native children, and it took tentative steps toward allotting tribal lands to individual tribal members. The Dakota people were receptive to these new influences, because their hunting way of life was becoming more difficult and their circumstances were increasingly desperate. When bands went on their fall hunts in the 1830s and 40s, they sometimes had to journey hundreds of miles to find game. As the Dakota tribes were not well supplied with horses, the search for game was onerous. The winter hunt for beaver and muskrat also became harder as the fur animals grew scarcer. With most fur traders pulling up stakes and moving west to more plentiful beaver grounds, the Dakota found themselves deeper and deeper in debt with those traders who remained in their country and kept them in supply.[393]

Following the 1837 cession, the white population began to grow. By 1849, when Minnesota became a territory, there were perhaps 4,500 white and mixed-blood citizens living in the state. The population was concentrated in the southeast corner, and was still small compared to the indigenous population of perhaps 30,000, yet the white population controlled the territorial government and wielded

[392] Linda M. Clemmons, "'We Will Talk of Nothing Else': Dakota Interpretations of the Treaty of 1837," *Great Plains Quarterly* 25 (Summer 2005), 173-85; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 493-94.
[393] Samuel W. Pond, *Dakota Life in the Upper Midwest* (1908, reprint; St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), 53-65; Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 82-83.

influence with the U.S. Congress. As a result, the Dakota came under increasing pressure to cede most of their remaining lands in Minnesota, which would open the floodgates for more white settlers to enter the territory, putting the territory on a path to statehood.[394]

The push for land cessions came to a head in the summer of 1851. Governor Alexander Ramsey and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea negotiated with the Wahpeton and Sisseton at Traverse des Sioux, securing their agreement to a treaty on July 23, and then they moved down the river and negotiated with the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute for a nearly identical treaty on August 5. The tribes ceded all their land in Iowa and Minnesota except for a strip, approximately ten miles wide, along the upper Minnesota River. In consideration for the land cession, the tribes were to be paid $1,665,000 in the first treaty and $1,410,000 in the latter. Roughly a fifth of the money was allocated to chiefs "to settle their affairs." This provision was included so that traders could collect on their debts. The rest of the funds were to be maintained in interest bearing accounts in the U.S. Treasury for payment of annuities, with different sums being allocated to farming assistance, educational support, and so on.[395]

What happened to cause the Dakota to cede most of their homeland? There are differing historical interpretations. One view is that the tribes had formed a fairly clear idea of how fast their land was going to be settled by whites, and they recognized a need to sell their land in exchange for U.S. government assistance to prepare them for a new way of life. They found they could not resist the pressure of white settlement. They still placed a fair degree of trust in the U.S. government to fulfill its promises. Many of the Dakota had become Christians, and they placed considerable trust in the missionaries, too. Many felt prepared to take up their own farms, or they had already done so. Some, too, were strongly influenced by loyalty to the traders, most of whom were connected to the Dakota by kinship.[396]

Other interpretations suggest that there was more manipulation or coercion involved. The history of the U.S.-Dakota War presented at a tribal cultural and tourism training conference hosted by the Santee Sioux Tribe and Yankton Sioux Tribe recently finds that "powerful and influential fur traders coerce[d] the Dakota into giving up their land in exchange for promises of cash, goods, annuities, and education." This account of the 1851 treaties focuses on how tribal representatives were tricked into signing illegal documents that the traders drafted outside of the

[394] Wingerd, *North Country*, 176-96.
[395] Lucile M. Kane, "The Sioux Treaties and the Traders," *Minnesota History* 32, no. 2 (June 1951), 65-80; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* 2, 588-593.
[396] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind* [get pages]; Wingerd, *North Country*, 185-96, 211-19. The preamble in the treaty actually asserted that the Dakota had that understanding, saying that the tribes were "anxious to provide other sources for supplying their wants besides those of hunting, which they are sensible must soon entirely fail them."

official proceedings of the treaty council and fraudulently put forth as a third copy of the treaty. Moreover, it emphasizes that the treaties promised reservations along the Minnesota River "in perpetuity," a pledge that the U.S. government failed to keep. In a similar vein, the "Crow Creek Sioux Tribe History" posted on the tribe's website states that the provisions in the two treaties "suggest good intentions, but one interesting fact remains. During the ratification process, the United States Senate deleted Article 3 of each treaty, wherein a detailed description of the Minnesota reservations was laid out and guaranteed to the tribes in perpetuity."[397]

Westerman and White begin their historical account of the treaties with reference to two clashing "master stories" – one handed down by each side. The European and Euro-American master stories relate the treaties to the larger story of U.S. westward expansion; and views the taking of Dakota lands as an unavoidable preliminary step in the dominant society's "winning of the West," – that is, the establishment of farmsteads, towns, railroads, logging, mining, and other land uses that were incompatible with American Indians' subsistence way of life. In stark contrast, the American Indian master story connects the treaties with the American Indians' bitter experience of dispossession, the gradual destruction of their resource base, and the relentless assault by the dominant society on traditional American Indian cultures.

Making a close reading of the treaty council minutes, Westerman and White argue that the speeches given by the chiefs and U.S. negotiators, and the interchange back and forth, reveal how far apart the two cultures were in their conceptualization of land ownership. To help bridge the gap, the missionary Stephen H. Riggs translated the English text of the treaty into the Dakota language to the best of his ability and then put the oral language into written form. Analyzing this Dakota version of the text, the authors note that the word Riggs used for "sale," *wiyopekiya*, comes closer to the English word "exchange." "It is difficult to recognize the kinds of hands-off economic exchanges that typify the word used in English," Westerman and White observe. "Instead it appears to communicate the full range of reciprocal exchanges the Dakota had had with traders for almost two centuries."[398] They conclude that the U.S. negotiators manipulated the Dakota leaders to agree to terms that they did not fully understand, or understood in their own way.

Whatever understanding the Dakota may have had of the land cession in 1851, they could not have been fully prepared for the rush of white settlers into the Minnesota Valley that occurred after the treaties were ratified. The white

[397] Anonymous, "Timeline – The U.S.-Dakota War," at http://www.usdakotawar.org/timeline <August 22, 2015>; "Crow Creek Sioux Tribe History," at www.crowcreekconnections.org <April 30, 2015>.
[398] Westerman and White, *Mni Sota Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*, 174.

population in the whole territory jumped from around 6,000 in 1850 to around 150,000 in 1857, with much of that concentrated in the lower Minnesota Valley. However, the Pipestone Quarry was not much affected beyond the legal point that the treaty signers ceded aboriginal title at the location, for southwestern Minnesota attracted only a thin scattering of white homesteaders during the decade. Although the U.S. General Land Office sent surveyors into the area to survey the land and prepare township and range maps in the late 1850s, there was little else to indicate that the area might then have been considered public domain. The area surrounding the Pipestone Quarry remained completely devoid of white settlement and no one put the land's legal status to a test. The Ihanktonwan considered it theirs.

Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, etc., 1851

In September 1851, representatives of six nations of Plains Indians – Lakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, Assiniboine, and Arikara – convened with U.S. agents near Fort Laramie in present-day Wyoming and signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851. Like the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1825, this treaty delineated each nation's territory and pledged everyone to keep peaceful relations. There were no land cessions. The United States pledged to protect the tribes from depredations by its non-Indian citizens. U.S. aims were parallel to those in the earlier treaty in that the fixing of tribal territorial boundaries was a step toward obtaining land cessions at a later time as well as peace in the near term. The main U.S. objective was stated in Article 2: "The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories."[399] Specifically, the aim was to gain a right-of-way for building a transcontinental railroad across the Great Plains.

While the Dakota tribes in Minnesota agreed to land cessions based on the fact that their hunting grounds were depleted and their homeland was about to be engulfed by white settlement, the Plains Indian tribes who signed the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 faced a more generalized threat. At mid-century, the population of the United States stood at 20 million people. With the conquest of the Southwest in the Mexican-American War of 1846-48, the United States became a transcontinental nation. Wagon trains rolled westward across the plains transporting thousands of pioneers and goldseekers to the Oregon country and California. The westward movement led to a turn in federal Indian policy. Indian removal, or the policy of pushing tribes out onto the Great Plains to a supposedly

[399] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol 2, 594-96.



Figure 24. Plains Indians camped near Fort Laramie, circa 1837, painted by Alfred Jacob Miller.

permanent Indian territory, had run its course. As anthropologist Guy Gibbon has stated, "By mid-century, the prevailing attitude among Euro-Americans was that the traditional Sioux lifeway, like that of all Indians, was doomed to extinction before the onrush of settlers. Consequently, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea outlined to Congress a new federal program in 1850 for the assimilation of all American Indians. This policy was to be carried out through Euro-American-style agriculture practiced on Indian reservations."[400] U.S. leaders decided to confine western tribes on reservations where they would be provided with the "arts of civilization."[401]

The reservation that was promised to the Dakota in Minnesota was a model for the sort of reservations the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs envisioned in the Far West. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 made no mention of reservations because

[400] Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 106.

[401] Robert A. Trennert, Jr., *Alternative to Extinction: Federal Indian Policy and the Beginnings of the Reservation System* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975). Trennert examines the years 1846-51 when the Mexican-American War and U.S. expansion to the Pacific forced the issue of assimilating American Indians instead of removing them from the path of white settlement. He interprets the reservation system as being a well-intentioned and humane response by U.S. policy makers to the dire circumstances confronting tribes at mid century. The "arts of civilization" was a common term used to describe the assimilative tools of reservation policy: schools, church-sponsored missions, demonstration farms, individual land allotment, and provision of farm tools and seed so that American Indians could become farmers according to the U.S. model.

the Plains Indian nations who were party to the treaty were still far too powerful and independent to be forced into confinement on reservations. From a U.S. standpoint, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 was a stopgap measure. It cleared the way for the U.S. Army to build more forts and improve communications in the Great Plains and the Far West. Simultaneously, the Office of Indian Affairs, which was transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior in 1849 in recognition of the shift in policy toward assimilation, began to build more Indian agencies on the upper Missouri and elsewhere across the region. The Indian agencies were an early form of civil administration in Indian country that sometimes preceded the establishment of reservations.

The treaty defined the territory of the western division of the Oceti Sakowin, called "Sioux" in the treaty. The territorial boundary ran from the mouth of the White Earth River in a southwest direction to the forks of the Platte River, thence up the North Fork of the Platte to Red Butte, thence along the range of the Black Hills to the headwaters of the Heart River, thence down that river to the Missouri, and thence down the Missouri to the place of beginning. It was a large tract covering the western half of present-day South Dakota and more, yet it took the Missouri River as the eastern boundary. Thus, it did not include the territory of the middle division of the Oceti Sakowin, which lay east of the Missouri River. It did not touch the area that included the Pipestone Quarry. The treaty also defined territories for the Blackfeet, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Crow, Assiniboine, Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Arikara.[402]

The intertribal gathering drew some 10,000 participants, far more than any previous treaty council held among Plains Indians. The presents that were transported to the site for the occasion filled twenty-seven wagons. Lakota winter counts for that year show a bale of blankets with the designation "big distribution."[403]

The tribes were well-represented because tribal leaders saw that their people's way of life was under threat. They had seen the immense wagon trains crossing the plains in several preceding summers. They had observed how the wagon trains disrupted the movement of the buffalo herds, and how the overland pioneers took a toll on the game supply. The flow of emigrants through their country had prompted the tribes to shift their hunting territories, creating more friction between tribes. Moreover, they knew that white settlements were taking hold in Utah and farther west in California and the Oregon country, so they understood that they were surrounded.[404]

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[402] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 594-96.
[403] Raymond J. DeMallie, "Teton," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 795.
[404] Prucha, *The Great Father*, 116.

The tribes went home from the treaty council with U.S. promises that they would be protected from whites' depredations and that they would receive annunities over a fifty-year period in payment for granting the United States the privilege to build roads and military forts in their country. Yet the treaty was a turning point in the tribes' power to resist U.S. colonization of the Great Plains. By defining tribal territories, the treaty strengthened the U.S. government's ability to confront them one at a time, to pursue the age-old statecraft of divide-and-conquer. Although the treaty did not take away any tribe's right to claim lands assigned to other tribes, it still initiated a process of limiting tribal lands.[405]

[405] DeMallie, "Teton," 795.

Chapter 6
The Reservation Era, 1851 to 1890

This chapter focuses primarily on the Oceti Sakowin tribes who came to reside on reservations relatively near the Pipestone Quarry: the Ihanktonwan, the Sisseton and Wahpeton, and the Flandreau Santee Sioux. Largely because of their proximity to the quarry, those tribes would have had more involvement with the quarry than other tribes as time went on. The many tribes who had visited and used the quarry since time immemorial however, continued to hold the site in their cultural memory. Those other tribes did still make occasional visits, despite the distance and other obstacles that arose as tribes adjusted to reservation life. The following three oral histories attest to those continuing visits.

The first example is found in Gene Weltfish's *The Lost Universe: Pawnee Life and Culture* (1965). An anthropologist at Columbia University, Weltfish did her ethnographic research in the 1930s when the tribal elders whom she interviewed were able to speak from memory and firsthand experience about life ways and traditions in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Her informants told her that in those times Pawnee made visits to the quarry and did their own quarrying. "When men went on the warpath stealing horses in the vicinity they were likely to get as much of the stone as they could carry," she wrote.[406]

The second example comes from an oral history given to anthropologists Alice Marriot and Carol K. Rachlin by Mary Little Bear Inkanish, a Southern Cheyenne, in the 1970s, recalling events around 1890. Inkanish recalled how her brothers and uncles took part in an expedition. Although their reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) was a long way from the Pipestone Quarry, the Southern Cheyenne wanted to quarry sacred red pipestone for making ceremonial pipes, so a party travelled to the site by horse.

Inkanish remembered that the party missed the tribe's Sun Dance that year to make this important journey. Each man took with him an extra horse to transport his supply of stone back home. Among the articles that each expedition member took with him were eight pairs of moccasins and weapons on the off chance that they would encounter enemies along the way. Their preparation for the trip was much

[406] Gene Weltfish, *The Lost Universe: Pawnee Life and Culture* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 393. According to ethnographer John B. Dunbar, the Pawnee obtained pipestone (with other items) from the Arikara and Mandan and bartered pipestone (with other items) to the Wichita. See Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians: Their Habits and Customs," *Magazine of American History* 5, no. 5 (November 1880), 322.

like that of a war party, Inkanish recollected. Women were not welcome to join the expedition, nor were women allowed to touch the pipestone or the pipe itself.[407]

The last example is from an oral history by the venerated Ihanktonwan chief, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe (Struck by the Ree) and another chief Ma-wa-ce-pa (Fat Mandan). They gave their oral account to Pipestone town resident Charles H. Bennett in 1879, who had it published in the *Pipestone County Star*. Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe remembered a time when the Ihanktonwan camped by the quarry for three months, digging pipestone with nothing but stone tools. He stated that there were 500 lodges in the camp. Ma-wa-ce-pa said that he remembered that occasion, too, even though he was just five years old at the time. He said that the cliffs were higher in his memory and there was a large grove at the quarry. He also mentioned that his grandfather spent winters at the quarry.[408]

These three examples may serve as a reminder that numerous people of many tribes made similar visits to the Pipestone Quarry and left no record of it. Lack of written documentation does not in any way reflect a lack of activity.

This chapter features discussion of the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862, as well as wars that the U.S. military waged with the Lakota and Cheyenne over control of the Bighorn Basin and Black Hills. The wars are significant to the story of the Pipestone Quarry primarily for the following reason. The wars were cataclysmic events for the Oceti Sakowin, who were the last people to control the site of the quarry before the process of colonization broke the power of Plains Indians to defend their homelands in the second half of the nineteenth century. The wars ultimately resulted in the dispersal of the Oceti Sakowin into numerous communities on reservations in South Dakota, North Dakota, Minnesota, Montana, and Canada. Other tribes who had long made use of the quarry ended up on reservations in Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Montana.

Encroachment on the Ihanktonwan Homeland

By the 1850s, the Ihanktonwan occupied a space that was both geographically and culturally in between the eastern and western divisions of the Oceti Sakowin. With fewer horses, they were less nomadic than the western tribes and did not give up their semi-permanent villages or corn fields. Their houses

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[407] Alice Marriot and Carol K. Rachlin, *Dance Around the Sun: The Life of Mary Little Bear Inkanish, Cheyenne* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, Co., 1977), 32.

[408] Untitled note, *Pipestone County Star*, July 24, 1879. The historian is apt to reach for a date when this occurred. Speaking in 1879, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe said it was "about 60 years ago," or about 1819. That is very near the year 1817, when Ihanktonwana camped at the quarry according to Howard's interpretation of the John K. Bear winter count. However, there are two problems with positing that these are two references to the same camp. One, the John K. Bear winter count pertains to a band of the Ihanktonwana. And two, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe stated that he got married to his first wife that summer. Since it is said he was an infant when Lewis and Clark visited in 1804, he would have been about fifteen years old in 1819 and about thirteen in 1817.

varied in size and shape from big earthlodges, to smaller grass-covered, dome-shaped houses, to large tipis. They adopted various other features of the Plains Indian culture such as bullboats and hard-soled moccasins. Their subsistence rounds included two large buffalo hunts in early summer and late fall, and they broke into small groups and hunted smaller game in other times of year. In early spring they collected sugar from maple and box elder trees. Living beside rivers, they placed more reliance on fishing than their relatives to the west did.[409]

Occupying the plains between the Coteau des Prairie and the Missouri River, the Ihanktonwan did not take part in the treaty council at Traverse des Sioux, nor were they addressed as a tribe in the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851. However, one of their chiefs, Ma-to-sa-be-che-a (Smutty Bear), signed the latter treaty together with five Lakota chiefs. After the treaty was ratified tribal leaders succeeded in getting it amended so that their people would receive annuities.[410]

The Ihanktonwan were disappointed by both treaties. In the case of the former, they felt the land cession by the Sisseton and Wahpeton included some of their territory. They asserted to U.S. officials that they ought to receive a share of the annuities distributed to those tribes but they were refused. As for the Treaty of Fort Laramie, they noted that emigrant wagon trains continued to take a heavy toll on game, trees, and grass in the years following the treaty signing. The passage of wagon trains also introduced disease: in 1853, the Ihanktonwan suffered an outbreak of cholera while hunting west of the Missouri. As the U.S. Army built and occupied forts along the Missouri, the garrisoned troops were a further drain on the supply of game.[411]

In the mid 1850s, another development threatened the Ihanktonwan in their homeland. Settlers began taking up farmsteads on the upper Des Moines River and along the Missouri below the Big Sioux River. Settlers transformed the prairie landscape in ways that would profoundly disrupt the Ihanktonwan way of life. The homesteaders overharvested the game and chopped down the small quantity of trees for fuel and building material. Their woodcutting altered riparian habitat, and their plowing and ditching of fields drained wetlands. The Ihanktonwan may not have been able to anticipate all of these coming changes in the land, but they were well aware of the most important one: settlers would soon wipe out any straggling buffalo that had not moved westward with the big herds. The Ihanktonwan had to venture farther and farther from their homes to obtain the two most important staples of their way of life: buffalo hides and buffalo meat.[412]

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[409] Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 84.
[410] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 777; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 596. The chief's name appears in the treaty as Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis.
[411] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 777-78; Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 152-53.
[412] Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 154-55.

As settlers moved into the region, more steamboats appeared on the upper Missouri. Steamboats, like emigrant wagon trains, were prodigious consumers of wood. Sioux City, Iowa, was founded in 1854 at the confluence of the Big Sioux and Missouri rivers, where a bur oak forest provided a valuable supply of fuel wood for the steamboats. Alarmed by the appearance of this boom town on their country's doorstep, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe (Chief Struck by the Ree) and Ma-to-sa-be-che-a (Chief Smutty Bear), together with some warriors, visited the townspeople in January 1856 to inform them that they were not welcome in their country. The nervous townspeople responded by calling on their congressman to take action to protect them. General William S. Harney issued a warning to the Ihanktonwan that the tribe must stay west of the Big Sioux River. Fort Randall was built on the Missouri to maintain peace.[413]

As Minnesota Territory moved toward statehood, the pace of Euro-American settlement quickened. Land speculators who had enjoyed the support of the Minnesota territorial government over the previous decade shifted their operations from St. Paul to Sioux City, recognizing that the area between the Missouri and Big Sioux rivers would soon become the hub of a new western territory when Minnesota became a state. Having profited from townsite booms in Minnesota and Iowa earlier, land speculators hoped to be favorably placed when the next American Indian land cession was made.[414]

As the settlers began to encroach on the Ihanktonwan's territory and build their sod houses, the Ihanktonwan were divided over how to stop the invasion without provoking the U.S. Army. In 1857, hostilities broke out between Ma-to-sa-be-che-a's band and land speculators who were trying to take up lands north of Sioux City along the Big Sioux River.[415]

Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe recognized that his people had three alternatives. They could go to war in a bid to stop the Euro-Americans from invading their homeland. Their chances appeared bleak. They could move westward and look for new hunting grounds. Such a movement would likely be resisted by the western tribes, and would only buy them a little time until the Euro-Americans encroached on their hunting grounds all over again. Or they could negotiate a treaty with the United States that would secure them a reservation within their homeland, where they could turn to more sedentary pursuits. Under this alternative, they would sell the rest of their lands and co-exist with the Euro-Americans who were moving in around them. Given that the first two alternatives were very bad, they chose the third option.[416]

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[413] Howard Roberts Lamar, *Dakota Territory 1861-1889: A Study of Frontier Politics*, 36-38.
[414] Lamar, *Dakota Territory 1861-1889*, 38-41.
[415] Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 154-55; DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 779.
[416] Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 155-56.



Figure 25. Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe (Struck-by-the-Ree), Ihanktonwan chief, 1858. (Courtesy of NPS.)

With the help of Charles F. Picotte, a mixed-blood Ihanktonwan leader and interpreter, and Theophile Bruguier, a French-Canadian trader who had married into the tribe, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe organized a delegation to go to Washington and negotiate a land-cession treaty. The headmen of three bands opposed a cession and refused to join the delegation; however, they did authorize Picotte to represent them. In December 1857, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, Ma-to-sa-be-che-a, Picotte, and Bruguier set out with a dozen other tribal members in two wagons for the nation's capital.[417]

[417] Patrick Coleman, "A Rare Find: the Treaty of Washngton, 1858," *Minnesota History* 59, no. 5 (Spring 2005), 198-99; Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 156; Frances Chamberlain Holley, *Once Their Home: Our Legacy from the Dahkotahs* (Chicago: Donahue & Henneberry, 1890), 55-56.

Treaty with the Yankton Sioux, 1858

The treaty with the Ihanktonwan was in most respects characteristic of the Indian treaties made during the 1850s in the early years of the new reservation policy. It got right down to business with a land cession and reservation in Articles 1 through 4. In Article 1, the Ihanktonwan ceded nearly all of their territory (about 11 million acres) except for an area of about 400,000 acres, which they reserved for a permanent reservation. The tribe also relinquished all claims to rights arising from other Indian treaties save for the annuities that were coming to them under the Treaty of Fort Laramie. The second article gave the boundaries of the land cession, which essentially described the broad wedge of land lying between the Missouri and Big Sioux rivers. Under Article 3, the United States was allowed to construct and use roads on the reservation by authority of the Secretary of the Interior, and the Ihanktonwan were required to settle on the reservation within one year. In consideration for the land cession, the United States pledged to protect the Ihanktonwan on the reservation and to pay them $1.6 million over fifty years in annual installments, in any combination of cash and benefits that the secretary of the interior should deem proper. Additional expenditures would be made for education and agricultural assistance. These terms were detailed in Article 4. Most of the treaty's remaining seventeen articles dealt with the tribe's external relations – the settlement of debts to traders, relations with the federal government and U.S. citizens, and so on.[418]

The treaty's one unusual feature was Article 8 concerning the Pipestone Quarry. It stated:

> The said Yancton Indians shall be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the red pipe-stone quarry, or so much thereof as they have been accustomed to frequent and use for the purpose of procuring stone for pipes; and the United States hereby stipulate and agree to cause to be surveyed and marked so much thereof as shall be necessary and proper for that purpose, and retain the same and keep it open and free to the Indians to visit and procure stone for pipes so long as they shall desire.

The unusual thing about this article is that it was a concession to traditional American Indian culture in a time when federal Indian policy was bent on assimilating American Indians. Inasmuch as the quarry was located about 100 miles from the Yankton Reservation, the allowance for American Indian quarrying ran counter to the federal government's program of getting the Ihanktonwan and other American Indians to settle in one place and adopt a farming way of life. It

[418] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 776-80.

was put into the treaty at the insistence of Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, Ma-to-sa-be-che-a and the other chiefs, who persuaded the U.S. negotiators that without it they would never sign. There is an oral tradition that Ma-to-se-be-che-a so angered the U.S. negotiators by his refusal to sign that he was told he might be killed and his body dumped at sea, and it was only after he defied this death threat that Article 8 was put into the treaty.[419] In another version, all the chiefs were taken out in a boat and were told they would be thrown overboard if they did not agree to sign. The Ihanktonwan prevailed. The tribe's insistence on protection of the Pipestone Quarry was written down as Article 8, a singular provision in the treaty befitting the uniqueness of the site.

Article 8 did not literally specify a reservation, but that was how federal officials construed it. The instructions to the surveyors in April 1859 were to mark the "exterior boundaries of a tract of land one mile square to embrace the 'Red Pipe-Stone quarry.'" Since the southwest corner of Minnesota had not yet been surveyed by the General Land Office, and there were no township and range lines within many miles of the site, the initials of explorer Joseph Nicollet and his men, which were known to be engraved on a slab at the edge of the escarpment, were identified as a "monument" which would "constitute the center of the reservation." Field notes written by the surveyor in the summer of 1859 indicate that the boundaries of the square mile were marked as Indian country: "each Post was 4 ins square 7 feet long and marked 'R.P.S.Q.' on the two sides facing the Reserve and '1859' on the opposite side facing the Public Domain." In the annual report of the commissioner of Indian affairs for that year, the establishment of the Pipestone Reservation was noted as follows: "The celebrated red pipe-stone quarry, a portion of which was reserved by the Yanctons in their treaty, has been surveyed and marked by Messrs. Hutton and Snow the past summer."[420]

Ihanktonwan Transition to Reservation Life

On the first day of August 1859, when crewmen for Hutton and Snow surveyed the Pipestone Reservation, no members of the Ihanktonwan tribe were there to observe their work. Although the Ihanktonwan generally liked to visit the quarry in late summer when there was no standing water in the quarry pits, their absence on that particular day is not surprising. Two weeks earlier, a steamboat had come up the Missouri River with the tribe's first delivery of treaty annuities,

[419] Coleman, "A Rare Find: The Treaty of Washington, 1858," 199.
[420] Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles E. Mix to Commissioner of the General Land Office Thomas A. Hendricks, April 15, 1859, quoted in Bruguier, "The Yankton Sioux Tribe," 181-82; Report accompanying Field Notes of Survey of the Red Pipe Stone Quarry, Minnesota, Snow and Hutton, Surveyors, 1859, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Accompanying the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1859* (Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer, 1860), 128.

off-loading 261 tons of goods and supplies on a grassy point downriver from Fort Randall. Overseeing the delivery was the tribe's new Indian agent, A. H. Redfield. As soon as the delivery was made, word went out and the people began to gather to receive their individual shares. On the very day the Pipestone Reservation was being surveyed, tribal members were receiving their first cash payments more than 100 miles away on the new Yankton Reservation.[421]

This was a tense, distressing time for the Ihanktonwan. Some members of the tribe still vehemently opposed the land cession. The long wait for Senate ratification of the treaty, which finally came in February 1859, sowed further dissension in the tribe. In the interim, land speculators became even more brazen in their efforts to establish townsites within the tribe's territory. Sod houses and log cabins were built on the tribe's lands on the pretext that the buildings were part of licensed trading posts. Squatters were sometimes paid to put up log cabins under the cover of darkness. When one new settlement appeared on the Big Sioux River, a group of Ihanktonwan led by Ma-to-sa-be-che-a drove the residents away and set fire to the buildings. Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe and Picotte, meanwhile, warned their people not to start a war with the "whites." Picotte later said, "We came pretty near having a fight before the treaty was ratified."[422]

Agent Redfield arrived with the annuities on July 13, 1859. His first order of business was to hold a council with the chiefs and headmen of the seven bands of Ihanktonwan as the tribe gathered to receive its annuities. The council went on for days. Three headmen still opposed the land sale; their names were Pla-son-wa-kan-na-ge (White Medicine Cow that Stands), Ma-ga-shan (Little White Swan), and Pretty Boy. Redfield sought to have everyone's consent to the treaty prior to distributing the goods. He found it necessary to have a company of troops sent from Fort Randall to guard the annuities while he held talks and waited for the whole tribe to be present.[423]

Before distributing the annuities, Redfield made a census of the tribe. He counted 440 men, 623 women, 473 boys, and 427 girls, for a total of 1,972 persons. He reckoned there might be 100 to 150 additional tribal members not present.

Redfield completed the distribution of goods on July 30. The Ihanktonwan learned that their accustomed delivery of guns, ammunition, and clothing, which they received according to the Treaty of Fort Laramie, had been mistakenly carried farther up the Missouri to other tribes. Redfield promised them that the deficiency would be made up the next year.

On August 1 and 2, the Ihanktonwan received their first cash payments for the cession. Under the treaty, government officials could decide how to apportion

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[421] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1859*, 122-23.
[422] Holley, *Once Their Home*, 56; Lamar, *Dakota Territory 1861-1889*, 36-41.
[423] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1859*, 122.



Figure 26. Ma-to-sa-be-che-a (Smutty Bear), Ihanktonwan chief, 1858. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.com.)

each year's annuities between cash and goods. This first cash payment was only $10,000, or $5 for each person, out of $65,000 total. Redfield reported that the Ihanktonwan were surprised by the large quantity of goods, and disappointed by the relatively small cash payment. Nonetheless, he seemed to be confident that he knew what was best for them: "Until they become wiser in the use of money the sum should not be increased much."[424] Picotte remembered it differently. "At the payment of the first annuities we came near having trouble," he was quoted as saying, "as the agent refused to let us know what had been sent, and it was promised in the treaty that we should know, and it was no more than just. But I advised them to accept it just as it was; and by a good deal of talking and explaining, kept them down."[425]

In council with the chiefs and headmen, the agent enrolled fifty-four soldiers in a new tribal police force whose responsibilities were to maintain peace and order and suppress liquor trafficking. At the agent's suggestion, the council decided that the punishment for drunkenness among tribal members would be whipping.

Following the council and the distribution of annuities, Redfield oversaw construction of the agency buildings: storerooms, offices, quarters, sawmill,

[424] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1859*, 122.
[425] Holley, *Once Their Home*, 57.

stables, blacksmith shop, water tank, and ice house. He established a 300-acre farm, which produced 200 tons of hay in its first season. The agency buildings stood on a "beautiful elevated bank of the river" about twelve miles below Fort Randall, and the place was named Greenwood after a government official. Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe demonstrated his support by making his home beside the agency grounds, but a number of Ihanktonwan were unimpressed by the tidy government complex, believing that Redfield pilfered from the tribes' annuities to add to his own comforts.[426]

Redfield's second annual report, filed in October 1860, enumerated all the accomplishments of the past year toward improving the conditions of the tribe. Importantly, Redfield had allowed the Ihanktonwan to leave the reservation and go on a buffalo hunt at the end of the previous year, which had helped them provision themselves through the winter. Redfield had supplemented their efforts by procuring a large shipment of corn, and between the two sources of supply the tribe had come through the winter without suffering much hunger. Over the course of the year, many tribal members had started to put in crops in a way that Redfield recognized as emulating the whites' method of farming. He reported a total of 656½ acres of land plowed and about 200 acres planted, exclusive of the 161 acres under cultivation at the agency.[427]

Some tribal members elected to live in log homes. Redfield supplied them with two laborers, horse teams, and tools, while the tribal members performed most of the labor of home construction. About twelve to fifteen log cabins were built in the first year. Each log cabin had a chalk stone chimney and was furnished with a wood-burning stove. Most of the cabins were fitted with glass windows, and some had shingle roofs while others had sod roofs. Building supplies such as nails, glass, and sashes were brought up river by steamboat. Lumber and shingles were milled on site. Chalk stone was mined locally.[428]

The Ihanktonwan received their second yearly shipment of annuities starting on June 20, 1860, more than a month earlier than in the previous year. This time Redfield insisted on distributing the annuities in four separate installments "to prevent waste and improvident use," retaining supplies of blankets and clothing until fall, and keeping a large stock of flour to provide for the needy in winter. The practice did not endear him to the tribe.

As the tribe began to adjust to reservation life, the division of the seven bands into four upper and three lower bands grew sharper. While the lower bands followed the example set by Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe and settled near the agency and took

[426] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1859*, 124-27; Bruguier, *The Yankton Sioux Tribe*, 180, 195.
[427] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs….1860* (Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer, 1860), 86-88.
[428] Ibid, 87-90.

up farms, the upper bands remained strongly inclined to continue to live by the hunt. As the winter approached, Redfield again allowed the tribe to leave the reservation to hunt buffalo. All of the four upper bands went on the winter hunt and many from the three lower bands went as well.[429] In the spring of 1861, Redfield took the questionable step of distributing all of the agency's cattle to the people in the lower bands who were starting to farm. There was a change of agents when the third lot of annuities arrived in May 1861. The new agent, W. A. Burleigh, soon discovered that all of the cattle had been killed, fences broken down, and crops stolen by men in the upper bands who were upset over this unequal treatment.[430]

The bad feelings continued through the summer as the whole tribe stood in need of food and supplies. Adding insult to injury, the Ihanktonwan were denied any cash payment that year after a supplemental shipment of goods, purchased by Burleigh with tribal annuities during the summer, was lost on board the steamboat *J. G. Morrow* when it caught fire and sank in the Missouri River.[431]

Around October 1, 1861, about 150 warriors from the upper bands descended on the Greenwood agency with the intention of burning it to the ground. While some of the men piled hay against the buildings to set alight, their leaders went to the agent and demanded access to the powder magazine. Burleigh refused their request though he had only a few men to oppose them. There was a stand-off through the night, and the next day the warriors made preparations for a war dance. In the meantime, Burleigh had sent a messenger to Fort Randall with a request for reinforcements. A company of soldiers arrived from the fort just as the warriors commenced their war dance. After another tense night, the warriors decided to call off their attack on the agency.[432]

It was fortunate for the Ihanktonwan that armed conflict was averted, because events in neighboring Minnesota were soon to take a horrendous turn for the Dakota. The threat of war on the Yankton Reservation receded just as animosities were reaching a flash point in the Minnesota Valley, and as tensions were rising all over Indian country as federal troops and resources were drawn off to to fight the Civil War. The Ihanktonwan seem to have pulled together to avoid disaster and the breech between the upper and lower bands was repaired. Burleigh built a separate log cabin for each of the four chiefs of the upper bands, Pla-son-wa-

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[429] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1860*, 87; Holley, *Once Their Home*, 65-66.
[430] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs….1861* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1861), 118-19.
[431] U.S. House, *Yankton Sioux Indians*, 37th Cong., 3d sess., Ex. Doc. No. 56, 1863, Serial Set 1162, pp. 1-4. A certificate of goods purchased by Burleigh provides a glimpse of the variety of food, clothing, and household items being distributed to the Ihanktonwan at this time, as well as books and other school supplies being procured for the agency school. The lost goods were valued at $4,086.88.
[432] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs…1861*, 120.

kan-na-ge, Ma-ga-shan, Pretty Boy, and Wi-ya-ko-mi (Feather-in-the-ear), and started a separate farm for each band. The four upper bands resolved to settle near the agency. Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, Ma-to-sa-be-che-a, and Mad Bull, the chiefs of the three lower bands, helped reunite the tribe. Burleigh and the chiefs used the tribal police force to their advantage, demonstrating to disaffected tribal members that the agent and the chiefs were cooperating in efforts to protect tribal members from unscrupulous traders and bad men in the Euro-American community. The new mood of cooperation helped the tribe to weather the coming storm.[433]

The Road to War in Minnesota

In Minnesota, the reservation promised by the 1851 treaties was slow to materialize. Annuities took a long time to arrive, and when they came the traders got such a large cut of the money that there was too little remaining to provide the necessary safety net for the Dakota who were needing to relocate their homes and change their way of life even as they were already living precariously on a diminished supply of game. By 1853, the Indian agent had four government farmers breaking ground for demonstration farms on the reservation. However, what finally persuaded many Mdewakanton and Wahpekute in the lower valley to abandon their villages and move was not the promise of assistance on the reservation so much as the looming threat of violence from the influx of settlers around them.[434]

Eventually the several bands of Mdewakanton and Wahpekute settled at locations along a forty-mile stretch of the Minnesota River above and below the Redwood Agency (present-day Lower Sioux Indian Reservation). By the end of the decade, the Redwood Agency had grown into a government village, with houses for the agent, superintendent of farming, interpreter, physician, carpenter, and blacksmith, as well as a boarding school, mess hall, shops, sawmill, and stables. There were, in addition, four traders' stores. The agency served a population of about 6,000 Dakota. Farther up river, most of the Sisseston and Wahpeton bands made their homes near the Yellow Medicine Agency (present-day Upper Sioux Community, Pezihutazizi Oyate). The upper agency, newer and less developed than the other one, served about 4,000 Dakota.[435]

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[433] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), 177-78.
[434] Patricia C. Albers, "Santee," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 770; Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 204.
[435] Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 8-9.

The Dakota experienced pressures and hardships at least as dire as those of the Ihanktonwan. Despite the government's feeble efforts toward farming assistance, the Dakota had to continue a reliance on hunting and fishing to get enough to eat. As game was scarce, hunting parties had to go north into the contested zone with the Ojibwe where prairie and woodland came together. Conflict between the Dakota and the Ojibwe flared again, with killings on both sides. The scarcity of game also led the Dakota to beg for food from the new settlers arriving in their country, many of whom were recent immigrants from Germany. In the Dakota culture, requesting food was part of a social order characterized by reciprocity; when the whites first arrived, the Dakota welcomed them with gifts of fowl, maple sugar, and wild rice to bring the newcomers into their social circle. With little comprehension of Dakota culture, the settlers were frightened or put off when Dakota later came to their homes in need of provisions. These tense encounters fueled resentment and suspicion on both sides.[436]

The adjustment to reservation life also divided the Dakota internally. Some bands, notably one Mdewakanton band led by a chief named Taopi, embraced Christianity and adopted American methods of farming, while other bands were more tentative or resistant to change. The Christianized Dakota wore European American clothes, built European American style homes, and cooperated with the missionaries on cultural and educational endeavors. Acculturation required some dramatic shifts in sex roles; for example, farming was no longer women's work, and polygamous marriages were disallowed. The more traditional Dakota stigmatized the Christianized Dakota for abandoning, or at least compromising, traditional ways.[437]

The transition to reservation life proved to be more difficult than tribal members had anticipated. Their small crop yields failed to sustain them when they were no longer able to hunt. As with the Ihanktonwan, the yearly distribution of annuities bred disappointment and outrage. Too few tools and too little instruction were provided for them to be able to farm efficiently. Their promised education benefits were slow to materialize. Their cash payments were diverted directly into the hands of traders to pay on accounts which they were unable to verify for themselves.[438]

As settlers poured into the territory, the Dakota were disheartened by the racist treatment they received from the new white majority. Historian Gary Clayton Anderson has pointed out that there was a significant turnover in the traders during the 1850s. Many of the old traders were Métis or were married into

[436] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 203-12; Paul N. Beck, *Inkpaduta: Dakota Leader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 40-41.
[437] Albers, "Santee," 770.
[438] Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 19-20; Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 203-12.

the tribe, and they understood and respected Dakota cultural views surrounding kinship. The new traders lacked those connections and sensibilities and tended to cheat the Dakota as much as they could. Historian Mary Lethert Wingerd observes that American Indian women were sexually exploited under the new white majority as well. "Soldiers and reservation employees, as well as traders, shamelessly used Dakota and Ojibwe women, trading desperately needed food and supplies for sexual favors. Indian spokesmen frequently protested this reprehensible abuse of power, but government officials failed to intervene. This dishonor added fuel to seething Indian resentments."[439]

Some Wahpekute refused to accept the 1851 treaties or to settle on the reservation afterwards. The leader of this band was named Sintominiduta, and his brother was named Inkpaduta. Their father, Wamdisapa, was leader of this band until his death in 1846. For many years the the Wahpekute led by Wamdisapa had made their home along the Des Moines River and its tributary streams in northwestern Iowa. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, the band had fought against the Sac and Fox, who challenged them in that country in the aftermath of the Black Hawk War. This is a significant detail, since it means that they functioned as allies of the Ihanktonwan in defending the Oceti Sakowin's hold on the country south and east of the Pipestone Quarry. In the early 1840s, the Wamdisapa Wahpekute lived on the Vermillion River in present South Dakota, where they mingled with the Ihanktonwan and Sisseton. In the years after the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux of 1851, U.S. authorities came to identify the roving band of Wahpekutes as "renegades," mistakenly interpreting their movements as evidence that they had alienated themselves from the rest of the Wahpekute.[440]

Like other Dakota, the Sintominiduta Wahpekute fell on desperate times in the early 1850s. The band broke into four smaller bands, with followers of Inkpaduta going their separate way. Inkpaduta rose from subchief under Simtominiduta to chief in his own right. Still refusing to settle on the reservation or accept the land cession to the whites, Inkpaduta's band mostly subsisted by hunting and fishing around the Des Moines River, and sometimes asking the white settlers for provisions. Sharing food was a common practice among the Dakota, thus, asking for food was not deemed inappropriate behavior.[441]

In January 1854, a settler named Henry Lott attacked Simtominiduta in his camp and brutally murdered the chief, his mother, his two wives, and two of his

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[439] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 243-46; Wingerd, *North Country*, 295. Wingerd quotes Big Eagle's testimony, "Many of the whites always seemed to say by their manner when they saw an Indian, 'I am much better than you,' and the Indians did not like this….Then some of the white men abused the Indian women in a certain way and disgraced them and surely there was no excuse for that." For Big Eagle's account, see Anderson and Woolworth, *Through Dakota Eyes*, 21-26.
[440] Beck, *Inkpaduta*, 23-24, 27, 30-32, 38.
[441] Ibid, 48-51.

four children. Inkpaduta found the bodies two weeks later and took them to the nearby town of Homer, seeking justice from civilian authorities. There was a grand jury investigation but Lott went free. The atrocity to his family hardened Inkpaduta's resolve to refuse assimilation.[442]

After a bitter, starving winter in 1856-57, Inkpaduta's band raided a white homestead at Okoboji Lake in northern Iowa, and killed all of the occupants except a young girl, whom they took captive. Then they moved on to a second homestead where they killed more people and took three other females captive. Two weeks later, the band crossed into Minnesota and raided the town of Springfield, attacking the residents in cabins where they had gathered for defense. Altogether about forty settlers died in what became known as the "Spirit Lake Massacre." Although there were small garrisons of U.S. troops in the region, none went in pursuit of Inkpaduta's band when the events became known.[443]

The few score whites who were homesteading in southwest Minnesota in 1857 abandoned their farms and fled when they learned of the killings. According to Inkpaduta's biographer, Paul Beck, "Inkpaduta showed little haste in leaving the area." They camped for three or four days at the Pipestone Quarry, "making pipes before resuming their leisurely journey westward." [444]

One of the girls taken hostage at Lake Okoboji, Abbie Gardner, later wrote an account of her experience. Published in 1885, her book gives several pages of description to "The great Red Pipestone Quarry," but her description is mostly about the lore of the place. Of her own eye-witness experience, she writes only that Inkpaduta's band "rested themselves here for about one day, in which time they were engaged in the delightful task of gathering the pipestone and shaping it into pipes." Gardner-Sharp returned to the pipestone quarry years later and purportedly identified the exact place where they camped.

Leaving the Pipestone Quarry, Inkpaduta's band traveled westward, reaching the James River by May, where they camped with a large band of Ihanktonwan. At the end of May, Inkpaduta traded Abbie Gardner to three men from the Yellow Medicine Agency who came for her release. Later, Inkpaduta's band divided into two groups. One group went with Inkpaduta's sons to live closer to the traditional Dakota lands, while the chief and his remaining followers moved farther west to avoid capture. For the rest of his life, Inkpaduta stayed true to his desire never to accommodate himself to the whites. He went to the Ihanktonwana

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[442] Beck, *Inkpaduta*, 41-43; Peggy Rodina Larson, "A New Look at the Elusive Inkpaduta," *Minnesota History* 48 (Spring 1982), 28.
[443] Larson, "A New Look at the Elusive Inkpaduta," 29, 33.
[444] Beck, *Inkpaduta*, 94-95; Arthur P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota* (Luverne, Minnesota: Northern History Publishing Co., 1911), 40. See Abbie Gardner-Sharp, *History of the Spirit Lake Massacre and Captivity of Miss Abbie Gardner* (Des Moines: Iowa Printing Co., 1885), 171.

in the 1860s, and when they were forced onto reservations he joined the Lakota. Much later, after the Lakota Wars, he dwelt with Sitting Bull's band in Canada, where he is presumed to have died at an old age.[445]

When the U.S. Army was unable to apprehend Inkpaduta, the Office of Indian Affairs tried to pressure the Dakota to bring in Inkpaduda's band of Wahpekute themselves by withholding annuity payments until they did so. The Dakota protested that such treatment was illegal and unfair. Nevertheless, the Mdewakanton Chief Taoyateduta or Little Crow organized a party of about one hundred men, some from each of the four Dakota tribes, to make a demonstration of searching for Inkpaduta and his band. They were gone ten days and returned with a report that they had killed four of Inkpaduta's warriors, though they provided no proof. This declared action persuaded government officials to lift the suspension of annuity payments.[446]

As the settlers who had fled the country returned, the white population brought greater pressure on their elected officials to force the Dakota to take up farms on the reservation. Consequently, the U.S. government negotiated a second pair of treaties with the upper and lower bands of Dakota in 1858. Under the two treaties, tribal members were to receive an allotment of eighty acres apiece. Lands remaining after allotment were to be held in common, but were subject to sale by the U.S. government on the tribes' behalf. Those lands might be sold at any price the U.S. government decided on. Moreover, the proceeds from the land sales were not secure, for any further depredations against the settlers could result in monetary judgments against the tribes that might be assessed on the tribes' accounts in the U.S. Treasury.[447]

Embittered that they had been forced into what amounted to another land cession, with promises that the proceeds from land sales would provide them with critical assistance for becoming farmers, the Dakota had only disgust for the subsequent outcome of the land sales. As more settlers rushed in and took up their former lands, the sales garnered a mere $267,000 for 900,000 acres of prime farm land. And after the traders once more received a cut of the money to retire the debts the tribes supposedly owed them, almost nothing was left for the Dakota people.[448]

The Dakota faced deplorable conditions. Making matters worse, corruption and incompetence in the administration of Indian affairs frequently delayed the distribution of annuity payments. In these starving times, every delay caused terrible hardship and put lives at risk. The tension over annuity distributions

[445] Beck, *Inkpaduta*, 95-99, 142-43.
[446] Wingerd, *North Country*, 264-65.
[447] Ibid, 277-78; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, 2: 781-89.
[448] Wingerd, *North Country*, 278.

became acute in 1862. That year, the deepening crisis of the American Civil War distracted officials in Minnesota when they should have been reading the signs of seething unrest. The Dakota finally were unable to contain their outrage at the greed and callousness they saw among the whites. A particularly ugly exchange occurred at the Redwood Agency in which storekeeper Andrew Myrick rebuffed some Mdewakanton men with the remark, "I will not let you have a thing. You and your wives and children may starve, or eat grass, or your own filth." Myrick soon paid for the insult with his life. Shortly after the Dakota took the warpath he was found slain, his mouth stuffed with grass.[449]

The U.S.-Dakota War

The spark that ignited the tinder and began the U.S.-Dakota War occurred when four young men from Chief Shakopee's village went hunting for game. Passing a white farmstead, one of the men wanted to take some hen's eggs to appease their hunger. One of the others sought to talk him out of it, saying they did not want trouble from the whites. The two accused each other of cowardice, and the dispute quickly escalated into a decision by all four to raid the farm house. The homesteader saw the Dakota approaching and the four braves followed him into the house, where they killed three men and two women. After committing the murders, the braves returned to their village and reported what they had done. Chief Shakopee took the men to the house of Taoyateduta (Little Crow), which was two miles from Redwood Agency. When Taoyateduta heard the men's story, he knew that the U.S. Indian agent would demand that they be turned over for punishment. So he summoned the band to a council that night, and they decided on war. The following day, August 18, warriors attacked and overran the Redwood Agency.[450]

Messengers from the Mdewakanton carried word of the war to the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands upriver on the very day the Redwood Agency was seized. About one hundred chiefs and warriors held a council, which lasted into the early evening. A few Wahpeton chiefs argued that a war on the Euro-American settlers would end in defeat, but the majority of Wahpeton chiefs and the Sisseton chiefs wanted to support their allies. After the council ended, the residents of the Yellow Medicine Agency – many of whom were relatives or friends of the warriors – were warned of the decision and permitted to evacuate during the night.[451]

In the ensuing days, the fighting spread up and down the Minnesota Valley. Dozens of farmsteads were attacked and burned, and hundreds of settlers were killed, taken captive, or forced to flee. For the white population, these were days of

[449] Wingerd, *North Country*, 302; Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 56, 59.
[450] Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 35-36.
[451] Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 99-125.

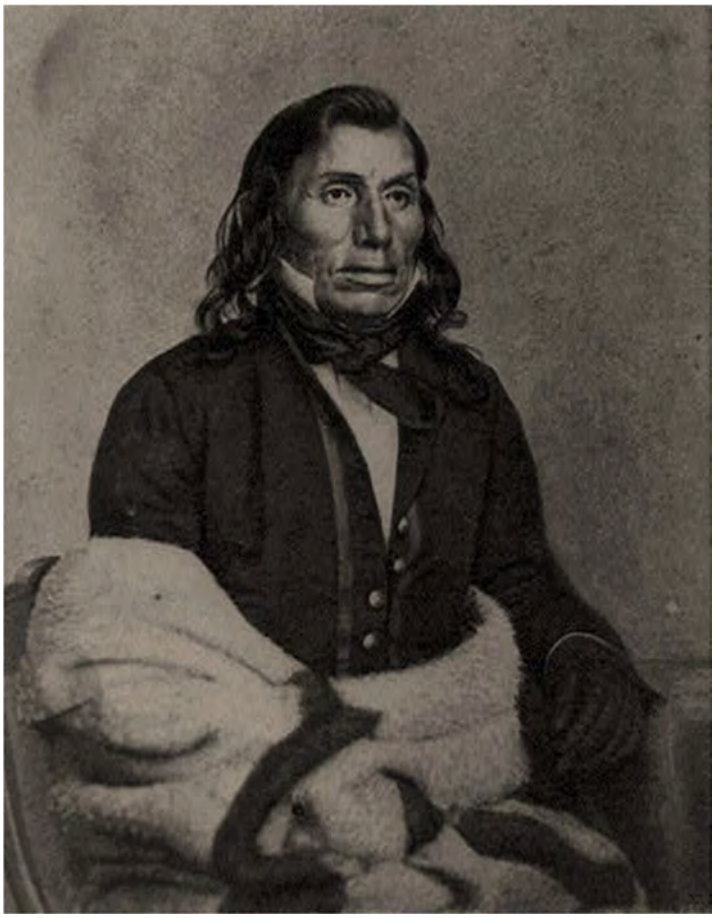


Figure 27. Taoyateduta (Little Crow), Mdewakanton chief, circa 1862. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.org.)

terror that would long be remembered and evoked as justification for the ruthless expulsion of the Dakota from Minnesota that followed the war.

Soon the spreading war engulfed the whole Dakota population in crisis. A war party tried to create support for an all-out war on the white settlers, while a peace party searched for a way to end the conflict. Amidst that division, Taoyateduta and his warriors had to devise a strategy for winning back control of their homeland, with their larger war aim being to destroy the U.S. government's reservation policy. They settled on a goal of driving all of the settlers out of the 1851 ceded area, or back to the line of the Mississippi. To accomplish their objective, it would be necessary to take two enemy strongholds, Fort Ridgely and the town of New Ulm. They resolved to attack both strongholds.

The Dakota made attacks on Fort Ridgely on August 20 and 22 but were driven back both times. They attacked New Ulm on August 19 and 23, breaching the defenders' barricades on the second assault and carrying the fight into the streets of the town. The inhabitants of the town fled, and the warriors celebrated victory. But state militia troops were gathering lower down the valley under the

command of Colonel Henry H. Sibley. On August 27, his troops relieved Fort Ridgely.[452]

Repulsed at Fort Ridgely and driven back from New Ulm, the Dakota were thrown on the defensive and forced to retreat westward up the Minnesota Valley. By late August, Sibley's force was in pursuit. As it became clear to the Dakota that the war was unwinnable, the rift between the war party and the peace party deepened. The Battle of Wood Lake resulted in the defeat of the Dakota by Colonel Henry Sibley. Taoyateduta lamented afterwards:

> Seven hundred picked warriors whipped by the cowardly whites….better run away and scatter out over the plains like buffalo and wolves….To be sure….the whites had big guns and better arms than the Indians and outnumbered us four or five to one, but that is no reason we should not have whipped them, for we are brave men, while they are cowardly women. It must be the work of traitors in our midst.

Dakota writer and historian Waziyatawin observes that Taoyateduta's complaint about traitors reflects "the old divide and conquer tactics used by colonial forces as a means of subjugation of a people," as Sibley no doubt obtained intelligence about Taoyateduta's movements from members of the peace party.[453]

After the defeat, those who did not surrender moved westward expecting to take refuge with the other divisions of the Oceti Sakowin. Some fled to Canada. Sibley did not pursue them. He halted his troops above the Yellow Medicine Agency in order to manage the swelling number of Dakota who were suing for peace.[454]

By November, there were some 400 male prisoner/warriors together with about 1,600 women, children, and old men gathered at this place, known as Camp Release. With all the men of fighting age being held in chains, Sibley organized a military tribunal to determine which of these prisoners had actually taken part in the fighting. The prisoner/warriors were led to believe that the tribunal was sorting out those who had killed civilians from those who had merely fought as soldiers, so a large number willingly confessed to having participated in the massed attacks on Fort Ridgely and New Ulm. The tribunal made speedy work without swearing in the interpreters or affording the prisoner/warriors any legal counsel. Altogether it tried 392 warriors, sentenced 16 to prison terms, and handed the death penalty to 307. Eventually President Lincoln commuted the death sentences to prison terms

[452] Anderson, *Kinsman of Another Kind*, 263.
[453] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches," *American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 1/2 (Winter/Spring 2004), 188.
[454] Anderson, *Kinsmen of Another Kind*, 269-75.

for 264 of the condemned men. Still, he allowed the death penalty to stand for 39 of the warriors. One more received a last-minute reprieve. When the 38 warriors were hanged on December 26, 1862 in Mankato, Minnesota, it became the largest public execution in U.S. history.[455] Later in 1865, two more Dakota warriors were convicted for their participation in the war and were hanged at Fort Snelling in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

In the meantime, Sibley received orders to escort all of the 2,100 men, women, and children held captive at Camp Release to a concentration camp outside Fort Snelling, from which they were to be sent to reservations or prison. With just 300 troops assigned to guard the four-mile-long caravan, it turned into a harrowing journey for the people being sent into exile. Along the way, angry mobs of whites terrorized them. In one spot, a person threw scalding water on a wagon load of old people and children. In another, a white woman tore a Dakota infant from the mother's arms and smashed its head on the ground. The physical and psychic trauma of the ordeal claimed many more lives after the caravan reached Fort Snelling. Nearly 300 died in the concentration camp that winter. A later generation of Dakota have called the episode a "death march" as criminal as the infamous Bataan Death March perpetrated by Japanese on American prisoners of war in World War II.[456]

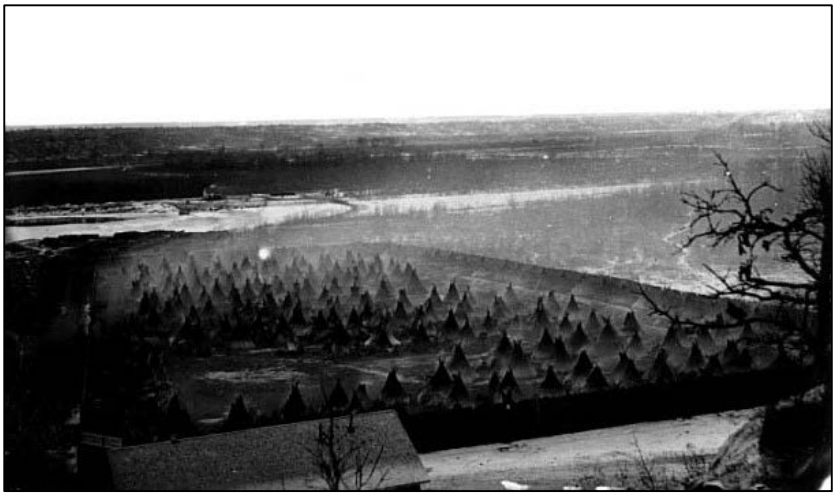


Figure 28. Fort Snelling, Minnesota, winter 1862-63. (Courtesy of en.wikipedia.org.)

[455] Wingerd, *North Country*, 313; Anderson and Woolworth, eds., *Through Dakota Eyes*, 221; Waziyatawin, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches."

[456] Wingerd, *North Country*, 319-20; Kawn Karima Pettigrew, review of *In the Footsteps of our Ancestors: The Dakota Commemorative Marches of the 21st Century*, by Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, *Whispering Wind* 40, no. 5 (Jan/Feb 2012), 33; Wilson, "Decolonizing the 1862 Death Marches," 18-215. Wingerd states that the murdered infant was the single fatality of written record en route to the camp. Wilson relates a personal account of the march preserved through four generations of her family which records that her own great-great-great grandmother was murdered by a soldier. More than 200 people died in the camp over the winter.

The U.S.-Dakota War resulted in a punitive response by the U.S. government and a backlash by the white population that were almost without parallel in the annals of American Indian-white relations. The last indigenous people to live near the Pipestone Quarry were summarily expelled from the state of Minnesota. The white majority population erased the Dakota people from the landscape. "Many history books describe the Dakota as a fierce, warlike people who lived in Minnesota prior to the arrival of whites, then disappeared," White and Westerman observe in the opening lines of their history, *Mni Sote Makoce: The Land of the Dakota*. In the words of Waziyatawin:

> As early as September 1862, when the war was still occurring, Gov. Alexander Ramsey stated unambiguously that "the Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State." This blatant call for the ethnic cleansing of Minnesota meant the impossibility of Dakota people remaining in our homeland. Of those who escaped, many fled to safety in Canada. Those who did return ran the risk of being killed for the bounty that was placed on Dakota scalps, a bounty that eventually reached the amount of two hundred dollars. This was the fate of Little Crow, the Bdewakaŋtuŋwaŋ chief who had led the fighting in 1862. He was murdered by white settlers in the summer of 1863 while out picking raspberries with his son. The Dakota could no longer return to our home in Minnesota.
>
> *Because living in our homeland meant the threat of extermination, Dakota people made their homes elsewhere.*[457]

The Dakota Diaspora

Minnesota settlers demanded the banishment of all American Indians from the southern portion of the state. There was no discriminating between the war party and the peace party among the Dakota, nor even among the Dakota and other tribes. The Ho-Chunk were settled by this time on a reservation near Mankato, Minnesota. Now they were targeted for exile as well. War hysteria hardly concealed the underlying motivation for demanding this tribe's removal. In an open letter to President Lincoln, the *Mankato Weekly Record* demanded, "Our rich and fertile prairies must either be the abode of thrift, industry and wealth, or the hunting ground of a barbarous and worthless race. Which shall it be, Mr. President?" Congress passed and the president signed into law two removal acts for the Dakota and the Ho-Chunk in early 1863. The first law abrogated previous treaties with the Dakota in Minnesota, cancelling all their annuities and rights in the

[457] Wilson, *Remember This!*, 7-8. Emphasis added.

state. The second law ousted the Ho-Chunk even though they had taken no part in the war.[458]

In the spring of 1863, Lincoln ordered the convicted warriors, who were being held in Mankato, to be transferred to a prison at Camp McClellan near Davenport, Iowa. At the same time, the president authorized a plan to take all of the people held in the concentration camp outside Fort Snelling to the Crow Creek Reservation on the Missouri River in the Dakota Territory. Lincoln's orders set in motion a second journey that resulted in more casualties, suffering, and lamentations for the Dakota. As with the death march, the journey into exile was a brutal experience that would be seered into the cultural memory of the tribes after they took up residence on reservations outside of the state. The modern Crow Creek Sioux Tribe recalls the event in a timeline history on its website, "May 1863: Dakota survivors were forced aboard steamboats and relocated to the Crow Creek Reservation in the southeastern Dakota Territory, a place stricken by drought at the time."[459]

First the imprisoned warriors were taken by steamboat, chained in pairs on the deck, down the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers from Mankato to Davenport, Iowa, where they were locked up for undetermined prison terms. Next, in the following month, two steamboats transported the surviving 1,318 Dakota men, women, and children, as well as about 2000 Ho-Chunk, down the Mississippi to a place unknown to them. One party was taken off the steamboat at Hannibal, Missouri, loaded into boxcars and taken by rail across the state to St. Joseph, Missouri. The other party remained aboard the steamboat all the way to St. Louis and up the Missouri to St. Joseph. There, the people who had come part way by train were crammed aboard the single steamboat for a further month-long voyage upriver. Suffering from the heat and crowding, and barely sustained by rations of hardtack and briny pork, many sickened and died. Others reached Crow Creek too spent to survive. In a repetition of what occurred after the death march, two to three hundred people willed themselves to survive the journey only to die in despair after their arrival at such a miserable destination.[460]

The expulsion of Dakota from Minnesota was not yet complete. Many Dakota refused to surrender in the fall of 1862, remained within the state, and survived the winter by subsisting on game and avoiding the white settlements. The population that avoided capture and exile consisted largely of men, while the population that arrived at Crow Creek in the summer of 1863 consisted primarily of

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[458] Wingerd, *North Country*, 329-32.
[459] Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, "Crow Creek Sioux Tribe History," at www.crowcreekconnections.org <April 30, 2015>.
[460] Wingerd, *North Country*, 332-34; William E. Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota of the Sioux and the Winnebago Indians," *Minnesota History* 38 (December 1963), 359. According to Lass, thirteen people died during the trip up the Missouri.

women and children. To drive this remaining population out of Minneosta, state officials resorted to a bounty, calling on volunteers to undertake government-sponsored man-hunting, or legalized homicide. At first the bounty was set at $25 for each scalp of a Dakota man. Soon the bounty was raised to $75, and finally to $200. Enough white people volunteered to hunt and kill Dakota men that the place finally became too lethal for the Dakota to remain. Some fled to Canada, others to the Dakota Territory. A large number, upon learning that their relatives had been taken to Crow Creek, traveled overland and joined them there.[461]

Crow Creek was the first place of refuge for the dispossessed – although it could hardly qualify as a refuge when starvation and sickness were rampant – but soon there were other places where the exiled Dakota gathered, too. Through the rest of this turbulent decade, the Dakota exodus from Minnesota turned into a diaspora as groups of survivors moved to different locations to make a new start. These migrations and regroupings formed the beginnings of several modern reservation communities of the Dakota people located in South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska, Canada, and eventually back in Minnesota. All of the modern Dakota reservation communities in Minnesota trace their heritage to one or more of the four Dakota Council Fires of the Oceti Sakowin even as they now constitute federally recognized tribes in their own right.

First to leave the Crow Creek Reservation were the Ho-Chunk, who quietly escaped in canoes and floated downstream to take refuge with the Omaha in northeastern Nebraska. The Omaha were confined to a reservation established in 1854. After the Ho-Chunk regrouped at that location, Congress subdivided the Omaha Reservation and reassigned the northern half to the Ho-Chunk, now the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska.[462]

In 1865, a congressional committee investigated the conditions on the Crow Creek Reservation and exposed the dire situation of the people confined there. The following year, most of the population was evacuated to a new location down the Missouri that agents thought had more potential for agriculture. The new site was located below the mouth of the Niobrara River in Nebraska Territory, a tract lying within the Ponca Reservation established in 1858. In a treaty with the Ponca in 1865, Congress subdivided the Ponca Reservation and reassigned the western portion to the Dakota, naming it the Santee Reservation. Shortly thereafter, the male prisoners incarcerated at Davenport, Iowa, since 1863 were released and transported to the Santee Reservation to rejoin their families.[463]

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[461] Wingerd, *North Country*, 329-30, 337.
[462] Ibid, 337; Lass, "The Removal from Minnesota of the Sioux and the Winnebago Indians," 353-64.
[463] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 772-75, 875-76; Wingerd, *North Country*, 337.

Conditions on the Santee Reservation were little better than they had been at Crow Creek. In the spring of 1869, a contingent of twenty-five Dakota families departed the Santee Sioux Reservation to create a new American Indian community. This group of Mdewakanton and Wahpekute travelled 130 miles to the northeast to settle in Dakota Territory along the Big Sioux River, with the intention to homestead and engage in the fur trade. They called their new home Wakpaipaksan, or River Bend, located just upstream from the abandoned town of Flandreau. The Dakota enclave, often referred to as the Flandreau colony, was located only about fifteen miles west of the Pipestone Reservation. More will be said of this community later.

Other groups of Dakota made new homes farther north during the decade. Some fled to Canada where they settled on the Oak River and Birdtail Creek reserves in Manitoba and the Standing Buffalo and Moose Woods reserves in Saskatchewan.[464] During the 1862 war, many Sisseton and Wahpeton retreated out of Minnesota into Dakota Territory, where they were beyond the reach of the state militia but still in range of their traditional hunting grounds. In the summer of 1863, U.S. military strategists, concerned that the remnant groups of Dakota would seek help from their Yanktonai and Lakota allies to the west, decided to pursue them within Dakota Territory and end once and for all their ability to reenter Minnesota in force. Two expeditions, headed by Colonel Henry H. Sibley and General Alfred Sully, marched into Dakota Territory with the aim of trapping the Dakota between them. The invasion of Yanktonai territory by U.S. troops inevitably drew the Yanktonai and their Lakota allies into the war. The Ihanktonwan, struggling to survive on their reservation farther south, stayed out of it. The enemy forces fought a number of engagements that year, and they met in a major battle at Killdeer Mountain on July 28, 1864. While the military campaigns and battles were not decisive in themselves, the war put a heavy strain on the Plains Indian peoples' ability to carry on their subsistence lifeways and stay wellfed and sheltered. Perhaps as significant as the harassment by U.S. troops was the fact that the bison herds were dwindling. As the conflict dragged on after the Civil War, more and more bands became desperate with hunger and went to the U.S. Army's forts to make peace. Some of them were resettled on the Crow Creek Reservation.[465]

In February 1867, the U.S. made a treaty with the remaining Sisseton and Wahpeton (all those who had avoided relocation to the Crow Creek Reservation in 1862-63), as well as the Cut-head band of Yanktonai, establishing two reservations in the Dakota Territory. Those reservations, called the Lake Traverse Reservation

[464] Albers, "Santee," 772.
[465] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 43-45; Jacobson, "A History of the Yanktonai and Hunkpatina Sioux," 18-23.

and Spirit Lake Reservation, have since become home to the Sissteton-Wahpeton Oyate and the Spirit Lake Nation, respectively. There were still a few groups of Dakota, primarily Mdewakanton, who retreated farther west and joined the Lakota. One such group eventually resettled on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana.[466]

In the 1870s, some groups of Dakota left the reservations in the Dakota and Nebraska territories and walked home to their former lands in Minnesota. Landless and surrounded by white settlement, they hung on through several years of near invisibility, practically ignored by the federal government. There were 237 Dakota living in thirteen locations in Minnesota according to a special census made in 1883. While some of these enclaves faded out of existence through intermarriage with non-Indians, others coalesced into permanent tribal communities. In the late 1880s, the federal government finally recognized the existence of tribal communities at Prairie Island, Prior Lake (Shakopee), and Morton (Lower Sioux), and began purchasing parcels of land for them. From 1884 to 1899, Congress appropriated a total of $85,328.83 for the support of all Dakota living in Minnesota. Much more belatedly, the federal government purchased land for a fourth tribal community located at Granite Falls (Upper Sioux) in 1939.[467]

Wars in the West

The U.S.-Dakota War proved to be the first round in a series of wars between the United States and the Oceti Sakowin that culminated in the war for the Black Hills in 1876-77 and ended with the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. The latter wars took place on the western plains, far from the Pipestone Quarry. Nonetheless, the western wars and their aftermath are significant to this history because they complete the story of how the Oceti Sakowin, the last indigenous people to control the Pipestone Quarry, came to be dispossessed of most of their territory and dispersed on widely separated reservations.

On November 29, 1864, a Colorado volunteer militia under the command of Colonel John Chivington attacked a village of Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek, Colorado, killing around 100 people, most of whom were women and children. Discoveries of gold in Colorado and Montana in the early 1860s were drawing a stampede of gold seekers into the western territories, creating widespread tension between whites and American Indians. News of the Sand Creek Massacre traveled quickly from tribe to tribe. It was a provocation that convinced many Lakota to resist further white encroachment on their territory. The Lakota joined with Cheyenne and Arapaho in attacking an army post on the North Platte River, known as Platte River Station, in retaliation.

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[466] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 956-59; Albers, "Santee," 771-72.
[467] Albers, "Santee," 772; Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 111; Roy W. Meyer, "The Prairie Island Community: A Remnant of Minnesota Sioux," *Minnesota History* 37, no. 7 (September 1961), 278.

From Colorado the war spread northward to the Powder River, in present-day northeastern Wyoming. Gold seekers and pioneers were using a new emigrant trail, called the Bozeman Trail, to reach the Montana gold fields. An Oglala Lakota war leader, Maȟpíya Lúta (Chief Red Cloud) led his people in resisting the white encroachment on their prime buffalo hunting grounds. The Lakota attacked wagon trains and harried the U.S. troops who entered the area to build forts along the trail.[468]



Figure 29. Maȟpíya Lúta (Red Cloud), Oglala chief. (Courtesy of ca.wikipedia.org.)

The U.S. government tried to bring the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho to a treaty council in 1866. Maȟpíya Lúta found that the peace commissioners said one thing while the U.S. Army did something else, so he left the council. Over the next two years, 1866 and 1867, Maȟpíya Lúta headed a large force of over a thousand warriors and inflicted a string of defeats on the U.S. military in the Powder River country. Maȟpíya Lúta rebuffed U.S. peace overtures until the United States pledged to abandon its forts in the Powder River country and close the Bozeman Trail. U.S. officials finally agreed to do so in exchange for a cessation of Lakota,

[468] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 45; DeMallie, "Teton," 796.

Cheyenne, and Arapaho attacks on crews who were building the Union Pacific Railroad.[469]

In the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868, the U.S. government recognized a Lakota reservation bounded by the Missouri River on the east, the Nebraska state line on the south, and the future South Dakota state lines on the west and north, or an area essentially encompassing the western half of present day South Dakota. In addition, the U.S. recognized the land lying west of the reservation to the crest of the Big Horn Mountains as unceded Indian territory for as long as the buffalo roamed there. The treaty contained various provisions for assisting the Lakota in their transition to reservation life, including medical and education assistance.

After the treaty, the U.S. government established U.S. Indian agents, doctors, teachers, farmers, and missionaries at several Indian agencies within the area that became known as the Great Sioux Reservation. The agencies were named Whetstone, Red Cloud, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, and Grand River. Whetstone and Red Cloud would be renamed Rosebud and Pine Ridge in 1878. The agencies corresponded to the eventual Lakota reservations formed in 1889: Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, and Standing Rock.[470] The Grand River agency on the Standing Rock Reservation would eventually be relocated and renamed when dams were built on the Missouri River in the 1940s.

In 1874, Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills and returned with reports of gold discovery. Another gold rush, this time into the Lakota's sacred Black Hills, precipitated renewed warfare between the Lakota and the U.S. military. Custer met his death two years later in the Battle of the Little Big Horn, in what was a stunning defeat for the army. Although the Lakota and Cheyenne under the leadership of Tȟatȟánjka Íyotake (Chief Sitting Bull) and Tašúŋke Wítkó (Crazy Horse) were able to muster huge numbes of warriors to defeat U.S. troops in battle, the U.S. military acquired a decisive advantage over the tribes as it prosecuted the war through the following winter. The last of the Lakota Wars concluded in the spring of 1877.

Already in the mid 1870s the tribes' subsistence economy had fallen to ruins as the buffalo herds declined almost to extinction. By 1880, the large herds were gone and by the early 1880s there were just a few hundred animals left. The 1880s were a starving time for the Lakota as practically everyone was reduced to eating rations at the government agencies.[471]

The Lakota were compelled to give up the Black Hills according to a treaty made in 1877, and they were forced to sign an agreement in 1889 by which the Great Sioux Reservation was partitioned into five smaller reservations with most of

[469] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee*, 46.
[470] DeMallie, "Teton," 797.
[471] Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 113-20.



Figure 30. The Last of the Buffalo by Albert Bierstadt. (Courtesy of commons.wikipedia.org.)

the land area turned into public domain. The U.S. Congress had put an end to further treaty making with Indian tribes in 1871, but its taking of Lakota lands went a step farther. It deemed the Lakota to be a conquered people, and the Lakota lands to have been obtained by conquest rather than by cession or purchase. The tribes received whatever lands the government chose to reserve for them, which were generally lands of low agricultural potential.[472]

The year 1890 saw the spread of a religious movement among Plains Indians that centered on the Ghost Dance. The religion foretold the coming of a new age when the Earth would be restored to American Indians. U.S. officials sought to ban the Ghost Dance, fearing that the practice would incite practitioners to commit violence against the whites. On the Standing Rock Reservation, tension over the Ghost Dance led to an attempt to arrest Tȟatȟánjka Íyotake, which ended with the revered chief being fatally shot by tribal police. After the death of Tȟatȟánjka Íyotake, a band of Miniconjou under the leadership of Chief Si Tanka (Spotted Elk also known as Bigfoot) fled from the Cheyenne River Reservation to Pine Ridge. U.S. troops intercepted them at Čhaŋkpé Ópi Wakpála (Wounded Knee Creek) and, while trying to disarm them, suddenly opened fire. In the official report to the Commissioner on Indian Affairs (March 13, 1917), General Nelson A. Miles Affairs stated that 90 warriors, and 200 women and children of the Miniconjou were shot and killed by the U.S. military.[473] The Wounded Knee

[472] Ibid, 119.
[473] New World Encyclopedia, "Wounded Knee, South Dakota." http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Wounded_Knee,_South_Dakota <October 22, 2015>.

Massacre of December 29, 1890, was the last major military engagement between the U.S. Army and Plains Indians.[474]

The Ihanktonwan

During the wars that engulfed the Oceti Sakowin in the 1860s and 70s, the Ihanktonwan struggled to survive on their reservation. The same drought that made conditions at Crow Creek Reservation practically unlivable in the mid 1860s also impacted the Yankton Reservation. Even though the tribe cultivated more acres each year, there were major crop failures in 1863, 1864, and 1865 due to drought and a pestilence of grasshoppers.[475]

The Ihanktonwan were plagued by more than natural disasters. When the congressional committee investigating reservation conditions visited the Ihanktonwan in 1865, a despondent Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe made a lengthy speech before U.S. Representative Asahel W. Hubbard (R – Iowa). The aging chief stated that the government's promises to help the Ihanktonwan build prosperous lives on the Yankton Reservation were fading fast. "I am like one on the high snow bank," he said. "The sun shines and continually melts it away, and it keeps going down and down until there is nothing left." There was no training in agriculture and other trades for the young men and no school for the children, as the Ihanktonwan's treaty mandated there should be. Tribal members had been cheated of large portions of their annuities by their agents Redfield and Burleigh, the chief said. In addition, the Ihanktonwan suffered at the hands of the frequent military expeditions that passed through the reservation. Fifty young Ihanktonwan men served as scouts (without pay) for General Alfred Sully in his pursuit of Dakota warriors in 1864, yet U.S. troops did not treat the scouts' own people as allies. Instead, U.S. soldiers pillaged Ihnaktonwan houses and corn fields, cut hay crops, stole horses, desecrated the dead, terrorized the Ihanktonwan with firearms, murdered men, demanded sexual favors of the women, and infected the population with syphilis, the chief reported. During the winters of 1864 and 1865, foul-smelling soldiers had taken up residence in his own house, helping themselves to his supplies and giving him nothing in return. Repeatedly, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe inquired if the U.S. government had told the soldiers to despoil his people. The chief ended on an optimistic note, that the Yankton Reservation's new agent, P. H. Conger, would change things for the better.[476]

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[474] DeMallie, "Teton," 815.
[475] Raymond J. DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 13, Part 2 of 2 *Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, William C. Sturtevant, general editor, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001): 780.
[476] Speech of Strike the Ree in U.S. Senate, Special Committee Appointed under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 39th Congr. 2d sess., S. Rept. 156, 366-371, 1867; DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780.

Following the congressional investigation, the Ihanktonwan were provided with government rations to keep them from starving through the next winter. A special inquiry into the past management of the tribe's annuities exposed agent Burleigh's blatant corruption, and Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe expressed his satisfaction with agent Conger's just handling of goods distribution and cash payments in 1866. Although oxen and agricultural machinery were in short supply, the harvests of crops were abundant in 1866 and 1867. But then drought, hail, and grasshoppers returned to destroy the reservation's crops each year until the mid-1870s. The Ihanktonwan remained dependent on special government rations (in addition to their treaty annuities) for their survival.[477] In 1873, Conger's successor, agent John G. Gasmann wrote of the Ihanktonwan's worry, and his own, should the rations stop coming:

> The general expression is one of utter hopelessness . . . if now all further aid in rations is withheld, very serious consequences will follow . . . The greater part of the young men will leave the reservation and join the wild Indians . . . the good begun will thus be utterly overthrown, and the old state of things return, with adjuncts too fearful to contemplate, both to border white men and Indians.[478]

By this time, hunting was no longer a factor in Ihanktonwan subsistence. In the early 1860s, they were still hunting buffalo along both sides of the Missouri River, ranging from the Platte River in the south to the Canadian border in the north. But these hunts became increasingly unproductive as buffalo numbers dwindled. Because of the Ihanktonwan's dire situation in 1865, they were granted special permission to hunt to the east, in the direction of greater densities of white settlers (and the Pipestone Quarry) to increase their chances of finding game. The last Ihanktonwan tribal hunt recorded by an Indian agent was in 1866. Later, a group of young Ihanktonwan men led by the son of Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe left the reservation and travelled west into Montana Territory to hunt buffalo. Some of these hunters were thought to have lived among the Assiniboine and Dakota on the Fort Peck Reservation for several years before returning to the Yankton Reservation in 1877.[479]

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[477] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), 35, 180-186; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), 15, 228-230; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), 932-933; DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780.

[478] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), 605-607.

[479] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780; Herbert T. Hoover, "A Yankton Sioux Tribal Land History" 1995, typescript, Ihanktonwan Community College Library, 4.

From 1875 to 1880, the reservation had adequate rainfall and good crop yields. By then, many men joined women in working in the fields. The men's willingness to engage in agricultural work demonstrated a dramatic cultural shift from traditional gender roles. Despite the repeated efforts of Indian agents, cattle raising failed to take hold on the reservation because the Ihanktonwan's persistent food shortage drove them to consume their starter animals. In the 1880s, the Ihanktonwan remained dependent on federal assistance for their survival. The Yankton Reservation remained prone to severe droughts, violent storms, and grasshoppers. Crop yields still oscillated dramatically from year to year. Although the reservation population had remained at about 2,000 since 1860, the number of Ihanktonwan began to decline in the later 1880s.[480]

Despite the pleading of tribal leaders that the government teach their children to read and write, the school promised to the Ihanktonwan in the 1858 treaty did not materialize for many years. The Yankton Reservation's first school was established in 1870, not by the Indian agency but by Presbyterian minister John P. Williamson. Several missionaries had visited or spent temporary stints on the reservation in the 1860s, but Williamson, arriving in 1869, was the first to stay. Episcopal missionary Joseph Cook moved to the reservation in 1870 and started his own school. Both schools taught students in their native language, much to the chagrin of some agents. Williamson published a newspaper in the Nakota language from 1871 to 1876. The missionaries also conducted church services in their congregations' native tongue. By the mid-1870s, agent Gasmann reported that the reservation population was "in a transition state" culturally, with two divisions: "the Christian" and "the [traditional] Indian," which remained the majority. No animosity existed between the two groups. In 1882, the government finally opened an agency school on the reservation, and through the 1880s the zealous U.S. agent J.F. Kinney worked hard to fill it with students.[481]

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[480] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), 352; 565-567; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), 759; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 444-446; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1886* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), 310-322; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1887* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 142; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1891* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 423.

[481] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780; Hoover, "A Yankton Sioux Tribal Land History," 4; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867,* 228-230; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1871,* 932-933; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875,* 758; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1876,* 444; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), 180-184; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1882* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), 107-109; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1888* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 64.

U.S. agents favored the Ihanktonwan chiefs who best cooperated with federal directives on the reservation. A new tribal police force was established in 1882, followed by the organization of a tribal court a couple of years later. In 1885, the agency replaced the tribe's council of chiefs with an advisory board of up to forty members. In the early 1890s, the "Speaking Council" became the agency-endorsed representative body of the Ihanktonwan. Four tribally elected persons from each of the Ihanktowan's eight bands served on the "Speaking Council," which was guided by a written constitution.[482]

Through the 1880s, agent Kinney sought to rid the Ihanktonwan of cultural traditions that hindered their conversion to a Christian, agrarian way of life. One of these traditions was regular gatherings of large numbers of people to dance and feast. These functions sometimes included giveaways; all aspects of the gatherings Kinney considered a waste of the Ihanktonwans' meager resources. By 1888 Kinney reported that the Ihankwanton were dancing less often and only in small groups. He predicted that once the Yankton Reservation's impending allotment process was complete and tribal members settled on their individual farms, traditional dancing and the Ihanktonwan's other "gregarious habits [would be] lost in the more enjoyable blessings of home and family."[483]

Another tradition Kinney opposed was large parties travelling to other reservations for the sole intent of socializing, which some former agents had allowed. In keeping with the Department of the Interior's directive to confine tribal members on reservations as much as possible, Kinney refused to issue passes for such excursions. Some Ihanktonwan left the reservation anyway and upon their return, Kinney refused to issue the violators their ration tickets. Given these serious consequences, the Ihanktonwan tradition of visiting with other tribes ended. Kinney did continue to issue passes for small numbers of Ihanktonwan to travel off the reservation for specific purposes, such as to see a sick relative or to obtain horses.[484]

Travel to the Pipestone Reservation to quarry was undoubtedly among the acceptable reasons for an off-reservation pass, although Kinney never referred to the pipestone quarries in his annual reports. Through the years, Yankton agents' annual reports only rarely mentioned Ihanktonwan making the 150-mile journey to the Pipestone Reservation, but other sources reveal that tribal members indeed were there in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. The Ihanktonwan's documented presence and use of the quarries – and that of other American Indians – for these decades is discussed later in this chapter. Based on Kinney's silence on the topic in his lengthy annual reports, travel to quarries in the 1880s was apparently pursued by

[482] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yanktonai," 780; Hoover, "A Yankton Sioux Tribal Land History," 4-5.
[483] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 142.
[484] Ibid.

only a modest number of Ihanktonwan, which must be considered in the context of their continued struggle for basic subsistence. Also, the absence of any discussion of quarrying in Kinney's reports indicates that he did not consider this activity a threat to Ihanktonwan assimilation.[485]

The Flandreau Santee Sioux

Fifteen miles west of the Pipestone Quarry, white settlers established the town of Flandreau in 1857, but they did not stay long. Flandreau and other white settlements in the area predated the 1858 Yankton treaty and its ratification in early 1859, at which time the Ihanktonwan ceded this area to the United States. Prior to the legal cession, the Ihanktonwan attempted to defend their lands from white encroachment and succeeded in driving out squatters at the falls of the Big Sioux River south of Flandreau. The initial Flandreau residents, fearing similar treatment, abandoned their town in 1858, and the settlement remained empty until 1869, when twenty-five families of Mdewakanton and Wahpekute left the Santee Reservation and took up residence there, naming it Wakpaipaksan.[486]

The twenty-five families sought better land for farming as well as greater opportunity to practice their Christian faith and assimilate into the dominant society. The Presbyterian missionary John P. Williamson, who had accompanied the Dakota from Minnesota to Crow Creek and then to the Santee Reservation, encouraged this contingent to go and promised them assistance. He reported that the Flandreau colony was seeking "a rapid advance in civilization, which they believed could be much better secured by breaking up the semi-communism of tribal life and throwing every man on his own responsibility." All of the families were Christians, and Williamson claimed they sought to separate themselves from non-Christian associations on the reservation.[487]

Williamson became a champion of the Flandreau colony and served as Special U.S. Agent to this Dakota community from 1874 to 1878. While he was their agent, he helped the members apply for individual homesteads. Congress passed a law in 1875 that granted American Indians the right of U.S. citizens to obtain individual homesteads under the Homestead Act provided that they would "abandon" their "tribal relations."[488]

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[485] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1884* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 101-107; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), 282-289; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1886*, 310-322; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888,* 64-76.
[486] Clifford Allen, Joy Knutson, Vince Pratt, Arlene Stuart, Paul, Stuart, and Dwayne Weston, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe (September 1971) at www.fsst.org/fsst_historyculture.html <March 17, 2014>.
[487] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869); *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 241.
[488] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, 23.

Among the earliest Flandreau colonists were four chiefs: Old Flute, All Over Red, Iron Dog, and Big Eagle. Others included Thomas Wakeman (son of Little Crow), Jacob Eastman (father of Flandreau's famous sons John Eastman, missionary and educator, and Charles Eastman, physician and writer) and David Weston (founder of the colony's Episcopal church). Wakeman, the senior Eastman, and Weston were typical of most of the Dakota men who settled with their families at Flandreau in that they converted to Christianity and learned to read and write in their own language while imprisoned at Davenport.[489]

Weston's great grandson, Sidney Byrd, claimed that persecution and ridicule from their non-Christian tribesmen drove his ancestors from the Santee Sioux Reservation to Flandreau. The initial journey in March 1869 was arduous. The travelers had no wagons and few ponies to transport their possessions. "Some only had one pair of moccasins," Byrd said. After crossing the iced-over Missouri River, the party was engulfed in a blizzard on the open prairie. The storm claimed the life of a respected female elder named Owancatowin, but the travelers pressed on. After resting and receiving food at Fort Thompson, they continued northward. "As they walked they would sing 'returning to freedom'…and 'give my praise to God'," Byrd recollected from his family's stories. When the weary families arrived at the river bend just above Flandreau, "they joined hands and sang a hymn of praise for safe deliverance to their new land, new beginnings," said Byrd. In a 2013 interview, the 94-year-old full-blood member of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe expressed pride that his people became "the first Native American homesteaders" and "the first Native American Christian colony in the world."[490] A tribal history produced by the contemporary Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe points out that the founding of the Flandreau colony was part of a larger movement of acculturated members of the Dakota tribes who left the reservations to engage in homesteading. While the Flandreau families constituted a first wave of such colonists, others went back to Minnesota and settled at Prairie Island, Morton, and Granite Falls. The movement continued through the 1870s and 80s.[491]

The Flandreau Dakota endured acute suffering in the colony's founding years. With no money and few supplies, they broke the prairie sod with hoes and relied on local game to survive. A number of the colony's strongest men died from exposure while they braved snowstorms to find food for their families. Despite these dire conditions, the colony persevered and grew. Between 1869 and 1872, its population doubled. Despite pleadings by the missionary Williamson, government

[489] Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 64.
[490] Sidney Byrd, interview by Theodore Catton with Mark Calamia, January 23, 2013; Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "An Experiment of Faith: The Journey of the Mdewakanton Dakota Who Settled on the Bend on the River," (2003) at www.fsst.org/fsst_historyculture.html <March 17, 2014>.
[491] Allen et al., "History of the Flandreau Sante Sioux Tribe," 61.

assistance for the struggling farming community did not materialize for several years. The Indian Office did not endorse this experiment in American Indian homesteading, and the commissioner insisted that the Flandreau Dakotas formally relinquish their tribal association before qualifying for homesteads. The initial colonists did so with Dakota territorial officials in June 1870 before filing for 160-acre homesteads along the Big Sioux River. They were resigned to being on their own. Their farms came to stretch about forty miles along both sides of the river, from present-day Egan south of Flandreau northward almost to present-day Brookings. They got along well with the few white homesteaders already in the area when the Dakotas first arrived. In 1872, Euro-American resettlement of the town of Flandreau commenced. By 1878, the area's Euro-American population would outnumber the Dakota population two-to-one.[492]

In 1873, the U.S. government provided about half the Dakota Flandreau families with oxen, wagons, and plows. Later that year, it enlisted Williamson to establish the Flandreau Agency. The Flandeau colony numbered 312 individuals in 1874, Williamson's first year as special agent. The agency purchased the Presbyterians' frame meeting house, which the congregation had already outgrown, to serve as a government day school. The one-acre agency property needed no other agency buildings, Williamson insisted, as the Dakotas' independence and self-sufficiency was the goal. By the mid-1880s, however, a doctor's office and a warehouse were added to the government site. Students were instructed in Dakota at the government school. In 1875, enrollment was 60, but only 20 students regularly attended because their homes were too far from town for daily commuting by foot. Williamson recommended the establishment of a boarding school in Flandreau to serve all Dakota students in the vicinity and to include instruction in English.[493]

The Dakota farmers of Flandreau had to contend with the extreme temperatures, violent weather, and grasshoppers that plagued all agrarians of the region. The grasshoppers were so destructive in 1874 that many families nearly starved. Wheat was the colony's most successful crop most years. Dakota farmers cultivated a total of 904 acres by 1878, while other men became involved in trades such as carpentry. That year, the government funded the construction of eight frame houses for Dakota Flandreau families, with the men doing most of the work. Dakota men earned supplemental incomes from selling firewood and the furs of

[492] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), 31; Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 64-66, 72; "Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "An Experiment of Faith," 27-28.
[493] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 241-2; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875*; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878*, 30-31; Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 67; Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "An Experiment of Faith," 31-32.

otter, beaver, muskrat, and mink they trapped along the Big Sioux River. A few held jobs in the rapidly growing town of Flandreau. Others earned income from selling items they carved from pipestone they dug from the nearby quarries. "It is but a few miles from Flandreau to the far-famed pipe-stone quarry," Williamson wrote in 1874, "and these Indians make many little sums by selling pipes, rings, inkstands, &c., made from this beautiful red stone."[494]

The Flandreau colony attracted Dakota from places other than the Santee Reservation. What united them all was their Christian faith. About two-thirds of the Dakota attended the colony's Presbyterian church, while the remainder attended the Episcopal church. "The most interesting sign of enlightenment is the church-going habit of the people," Williamson remarked. "They all go to church regularly." The Presbyterians built their second church in 1873 and their descendants have since taken pride in its status as the "oldest continuously used church" in South Dakota. The Flandreau colony produced a number of missionaries, including Sid Byrd's grandparents, who served on the Lakota's Pine Ridge Reservation for forty years. Byrd was born there in 1918 and learned Lakota, rather than Dakota, as his first dialect in his native language.[495]

By 1878, most of the Dakota Flandreau community was literate in English, paid taxes, and voted (usually Republican), Williamson reported. Its population had grown to 365. Williamson was very pleased with the colony's strides toward assimilation:

> The Flandreau Indians are citizens, and are, without doubt, the most advanced in civilization of any portion of the Sioux Nation. . . . A large proportion have received their patents for land and so are property-owners. They all live in houses very similar to their white neighbors, and dress like them. No painted Indian with long hair, feathers, or breech-cloth can be found in the settlement.[496]

After Williamson resigned his government position at Flandreau to focus on his missionary work, the short-lived Flandreau agency was absorbed into the Santee Agency in 1879. The Flandreau colony continued to receive some housing and agricultural assistance from the government. John Eastman, the community's own charismatic young Presbyterian minister, became the teacher of the

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[494] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 241-242; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878*, 30-31; Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 68.
[495] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 241; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875*; Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 80; "An Experiment of Faith," 4, 47; Byrd interview.
[496] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878*, 31; Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 80.

government day school. Eastman and Williamson, among others, continued to advocate for a boarding school at Flandreau, which finally came to pass in the early 1890s.



Figure 31. Students at Flandreau Indian School, 1909. (Courtesy of Library of Congress.)

Through the 1880s, more and more Dakota farmers lost all or portions of their homesteads due to indebtedness or nonpayment of taxes. In one year, eighteen Dakota farmers lost all or some of their acreage in a delinquent tax sale. Two years later, another twenty-nine suffered the same fate. Some of the landless Dakota returned to the Santee Sioux Reservation when it was allotted in 1885. By 1886, the population of the Flandreau colony had decreased to 234. As the Dakota land base of Wakpaipaksan dwindled, some community members continued to produce pipestone pipes and ornaments for income.[497]

Encroachments on the Pipestone Reservation

At the time of the initial settlement of the Dakota at Flandreau in 1869, all of neighboring Pipestone County, Minnesota, remained totally devoid of permanent residents, Euro-American or American Indian. Settlers had established homes in all the surrounding Minnesota counties, but Pipestone County "remained the same

[497] Allen et. al, "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 73, 80-84.

wild county it had always been," wrote local historian Arthur Rose. In fact, Pipestone County's first settlers would not arrive for another five years.[498] When settlement of the county did begin, the Pipestone Reservation and the sacred quarries became subject to multiple forms of intrusion and defacement. But this pattern of defilement was already set by Euro-American visitors to the quarries in the 1860s.

Expeditions and Early Euro-American Exploitation of the Pipestone Quarries

During the Civil War, several U.S. military detachments camped on or near the Pipestone Reservation on their travels through the area. In the late fall of 1862, Lieutenant Joseph H. Swan and 150 troops of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry camped a mile east of the quarries. Swan and his men were patrolling for American Indians in the wake of the U.S. Dakota War. In November 1863, a Captain Whitney and 175 soldiers of the Sixth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry escorted a massive overland supply expedition past the quarries. This expedition camped overnight near the quarries on its 300-mile journey from Mankato to the new Crow Creek Reservation. Over 150 wagons and 800 cattle comprised the mile-long wagon train, the enterprise of trader James Boyd Hubbell. Most of the supplies were annuities ordered by the Indian agency, but 24 wagons hauled goods to be traded directly with the Dakota and Ho-Chunk. In the summer and fall of 1864, Hubbell made two repeat deliveries of goods to the Crow Creek Reservation by the same route. Hubbell had no military escort on the July expedition, but after encountering an Ihanktonwan hunting party on this journey, he arranged for an escort of 50 cavalry men to join the wagon train in the fall. On these two trips, the expedition camped at the quarries. During its overnight on the Pipestone Reservation on July 4, 1864, the party experienced a violent thunderstorm.[499]

Although never substantiated, desecration of American Indian burial mounds at the quarries by U.S. soldiers in the Civil War era became part of the quarries' history as told by early settlers of the area. During his 1882 visit to the site, Philetus Norris heard such stories from the locals. (See Chapter 4 for details on Norris's archeological findings at the quarries.) Norris's informants claimed that units of Minnesota troops "encamped for successive days or weeks at this Indian reservation" during which time they pillaged gravesites at the quarries in retribution for the killing of settlers in the U.S.-Dakota War. Collecting relics from the graves was "alike a pastime and a boast" for the soldiers, Norris was told. Whether or not the specific military encampments described above were implicated

[498] Arthur P. Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota* (Luverne, Minn.: Northern History Publishing Co., 1911), 257, 261.
[499] Scott, et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 88-89; J.B. Hubbell, "Notes by Judge Hubbell," *The Dakotan* 5, 1 (May 1902): 14-16.

in such acts is unknown. Norris stated that his 1882 excavation of mounds at the quarries corroborated these stories in that he found few bones and artifacts within them, while archeologists in the latter twentieth century came to believe few if any of the small earthen knolls at Pipestone National Monument were indeed burial mounds.[500]

After Hubbell's three overland trips through southwest Minnesota, the businessman switched to steamboat transport for his delivery of supplies to government installations and trading posts along the Missouri River in the Dakota and Montana territories. But he did not forget the pipestone quarries. In 1865, he and his partner Alpheus Fenn Hawley formed the Northwest Fur Company. One venture of this new company was procuring pipestone from the Pipestone Reservation, manufacturing pipes, and including these pipes in its trade offerings to the American Indians up and down the Missouri River. (Earlier, Hubbell had been involved in the manufacture of pipes from rock quarried near the falls of the Big Sioux River, for the same commercial purpose.) Initially, General Sully arranged for Hubbell to supply him with 5,000 pipestone pipes, at $5 a piece, for use in treaty negotiations with tribes to the west. When treaty talks did not materialize, Sully cancelled his order, "but the pipes were no loss," Hubbell said, "as we traded them to good advantage with the Indians all along the Missouri, receiving a well dressed buffalo robe or its equivalent in other skins for a pipe." Robes fetched at least $10 at the time.[501]

By August 1865, the Ihanktonwan were aware that Euro-Americans were quarrying stone at the Pipestone Reservation. "I understand white men are going there and getting and breaking up the stone," Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe reported to the visiting congressional investigators that summer. In his view, this constituted a gross violation of the 1858 treaty. There was no government response to his complaint.[502]

The white quarriers were most likely Northwest Fur Company workers in their first summer of operation. In June 1865, the Northwest Fur Company had contracted with Amroy B. Smith, one of the earliest settlers in Dakota Territory, to oversee its pipestone pipe production, fronting him over $1,000 to begin the enterprise. Under Smith, Euro-American workers extracted "a large quantity" of pipestone from the quarries and hauled the stone east about 30 miles to Lake Shetek. Lingering on site was considered dangerous, Hubbell stated. Undoubtedly, he was aware that he was in violation of the treaty, and feared protests and possible

[500] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 87-88. The Norris quotations are from his report, reproduced as Appendix B, on p. 372.
[501] Hubbell, "Notes," 15-16; William E. Lass, "The History and Significance of the Northwest Fur Company, 1865-1869," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* 61, 3 (Summer 1994): 21-40; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 92.
[502] U.S. Senate, *Condition of the Indian Tribes*, 39th Cong., 2d sess., S. Rept. 156, 1865, 367.

retribution if American Indians came to the Pipestone Reservation while the white men were quarrying. At Lake Shetek, in settler homes that had remained vacant since the U.S.-Dakota War, Smith's workers used lathes and other machinery to shape the pipestone into pipes and additional commercial items. In the summer of 1868, Hubbell accompanied two prominent Sioux City, Iowa, businessmen to the Pipestone Quarry, where they spent several days. After collecting pipestone samples, the small party headed to Lake Shetek. En route, the party's cook was sent back to the quarries to retrieve a forgotten ax. Near the quarries, the cook encountered several American Indian men who chased him on horseback for several miles and fired shots at him. Hubbell's belief that they would defend the site from trespassers was confirmed.[503]

Amroy Smith's contract entitled him to half the profits from the Northwest Fur Company's sale of the pipestone goods. In its first two years, the company produced nearly 2,000 pipes. Despite Hubbell's recollections that the pipes were lucrative trade items, company records revealed that by the time the Northwest Fur Company folded in 1869, the pipe enterprise resulted in a loss of over $3,000. Euro-American extraction of pipestone from the quarry would remain an issue as settlers moved into the area.[504]

The geological curiosities surrounding the Pipestone Quarry enticed several scientific parties to visit the site. In October 1865, geologist Ferdinand V. Hayden made a quick detour from his travels through the eastern Dakota Territory to see the quarries. Hayden reported that the site was so nondescript, "had it not been for my guide, I would have passed it by unobserved." Hayden returned to the East Coast with both specimens of the raw stone from the quarries and finished ornaments and pipes produced by the Northwest Fur Company. Much like Hayden, geologist Charles A. White was "somewhat disappointed" in the site's unremarkable scenery on his overnight visit in July 1868. White's party of five was led to the quarries from Fort Dakota (present-day Sioux Falls) by an American Indian guide by the name of Mazachistina. A member of Taoyateduta's band of Mdewakanton, Mazachistina had served three years in the Davenport prisoner of war camp for his participation in the U.S.-Dakota War. After camping overnight at the quarries, White and his companions collected pieces of pipestone from the abundance of the deep red rock rejected by native quarriers and scattered about the pits. Upon their departure, Mazachistina stopped briefly at the Three Maidens. "He is utterly silent when we ask him why he went there," White wrote, "but we should doubtless be

[503] Hubbell, "Notes," 15; Lass, "The History and Significance of the Northwest Fur Company, 1865-1869," 27-28; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 91; Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota*, 259-260.
[504] Hubbell, "Notes, 15; Lass, "The History and Significance of the Northwest Fur Company, 1865-1869," 27-28; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 91.

thankful we got away with our Pipestone in safety from the wrath of the guardian spirits of the Medicine rocks."[505]

An 1866 expedition led by Captain James L. Fisk to establish an emigrant trail from Minnesota to the gold fields of Montana most likely stopped at the Pipestone Quarry. William Henry Illingworth was the expedition's photographer. Two of Illingworth's images, one of Winnewissa Falls and another of Leaping Rock, later appeared among his published collection of Minnesota scenic photographs. These two images of the escarpment at the quarries are probably the first photographs taken of the site.[506]

Euro-American Settlement

In 1870, Pipestone County was surveyed for settlement, with the land portioned into townships and sections. This survey did not account for the Ihanktonwan's Pipestone Reservation and so the square-mile tract appeared no different than the public domain on township plats: empty and available to homesteaders. Although actual settlement of Pipestone County did not occur for several more years, speculators filed for homesteads in short order. In 1871, two such claims were made within the boundaries of the Pipestone Reservation, one by Henry T. Davis and another by August Clausen. A year later the General Land Office caught the error and ordered that the reservation be resurveyed and its boundaries properly marked on pertinent plats. This work was completed in the summer of 1872, but the cancellation of these erroneous claims on the reservation would take some time.[507]

After reading and hearing about the famed Pipestone Quarry, Charles H. Bennett, a druggist in Le Mars, Iowa, recruited a small party of curiosity-seekers to visit the site in September 1873. He liked what he saw and soon after his trip he met with Daniel E. Sweet, D.C. Whitehead, and John Lowry of Rock Rapids, Iowa, about establishing a town adjacent to the Pipestone Reservation. In the spring of 1874, this group and others interested in the idea travelled to the future site of the town of Pipestone to select homestead lands. Bennett immediately erected the county's first building, a small windowless dwelling, but his primary residence

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[505] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 89-93; F.V. Hayden, "Sketch of the Geology of Northeastern Dakota," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 43, 127 (January 1867): 15-22; Hayden, "A Day at the Red Pipestone Quarry," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, April 17, 1869, 75; Charles A. White, "A Trip to the Great Red Pipestone Quarry," *The American Naturalist* 2, 12 (February 1869): 644-653, quotes from p. 649, 653.

[506] Jeffrey P. Grosscup, "Stereoscopic Eye on the Frontier West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 25, 2 (1975): 36-50; Tom Thiessen, MWAC, to Don Stevens, MWSO, email, July 19, 1999 with photocopies of Illingworth photographs, in the possession of the authors.

[507] Robert A. Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota" (1965), at www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/pipe2/sec5.htm <March 27, 2014>; William P. Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry: The Yanktons Defend a Sacred Tradition, 1858-1928," *South Dakota History* 8, 2 (Spring 1978): 102.

remained in Le Mars. Sweet and Lowry built more substantial cabins for themselves by the next winter and became Pipestone County's first permanent Euro-American residents. Other settlers followed. Once Bennett became a full-time Minnesotan, he and Sweet officially founded the town of Pipestone in 1876. Among the first pronouncements of the new town's leadership was the promise "to respect and enforce to the best of our ability the rights of the Indians to the Indian reservation."[508]

Among the earliest claims filed in the vicinity was another that included lands within the Pipestone Reservation: Job Whitehead's timber claim of 1874. Others tried to stake claims on the reservation but local officials denied their applications. Whitehead's claim was annulled less than two months after he filed it. Davis's claim was annulled by the close of 1875. The Clausen claim, a quarter section (160 acres) that encompassed the sacred quarries, would prove more intractable. August Clausen received a patent on this claim on May 15, 1874. He sold this patent to Congressman John T. Averill (R – Minnesota) in July of that year; Averill sold it to Herbert M. Carpenter of Minneapolis in November 1877.[509]

Tensions between American Indian quarriers and the increasing numbers of new settlers began to surface in 1876. Upon returning to the Yankton Reservation, the Ihanktonwan complained to their agent of whites erecting buildings on the Pipestone Reservation and quarrying quartzite there (to construct their nearby town). In 1878, agent John Douglas forwarded an official grievance by the Ihanktonwan leadership to the Office of Indian Affairs, who instructed Douglas to investigate and evict all whites from the Pipestone Reservation. Douglas took no such action. Instead, officials in Washington, D.C., looked into the matter and found the Clausen/Carpenter claim to be the root of the problem. Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz had the General Land Office request that Carpenter relinquish his patent on the reservation, but Carpenter, who now lived in Pipestone, refused. The government filed suit, and the case was heard in the U.S. Circuit Court of Minnesota in 1880. Carpenter argued that the Ihanktonwan's quarrying rights were not impacted by his patent and the court agreed. The government appealed to the Supreme Court.[510]

Meanwhile, the town of Pipestone was booming. Repeated plagues of grasshoppers kept the number of new arrivals modest for a few years, but then the floodgates of newcomers opened in 1878, when almost 800 families filed for

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[508] Rose, *An Illustrated History of the Counties of Rock and Pipestone, Minnesota*, 262-264; Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 34-35; Theodore L. Nydahl, "The Pipestone Quarry and the Indians," *Minnesota History* 31, 4 (December 1950): 205.
[509] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota;" U.S. House, *Pipestone Indian Reservation, Minnesota*, 50th Congr. 1st sess., Report No. 3228, 1888, 2.
[510] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota;" Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 102-103.

homesteads in the area. Two railway lines raced towards Pipestone from the east, with the Southern Minnesota Railroad arriving first, in 1879. Within a decade, a total of four railroads intersected in Pipestone. In short order, the young town had become a significant transportation and commerce hub for the surrounding agricultural region. The quarrying of local quartzite to build Pipestone's downtown was big business in the 1880s and another grave concern of the Ihanktonwan.[511]

Upon their return from the Pipestone Reservation in 1880, Wi-Ya-Ko-Mi and other Ihanktonwan quarriers reported to their agent D.E. Andrews that white men were removing large quantities of quartzite from the reservation. They also reported that the reserve's stone boundary markers had been relocated to demarcate a smaller area for the reservation. Andrews travelled to Pipestone the next summer to find that local resident Riley French, an employee of Henry Carpenter, had opened a sizable quartzite quarry that straddled the southern boundary of the Pipestone Reservation and the Carpenter patent.[512]

Other quartzite quarries were established in the area, as well, although all appeared to be located outside the Pipestone Reservation boundaries. Charles Bennett and L. H. Moore mined quartzite just south of the reservation and built a short railway from downtown to their pits to transport the stone. (The largest of their pits, once retired, was christened Quarry Lake and became the site of the Hiawatha Pageant.) North of the reservation, several more pits opened in the 1880s, including one owned by John M. Poorbaugh, who would soon construct the Pipestone Indian School. In addition to local use, the colorful and durable Sioux quartzite was used in building construction in nearby cities including Sioux Falls, Sioux City, Vermillion, Plankington, and Minneapolis.[513]

In early 1882, C.C. Goodnow moved to Pipestone – from New Ulm where he worked in the land office – to take over operations of the Carpenter quarry. Agent Andrews speculated that ties between Clausen, Carpenter, and Goodnow could well have accounted for this Euro-American enterprise now thriving on the Pipestone Reservation. Goodnow became mayor of Pipestone and in 1883 he built a large house for himself and another for his mother on the Pipestone Reservation. The same year, Hiram W. George built a small dwelling in the western portion of the reservation. Additional locals erected other structures on the reservation, including fencing that enclosed the sacred quarries.[514]

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[511] Nydahl, "The Pipestone Quarry and the Indians," 205; Charlie Hopkins, *Rails Across the Prairie: The Story of Pioneer Railroading in Southwestern Minnesota* (Westbrook, Minn.: Minnesota Historical Society, 1989).
[512] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota;" Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 103-104.
[513] Pat Beyers, "Why is Quartzite no Longer Quarried Here?," *Pipestone County Star,* June 19, 1980, 1.
[514] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota;" Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 103-104.

As he had for years, Pipestone cofounder Daniel Sweet kept the Ihanktonwan informed of these gross violations.[515] Sweet also petitioned the Indian Office directly for the protection of the Pipestone Reservation against non-native intrusions. Neither Sweet's appeals nor the Ihanktonwan's continued protests solicited much of a government response. In the fall of 1883, Yankton agent William M. Ridpath travelled to Pipestone and requested that all settlers on the reservation leave. Although none could provide proof of land title, the squatters refused to move. Reporting his failed mission to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Ridpath wrote: "I can see no excuse for these parties, they are not ignorant of the law. I will take pleasure in removing them and in tearing down their buildings if you so direct."[516]

The commissioner agreed with Ridpath's appraisal of the situation, but Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller did not. A staunch advocate of Manifest Destiny, Teller believed that American Indian rights to the Pipestone Reservation were limited to quarrying. Euro-American activities there, including settlement, were permissible. He would not order removal of the Pipestone Reservation squatters.[517]

Finally, in late 1884, the U.S. Supreme Court heard the Carpenter case and reversed the lower court's ruling. The court determined that the 1858 treaty removed "the whole" of the Pipestone Reservation from private entry until the government decided otherwise, so both the 1871 Clausen claim and the 1874 Clausen patent were null and void. This decision strengthened the Ihanktonwan's resolve to reclaim the Pipestone Reservation. Also promising was a new cast of Interior officials, under the new Grover Cleveland administration, who were more sympathetic to American Indian rights. The Indian Office investigated the matter, but action was delayed. More Euro-Americans settled on the Pipestone Reservation, including W. W. Whitehead, F. A. Marvin, W. H. Hockabout, and G. W. Huntley. The Ihanktonwan issued another formal grievance with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in November 1886.[518]

After a meeting with his superiors in Washington, D.C., in early 1887, Yankton Agent J. F. Kinney reported back to the Ihanktonwan that the Secretary of

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[515] Sweet and Stuck by the Ree corresponded regularly. In a 1882 letter to Sweet, Struck by the Ree expressed his dismay about Carpenter's claim to Pipestone Reservation lands. "I have given him no right to it and the President gave me the land and treaty, so he can have no right to it." In this same letter, Struck by the Ree explaied that at the time of the 1858 treaty, he understood that the Pipestone Reservation was to encompass an entire township of land, rather than one section (1/36th of a township). He did not express anger over this massive difference in land area: "we did not know much about the measuring of land then." "Strike-The-Ree Speaks," *Pipestone County Star*, 3 August 1882.

[516] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota."

[517] Ibid; Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 104-105.

[518] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota."

the Interior was finally ready to remove the Pipestone Reservation squatters by force, if necessary. Kinney was authorized to call on the U.S. Army to supply him with soldiers should the squatters again refuse to depart. In March, the sheriff of Pipestone County served the violators with notices to leave by May 1. None of them did. In October, Kinney was accompanied to the Pipestone Reservation by Captain J. W. Bean and ten soldiers from Fort Randall in Dakota Territory. The military party met with the settlers living on the reservation and in the presence of the armed troops and all agreed to vacate within a week. The interlopers signed affidavits that they would not return and that all structures built upon the reservation were to be removed by the following spring. A number of Ihanktonwan were in attendance to witness these proceedings and they were pleased with the outcome. A local newspaper reported on the civil nature of the exchange. Before the military contingent departed, a Lieutenant W. N. Blow resurveyed the reservation's boundaries and erected new boundary markers. In addition, the Ihanktonwan negotiated with a local agricultural association about renting a portion of the Pipestone Reservation as a fairground.[519]

Railway Trespass

Before the squatter issue was resolved, the Ihanktonwan confronted another form of trespass on the Pipestone Reservation. In 1884, the Cedar Rapids, Iowa Falls, and Northwestern Railway constructed a line of track through Pipestone. The railway, connecting Iowa with the Dakota Territory, included a one-mile stretch through the center of the Pipestone Reservation, just east of the escarpment. The company later claimed it followed all standard procedure in securing its right-of-way across public lands in Pipestone County and was unaware that its route passed through an Indian reservation. The Ihnaktonwan demanded compensation for the taking, but the railroad was in use for seven years before the tribe was paid. Transfer of legal title of this narrow strip of reservation land required an act of Congress. In June 1888, the Office of Indian Affairs informed the Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern Railway, which leased the railway, that its operation of the railroad across the Pipestone Reservation was illegal. As instructed, the lessee promptly pursued legislation to rectify the situation.[520]

In his petition to Representative John Henry Gear (R-Iowa), the railway company's attorney S.K. Tracy stressed that the right-of-way oversight was unintentional and he expressed his belief that it could be quickly resolved. "The right of way in no manner interferes with the purposes of the reservation to the

[519] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota;" Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 105-106.
[520] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 38-39; U.S. House, *Cedar Rapids, Iowa Falls and Northwestern Railway Company*, 50th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rept. 2862, July 12. 1888, 1-2.

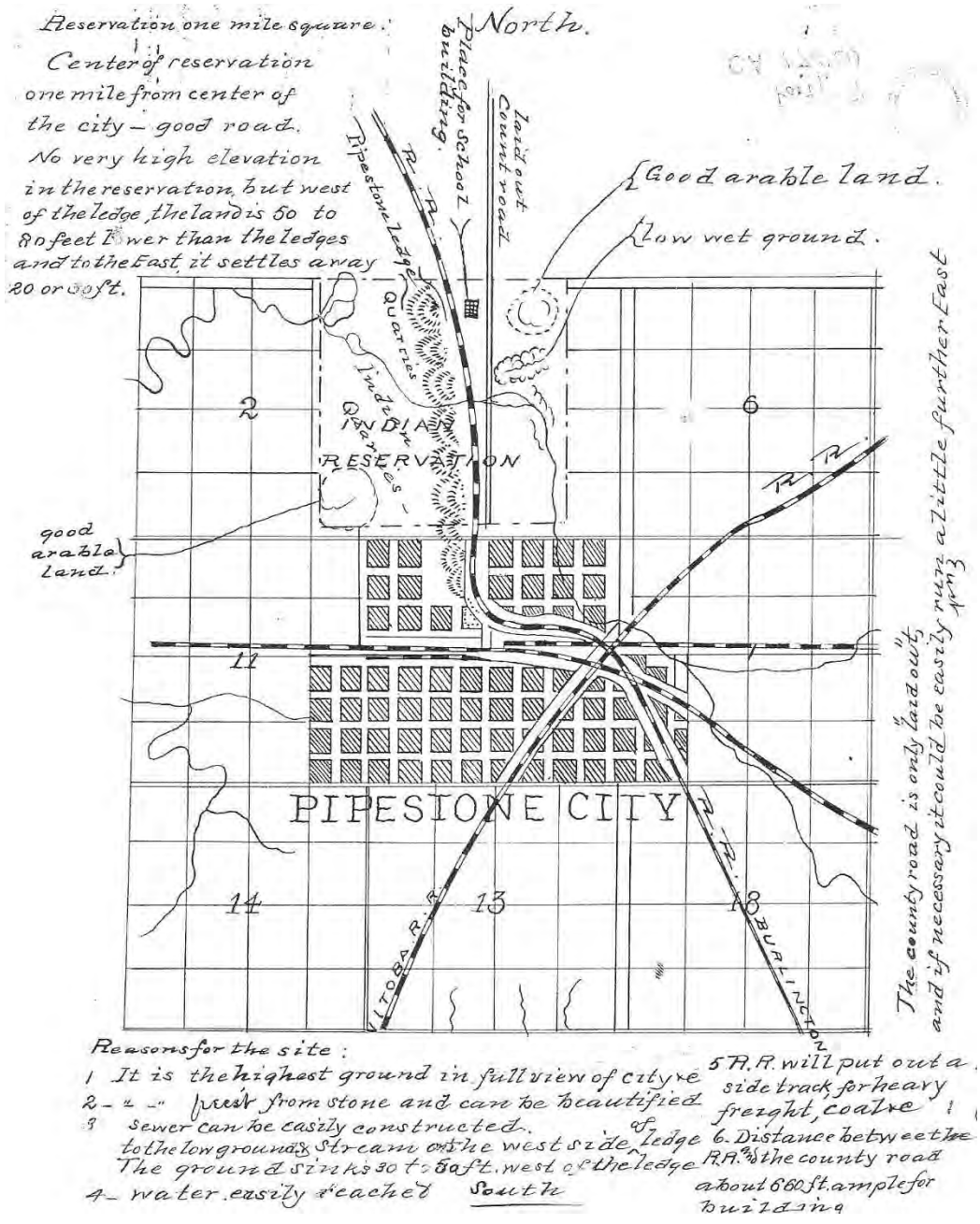


Figure 32. Pipestone Reservation and town of Pipestone, circa 1891.

Indians for digging pipestone, and the land is worthless for any other purpose," he claimed. An initial bill was introduced that summer in the U.S. House, but it did not pass. Another soon followed.[521]

The second bill on this matter was the handiwork of Representative John Lind (R- Minnesota), who incorporated more than just the railway right-of-way into the mix. Lind's bill outlined procedures to open most of the Pipestone Reservation for sale. It called for the appointment of a three-person board to appraise the value of the 100-foot-wide, mile-long railway right-of-way, as well as three-quarters of the reservation: all but the 160 acres that encompassed the quarries. In addition to the provision for the railway to purchase its right-of-way strip, the bill allowed for the recently evicted settlers to be first in line to buy the reservation lands they occupied, should the Ihanktonwan decide to sell. All but the aforementioned 160 acres would be available for sale, the bill stated, with the approval of a majority of Ihanktonwan males. The legislation passed both houses and became law in March 1889.[522]

In May, the appraisers evaluated the reservation lands and judged the right-of-way tract through the reservation to be worth $1,740, including damages. They also assigned values to other portions of the Pipestone Reservation, as instructed. A separate commission negotiated with the Ihanktonwan on the sale of all these parcels in August. Ihanktonwan leaders believed the removal of the railway line from the reservation would never come to pass, so they advised their membership to approve the right-of-way sale. The tribe voted in favor of this sale but refused to part with any other Pipestone Reservation lands. By 1890, the Office of Indian Affairs had received the railway company's payment. In December of that year, the Ihanktonwan petitioned the government to distribute this payment among its tribal members. A year later, each Ihanktonwan received a per capita payment of 99 cents for the railway right-of-way.[523]

Archeological Investigations and Removal of the Petroglyphs

Once settlement commenced in Pipestone County, interest in the quarry site intensified among professional scientists and amateur collectors near and far. In 1876, George Amasa Perley, a local farmer from the Flandreau area, was believed to have drawn a chart (two copies survive today) of the configuration of the petroglyphs surrounding the Three Maidens. Minnesota state geologist Newton Winchell visited the site in 1877 and shortly thereafter published the first

[521] U.S. House, *Cedar Rapids, Iowa Falls and Northwestern Railway Company*, 1-2; Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument Minnesota."
[522] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument;" *U.S. Statutes at Large* 25 (1889): 1012.
[523] Murray, "A History of Pipestone National Monument;" Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 107-108.

illustrations of the site's rock art. (See Chapter 4 for details on Winchell's studies of the quarries.) Philetus Norris stopped by the Pipestone Reservation in 1877 on his way to Yellowstone National Park, where he would serve as superintendent for five years. During this visit to the quarries, he reportedly defied the peril of Leaping Rock and successfully made the jump. He and his companions departed the quarries with 150 pounds of catlinite in their possession.[524]

In 1882, Norris returned to the Pipestone Reservation as a member of the Smithsonian Institution's Division of Mound Exploration. (Discussion of Norris's 1882 mound excavations, as well as his 1842 visit to the quarries, is found in Chapters 4 and 5.) Norris gathered more catlinite specimens as well as chert tools and tool fragments – some exhumed from what he believed to be burial mounds – for the Smithsonian's collection. Frederick W. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls visited the Pipestone Reservation sometime in the 1880s and published articles on the pipestone quarries and other archeological sites in the region. U.S. Senator Richard F. Pettigrew, also of Sioux Falls, shared his brother's penchant for local archeology. In 1888, another Smithsonian representative stopped by the Pipestone Reservation, reportedly to record the site's petroglyphs. Walter James Hoffman of the institution's Bureau of Ethnology did not publish his findings and little is known of his visit to the quarries.[525]

Pipestone founder and promoter Charles Bennett had a keen interest in antiquities. His fascination with the pipestone quarries and the legends that surrounded them inspired Bennett to settle there in the first place. He consulted with many of the aforementioned men who visited the site and undertook archeological studies of his own, including burial mound excavation. (See Chapter 4 for discussion of Bennett's contributions to scholarship on the fortification remains and tipi rings.) Like most of the scientific experts visiting the quarries, he was most taken with the ancient depictions of humans and animals pecked into the Sioux quartzite bedrock surrounding the Three Maidens. In the late 1880s Bennett took all these petroglyphs into his personal possession. In either 1888 or 1889 he commissioned a stone sculptor by the name of Leon H. Moore to extract the rock art from its original location. Moore removed 36 slabs of quartzite containing the images. Bennett kept the petroglyph slabs in the side yard of his Pipestone home.[526]

Soon after Bennett acquired the petroglyphs, Theodore Hayes Lewis came to Bennett's residence to study the quartzite panels as part of his 15-year survey of archeological sites of the northcentral United States. Lewis made tracings of 35 of the 36 slabs Bennett had removed from the Three Maidens area. He also took

[524] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory,* 100-101, 105-108, 110.
[525] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 103-104, 108-118.
[526] Ibid, 96-99, 250, 254.



Figure 33. Charles H. Bennett with petroglyphs. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Museum.)

detailed notes on the petroglyph figures. Lewis's 1889 study remains the most complete documentation of the pipestone petroglyphs. He possibly shipped several of the slabs to St. Paul. (Lewis also investigated the fortification remains east of the quarries, which is discussed briefly in Chapter 6.)[527]

Bennett claimed that his motivation for removing the petroglyphs from their place of origin was to protect them from further vandalism. As the number of tourists visiting the Pipestone quarries increased, the rock art was becoming defaced with graffiti etchings. Five of the slabs in Bennett's possession in fact had English lettering – names and initials – chiseled into them. As historian Sally Southwick explains in *Building on a Borrowed Past*, Bennett's decision to relocate the petroglyphs was a heavy-handed and short-sighted approach to archeological preservation that was typical of the day. "This effort to 'salvage' objects of ethnological importance removed them from their original context, resulting in the loss of cues to their significance," Southwick writes.[528] The petroglyphs became the centerpiece of Bennett's personal collection of curiosities from the sacred quarries. Bennett also displayed on his property a large vertical column of rock mined from the sacred quarries; the strata of this oversized specimen remained intact, with the blood-red band of pipestone sandwiched between layers of Sioux quartzite. Presumably, Bennett allowed visitors to view these attractions. In his

[527] Ibid, 118-119.
[528] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 60.

drugstore, he sold both unprocessed pipestone and a variety of finished pipestone objects.[529]

Years later, testimony presented in the Ihanktonwan case before the U. S. Court of Claims revealed that the Ihanktonwan regarded the removal of the petroglyphs from the base of the Three Maidens as blatant theft. Ihanktonwan Elder Simon Antelope visited the sacred quarries four times in his lifetime, he said in his July 1927 deposition. He spoke of his dismay upon finding the rock drawings gone on the third of these visits:

> The Yanktons considered these rocks and picture writings and all that as being their property. When they were taken away by somebody we were just robbed of that amount of property. We regarded it equal to the quarry that was there, that it was a part of it.[530]

Unlike the taking of pipestone by Euro-Americans, which had occurred for decades and would continue for several more, the removal of the petroglyphs from the Pipestone Reservation was swift and complete. As Southwick suggests, Bennett's acquisition of the petroglyphs in the late 1880s served as a pivotal event in the transition of the sacred quarries from an American Indian reserve to a national monument.[531]

Continued American Indian Use of the Quarries

Through the 1860s and 1870s, documentation of American Indians visiting the sacred quarries is scant. As previously discussed, U.S. Indian agents in the region seldom mentioned American Indian travel to the quarries in annual reports on the activities of their assigned tribes. For most of this period, there were no Euro-American settlers living anywhere near the Pipestone Reservation to observe and record the American Indian presence there. Yet a handful of written records confirm that American Indian quarrying continued in the years between the establishment of the Pipestone Reservation and the establishment of the Pipestone Indian School upon it.

In his statement before the 1865 congressional investigation of reservation conditions, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe indicated that he was aware of Euro-Americans quarrying on the Pipestone Reservation. His wording implied that he had not

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[529] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory,* 97-98, 250; Sandy Beckering, "Charles H. Bennett: 'Man of Vision'," *Coteau Heritage* 2, 1 (April 1989): 24.
[530] Deposition of Simon Antelope, for claimant, taken at Lake Andes, S. Dak., July 28, 1927, Yankton Sioux v. U.S. claims case, late 1920s, Collection: Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone Quarrying, Pipestone County Historical Society.
[531] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 60.

witnessed this activity or evidence of this activity himself; mostly likely, other Ihanktonwan who had recently visited the quarries informed him of this offense.

According to Dr. J. Frazer Boughter, a surgeon posted at nearby Fort Dakota, the sacred quarry in the late 1860s was "a point of annual pilgrimage of many hundreds of the Sioux" and no other tribal groups. "At this time no other tribes or band visit this vicinity," Boughter wrote in 1868. Many of these American Indians likely passed by Boughter's post, about 35 miles south-southwest of the Pipestone Reservation. In 1869, Boughter wrote that "a road or tepe trail, not very distinctly marked is found leading to it and is the road generally used by the bands of Indian from the Missouri River who visit it."[532] Broughter was part of geologist Charles White's expedition to the quarries in July 1868, led by a Dakota man. They did not report seeing any American Indians on their trip. That same summer, James Hubbell's party from Sioux City camped at the quarries and their cook had an encounter with several American Indian men nearby, although their tribal identity was not known.

Oral traditions of the Ihanktonwan indicate that Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe led groups of his tribespeople from the Yankton Reservation northwest toward the quarries during the summer. They travelled by horse and wagon, but the party stopped about fifty miles short of the quarries, said Wesley Alan Hare, a contemporary member of the Ihanktonwan. The entire group would not camp any closer to the quarry site "because it was too sacred," Hare explained. Select men from the group would continue on to the Pipestone Reservation to dig for pipestone "for the whole people."[533]

Ernest Sutton was just a small boy in 1873 when his father brought him to visit the quarries. Sutton's family was among the earliest permanent Euro-American settlers in the area. The boy and his family observed American Indian quarriers at work. Years later, Sutton recalled that within an "old" quarry

> …a few Indians were slowly and patiently prying out the stone with wooden wedges the same as their fathers had done for centuries. We watched them as they laboriously worked to pry the stone loose. After carefully inspecting the specimen it was dipped in water to see if any white spots showed up. When this did happen the stone was thrown away and a new piece was dug out.

Sutton went on to describe the ultimate fate of this discarded pipestone:

[532] Dr. J. Frazer Boughter quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 93-94.
[533] Wesley Alan Hare, interview by Theodore Catton, May 13, 2013.

> This pile of rejected stone, the accumulation of many years, was later worked over by white men and made into napkin rings and other novelties to be sold as souvenirs. Pieces too small to be used were dumped in the street to serve as pavement.

During Sutton's 1873 visit to the Pipestone Reservation, the boy was also scolded by American Indian quarriers – by gesturing – for climbing upon the Three Maidens. Despite the language barrier, Sutton's father understood the gist of their reprimand and assured them his boy would stay off the boulders.[534]

In 1874, Yankton agent John Gasmann reported that the Ihanktonwan travelled beyond their reservation boundaries for only two purposes that year. One was to visit other tribes to obtain horses promised to them; the other was to go to the Pipestone Quarry. Multiple parties of Ihanktonwan went "to the red-pipe stone-quarries to obtain stone from which to manufacture their pipes," Gasmann said, otherwise "the people have been quietly at home during the entire year." That same year, special agent John Williamson first reported that members of the Flandreau colony were quarrying on the nearby Pipestone Reservation and selling items they carved from the stone to supplement their incomes. In 1876, Ihanktonwan Chief Ma-wa-ce-pa visited the Pipestone Quarry with a "considerable party of Yankton Sioux," Williamson reported. During their stay, Pipestone founder Daniel Sweet showed the Ihanktonwan the recently resurveyed boundaries of the Pipestone Reservation.[535]

After its founding in 1879, the *Pipestone County Star* regularly reported on the summer visitations of American Indians to the Pipestone Reservation. Through the 1880s, the paper referred to these extended visits as annual events. In an article entitled "Our Red Guests," the newspaper detailed the 1879 summer encampment of over 100 Ihanktonwan and Flandreau Indians at the quarries. Among the Flandreau contingent was the young Charles Eastman. Having just returned from Beloit College in Wisconsin, he served as interpreter between the American Indians and the townspeople. The paper published the provision in the Ihanktonwan's 1858 treaty that guaranteed their use of the area, as well as the month-long off-reservation passes that the Yankton agency issued to the Ihanktonwan for their excursions to the quarries. The Ihanktonwan party, made up of fifteen families, was led by Chiefs Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, Psi-ca-na-kin-yan (Jumping Thunder), Ma-ga-shan, and Ma-wa-ce-pa. Tribal policeman Poor Bull, with his assistants The Stabber, Andrew Johnson, The King Fisher, and The Yellow Thunder, accompanied the group. The local press coverage of the encampment was all

[534] Ernest V. Sutton quoted in Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 95-96
[535] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 566; "Our Red Guests," *Pipestone County Star*, July 17, 1879.

positive, as it attracted hundreds of Euro-American onlookers from around the region, "making our merchants and hotelmen cheerful," the *Star* reported. While the American Indian quarriers were in residence, the townspeople spoke of little else. "Their presence overshadows the railroad excitement of the day, and Indian talk and swap is now all the go in town," the paper read.[536]

During their 1879 visit, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe and Ma-wa-ce-pa were interviewed by Charles Bennett. The two chiefs told Bennett about the Ihanktonwan's visits to the quarries from their earliest memories. Both men expressed their pleasure in seeing the growth of young trees in the quarry area that year; Ma-wa-ce-pa recalled that a large grove of trees existed there in his childhood. Pipestone townspeople had recently established the young grove at the quarries, hoping that the site someday would become "the favorite summer resort of Southwestern Minnesota."[537] Although this appeared to be Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe's last visit to the Pipestone Reservation, German journalist and illustrator Rudolf Cronau also claimed to interview the aged chief about the quarries. Perhaps their meeting occurred on the Yankton Reservation. Cronau, who later published two books on his American travels, visited the Pipestone Quarry in 1881.[538]

An observer of the Ihanktonwan and Flandreau Indians working the quarries in 1882 described metal tools in use instead of the wooden ones noted a decade earlier. "They peck off the overlaying rock with crude axes and sledges," the observer wrote, but still with tremendous effort. Time constraints intensified their labors, he noted, as the Ihanktonwan routinely were allowed only one month away from the Yankton Reservation.[539]

That same year, 1882, the Ihanktonwan quarriers reported back to Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe of the troubles with non-Indian trespass on the Pipestone Reservation. Addressing this matter in a letter to Daniel Sweet, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe revealed his thoughts on the appropriate extent of American Indian, as well as non-Indian, use of the quarries. He believed the 1858 treaty provision reserved the Pipestone Quarry "for the benefit of the whole Sioux nation, that they might get their pipes there." Clearly, Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe thought the right exended to other tribes of the Oceti Sakowin. Did he think the right extended to other American Indian groups beyond his nation? Or, did he wish to share the quarry with those groups in any case? His words do not provide an answer. This letter also revealed how the chief was procuring a bit of income by allowing the Pipestone Reservation prairie to be hayed. The chief asked Sweet to mow the hay on the reservation once again, so

[536] "Our Red Guests," July 17, 1879.
[537] Untitled note, *Pipestone County Star*, July 24, 1879, 3; untitled note, *Pipestone County Star*, June 24, 1880.
[538] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 101-102.
[539] Untitled note, *Pipestone County Star*, June 29, 1882.

this appeared to be an ongoing arrangement. "Sell it for all you can get and send the money to the Agent for me," he said.[540]

The *Pipestone County Star* summarized the American Indian activity at the quarries for 1882 as follows:

> The Indians supplied themselves with pipestone and have folded their tents and left for the Yankton agency, and no more shall we see of them for another year. During their stay they were very quiet and orderly, and our people treated them in the best manner possible.[541]

In the summer of 1885, the paper reported up to fifty Ihanktonwan, including women and children, camped near the quarries under the leadership of Chief Si-yo-sa-pa (Black Prairie Hen). Upon arrival, the men began quarrying right away. Again, the article included a reprint of the treaty provision for Ihanktonwan use of the quarries and their off-reservation pass from the Yankton Agency. That fall, Yankton agent J. F. Kinney issued John Gray Face, an Ihanktonwan tribal judge, a twenty-five-day pass to visit the Pipestone Reservation and investigate the ongoing trespass problems. A number of Ihanktonwan families travelled with Gray Face to the quarries. While there, the men extracted pipestone in "large quantities," the *Pipestone County Star* reported, "much of which they have sold to citizens by the wagon load, at prices that a white man would hardly think paid for the labor of hauling, much less quarrying it."[542]



Figure 34. Unidentified tribal group at Pipestone. (Courtesy Pipestone County Historical Society.)

[540] "Strike-The-Ree Speaks," *Pipestone County Star*, August 3, 1882.
[541] Untitled note, *Pipestone County Star*, October 14, 1880.
[542] "Our Red Guests," *Pipestone County Star*, June 23, 1885; "Our Red Visitors," *Pipestone County Star*, October 6, 1885.

In 1886, the Ihanktonwan waited until the fall to make their annual pilgrimage to the Pipestone Quarry. Eugene Brunot, Wi-ya-ko-mi, and Ma-wa-de-pa obtained passes for nearly fifty people to make the trip. The *Star* reported that at least thirty Ihanktonwan were at the quarries that year. Among the government documents it routinely reprinted with stories on the American Indian quarriers, the *Star* published a letter from Agent Kinney that warned both Euro-Americans and non-Ihanktonwans to keep off the Pipestone Reservation. Apparently, Kinney's interpretation of the 1858 treaty was not as generous as Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe's, as far as American Indians other than the Ihanktonwan were concerned. Kinney stated:

> The Pipestone quarry by treaty belongs to the Yankton Indians exclusively. Neither whites or other Indians have any right to settle upon it, cut grass from it or remove pipe or other stone from it, and if they do so are liable to arrest and trial before the United States courts.[543]

As previously discussed, Euro-American encroachment on the Pipestone Reservation was a major issue through this era. In contrast, the use of the quarries by American Indian people other than the Ihanktonwan, for whom the Pipestone Reservation was created, did not appear to be a problem. Members of the Flandreau colony dug pipestone regularly, but documents do not reveal tensions between the Ihanktonwan and Flandreau quarriers. A few discovered sources indicate that more distant tribal groups also travelled to the quarry to procure pipestone. An 1891 *Pipestone County Star* article on the quarry claimed the Lakota of Pine Ridge sent "a party every three years to secure a supply of the precious stone."[544]

Removal of the Ioway, Omaha, Otoe, Ponca, and Other Tribes

This chapter has mainly confined itself to the Oceti Sakowin in the period from 1851 to 1890, concentrating on the Oceti Sakowin's gradual loss of control over the Pipestone Quarry even as the site remained important to the culture. It must be noted that other Plains Indian nations who had occupied the site in earlier times – the Ioway, the Omaha, the Ponca, among others – were also forced onto reservations in this era. Some were forced to relocate to Indian Territory in Oklahoma, where others were consigned to small reservations in Kansas and Nebraska. While pipestone continued to hold a sacred place in the cultures of these tribes, the Pipestone Quarry grew more remote from them geographically. This

[543] "The Yankton Indians," *Pipestone County Star*, October 12, 1886.
[544] G. E. Bailey, "Indian Peace Pipes: The Great Red Pipestone Quarry As It Was and As It Is To-day," *Pipestone County Star*, March 27, 1891, 8.

concluding section of Chapter 7 briefly outlines the movements by each of these tribes during the reservation era that brought them to their present locations.

The adjustment to reservation life for these tribes was traumatic. It was the opening round in a century-long effort by the U.S. government to destroy native cultures and assimilate American Indians into the dominant society according to U.S. terms. These tribes found conditions on their reservations to be as bleak as what the Oceti Sakowin experienced. Some of these tribes remember their removal to the Indian Territory as their own "Trail of Tears." The discussion that follows makes no attempt to touch upon each tribe's passage through this difficult era other than to mention treaties and reservations as basic markers for each tribe's land loss and relocation. The point is simply to highlight the transformation of the tribes' land tenure and geographic distribution from 1851 to 1890.

Ioway

The Ioway Nation signed six treaties with the U.S. government in the 1820s and 30s, often in combination with other tribes. The Treaty of 1836 established the original Iowa reservation, called the Great Nemaha Reservation, located at the junction of the Big Nemaha and Missouri rivers (present-day southeast Nebraska and northeast Kansas). In the Treaty of 1854, the Ioway ceded most of the reservation for use by the Sac and Fox. In the Treaty of 1861, the Ioway ceded additional lands on the reservation to the U.S government.

In the 1880s, the Ioway were pressured to remove to the Indian Territory. Only a portion of the tribe went, occupying a reservation established by executive order on August 15, 1883. There were henceforward two Ioway tribes, one located on the border of Kansas and Nebraska and the other in Oklahoma.

The Iowa Reservation in Kansas and Nebraska was allotted to tribal members in 1885. After each member received an allotment the lands that remained were deemed "surplus" and were made available to non-Indian homesteaders, further reducing the area occupied by the tribe.[545]

Otoe-Missouria

The Otoe-Missouria entered a number of treaties with the U.S. government in the first half of the nineteenth century. By these treaties the tribe made a series of land cessions in exchange for annuities. In a treaty with the U.S. government in 1854, the tribe ceded its remaining lands in the Kansas-Nebraska Territory except for a reservation on the Big Blue River (located on the present-day Kansas-Nebraska border).

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[545] Veronica Tiller, *American Indian Reservations and Trust Areas* (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic Development Administration, 1996), 343-344; Wedel, "Iowa," 433; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* Vol. 2, 468-70.

In 1881, the Otoe-Missouria yielded to pressure to remove to the Indian Territory. Most of the tribe settled on a new reservation on Red Rock Creek. The Coyote band opted to relocate to the Sac and Fox Reservation instead, but later rejoined the rest of the tribe in Indian Territory.[546]

Omaha

In the Treaty of Prairie du Chien of 1831, the Omaha tribe ceded its territory east of the Missouri River and removed to lands west of the Missouri in present northeast Nebraska. In the Treaty with the Omaha of 1854, the tribe ceded most of its territory west of the Missouri, reserving about 300,000 acres for the tribe's future home. In a subsequent treaty of 1865, the tribe ceded most of the remaining area and settled for a smaller reservation centering on Blackbird Creek. A considerable acreage was earmarked for individual Indian allotments, and a smaller tract was reserved for retention as a tribal commons. The tribe also agreed to sell a portion of its lands to make a reservation for the Ho-Chunk tribe. The latter arrangement was finalized by the act of Congress of June 22, 1874.[547]

By 1881 the Omaha faced strong pressure to remove to the Indian Territory. The more acculturated members of the tribe sought to prevent removal by having the tribe's lands divided into individual homesteads. Fifty-three of the tribe's 1,123 members signed a petition, which was used to secure legislation for allotting the reservation. The Omaha Severalty Act of August 7, 1882, was the enacted and the Omaha became the first tribe to be allotted. Under the law, a portion of the Omaha reservation was put up for sale with the proceeds of sale to be used for assisting tribal members in their transition to a new mode of farming. Allotment eventually led to further loss of lands.[548]

Ponca

The Ponca began to separate from the Omaha to form a separate tribe around the same time that the Omaha were driven out of the Pipestone Quarry area by the Oceti Sakowin. By the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the Ponca tribe inhabited a number of permanent village sites centering on the Niobrara River in present-day northwestern Nebraska. Their hunting territory extended from the mouth of the Niobrara River westward to the Black Hills. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Ponca engaged in the fur trade while defending against

[546] Schweitzer, "Otoe and Missouria," 454-55.
[547] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 611-614, 872-873; Liberty, et al., "Omaha," 399-402.
[548] Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians*, 1880-1920 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 26; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, 213-14.

encroachments on their hunting grounby the Oceti Sakowin on the north and the Pawnee on the south.

Beleagured by their enemies and suffering from the depletion of game along the overland trail in the 1850s, the Ponca entered a treaty with the United States in 1858, ceding all of their territory except for a small reservation on the lower Niobrara River. Although the U.S. government established the Ponca Agency and a school, the Ponca remained exposed to Lakota attacks. Furthermore, when the U.S. made peace with the Lakota in the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1868, it mistakenly included the Ponca Reservation within the Lakota territory (the Great Sioux Reservation). Instead of upholding its earlier treaty with the Ponca, the U.S. government did what was expedient and removed the Ponca tribe to Indian Territory. The forced removal was made in 1877.

The tribe was relocated at first to a tract in Kansas that was reserved for the Quapaw. Finding the land inhospitable, the tribe was allowed to move farther south in 1878 to Indian Territory. In 1879, a portion of the tribe left the new location and trekked back to their homeland on the Niobrara. Hencceforth, the tribe was split into the Northern Ponca and the Southern Ponca, the former located in Nebraska and the latter in Oklahoma.[549]

Sac and Fox

The Sac and Fox tribe were subjected to a series of land cession and removal treaties following the Black Hawk War of 1832. The Treaty of 1836 included a cession of land on the west bank of the Mississippi River in present-day Iowa and the tribe's removal west of that area. The Treaty of 1837 described a cession of an additional 1.25 million acres to the west of the previous cession. The Treaty of 1854 placed the Sac and Fox of the Missouri River on the Great Nemaha Reservation with the Ioway.

Through the course of treaty-making with the United States, the Sac and Fox divided into three tribes which ended up in three locations. The Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi remained in Iowa, the Sac and Fox of the Missouri remained at their new location on the Kansas-Nebraska border, and another group were removed to the Indian Territory where they are still reside as the Sac and Fox Nation.[550]

Mandan

At one time a center of trade in the northern Great Plains region, the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri were severely reduced by epidemics in the

[549] Brown and Irwin, "Ponca," 418, 425, 427.
[550] Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 2, 349-51, 475-78, 495-98, 546-49, 631-33, 796-99, 811-14.

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Sometime after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, the Mandan joined with two other village tribes, the Hidatsa and Arikara, in forming a defensive alliance to compensate for their depleted numbers. In the Treaty of Fort Laramie of 1851, the three affiliated tribes were assigned a joint territory of 12.5 million acres. Congress subsequently approved other uses for the lands, such as for railroad construction. The Fort Berthold Reservation was established by executive order in 1870, reserving to the three affiliated tribes an area of about a million acres on both sides of the Missouri River in north central Dakota Territory (present day North Dakota).[551]

[551] Charles J. Kappler., comp., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* Vol. 5, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), 752.

Chapter 7
The Sacred Quarries in the Allotment Era, 1890 to 1937

As the Great Sioux Reservation was broken up into five smaller reservations, the Lakota became the last Plains Indians to submit to the U.S. government's reservation policy. By accepting the smaller reservations, the tribes gave up their freedom to live by the hunt. In reality, the Lakota had already lost their ability to live by the hunt because the whites had killed off nearly all of the buffalo and their people were starving. Ironically, when the 1889 agreement was concluded, Congress had already moved on from its reservation policy to a new plan for American Indian peoples. Known as the Dawes Severalty Act, or the General Allotment Act, the plan was to turn tribally-held lands into individual Indian ownership, and then liquidate the reservations altogether. No sooner did the Lakota see their Great Sioux Reservation broken into pieces than a new threat to their land base was upon them.

From the perspective of the dominant society in the late 1880s, Indian reservations were a temporary construct which had served their purpose. Reservations had given western tribes a measure of insularity from the non-Indian population that flooded into the western United States in the second half of the nineteeth century, allowing western Indians a necessary reprieve while they acquired "the arts of civilization." From this perspective, the reservations had outlived their usefulness. In the view of the dominant society, the reservation's insularity served to protect tribalism, which was counter to the American creed of individualism, and the time had come for American Indians to give up their tribalism so as to become assimilated into the American nation. President Theodore Roosevelt expressed the dominant society's view in his state of the union address to Congress on December 3, 1901. "In my judgment the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe," he said. "The General Allotment Act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass."

If allotment's overarching goal was to assimilate American Indians, many proponents of allotment argued bluntly that the policy had another vital purpose, as well, to open "excess" Indian lands to white settlers. Under allotment policy, after each member of a tribe received an individual allotment of tribal lands, so-called "surplus" lands would become part of the public domain and opened to entry by the general populace under the homestead laws. Some skeptics among the white population, together with most American Indians, saw the allotment policy as little more than a land grab. Despite the righteous rhetoric about assimilation, the allotment policy could also be viewed as another stage in the U.S. government's

relentless drive to take land from the American Indians and give it to the Euro-Americans.

The one-square-mile Pipestone Reservation was not allotted. Nor was it ever turned into "surplus" land, opened to entry under the homestead laws and sold off to non-Indians. Rather, it became the site of the Pipestone Indian School in 1891. The Ihanktonwan challenged the legality of that action, eventually bringing suit in the U.S. Court of Claims. The case finally went to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the Ihanktonwan won a judgment, which resulted in a monetary settlement. Ten years after the decision, Congress passed a law that made about half the area into a national monument. The other half was conveyed to the state of Minnesota. Thus, the allotment policy did lead to the elimination of the Pipestone Reservation but not according to the usual pattern. American Indian use of the quarries continued even though its basis in the Treaty with the Yankton of 1858 was defacto terminated and guardianship of the American Indians' privilege was transferred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1890s and to the NPS at the end of the Allotment Era.

Allotment on the Yankton Reservation and among the Flandreau Santee Sioux

The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 called for reservations to be surveyed into regular lots of 160, 80, and 40 acres for allotment to individual tribal members. After all tribal members were allotted, so-called "surplus" lands could be opened for entry and sale to non-Indians. Supposedly, the sale of surplus lands would benefit tribal members in two ways: proceeds from the land sales would go into a tribal account in the U.S. Treasury, which would be administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the benefit of the tribe; and the non-Indians who entered the reservation and established farms would provide allottees with a model for how to adapt themselves to the dominant society's mode of farming. In practical terms, the allotment policy was a boon for western states seeking to open up tribal lands for agricultural settlement by non-Indians. On reservation after reservation, the U.S. government set off a minor land rush when it allotted a tribe and then put the tribe's "surplus" lands up for entry and sale.

The Yankton Reservation was targeted for allotment early. Under the terms of the Dawes Severalty Act, the reservation was surveyed and allotments were assigned to approximately 1,500 tribal members by 1890. The allotments were scattered across the 440,000-acre reservation, concentrated along the Missouri River. Following allotment, U.S. Indian agents pressured the tribe to consent to a cession of the "surplus" lands, which amounted to 168,000 acres of the Yankton Reservation. In 1892, a slim majority (55%) of the 458 adult male Ihanktonwan agreed to the cession. The following year, the U.S. Congress ratified this agreement along with other such pacts made with the Siletz and Nez Perce tribes.

The Ihanktonwan were paid $600,000 or $3.60 per acre for their lands. President Cleveland proclaimed this Yankton Reservation acreage open for settlement on May 21, 1895. By 1900, 90 percent of the unallotted lands on the Yankton Reservation had been settled by Euro-Americans.[552]

Historical studies of allotment on other reservations have found that tribal members preserved traditional patterns of kinship and sharing, and resisted pressures to conform to the Euro-American model of the nuclear family as an economic unit. Early in the allotting process on the Yankton Reservation, the U.S. agent reported that most Ihanktonwan lived in tipis and farmed on their individual allotments through the summer but gathered together in temporary villages through the winter months. In the mid-1890s, agency employees built two-room frame houses on each of the allotments for Ihanktonwan families. The adoption of American-style housing was an outward sign of conformity, but how the Ihanktonwan chose to occupy the houses was still up to them.[553]

The allotment process was supposed to protect individual Indians from disposing of their lands too easily. Each allottee received a "trust" patent for the allotment. As the policy was first conceived, the federal government was to hold the patent in trust for the allottee for a term of twenty-five years, during which time the land could be neither taxed nor sold. At the end of this trust period, the government would convert the trust patent into a "fee" patent, meaning that the title was unrestricted and the allotment could be bought or sold or taxed like any other parcel of private land. Subsequent "reforms" weakened those protections, allowing the trust patent to be converted to a fee patent after a much shorter period. Ostensibly, the reforms were aimed at "emancipating" American Indians from the government's guardian role. In practical terms, however, the changes in the law led to more land loss as allottees were stripped of their property for failure to pay tax, or had to sell their property to get out of debt. The first major reform in the Dawes Severalty Act was known as the Burke Act of 1906. It authorized the Secretary of the Interior to convert trust patents to fee patents for so-called "competent" Indians. The second major change came after the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. The Wilson administration sent "competency commissions" to the reservations to hold hearings and convert trust patents to fee patents as rapidly as possible. The

[552] DeMallie, "Yankton and Yantonai," 791; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, 523; Supreme Court of the United States, *South Dakota v. Yankton Sioux Tribe*, No. 96-1581, Opinion of the Court (January 26, 1998) at www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/96-1581.ZO/html <April 1, 2014>.

[553] DeMallie, Yankton and Yanktonai," 791. See also Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

campaign to issue more fee patents came to a climax during President Wilson's second term.[554]

In 1916, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane chose the Yankton Reservation for staging the first of the Indian Office's "last-arrow ceremonies," a public presentation of fee patents to qualifying allottees. The formalities, performed at agency headquarters before a large assembly of Ihanktonwan, included each new landowner shooting a final arrow into the distance before changing from traditional dress to white man's dress and literally putting his hand on a plow. The ceremony ended with the inductee to civilized society receiving an American flag and a purse in which to safely keep his earnings from the land. The Indian Office went on to conduct this blatantly paternalistic ritual on other reservations in the region. But as was the case all across Indian Country, most



Figure 35. A last arrow ceremony. Note the symbolic plow. (Courtesy of ndstudies.gov.)

Ihanktonwan allottees never received fee patents. By the turn of the century, sale of allotted lands to Euro-Americans was already becoming commonplace. While allotted acreage remained in Ihanktonwan hands, it was often leased to Euro-American farmers, and fractionalization of allotments among heirs was a problem in just one generation. Through the early decades of the twentieth century, Ihanktonwan land ownership dwindled to just a small fraction of the original Yankton Reservation.[555]

Although the Flandreau Santee Sioux did not have a reservation, the Dawes Act impacted them as well. John and Charles Eastman successfully advocated for the inclusion of the Flandreau colonists in the Sioux Agreement of 1889, which distributed allotments across the membership of the greater Sioux Nation. The Flandreau American Indians qualified for allotments on any of the Sioux

[554] Hoxie, *Final Promise*, 174-84.
[555] Ibid, 180-181.

reservations, or they could opt for a payment of $1 per acre in exchange for an allotment. Some accepted reservation allotments, more took the money, and a handful managed to have their Flandreau homesteads converted to trust-status allotments. The Flandreau American Indians also received rations and annuity payments via the Sioux Agreement, and through the 1890s, the colony's population began to increase modestly.[556]

But the land base of the Flandreau colony continued to diminish. The pattern was similar to the widespread transfer of American Indian allotments to Euro-American ownership on reservations. The renting of allotments to Euro-American farmers was common as well. In 1902, twenty-five Flandreau American Indians retained forty or more acres of land. In the majority of cases, these were noncontiguous pieces of their original homesteads. Nearly all the men under age thirty were landless and worked as farm hands. By 1933, only two full 160-acre homesteads remained of the Flandreau colony. Many Dakota people migrated between the Flandreau, Santee, Sisseton, and Minnesota communities in the early twentieth century, while the population at Flandreau held relatively steady. There were 334 Dakota living there in 1933. The Flandreau Santee Sioux became a federally recognized tribe in 1935 when its membership voted to accept the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act. A land purchasing program under the act secured over 3,000 acres of tribal land for the Flandreau Santee Sioux by 1937. Much of this land was portioned into eighty-acre, non-inheritable farming tracts for tribal members.[557]

Throughout this era, much of the American Indian identity associated with the town of Flandreau became entwined with the Flandreau Indian School, which opened in 1893. Initially called the Riggs Institution, the boarding school was established with the support of both American Indian and Euro-American residents and drew students from around the region. A number of local Dakota were employed by the school. In 1901, the Santee Agency passed its administrative responsibility for the Flandreau colony to the superintendent of the Flandreau Indian School. Likewise, across the state line, the Pipestone Indian School took administrative responsibility for the Dakota communities in southwest Minnesota, as well as oversight of the whole Pipestone Reservation.[558]

Pipestone Indian School

Reformers saw education as the key to bringing American Indians into U.S. society as full-fledged citizens. Young minds were more malleable than adult minds, and young people, reformers thought, were more easily weaned from the

[556] "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 82-83.
[557] Ibid, 84-88, 95-96.
[558] Ibid, 81-82.



Figure 36. Small Oglala camp and school buildings, Pine Ridge Reservation. (Courtesy of Library of Congress.)

culture of their forebears. If children could be taught the arts of civilization, there was a better chance the parents would be made to embrace the new ways as well. And children were not only more receptive to change, they were also their people's future. So-called Indian industrial and training schools concentrated on training boys in agriculture and the common trades, and training girls in the domestic tasks of white households. Giving young American Indians knowledge of the practical arts was key to their becoming self-supporting, useful, contented members of the dominant society, which was the ultimate goal of assimilation policy.[559]

As with the allotment policy, the dominant society's high-minded rhetoric surrounding Indian education barely masked a darker side to this policy initiative. Indian Schools became another weapon in the dominant society's systematic assault on American Indian cultures and tribalism. Compulsory education was a way of separating children from parents, undermining the tribes' culture bearers, and weakening traditional authority. If Indian Schools taught children the language and value systems of the dominant society, it largely succeeded in doing so by interrupting childrens' use of their native language and forcing them to turn away from their own native value systems. "The underlying message of the boarding school was that to be Indian is bad, that what you are is not OK," said one Oglala in the year 2000, speaking of her own experience in the mid twentieth century. "When you teach children that, they develop shame. And it is a toxic shame. It

[559] Prucha, *Great Father*, 232-34.

doesn't go away." For many American Indians, the boarding school experience was so negative that many suffered from the trauma for the rest of their lives.[560]

With the passage of the Dawes Severalty Act, the drive for American Indian education and assimilation intensified. The new commissioner of Indian affairs, Thomas Jefferson Morgan, was a professional educator who had served as head of state normal schools in Nebraska, New York, and Rhode Island. Morgan's plan for American Indian education was to make it universal. When Morgan took office, there were three types of American Indian schools: day schools, reservation boarding schools, and a few national industrial and training schools such as Carlisle Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Morgan sought to integrate these three types into one whole, federally-sponsored system of American Indian education. In doing so, he wanted to give greater emphasis to the boarding school model, where students were more fully removed from their community and therefore more susceptible to cultural immersion in the Euro-American world. He aimed to standardize the American Indian school curriculum and ultimately bring it into closer alignment with the nation's public school system. A devout Protestant as well as a great advocate of public schools, Morgan wanted the federal government's American Indian education program to replace, or at least supersede, the many Catholic mission schools found on many American Indian reservations.[561]

As Congress began to increase appropriations for American Indian schools, town leaders in Pipestone saw their opportunity to use the Pipestone Reservation to the town's advantage. Charles Bennett and L. H. Moore drafted a petition to Congress asking for establishment of an Indian boarding school together with a "National Indian Park" on the reservation. As copies of the petition circulated in the winter of 1889-90, Bennett and Moore were able to secure endorsements by numerous Minnesota chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and the *St. Paul Daily Globe*. Nearly everyone in the county and some 300 American Indians from around the state signed the petition.[562]

John Lind, a young first-term Republican representative from New Ulm, Minnesota, introduced a bill in March 1890. The legislation was passed by Congress on February 5, 1891, and signed into law by the president ten days later. The act provided for the establishment of three industrial and training schools in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, to be modeled after the Carlisle Indian

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[560] "Boarding Schools' Pain Still Echoes," *Omaha World Herald*, February 14, 2000. Numerous critical histories of the Indian boarding school experience have appeared during the past generation. Examples include David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995) and Clifford E. Trafzer and Jean A. Keller, eds. with an Introduction by Lorene Sisquoc. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
[561] Prucha, *Great Father*, 237-41; Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*, 62.
[562] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 66-67.



Figure 37. Students of Pipestone Indian School. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

School. The one in Minnesota was to be built on the Pipestone Reservation. Congress provided $25,000 for each institution for construction of buildings and other expenses for establishing "a school for the industrial and general education of Indian youth."[563]

Initial Construction and Later Improvements

After passage of the 1891 law, Daniel Dorchester, Superintendent of Indian Schools, visited the Pipestone Reservation to choose a building site for the school. He selected a spot in the north central portion of the reservation, the highest elevation of the reserve, located between the railroad and the county road. He recommended that the school be constructed of local Sioux quartzite. The U.S. government contracted with quarrier and builder J. M. Poorbaugh for the job.[564]

The Pipestone Indian School was housed in a single structure when it opened in February of 1893. The three-story, Sioux quartzite building was completed the previous fall at a cost of $30,000, the maximum allowed by the 1891 legislation. The school initially served a student body of only six, but more American Indian pupils were soon to arrive. Two classrooms, a library, separate sitting rooms for boys and girls, the superintendent's office, the superintendent's bedroom, the teacher's room, the dining room, and the kitchen were found on the

[563] Gaylord V. Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of South Dakota, 1952, 10; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 1, 399.
[564] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 8; Pat Beyers, "Indian School One of the Longer Legal Battles in History," *Pipestone County Star*, June 11, 1981, sec. 2, p. 4.

school's first floor. The second floor provided dormitory facilities for both the boys and girls, with a total capacity of 50 students. The third floor contained room for more dormitory rooms as enrollment increased, but the residential needs of the students were met with separate facilities in short order.[565]

By the close of 1893, a girls' dormitory was built. The following year, a separate boys' dormitory was added. Both structures were constructed of Sioux quartzite. Brick additions were built onto both dormitories in the proceeding decades. Once all additions were completed, the girls' dormitory accommodated 160 pupils and the boys' dormitory accommodated 130 pupils. The original 1892 structure continued to serve as the institution's academic building for several decades.[566]

The campus's power house and laundry building was constructed in 1905, and thereafter all school structures were heated by steam. The same year, a two-story Sioux quartzite industrial building, with a carpentry shop on the first floor and classroom space for industrial arts on the second floor, was added to the campus. In 1907, a two-story superintendent's residence was built, as well as "the employees' club," which housed up to sixteen personnel members without spouses or families. The employees' club, which also accommodated visiting officials, had a dining room with a capacity of 32. These two residential structures were apparently the last major structures on campus to be made of Sioux quartzite before builders turned to other construction materials. The school's quartzite buildings numbered about a dozen in all. Other residences added to the school grounds over the years included four apartments and six cottages.[567]

The Pipestone Indian School received a new dining hall, kitchen, and bakery sometime around 1920. This facility was remodeled in 1932. In 1925, construction was completed on a two-story frame "domestic science cottage," in which homemaking classes were held. The cottage later was used as a residence, while a vacant apartment served as the homemaking classroom. A separate administration building, also constructed of wood, was added to the campus in 1926.[568]

A modern gymnasium was built on the school grounds in 1931. The following year, a brick hospital building with 36 beds was erected to serve the needs of both the school's students and employees and their families. A brick nurses' residence was also built in 1932. In time, the campus hospital was shut down and the nurses' residence served as the student infirmary. The school's original academic building was completely destroyed by fire in 1932. Classes were

[565] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 10-12.
[566] Ibid, 12-13.
[567] Ibid, 13-15; Ruth Hein, "Pipestone Indian School had 56 Buildings," *Worthington Daily Globe*, March 28, 1991.
[568] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 12, 13, 15.

held in the hospital, gymnasium, and other buildings until appropriations for a replacement structure were secured and construction was completed. In 1934, students resumed their studies in a new academic building that contained ten classrooms and an auditorium with seating for 444.[569]

Numerous agricultural structures were added to the campus to transform the Pipestone Reservation into a fully operational working farm. These included a dairy, a horse barn, a hog house, a calf shed, seven miscellaneous sheds, a general agriculture building, a granary, two silos, and two corn cribs. At times the school had 150 acres under cultivation as well as several fruit trees and various livestock.[570]

Over the years, other outbuildings were added to the campus, including a variety of storage facilities, a commissary, and garages. Among the institution's recreational facilities were two concrete tennis courts and an expansive playground measuring 600 feet by 300 feet. The school had its own sewage system and water system, with a 139-foot water tower and a 275-foot well that yielded 75,000 gallons of water a day. The campus also had its own fire department, which combated three major fires, in 1918, 1932, and 1951, over the course of the school's history.[571]

After the Pipestone Indian School's closure in 1953, nearly all of its 56 structures were relocated or demolished. Only two structures of the original school remain on today's Pipestone Campus of the Minnesota West Community and Technical College, which stands on the former grounds of the institution. The superintendent's residence is empty and in serious disrepair, while the quartzite laundry building is still utilized as a warehouse.[572]

Students' Experiences

Over its sixty-year lifespan, the Pipestone Indian School was home to many hundreds of American Indian students. Most of them had never visited the Pipestone Quarry before and at the boarding school they lived just a half mile away from it. To them, the storied cliffs and quarry pits and Three Maidens were a curiosity at the very least. For some, they were a poignant reminder of their people's sacred origins and now-forbidden religions. A few of these students went on to have significant roles in the twentieth-century history of the Pipestone Quarry. The roster of names includes Moses and Estella Crow, resident students in the early 1900s who fell in love and married and later returned to Pipestone, where

[569] Ibid, 12-14; Beyers, "Indian School," 4.
[570] Cynthia Leanne Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux: The Boarding School Experience for Students at Flandreau and Pipestone Indian Schools," Ph.D. dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 2002, 44-46.
[571] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 15; Beyers, "Indian School," 4.
[572] Hein, "Pipestone Indian School."

they founded the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community; Adam Fortunate Eagle, a student from 1935 to 1945, who grew up to become an American Indian rights activist and author and who many years later was elected the spiritual leader for the Keepers of the Sacred Tradition of Pipemakers; and Dennis Banks, a student from 1942 to 1951, who co-founded the American Indian Movement (AIM) in 1968 and returned to Pipestone with other activists to protest what the dominant society had made of the American Indian sacred site.

The Pipestone Indian School enrolled students from many different tribes. It was largely up to school administrators to recruit students and school officials expended considerable effort going to American Indian communities, talking to tribal leaders and parents of children, and coercing or persuading them to send their children to the boarding school. As a result, a large majority of students came from reservations and other American Indian communities located within driving distance of Pipestone. The student body was predominantly Ojibwe and Dakota and Lakota, but the school received children from the Ho-Chunk, Potawatomi, Sac and Fox, Arikara, Blackfeet, Omaha, and other tribes as well. The ages of the children ranged from five on up. Enrollment numbers grew from about 100 students in 1895 to a maximum of about 325 in 1945.

One way in which the student body changed over time was that in the early years a large majority were full-blood or three-fourths American Indian and in later years the preponderance of students were one-half or one-fourth American Indian. Boarding schools competed with one another in trying to recruit as many full-blood American Indians from the reservations as possible. When children who were just one-half or one-fourth American Indian were sent to boarding school, it was often due to the death of a parent or some other calamity or hardship arising in the home. A significant number were orphans.[573] As Pipestone school teacher Gaylord V. Reynolds noted shortly before the institution closed down, "the majority of the students are now attending the Pipestone Indian School because they are victims of changing conditions in Indian homes."[574]

Students had few outlets for expressing their discontent. One way they did was by running away. In the fall of 1915, four teenage boys ran away from Pipestone Indian School and made their way home to the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska, about 160 miles due south of Pipestone, Minnesota. In the spring of 1917, another group of boys fled the school and headed south, possibly to the same destination, making their way past a police watch in Sioux City, Iowa on their route. In the spring of 1918, another six boys made their escape, apparently bound for the Winnebago Reservation in Nebraska. In at least one instance,

[573] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 32; Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux," 112.
[574] Ibid.

Superintendent F. T. Mann got a sheriff's warrant and offered a $10 reward for the boys' arrest. At least some of the runaways were caught and brought back to school and others were permanently expelled. Some Indian schools had jails or guardhouses where school authorities temporarily confined runaways in order to discourage the practice. In 1930, Pipestone Indian School Superintendent J. W. Palmer stated that his administration had "never maintained a jail or resorted to what you would call strictly corporal punishment" during his tenure, which began in 1924.[575]

Students' overall experience at the Pipestone Indian School varied widely from individual to individual. Much depended on each child's unique personality and personal circumstances outside the school. Also, the nature of the schooling changed over time. Students who were enrolled in the early years experienced a different institution than the students who were enrolled in later decades. One important point that has been made about the American Indian boarding school experience nationwide is that conditions in all schools changed substantially over time. Along with changes in the student body, there were changes in the education mission and teaching curriculum that had marked effects on students' experiences. Adam Fortunate Eagle, author of *Pipestone: My Life in an Indian Boarding School*, makes this point in his opening pages. "Our arrival at the boarding school in 1935 could not have occurred at a better time," he writes. "It was just as [commissioner of Indian affairs John] Collier's new, more liberal policies were being implemented."[576] The early to mid-1930s is perhaps the most significant watershed in the American Indian boarding school experience.

Fortunate Eagle's ten years at Pipestone began after his father died and his mother sent six of her eight children to boarding school. He was five years old. In his book he recalls numerous whippings, his consignment to the "stink room" for wetting his bed, and his getting the "bug rake" test each time he returned to school, which involved submitting to a painful inspection for hair lice. His younger sister died of "sleeping sickness" in the school hospital. Once, when he was out mowing a field with some other boys, he came upon a boy lying on his back with flies going in and out of his mouth. He and his schoolmates hauled the boy to the hospital, where they were informed after a few minutes that the boy was dead. The deceased boy was a new kid, and they never learned his name or why he had died. Despite these humiliations and sorrows, Fortunate Eagle's overall assessment of his

[575] Superintendent to Axel Johnson, October 5, 1915, Johnson to Supt. F. E. Mann, October 9, 1915, J. F. House to Mann, December 10, 1915, H. H. Hawman to Mann, April 27, 1917, D. L. Babcock to Mann, March 22, 1918, and J. W. Balmer to Sam B. Davis, March 13, 1930, File 825.0-939, Box 33, Pipestone Indian Schoool Decimal Correspondence Files 1925-52, RG 75, NA-CPR.
[576] Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone: My Life in an Indian Boarding School* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), xvi.

experience is that it was positive and that he was lucky to get an education. He relates many happy memories as well as unpleasant ones.

Fortunate Eagle enjoyed lots of outdoor play in the neighboring national monument, which was established two years after he got there. One of his earliest memories of the place was fishing for crawdads in Pipestone Creek. A Euro-American couple was camping nearby, and the man paid Fortunate Eagle and his friend 25 cents to catch them a pot full of crawdads for dinner. A few years later, possibly in the year 1941, he visited four American Indian families who were camped by the quarry all summer digging pipestone. He recalls that the families treated him and his friends with kindness even when the boys hung around their camps.[577]

Fortunate Eagle remembers playing with his friends around Winnewissa Falls, climbing on top of the Three Maidens, and floating on Lake Hiawatha on a log raft. Once, his friend "Monkey" showed him how to look for nests of kingfishers hidden in the cliffs. After finding one of their nests, his friend fell from the ledge and when he hit the ground he hollered so loudly that some whites who were visiting the national monument took him to the hospital. After the staff checked him over and found that he had only bruised himself, they asked why he had cried so much. It turned out, he was mainly upset over losing the baby chick he had held in his hand.



Figure 38. Winnewissa Falls. (Photo by the authors.)

[577] Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone: My Life in an Indian Boarding School*, 67.

Dennis Banks writes of a very different experience at the Pipestone Indian School in his autobiography, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement*. In 1942, an official from the BIA came to their community on the Leech Lake Reservation and persuaded his mother to send Dennis and his brother and sister to the boarding school. With scarcely any explanation or warning, he was removed from his familiar surroundings. It was not until well into adulthood that Banks came to forgive his mother and condemn the BIA for this action. His autobiography describes the next nine years of his life in a short chapter titled "The Yellow Bus" in obvious reference to the trauma of being ripped from his family home with which the whole ordeal began.[578]

Banks recalls other traumatic events in his boarding school experience. Upon arriving at the school, he and his siblings were put in barber chairs and someone rubbed white powder DDT in their hair to kill any head lice. Then, he and his brother were made to give up their clothes and put on the khaki uniforms and stiff black shoes that the school officials issued to them. Over the next nine years, he ran away from school no fewer than nine times. Even though Banks started at the Pipestone Indian School well after the beginning of the Collier years, he states that students were forbidden to speak their native language. For him, the school policy eventually robbed him of the ability to speak Ojibwe that he had known as a small child.[579]

The Pipestone Indian School, like other boarding schools, was an authoritarian place with locks on every door, strict rules, and corporal punishment. Although the BIA was strongly committed to co-education, the schools were fastidious about keeping boys and girls apart during evening hours. Pipestone was no different. Boys' and girls' "advisors" kept watch on the children's behavior twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The strap was used on anyone who broke the rules. Both the prudish partitioning of boys' and girls' social space in the school and the frequent resort to corporal punishment were examples of how American Indian and Euro-American social norms differed, creating conditions for the historic trauma that affected many American Indians who attended boarding schools.[580]

Students contended with a highly structured daily regimen. The day began with a "rising call" at 6:15 a.m. After breakfast, students were assigned a work detail for one hour prior to commencement of classes at 9:00 a.m. Classes went until 4:00 p.m., at which time students were given another work detail for an hour before dinner. Bedtime came at 7:30 p.m. for the younger students and 9:00 p.m.

[578] Dennis Banks with Richard Erdoes, *Ojibwa Warrior: Dennis Banks and the Rise of the American Indian Movement* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 24.
[579] Banks, *Ojibwa Warrior*, 28.
[580] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 26; Landrum, "Acculturation of the Dakota Sioux," 185.

for the older students. On Saturday mornings, students received another three-and-a-half-hour work detail. Work details ended with the sound of a "work whistle." Saturdays were known as "town day," as older students were allowed to walk to town following the weekly "inspection."[581]

Work details mostly revolved around cleaning: washing up after meals, mopping floors, cleaning latrines, and so on. The emphasis on cleaning went hand in hand with the school's close attention to the students' bodily hygiene. Officially, the concern with cleanliness was to protect the children's health. "Many of [the students] came to the school already diseased, and others came with peculiar susceptibilities to disease," the teacher Reynolds reported. "Commissioner Morgan, were he still alive, would be interested in knowing that all Indian students are given the best medical care." Besides the scrubbings, DDT dustings, and changes of clothes that students received each time they returned to school, they were given vaccinations, inoculations, and periodic physical checkups.[582] Historian Margaret Jacobs suggests that the attention to sanitation and hygiene had a more insidious purpose as well. It formed part of a pattern of impressing on American Indian children that dirt was a sign of being "uncivilized" and cleanliness a sign of "civilization." The ritual hair cut and mandatory change of clothes that was common to every boarding school child's experience had a far darker meaning, as kids were literally shorn of their most intimate cultural accoutrements that they brought from home.[583]

School lessons sometimes aimed at the same thing. Dennis Banks wrote in his memoir that a textbook used at the Pipestone Indian School in the 1940s showed pictures of American Indians committing barbarous acts against white people. Madonna Blue Horse Beard, an Oglala Lakota who attended a Catholic mission school on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the1950s, said that she remembered walking out of her school at age seventeen feeling ashamed to be American Indian. "The underlying message of the boarding school was that to be Indian is bad, and what you are is not OK," she told a reporter in 2000. "When you teach children that, they develop shame. And it is a toxic shame. It doesn't go away."[584]

In 1900, the curriculum at the Pipestone Indian School was still patterned after the nineteenth-century "outing system." The aim was to prepare boys and girls for employment opportunities in the dominant society. Boys were taught such

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[581] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 46.
[582] Ibid, 37.
[583] Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 230-34.
[584] Henry J. Cordes, "Boarding School's Pain Still Echoes," *Omaha World Herald*, February 14, 2000.

trades as shoemaking, tailoring, blacksmithing, masonry, and plastering. Girls were taught "domestic science," or housekeeping. During breaks in the school year, the school tried to place students on local farms or in the homes and shops of local townspeople to give them practical work experience – as well as to keep them from returning to their homes and traditional way of life.

By 1914, the curriculum included academic courses in reading, spelling, arithmetic, and other academic subjects as well as courses in music, athletics, and religious instruction. In theory, the curriculum was aimed at preparing graduates for going on to high school in the state's public school system. However, the Pipestone Indian School continued to emphasize vocational training, giving courses in farming, gardening, dairying, poultry raising, printing, carpentry, engineering, plumbing, tailoring, shoemaking, domestic science, sewing and dressmaking, laundering, nursing, and carpet weaving. The unstated purpose of vocational training was to prepare pupils for life in the lower echelons of American society where most were expected to end up.[585]

Around 1930, the BIA made a push to bring the curriculum in the Indian schools into closer alignment with the curriculum in the state public schools. Courses at Pipestone then included reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as social studies, science, health education, physical education, art, and music. At the same time, the BIA adopted a new outlook on teaching American Indian culture in the schools. Whereas the philosophy had long been one of stripping students of their native culture so that they could assimilate as rapidly as possible, now the official thinking was that teachers should help students appreciate and discuss their native culture in the classroom as part of the acculturative process. Pipestone's teachers had previously ignored the existence of the pipestone quarries a half mile from the school; in the 1930s, the more reform-minded ones began to incorporate the nearby sacred site into classroom discussions and activities.[586]

In 1932, the ninth grade students, Pipestone's senior class, put on a Hiawatha pageant "at the small lake below the falls of Winnewissa." Presumably the location was the small body of water on Pipestone Creek that would be dammed and turned into "Lake Hiawatha" a few years later. This one-time performance should not be confused with the Hiawatha Pageant put on by the Hiawatha Club beginning in the late 1940s. The school invited the townspeople to come, and the *Pipestone County Star* reported that the students were "entitled to much credit for the manner in which they presented this very delightful and novel entertainment." The performance featured speeches, songs, and dances. The play director was Aubrey D. Rhoades, the musical director was Gladys J. Fisher, and the stage manager was Mrs. F. Omar Rains. The American Indian dances were

[585] Reynolds, "The History of Pipestone Indian School," 24-25.
[586] Ibid, 27-31.

directed by William W. Burns, who was probably the same Bill Burns included in a list of American Indian people employed at the school that Fortunate Eagle compiled from his childhood memories. If so, then the dance director was a Southern Cheyenne and the "Boys' Advisor." The set for the Hiawatha pageant included two tipis pitched on the northern edge of the lake. The set also employed red and white flood lights mounted on a truck to help distinguish Ojibwe and Dakota characters in the story.[587]

The Lowering of Winnewissa Falls

The school farm included a fifty-acre tract of tilled land on the eastern edge of the reservation above the escarpment. Pipestone Creek ran through the middle of this tract before plummeting over the cliff face in Winnewissa Falls. Each spring and summer, Pipestone Creek overflowed its banks and inundated the farm tract. In vain, the school tried year after year to raise a crop in the rich soil only to find it getting flooded and drowned. The problem for farming in this location was that the escarpment formed a natural dam that inhibited the flow of groundwater, causing surface water to pool above the escarpment when the water table rose. During maximum high water, some of the pooled water went gushing over the Winnewissa Falls, and some of it spilled over the cliff at several other points in a series of small, ephemeral cascades. American Indians held the falls sacred. Federal officials and local farmers did not see them that way.[588]

In September 1908, the Pipestone Indian School Superintendent, R. L. Campbell, wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Leupp requesting authority to excavate an open ditch through the school farm that would lower the water table and improve farm operations. Campbell proposed to make a ditch 300 rods long that would drain the entire area into Pipestone Creek and reclaim the cropland. Campbell wanted $300 to hire a ditch digger with a ditching machine who was then visiting Pipestone County and would soon be moving on. The ditching machine was said to be capable of digging a ditch "eight feet wide at the

[587] "Indian Cast in Open Air Pageant," *Pipestone County Star*, May 17, 1932; "Hiawatha Pageant was Fine Success," *Pipestone County Star*, May 27, 1932; Winfred Bartlett, interview by William Corbett, April 17, 1976.

[588] Jennings C. Wise, attorney for the Yankton Sioux Tribe in the 1920s, mentions the lowering of Winnewissa Falls in his polemical book, *The Red Man in the New World Drama* (1931) on page 480. Wise comes to his mention of the falls in the middle of his narrative about the Ihanktonwan claim against the United States, and he provides no date or point of reference other than what can be inferred from the following remarks: "Yes, at last the missionaries were happy. Now they undertook to silence the voice of Winnewissa by causing the lonely cascade to be destroyed by dynamite and the hallowed graves of the Red Men buried at the shrine were desecrated by the curious." He implies that the lowering of the falls was part of the church's and the government's systematic attack on American Indian religion. Adam Fortunate Eagle, who was a student at Pipestone Indian School in the 1940s, cites Wise and concurs with him based on his own childhood recollections.

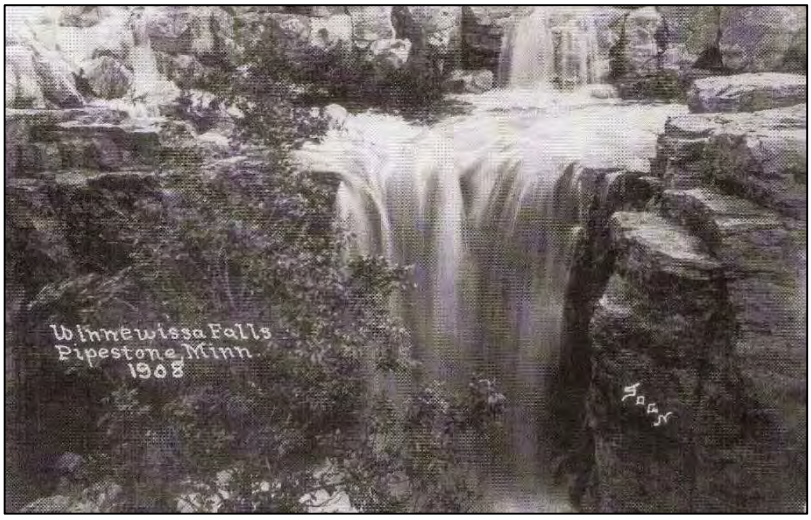


Figure 39. Winnewissa Falls, 1908. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

top, 3 feet wide at the bottom, and three feet deep, and at less than half the cost of ditching by hand."[589] It is not known if the work Campbell wanted done was actually performed. If it was, it was only the start to more significant ditching that took place over the next few years.

The Indian Appropriations Act for 1910 carried an item for $4,000 for "removing obstructions at the falls and improving the highway to the cemetery." The appropriation grew out of the fact that when the area above Winnewissa Falls flooded each year, it not only hampered the school farm operation but also interfered with travel along the road between school and town. This may have been the first and last time that dynamite was used to blast away part of the rock formation at the crest of the falls. Undoubtedly, it lowered the falls by several feet and changed its appearance. The clearest description of this work is found in a letter written by the supervisor of engineering at the Pipestone Indian School before the plan was actually carried out:

> It is proposed to cut a channel from a point near the railroad bridge to the falls, a distance of 255 feet; which it is believed will remedy most of the difficulty resulting from flood waters and effectually drain that portion of the country over which the wagon road passes, and also reclaim the low lands of the school farm lying on both sides of the creek. The cutting of this channel and removing of obstructions from the creek bed between the two bridges and below the falls, it is estimated will cost about $3200. From $400 to $500 should be expended on improvement of the road, or

[589] R. S. Campbell, Superintendent, Pipestone Indian School, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 10, 1908, File 62314-Pipestone-1908-341, Box 26, CCF, RG 75, National Archives (NA).

> rather that portion of it passing through the school farm, thus leaving a reasonable amount for the employment of an engineer to superintend the work.[590]

While documents show that this project was definitely carried out, the possibility exists that it was not the first time the crest of the falls was dynamited. It is likely, in fact, that the Cedar Rapids, Iowa Falls, and Northwestern Railway performed some similar handiwork when it built its line through the reservation in 1884. The only reference to the earlier dynamiting is found in an article published in *Indians at Work* in 1934, which bemoaned a number of changes to the landscape around the quarries. The author wrote:

> More tragic than any other one thing, perhaps, was the destruction of the beautiful Winnawissa Falls by a railroad company, which, in order to facilitate its right-of-way, moved the bed of the creek, leaving the old course dry. Once the waters fell over the red jasper rocks, a wide white-foaming expanse in the green prairie. Today the creek flows in a muddy channel around the outcrop and a black iron railroad bridge bisects the once-lovely spot. Truly, the Indians who came there with memories in their minds, of the sight of this destruction must have confirmed their belief that the white man had respect neither for nature nor the sacred places of other peoples.[591]

It is difficult to square this description of the modified creek bed with the actual lay of the land. Probably what took place was that the railroad excavated the creek bed and lowered the falls the first time in 1884, and after twenty-five years of soil deposition it became necessary to unclog the drainpipe. In other words, the project in 1910 was to clear out and deepen the chute that the railroad had dug in 1884. Photographs taken around the turn of the century suggest that the more profound change to the falls occurred the second time around.[592]

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[590] R. M. Pringle, Supervisor of Engineering, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, November 11, 1909, File 54743-Pipestone-1909-341, Box 26, CCF, RG 75, NA.

[591] J. H. Mitchell, "The Pipestone Quarry or Designing an Ancient Indian Shrine," *Indians at Work* 2, no. 1 (December 1934), 26.

[592] See also the map by W. Holmes in 1892. According to a history of the conflict over management of Pipestone posted on the Sacred Land Film Project's website, the railroad construction was a deliberate desecration of an American Indian sacred site, and moreover, a congressional task force considered this history as part of its research leading to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. The history misstates that the railroad was built at the same time that the Pipestone Indian School was built. The history relates: "The Yankton were outraged when, in 1890 and 1891, plans were unveiled to build a railroad and an Indian school for other tribes on the quarry land. In the legislative history introducing the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the congressional task force acknowledged that the government had deliberately planned the railroad construction to

In March 1910, acting commissioner F. H. Abbott approved a contract for $2,900 with Gross Bros. to excavate the channel and another $600 to improve the road. The contract was supposed to be completed in 120 days. On July 25, 1910, the superintendent wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs indicating that the work was about to go forward.[593] Thus, the dynamiting probably took place that summer. A letter from Assistant Secretary Samuel Adams to Senator Robert J. Gamble of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, dated April 18, 1912, confirms that the dynamiting was done:

> The ledge of rock forming Pipestone Falls [sic] was higher than the bed of the stream further up the creek and it was thought that by blasting out a channel through this ledge and continuing this channel some distance up stream, that it would drain the land above the falls, not only the school land but the private property further up the creek.[594]

The excavation of the creek channel above the falls produced about 3,000 cubic yards of rubble, a significant portion of which was used to build up the roadbed for what is now Route 67/North Hiawatha Avenue along the east boundary of Pipestone National Monument. In addition, both sides of the road were ditched. Thus, the modification of the roadway also contributed to the permanent alteration of the drainage pattern through the area.[595]

After the spring and summer of 1911, it was found that the ditching did not suffice; the channel above the falls had to be straightened and deepened some more. The Department of the Interior sought an appropriation of $1,500 for expanding the ditch for a length of 180 rods. Congress appropriated the funds in the Indian Appropriation Act for fiscal year 1913, "for the construction of a drain from the head of Pipestone Falls [sic] east in the bed of the creek to a point where it turns south, from thence east to the section line."[596]

The School Cemetery

Pipestone Indian School had a cemetery for children who died and did not have family to claim their remains. The first individual buried there was a twelve-

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run through the sacred ledges which created the waterfalls of the quarry in order to 'erase all traces of their former outlines and to render them useless for ceremonial purposes.'" Amy Corbin, "Pipestone National Monument," (May 2002) at www.sacredland.org <September 2, 2015>.

[593] F. H. Abbott, Acting Commissioner, to Files, March 14, 1910, and Superintendent, Pipestone Indian School, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 25, 1910, File 54743-Pipestone-1909-341, Box 26, CCF, RG 75, NA.

[594] Samuel Adams, First Assistant Secretary, to Senator Robert J. Gamble, April 18, 1912, File 26232-Pipestone-1914-343, Box 26, CCF, RG 75, NA.

[595] Superintendent to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 25, 1910.

[596] Adams to Gamble, April 18, 1912; Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 3, 536.

year-old girl, Annie Tappinnatis, her tribal affiliation unrecorded. She was one of the first class to enter the school and she died in June 1896 after a long bout with tuberculosis. The second individual buried in the cemetery was eleven-year-old Mabel Campbell, an orphan without recorded tribal affiliation, also among the first class, and also a victim of tuberculosis. She died in February 1897. A third recorded burial took place in January 1903. The deceased was a seven-year-old girl from northern Minnesota named Florence Resler who died of pneumonia. All three of these deaths were reported in the local newspaper.

The cemetery was situated north of Winnewissa Falls and below the escarpment. Apparently the cemetery was abandoned in 1904 and the gravesites were overgrown by vegetation. School officials were still aware of the cemetery in the 1930s even though it had long been in disuse. A worker by the name of Erland Argetsinger was tasked in 1937 to make a formal record of the burials. He interviewed Mrs. Joe Taylor of Flandreau, South Dakota, Miss Winifred Bartlett of Pipestone, and Superintendent J. W. Balmer. The one-page report of his investigation states that there were a total of nine burials made before the cemetery was abandoned in 1904, including four American Indian students, three white children, and two adult American Indians. If the information is correct, the remaining six burials are undocumented and their identities are unknown. After the cemetery was abandoned, this report states, the school either buried people in the nearby Woodlawn Cemetery or sent the remains home to the families.[597]

Town of Pipestone's Exploitation of American Indian Heritage for Tourism

In addition to quarrying massive quantities of Sioux quartzite from around the perimeter of the Pipestone Reservation, locals also extracted large amounts of catlinite from within the reservation's boundaries. Euro-American carvers fashioned the raw stone into various objects, primarily curios for tourists wishing to take a small piece of the legendary quarries home with them. An 1891 *Pipestone County Star* notice invited customers to view jeweler A.C. Billon's "handsome stock of Indian pipestone goods" in his storefront. The paper claimed he possessed the best collection of pipestone items "ever seen in the city." In time, the distinction of being "the owner of the largest stock of raw and manufactured Indian pipestone in the world," went to Charles Bennett, according to his 1926 obituary. For many years, Bennett sold both unprocessed stone and a variety of finished pipestone items in his drugstore. By the turn of the twentieth century, the relatively small number of American Indians who were still quarrying often sold their stone to local Euro-American carvers. Sally Southwick cites one estimate that only one in ten pipestone carvers were American Indian in 1900; other estimates put the ratio

[597] The report by Erland Argetsinger is titled "Indian Burial" and dated June 1937. A photocopy is contained in NPS research files. The document's original provenance is not known.

as low as one in a hundred.[598] Even the most conservative of these ponderings indicate that the vast majority of pipestone removed from the sacred quarries through this era profited Euro-American entrepreneurs and consumers.

In 1893, Bennett and several other Pipestone townspeople displayed pipestone crafts at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. All the pipestone exhibits won prizes. In 1904, Bennett traveled to St. Louis with a number of his petrogylph slabs for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. As Pipestone's boosters intended, the showings at both world fairs garnered their small town national media attention. A 1906 photograph of Bennett posing in his yard with 33 visible petroglyph panels (and his cat) jarringly illustrates the cultural incongruity of the town's hold on the American Indian sacred site: the petroglyphs are neatly aligned in two rows, propped up against a white picket fence.[599]



Figure 40. The Three Maidens. Note the people in the center of photo. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

Following earlier scientific investigations of the quarry area (discussed in Chapter 5), two more such studies were conducted on the Pipestone Reservation before a long lull in professional interest in the site ensued. In the spring of 1892, William Henry Holmes of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology spent ten days at the reservation studying the full range of its archeological features. (See Chapter 4 for discussion of Holmes's significant findings.) He made many

[598] Untitled notice, *Pipestone County Star*, 3 July 1891; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 97; Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 92.
[599] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 55; Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 97-99, 250, 267.

sketchings on his visit, as well petroglyph tracings. Holmes claimed that a few petroglyphs remained at the base of the Three Maidens, implying that Bennett had not extracted them all. Holmes gathered many other artifacts for the Smithsonian's collections. He collected worked pieces of catlinite, quartzite hammer stones, one iron axe head, and several pottery shards, as well as specimens of unworked catlinite and Sioux quartzite. He later published articles on the Pipestone Quarry, which included a detailed archeological map of the area. In 1905, Minnesota Historical Society archeologist Jacob V. Brower visited the place and sketched his own maps of its cultural features. Further scientific investigation of the quarry area was not pursued until the late 1940s, well after the establishment of Pipestone National Monument.[600]

For a number of Pipestone townspeople of this era, the quarries served as a romanticized vestige of the past and a recreational site. In 1878, the town's founders established an annual tradition of celebrating the July Fourth holiday at the quarries. The festivities changed from year to year, featuring a mix of readings, picnics, fireworks, and parades, as well as theatrical performances always with an American Indian theme. Some years, American Indians were recruited to take part in the celebration. The rest of the year, locals and out-of-towners wandered about the quartzite escarpment and often picnicked on the Pipestone Reservation. In the summer months, baseball games were played in the prairies both above and below the escarpment. Swimming in Hiawatha Lake, which was made deeper by a dam constructed by Indian school students, was popular, too.[601]

About a decade after the establishment of the Pipestone Indian School, some townspeople began to doubt that the school superintendent could adequately protect the quarries, given all his other duties and the school's geographical distance from the quarries. Teenage vandals and souvenir-seeking tourists were damaging the site. The idea of creating a park reemerged, not just for protection purposes but also to draw in more tourists (who would be properly monitored in an official park setting). Until the late 1920s, when the Yankton claim was finally settled, proposals for both national and state park scenarios were developed by various local supporters as well as state officials in St. Paul. The state of Minnesota was as anxious to capitalize on the Pipestone Quarry's tourism potential as was the town of Pipestone. But no such public park could be created until legal title of the Pipestone Reservation was transferred from the Ihanktonwan to the federal government. Most notable in this study, neither the Ihanktonwan nor any other American Indian tribe played a role in these park discussions regarding the sacred quarry.[602]

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[600] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 115-116, 119-127.
[601] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 55-56, 91-92.
[602] Ibid, 91-96.



Figure 41. A large group of mostly American Indians poses in the quarry. Many are holding their tools. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

Ihanktonwan and Flandreau Use of the Quarry

The Ihanktonwan continued their summer pilgrimages to the Pipestone Reservation into the early twentieth century. As late as 1904, the *Pipestone County Star* referred to the American Indian encampments at the quarry as annual events. In September 1895, a party of six Ihanktonwan families led by Isaac Stinger, or Big Doctor, made the journey. The quarriers opted to transport their pipestone supply back to the Yankton Reservation by rail that year. Shipment was not immediate as the Ihanktonwan's three large boxes of the stone required significant manpower to hoist from the railway platform into a freight car. "In years gone by the Indians used to haul the stone all home with ox teams," the *Pipestone County Star* reported, "but they are becoming civilized to a certain extent now, or, in other words, are 'up to date'" in using the railway to transport their heavy cargo.[603]

Other news stories from the mid-1890s claimed that the Ihanktonwan made few items other than pipes from the pipestone they quarried. Pipes made of the

[603] Untitled story, *Pipestone County Star*, June 19, 1891; "Camped at the Quarries: The Yankton Indians Are Here After Their Annual Supply of Pipestone," *Pipestone County Star*, 9 September 1904; "'Big Doctor ' is After Pipestone," *Pipestone County Star*, 13 September 1895; untitled article, *Pipestone County Star*, September 27, 1895.

darkest red stone they retained for the use of their own tribal members, while lighter-colored pipes they would sell. One reporter was impressed with the recent incorporation of inlayed silver and other metals into native-carved pipes. Such artistry required too much labor to be worth a white man's time, he wrote, but leaving the pipemaking to the Indians, non-native carvers produced a wider array of trinkets from the stone.[604]

Decades later in 1927, during the depositions made in the Yankton claims case, tribal members recalled that not just Euro-Americans, but their fellow Ihanktonwan, too, carved paper weights, knives, and other souvenir items out of pipestone, which they sold to Euro-Americans at various venues including state fairs. But the production of pipes was the primary undertaking of American Indian pipestone carvers. Both finished pipes and raw stone was traded to members of other tribal groups, in exchange for money, horses, or other valuable commodities.[605]

A 1902 sociological study of the Flandreau American Indian community, conducted by the Department of the Interior's Indian School Service, revealed that the sale of pipestone objects remained a significant source of income for some Dakota. Most subsisted by farming small parcels of land and earning what cash they needed by working for Euro-American farmers and doing odd jobs. Besides farming, the one enterprise some members of the American Indian community shared was quarrying pipestone and carving the stone into marketable items. "Quite an industry is the making of pipes and ornaments from the red pipestone at the ancient quarries 18 miles away in Minnesota," the report stated.[606]

In 1904, Tatan-ka-Waste (Pretty Bull), led a group of Ihanktonwan to the Pipestone Reservation. Tatan-ka-Waste admitted he himself had travelled to the quarries only occasionally in recent years because of his old age. Still dressed in traditional clothing and speaking very little English, he conveyed to the local press his belief that, as the last of the great Ihanktonwan chiefs, he had "a better right than anyone else to the pipestone quarries."[607] Tatan-ka-Waste's party in 1904 may have been the last documented Ihanktonwan group encampment on the Pipestone Reservation.[608]

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[604] "'Big Doctor ' is After Pipestone," 13 September 1895; "Pipestone in the Museum," *Pipestone County Star*, November 25, 1892; untitled story, *Pipestone County Star*, 4 October 1895.
[605] 1927 depositions, within "Concerns of the Pipestone Dakota Community," Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.
[606] "History of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe," 84, 120.
[607] "Camped at the Quarries: The Yankton Indians Are Here After Their Annual Supply of Pipestone," *Pipestone County Star*, September 9, 1904.
[608] Various sources note the near cessation of quarrying by American Indians around this time. No explanation has been offered. In general, the early twentieth century was a time when traditional native cultures were maximally under assault and economic conditions for American Indians were very difficult. See Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*.

That same year, a singular but dedicated quarrier came to represent the Flandreau presence on the Pipestone Reservation. Joseph C. Taylor, a full-blood Mdewakanton, was raised in the Flandreau colony but had been away for twenty years on missionary work. In 1904 he moved back to Flandreau with this wife Julia and committed the rest of his life to quarrying and carving pipestone. Otherwise, American Indian quarrying on the Pipestone Reservation nearly ceased. Some summers, the Taylor family alone dug pipestone at the sacred quarries.[609]

Even as American Indian quarrying all but faded away in the 1910s and 1920s, the superintendent of the Pipestone Indian School kept watch over the quarries and attempted to protect the American Indian right from being usurped by Euro-Americans. In 1915, Superintendent E. T. Mann received a query from a person interested in employing someone to dig pipestone. In reply, Mann mentioned the Taylor family and explained how use of the quarry was restricted to American Indians:

> I know of no one whom you could employ to procure the quantity of pipestone you wish, unless it would be Joseph or Henry Taylor, who live at Flandreau, South Dakota. You may write to them and if they agree to dig the pipestone for you they will be allowed to do so. I will not, however, permit white men to come on the reservation and take this stone in large quantities, as you know it was reserved by an old treaty for the use of the Indians, and it is supposed, of course, that the Indians will excavate it only in quantities sufficient for their individual needs. For this reason, I would not permit even an Indian to make a practice of digging this stone and shipping it out in large quantities, but under the circumstances, if you can get either one of the Taylors to procure the stone for you, it will be all right.[610]

Start of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community

The Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community is a non-federally recognized American Indian community centered in the town of Pipestone. All of its members are enrolled or lineal Dakota people. Most are enrolled members of the Sisseton/Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation. The community is composed of three large families, the Derbys, the Taylors, and the Bryans, who have been settled in Pipestone for three to four generations. The community got its start in 1927 when Moses and Estella Crow moved back to the town to settle, having met there about a decade earlier when they were both enrolled in the Indian

[609] "Pitch Tepees on Reservation Here," *Pipestone County Star*, July 26, 1929.
[610] Superintendent to Reverend Henry Westroll, January 4, 1915, Box 1, Miscellaneous Copies of Letters Sent 12-9-1914 to 3-17-1915, Pipestone Indian School, RG 75, NA-CPR.

school. The Derby family is descended directly from Moses and Estella, the Taylor family is descended from Moses's sister Julia and Joe Taylor, and the Bryan family is descended from Moses and Estella's daughter Clara and George Bryan. The Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community is significant to this history because its members maintained the art of quarrying and pipe making through the first half of the twentieth century. Eventually, other American Indians from farther away came to work the quarries, but the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community has remained the dominant user group to this day.



Figure 42. Moses and Estella Crow, founders of the Pipestone Indian Community. In this portrait, Moses wears his military uniform and Estella appears as a spirit in the smoke from his cigarette.

Family tradition holds that Estella's grandmother Amos was visiting the pipestone quarries with her family in 1862 when the U.S.-Dakota War began. Making their way back to the reservation with their load of pipestone, they saw smoke on the horizon and wondered what it was from. Drawing closer, they saw that houses were burning, and they knew a war was on. They went to Canada for a few years until things quieted down, and then they returned to the area, making their home near the Upper Sioux Agency.[611]

Estella's parents were Eunice Amos, a Sisseton, and Fred Pearsall, a Euro-American. Pearsall was born and raised in Lac Qui Parle, Minnesota, and educated in Minneapolis. A keen student of American Indian history and culture in Minnesota, he spoke fluent Dakota. The couple married in 1900 and had five daughters, whom they raised to speak Dakota and English. Estella, their first, was born in 1901. The family moved from Granite Falls, Minnesota, the home of the Upper Sioux Indian Community, to Santee, Nebraska (Santee Sioux Reservation), and then to Sisseton, South Dakota (Lake Traverse Reservation). In each place they joined the Dakota community that was settled there. After Eunice died in 1914, Fred and the girls moved back to Granite Falls, making their home three miles south of the town where other Dakota families were living. Estella, who was then fourteen, went to the Pipestone Indian School soon thereafter.[612]

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[611] "Historic Dakota," at www.littlefeathercenter.com <February 26, 2014>.

[612] Untitled typescript about Fred Pearsall, no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.

While attending school, Estella met Moses Crow, a Mdewakanton from Santee, Nebraska. At school, Estella studied dairy and cooking; Moses studied carpentry. On December 8, 1917, the two quit school and eloped. The school superintendent reported both students as "runaways" though Estella was sixteen and Moses was in his twenties. They got married, and then Moses enlisted in the Medical Corps for service in World War I. Ten years later, they moved back to Pipestone at the suggestion of Moses's older sister, Julia.[613]

It was Julia's husband, Joe Taylor, who introduced Moses to quarrying. Moses was not known as a pipe maker when he moved back to Pipestone in 1927, but after he settled there he joined Joe Taylor in making pipestone objects to sell to tourists as they came through Pipestone on the train. Employed as a laborer at the Indian school, he learned quarrying and carving as time allowed. Mostly he carved trinkets rather than pipes. Late in life, he taught his children how to quarry and carve the pipestone. Eventually the whole family, including Estella and all nine of their children, got involved with it. Moses died in 1938 from a lingering lung illness. He died in the Pipestone Indian school hospital.[614]

While Moses and Estella Crow are credited with starting the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community, it was Moses's teacher, Joe Taylor, who passed down the art of quarrying from their nineteenth-century forebears. Joseph C. Taylor was a full blood Mdewakanton. He was born April 14, 1860, at Prior Lake, Minnesota, near the site of Minneapolis, six miles south of the old Mdewakanton village of Shakopee. In the aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War, when Joe was still a tot, the Taylor family, along with a number of other Mdewakanton families, were sent into exile. The exiles were transported on a government boat down the Mississippi River to St. Louis, then up the Missouri River to the Crow Creek Reservation in Dakota Territory. After a few years there, the majority of families moved to the Santee Reservation in Nebraska, while the Taylors and forty other families moved to Moody County, South Dakota. There, Joe's parents homesteaded near Egan, South Dakota. When Joe was old enough to attend school, he walked the twelve miles from Egan to Flandreau and back. Probably some time during this period, while in his teens, he made his first visit to the pipestone quarries.[615]

In the mid-1870s, Joe's parents sent him to St. Paul's Episcopal School for Boys at the Yankton Agency. There he came to the attention of Bishop William H. Hare, who persuaded him to become a minister and serve as a missionary to his own people. Under Hare's mentoring, he completed his schooling at River Institute in Lyons, Iowa, and the House of the Good Shepherd at Tompkins Cove, New

[613] "Native American Women Important in Pipestone's History," no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.
[614] "People in Pipestone's Past: Moses & Estella Crow came to town to work," *Pipestone County Star*, May 22, 1997.
[615] "Joseph C. Taylor," *Pipestone County Star*. February 14, 1933.

York. Graduating from the latter in 1884, he returned to Dakota Territory where he was ordained as a minister for the Episcopal Church at Crow Creek in 1885. He did missionary work on the Rosebud and Sisseton reservations in the late 1880s, and at the Cheyenne River Agency, the Pine Ridge Reservation, and Morton, Minnesota, in the 1890s. By the early 1900s, he was once more ministering among the Sisseton. In 1904, he married Julia Crow, and they moved to Flandreau.

That year, Taylor returned to the Pipestone Quarry and camped there over the summer to dig pipestone as he had done in the past. Apparently after twenty years of preaching Christianity, he was drawn back to quarrying the sacred pipestone to answer a different spiritual calling. Thereafter, he and his wife Julia spent many summers working the quarry. The people of Pipestone came to know him familiarly as "Indian Joe." He died in 1933 at the age of 72. According to his obituary in the *Pipestone County Star*,

> It was his custom each summer to occupy a tepee in the vicinity of the quarry, for convenience in carrying on his work of manufacturing pipestone trinkets. For the winter, he would move to town [Flandreau]. His camp at the quarry was a point of interest that attracted many visitors.[616]

A few months before the end of his life, he wrote a short autobiography that he gave to the *Pipestone County Star*. His story was fictionalized in a novel that was given the title, *Under Two Heavens*.[617]

Moses Crow and Joe Taylor mentored the next generation of pipe makers who came of age in the 1930s. Among the next generation was George Bryan, an Ojibwe, who worked as an engineer at the Pipestone Indian School. In 1936, George Bryan married Clara Crow, daughter of Estella and Moses.[618] Their union created the third family in Pipestone's growing American Indian community. Thus, by the time Pipestone National Monument was established in 1937, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community was firmly rooted in the town.

The Ihanktonwan/Yankton Sioux Tribe Claim Case

It is now necessary to go back over the years 1890 to 1932 with reference to the claim brought by the Ihanktonwan/Yankton Sioux Tribe against the United States government for taking the Pipestone Reservation from the tribe when it established the Pipestone Indian School. It took twenty years for Congress to pass

[616] "Joseph C. Taylor Dies Unexpectedly," *Pipestone County Star*, February 14, 1933.
[617] "Native American Women Important to Pipestone's History," no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.
[618] Ibid.

a law that allowed the tribe to bring suit against the government, and it took another eighteen years for the U.S. court system to render a decision, plus another four years for judgment funds to be paid out to the tribe. After traveling such a long road, the claim inevitably became convoluted and obscure, so that when it was finally settled by the court it failed to resolve the issue in people's minds. Tribal members disputed even at the time of the settlement what had actually been decided, and years later there would be contention on both sides. The claim is important to this history because it forms a backdrop to charges and countercharges in the latter part of the twentieth century over whether the Ihanktonwan lost control of the Pipestone Quarry improperly or gave up their role as "keepers" willingly when they sold the land.

The claim began as a petition by the Ihanktonwan against the U.S. government's plan to build an Indian boarding school on the Pipestone Reservation without consulting them or offering them compensation for the land. The tribe was outraged that Congress had passed a law authorizing the school's establishment in utter disregard of the Ihantonwan's title to the land and distinctive right to quarry the pipestone. If a tribal member were to do such a thing, the Ihanktonwan declared, then the federal government would treat that person as a thief. The petition was signed by 167 members of the tribe.[619]

In addition, five representatives of the Ihanktonwan put their marks on an order that they issued through their agent. This order, titled "Warning to Trespassers and all Concerned," declared that all persons were strictly prohibited from quarrying or removing any pipestone or building stone (Sioux Quartzite), earth, or grass from the Pipestone Reservation without written consent of the Yankton Sioux Tribe and approval of the agent and the secretary of the interior. Further, all persons were warned against leaving garbage, manure, or ashes on the premises, or damaging trees, shrubs, or any property within the area. The only thing the order did not address was the waters of Pipestone Creek, which the tribe knew to be in use by the surrounding Euro-American population.[620]

While the tribe's claim against the federal government seemed clear on its face value, the matter of the tribe's land title was anything but straightforward. The Pipestone Reservation was unlike any other Indian reservation. A square-mile reserve located about 100 miles from the tribe's home reservation, it had a single purpose: to protect the American Indians' interest in the quarry. In the minds of most U.S. officials, the American Indians' interest was not a right of title but only

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[619] U.S. Senate, *Title of Yankton Indians to the Pipestone Reservation In Minnesota*, 57th Cong., 1st sess., Document No. 55, Serial Set 4220, 1901, 4; Pat Beyers, "Indian School one of the longer legal battles in history," *Pipestone County Star*, June 11, 1981.

[620] "Warning to Trespassers and all Concerned," *Pipestone County Star*, June 26, 1891. The individuals who signed were William T. Selwyn, Robert J. Clarkson, Simon Nigesan, Mato Wica kte, and Pte San Wica Sa.

one of access and use of the quarry. U.S. officials had previously held that the right to quarry was not exclusive to the Ihanktonwan, but rather, was shared by all American Indians in keeping with the well-known lore surrounding the "Great Pipestone Quarry." Furthermore, the square mile of land was unoccupied and might be deemed "surplus" according to the terms of the allotment policy. Citing all of these factors, the Assistant Attorney General of the Department of the Interior held, in an opinion dated September 17, 1891, that the law passed on February 16, 1891, to authorize construction of an Indian industrial and training school on the Pipestone Reservation did not interfere with the American Indians' right to quarry under the Yankton Treaty of 1858. Therefore, he said, there was no call for the U.S. government to obtain the consent of the tribe or to compensate the tribe.[621]

The Ihanktonwan resisted the government's interpretation by refusing to consent to the sale of surplus lands on the Yankton Reservation unless the government would acknowledge the tribe's interest in the Pipestone Reservation. Consequently, the U.S. negotiators framed an agreement with the tribe at the end of 1892 that stated that the matter of ownership of the Pipestone Reservation would be referred to the U.S. Supreme Court for a decision. The agreement stipulated that if, within one year of ratification by Congress, the Secretary of the Interior failed to refer this matter to the court,

> … such failure upon his part shall be construed as, and shall be, a waiver of the United States of all right to the ownership of the said Pipestone Reservation, and the same shall thereafter be solely the property of the Yankton tribe of the Sioux Indians, including the fee of the land.[622]

Congress ratified the agreement in a bill enacted on August 15, 1894, but the Secretary of the Interior demurred from referring the question of title to the Supreme Court, based on advice by the Attorney General that the irregular procedure was impractical and the matter should be decided by another act of Congress instead. At the expiration of one year from ratification, the Ihanktonwan requested that the Secretary of the Interior duly acknowledge by letter that they held title to the Pipestone Reservation, but the Secretary declined to provide them with such a certificate.[623]

Meanwhile, rumors circulated among the Oceti Sakowin in western South Dakota that the government was confiscating the Pipestone Quarry. In July 1895, a grand council was convened near the Crow Creek agency. During the four-day gathering, delegates took turns making speeches about their tribe's long

[621] U.S. Senate, *Title of Yankton Indians to the Pipestone Reservation In Minnesota*, 4.
[622] Quoted in U.S. Senate, *Title of Yankton Indians to the Pipestone Reservation in Minnesota*, 5.
[623] U.S. Senate, *Title of Yankton to the Pipestone Reservation in Minnesota*, 5.

connections with the place. At the conclusion of the council, they sent a petition to Washington insisting that the quarry belonged to all divisions of the Oceti Sakowin. According to an article in the *Pipestone County Star*, "The Yankton Indians refused to send delegates to discuss the matter, and they are now charged with being responsible for the loss of the quarries."[624] However, about the same time, a spokesperson for the Indian Office in Washington told a newspaper reporter with the Associated Press that the alarm by the Ihanktonwan was misplaced, for the 1892 agreement had actually strengthened the tribe's title. Since Congress had ratified the agreement, and the government had failed to act on it, and the Ihanktonwan were not responsible for the government's failure to act, the Indian Office was left to assume that they had absolute title as of one year after ratification, or August 15, 1895. The actual status of the Pipestone Reservation was growing more and more muddled, with some now saying that the Ihanktonwan had given it up by agreeing to sell, others asserting that through a convoluted law the tribe had instead acquired "absolute title" to the area, and still others objecting that the government had inadvertently and unjustly handed the Ihanktonwan an exclusive right to the quarries contrary to the right of *all* American Indians to have access to the quarries *forever*.[625]

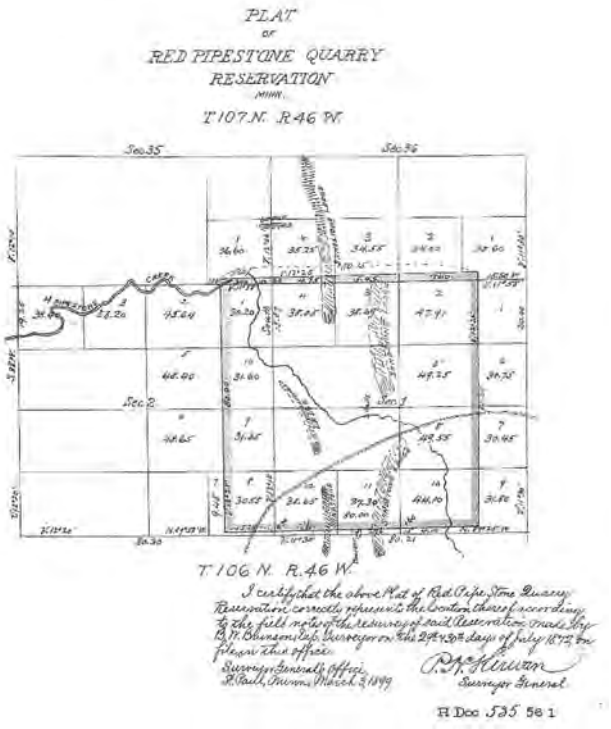


Figure 43. Plat of the Pipestone Reservation, 1899. The survey was made just prior to the negotiation for sale. (U.S. House, 56th Cong., 1st sess., Cession of Pipestone Reservation by Yankton Indians, Minnesota, H. Doc. 525 March 24, 1900.)

[624] "They Want the Quarries," *Pipestone County Star*, July 12, 1895.
[625] "Had No Right," *Pipestone County Star*, January 24, 1896.

The Ihanktonwan passed a resolution in general council requesting compensation for the school site on which the Pipestone Indian School was erected. At last, in the spring of 1899, the Indian Office sent one of its negotiators, James McLaughlin, to make a deal. McLaughlin was married to a Dakota woman and was fluent in the language. The Ihanktonwan offered to sell the whole reservation for $1 million. McLaughlin thought he had talked them down to $75,000, but then he was called away on urgent business and the deal was postponed until the fall. When McLaughlin returned, the Ihanktonwan closed with him for the price of $100,000.[626]

It is important to note that McLaughlin characterized this agreement as a product of what he called the period of "modern treaty-making." He alluded to the historical circumstance that Congress passed a law in 1871 that ended Indian treaty-making, yet the government continued to negotiate with tribes for numerous land cessions through the end of the nineteenth century. Congress passed the measure ostensibly because the United States so overpowered Indian nations by 1871 that the nation-to-nation concept behind Indian treaty-making no longer made sense. Another, equally important reason Congress passed the measure was that the House grew jealous of the Senate's exclusive role in treaty ratification. As McLaughlin pointed out, the federal government went on making land-cession agreements with tribes after 1871 in much the same way that it made treaties before 1871, except that the House henceforward played an equal part with the Senate in "ratification," as each agreement between the U.S. government and a tribe had to be incorporated into a bill and passed by both houses of Congress in order to become valid. Congress never put the Ihanktonwan's 1899 agreement into a bill and passed it, so by analogy this agreement came to have similar import to an unratified treaty. Both parties remembered its intent even though it never became binding.

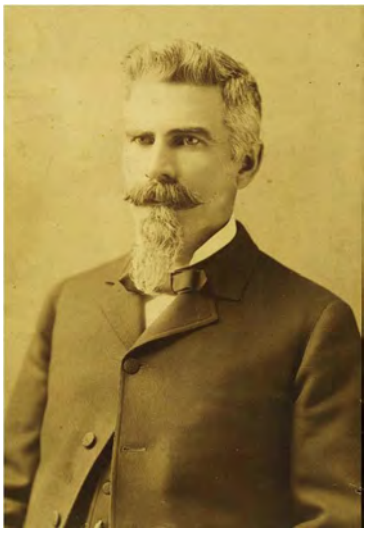


Figure 44. James McLaughlin, U.S. Indian Agent. (Courtesy ndstudies.gov.)

The agreement that McLaughlin and the Ihanktonwan made in 1899 followed exactly the same form as a typical land-cession treaty. Article I ceded all right, title, and interest to the former Pipestone Reservation to the United States. Article II reserved for the tribe certain rights in the ceded area. In this case, it reserved for "the Yankton Sioux Indians, and they alone" the right to go upon the

[626] James McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), 300-02.

land and remove pipestone. Article III stipulated the amount of compensation for the land cession. Article IV provided – and this is where the idea took root that the cession was only a "lease" – that the government would not allow the land to be homesteaded, but would preserve the area as a national park or reservation. Article V referred to the disposition of seven other claims by tribal members. Finally, Article VI stated that the agreement would become binding upon a majority vote of adult male members of the tribe and ratification by Congress. Subsequently, the tribe approved the agreement by a slim majority. As already noted, Congress never ratified it, and in court proceedings years later the crucial provision in Article IV would become lost, moot, and all but forgotten on the U.S. side, while it lingered in the minds of many Ihanktonwan. Eventually, that Article IV gave rise to the idea that the tribe parted with the land by way of a perpetual "lease" rather than an outright sale.[627]

The Senate Committee on Indian Affairs was divided over whether to recommend the agreement for ratification. A solid majority of committee members found that the Ihanktonwan right to the quarry under the Treaty of 1858 was in the nature of an easement, and these members rejected the theory that the government's failure to act as stipulated in the Agreement of 1892 had resulted in forfeiture of U.S. title to the tribe. Three senators submitted a minority report, which insisted that Congress should not quibble over whether the tribe only reserved the right to quarry in the Yankton Treaty of 1858. What counted was the fact that the government had established the Pipestone Reservation in the same manner as it had all other Indian reservations under other land cession treaties. In their view, the government's initiative to have the Supreme Court rule on it was only for purposes of confirming an Indian title that already existed. The three senators were Robert J. Gamble of South Dakota, P. J. McCumber of North Dakota, and Fred T. Dubois of Idaho. "The question, stripped of all evasions," they wrote, "simply is, Will Congress stand by a proposition of its own making, which has been accepted by the other contracting party and completely carried out on its part in good faith?"[628]

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[627] U.S. House, *Cession of the Pipestone Reservation in Minnesota*, 56th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 535, Serial Set 3995, 1900, 2-7. In his report on the negotiations, McLaughlin wrote, "The Yanktons expressed themselves very feelingly when the agreement was concluded, saying that they had now ceded the last tract of land that they held in common and that this was the last agreement that they would be required to make with the Government as a tribe, for the reason that they, in ceding the Pipestone Reservation, had disposed of the last tract of land they had any tribal claim to." However, since the cession was made with the understanding that the area would be preserved in a national park or reservation, McLaughlin's description of their sentiments would not be inconsistent with the idea of a perpetual lease. The actual term "lease" does not appear anywhere in the proceedings of the council (pp. 7-30), but it must be remembered that the proceedings are an English translation of what was said.

[628] U.S. Senate, *Agreement with the Yankton Sioux Indians of South Dakota*, 57th Cong., 2d sess., Report No. 3316, Serial Set 4412, 1903, 1-7.

Congress gave its answer over the following decade, rejecting three further bills that proposed to ratify the 1899 agreement.[629]

The issue faded from Congress's view, but the Ihanktonwan did not let it go away. Finally, Congress included a provision in the Indian Appropriations Act for 1910 that would allow the Yankton Sioux Tribe to petition the U.S. Court of Claims for a hearing on the tribe's interest, title, ownership, and right of possession in the former Pipestone Reservation. All expenses connected with the court proceedings would be borne by the government. However, the tribe was unable to act because it did not have money to hire legal counsel to petition the court in the first place. Congress appropriated $5,000 for that purpose in the following year's appropriation act, and soon thereafter the Ihanktonwan filed their claim.[630]

In 1917, the U.S. Court of Claims finally heard the case and made a finding of fact, but when it came to resolving the question of whether the Ihantonwan had title, it said that it was a question of law and the court had no jurisdiction under the law to find and report on that question. The following year, Senator Edwin S. Johnson of South Dakota introduced a bill to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to determine and report on the interest, title, ownership and right of possession of the Yankton Sioux Tribe in the pipestone quarries, but the bill was not taken up in the House.

Despite experiencing so many setbacks and delays, the Ihanktonwan kept pressing their claim. In 1920, they found a way to reopen the case when Congress passed a law "Authorizing the Sioux Tribe of Indians to submit claims to the Court of Claims:

> That all claims of whatsoever nature which the Sioux Tribe of Indians may have against the United States, which have not heretofore been determined by the Court of Claims, may be submitted to the Court of Claims with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States by either party…" [631]

Working with a new team of attorneys, the Ihanktonwan filed another petition in the Court of Claims in July 1924. Half a year later, Congress enacted legislation granting the Court of Claims authority to determine damages in the Ihanktonwan's case. The court rendered a decision on June 8, 1925.

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[629] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 77.
[630] Charles J. Kappler, comp., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. 3 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 444, 494.
[631] ProQuest: Legislative Insight, "Sioux Tribe Court of Claims Act," http://li.proquest.com/legislativeinsight/LegHistMain.jsp?searchtype=DOCPAGE&parentAccNo=PL66-237&docAccNo=PL66-237&docType=LEG_HIST&resultsClick=true&id=1445970435283 <October 21, 2015.

Much to the tribe's disappointment, the court held that the right reserved under the Yankton Treaty of 1858 was only a right to quarry and no more. It was essentially the same view of the Pipestone Reservation that Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller had expressed in 1883, when he wrote that "the Red Pipe-stone reservation" was "not an Indian reservation," but "a United States reservation upon which" the privilege was guaranteed to the Yankton Indians by treaty…to procure stone for pipes." Teller had suggested that Euro-Americans could not be denied the right to homestead on the reservation as long as they did not interfere with the American Indians' right to quarry. The decision by the court backed up what conservative members of Congress had been saying when they argued that the 1858 treaty right was in the nature of an easement. Adding insult to injury, the court held that the U.S. government's establishment of the Pipestone Indian School did not inhibit the American Indians' right to quarry; therefore, the United States owed the tribe nothing for damages.[632]

The Ihanktonwan immediately petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court for a writ of *a certiorari*, a judicial review of the lower court's decision, as they were entitled to do under the law that Congress had enacted for the "Sioux Tribe of Indians" in 1920. The high court heard the case in the fall of 1926 and reversed the lower court's decision, finding that the Agreement of 1892, as ratified by Congress in 1894, had, in fact, confirmed title of the tribe one year after the act was passed. It remanded the case back to the Court of Claims to determine the value of the land and the amount of damages that the United States owed to the tribe.[633]

The tribe's leaders and attorneys gathered testimony on the value of the land and found that it had a monetary value of $200,000 in 1891 and that the tribe was entitled to another $36,000 for the government's unauthorized use of the land from 1891 to 1899. This was actually less than an award based on the $100,000 price that the tribe had agreed to in the 1892 agreement plus interest accrued since that date. The latter calculation came to $328,558.90. The Court of Claims therefore recommended the higher amount.[634]

In 1929, Congress appropriated the amount of the judgment and deposited it to the credit of the tribe in the U.S. Treasury. After attorney fees of $27,707.96, and a payment of $4,000 to tribal leaders who had worked long and hard on the claim case, the remaining $296,835.94 was made available to the superintendent at Yankton agency to distribute in per capita payments. The amount was divided into

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[632] Robert Murray, *A History of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (Pipestone: National Park Service and the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, 1965), 63-64; Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 113; Teller quoted in Hoover, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Claims against the United States, 1917-1975," 129.
[633] Murray, *A History of Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota*, 65-67; Corbett, "The Red Pipestone Quarry," 114-15.
[634] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 49.

1,953 shares, based on the names that appeared on the tribal roll of 1920. The "per cap" checks came to the amount of $151.99. When they were mailed out, it marked a much-anticipated and bittersweet triumph in the Ihanktonwan's forty-year quest for just compensation.[635]

The Final Push to Establish a National Monument

Following settlement of the Ihanktonwan/Yankton Sioux Tribe claim, Republican Representative Frank Clague of Minnesota discussed with officials in the Department of the Interior whether the settlement might clear the way for creating a state park. In reply, the officials stated that the federal government now had complete control of the land subject to the right of "certain Indians" to quarry pipestone. In view of the American Indians' right to quarry, the officials did not favor making a state park. They thought the tract ought to be made into a national park or monument instead. Clague reported the finding in a letter to the townspeople of Pipestone. The town council passed a resolution in support of the national park idea, and a few civic groups, including local chapters of the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), sent resolutions to Washington as well. As in the past, however, the resolutions failed to elicit a response at the national level. All of this occurred in the months of November and December 1929, just when the nation was plunged into economic crisis by the stock market crash.[636]

Two years later, a town meeting was called for the purpose of forming a permanent organization to advocate for a national park. Around thirty-five people, representing numerous civic associations, the city council, the fire department, and various churches and social clubs, convened at the Calumet Hotel on a bitterly cold night in January 1932, where they formed the Pipestone National Park Association. Soon thereafter the new organization changed its name to the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association so that there would be no confusion about its purpose: it did not seek the establishment of a recreational park so much as a cultural preserve. Its fundamental idea was "to preserve the area including the pipestone quarry and falls as a perpetual meeting place for the Indians."[637]

The association's president and driving personality was Winifred Bartlett. Born in Pipestone County in 1888 and graduated from the local high school, she had long appreciated the beauty and solemnity surrounding the quarries and Winnewissa Falls. As a teenager and young adult she had often visited the site with friends to view the falls, look at plants, and watch the American Indians

[635] Hoover, "Yankton Sioux Tribal Claims against the United States, 1917-1975," 131.
[636] "Better Prospect for National Park," *Pipestone County Star*, November 15, 1929; "Park Resolutions on National Park," *Pipestone County Star*, December 3, 1929.
[637] "Group to Work for Nat'l Park," *Pipestone County Star*, January 19, 1932; "Pipestone Indian Shrine, New Name," *Pipestone County Star*, March 18, 1932.

working the quarries. Her interest in preservation began when she became aware that people were thoughtlessly carving their initials on the glassy, wind-polished surfaces of the quartzite escarpment. Joining the Catlinite Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, she identified with that organization's interest in protecting the historical graffiti left by the explorer Nicollet and his fellow Europeans. But the focus of her preservation efforts soon changed. In the mid 1920s, she worked as a court reporter in the Yankton Sioux Tribe claim case in Sioux Falls, where she heard the testimony of Ihanktonwan elders firsthand and learned much more about tribal traditions. She came to appreciate how difficult it was for American Indians to leave their reservation and travel to the quarries. So she came to advocate federal protection of the area mainly to preserve American Indian access and use of the quarries. She insisted that American Indians were prevented from leading the preservation movement by their difficult circumstances; therefore, Euro-Americans must secure federal protection over the quarries on their behalf.[638]

Pipestone School Superintendent J. W. Balmer was instrumental in the movement as well. He was the key liaison between the local townspeople and the federal government. A resident of Pipestone since 1924, he enrolled his children in the public school and took an active part in civic organizations, including the Mason's Quarry Lodge. A diligent and effective school administrator who was described as "kind, jovial, patient, and constructive," he kept in regular contact with American Indian communities around the region through his efforts to keep up the school's enrollment and meet his pupils' parents. As an experienced hand in the Indian Service, he sought to maintain the federal government's guardian role over the American Indians' rights in the quarry even as he supported transfer of the sacred site from the BIA to the NPS.[639]

In the winter of 1932, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association compiled a 42-page brochure entitled *Indian Legends and Historical Facts Regarding the Red Pipestone Quarry, Winnewissa Falls and the "Twin Maidens."* With the help of the *Pipestone Leader*, it printed two thousand copies of the brochure for distribution in the nation's capital.[640]

Bartlett authored most of the text, including the introductory five-page section entitled "The Pipestone Indian Shrine," which constituted the brochure's main pitch for creating a federal preserve around the quarry. Her essay made an eloquent plea for freedom of religion and preservation of cultural diversity. Those

[638]Bartlett interview; Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 100-01; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 58.
[639] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 86-87.
[640] Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, *Indian Legends, and Historical Facts Regarding the Red Pipestone Quarry, Winnewissa Falls and the "Twin Maidens"* (Pipestone, Minn.: The Pipestone Leader, 1932).

were enduring values that would soon get enshrined in Pipestone National Monument for good. Bartlett concluded her introductory essay with these words:

> Such was the belief of the Indians 150 years ago, and such was the land they guarded, and great was the power exercised over the red race by the shamans at the Quarry. Possibly the white man was justified in his methods parting of an … [Indian] race from its shrine; but the …[Indian] felt that he had an inalienable right to worship as he pleased. He was no idolator, and while he was not a Christian, he was, at his best, very spiritual.
>
> At this shrine was preached as true a gospel of peace on earth as was preached on the plains of Palestine. Here was a shrine of a true religion, established while it was yet possessed by a … [non-Christian] people. But the red man, through years of warfare and political struggle, has been dispossessed of his shrine. Today the white man, too, worships there. True, only a few of the … Indians live today, but their children have heard the tale of their father's struggle to save family, freedom and faith, and sometimes they will open their hearts and tell you that they, too, cherish the place very dearly.
>
> During the inevitable period of extinguishment of Indian title, much misunderstanding arose. Indians were either not permitted to visit the quarry, or so many difficulties thrown in their way, that they gave up their annual pilgrimages.
>
> During this time the Shrine was wholly unprotected and many people who passed over the prairie were ignorant of its importance to the Indian, and felt no compunction against committing many acts of vandalism, in spite of the warnings that were occasionally heard. Some of the finest petroglyphs were defaced, and to save them, they were removed by quarrymen under the direction of Mr. C. H. Bennett, and at his death came into the possession of the Pipestone County historical society.
>
> At last, the influence of the Quarry oracle has prevailed. Peace exists among all the Indian tribes and between the white and the red race, and both wish to set the precinct of the quarry apart as a constant reminder to the people of the good tidings the races share in common: Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men.[641]

[641] Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, *Indian Legends, and Historical Facts Regarding the Red Pipestone Quarry, Winnewissa Falls and the "Twin Maidens"* (Pipestone, Minn.: The Pipestone Leader, 1932), 4-5.

Historian Sally J. Southwick observed in her book *Building on a Borrowed Past: Place and Identity in Pipestone, Minnesota*, that the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association's brochure followed the pattern of earlier descriptions of the quarry by Catlin, Longfellow, and late-nineteenth-century Pipestone town fathers. Linking American Indian legends with Bible stories and Christian motifs, it claimed that the cultural site had significance for all Americans based on its universal message of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men." The brochure made clear that the purpose of the park would be primarily for cultural preservation, not public recreation, for it would secure the American Indians' right to continue quarrying. Even so, Southwick noted, the park would realize the town's longstanding ambition to establish a permanent government presence at the site that would boost the local economy through tourism. It would be another step in the dominant society's assertion of control over American Indian oral traditions and tribal heritage.

Furthermore, in advocating for the creation of a national park or monument, Bartlett and her colleagues insisted that they knew what was best for the tribes. "Bartlett's prose exuded unself-conscious paternalism, typical of the reform movement revitalized in the Depression era," Southwick wrote. Although Bartlett and the group were basically sympathetic to American Indians, they would not acknowledge that tribal governments had a voice in the matter. "The brochure noted that the tribes were helpless to care for the place."[642] While that presumption might seem misplaced and callous by today's standards, it spoke to the values of the dominant society in 1932. The Pipestone Indian Shrine Association found its mark. After copies were mailed to members of Congress and key officials in Washington, the movement began to gain traction. At least one congressman was favorably impressed by the material and wrote to the Department of the Interior.[643] The wheels of government began to turn.

On April 27, 1932, Balmer invited the BIA field representative from the Minneapolis office, Charles H. Berry, to another meeting of the association at the Calumet Hotel, where Bartlett and her colleagues explained the movement's background and purpose. Berry was "much impressed with their sincerity" and, following the meeting, joined Balmer in recommending the establishment of a national monument to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cecil J. Rhoads. Their next step was to circulate petitions in support of the initiative in three nearby Dakota communities: the Flandreau Sioux tribe, the Mdewakanton Sioux tribe, and the Yankton Sioux tribe. While Bartlett and the dominant society of her day were dismissive toward tribal governments, the BIA acknowledged a modicum of tribal sovereignty in 1932.

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[642] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 102-03.
[643] C. J. Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Morton D. Hull, House of Representatives, June 29, 1932, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, CCF, RG 75, NA.

Tribal Petitions Regarding the Pipestone National Monument

The first two petition drives apparently went smoothly; fifteen signed for the Flaudreau Sioux tribe and twenty-five signed for the Mdewakanton Sioux tribe. Besides those, Balmer obtained two more petitions at the Pipestone Indian School as parents came to retrieve their children for the summer recess. The two additional petitions were for the Sisseton Sioux tribe (sixteen signatures) and the Consolidated Chippewa tribe of Minnesota (thirteen signatures). All of these petitions were identically worded as follows:

> We, the undersigned, representative members of _____, residing at_____, hereby petition the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, through J. W. Balmer, Superintendent in charge of the Pipestone Indian School, that he cause to be set aside as a National Indian Shrine, to perpetuate the Red Pipestone Quarries located on the Government reserve near the City of Pipestone, in Minnesota, a certain parcel of ground embracing these quarries which are sacred to us and are rich in the lore and traditions of our fathers. We realize that if this parcel or ground embracing these quarries is designated as a National Indian Shrine by the Government that the things located thereon and held sacred by us could be more closely guarded against depredation by the traveling public and prevent the removal of relics which are dear to us and to all of our people.[644]

When the BIA circulated the petition on the Yankton Reservation to the Ihanktonwan, one of the tribe's two principal political leaders, Clement Smith, objected to it. The Yankton Reservation Superintendent, C. C. Hickman, called a meeting with Smith, another tribal member named Clarence Foreman, and Balmer. At the meeting, Smith declared that his tribe still owned the quarry, and while he was impressed by the movement to recognize its national significance, he feared that if the Ihanktonwan signed the petition they would lose control of the quarry. Hickman gave Smith some kind of assurance, and the petition went forward though Smith still refused to sign it. Altogether 111 signed the petition out of a voting population of about 450.[645]

Two different copies of the Yankton petition were placed in the BIA file that eventually came to reside in the National Archives. The original copy bears handwritten names or signatures, while a second copy lists all of the same names in typescript. In the latter version, the petition stated that the undersigned wanted the quarry to be set aside as a "National Indian Shrine," wording that also appears on the Flandreau and Mdewakanton tribes' petitions. But on the signed copy of the

[644] File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[645] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, Pipestone Indian School, to Chas. H. Berry, Field Represenative, Office of Indian Affairs, May 23, 1932, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

Yankton petition, "National Indian Shrine" was shortened to "National Shrine." It would appear that the word was omitted to deflect tribal concerns that the quarry would be open to all American Indians regardless of tribal affiliation. Furthermore, a saving clause was inserted at the end of the petition that read: "on condition that the Yankton Indians shall retain the right to quarry pipestone as long as they may desire."

Still unhappy with the petition, Clement Smith did not let the matter go. Elected to the tribal business committee that September, he pushed a resolution through the tribal council in the following year. In the resolution, the tribal council petitioned the government to treat the earlier petition as a nullity because the BIA had failed to send it through proper channels. The tribal council protested the possibility that the quarry could be opened to all tribes, and it insisted that if the quarry should become a park then the tribe ought to be compensated.[646]

An oral tradition exists among the Ihanktonwan that a fateful decision concerning the quarry was made "in the middle of the night."[647] Tribal members were manipulated into signing a document that led to the NPS taking control of the quarry. The document may have been the May 1932 petition or it may have been some other instrument which purported to give tribal consent to sell the land. It should be noted that tribal politics were in turmoil at this time and there was deep suspicion of the federal government. The BIA recognized two different elected tribal committees at the beginning of 1932 – one for governance and another to oversee a per capita distribution of the settlement money.[648] Individual checks for the loss of the Pipestone Reservation came to $151.99 and were finally being paid out around the same time that the petition circulated. Some individuals were left off the tribal roll and did not receive their check.[649] Tribal member Wesley Allen Hare, Jr., who was born in 1950, grew up with the oral tradition that his family members were relieved when they at last received their per-cap checks, and in Hare's telling, they regarded the checks as payment on a "lease" of the Pipestone Reservation for national park purposes.

Hare heard his Aunt Hazel tell a story of what happened when she went to Pipestone at the time that the BIA was preparing to transfer the area to the NPS. She was then tribal secretary and went with a delegation to discuss American Indian use of the quarry. During the negotiations, one of the rocks in the Three

[646] William P. Corbett, "Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument," *Minnesota History* 47, no. 3 (Fall 1980), 88; Charles Kerr to Horace Albright, August 4, 1933, and Clement Smith, Tribal Committee, to Horace Albright, Director of National Park Service, undated, File General Correspondence 1932-45 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.
[647] Wesley Allen Hare, Jr., interview.
[648] Lavanah Smith-Judah, "Yankton Reservation – The Depression Years" (March 4, 2008) at oyate1.proboards.com <January 24, 2014>.
[649] Minutes of the Tribal Council Yankton Sub-Agency, Greenwood, South Dakota, September 22, 1932, Ihanktonwan Community College Library.

Maidens group began to shoot sparks. When the fireworks ended, the rock bore an inscription in Dakota, "this land is not for sale." When she returned to the quarry many years later, the NPS had removed the rock.[650]

Another version of this story was recorded in a memorandum by Assistant Regional Director F. A. Calabrese following a meeting with Ihanktonwan tribal members and other parties in Pipestone in 1994.

> One of the Yanktons who spoke at the meeting was Mrs. Hazel Ashes (age 84), who was tribal secretary from 1926 to 1930 and was therefore involved in the transactions surrounding the government's payment to the Yanktons. She emphatically asserted that the money received from the government was for rent, not the sale, of the land, and that it was only the interest due the tribe, not the principal awarded them. She claimed that payments of large amounts of principal were to have been made in 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960, but these did not occur. Others of the Yanktons present appeared to share her view that the tribe had agreed only to rent the land to the government.[651]

From the Ihanktonwan perspective, the 1929, congressionally appropriated, Court of Claims settlement and the subsequent transfer of the quarries to NPS control were both part of one big swindle by the federal government. It is noteworthy that Wesley Hare places his aunt's visit to Pipestone in the 1930s whereas Calabrese implies that it would have been in the 1920s. In the NPS's version of what happened to the land title, the significant events are the Court of Claims settlement in 1928 and the establishment of the national monument by act of Congress in 1937 – two distinct events separated by nearly a decade. In the tribe's version, things happened much closer together. First, the per capita checks were distributed under the guise that the government was paying for a lease; then, only weeks later, the BIA circulated a petition about protecting the quarries in a national monument.

The NPS Gets Involved

In the summer of 1932, E. K. Burlew, Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior, visited the Pipestone Quarry along with a handful of other places that were under consideration for national monument designation. Following Burlew's reconnaissance, President Hoover used his executive authority under the Antiquities Act to establish five new national monuments in the closing

[650] Hare interview.
[651] F. A. Calabrese, Assistant Regional Director to Acting Regional Director, August 30, 1994, File A2624, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.

months of his administration, omitting the Minnesota site. The reason that the Pipestone Quarry was omitted was that the Antiquities Act was found to be inapplicable since the site was within the Pipestone Reservation. By law, the boundaries of an American Indian reservation could only be changed by an act of Congress.[652]

The leading precedent for making a national monument on an American Indian reservation was Canyon de Chelly National Monument in Arizona. In that case, the Navajo Tribe passed a resolution in support of creating a national monument provided that there was no change in jurisdiction over the land. Congress passed a law in February 1931 that authorized the president to create the national monument. The NPS took over jurisdiction of the ancient ruins and had responsibility for developing the area for public use while the BIA retained jurisdiction over Navajo land and mineral rights. The BIA looked to the establishment of a similar arrangement at the Minnesota site. Apparently some kind of NPS investigation of the site was under way at the end of the Hoover administration, but it led to nothing.[653]

Two things happened at the start of the Roosevelt administration that caused the NPS to take a closer look at the Pipestone national monument proposal. First, at Director Horace Albright's suggestion, the new president issued two executive orders that transferred all national battlefield parks and monuments held by the War Department and the Forest Service to the Department of the Interior, creating the fully-fledged National Park System under unified NPS administration. Among the many new units entrusted to the NPS's care, a large number were cultural sites. The reorganization made the NPS more receptive to taking on the administration and development of small units featuring historic resources rather than monumental scenery. As Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes indicated,

> Because of the tradition attached to the area and the prominence of the Sioux Indians in American history, it seems desirable that the area be set aside as a shrine which may be used as a link in the series of national historical sites now being developed by the National Park Service.[654]

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[652] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 62-64; E. K. Burlew, Administrative Assistant, to Miss Winifred Bartlett, President, Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, January 26, 1933, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

[653] David M. Brugge and Raymond Wilson, "Administrative History: Canyon de Chelly National Monument Arizona" (1976) at www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/cach/adhi.htm <February 3, 2014>; C. J. Rhoads, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to Mr. Knowles Blanchard, Attorney and Cousellor at Law, April 20, 1933, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

[654] Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, to Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, September 26, 1935, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

The second important event in 1933 was the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to provide emergency relief for unemployed young men. The CCC gave the NPS access to unprecedented manpower and money for developing National Park System areas. While most of the NPS's CCC activity would take place in the big, western national parks, the NPS's heavy involvement with the CCC from 1933 to 1942 would transform the whole agency into a far more robust bureaucracy, with regional offices and support staff in numerous locations across the nation. These trends were already apparent by the fall of 1933, when Director Arno B. Cammerer wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier stating that the NPS would proceed with a field investigation of the proposed national monument at Pipestone, Minnesota.[655] As it happened, the CCC did develop Pipestone National Monument. But the work was not carried out under NPS auspices; rather, it was performed by a BIA-led crew of about twenty-five men belonging to the CCC Indian Division (CCC-ID), and most of this structural development was completed by the close of 1934, over two years before the national monument was established.



Figure 45. The CCC-ID improved this small dam to enhance Lake Hiawatha. (Photo by the authors.)

In May 1934, Senator Henrik Shipstead, a Republican from Minnesota, introduced a bill to establish the "Pipestone Indian Shrine." Although this first bill did not get out of committee, it started a conversation between BIA, tribes, and the

[655] Arno B. Cammerer, Director, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 23, 1933, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

NPS over national monument boundaries. The BIA initially proposed a tract of 81.75 acres. The northern boundary ran about one hundred yards north of Pipestone Creek, with all of the area north of that to remain with the Indian school. Following input from two tribes, the Flandreau Band of Sioux and the Birch Coulee Band of Mdewakanton Sioux, the BIA increased the size of the tract to 110.6 acres. The addition included a cemetery located west of the escarpment and north of Pipestone Creek. Though the cemetery had long fallen into disuse, gravesites were uncovered that year by a CCC-ID crew as they were clearing brush, and a monument was erected on the spot. In January 1935, Shipstead introduced a second bill with the larger acreage and the burial ground included. The legislation, S. 1339, was entitled "A Bill to establish the Pipestone Indian Shrine in the State of Minnesota."[656]

In August 1935, the NPS sent historian Edward A. Hummel and landscape architect Neal A. Butterfield to evaluate the site. Their reports confirmed that the site was significant, aesthetic, and merited protection in a national monument. The following month, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes provided a brief favorable report on S. 1339 to the chairman of the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, stating the significance of the Pipestone Quarry and confirming that American Indian title had been extinguished. The committee reported the bill to the Senate, and the Senate passed it, but the House did not take up the measure in that session so the second bill died as well.[657]

In March 1936, Acting Director A. E. Demaray informed Commissioner Collier that the NPS wished to include an additional 5.42 acres in the proposed national monument. He stated that the NPS's investigator, Butterfield, when visiting the area in August 1935, had "discovered the original quarry site of the pipestone at the time the first white man visited the area." Butterfield's report has not been found, but it would seem that he referred to a pit or pits just north of Spotted Quarry. The only other description of the site appeared in a consent order signed by Sam Bluestone, Harry Lawrence, and George St. Clair, the business committee of the Birch Coulee Band of Mdewakanton Sioux. The committee gave its consent to the Park Service request, stating: "The additional acreage is for the purpose of including in the park area two of the old original diggings from which

[656] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 68; J. H. Mitchell, "The Pipestone Quarry or Restoring an Ancient Indian Shrine," *Indians at Work* 2, no.8 (December 1934), 28; William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner, to James W. Balmer, Superintendent, Pipestone School, May 31, 1935, with enclosures, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[657] A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, to Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1936, and Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, to Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, September 26, 1935, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 69.

pipestone was removed by the Indians which was not included in the original survey of the park boundary, and is located outside of the fence now constructed to enclose the park."[658] As the BIA had no objection, the boundary description in Section 1 of the bill was rewritten to the NPS's specifications. Also, the name of the unit was changed to Pipestone National Monument.[659]

The Provision for Continued Quarrying

Section 3 of the act to establish Pipestone National Monument states: "The quarrying of the red pipestone in the lands described in section 1 is hereby expressly reserved to Indians of all tribes, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior." No other unit in the National Park System has such a provision for continued traditional use. As historian Hal Rothman wrote, "At the inception of Pipestone National Monument, living Native Americans were part of the reason for creating the park, their 'historic' activities part of the milieu." One of the purposes of the national monument was to protect American Indians' ability to maintain their tradition of quarrying, and to interpret the activity for the visiting public. Yet the American Indian privilege to quarry was not without controversy. The Ihanktonwan held that the federal government had taken what had once belonged to the tribe and had unjustly opened it up to all American Indians. It is therefore important to examine how Section 3 got into the legislation.

Section 3 appeared in Senator Shipstead's earlier bill, S. 1339, with slightly different wording: "All mineral rights in the lands described in section 1 are hereby expressly reserved to Indians of all tribes, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior." There can be little doubt that Section 3 was included at the behest of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, which had the express goal of preserving the American Indians' traditional quarrying activity. Shipstead asked the Department of the Interior to comment on whether the provision posed any legal issues. On August 26, 1935, Assistant Commissioner Zimmerman responded that Section 3 did not appear to be "objectionable," but the report on the bill was "somewhat misleading." He explained:

> The lands of Pipestone, as stated in the report, were originally reserved for the Yankton Sioux Indians. However, in a suit in the Court of Claims (65 Ct. Cl. 427) it was held that by taking over the tract and using it for Indian

[658] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1936, enclosing Sam Bluestone, Harry Lawrence, and George St. Clair, Committee, undated statement of consent, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[659] Charles West, Acting Secretary of the Interior, to Hon. Alva B. Adams, Chairman, Committee on Public Lands and Surveys, May 6, 1937, File General Correspondence 1932-45, Box 2360, CCF 1933-1949, RG 79, NA II.

> School purposes, the United States had in effect exercised its power of eminent domain and that Indian title had been extinguished. Judgment therefore was rendered in favor of the Indians. The judgment has been paid. It might be well to have this set out in the report as otherwise it is difficult to understand why the minerals are not reserved for the exclusive benefit of the Yankton Sioux Indians.[660]

No more was said on the matter until nearly a year later when the NPS's request for an additional 5.42 acres came under consideration. Superintendent Balmer took the request to the business committee of the Birch Coulee Band of Mdewakanton Sioux, who responded that it would consent to the additional acreage if the tribe could be assured of continued access to the quarries after the land transferred to the NPS. Balmer conveyed this information to Collier with the recommendation that a clause be inserted in the bill stipulating to that tribe's privilege.[661]

Collier turned for advice to anthropologist H. Scudder Mekeel, Director of the Bureau's Applied Anthropology Unit, which Collier had established the previous year. Mekeel prepared a short memorandum:

> In regard to the Pipestone quarry, according to ancient Indian usage this was considered neutral ground. No Indian in or near the quarry could be attacked, even if he belonged to a hostile tribe. Both Sioux and Chippewa used this quarry in early times even though they were at war with one another. Theoretically, the right to the quarry was extended to all Indians. Naturally, it was used almost entirely by those Indians living fairly close to the quarry. In recent times the Yanktonnai Sioux have claimed a prior right to its use.
>
> There are two or three Indians of this tribe who, in recent years, have been making commercial use of the pipestone. However, in as much as this is going to be a national park, I believe it will be better not to limit the right for the use of the stone to the Lower Sioux but extend it to all Indians. If this may cause trouble between the Yanktonnai Sioux and other Indians, it might be well to put a yearly output limit on the quarry, with a greater output assigned to the Yanktonnai Sioux.[662]

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[660] William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner, to Rufus G. Poole, August 26, 1935, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[661] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 22, 1936, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[662] H. Scudder Mekeel, "Memorandum regarding the Pipestone Indian Shrine in the State of Minnesota," May 18, 1936, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

The BIA prepared a letter informing the NPS that the American Indians had conditionally granted their consent to the addition of the 5.42 acres to the proposed national monument. BIA attorney Kenneth Meiklejohn reviewed the draft letter together with Dr. Mekeel's memorandum and advised that the BIA further clarify the American Indian privilege to quarry in the letter, but not necessarily include the information in the legislation itself. He wrote:

> The Yankton, Chippewa, and other Indians have used this quarry in times past; I suggest, therefore, that there be inserted in the letter in place of the second paragraph [the] following: "The Indians, however, insist that the right to the continuous privilege of quarrying the stone be reserved to them, since the Pipestone quarry was according to ancient Indian usage considered neutral ground at or near which no Indian could be attacked even if he belonged to a hostile tribe, and since various tribes have at various times clamed the right to quarry the stone, the reservation of such right should be in the name of all Indians rather than merely the Lower Sioux Tribe." In order to avoid any difficulty between the Yankton Sioux, who claim a prior right to quarry the stone, and other Indians, it might be well to set limits on the total yearly output which may be quarried, assigning a larger quota to the Yankton Tribe than to other Indian tribes.[663]

As a result of these deliberations, Section 3 was amended from "all mineral rights" to "the quarrying of the red pipestone" – a more particular phrasing. The final phrasing used in the letter from the BIA to the NPS was as follows:

> The Committee of Lower Sioux Agency Council has agreed to include in the park area the 5.42 acres on which the old Pipestone quarries are located. Your attention is directed to the desirability of keeping in the bill language similar to that now in section 3 of S. 1339, reserving to the Indians of all tribes the mineral rights in the land under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. Title to the land being in the United States, there appears to be no reason why any particular band or group of Indians should be given preferred usage of the quarries. Later, when appropriate regulations are drafted, it may appear desirable to limit the total amount of stone to be removed each year and to apportion this amount between tribes.[664]

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[663] Kenneth Meiklejohn, Attorney, to [Fred H.] Daiker, [Assistant to the Commissioner], June 3, 1936, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.
[664] William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner, to Hillory A. Tolson, Acting Director, July 16, 1936, File 11113-1932-Pipestone-307.2, RG 75, NA.

Last Years of BIA Administration

The BIA began to develop Pipestone National Monument even before it was formally established, using a crew of American Indian laborers under a New Deal emergency relief program called the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW), better known as the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID). The crew of about twenty-five men cleared brush; planted trees; put up boundary fences; built a picnic area with pavilion, latrines, fireplaces, and picnic tables; constructed a dam across Pipestone Creek to form the pond known as Lake Hiawatha; laid out a trail; and erected rustic signs pointing to interesting features. Most of these improvements lasted well beyond 1937 when Pipestone National Monument was established by Congress, and a few of them, such as the dam and trail, remain intact to the present day.



Figure 46. Steps cut into rock escarpment by the CCC-ID along the Circle Trail. (Photo by the authors.)

Prior to the work of the CCC-ID, a public access road was built by another emergency relief organization, the Civil Works Administration (CWA). The short-lived CWA was aimed at providing temporary public-works jobs for millions of unemployed workers during the grim winter of 1933-34. A CWA office opened in Pipestone at the end of 1933 and 235 men were enrolled. Soon a 14-man crew and two trucks were assigned to build a new road through the area. The road started at the junction of

Reservation Avenue and North Hiawatha Street, and made a sweeping U-shaped bend in the direction of the escarpment, rejoining Reservation Avenue about 500 yards to the west. Hastily laid out and constructed, this road was not to last. The NPS would later build a new entrance road on a different alignment and obliterate most of the CWA-built road. Winifred Bartlett would later remark that the CWA-built road was a "curse" – sandy, weedy, and messy.[665]

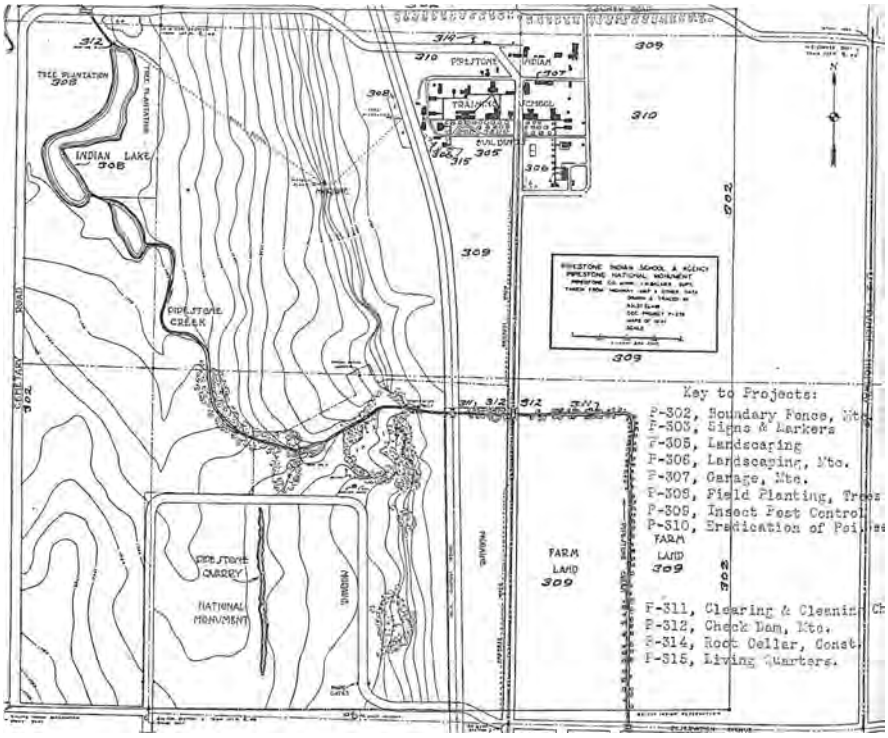


Figure 47. Map of Pipestone Indian School and Pipestone National Monument, 1937. Note the old road alignment in bottom left quadrant.

The CCC-ID crew was assembled in the following spring. It included about twenty-five men from the American Indian communities in Pipestone, Minnesota, and Flandreau, South Dakota. The crew was called the Calumet Work Group, and it was one of the smallest crews in the CCC-ID. Unlike the CCC, the CCC-ID did not require all of its crews to live in army-style camps; the Calumet Work Group had what was called a "home camp," meaning that crew members worked five days a week and lived at home. The CCC-ID did not limit itself to unmarried men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five as did the CCC, but took on men of all ages, single or married. In place of the CCC practice of employing two hundred men in a camp for a six-month enrollment period, the CCC-ID generally

[665] "CWA Quota for County Increased," *Pipestone County Star*, December 19, 1933; Bartlett interview.

formed crews of forty to fifty men, allowing for the number to fluctuate as crew members sometimes saw to other needs (such as traditional subsistence activities). Enrollees earned a basic wage of $1.50 per day if they lived in a camp, or $2.10 if they lived at home.[666]

In July 1934, the Pipestone CCC-ID crew was composed of fifteen men from Pipestone and ten men from Flandreau, South Dakota. The men from Pipestone mainly worked at the future national monument while the men from Flandreau mainly worked on a forestation project outside that town. Several of the crew were brothers or related in some way. Four crew members had the surname Columbus, three were Goodthunders, three were named St. Clair, two were named Jones, two were named Taylor, and two were named Lightfoot. The crew foreman was a Euro-American named Randolph W. Hellwig who had a degree from Ohio State University, class of '14, and a background in forestry and landscape engineering.[667]

Balmer submitted a work plan for the CCC-ID crew on the Pipestone Reservation, and Collier personally approved it. The plan was oriented to the roughly eighty-acre parcel that the BIA expected to turn over to the NPS. The first two tasks accomplished by the fifteen-man crew were clearing brush on those eighty acres and constructing a wire fence around the perimeter of what Balmer called "the Park Area."[668]

Balmer proposed to dam Pipestone Creek and create a small lake primarily for aesthetic purposes. He specified that the dam would be made of red granite masonry using granite available at the site and that it would be built on a natural bedrock surface. His proposal received a hearty endorsement from William Heritage, a senior forester in the BIA. Heritage wrote to Collier that the dam would provide a valuable water supply for stock and habitat for game birds and animals. He urged, "The conservation of the natural beauty of this very historical area seems to me to be very important and I trust that your office will be able to authorize all the work Superintendent Balmer has proposed to do."[669]

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[666] B. G. Courtright, Special Agent, to Louis R. Glavis, Director of Investigations, May 28, 1934, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA; Roger Brombert, "The Sioux and the Indian-CCC," *South Dakota History* 8, no. 4 (Fall 1978), 345-47.
[667] J. H. Mitchell, Supervisor, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 18, 1934, and B. G. Courtright, Special Agent, to Louis R. Glavis, Director of Investigations, May 28, 1934, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA.
[668] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 27, 1933, and John Collier, Commissioner, to Balmer, January 11, 1934, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA.
[669] Balmer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 27, 1934, and William Heritage Production Coordinating Officer, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 2, 1934, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA.

The *Pipestone County Star* reported that the townspeople and the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association in particular were "watching with just pride" as the CCC-ID crew made preliminary improvements "toward the establishment of a National park." By mid May, the dam was completed and the crew was erecting stone pillars at each entrance on the new park road, which the *Pipestone County Star* found to be "in keeping with the rustic nature of the region."[670] By the end of the year, the CCC-ID had completed most of its landscaping work. A picnic area was developed, a pavilion was built, and a trail was completed, "winding among the rocks, leading to points of vantage."[671] Over the years, numerous repairs to the trail were made and it is now impossible to know which specimens of stone masonry, if any, are representative of the CCC-ID's original handiwork.

The Calumet Work Group continued in existence until the CCC-ID was terminated after the United States entered World War II. It expanded to several American Indian communities across southern Minnesota, including the Lower Sioux Indian Community, the Upper Sioux Community of Minnesota, the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of Minnesota, and the Prairie Island Indian Community. After its initial flurry of construction project at the Pipestone Quarry in 1934, the Calumet Work Group engaged mostly in landscaping and maintenance work there. Nearby, CCC-ID workers also built a second dam on Pipestone Creek in what would later become the adjoining wildlife refuge and made numerous improvements on the grounds of the Pipestone Indian School. In 1937, CCC-ID work at the quarry site did include some additional construction: significant repair to the Lake Hiawatha dam and the building of two small footbridges across overflow channels near the picnic area.[672] The two masonry footbridges have survived, but the picnic area and foot trail in their vicinity have reverted to natural vegetation. Lying several yards off the Circle Trail, the CCC-ID-built footbridges are now rarely noticed by visitors.

Little is known about the individual men who made up the Pipestone contingent of the Calumet Work Group. The CCC-ID, like the CCC, was subject to frequent inspection reports by its own agents, and if these reports are to be accepted at face value then the men generally had high morale and the program was quite successful in alleviating unemployment in the local

[670] "Work to Begin on Park Project," *Pipestone County Star*, January 23, 1934, and "Historic Ground Being Beautified," *Pipestone County Star*, May 15, 1934.
[671] Mitchell, "The Pipestone Quarry or Restoring an Ancient Indian Shrine," 28.
[672] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 26, 1937, and March 26, 1937, and D. E. Murphy, for the Commissioner, to Balmer, February 3, 1937, and June 26, 1937, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA.

American Indian community. The men must have been of various ages, despite references to them as "the IECW boys." One inspection report mentions Emil Baird, an enrollee whose mother was the laundress at the Pipestone Indian School, and two brothers, Francis and Owen Lightfoot, whose father was the chief clerk at the school. Baird lived with his mother in government quarters on the school campus, while the Lightfoot brothers each had their own homes in town.[673]

According to an article in the CCC-ID news magazine, *Indians at Work*, this crew was allowed considerable input as it went about beautifying the "ancient Indian shrine" for public use. It was the crew's decision to erect a monument at the old cemetery which was uncovered in the course of clearing brush. The monument was in the form of a simple shaft of Sioux quartzite inscribed with the words, "Peace Forever."[674]

[673] B. G. Courtright, Special Agent, to Louis R. Glavis, May 28, 1934, File 40754-Pipestone-1933-344, Box 172, CCC-ID General Records 1933-44, RG 75, NA.
[674] Mitchell, "The Pipestone Quarry or Restoring an Ancient Indian Shrine," 28.

Chapter 8
The Sacred Quarries under NPS Management, 1937 to 1970

The NPS acquired management responsibility for the Pipestone Quarry in 1937 and has now been administering the area for more than three-quarters of a century. Consistent with the agency's mission to protect the resources and provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner as to leave them unimpaired for future generations, the NPS set about to regulate American Indian use of the quarries, develop the area with trails and other public facilities, and interpret the significance of the site for a growing stream of visitors. As the NPS mission called for accommodating the sometimes divergent interests of American Indian and non-natives on the same small tract of around 300 acres, historian Hal K. Rothman aptly titled the administrative history of Pipestone National Monument, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*.

Rothman completed his history in 1992, near the beginning of a decade in which new perspectives on the relationship of indigenous peoples and protected areas came into wider currency. Americans had long taken pride in the fact that the United States government had established the world's first national park. It was said that the United States had invented the national park idea; even that it was "America's best idea." Now, at the end of the twentieth century, people were led to reflect on the relationship between the making of national parks on one hand and the dispossession of those same parklands' original inhabitants on the other. The stark historical truth was that the national parks were mostly established out of the U.S. public domain, and most of the U.S. public domain had been obtained from American Indian tribes in the nineteenth century by conquest or coercion. The history drew troubling connections between American conservation and the historical mistreatment of American Indians. Further, as the rights of indigenous peoples received more attention all around the world, it prompted historians to re-examine those connections in global perspective, to view the American experience as part of the worldwide experience of colonialism.[675]

Historian Sally Southwick employed de-colonization theory in her study of the town of Pipestone, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, published in 2005. Southwick's thesis is that Euro-Americans expropriated the American Indian's oral traditions and sacred quarries, reshaping them to suit their own needs. Euro-Americans took American Indian traditional stories and created a national image of

[675] Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*; Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000); Robert H. Keller and Michael F. Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Theodore Catton, *Inhabited Wilderness: Indians, Eskimos, and National Parks in Alaska* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

the quarries; they capitalized on the image through tourism; and ultimately, they put the Pipestone Reservation to work for the town's economy, first through the establishment of the Pipestone Indian School and then through the development of Pipestone National Monument. In the name of historic preservation, they committed acts of cultural imperialism.

This chapter draws on the works by Rothman and Southwick to understand the cultural and political setting for the native position during the first three and a half decades of NPS administration. Staying with this study's theme of changing American Indian occupation and use of the quarries, it is apparent that American Indian quarrying changed into an economic pursuit practiced by a relatively small number of people, perhaps a few dozen, while the NPS transformed the place into a park for non-native visitors whose numbers rose into the tens of thousands. Melding Rothman's helpful tight focus on the national monument with Southwick's broad view of what Euro-Americans did with the quarries, this chapter traces how American Indians accommodated themselves to changing times as the NPS secularized their sacred place.

Quarrying and Regulation

Congress approved the act to establish Pipestone National Monument on August 25, 1937, and President Roosevelt signed it into law the next day. As the land was already in federal ownership, the transfer of jurisdiction from the BIA to the NPS was automatic and immediate. But, as often happened, Congress had created a park without appropriating funds for it. When the NPS recommended a modest appropriation of $2,100 for assigning a custodian to the unit, the Bureau of the Budget declined to include it with the administration's budget estimates. For two full budget cycles, Pipestone National Monument was ignored. At last, Congress appropriated a paltry $1,300 to Pipestone for paying a custodian and purchasing supplies. On January 2, 1940, Albert F. Drysdale arrived as the unit's first custodian. In the interim, the NPS relied on Balmer of the BIA to look after the unit as well as he could.[676]

Meanwhile, the American Indian privilege to continue quarrying gave NPS officials something to ponder. Within a year of the national monument's establishment, the NPS heard from townspeople who warned of an influx of interlopers posing as traditional quarriers and aiming to sell pipestone souvenirs to tourists.[677] The NPS also heard more general complaints that both American Indians and non-Indians were "misusing the area." Upon investigation, these

[676] Hillory A. Tolson, Assistant Director, to Thomas J. Allen, Jr., Regional Director, June 10, 1938, and Allen to the Director, August 23, 1938, File General Correspondence 1932-45 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 80.
[677] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 77.

complaints appeared to cover a wide gamut of concerns, from allegations that park visitors were committing acts of vandalism, to resentment of American Indian families who camped in the area for weeks or months while they quarried. Balmer and Winifred Bartlett said the complaints were exaggerated or unfounded and that conditions at the site were no different than before the national monument was established.[678]

While the BIA and the NPS mostly cooperated, minor differences soon developed concerning the quarrying. Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman, Jr., informed Director Arno B. Cammerer in 1938 that he was not in favor of restricting native use of the quarries as long as the BIA was still looking after the area for the NPS. "During the time that the quarries were under the supervision of the Pipestone Indian School," Zimmerman explained, "the Indians were permitted to camp near the quarries during the summer months and quarry the stone that they needed to fabricate the pipes and other souvenirs that they make during the winter months." They were careful in the amount of stone they took, and there was no danger of them depleting the supply or commercializing its sale, because they had always held the stone to be sacred, and the traditions were as dear to the present generation of quarriers as they had been to their forefathers. "In view of the circumstances that only a few Indians are now quarrying pipestone, and then only in small quantities," Zimmerman wrote, "I recommend that no restrictions be placed upon them at this time; and that they be permitted to camp at the site just as they and their forefathers have done for centuries." Cammerer replied to this letter by saying that he concurred with the decision to allow American Indians unfettered access to the quarries for the time being.[679]

Still, Cammerer was convinced that the NPS would have to implement a permit system to regulate the quarrying. The clearest record of his thinking on the subject came in a letter to Rene d'Harnoncourt, general manager of the Indian Arts

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[678] Edward A. Hummel, Acting Regional Historian, to Regional Director, August 18, 1938, File General Correspondence 1932-45 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II. Also see Carroll H. Wegemann, Regional Geologist, to Mr. Brown, August 5, 1938, File 204, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR. Wegemann spoke with one native quarryman, Ephraim Taylor, at his camp near the quarries. He observed a second camp at a distance, commenting: "I noted a rather dilapidated looking trailer which was pulled in by one of the stone camp ovens at the mouth of a small ravine which cut one of the quartzite ridges and took it that this was occupied by another Indian family although I did not see the occupants." Wegemann went on to report the concerns of Jean Carmen, executive secretary of the Pipestone County Welfare Board, that more Indian families had come to camp there since the establishment of the national monument and that numerous townspeople had complained that their camps were unsightly and "prevent the use of the park by the whites. Conditions of life among the Indians are said to be decidedly unmoral."

[679] William Zimmerman, Jr., Assistant Commissioner, to Arno B. Cammerer, Director, May 3, 1938, and Cammerer to Zimmerman, June 9, 1938, File General Correspondence 1932-45 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

and Crafts Board. The Indian Arts and Crafts Board was created by law in 1935 to nurture a revival of genuine American Indian arts and crafts in the marketplace – and to discourage imitation art of the type that townspeople in Pipestone feared would develop around the pipestone quarries. Cammerer provided d'Harnoncourt with a brief overview of the prehistoric and historic use of the quarries and the significance of the sacred pipe in American Indian cultures, and asked for the board's assistance. Specifically, he requested help from the board's field representative, anthropologist Gladys Tantaquidgeon, in developing ethnological information on the native art of pipemaking that could help form the basis for regulating the manufacture and use of pipestone. Cammerer wrote:

> It is the desire of this Service to maintain the pipestone quarries in their aboriginal state as much as possible. Quarrying operations should be of a character in keeping with ethnological precedents. Moreover, the manufacture of pipes and other objects should conform as nearly as possible to the forms and styles of aboriginal artisans.[680]

In the fall of 1939, Regional Historian Ed Hummel made his second visit to Pipestone and met with Balmer and members of local civic groups. Balmer offered his thoughts on how the quarrying activity should be managed, which Hummel represented as follows:

1. Indians desiring to quarry pipestone must first secure a permit from the National Park Service. To secure such a permit the applicant must indicate a knowledge of quarrying methods and a knowledge of means used to preserve the pipestone.
2. All quarrying to be done by hand methods.
3. During quarrying operations no modern living facilities (trailers, etc.) be allowed on the Monument.
4. Work shops on the Monument for preparing articles to be limited by special permits and must be typical Sioux tepees.[681]

Hummel was concerned that the American Indians' temporary workshops and living facilities would detract from the historical character

[680] Arno B. Cammerer, Director, to General Manager, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, January 8, 1940, File 101 History, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR. Before her appointment to the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Tantaquidgeon served in the BIA as a social worker on the Yankton Sioux Reservation from 1934 to 1938. A medicine woman of the Mohegan Tribe, she earned many honors in a long life that spanned from 1899 to 2005.
[681] Acting Regional Director to Director, November 27, 1939, File 101 History, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

of the place. The following spring, he reminded Cammerer of the need for a statement of policy and a form of permit to regulate the quarrying activity. By then, Pipestone National Monument's custodian was on duty, and Hummel stated that this official was "experiencing considerable difficulty in maintaining this area because of the desire of the American Indians to live on the Monument while they are quarrying this rock." What Custodian Drysdale actually reported was that three local American Indians had set up shop on the premises in the month of May, with one man quarrying nearly every day and the other two quarrying on week nights and weekends. Acting Director Arthur Demaray replied to Hummel that the NPS needed more information before it settled on a definite policy, and in any case the regulations must not defeat the American Indian s' right to quarry.[682]

As the NPS consulted the BIA further, Balmer provided more detail on the four points that he and Hummel had discussed as a basis for permitting. First, with regard to limiting the activity to individuals who possessed traditional knowledge of how to quarry the pipestone, Balmer indicated that, in his experience, this knowledge was passed from father to son and only a small number of natives were involved. "We do not have any large migration of Indians here for the purpose of quarrying," he wrote. With regard to the second point, the quarriers worked exclusively with hand tools as a matter of necessity, because the use of explosives or mechanized equipment weakened the pipestone, rendering it too brittle to work with. On the third and fourth points, relating to living quarters and workshops, Balmer observed that the American Indians should be permitted to use whatever camping equipment they owned, since few of them could afford to purchase a canvas tipi.[683]

While the NPS took Balmer's information into account, it held to Cammerer's basic formula that the quarrying activity should be of an aboriginal character as much as possible. Hummel prepared a preliminary historical development report, the NPS's first planning document for Pipestone National Monument.[684] Hummel took a minimalist approach, proposing that the area be kept entirely clear of buildings except for a museum and perhaps a custodian's residence. Should the American Indian artists desire a shop for selling their products, it could be located offsite on the Pipestone School property. Should the

[682] Acting Regional Director to Director, June 5, 1940, File 101 History, and Albert F. Drysdale, Superintendent's Narrative Report, June 7, 1940, File 207.02 Monthly Narrative Reports, and "Pipestone National Monument, Bibliography of Past Correspondence regarding Policy of Quarrying Pipestone and Regulative Policy to April 28, 1944," File 208 Rules and Regulations, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[683] J. W. Balmer, Superintendent, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 14, 1940, File General Correspondence 1932-1945 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.
[684] Edward A. Hummel, "Preliminary Historical Development Report of Pipestone National Monument," October 1940, File 621, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

quarriers require a workshop or shelter, it was preferable that it not be a modern building. Although Hummel was sensitive to the American Indian quarriers's needs, he conceptualized their quarrying activity as being in the nature of an exhibition for the visitor. "The Indian work will be more attractive and interesting if it occurs elsewhere than in a building, no matter how attractively arranged," the regional director wrote, summarizing Hummel's plan for the director. "The Indian in the past at Pipestone has not carried on his activities within a structure, and to put him within a structure now does not seem proper."[685] The difference in perspective between the BIA and the NPS was significant: the NPS regarded the American Indian right to quarry as being subordinate to the monument's larger purpose of preserving the past for the benefit and enjoyment of all Americans.

> The regulations were promulgated on February 19, 1946, as follows:
>
> 1. Indians desiring to quarry or work red pipestone shall first secure permits from the Director, which shall be issued without charge and shall be valid only during the calendar year in which they are issued. Applications for such permits may be addressed to the Director through the Custodian. The Director may limit the number of permits in operation at any one time consistent with the area available for camp sites and in the interest of conserving the pipestone.
> 2. All red pipestone quarried shall be used by the Indians for the purpose of making pipes or other articles or trinkets associated with Indian folklore and legend. No unworked stone shall be sold.
> 3. Pipestone, which is uncovered and exposed to the air, shall be removed and worked, or covered in such a manner as to prevent hardening or deterioration.
> 4. Quarrying shall be done by hand methods, preferably with tools characteristic of those used by the "Early American Indian."
> 5. The abodes of Indians living on the Monument during quarrying or working operations shall be located on sites selected by the Custodian and such abodes shall be kept clean and sanitary.[686]

At least six American Indian men were active in the quarry pits in the years 1940 to 1946. Their names were Ephraim Taylor, Nathan Taylor, Harvey Derby, Joe Wabasha, George Bryan, and Charlie Robinson. All were residents of Pipestone or Flandreau, South Dakota. The amount of

[685] Regional Director to Director, October 21, 1940, File 621, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[686] Howard W. Baker, Acting Regional Director, to Regional Historian, March 14, 1946, enclosing regulations issued February 19, 1946 by Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, File 208, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

quarrying varied from year to year, depending on the weather. In a dry year, the men could begin quarrying by the end of May. In a wet year, standing water could remain in the pits all summer long. Most years, they began quarrying in mid-summer and continued until October. Sometimes, they removed the standing water with pumps borrowed from the Indian school.[687]

During the transition to a permitting system, there was no appreciable change in American Indian use of the quarry. Five of the six men who were noted by custodian Drysdale as working in the quarries during the first half of the decade continued to work in the quarries under special use permit in the second half of the decade. The missing man was Charlie Robinson, who died in 1945. Besides the five, four other men took out permits in the first few years after permitting began. The first two, Nelson Jones and Robert Wilson, were residents of Pipestone, and the other two, George Redwing and Taylor Weston, were residents of Flandreau. At least one of these men, Wilson, tended to quarry for only a short period late in the season so it is possible he quarried earlier in the decade without Drysdale being aware of it. In 1950, Wilson gave his address as Granite Falls, Minnesota, and in 1951 Harvey Derby gave his address as Pipestone and Sisseton, Minnesota.[688]

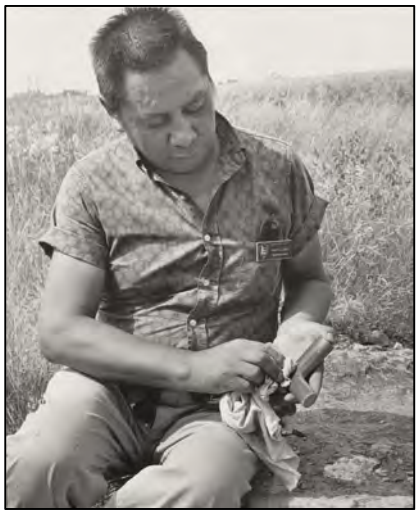


Figure 48. Harvey Derby. (National Park Service photo.)

Even with the advent of the permit system, the NPS had only a light administrative presence at Pipestone National Monument until the area was developed in the late 1950s under the Mission 66 program. Custodian Drysdale was on duty during the visitor season only. The term of his seasonal employment varied from year to year and was seldom longer than six months; in 1946, he was on duty for just twelve weeks, from July 1 to September 20. Some years he

[687] Albert F. Drysdale, Custodian, to Regional Director, September 23, 1943, File 208, and Albert F. Drysdale, Superintendent's Monthly Reports, June 7, 1940, August 6, 1942, September 1, 1943, June 3, 1944, July 3, 1944, September 5, 1944, May 5, 1945, July 8, 1945, August 5, 1945, September 4, 1945, and October 3, 1945, File 207.02.3, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR. Drysdale reported anecdotally that one man took out a half ton of pipestone one year, and another took out 400 pounds in another year. He did not say how he arrived at these figures.

[688] Special use permits for 1946 through 1951 were as follows. For 1946: George Bryan, Harvey Derby, Nelson Jones, and Robert Wilson. For 1947: Ephraim Taylor, Nathan Taylor, George Redwing, and Taylor Weston. For 1948: none. For 1949: Ephraim and Nathan Taylor obtained one permit, and George and Clara Bryan obtained another. For 1950: Robert Wilson, Taylor Weston, Ephraim Taylor, and Harvey Derby. For 1951: Robert Wilson, Taylor Weston, and Joe Wabasha. Permits are in File 901, Box 195, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

employed an assistant and other years he did not. There was no resident housing, so the custodian and his assistant lived off-site. Without on-site staff, Pipestone National Monument suffered abuse from the visiting public. Littering was a constant nuisance, and in the winter of 1946-47 vandals damaged the public restrooms and picnic shelter.

In 1948, the NPS began to staff Pipestone National Monument all year round. Drysdale transferred to Mount Rushmore National Memorial and Lyle C. Linch, a ranger at Jewel Cave and Badlands National Monuments, was appointed custodian in his place. Within months of arriving, Linch was promoted to superintendent. Linch took temporary quarters at the Pipestone Indian School, where, like Balmer, he looked after the area as best he could from the adjoining property. In 1950, Linch and his family moved into a new superintendent's residence that was built on the national monument grounds.

American Indians might have been put off to see uniformed staff occupying their sacred place, just as they might have been put off when they were informed they needed a permit to work their sacred stone. That sort of damper on American Indian use is known to have occurred in other national parks. But no evidence has been found to suggest that the NPS administrative presence had a discouraging effect on American Indian use at Pipestone National Monument. On the contrary, it appears that Superintendent Linch and the superintendent who came after him, Harvey Reynolds, cultivated positive relationships with the local American Indian community as well as with American Indian families who came from elsewhere and camped near the quarries. Linch had nothing but praise for the two native men who worked as seasonal laborers in the national monument in the late 1940s and early 1950s. One was George Bryan, whom Linch identified by his Ojibwe name, Standing Eagle. The other was Ephraim Taylor, the oldest son of John and Julia Taylor, whom Linch called by his traditional name Looking Eagle. Linch also identified Harvey Derby by his traditional name Running Elk. As these men and their families set up their own tipis or shelters near the quarry pits most summers, Linch gleefully referred to the "Chippewa camp" and the "Sioux camp" within the national monument even though they were all part of the local American Indian community. (George Bryan, it will be recalled, had married into the Sisseton Crow family that was at the heart of the community.) If Linch could be a bit theatrical in how he responded to American Indian use of the area, he nonetheless welcomed it.[689]

[689] Superintendent's Annual Report for 1940, File General Correspondence 1932-45 Pipestone, Box 2360, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Howard W. Baker, Regional Director, to Director, July 14, 1947, and Lyle K. Linch, Superintendent, to Director, May 18, 1948, File 207-01, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 97; Linch, Monthly Narrative Reports, July 1, 1949, May 2, 1951, and June 1, 1951, File 207.02.3, Box 193, CCF, RG

Harvey Reynolds, for his part, approached his dealings with the American Indian quarriers and pipe carvers as a "relationship of equals," according to his son John, who was in junior high school then and would eventually have an illustrious NPS career himself. John, as the superintendent's son, was best-friends with one of the carver's sons. He and his brother and sister joined with the American Indian kids in playing American Indian dancers in the Hiawatha Pageant. Harvey Reynolds prepared the first national monument brochure. Because of how his father was "constructed," John would later attest, the brochure's interpretive material was "heavily weighted toward the Indian point of view."[690]



Figure 49. George Bryan, Ojibwe, in headdress, interpreting. (National Park Service photo.)

Tourism may have had more direct effect on American Indian use of the quarries than the advent of the permitting system did. For the first decade of its existence, Pipestone National Monument drew only a few thousand visitors each year. In the late 1940s, public use of the area began to grow. In 1950, Linch recorded 42,443 visitors. The increase in tourism strengthened the market for pipestone products. The few active American Indian quarriers had been manufacturing and selling pipes and trinkets as souvenirs to non-native tourists since the late 1920s, but the market remained very small until the national monument was established. When tens of thousands of tourists started coming each year, sales picked up and more individuals took up pipemaking. Three local

79, NA-CPR; "Pipestone 'Birthday Week' is Great Success," *Pipestone County Star*, August 22, 1949.

[690] John Reynolds, interview by Theodore Catton, August 8, 2007.

American Indian families became especially active in carving pipes and other pipestone objects. They were the Taylors, the Derbys, and the Bryans.[691]

The major outlet for selling pipestone products to tourists was Roe's Trading Post and Indian Museum. John and Ethelyn Roe started their enterprise in 1937, the year that Pipestone National Monument was established. When Drysdale looked into the Roes' business dealings with the American Indian craftsman in 1943, he found that they had a corner on the local curios market. They bought pipes complete with stem for as little as 50 cents and sold them to tourists for six or seven times that amount. They bought small trinkets for a penny apiece and sold them for 10 cents each. While they sold most of their merchandise at their store in Pipestone, they also sold a fair amount of pipestone products to other shops around the country. Their "free Indian museum" contained articles that they had obtained from tribes all over the United States.[692]

In 1954, Ephraim Taylor, Harvey and Ethel Derby, and George and Winona Bryan got together with Winifred Bartlett and a few other townspeople who were strong advocates for the national monument, and resurrected the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, which had disbanded after bringing its campaign for the national monument to a successful conclusion more than a decade and a half earlier. The Pipestone Indian Shrine Association was re-established to provide an alternative outlet for the sale of pipestone products. Ephraim Taylor, Harvey Derby, and George Bryan were all elected to the board. As Ephraim's son Lee Taylor later explained, the association was formed to protect the American Indian people from being fleeced out of their pipestone craftwork. Besides serving as a guild for the craft workers, it had the express mission of nurturing the next generation of quarriers and pipemakers to keep the tradition alive. Although the revived association included both whites and American Indians on the board, it strongly encouraged participation by the latter and moved more and more in the direction of institutionalizing the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community's relationship with the quarries.

In 1955, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association became the national monument's cooperating association under the terms of Public Law 79-633. The 1946 statute authorized NPS personnel to work hand-in-hand with certain designated nonprofit organizations for the purpose of furthering a national park's interpretation and research programs. As Pipestone National Monument's cooperating association, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association produced brochures for the nascent interpretive program. As soon as the visitor center was

[691] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 145-46; Corbett, "Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument," 91.
[692] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 124-25; Albert F. Drysdale, Custodian, to Regional Director, September 23, 1943, File 208, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

completed, the cooperating association established a presence in the building with a bookstore and gift shop, the latter oriented to American Indian crafts. While the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association's business plan was to buy and sell American Indian crafts, its larger mission was to protect the American Indian craftsmen's economic interests and help preserve the quarrying and pipemaking activity. Taylor, Derby, and Bryan, who all remained active in the organization, took responsibility for teaching younger people the art of pipemaking in hopes of passing the tradition on to the next generation.[693]

Changes to the National Monument Boundaries and Built Environment

During the twenty years that elapsed from the national monument's establishment until its full-fledged development under Mission 66, significant changes were made to the national monument boundaries and the area's built environment. When the Pipestone Indian School closed, additional lands of the former Pipestone Reservation were included in the national monument. Another small tract covering the Three Maidens and a buffer strip along the entrance road were acquired and added to the area. Superintendent Linch and maintenance worker George Bryan made improvements to the grounds. The NPS completed plans for how it would develop the area for more intensive public use.

Protection of the Three Maidens

As Pipestone National Monument was originally established, the Three Maidens barely fell outside the south boundary of the protected area. The south boundary of the national monument abutted private land on the northern edge of the City of Pipestone, and just a few yards south of the Three Maidens was the large quarry pit where much of the building stone for the town of Pipestone had come from. Prior to the establishment of the national monument, the City of Pipestone purchased a tiny plot surrounding the Three Maidens to protect those sacred objects from the quarry operation, and with a view to donating the land to the United States after a national park or monument was formed. As it happened, the quarry ceased production about one year prior to the establishment of the national monument. By the late 1930s, the abandoned pit was filled with water and was being used as a swimming hole by local kids, including students from the Indian school.[694] While the quarry itself was no longer a threat to the Three Maidens, the fact was that this important cultural resource remained just outside the national monument, while the land on three sides of the group of boulders was in private ownership.

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[693] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 141-42; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 146-48; Lee Taylor remarks, authors' minutes of meeting at Pipestone, May 2013.
[694] Carroll H. Wegemann, Regional Geologist, to Mr. Brown, August 5, 1938, File 204, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR; Howard W. Baker, Regional Director to Custodian, June 14, 1946, File 601, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 92.

In February 1940, the city council voted to deed its small tract with the Three Maidens to the NPS provided that the federal agency would accept it as a gift. Before the NPS could accept the gift of land, however, the little tract had to be surveyed. The land deal fizzled after the NPS went to a wartime footing with the onset of World War II.[695]

In 1948, Pipestone resident Robert S. Owens bought the defunct quarry from Staso Milling Company. Owens wanted to revive the Hiawatha outdoor pageant, and he saw the Three Maidens and Quarry Lake, as it had become known, as a suitable place to stage the production. With other interested townspeople, he founded the Pipestone Exchange Club for the purpose of organizing the pageant into an annual event calculated to attract tourists and promote the town's association with the ancient quarries and Pipestone National Monument. A few years later, when the pageant was successfully established, Owens sold the property to the Pipestone Exchange Club.[696]

Even though Owens was a supporter of the national monument, the NPS was wary of how this land could be developed. While Superintendent Linch thought the Hiawatha Pageant was a good thing for the national monument, regional office personnel were skeptical. Many saw the pageant as a "stunt" not in keeping with what the national monument was about. For the first pageant production in 1949, a 25-foot tower was erected in front of the stage to hold ten spotlights. Officials wondered what kind of permanent structures would be erected in the future to accommodate large audiences or to facilitate more elaborate outdoor stage lighting and sound systems. Moreover, they were concerned that the landowner could decide on other forms of exploitation. The Exchange Club reportedly had long-range plans to create a winter park with toboggan slide, skating rink, and winter sporting events.[697]

In 1950, the City of Pipestone and Owens offered to donate the tract with the Three Maidens together with a narrow strip of Owens's property extending along the south edge of the national monument. The offer was made on two conditions: the NPS would allow use of the Three Maidens area for staging the yearly outdoor pageant, "Song of Hiawatha," and it would not erect a boundary

[695] "Council Votes to Deed "3 Maidens" Tract," *Pipestone County Star*, March 1, 1940.
[696] "Club Would Make Hiawatha Pageant Annual Feature," *Pipestone County Star*, July 15, 1948; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 93, 203.
[697] "Everything is Ready For Pageant Opening June 17," June 9, 1949; "5,000 Spectactors Make Pageant Financial Success," *Pipestone County Star*, undated clipping filed with Superintendent's Monthly Reports, File 207.02.3, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 205.



Figure 50. The Three Maidens at sunset. (Photo by the authors.).

fence there. After due consideration, the NPS responded that it would grant a special-use permit for the pageant renewable on a year-to-year basis for twenty years.[698]

In February 1951, the NPS sent landscape architect Weldon W. Gratton to investigate possible boundary adjustments. Gratton noted that the entrance road, where it headed west from Hiawatha Avenue, actually traversed about 400 feet of private property before glancing across the south boundary of the national monument. It then continued on that same trajectory for another 250 to 300 feet before bending north into the national monument. The strip of land was needed not only to protect the Three Maidens but also to prevent "facilities for inappropriate use from springing up right against the monument entranceway." The land lying adjacent to the entrance road on the south was, in fact, a prime location for another business similar to Roe's Trading Post, aimed at exploiting the tourist trade in American Indian crafts. Such an enterprise "would not only mar the entrance but would detract from the natural values of the 'Three Maidens' area," Gratton emphasized.[699] The parties agreed to the land deal in principle, and it was finally perfected after Congress enacted the law of June 18, 1956, to authorize the addition of certain lands to Pipestone National Monument.[700]

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[698] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 135-36; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 93.
[699] Weldon W. Gratton, Park Landscape Architect, "Recommendations for Boundary Adjustments at Pipestone National Monument," February 14, 1951, File 602, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[700] *U.S. Statutes at Large* 50 (1956): 804.

The Pipestone Exchange Club was eventually turned into the Hiawatha Club and this entity proved to be an important partner for the Pipestone National Monument administration in years to come. The club was protective of its privilege to stage the outdoor pageant at the edge of the national monument, which could cause friction. Sometimes the club consulted the NPS on its plans to develop the adjoining area around Quarry Lake into a recreational park, while at other times it insisted on its prerogative to develop the land as it pleased.[701]

North, East, and West Boundary Adjustments

The NPS found that the north, east, and west boundaries of the national monument left much to be desired as well. On the north, between the original national monument boundary and the Indian school, there were additional ancient quarries. On the east, there was an area of moraine between the old railroad bed and Hiawatha Street that would make a natural buffer zone. On the west, there was a gentle rise opposite the east sloping escarpment and it was thought by adding the area to the national monument it would give the unit more topographical unity. All three of these areas were part of the former Pipestone Reservation and under BIA jurisdiction.[702]

In 1948, the BIA announced plans to close the Pipestone Indian School. Legislation was prepared that would transfer the school and the school lands – the remainder of the Pipestone Reservation – to the State of Minnesota. The NPS immediately took steps to get the desired areas transferred to the national monument rather than to the State of Minnesota. Meanwhile, the townspeople staunchly opposed the school closure and managed to stave it off for several years. That was fortuitous for Pipestone National Monument, for it gave the NPS time to make surveys and develop congressional support for expanding the national monument.[703]

In 1949, the NPS dispatched archeologist Paul L. Beaubien to Pipestone to conduct the first archeological survey of the quarries since the one made by William Henry Holmes in 1892. In addition to other valuable findings, Beaubien verified that the ancient quarries extended outside the existing area of the national

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[701] Weldon W. Gratton, Acting Regional Chief, Land and Recreation Planning Division to Assistant Regional Director, October 9, 1953, File A3815, Box A-83, General Files 1952-60, RG 79, NA-CPR; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 202-09.

[702] Weldon W. Gratton, Park Landscape Architect, "Recommendations for Boundary Adjustments at Pipestone National Monument," February 14, 1951, File 602, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

[703] "Fate of Pipestone Indian School Hangs in Balance," *Pipestone County Star*, July 22, 1948; "Legislators Fight Move to Close Indian School," *Pipestone County Star*, February 3, 1949; Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, to Director, October 29, 1948, A. E. Demaray, Acting Director, to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, December 16, 1948, Merriam to Director, January 25, 1949, Associate Director to Assistant Commissioner, March 31, 1949, and Willard W. Beatty, Director of Education to Associate Director, April 11, 1949, File 601, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

monument, providing the NPS with a very strong argument for redrawing the boundaries.[704]

In 1950, the BIA closed the hospital at the Pipestone Indian School, and in 1953 it closed the school itself. Despite strong support by the town to keep the BIA school open indefinitely, Congress finally prevailed in closing it. Closing the school was part of the sweeping change in federal Indian policy known as termination, whereby Congress found that it was time to bring an end to the federal trust relationship with tribes. The end for the Pipestone Indian School drew near when Congress enacted Public Law 47 on June 4, 1953, which provided for the conveyance of all federal Indian schools to state and local governmental agencies.

A bill was introduced in Congress in 1954 that would have transferred 470 acres of the Pipestone School Reserve to Pipestone National Monument, and just 60 acres together with all school buildings to the State of Minnesota. This bill failed to pass. A similar bill was introduced in the next Congress, but it authorized a transfer of land to the national monument not to exceed 250 acres, with the rest of the Pipestone School Reserve to go to the state. It also provided for a small addition to the national monument of private and city-owned property in the vicinity of the Three Maidens. Reporting on the bill, Assistant Secretary Wesley A. D'Ewart stated that the Department of the Interior only sought 157 acres of the Pipestone School Reserve and it would add approximately that amount to the national monument if the bill were enacted. After Congress passed the law on June 18, 1956, the national monument was expanded from 115 acres to 283 acres, while roughly the northern half of the former Pipestone Reservation was transferred to the State of Minnesota. The northwest corner of the former reservation became the Pipestone Indian State Wildlife Management Area.[705]

Improvements in Visitor Facilities

During the eight summers that Arthur Drysdale served as custodian of Pipestone National Monument, from 1940 through 1947, he maintained existing improvements built by the CCC-ID. He repaired breaks in the boundary fence, painted the picnic shelter and public restroom structures, and laid flat stepping

[704] Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 132-33. As Scott et al. point out, Beaubien's survey was preceded by a visit by Park Service archeologist Gordon C. Baldwin in January 1949. Although wintertime conditions did not allow a thorough examination of the area, Baldwin believed that the land north of the national monument contained old quarry pits and evidence of prehistoric or early historic camp sites. (Lawrence C. Merriam, Regional Director, to Director, January 25, 1949, File 601, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.)

[705] U.S. Senate, *Transferring a Part of Pipestone School Reserve to the State of Minnesota and Adding Certain Lands to the Pipestone National Monument*, 83rd Cong., 2d sess., Report No. 2484, Serial Set 11732, 1954, 1-5; U.S. Senate, *Pipestone National Monument, Minn.*, 84th Cong., 2d sess., Report No. 2037, Serial Set 11888, 1956, 1-4; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 99-100.

stones in the muddy sections of the trails. He spent most of his time clearing brush, spraying herbicide on poison ivy, and cutting weeds and grass along the trails and in the picnic area. Although townspeople were impatient for the NPS to develop the area, Drysdale succeeded in the meantime in making it an inviting place for the local public. During the war years, when rationing of rubber tires and gasoline severely reduced travel to national parks, people in nearby communities made regular use of the area for picnics and holiday outings. Many residents of Pipestone found it to be a nice destination for an evening walk or bicycle ride. Quarry Lake was popular with the town's young people, and the children who boarded at the Indian school traipsed back and forth through the national monument as they went for their daily swim.[706]

Starting in 1948, Pipestone National Monument staff began to add more visitor facilities. As the national monument's first year-round caretaker, Superintendent Linch was more inspired and energetic than his predecessor had been. He also had the help of two seasonal laborers, George Bryan, who was Ojibwe, and Ephraim Taylor, who was Dakota. Linch and his assistants extended the trail network to various points of interest. They erected numerous interpretive signs along the trails and built a footbridge over Pipestone Creek.

Linch's trail network was an elaboration of the trail system built by the CCC-ID a dozen years earlier. Most of the present Circle Trail dates to the CCC era, but exactly which sections are not perfectly clear. It is known that the narrow stone steps leading to the top of Winnewissa Falls were the handiwork of the CCC-ID, because they are pictured in a 1934 article in *Indians at Work*. The text of the article implies that other staircases up the escarpment date from the CCC era, too.[707] It is evident from photographs in CCC-ID reports that the CCC-ID did a lot of rock masonry work around Lake Hiawatha and along the trail near Winnewissa Falls. On the other hand, it is clear from historical maps and leaflets that a second loop north of the Circle Trail (no longer maintained) was added when Linch was



Figure 51. The staircase pictured in *Indians at Work* in 1934. (Photo by authors.)

[706] Superintendent's Narrative Reports, June 7, 1940, June 3, 1944, September 4, 1945, File 207.02.3, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR; Stanley C. Joseph, Acting Regional Director to Director, June 28, 1944, File 207-01, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II.

[707] "Footpaths have been cleared, winding among the rocks, leading to points of vantage. One takes the visitor to the best place from which to view the great stone head of the Manitou, another leads to the top of the outcrop, and so on." Mitchell, "The Pipestone Quarry or Restoring an Ancient Indian Shrine," 27.

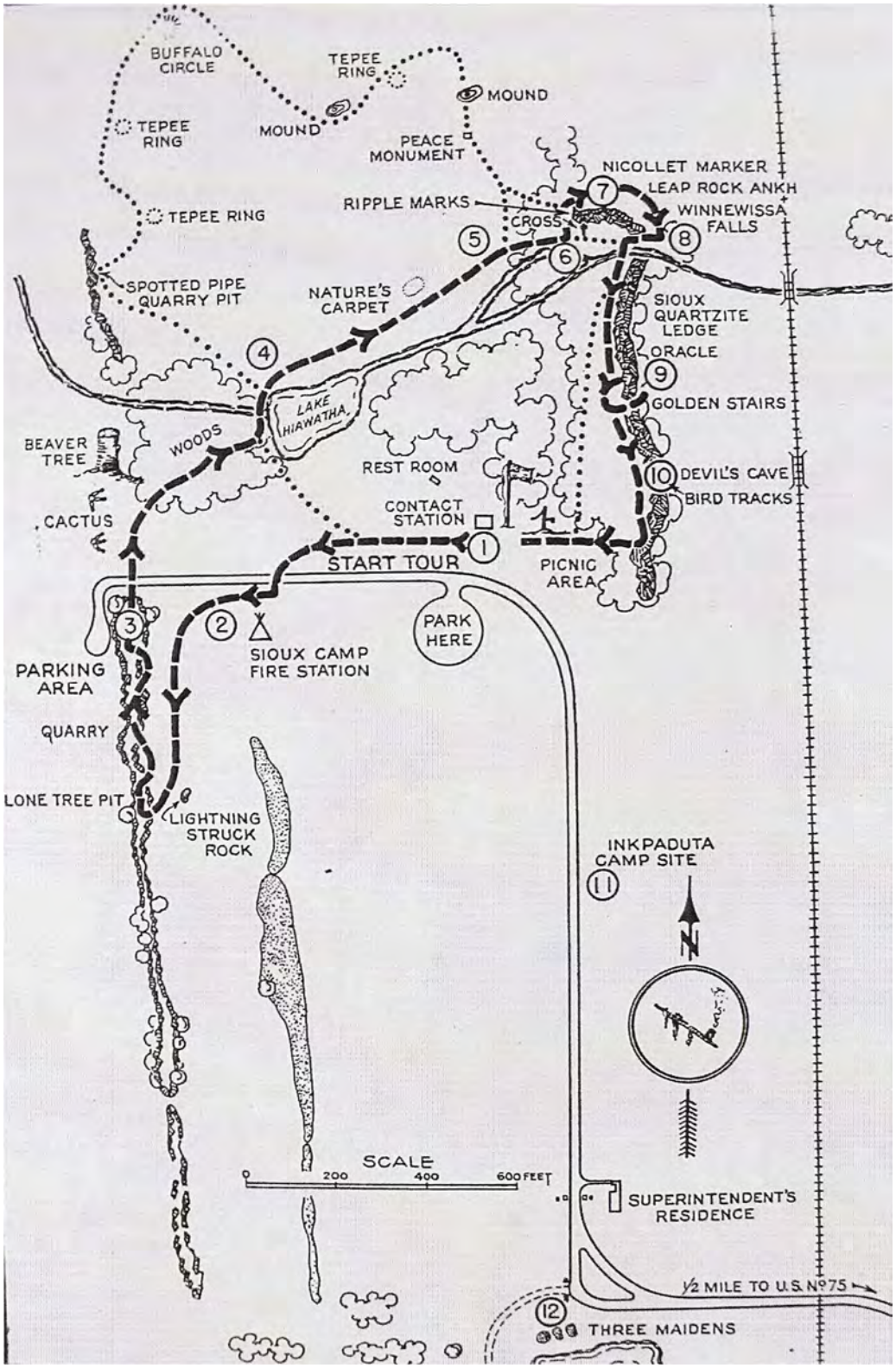


Figure 52. Map of the Circle Trail in a self-guiding leaflet, 1954.

superintendent. This trail went by a number of archeological features that only came to light in the late 1940s. The features included tipi rings, two mounds, and a "buffalo circle," as well as the peace monument. Linch's second loop was shown on a map in a self-guiding leaflet that was published in the mid 1950s, and it must have been abandoned not long after that. A description of the trail system contained in a 1952 memo indicated that Linch had increased the total trail mileage from 0.5 miles to 1.9 miles. If true, then it is likely that Linch and his team were also responsible for extending the trail to the South Quarries and for building a bee-line trail from the picnic area to the falls that, like the northern loop, no longer exists. All that remains of the bee-line trail is a pair of culverts with stone masonry abutments.[708]

Linch was a trail enthusiast who thought that the optimal visitor experience was to take a walking tour of the national monument and observe the area's many small-scale features at close range. He had an ally in Winifred Bartlett who had long enjoyed exploring the area on foot. In addition to identifying features that related to American Indian occupation and use of the area, they drew attention to natural phenomena such as petrified ripple marks and a beaver-chewed stump. One area they named "Nature's Carpet" for its profusion of flowers. Linch's trailside interpretive signs were often whimsical, whether they dealt with American Indian accounts or natural history. He identified a little patch of poison ivy by putting a miniature fence around it and labeling it "the poison ivy jail." The regional office advised him not to get carried away with trail signage and not to overdo the rockwork and manicuring. It is possible that some of the trail design features which are still evident today, such as rock retaining walls and stone masonry abutments around footbridges and culverts, date from Linch's time rather than back to the CCC-ID.[709]

While Linch's trail work and interpretive signage were obviously well-intentioned and more or less consistent with NPS policy, from another point of

[708] Herbert E. Kahler, "Pipestone," 1948, File 600-03, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Robert G. Hall, Assistant Regional Director to Director, March 21, 1952, File D30, Box 1076, General Records – Administrative Files 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

[709] Regardless of whether these features date to the mid 1930s or the late 1940s, they have undergone rehabilitation and modification over the years. A crew of local high school students did considerable repair work on the Circle Trail in the late 1960s and precisely what they did is undocumented. Footbridges were periodically replaced after flooding, and railings were added to them as a safety measure in the 1970s or 1980s. For example, the superintendent's annual report for 1997 stated that two trail bridges were replaced and several hundred feet of trail were "completely reconstructed" following flood damage. In the past twenty years or so, park maintenance workers have had to replace old mortar in the stone staircases and bridge abutments, taking the rockwork apart and restacking it. Portions of the trail have been paved with asphalt, a decidedly modern design element. A few benches have been added. (Swede interview GET CITE, May 9, 2013; "1997 Annual Report," January 23, 1998, File A26, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.

view they can be read as subtle acts of neo-colonialism, which helped to turn the American Indian's sacred ground into a white man's secular landscape of named objects and historicized American Indian accounts. Linch was not as careful in his interpretation of history and legend as a later generation of park managers would be. One of his interpretive signs invited visitors to look through a peep hole at the rock formation called "The Oracle." Allegedly the rock impressed aboriginal peoples by its likeness to a human face. This study found no ethnographic source describing the Oracle, which leads one to suspect that the rock actually got its identity from Linch.[710]



Figure 53. Quarriers in Exhibit Quarry. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

Perhaps the most significant development in turning the sacred quarries into a secular landscape was the making of Exhibit Quarry. Linch excavated waste rock from one quarry pit to expose the ledge of pipestone, turning it into a walk-in exhibit for visitors. In the following summer, Bryan completed this project by

[710] The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe has declared the formation a sacred site (along with Leaping Rock and the Three Maidens). Two Sisseton-Wahpeton tribal members who were interviewed in the 1990s said they believed that Linch had fabricated some stories about physical features, and one mentioned the Oracle and Leaping Rock in particular. Others who participated in the study said that the feature was and still is important to traditional life ways. (David T. Hughes and Alice J. Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument: Ethnographic Resources of Pipestone National Monument*, report prepared for the National Park Service (Omaha: NPS, 1997), 19, 59.

improving the stone stairs and installing an interpretive sign. What is now called Exhibit Quarry was an immediate favorite with visitors, as it allowed them to inspect the pipestone ledge in situ and get a better appreciation of how the pipestone was quarried. Of course, non-native visitors practiced none of the ritual that American Indians traditionally performed before descending into the quarry.[711]

Linch played to the dominant culture's stereotypes about American Indian cultures. When a Boy Scout troop visited the national monument, he addressed his audience wearing a feathered headdress. When he began promoting the national monument by writing a regular piece for the local newspaper, he gave it the title "Tepee Smoke." He enlisted the support of George Bryan in these antics. Proclaiming August 21 to be "Indian Day" at the national monument, he got Bryan to write a guest column of "Tepee Smoke" which began with an invitation to Bryan's "paleface friends" to attend the event, and ended with the stereotype utterance, "ugh!" More than 800 people came, and Bryan, dressed in costume, led them on walking tours.[712]

Linch's most questionable decision was to interpret a petroglyph found near the Nicollet inscription as an ankh derived from ancient Egyptian civilization. The idea was first propounded by Maurice Pratt Dunlap, an Egyptologist who lived in the region, and Linch apparently ran with Dunlap's finding so as to draw wider attention to Pipestone National Monument. The ankh symbol was evidence, Linch suggested, that the aboriginal peoples of North America were all descended from a lost tribe of Egyptians. He formed the Ankh Society and courted media coverage, which he got soon enough in big city newspapers from Minneapolis to Topeka, Kansas. Linch's superiors in the regional office ordered him to desist. Although the superintendent dropped the story of the Egyptian hieroglyphic, the location of the ankh was still identified on the Circle Trail leaflet that Superintendent Harvey Reynolds prepared a couple years later. While Reynolds's style of interpretation was a good deal soberer than his predecessor's, he indulged the public's lingering curiosity about this glyph by including the statement, "At the base of the trail sign on the rock ledge is an Indian symbol which resembles the 'Ankh' sign associated with Egyptian pyramids."[713]

In 1950, the regional office devised a road and trail system plan for Pipestone National Monument that would have obliterated the east half of the horseshoe-shaped road and retained the west half, thereby preserving vehicle access

[711] Herbert E. Kahler, "Pipestone," 1948, File 600-03, Box 2361, CCF 1933-49, RG 79, NA II; Lyle K. Linch, Monthly Narrative Report, July 1, 1949, File 207.02.3, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[712] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 117-18.
[713] Acting Associate Regional Director to Superintendent, September 1, 1950, File 732, Box 195, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR; Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 116-17; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 91; National Park Service, *Self-Guiding Leaflet for Circle Trail, Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota* (Washington: DOI, n.d.), 3.



Figure 54. Visitor contact station and picnic area. These features were removed during Mission 66 development. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

to the quarry pits. Linch thought it was better to obliterate the west half of the road instead. His logic was that the dead-end road would bring visitors to a parking area beside the picnic area and encourage more use of the trail system. Linch got his way, and in that same summer he built a visitor contact station next to the picnic area. The visitor contact station served as the starting point for a walking tour of the national monument, with points of interest highlighted around the Circle Trail in clockwise direction. Although Linch's superiors were not entirely convinced by his plan, they accepted it as the park design until the Mission 66 development plan replaced it toward the end of the decade.[714]

As part of the road obliteration, two pairs of quartzite pylons, which marked the two entrances to the old horseshoe drive through the national monument, were dismantled, and the stone was incorporated into a new set of quartzite pylons built where the entrance road took off from Hiawatha Street. The new pylons were more massive than the ones they replaced and were considerably larger than the single L-shaped pylon that exists there today. They were built by the Roadside Development Branch of the State Highway Department, with Linch supplying some of the labor.[715]

When Harvey Reynolds became superintendent in July 1954, Pipestone National Monument still awaited major development according to a master plan. Most of its visitor facilities were temporary, inherited from the CCC era, and

[714] Regional Historian and Regional Chief of Land and Recreational Planning to Files, September 11, 1950, File 101, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[715] James V. Lloyd, Acting Regional Director, to Commissioner of Highways, October 24, 1952, enclosing newsclipping with photographs from *Pipestone County Star*, October 9, 1952, File D66, Box D99, General Files 1952-63, RG 79, NA-CPR.

destined for removal. Reynolds resorted to one last stopgap measure; he converted the picnic shelter into a temporary museum space. As the NPS had no money for developing museum exhibits, Reynolds turned to the St. Paul Science Museum for help. A temporary exhibit was installed by the end of 1955.[716]

Mission 66 Development

The NPS had been hobbled by lack of funds ever since the United States entered World War II. By the mid 1950s, the poor state of the National Park System began to attract nationwide public attention. There were complaints that the national parks were crumbling to pieces under the combined stress of deferred maintenance and burgeoning visitor use. And for many small units like Pipestone National Monument, the story was one of sheer neglect since the time of establishment, which failed to raise the units from obscurity. NPS Director Conrad L. Wirth proposed a ten-year program of capital investment to modernize and expand visitor facilities throughout the National Park System. He called it Mission 66 to signify the goal of getting all units developed to the point that they could properly accommodate recreational demand in the year 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the National Park System. President Eisenhower supported Mission 66 and Congress agreed to fund it. The national construction program finally provided the impetus for the NPS to develop Pipestone National Monument according to a master plan.

Before Mission 66, the nearest thing the national monument had to a master plan was the preliminary historical development report prepared by Ed Hummel in 1940. Hummel recommended that the national monument should have a minimum of structures: at most, an administration building with a museum and a custodian's residence. His plan called for placing any other buildings, such as an American Indian crafts store or workshop, outside the national monument. It proposed replacing the horseshoe-shaped road with a single entrance road, and removing the picnic shelter and pit toilets.[717]

The NPS briefly took up Pipestone National Monument's master plan after World War II, at which time the idea was put forward of locating the museum and superintendent's residence on top of the escarpment. A regional engineer investigated the site and argued forcefully against it, noting that the ridge was composed of hard, resistant quartzite with almost no overburden – a tough place to put in water lines and building foundations. That led to the placement of the superintendent's house below the escarpment near the southeast corner of the

[716] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 102-03.
[717] Edward A. Hummel, "Preliminary Historical Development Report of Pipestone National Monument," October 1940, File 621, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.

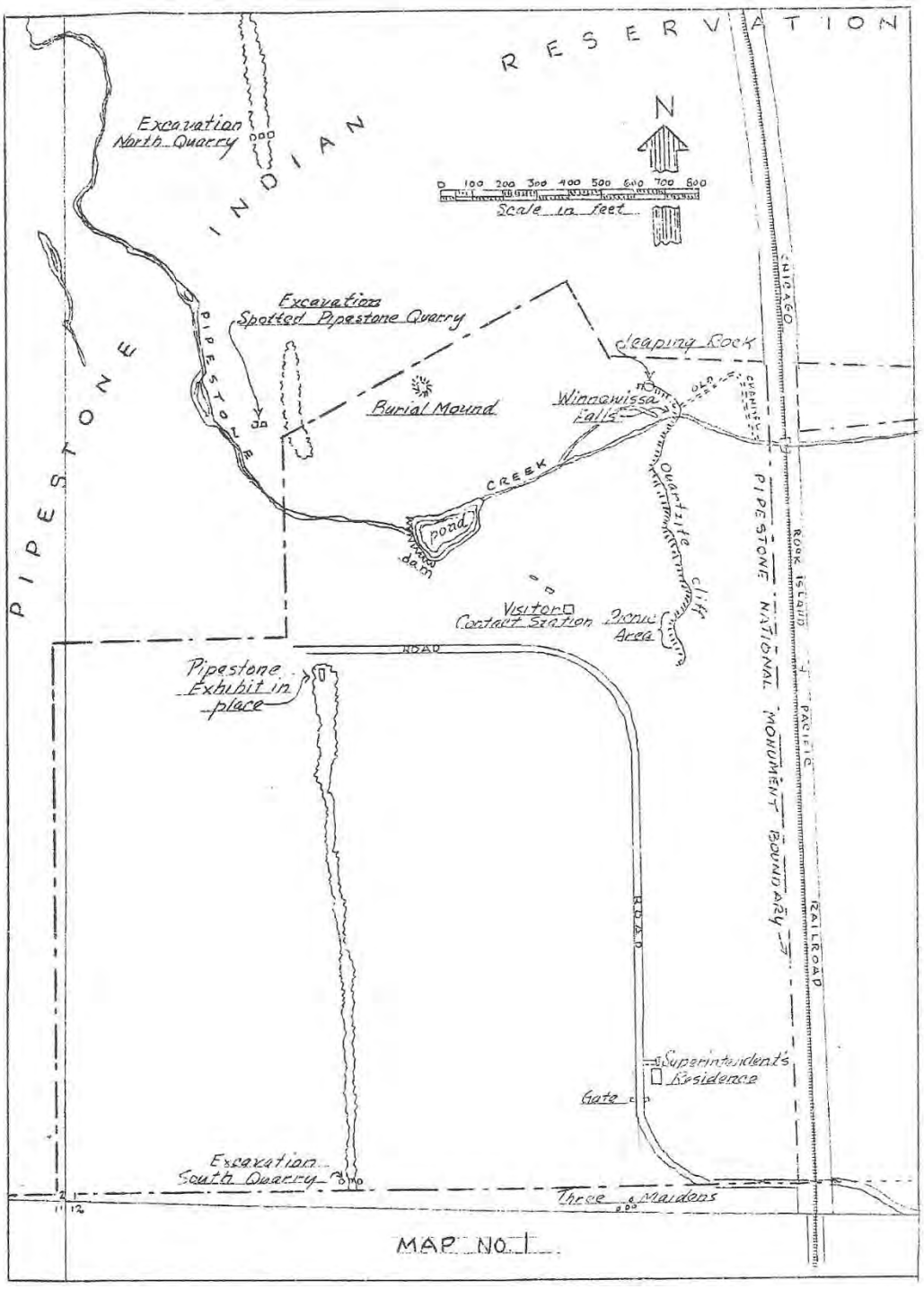


Figure 55. Map of Pipestone National Monument in 1955. Note the old road alignment and visitor contact station.

national monument.[718] In 1951, there was some discussion of locating a museum and administration building near the quarries; however, Linch argued that there should be just one development area where the superintendent's house already stood in order to concentrate administrative activity and utilities in one place.[719]

As the NPS began gearing up for Mission 66,Ssuperintendent Reynolds prepared a museum prospectus, in which he revived the idea of locating the museum and administration building near the quarries so that the "administrative offices and interpretive center" would be "convenient" to the "major attraction of the area."[720] It is worth noting that the superintendent completed the museum prospectus in 1955 or early 1956, shortly before the national monument was enlarged. The site was then in the northwest corner of the area, but NPS officials were already aware that once more BIA lands were added the proposed facility would sit virtually in the middle of the national monument.

With the launch of Mission 66, the NPS quickly expanded the museum prospectus into the Mission 66 prospectus. While the superintendent was the lead author for this important document, the Mission 66 prospectus was very much a team effort with input from regional office staff and planners in the NPS's new Eastern Office of Design and Construction, as well as the director. Reynolds submitted the draft Mission 66 prospectus to the regional office in May 1956, and it took one full year from that date to complete the Mission 66 development plan. Midway through the process, the law was passed that enlarged Pipestone National Monument to its present size.

The Mission 66 prospectus had significance for American Indian use of the area in a number of ways. First and foremost, it was the blueprint for changes in the built environment. As the Mission 66 prospectus called for the major development area to be built nearly in the middle of the quarry line, it did not serve the American Indian interest in protecting a sacred area. The fact that the area was still sacred to American Indian peoples would be lost on most non-native visitors. Museum exhibits might give visitors a sense of how the red cliffs and pipestone once featured in American Indian legends, but this was a historicized sacredness; it did not convey the vital importance of the pipestone quarries to contemporary American Indian peoples. Quite the opposite, the placement of the visitor center was another subtle act of neo-colonialism, for it conveyed the idea that those indigenous cultures which still held the pipestone to be sacred had no say in the matter. By putting the convenience of non-native visitors ahead of the spiritual

[718] Regional Engineer to Files, October 24, 1949, File 101, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[719] Regional Landscape Architect to Assistant Regional Director, December 6, 1951, File 204, Box 193, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR.
[720] National Park Service, "Draft Museum Prospectus for Pipestone National Monument," no date, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.

needs of American Indian people, the Mission 66 prospectus furthered the process by which the NPS was secularizing a sacred place.

The Mission 66 prospectus also further defined how the NPS intended to manage American Indian quarrying. The 27-page document treated the subject of quarrying in a single paragraph under the subheading "Indian Handicrafts." Even more telling, American Indian quarrying was presented as one item out of eight under the general heading of "Visitor Services." It stated: "An important feature of the quarry area is the manufacture of pipestone handicrafts by Indians working under canvas. This is operated under special use permit which requires the Indians to demonstrate the skills of working the stone to any persons that visit their stands." Quarrying was no more than a cultural demonstration for the visitor, the document implied.

Besides locating the main development area in the midst of the quarries, the Mission 66 prospectus also embodied the NPS's new concepts of how an area like Pipestone National Monument ought to be developed. Throughout the National Park System, Mission 66 plans emphasized preparation for expected increases in visitor use or recreational demand throughout the nation. Part of the planning exercise for each unit was to make projections for yearly increases out to the year 1966. To meet those future needs and protect the resources, certain principles were applied across the whole National Park System, such as planning for efficient "visitor circulation" to prevent congestion, and relocating visitor services such as food service and overnight lodging to nearby communities wherever possible. The Mission 66 prospectus for Pipestone National Monument stated that picnicking and camping would not be encouraged in the area. It indicated that the visitor center would provide space for minor sales of educational and informational literature, and it allowed that "supervised manufacture and on-site sale of pipestone items by Indians will be encouraged." The visitor circulation system would consist of an entrance road terminating in a parking area at the visitor center, plus a smaller parking area at the Three Maidens. The self-guiding trail would provide access to other principal points of visitor interest.

One of the hallmarks of Mission 66 planning was that it tried to envision a stock visitor experience. If the NPS could design an area for a stock visitor experience, the thinking went, then the area would benefit in two ways. In the first place, the typical visitor would have an optimal experience because visitor facilities would be perfectly tailored to meet the person's needs. And furthermore, the NPS would be better able to manage large number of visitors because the great majority would be apt to conform to the visitor circulation pattern that was laid out for them.

Mission 66's most significant innovation was the visitor center. The visitor center not only combined the administrative offices and museum into one building, it was specifically designed to welcome visitors and orient them to their park



Figure 56. Visitor center and grounds. (National Park Service photo.)

experience. Visitor centers were integral to the visitor circulation pattern. Much thought went into placing the visitor center where visitors would be most apt to park their cars and enter the building. Surveys done near the start of the Mission 66 program showed that only twenty percent of visitors stopped at these new facilities, and planners were intent on increasing the number. The architectural plans for visitor centers put considerable emphasis on "visitor flow" into and through the building. The basic flow diagram had visitors entering through the front of the building into a reception area, moving on into an orientation area, proceeding from there to the museum exhibits, and then exiting out the other side to go see the field exhibits.[721]

Besides a visitor center, the Mission 66 prospectus called for a second residence for the park interpreter as well as a maintenance facility. The maintenance facility was to include carpenter and machine shops and storage for equipment and materials. The draft Mission 66 development plan envisioned a combined residential and maintenance area being located where the superintendent's residence was already built. The maintenance building would include shops and a four-bay garage. Concerns arose about having the maintenance

[721] John B. Cabot, "Supplementary Visitor Center Information," January 1958, File 3415, Box 1, Records of Pipestone National Monument, RG 79, NA-CPR.

shop so near the Three Maidens. In the final plan, the maintenance facility was made into a wing of the visitor center complex instead.[722]

The placement of the second residence presented a quandary of another kind. Superintendent Paul L. Webb and Regional Director Howard W. Baker wanted to put it directly north of the superintendent's residence so the two houses would stand in a row, both aligned on a north-south axis. Furthermore, Webb wanted the proposed floor plan to be flipped so that the living room would be on the west side of the house, giving a view of the national monument. The regional director concurred with the change in orientation, pointing out to Director Wirth that it was "a desirable arrangement from the standpoint of protection."[723]

But Edward S. Zimmer, Chief of the Eastern Office of Design and Construction, strongly objected. Based on climate considerations, he wanted to place the residence on an east-west axis facing south. That would place it perpendicular to the existing residence, but Zimmer saw no justification in building the second house on an improper axis merely to make it line up with the existing house. In a spirited defense of his position, Zimmer wrote:

> Since the early days in this country and the advent of applying solar radiation principles to buildings, the major axis of a house has been set east and west so that major rooms can face south as a matter of logical preference. Heat absorption from solar radiation on the east and west faces of buildings is terrific. There is no known practical way to prevent this. Houses with the main rooms facing south can be protected from summer heat and be allowed all the warmth and sunshine in the winter. A west facing house cannot be protected from the sun in summer during the heat of the day which almost invariably occurs after noon.
>
> There are two very bad orientations in open settings such as at Pipestone. One is with the main rooms facing west, and other is southwest. It is only a minor matter of degree which is worse.[724]

Zimmer was overruled; Wirth examined the situation for himself and decided that the two employee residences should form an orderly row, each having a proprietary view over the national monument.[725]

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[722] National Park Service, "Master Plan Development Outline, Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota," March 1957, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.
[723] Howard W. Baker, Regional Director to Director, May 2, 1957, File D3415, Box 1113, General Records 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.
[724] Edward S. Zimmer, Chief, EODC to Superintendent, August 12, 1957, File D 3415, Box 1113, General Records 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.
[725] Paul L. Webb, Superintendent to Chief, EODC, August 26, 1957, File D3415, Box 1113, General Records 1949-71, RG 79, NA II.

In addition to new buildings, the Mission 66 Pipestone Development Plan included changes to the landscape. The picnic area and most of the existing road were to be obliterated and a new entrance road built. The new alignment would be on a long gradual curve into a parking area in front of the visitor center. The parking area would be delineated by curbs and a large island covered by lawn. Trees would be planted on the northeast side of the complex to tie it in with the existing grove of trees.[726]

Director Wirth approved the Mission 66 prospectus for Pipestone National Monument on May 14, 1957, and entered the Mission 66 development plan into the NPS's development schedule that same day. The Eastern Office of Design and Construction drew plans for the visitor center and the employee residence over the summer, and the NPS advertised for bids and contracted the construction projects in the fall. Swift Brothers Construction Company of Sioux Falls was awarded the contract to build the visitor center in early October. Construction work proceeded through the winter with barely a pause for the weather. Museum exhibits were installed in the spring, and the visitor center was opened to the public on July 26, 1958.[727]



Figure 57. Exhibits in the visitor center, 1962. (National Park Service photo.)

[726] National Park Service, "Master Plan Development Outline, Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota," March 1957, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.
[727] Conrad L. Wirth, Director to Regional Director, May 14, 1957, attaching Notice of Approval, File A98, Box A-34, General Files 1952-60, RG 79, NA-CPR; Chief, Division of Design and Construction to Chief, EODC, June 14, 1957, File D3415, Box 1113, General Records 1949-71, RG 79, NA II; H.C. Melass, Procurement Officer to Swift Brothers Construction Company, October 4, 1957, File D3415, Box 1, Records of Pipestone National Monument, RG 79, NA-CPR; F.R. Roberson, Regional Architect to Superintendent, no date, and Robert Wilson Harris, Architect to Acting Supervising Architect, EODC, February 6, 1958, and Superintendent to Regional Director, January 2, 1959, File D3415, Box 1, Pipestone National Monument Records, RG 79, NA-CPR.

Pipestone National Monument's visitor center exhibited "classic Mission 66 ingredients," according to a recent historical evaluation of the building. As was typical in cultural parks, the building was situated practically on top of the resource. The building was erected just a few yards north of Exhibit Quarry, and visitors could proceed out the rear exit directly onto the trail system. The building's architecture was typical "NPS Modern," making use of inexpensive materials and eschewing ornamentation. The structure was constructed of concrete block on a concrete slab foundation and was faced with a brick veneer over most of the building with a more elegant Sioux quartzite stone veneer around the entry. The long, low profile was intended to let the building blend in as much as possible with the nearly flat prairie landscape.[728] Much to Zimmer's chagrin, the visitor center had a southwest orientation – "the worst possible direction in this hot, humid climate," he wrote. He designed the front façade with small, recessed windows and shaded entrance in an effort to mitigate for the building's southwest exposure.[729]

The Mission 66 plan for Pipestone National Monument was not fast-tracked, as historians have suggested, but rather it moved through the bureaucracy in unison with dozens of other unit plans. When Regional Director Howard Baker sent the prospectus to Wirth in the spring of 1957, he had to make a special plea to include the visitor center in the development program, which raised the total cost estimate from $75,000 to $251,300.[730] Once the director approved the Mission 66 plan for Pipestone National Monument, the NPS did expedite the design and construction phases, and because of the unit's small size, it was one of the first in the National Park System to see its construction projects brought to completion. Soon thereafter, the NPS touted Pipestone National Monument as a prime example of Mission 66 results.[731]

The peace monument erected by the CCC-ID was removed probably about this time. No documentation about the removal has been found. It appeared in a

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[728] Jo-Ann Wilkins and Donald L. Stevens, Jr., National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone Mission 66 Development, April 21, 2003, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.

[729] Chief, EODC to Superintendent, May 13, 1957, File D3415, Box 1, Records of Pipestone National Monument, RG 79, NA-CPR.

[730] Regional Director to Director, July 11, 1956, and Director to Regional Director, May 14, 1957, File A98, Box A-34, General Files 1952-60, RG 79, NA-CPR.

[731] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 108-13; Jo-Ann Wilkins and Donald L. Stevens, Jr., National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone Mission 66 Development, April 21, 2003, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO; Howard W. Baker, Regional Director to Superintendent, April 17, 1959, File A98, Box A-34, General Files 1952-60, RG 79, NA-CPR. Historians should take care not to make too much of Pipestone National Monument's treatment as a showplace of Mission 66 development. It was only a transitory honor that was bestowed on the area at a time when other Mission 66 projects were lagging behind schedule and the agency was concerned about flagging public interest in the nation-wide program.

photo and on a trail map as late as the mid 1950s and was definitely gone by 1963, when the concrete base was demolished.[732]

Growth of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community

From the late 1930s through the 1960s, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community grew in numbers while deepening its involvement with pipemaking. Several members of the community worked at the national monument at different times, mostly as seasonal laborers, often two at a time. Three men who were employed most frequently, Ephraim Taylor, Harvey Derby, and George Bryan, also worked in the quarries under permit on a regular basis. Often the men included their families in their quarrying operations. As the men, women, and children who did the quarrying shared the pipestone with others in the community, practically the whole community became involved in craft working. Thus, year by year, quarrying and selling pipes to tourists became a traditional way of life and major source of support for the Pipestone Dakota. Uncontroversial at the time, their forging of an economic relationship with the pipestone set the stage for a long struggle between them and the Ihanktonwan over guardianship of the sacred quarries commencing in the 1970s.

The three and a half decades before 1970 constituted the middle period in the growth of the community, as it featured a second or middle generation of men and women who became leaders in the community after the passing of Joe Taylor in 1933 and Moses Crow in 1938. (But the first-generation women lived on; Julia Taylor died in 1963, and Estella Crow died at the age of 87 in 1988.) By the end of the period the most conspicuous family in the community was the Derby family. The Derbys were descended from Moses and Estella through their eldest daughter Ethel, while the family surname came from a new addition to the community, Harvey Derby.

Harvey Derby was born and raised on the Sisseton Reservation. He moved to Pipestone with the CCC-ID, and married Ethel Crow in 1938. After service in World War II, Harvey Derby worked as a seasonal laborer at Pipestone National Monument and did quarrying and pipemaking in the off-season. He learned some of the technique of quarrying and pipemaking from his father and grandfather, who had done it years before, and he received further instruction from his father-in-law, Moses Crow, shortly before he died. Harvey and Ethel had five daughters and two sons. All of the Derby children, as well as all of their twenty-one grandchildren,

[732] For a thorough review of what is known about the site, see Scott et al., *Archeological Inventory*, Appendix D, The Pipestone Indian School Cemetery, pp. 383-89.



Figure 58. Harvey Derby, Sisseton, on left and Superintendent Harvey B. Reynolds on right with families. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

became craft workers in one way or another – carving pipes, making trinkets, or doing beadwork.[733]

Besides the extended Derby family, five other families sprang from the children of Moses and Estella Crow, each one fostering another contingent of craft workers. Some families developed their own unique style of carving or design. Moses and Estella's second child, Harrison, grew up to be a pipemaker like his father, and Harrison's son, Harrison (Jack) Crow, Jr., became a third generation pipemaker. Jack's pipes exhibited a traditional style using sumac wood for the stems. One year, his pipes were presented to several state governors at a Midwestern governors' conference.[734]

Joe and Julia (Crow) Taylor had five children, among whom three, Ephraim, Theodore, and Nathan, became pipemakers. The Taylor family's distinctive form of pipe was named the "Taylor" style: the larger pipes had grooves painted red, white, yellow, and black for the four cardinal directions, and the stems had a unique burnt design.[735]

In the 1940s and 50s, the pipemakers went about their work of quarrying pipestone, manufacturing the articles, and selling the articles for cash without incurring the slightest bit of criticism from other American Indian groups. In the absence of criticism by other American Indian groups, they tended to see their work as carrying forward the centuries-old tradition of trading pipestone pipes for

[733] Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, "Pipestone Craftworkers by Family," no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.
[734] Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, "Pipestone Craftspeople," no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.
[735] Ibid.

other items through far-flung intertribal exchange networks. Chuck Derby, a third-generation pipemaker who became a lead spokesperson for the community in the 1980s and 90s, described the community's attitude toward selling pipestone products in a 1989 article. Although Chuck belonged to the third generation, and was writing in a later time when his community came under fire, his words nonetheless convey a sense of what Harvey Derby, Ephraim Taylor, George Bryan, and others of the second generation probably thought about it:

> The local Indian community is not unaware of the significance of the pipe to the Native American religion. [In] the words of the Holy Man Black Elk "when the Indians quit using the pipestone, the Indians will die." Generations of the local Indian community revived the dying art of pipemaking, since the early 1900's, when working the quarries and pipestone nearly ceased. Trading of pipestone by the local Indian community is not an uncommon practice, only a continuation of precedent set more than 300 years ago. This has meant independence from government programs, self-pride and being responsible family providers.[736]

Chuck Derby's reference to "independence from government programs" was a potent phrase when he wrote the article in 1989. Arguably, it was an even more potent and compelling justification for the commercial trade in pipestone products for his father's generation in the 1940s and 50s. Chuck's father, Harvey and his contemporaries held the community together through a period of retrenchment in the federal government's assistance to American Indian peoples. The termination policy of the late 1940s and 50s aimed at assimilating American Indians into the dominant society and terminating the federal trust relationship with tribes. Congress hoped to dismantle the BIA, and to see the American Indian population completely absorbed into the states' health, education, and welfare programs. The "Indian Relocation Act of 1956" provided financial incentives to tribal people to move off the reservation, take jobs in U.S. cities, and permanently relocate their families to those urban centers. According to the assimilationist goals of the U.S. government at that time, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community was perfectly in step with the government's aims: the people were living off-reservation, making their own way in the modern economy, and integrating their children into the local public school system. In the context of the 1940s and 50s, the trade in pipestone products not only enabled individual families to be self-

[736] Chuck Derby, "Local Native American Craftsmen," *Coteau Heritage* 2, no. 1 (April 1989), 16.

supporting, it was a vital cultural asset that the tribal community could cohere around.

What little controversy there was around the American Indian craftwork in the 1940s and 50s was concerned with keeping non-Indians out of it. As noted above, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association was re-established in 1954 to protect craft workers from being exploited by non-Indian buyers and sellers of American Indian crafts who bought the items at a low price and sold them at a high markup. Working in cooperation with the NPS, the association sought to protect the craft market by regulating prices, providing the craft workers with a supervised and sanctioned sales platform within the national monument, and most importantly, certifying that sale items were handmade by American Indian craft workers.[737]

In *Playing Indian*, historian Philip J. Deloria describes the rise of "Indian hobbyists" in the 1950s. Indian hobbyists were primarily white people who enjoyed going to powwows, dressing in traditional American Indian costume, engaging in American Indian song and dance, and collecting American Indian artifacts. Deloria notes that an Indian hobbyists' powwow highway developed during the decade in imitation of the American Indian circuit of tribal gatherings that had formed earlier in the century. While the Indian hobbyists' powwows and the American Indian powwows were distinct, there was some crossover of attendance between the two: some American Indian people went to the Indian hobbyists' powwows to sell crafts and sing and dance for pay, and some serious Indian hobbyists appeared at the American Indian gatherings where they dressed in full regalia and joined in the American Indians' dance circles. The rise of Indian hobbyists led to a shadow market in "artifakes." The year that the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association came back into existence was also the year that a new periodical, *American Indian Hobbyist*, was founded. The magazine served as a clearinghouse for information, traders, and dealers. A major thrust of the magazine was to meet the Indian hobbyists' desire, as consumers of American Indian culture, to be certain that what they were buying or experiencing was genuine and authentic.[738]

Deloria finds this desire for authenticity to have been the underlying psychic need that motivated Indian hobbyists, who were predominantly white, to "play Indian." Deloria argues that the temper of the 1950s, with its emphasis on political consensus and social conformity, bred a desire to escape from those same strictures. Among those many middle-class whites in the 1950s who felt smothered by the conservative social norms and political diatribes against "un-American activities," or who suffered alienation as members of the "lonely crowd," or who anxiously sought to construct their own self-identity within the new mass consumer

[737] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 146-48.
[738] Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 129-37.

society, a significant number found an attraction to racial "Otherness." Among these, Deloria writes, "a diverse set of hobbyists sought authenticity and identity in America's original signifier of unique selfhood – the Indian."[739]

And yet, Deloria continues, "during the 1950s, the sense of exotic difference that lay at the heart of Indian authenticity grew increasingly tenuous."[740] All Americans, American Indian and non-Indian, had struggled through the Great Depression and had fought in two world wars and Korea. Differences between American Indian and non-Indian had narrowed considerably, perhaps even to the point that American Indian people were on the verge of being totally assimilated. Consequently, playing Indian relied heavily on the use of tokens of the native America of old. When superintendent Linch or George Bryan "played Indian" for visitors at Pipestone National Monument, they donned a feathered headdress to authenticate their act.

The revival of the Hiawatha Pageant was a classic example of playing Indian. Pipestone resident Robert Owens conceived of the event as a way to draw attention to the town's connection with a fabled American Indian past. With other interested townspeople, he formed a local chapter of the National Exchange Club, a civic organization with a focus on celebrating American heritage, to help produce the outdoor pageant. The Pipestone Exchange Club approached the project as an endeavor that would involve the whole town's population, American Indian and non-Indian, with American Indian participation being essential to authenticate it. Bea Burns, an American Indian actress from Oklahoma and member of the Peoria Tribe, was cast in the role of Hiawatha's grandmother, Nokomis, while numerous local children, white as well as American Indian, were recruited to sing and dance. Within the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community, no one was more involved in the production effort than George and Clara Bryan. In 1949, prior to the pageant's six-night run in Pipestone, the couple helped advertise the event by riding in a parade in Madison, South Dakota, dressed in "full Indian regalia." Besides the smiling, waving couple, the Exchange Club's float featured an "Indian scene…complete with tepee, fire and trees," and a giant peace pipe extending the entire length of the float. The Bryans remained active in the production for many years. George sometimes played the role of Gitche Manito, the Creator, or Arrowmaker, the father of Hiawatha's bride Minnehaha. Clara played in several roles, including the role of Nokomis after Bea Burns stepped down from it.[741]

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[739] Ibid, 132.
[740] Ibid, 142.
[741] Pipestone Exchange Club, "Presenting the Annual Pageant 'Song of Hiawatha,'" no date, File 501-03, Box 194, CCF, RG 79, NA-CPR; "Everything is Ready For Pageant Opening June 17," *Pipestone County Star*, June 9, 1949; Southwick , *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 132; Jay Gabler, "Pipestone's Hiawatha Pageant ends 60-year run," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, July 24, 2008; "Native



Figure 59. Performers in the Hiawatha Pageant, date unknown. (Courtesy of Pipestone County Historical Society.)

In *Building on a Borrowed Past*, historian Sally Southwick gives a thorough account of how the outdoor pageant attracted larger and larger crowds each year and became an important promotional tool for the town's tourist industry. She also observes that townspeople went to some lengths to advertise their production of Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha* as a "realistic" and "authentic" representation of American Indian legend. The Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community's participation in the Hiawatha Pageant mirrored the kind of crossover participation that Deloria describes as having occurred on the powwow highway. As Southwick notes (quoting Deloria), the show featured American Indian people "imitating non-Indian imitation of Indians."[742]

The Hiawatha Pageant, already something of an anachronism when it was first produced, stayed in production for another sixty years. A reviewer who saw it in 2008 at the end of its sixty-year run said he was reminded of a phrase commonly heard at antique car shows: "You can maintain it, but you couldn't build a new one."[743] Outdoor pageants had their heyday in the first two decades of the twentieth century, when hundreds were produced every year, mostly in small towns like Pipestone. The rise of the Hollywood movie industry largely put the outdoor play companies out of business in the 1920s and 30s. The Hiawatha Pageant was

American Women Important in Pipestone's History," no date, Mark Calamia's office file on the Pipestone Dakota Community, Pipestone National Monument.

[742] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 129-35. Quotation on 142.

[743] Jay Gabler, "Pipestone's 'Haiwatha Pageant' ends 60-year run," *Twin Cities Daily Planet*, July 28, 2008.

part of a revival of the art form that took place in the late 1940s, by which time it was already viewed as a throwback to a more innocent age. Outdoor pageants in the postwar era played to the public's feelings of nostalgia. They often featured Bible stories or works by Shakespeare. A few drew on historical subject matter. The same year that the Pipestone Exchange Club produced the Hiawatha Pageant, citizens in Cherokee, North Carolina, formed a similar organization and produced an outdoor pageant called *Unto These Hills* based on Cherokee legend. The two plays were similar in that both relied on American Indian and non-Indian performers to fill out the all-American Indian cast of characters, and both created sentimental, stereotyped portrayals of tribal history and traditions.[744]

From year to year, a substantial number of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community performed in *Song of Hiawatha.* In the context of the 1950s, when most non-Indian Americans had little better sense of American Indian peoples than what they got from the caricatures presented in Hollywood and TV Westerns, the Hiawatha Pageant was regarded as wholesome, family entertainment. Even with its stereotyping, audiences found the show appealing. The shows' producers had actors stand on top of the Three Maidens and even painted the boulders for effect without giving a thought to how that could be a sacrilege to American Indian peoples. The Pipestone Dakota, for their part, kept silent about it until white attitudes began to change in the 1960s.[745]

A multitude of factors contributed to the new social consciousness toward American Indian peoples that emerged in the 1960s. Even before the rise of the Red Power Movement, many American citizens took notice of the Alaska Native land claim movement, the struggle by Taos Pueblo for the return of Blue Lake, and other civil rights struggles. They read popular histories and ethnographic accounts like *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* and *Black Elk Speaks*. Non-Indian Americans acquired a greater awareness of the tremendous diversity of American Indian cultures and tribes that had once populated the continent, and the persistence of those cultures and tribes in the twentieth century. In the context of those changing times, the Hiawatha Pageant's stereotyping grew more obvious and off-key to non-Indian Americans and American Indians alike.

While older members of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community accepted the *Song of Hiawatha* for what it was – an appropriation of Indian traditions by the dominant society – the younger generation was more inclined to bridle at the stereotyping and call it out. Some members of the American Indian community accused the Hiawatha Club of racial discrimination in its casting decisions.[746]

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[744] Laurence Armand French, *The Qualla Cherokee: Surviving in Two Worlds* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 132-35.
[745] Peg Meier, "On sacred ground," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, April 17, 2005.
[746] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 212.

In 1970, the Hiawatha Pageant came to the attention of the American Indian Movement (AIM), a group of American Indian militants who were just beginning to strategize how to turn their organization into a national Red Power movement. AIM was founded in Minneapolis in 1968. There, one of the largest urban, American Indian communities in the country faced bitter poverty and discrimination in a ghetto known as "the reservation." One of AIM's first actions was to organize a "red patrol" in the ghetto for the purpose of protecting American Indians from acts of police brutality. AIM soon attracted American Indian civil rights activists from various tribes and localities. As the organization grew, it forged a vision of American Indian cultural revival and revolutionary action that was not specific to any single community, tribe, or treaty, but rather was self-consciously "pan-Indian." Its strategy was to draw media attention, raise public awareness, and ultimately achieve political aims by targeting symbols of white oppression. One of AIM's first forays beyond Minneapolis was to Pipestone, where the sacred quarries, the national monument, and the Hiawatha Pageant all carried symbolic meanings that transcended the interests of the local American Indian community.

One evening during the Hiawatha Pageant's run in the summer of 1970; thirty AIM activists disrupted the night's performance by taking the stage as they protested the portrayal of American Indians in the pageant. When the group of activists moved to the national monument on the following day, however, they were dissuaded by officials from trying to disrupt public use of the area. The activists noted that both the NPS and the cooperating association employed several American Indians, that the association assisted the local American Indian community economically through its marketing plan, and that the NPS was making a credible effort in its interpretive program to inform the public about the significance of the quarries for many northern plains tribes. Although the AIM activists stayed in town for a few more days, they desisted from making a larger protest.[747]

Superintendent Cecil D. Lewis, Jr., who was in charge of the national monument from April 1968 to June 1970, and Superintendent Clarence N. Gorman, who followed him and was in charge until August 1971, both gave considerable attention to improving relations between the NPS, the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, the Hiawatha Club, and the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community in the years around the time of AIM's visit. Both superintendents were American Indians themselves; Gorman was a Navajo and Lewis was Sac and Fox, Delaware, and Potowatomi. Both superintendents thought the Hiawatha Pageant, despite its use of stereotyped images of American Indians, was a positive thing for the

[747] Southwick, *Building on a Borrowed Past*, 144; Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 211-12.

national monument, the American Indian community, and the town. Lewis believed that a major reason AIM activists decided against trying to make a public spectacle at Pipestone was that they found the Hiawatha Pageant to be more benign than they expected. Compared to so many other stereotyped portrayals of American Indian peoples, *Song of Hiawatha* actually "did the Indian quite a bit of justice," Lewis later remarked.[748]

AIM's visit to Pipestone did not radicalize members of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community. The community remained, on the whole, a conservative group because of its attachments to the town, the outdoor pageant, the quarries, the cooperating association, and the national monument. The episode did mark a turning point, as it demonstrated that the American Indian group's relationship to Pipestone National Monument and the sacred quarries was no longer solely its own affair, but was now part of a larger political landscape of indigenous peoples' rights. As American Indians pushed for protection of sacred places in the coming decades, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community would be thrust into the difficult role of defending their economic interest in the selling of pipestone products.

[748] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 210.

Chapter 9
Pipestone in the Self-Determination Era, 1970 to the Present

Federal Indian policy in the twentieth century has swung like a pendulum between two opposing, indomitable ideas. The first, assimilation, presumes that American Indians will inevitably merge into the general American population; therefore, the government's responsibility is to smooth that road for them. The second, self-determination, holds that American Indians have the right to live as tribal peoples in our modern pluralistic society. It upholds the doctrine of tribal sovereignty, which recognizes tribes as domestic, dependent nations existing within the larger nation. The ideas of assimilation and self-determination have taken turns dominating policy, neither one ever fully vanquishing the other. Federal Indian policy swung toward self-determination in the 1930s under the Indian New Deal, it swung back toward assimilation in the Termination era, and it swung once more toward self-determination in the 1960s and 70s when the rise of the Red Power movement and resurgent American liberalism advanced the values of tribal rights and cultural pluralism.

Policy reforms began in the 1960s and culminated with a message on Indian affairs that President Nixon sent to Congress on July 8, 1970, which finally renounced Termination policy in favor of helping tribes rebuild their capacity for self-governance. Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act on January 4, 1975, establishing tribal self-governance as a central goal of federal Indian policy. The law provided a way for tribes to take over specific federal programs and run them on their own.

In 1975, tribes had a long way to go to become self-governing. Most tribes had a tribal council for a legislative body, a few elected officers in an executive committee, a tribal court for the judiciary, and little else. It would take decades for tribes to establish complete self-governance, but most tribes were now on their way. Year by year, piece by piece, tribal governments took over law enforcement activities, human services, land management programs, and schools and colleges formerly administered by the BIA. As tribal governments grew stronger, they began to advocate for tribal interests off-reservation, on lands the tribes had once controlled or considered their homeland. Tribes came together in consortiums and advocated for tribal interests on a regional scale. For example, twenty-eight tribes in South Dakota and neighboring states came together to form the Mni Sose Inter-Tribal Water Rights Coalition for the protection of their water rights in the Missouri River Basin.

The rebirth of tribal governments was paralleled by the revitalization of tribal cultures. Many tribes devised programs to preserve their language and to preserve traditional culture. With the help of a grants program administered by the

NPS, tribes formed Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPOs) on a parallel with State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) so that they could participate more fully in the protection of tribal-related sacred, cultural and historic sites under the National Historic Preservation Act.

Another important milestone for self-determination was the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of August 11, 1978. Congress found that the United States had enacted conservation laws in the past without due regard for traditional American Indian religions. Many federal laws and policies inadvertently infringed on American Indian peoples' abilities to practice their traditional beliefs. Section 1 of AIRFA declared that:

> henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiian, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.[749]

Section 2 of the act directed the president to coordinate a review of administrative policies by all pertinent federal agencies so that these infringements could be rectified.Although American Indian tribes would still face an uphill battle to obtain adequate federal protections for sacred sites located on federal lands after AIRFA was enacted, the law gave them a rallying point.

AIRFA was a catalyst in bringing a change of perspective on American Indian policy within the NPS. In 1981 the agency hired Dr. Muriel Crespi, a cultural anthropologist, to head up a new anthropology division. Crespi's charge was separate from the NPS's cultural resource division, which had a large staff of archeologists but no cultural anthropologists and whose focus was on archeological and historic properties, not tribal relations. Crespi became the leading spokesperson in the agency for developing greater cooperation between the NPS and American Indian peoples. In Crespi's view, the NPS's responsibility toward American Indians should not be limited to sacred sites located on lands in the National Park System, but rather should reflect the agency's role as the keeper of the nation's heritage. She attracted support for her view of the NPS's responsibility to tribes and tribal cultures by appealing to professional organizations like the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology, American Indian organizations, and Congress.

[749] Public Law 95-341, 92 Stat., 469.

One of Crespi's initiatives was to have an ethnographic resource inventory and a traditional use study completed for each unit in the National Park System. The NPS contracted with David T. Hughes, professor of anthropology at Wichita State University, to oversee these two studies for Pipestone National Monument. Hughes's team conducted numerous ethnographic interviews with members of the Yankton Sioux Tribe, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community, and the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe. Hughes completed an ethnographic study in 1995, and he and Alice Stewart provided the national monument with a traditional use study two years later.[750]

Both the tribes' rise to power and the NPS's development of an American Indian policy were important influences on American Indian use of the Pipestone Quarry from 1970 to the present. Nothing illustrates the changed context more clearly than the national monument's general management plan adopted in 2008. In a dramatic turnaround from the termination era, when the NPS built a visitor center practically on top of sacred quarries, the general management plan now calls for the visitor center to be razed and the quarries to be given a much wider buffer. When Congress appropriates the money, most visitor and administrative facilities will be rebuilt outside or at the edge of the national monument area, and the setting around the quarries will be restored as much as possible to the way it appeared in prehistoric times. The NPS arrived at this plan as its preferred alternative after consultation with the tribes; in an earlier draft the NPS had advocated improving



Figure 60. The visitor center and prairie, 2003. (National Park Service photo.)

[750] Muriel Crespi, "Saving Sacred Places," *National Parks* 66 (July/August 1991), 18; David T. Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred: A Review of Selected Native American Groups and their relationships with the Catlinite Quarries* (Lincoln, Nebraska: NPS, 1995).

the existing facilities. Here is how the NPS described the need for such a radical remake of the park's infrastructure:

> There is an inherent tension between the Pipestone National Monument that is a sacred site to many American Indians and the Pipestone National Monument that is a part of the national park system. Some American Indians believe that the pipestone quarried at the national monument is sacred and hold the site to be a place of reverence. Many American Indians still adhere to the traditions and practices surrounding the quarrying of pipestone.
>
> The national monument relates to the oral history and culture of many tribes because it contains several locations associated with stories that are passed from generation to generation. The National Park Service is charged with preserving and *interpreting* those practices and traditions for all visitors. The western viewpoint of the exhibits and the interpretation offered may not always tell the entire story from the American Indian perspective.
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> One example of this difference in the world view is the current location of the visitor center. One group of tribal elders has asked the National Park Service to consider removing the visitor center from its location in the middle of the national monument. The visitor center was placed where it is in the 1950s to immerse visitors in the national monument and to ease access to the quarries. That decision may not have reflected consideration of the Indian viewpoint.[751]

The remainder of this chapter traces the relationship of American Indian peoples to the Pipestone Quarry from 1970 to the present. It focuses on four topics: the Upper Midwest American Indian Cultural Center that was added to the visitor center in 1971, the evolution of quarrying activities, the contest over who should be the keeper of the sacred site and what should be allowed to go on there, and the revival of the Sun Dance within the national monument area.

The Upper Midwest American Indian Cultural Center

In the fall of 1967, a group of Ihanktonwan went to Pipestone National Monument and requested permits to quarry. Among the group were Hollis Medicine Crow and Patrick, Daniel, and Elijah Packard. They intended to obtain a quantity of pipestone to take back to the Yankton Reservation for working into

[751] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument* (Pipestone, Minnesota: NPS, 2008), 8.

craft items over the winter, which they planned to sell through a company they called Struck by the Ree Enterprises, Inc. A photograph of the four men in a quarry was printed in the *Pipestone County Star*. According to a later statement made by the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community, this was the first documented return of the Ihanktonwan to the quarries for as long as the Pipestone Dakota had been there.[752]

In the spring of 1968, George Bryan, quarrier, pipemaker, and longtime seasonal employee at the national monument, went to the new Superintendent, Cecil D. Lewis, Jr., and suggested that the NPS develop an American Indian cultural center, which would serve a dual purpose of fostering the craft among the next generation of pipemakers and demonstrating it for non-native visitors to the national monument. Lewis was immediately receptive to the idea, but he let it gestate for a year before taking it to his superiors. In the meantime, he had the opportunity to discuss the proposal with Frank Fools Crow, a spiritual leader of the Oglala, who gave it his endorsement. Fools Crow indicated that the center would present an opportunity for whites and American Indians to improve their mutual understanding.[753]

Lewis presented the idea to NPS Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., during a visit to the regional office in Omaha in June 1969. Lewis pointed out that the American Indian cultural center would dovetail with one of the eleven policy guidelines for management of the National Park System that the new Secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel, had just announced, namely, to promote programs that would enhance cultural, recreational, and economic opportunities for American Indian peoples. Lewis's superiors encouraged him to develop a formal proposal. In the following months, the superintendent recruited two others, Paul McCrary of the Midwest Regional Office and Don Ripley of Bighorn National Recreation Area, to assist him in preparing the proposal, and the three visited American Indian cultural centers at Rapid City, South Dakota; Santa Fe, New Mexico; and Anadarko, Oklahoma, to learn what each had to offer. They called the proposed center at Pipestone the "Upper Midwest American Indian Cultural Crafts Center."

In the proposal that Lewis sent to the regional office, the center facility was to have 2,600 square feet of space for craft working and exhibits, plus another 1,000 square feet for storage and utilities. In addition, the half-million-dollar budget for developing the center included an amount for procuring eight to ten trailers to house visiting American Indian craft workers. The regional office forwarded the proposal to Washington with its endorsement, and the project was included in the budget that the Nixon administration sent to Congress in February

[752] "Concerns of the Pipestone Dakotah Community," undated memo, with clipping from *Pipestone County Star* dated November 16, 1967, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO.
[753] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 118-19.

1970. The NPS set to work on architectural plans, which included a six-unit apartment building in lieu of trailer housing.[754]

The cultural center was built in 1971-72. It was attached to the rear or north side of the visitor center complex by a hallway or vestibule. As the large addition had the same low-pitch roofline as the original structure, it was practically hidden from view from the parking area and front entrance. There were east and west exits from the vestibule to the outside, which maintained the visitor center's ready access to the interpretive trail, but the visitor center's view to the north across the prairie to the escarpment was eliminated. Ironically, the footprint of the new structure extended into an old quarry. Prior to construction, park archeologist Roy W. Reaves, III, interviewed local American Indians about the pit and none recalled ever seeing it actively worked. Reaves salvaged historic-period artifacts from the pit before it was filled in to form part of the foundation for the center.[755]

The interior floor plan of the cultural center reflected its multi-purpose function. The area was divided roughly into a front half for visitors and a rear half for American Indian craft workers. The front half included exhibit space and a sales counter for the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association, while the rear half included a large work room and two smaller storage rooms. Running along the seam between the front and rear areas were three demonstration booths, where craft workers would sit while they carved, exhibiting their work in progress and responding to visitors' questions.[756]

The spatial relationship between the demonstration booths and the sales counter improved sales at an important time for the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. In 1969, the association initiated a mail-order business, brought on more seasonal staff from the local American Indian community, and hired a professional bookkeeper, Betty Zorich, who was soon promoted to business manager. In the early 1970s, the trade grew substantially. Whereas the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association bought and sold about $28,000 worth of crafts in 1968 and 1969, its total sales receipts shot up to $74,500 in 1972, $106,700 in 1974, and $145,000 in 1975. Even taking into account the high rate of inflation in those years, that was a remarkable growth of business.[757]

As historian Rothman notes in *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, the cultural center was part of a larger initiative to preserve American Indian traditional

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[754] Ibid, 121. The apartment complex was slated to be built on the east edge of the national monument north of Pipestone Creek.
[755] Jo-Ann Wilkins and Donald L. Stevens, Jr., National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for Pipestone National Monument, Pipestone Mission 66 Development, April 21, 2003, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO; Scott, et al., *Archeological Inventory*, 148.
[756] "Floor Plan," May 1971, Donald L. Stevens, Jr., Research Files, MRO.
[757] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 148; Corbett, "Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument," 90; William P. Corbett, "A History of the Red Pipestone Quarry and Pipestone National Monument," master's thesis, University of South Dakota, 1976, 79.



Figure 61. George Bryan, Ojibwe, carving in the cultural center of the visitor center. (National Park Service photo.)

crafts, provide opportunities for local American Indians to practice their skills, and give them training in resource management. Lewis went to many of the reservations in South Dakota to consult tribal councils and traditionalists on how to make the center succeed. With their input, he formulated a plan in which the NPS would seek master stone carvers who would work at the national monument on a full-time basis, demonstrating the craft to visitors and teaching it to younger apprentices. The apprentice stone carvers would then return to their communities with a marketable skill and a fund of traditional knowledge that they could transmit to others. Meanwhile, some of these people would stay at the national monument through the winter to learn resource management skills, which they could later apply to the management of natural and cultural resources back home. Specifically,

they would learn curatorial practices that would be transferable to tribal museums with collections of artifacts.[758]

Unfortunately, the NPS had difficulty recruiting master stone carvers. The problem stemmed from a combination of too little money and too few eligible people. Instead of bringing people in from elsewhere, the NPS fell back on the small population of active pipemakers in the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community. Accustomed to doing their carving off-site, these people simply moved their place of work to the cultural center. Employed as cultural demonstrators, they performed their work in front of visitors and primarily engaged with the public rather than with students. Park managers took a hands-off approach toward the cultural demonstrators, as the managers did not want to be perceived as advising the stone carvers on how to interpret their culture to the public, much less on how to do their craft. Management of the cultural demonstrators was left to the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association.

The number of cultural demonstrators employed in the program fluctuated; there were usually three to six and in 1977 there was a total of seven. Often one person was hired to do the beadwork on pipe stems. The cultural demonstrators were employed seasonally from April to October. They worked two to a station in the cultural center or they worked outside the visitor center where they could be readily observed as people came into the parking area.[759]

Ray Redwing, a member of the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, started as an apprentice cultural demonstrator in the early 1980s. Two local pipemakers, Chuck and Butch Derby, taught him how to quarry and carve the pipestone for two years before he worked on his own and began designing his own pipe bowls. After Redwing acquired his own expertise, he started making ornate pipe bowls with carved buffalo and eagle heads on the front of the bowl. He returned year after year for more than twenty years. He sold his products to visitors through the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and he also took special orders for pipes from American Indians living all over the nation. He said he liked the work and enjoyed his interactions with the public. Visitors were inquisitive about American Indian cultures. Redwing ceased working at the national monument for about ten years while he served as an elected official on the tribal executive committee, and then returned to the national monument in 2014.[760] .

Redwing's positive experience notwithstanding, the crafts center did not attract as many students as was once envisioned. The six-unit apartment building

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[758] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 122.
[759] Ibid, Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "History and Culture: Ray Redwing…" July 12, 2005 at http://fsst.org/Pipemaker_RRedwing_000.html <March 17, 2014>; Laura Peers, "'Playing Ourselves': First Nations and Native American Interpreters at Living History Sites," *Public Historian* 21, no. 4 (Fall 1999), 54.
[760] Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe, "History and Culture: Ray Redwing...."

was built on the east edge of the national monument north of Pipestone Creek, but it saw little use for its intended purpose. In 1978, three of the six units were leased to the local school district and vocational education institute. In 1989, the building was sold and removed. The ground where it stood was restored.[761]

Changing Pattern of Use of the Pipestone Quarry

Starting around 1970 or a few years earlier, American Indian interest in quarrying increased. Normally the NPS issued one permit per quarry per year. As recently as 1966, there were only ten active quarry pits. Seven years later in 1973, there were twenty-three. In 2005, there were sixty-one. To accommodate the growing interest, old pits were reactivated and a new row of pits was started north of the old quarry line. The number or active pits did not reflect the amount of pipestone being removed, because many pits were quarried for just a week or two when the permit holders got time away from their regular employment to work their pits. Still, several tons of pipestone were quarried each year and the total quantity probably did grow to some extent as more pits were opened. Although members of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community continued to do most of the quarrying, individuals came from all over the United States and Canada as well.[762]

Three main factors drove the increase in interest in quarrying. Foremost was the revitalization of traditional tribal cultures. As there were no organized tribal efforts to access and use the quarries, all of the activity occurred by individual initiative. Individuals' motivations for quarrying varied. Motivating factors included a desire to resupply the tribe with the vital material for making sacred pipes; a spiritual calling to lay hands on the sacred pipestone and to spend time in such a sacred place; a wish to lead others, such as tribal youth groups or one's own children, in the quarrying activity so that they too could draw spiritual benefit from it; and an impulse to reconnect with traditional practices, honor one's ancestors, and strengthen self-identity. Many individuals acted on several of those motivations in combination.

Another factor was population growth in the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community. The second generation of pipemakers actively passed down their traditional knowledge to the third generation, and as many of the second generation had large families, the number of local American Indians who engaged in the activity grew in the 1970s.

The third factor that led to more quarrying activity in the 1970s was the strong market for pipes and other pipestone objects, which gave those who were

[761] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 124-25.
[762] Corbett, "Pipestone: The Origin and Development of a National Monument," 92; Kristin Holtz, "Pipestone: Tribal groups at odds over sacred stone," *Worthington Daily Globe*, June 10, 2005; Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred*, 21.

interested an outlet for selling their craftwork through the cooperating association. It must be stressed that even though sales provided some of the more prolific pipemakers with a modest income for their labors, the potential to derive cash earnings from quarrying and pipemaking was not a big incentive for doing such hard manual work. The market for pipestone crafts did not draw people into quarrying who would otherwise have chosen another occupation; at most, it simply enabled a few dedicated individuals to devote much more of their time to it. In any case, the commercial market was practically irrelevant to most of the permit holders as they declined to sell their craft items through the cooperating association. Rather, they kept to tradition and took the pipestone home with them for gifting, trading, and personal use.

As American Indian interest in quarrying grew, the NPS saw a need to improve its management of the quarries. In 1972, an evaluation team visited the unit and recommended changes to the quarrying permit. As a result, the number of conditions listed on the permit was expanded from four to fourteen. Most of the changes had to do with safety and registration protocols. Relative to the legal provision in the establishing act that "the quarrying of the red pipestone in the lands described in section 1 is hereby expressly reserved to Indians of all tribes," the NPS consulted the BIA on the question of "Who is a legal Indian?" The NPS decided on the rule that any enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe was eligible for a permit.[763]

With the new permit, the NPS hoped to head off problems arising from heightened demand. As before, permits were issued for a particular quarry pit for one year on a renewable basis. As there were more applicants than quarry pits, the NPS developed a waiting list for the applicants while it reserved the option to cancel a permit holder's permit if the person did not follow the rules, or to not renew the permit if the person was unable to travel to Pipestone and work the pit during the year. Of course, the strictures had the effect of giving people who lived relatively near the quarries an upper hand in maintaining their permits year after year. But it did put more pits in circulation for those who were on the waiting list.

The NPS also considered the possibility that it might have to reduce the number of permits in the future to conserve the resource. Although the Code of Federal Regulations gave the agency that authority, Superintendent Don R. Thompson advised against it for the short term. "We can't deny anyone a quarrying permit without all kinds of repercussions from locals, AIM, other groups and individuals," he advised his superior.[764]

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[763] Don R. Thompson, Superintendent, to Director, Northeast Region, November 1, 1972, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.
[764] Ibid.

Another issue that the NPS had to consider was whether it needed to prepare an environmental impact statement on the quarrying activity. It was plain to see that the present quarrying activity impacted the national monument's most important cultural resource, the archeological record left by prehistoric and historic quarrying. An environmental impact statement would have to assess the impact more carefully. Thompson thought that an environmental impact statement ought to be included in a revision of the master plan that was programmed for 1973. However, the master plan revision was never completed, and so the environmental impact statement fell by the wayside.

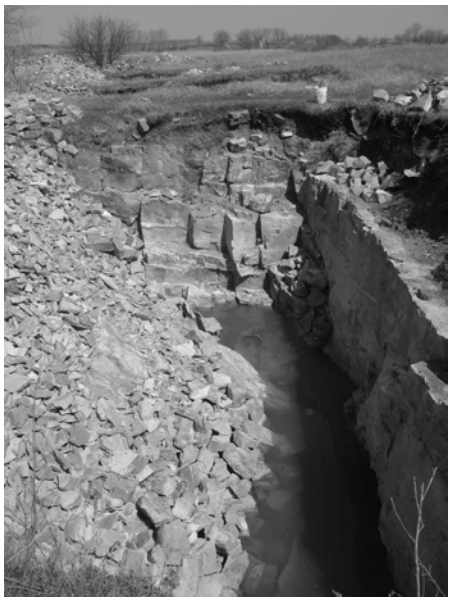


Figure 62. One of the largest and most active quarry pits. Note the water table in bottom. (Photo by the authors.)

Over the next twenty years, upwards of 350 people received permits to work the quarries, according to an analysis of permit records made by anthropologist David T. Hughes. A number of those people held their permit year after year. A few permit holders worked in their quarry for months on end, others for a few days, and some never actually got to quarry at all, so there was vast disparity within the group with regard to how much pipestone they extracted. In terms of place of residence, or geographic proximity to the quarries, Hughes's analysis showed that local American Indians who lived in the town of Pipestone received about one-fifth of all permits issued. Residents of Flandreau, South Dakota made up another large fraction. Other American Indians who were resident in either Minnesota or South Dakota, accounted for another 46 percent of permit holders. Since the people who lived nearer the quarries were more likely to renew their permits year after year, they were undoubtedly a dominant presence in the quarries. To what extent American Indians who were resident of Pipestone, or Minnesota, or South Dakota, dominated use of the quarries could not be said, for the NPS did not keep records on how much pipestone was extracted by each permit holder. This hole in the record keeping persists to the present time.[765]

Viewed in another way, the 358 people who held permits over that twenty-two-year period from 1973 to 1995 represented a remarkably diverse set of tribes. Not limited to Oceti Sakowin tribes, or even to northern plains tribes, the individuals came from tribes that are widely distributed from Maine to California

[765] Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred*, 21.

and from Oklahoma to Canada. Tribes that were represented included many Oceti Sakowin tribes, several Ojibwe tribes, Blackfeet, Mandan, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Navajo, Ho-Chunk, Potawatomi, Seneca, Oneida, Jamestown S'Klallam, Arikara, Ponca, Penobscot, Papago, Paiute, Ottawa, Osage, Nez Perce, Menominee, Gros Ventre, Native Alaskan, Muscogee, Maidu-Konkow, Comanche, Athabaskan, Assiniboine, Peepeekisis First Nation (Canada), and Joseph Bighead First Nation (Canada). Among the many Oceti Sakowin groups represented, a majority of permit holders gave their affiliated tribe as "Sioux," making it difficult or impossible to determine which federally recognized tribe they were members of. Among those that could be identified with a particular tribe, a large number were Sisseton-Wahpeton or Santee.[766]

A list of quarriers was submitted with congressional testimony by Bud Johnston in 1993, and that list included only 180 individuals over a similar time span. (Johnston's list covered the years 1971 to 1990, while Hughes's analysis covered the years 1972 to 1993.) How to account for the seeming disparity in numbers between Johnston's list of quarriers and Hughes's analysis of permit records is not known. Johnston's list was arranged by tribe and individual. Some 42 individuals were listed under Sisseton Wahpeton, 72 of the names appeared under other Oceti Sakowin tribes, 33 names were listed as Ojibwe, and the remaining 33 names were affiliated with 29 other tribes. Johnston's list basically matched Hughes's analysis in terms of tribal representation.[767]

The pattern of tribal representation did not change appreciably after 1993. A review of permits issued since 2005 revealed a similar spread of tribal affiliations among permit holders. As in the earlier time span, persons from the numerous Oceti Sakowin and Ojibwe tribes made up the bulk of the permit holders, while the rest came from many distant tribes including the Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, Chippewa Cree, Spokane, Oneida of Wisconsin, Muscogee, Creek, Cherokee, Ponca, Caddo, Navajo, Ho-Chunk, Potawatomi, Stockbridge-Munsie, Cree First Nation (Canada), and Garden River First Nation (Canada).[768]

The NPS found itself in somewhat of a quandary over issuing permits to American Indians affiliated with tribes located outside the United States. When the

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[766] Hughes, *Perceptions of the Sacred*, 23.

[767] "Listing of quarriers from different Tribal groups from 1971 thru 1990," U.S. House, Subcommittee on Native American Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources, *American Indian Religious Freedom Act – Part II: Oversight Hearing before the Subcommittee on Native American Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources House of Representatives One Hundred Third Congress First Session on Effectiveness of P.L. 95-346 – The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA)*, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., March 18, 1993, Serial No. 103-7 Part II, 259-60.

[768] This list was compiled by the authors with the help of chief ranger Curt Frain. In compliance with the Privacy Act, names of individuals were redacted. Based on our quick review of the permits, the list of tribes given here should not be taken as definitive.

national monument received an application from an indigenous person in South America, it decided that the intent of Congress was to recognize quarrying rights of tribes and tribal members "affiliated" with the U.S. government. Strictly speaking, an affiliated tribe was one that was federally recognized. In practice, however, park managers were inclined to issue permits to American Indians who were part of a First Nations tribe in Canada when the tribe had historical ties to the region. Then, another issue arose. The Canadian government generally recognized the Métis (groups who were descended from mixed European and American Indian heritage) as First Nations, whereas the U.S. government did not. When one individual applied for a permit who was a U.S. citizen, resident of Indiana, and registered member of both the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association and the American Métis Aboriginal Association, it gave the NPS pause. Although this individual had legal standing as an aboriginal person under Canadian law, he was not granted that status under U.S. federal law. The NPS did not want to find itself in the position of privileging Canadian Métis over American Métis.[769]

The permit was altered again in 2003. A provision was added that limited all work in the quarry to American Indians. Written proof of tribal affiliation was required not just for the permit holder but for all assistants, too. Another provision was added that prohibited permit holders from using their own pumps to pump groundwater out of the quarries. If the permit holder wanted to attempt to quarry during periods of high groundwater, then they were required to notify the superintendent or chief of maintenance at least two days in advance so that the NPS could pump groundwater out of the quarry pit using its own equipment.[770]

Contested Management of the Quarries

Oglala Lakota journalist and publisher Tim Giago founded the *Lakota Times* in 1981. In one of his early editorials, he charged the federal government with having "attempted to destroy the sacred Pipestone Quarry in Minnesota" near the end of the nineteenth century. First, Giago wrote, the federal government allowed a railroad to be built through the Pipestone Reservation. Then, a few years later, colluding with missionaries, the federal government stood passively by as rock ledges at the crest of the falls were blasted away "in order to erase all traces of their outlines and to make them useless for ceremonial purposes." In Giago's estimation, these acts were part of a larger pattern of willful suppression of American Indian religions under federal Indian policy. Although the suppression of American Indian religions had eased some in the 1930s, the federal government

[769] Terry RedHawk Harris, AMAA/OMAA, to James LaRock, Superintendent, no date, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.
[770] Pipestone National Monument, "Revocable Permit to Quarry," no date, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.

had not taken remedial action for the injustices it had done to American Indian peoples in this sphere until 1978, when Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.[771]

Giago's piece echoed the narrative of deliberate assault on the area's sacred values that Jennings C. Wise, an attorney for the Yankton Sioux Tribe, presented fifty years earlier in his book, *The Red Man in the New World Drama*. In Wise's account, "the missionaries were happy" when the falls were destroyed. Wise's 1931 book did not attract a wide readership when it was published, and it was all but forgotten by the time Giago was writing. Unlike Wise, who was trying to stir the conscience of Euro-Americans primarily, Giago wrote editorials for American Indian people to read and respond to. His piece did find readers. In a few years, American Indians started a movement to protect the sacred Pipestone Quarry on their terms. For them, NPS management of Pipestone National Monument did not give the quarries adequate protection. The American Indian activists wanted recognition that the Pipestone Quarry was sacred ground and that the principles laid out in AIRFA would be applied in that place. One of the movement's leaders, Wesley C. Hare, Jr., said that the Ihanktonwan had only agreed to put the Pipestone Quarry under NPS control in 1937 because so many American Indians had been taught that their religion was devil worship. In those trying times, American Indian peoples' sacred values had been diminished. Along with the recent revitalization of American Indian cultures, Hare insisted, came the moral imperative to restore those sacred values.[772]

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[771] Tim Giago, *Notes from Indian Country Volume 1* (Pierre, South Dakota: State Publishing Company, 1984), n.p. Giago was not the only one to pick up on Wise's account at this time. In passing AIRFA, Congress mandated a multi-agency review of the federal government's past handling of American Indian religious rights, including management of sacred sites. The report, prepared by Suzan Shown Harjo, Vine Deloria, Jr., Walter Echo-Hawk, and a handful of others, made scathing reference to U.S. oversight of the Pipestone Quarry as Exhibit A of how the U.S. government had sought to destroy American Indian religions in the nineteenth century. Relying on Wise's book as its sole source of information, the report stated (p.7): "The quarry was a religious site of great importance to tribes for nearly a thousand miles radius. The quarry was under the protection of the Yankton Sioux people and in the treaties they took particular pains to ensure its sanctity. According to research done by their attorney, Jennings C. Wise (at one time an Assistant Attorney General of the United States), this quarry was deliberately damaged by the construction of a railroad through it in 1891 at the instigation of federal officials and missionaries who wished to destroy its value as a religious site. According to Wise, the sacred ledges which created the falls were deliberately blasted to erase all traces of their former outlines and to render them useless for ceremonial purposes." This statement is factually incorrect as to the date of the railroad construction and is unsupported by evidence as to the contention that federal officials and missionaries wanted to destroy the falls. The report also stated (p.109) that sacred pipes were "improperly displayed" at the national monument. See "American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report, P.L. 95-341, Federal Agencies Task Force, Chairman, Cecil D. Andrus, Secretary of the Interior, August 1979," available online through Google. Authorship of the report is stated in U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Indian Affairs, *Improvement of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act*, 100th Cong., 2d sess., S. Hrg. 100-879, May 18, 1988, 23-24.

[772] "Sacred Run centers on quarries, red rock," *Pipestone County Star*, August 2, 1990.

In the years after Congress enacted AIRFA, many people thought the law would be used to protect American Indian sacred sites from destruction by dams, roads, and other kinds of development on public lands. AIRFA was invoked in several lawsuits made against federal land management agencies. Federal courts soon made it clear that they found the law to be a declaration of the sense of Congress and no more. It provided no cause for action. The courts' negative findings culminated in a decision by the Supreme Court concerning a logging road and a sacred site in northern California. In *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* (1988), the high court found that the road construction would not prevent American Indian persons from free exercise of religion because it would not coerce individuals to "act against their faith." Moreover, the justices observed that AIRFA was indeed devoid of a protective cause of action; in other words, the statute had "no teeth."[773] American Indian rights activists responded by turning from the courts to Congress again, demanding that the law be strengthened.

The developing struggle over control of the Pipestone Quarry was a classic case of the protection of American Indian religion being in conflict with accepted modes of operation by the dominant society. American Indian rights' activists held that the commercial sale of pipestone was sacrilegious and an assault on American Indian religious practice even though it had been integral to the NPS's management of Pipestone National Monument and the federal government's and Pipestone community's longstanding effort to keep the tradition of quarrying alive. Many American Indian people believed that since the red stone carried the blood of their tribe, it was incumbent on them to protect the pipestone or the tribe would suffer ill consequences. In some people's minds, the tribe's acquiescing in the sale of the



Figure 63. Detail of ceremonial offerings. (Photo by the authors.)

[773] Barbara Deloria, Kristen Feohner, and Sam Scinta, eds., *Spirit & Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1999), 324; Lloyd Burton, *Worship and Wilderness: Culture, Religion and Law in Public Lands Management* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), 110.

pipestone was leading directly to the tribe's destruction through the spread of alcoholism, drug abuse, and other social ills.

Ihanktonwan Claims

Nowhere was the feeling against the sale of pipestone stronger than among Ihanktonwan traditionalists. The Ihanktonwan still considered themselves to be the legitimate caretakers of the sacred quarries, and in the 1980s many tribal members harbored deep-seated feelings of resentment, anger, and sorrow over the tribe's ouster from the quarries two or three generations earlier.

The original organizer of the protest was artist and pipemaker Adalbert Zephier. Born in Marty, South Dakota, in 1917, and educated at the St. Paul's Mission Indian School, where his teachers tried to steer him away from his American Indian culture, Zephier came from that generation of American Indian men and women who reached maturity in the 1940s and 50s and fought to protect their tribes from termination. Amidst the changing social and political climate of the 1960s, Zephier observed that the younger generation, including his own three sons, was taking an interest in traditional ceremonies, braiding their hair, and in other real and symbolic ways, embracing their American Indian heritage. Encouraged by what he saw, he returned with his sons to the Pipestone Quarry, joining with a handful of other Ihanktonwan who requested quarrying permits in the late 1960s and early 1970s to exercise their special right and recover this long-lost component of their tribal heritage. Adalbert Zephier developed strong misgivings about the sale of pipestone, which he expressed in an interview with graduate student William T. Corbett in 1976. Elders had told him that pipestone products should never be sold; they should only be conveyed as gifts.[774]

After working a number of years as a cultural demonstrator at Pipestone National Monument in the mid 1970s, Zephier went home and began speaking out on the need for a moratorium on the sale of pipestone in the national monument. More specifically, he challenged the propriety of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association's mail-order business and the legitimacy of its role as a cooperating association under NPS aegis.[775]

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[774] Adelbert Zephier, interview by William T. Corbett, May 19, 1976, South Dakota Oral History Center, on behalf of the Department of Native Studies at University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota, American Indian Research Project, No. 1028.

[775] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 134, 154-55; Bud Johnston, interview by Theodore Catton, January 21, 2013; Chuck Derby, "Spiritual Run 2007," Little Feather Indian Center, at dragonflydezign.com/littlefeathercenter/pipestone.html <February 26, 2014>. According to Bud Johnston, Zephier later confided to him that his break with the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association happened as a result of the association's refusal to display his paintings in the gallery inside the crafts center, and only then did he take up the cause of stopping the sale of pipestone. See also "Concerns of the Pipestone Dakotah Community," undated memo, Donald L. Stevens, Jr. Research Files, MRO. According to Derby, Zephier left his employment at the national monument

Zephier's three sons were also instrumental in getting the movement started. Loren and Sherwyn served as cultural demonstrators at Pipestone National Monument together with their father. Loren represented the Ihanktonwan at a two-day spiritual gathering at Pipestone in July 1984.[776] The father and sons built support for the movement on the Yankton Reservation through the mid-1980s.

In the late spring and early summer of 1987, several things happened. On May 1, the Yankton Sioux Tribe passed a resolution asking the U.S. government to vacate the sacred quarries and turn them over to the tribal elders. This followed a resolution passed by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) calling on the federal government to stop the commercial sale of pipestone objects in the national monument.[777]

At the beginning of June, eighteen runners went on a 200-mile run from the Yankton Reservation to Pipestone, where they were joined by 140 supporters and demonstrators in a spiritual and political gathering. The group held prayer ceremonies and camped for two nights. Among the participants was Arvol Looking Horse, keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe. On the last day of the gathering, the people signed a petition, which was sent to Senator Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), chair of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. The petition read as follows:

> We, the undersigned, who are committed to the protection of the Sacred Calf Pipe, the Pipestone Quarries at Pipestone, Minn. and of all sacred pipes made of pipestone appeal to you on this day of June 7, 1987, to cause legislation to be enacted to amend the Pipestone Act of Aug. 25, 1937 (50 Stat. 804) in keeping with the following requirements, principles, laws and facts:
>
> - Return of the Sacred Red Pipestone Quarries to the care and protection of the Yankton Sioux Tribe and the Lakota and Dakota spiritual elders because this site is one of the places of origin of the Dakota Nation and is the source of our sacred pipestone which is central and indispensable to the practice of our spiritual beliefs. The protection of the Pipestone Quarries is in keeping with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.
> - Require the National Park Service, the U.S. Department of the Interior and the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association to immediately vacate the Sacred Red Pipestone Quarries because

in 1979. In the spring of that year, an exhibit of Zephier's paintings opened at the Sioux Indian Museum and Crafts Center in Rapid City, South Dakota.

[776] Francie Scott, "Indians Respect Sacred Pipestone," *News from Indian Country*, August 31, 1987.

[777] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 154.

they have permitted and are permitting the desecration of our holy place by commercial exploitation and the sale of pipes and other objects made of pipestone.

- The pipe must not be sold. "Handicraft products" made of pipestone must not be sold.
- The Park Service has illegally permitted the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association to sell thousands of pipes to non-Indian persons all over the world, who may not show the proper reverence and respect for the pipe. There is no mention in either the Act or the rules and regulations of the establishment of any such association that would make policy about the sale of pipestone or the disposition of pipestone objects as assets in the event of the dissolution of such an association. (Article II and IV of the Bylaws of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association.)
- The return of the Pipestone Quarries is in keeping with the Yankton Sioux Treaty of 1858 which states: "the Yankton Indians shall be secured for the free and unrestricted use of the Red Pipestone Quarry."
- Senator Inouye, we also request that you hold a hearing so that we, the traditional people, can give you further information on what should be included in the amended Act and its rules and regulations.[778]

In addition to the resolutions and the protest run, the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party went on record in support of the Yankton Sioux Tribe's position. It is not definitely known who approached the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and got a plank put in the party platform to that effect.

The Ihanktonwan's concerns about the sacred pipestone began as a classic "nativistic movement," according to anthropologist David T. Hughes. Anthropologists first identified nativistic movements as something happening in numerous colonial settings around the world in the early twentieth century, where indigenous peoples sought to resist domination by Europeans through a revival of their traditional culture. Usually the movements centered on the indigenous religion or religious symbols. Nativisitic movements were defined as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture." Hughes cites anthropologist Ralph Linton's essay on this phenomenon published in 1943:

[778] Petition quoted in full in Pat Locke, "Unlocking Education: Pipestone run completed by 18 runners," *Indian Country Today*, June 17, 1987.

> What really happens in all nativistic movements is that certain current or remembered elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value. The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures…the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character.[779]

With regard to the Ihanktonwan, Hughes suggests that the cause evolved fairly quickly from a purely nativistic movement into a "revitalization movement." In the latter form, it remained focused on the religious significance of the pipestone and its sacred versus sacrilegious treatment, yet it took on political questions, too, such as whether the Pipestone Quarry would be given stronger protection under AIRFA, or whether the Yankton Sioux Tribe had a sovereign claim to the place based on the 1858 treaty. Hughes cites anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace's essay on revitalization movements published in 1956. Wallace observed that there was a tendency for nativistic movements to become more political in emphasis as they grew, thereby turning into revitalization movements. Clearly the movement that was initiated by the Zephier family followed that pattern as it reached out to secular bodies such as the NCAI and the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

Leadership of the movement passed from the Zephier family to others, particularly Wesley Allen Hare, Jr., of Marty, South Dakota. Born in 1950 in Marty, Hare attended the same authoritarian Catholic boarding school as the three Zephier sons and knew the family well. Like the Zephiers and others of his generation, he was raised in the Catholic faith and came to embrace the Dakota religion only after he reached young adulthood. "I have to live in two worlds," he commented in an interview.[780]

Hare took up the cause of the sacred pipestone after an elder confided to him that he had received a message in prayer that the sale of pipestone must be stopped for the people to heal. In response, Hare decided to organize an annual run from the Yankton Reservation to the sacred quarries to raise awareness of the issue. He called it the "Spiritual Run for the Sacred Pipe." He committed to organizing the event for four consecutive years. If all went well, then each year the event

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[779] Ralph Linton quoted in Hughes and Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument*, 12.

[780] Sarah Penman, "Sacred Pipestone run spreads message of Redstone desecration," *News from Indian Country* 4, no. 12 (September 1990), 16; Wesley Allen Hare, Jr., interview by Theodore Catton, May 13, 2013. In 2003, the Zephier sons would join in a class-action suit involving charges of rampant sexual abuse at the St. Paul's Mission Indian School together with several other Catholic boarding schools for natives in South Dakota. See Stephanie Woodard, "South Dakota Boarding School Survivors Detail Sexual Abuse," *Indian Country Today*, July 28, 2011. See also Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 1.

would draw more participants, attract more publicity, and bring the Oceti Sakowin together on this issue.[781]

In its second year, 1988, the Sacred Run event garnered some fifty runners. The runners started out from Greenwood, South Dakota, in mid June and entered Pipestone National Monument nearly one month later, singing as they came up the entrance road to make their final camp at the quarries. The next year, Hare planned the run so that it left from Greenwood again but went westward this time to the Crow Creek Reservation, then northeastward to the Sisseton Reservation, and from there to Pipestone. In 1990, Hare expanded the course still more: from Greenwood, it headed westward to the Rosebud Reservation, then made a grand circuit of other reservations in western South Dakota before looping back through Greenwood en route to Pipestone.[782]

Through his organizing efforts, Hare made numerous contacts with the Oceti Sakowin all across South Dakota. By 1990, the runners included American Indians from the Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Cheyenne River, Crow Creek, Sisseton, and Yankton Sioux reservations. Among the 30 or so participants that year was Arvol Looking Horse, keeper of the Sacred White Buffalo Calf Pipe. Although Hare fell short of his goal of attracting more and more runners each year, he did broaden the pool of participants. There were families with children and one runner who was 66 years old. As the course expanded, the event turned into a caravan of support vehicles, with people walking or running choice segments on a journey stretching over a thousand miles in length. Hare felt the run succeeded in its purpose of carrying the Ihanktonwan's message to the other tribes, for a number of them passed resolutions in support.[783]

After the fourth run in 1990, the movement's aims remained nearly the same as they were in 1987. In the first place, the runners wanted to get a ban on the sale of pipestone. The declared purpose of the Sacred Run in 1990 was to get Congress to amend the 1937 law that established Pipestone National Monument by adding a provision that would stop the quarrying of pipestone except for spiritual purposes. Hare told a reporter for the *Pipestone County Star*: "This is a spiritual place. It's not a pipe business. The stone represents the blood of our people. Pipes sold are to be used only in ceremonies." Another runner, Clifford Bernie, expressed confidence that Congress would act. Other American Indian leaders were beginning to speak out on the issue, and an estimated four-fifths of American Indian people were in favor of it, he said.[784]

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[781] Hare interview.
[782] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 157; Hare interview.
[783] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 157; Mark Fode, "Sacred Run centers on quarries, red rock," *Pipestone County Star*, August 2, 1990; Hare interview.
[784] Fode, "Sacred Run centers on quarries."

Hare and some of the runners also wanted to reestablish the Ihanktonwan as the caretakers of the sacred quarries. Hare put his group's proposal directly to the NPS in 1989. What he proposed was that the NPS would contract with the Yankton Sioux Tribe for administrative control of the quarries by a council of elders. The tribe would then control the quarry area, while the NPS would continue to manage all other aspects of Pipestone National Monument. Once the tribe got control, it would stop all quarrying except by special arrangement, and then it would be allowed only for spiritual reasons.[785]

As the Sacred Run continued year after year, it became an important new form of American Indian use of the area. Each run ended with a peaceful demonstration and overnight camp. A few supporters drove to the site and joined in the prayer circle when the runners reached their destination. Besides the annual gathering's overtly political purpose, the event served to reconnect numerous individuals with a cultural site that they had seldom if ever visited before. For some, prior knowledge or experience of the place came solely from stories they had heard from the elders. To see the sacred quarries and the Three Maidens with their own eyes, to gaze on the red cliffs when they were aglow at sunset, enriched their personal connection with the place.

Even as participants got to experience the place's power in a spiritual sense, the increasingly rancorous politics framed their visit. In the first year, some of the Pipestone community turned out to give the runners a friendly reception. As time passed, local feeling turned against the runners and the number of people who were there to greet them dwindled to none. One year, the runners felt so unwelcome in the town that they decided to camp twenty-three miles south of it.[786]

Certain rituals developed around the Sacred Run. Year after year the run began at a simple stone obelisk in Greenwood that commemorates Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe and the Ihanktonwan's 1858 treaty. The obelisk stands beside the Missouri River near the site of the old agency. Before commencing the run, the group would form a circle, pass the sacred pipe, and offer prayers. Then a prayer staff would be handed to the first runner, and that person would start out, commencing the journey with an uphill jog to reach the top of the river bluffs.[787]

Following the Sacred Run's fourth year in 1990, Hare turned the event over to an associate but the handoff did not go well and the event nearly fizzled out. The next year, Hare went back to it and organized the annual run for a few more years, but there was waning participation. At the conclusion of the run in 1994, Hare led the group to the sweat lodge next to Pipestone Creek and planted the prayer staff to signify that the protests were over. However, as more years passed

[785] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 160; Fode, "Sacred Run centers on quarries."
[786] Hare interview.
[787] Penman, "Sacred Pipestone run spreads message of Redstone desecration," 16.

and the Ihanktonwan's demands were still unmet, Hare helped organize the Sacred Run on a more occasional basis after that, with smaller and shorter runs taking place in 1999 and 2010.[788]

Outside of the Sacred Run event, there were at least two other occasions on which the Ihanktonwan met directly with NPS officials to press their claims. The first was a meeting that took place at the national monument on August 15, 1994. About twenty-five to thirty people from the Yankton, Crow Creek, and Pine Ridge reservations attended, together with one person from the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota. In addition, one representative of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association and three representatives of the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community attended. Besides the superintendent and chief ranger, three NPS officials from the regional office were there. Hare moderated the meeting, which began with a pipe smoking ceremony to establish friendly relations followed by a prayer given by an elder. In the ensuing discussion, the Ihanktonwan and their supporters voiced their two strong concerns: first, that the pipestone was sacred and must not be desecrated; and second, that the Ihanktonwan wanted control of the quarries. With regard to the latter point, Hare stated plainly that his tribe was not motivated by material interest nor was it intent on giving one tribe or nation access to the quarries ahead of others. Rather, the Ihanktonwan wanted to resume their rightful place as the caretakers.[789]

Adalbert and Isadore ("Izzy") Zephier were both present at this meeting. Izzy expressed the view that the Ihanktonwan needed to be more unified on these matters, and pointed out that no members of the tribal council were present. He addressed himself mainly to his fellow tribal members. Adalbert, who was given the last opportunity to speak, said that tribal resolutions and meetings were getting nowhere and the time had come for the tribe to seek legal counsel. He wanted the Sacred Run to continue, and he suggested that members of Congress be invited to attend the next time they met with the NPS.

The second occasion on which the Ihanktonwan engaged directly with the NPS over the administration of Pipestone National Monument occurred when the NPS solicited public comment on the *Draft Pipestone National Monument General Management Plan*. The Yankton Sioux Tribe was one of forty tribes that the NPS identified as having an interest in Pipestone National Monument. As such, the tribe

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[788] Hare interview; D. Kakkak, "The Run for the Sacred Pipestone," *The Circle: News from an American Indian Perspective* 13, no. 1 (September 9, 1999), 15; "Pipestone Issue – 2007," Little Feather Indian Center, 2007, at dragonflydezignz.50megs.com/littlefeathercenter/pipestonez.html <February 26, 2014>; Debra Fitzgerald, "Yankton Sioux protest commercial sale of pipestone with 206-mile run," *Pipestone County Star*, June 9, 2010. In addition, in 2007, Pipestone was included in the route of the Sacred Sites Run, which was a more generalized effort to bring attention to sacred sites nationwide.

[789] F. A. Calabrese, Assistant Regional Director to Acting Regional Director, August 30, 1994, File A2624, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.

was informed of the planning process through newsletters and public meetings. The first meeting between Ihanktonwan tribal members and the NPS took place at the Fort Randall Casino Hotel in April 2001. At this meeting, tribal members were informed about the planning process and how the tribe could take part in it. Following the issuance of the *Draft Pipestone National Monument General Management Plan* in February 2007, the tribe was invited to attend open houses that the NPS scheduled at four locations: Pipestone, Minnesota; Pierre, South Dakota; Yankton, South Dakota; and Marshall, Minnesota. Seven people went to the meeting at Yankton. Outside of the open houses, a group of fifteen Lakota and Dakota elders had a meeting with Superintendent LaRock in March 2007. On the second to last day before the official close of the public review period, La Rock attended a meeting with the Cultural Committee of the Ihanktonwan Dakota/Yankton Sioux Tribe at the Fort Randall Casino Hotel. About twenty-four people participated in this meeting, which took place on May 14. Finally, two weeks after the close of the public review period, the tribe sent its official comments to the NPS.[790]

As already noted at the beginning of this chapter, the input from tribes on the general management plan led the NPS to change its preferred alternative to Alternative 1, which would reduce development in the heart of the national monument in furtherance of protecting the site's "spiritual significance as the source of pipestone." While the Ihanktonwan was not the only tribe to comment on the draft general management plan and push the NPS in that direction, it was the most vociferous. The tribe stated that Alternative 1 was "the only proposed federal undertaking that is endorsable by the tribe." In addition, the tribe recommended that the Hiawatha Pageant be moved to a different location, that the NPS fund a traditional cultural property survey of Pipestone National Monument, and that it integrate into its annual operations budget two full-time positions for tribal people at Pipestone National Monument as on-site "keepers of the quarry." The tribe also recommended that there be no Sun Dances at Pipestone National Monument – more on that below. Most importantly, the Ihanktonwan restated its strong desire to have a moratorium on the sale of pipestone, an issue that was not specifically addressed in the draft general management plan.[791]

The tribe expressed itself to the NPS in the strongest terms, claiming that the people had been "coereced and starved into signing for the sale of the Pipestone Quarry" and that the historical trauma from those days existed in the emotional and psychological makeup of the tribe's current population. Indeed, in a rather

[790] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2008), 225-26, 231, 248, 257.
[791] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument*, 253.

surprising turn, the tribe based its claims on the inherent rights of aboriginal peoples rather than 1858 treaty right. It appeared to be gesturing toward the recent Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007 after twenty-five years in the making. The preamble to the tribe's official comments presented the case as follows:

> The Ihanktonwan Dakota/Nakota Band of the Oceti Sakowin makes it known to all parties, federal, state, international and all other relevant bodies; that we consider the Treaty of 1858 and the 1892 Agreement as coerced documents produced by the United States Government under extreme duress of the Ihanktonwan People. These documents were obtained through starvation methods, confinement and threat of annihilation of our Nation.
>
> An act of dehumanization took place, when the United States government declared us incompetent to conduct our own affairs. Any agreement obtained through coercion is considered null and void by virtue of the fact that it was obtained under duress in an inhumane way. Unilateral agreements like the Treaty of 1858 and the 1892 Agreement violate the principle of prior, free and informed consent. This was demonstrated clearly by repeated votes and re-votes which were forced upon the Yankton People until a government-desired vote was achieved. The White Swan community was the last to sign the 1892 Agreement, saying "You've killed us, we've starved, until we have no choice but to sign." Children were starving.
>
> With these principles in place, we continue to assume our responsibilities over the management of the Pipestone Quarry in an active way, based on an inherent aboriginal responsibility and right as "keepers of the Quarry." This inherent responsibility is recognized and respected by the Oceti Sakowin (Seven Council Fires).
>
> We take this responsibility with great seriousness. We choose to exercise this responsibility with the greatest of caution and commitment. Further, with the support of the Oceti Sakowin, we are prepared to pursue appropriate methods to protect the Quarry for the current generations and the unborn.[792]

In summary, the Ihanktonwan claims consisted of two main demands: a moratorium on the sale of pipestone, and some sort of accommodation that would recognize the Ihanktonwan as the caretakers of the sacred quarries. The protest

[792] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument*, 251.

started out in the form of a nativistic movement but the movement quickly became politicized as leaders sought to engage with the federal government on the basis of the Yankton Sioux Tribe's past dealings with the United States over the quarries and the Pipestone Reservation. Thus, issues involving the protection of American Indian religious freedom melded with the issues of tribal sovereignty. Complicating the claims further, the Ihanktonwan marshaled support from other Oceti Sakowin tribal governments and the NCAI, which aroused opposition from some other tribes and the local American Indian community, the Pipestone Dakota, in particular.



Figure 64. Circle Trail at base of escarpment. (Photo by the authors.)

Pipestone Dakota Claims

From the 1970s through the 2000s, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community was led by the third generation descendants of Moses and Estella Crow and Joe and Julia Taylor, while many fourth- and fifth-generation descendants grew to adulthood and became pipemakers and craftworkers as well. After Harvey Derby died in 1970, Raymond (Chuck) Derby, the eldest son of Harvey and Ethel, emerged as the next leader of the community. Chuck Derby grew up working in

the quarries and carving pipestone under his father's tutelage. In 1963, at the age of twenty-two, he started working for Pipestone National Monument as a seasonal maintenance worker. In the late 1960s, he became a permanent NPS employee, and in the early 1970s he was appointed maintenance supervisor, a position he held until retirement in 1994.[793]

When he was an old man, Derby related a story about a signal occurrence in his lifetime of quarrying. In 1968, when he was twenty-seven years old, some medicine people from South Dakota visited the quarries and wanted to do a sweat lodge ceremony. They built a sweat lodge and invited him to join them. It was his first time in a sweat lodge, as he had never had access to one before. At the end of the sweat lodge ceremony, the men filled a sacred pipe and passed it around. Then one of the medicine men told Derby that during the sweat, spirits had come to him and told him to tell the young quarrier that his power came from Unktomi, the spider. A few days later, when Derby returned to his quarry, he found spider webs all over the place. He located the spider and tried to move it out of harm's way but the spider kept returning to the same spot. After the fourth go-around with the spider, he realized that the Creator was telling him where to set his wedge to strike. It worked; on the next swing of his hammer the rock came loose, exposing the pipestone layer underneath. From that point on, Derby believed that it was his mission – and the mission of the whole Pipestone Dakota community – to quarry the pipestone so that the people would have sacred pipes with which to pray to the Creator.[794]

Derby and other members of the community often mentioned visits by medicine people to the sacred quarries, noting that the medicine people were glad to see the Pipestone Dakota quarrying and making a life there. In a 1989 article, Derby wrote:

> We have conversed with medicine people and other tribal people. They always expressed joy that there were still Native people here to work the quarries, so they could obtain pipestone for their uses. Many of these "healers" are happy to buy the stone or finished pipes from our pipemakers as they realize the great amount of physical effort and time that is involved in quarrying the pipestone. When we have asked medicine people about our craft, we were told that a pipe becomes a sacred object only when it has been "touched by the spirits, and this is done in a ceremonial manner."[795]

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[793] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 168.
[794] Nico Verhoeve, "The quarrying process of the sacred Red Pipestone as told and demonstrated by Chuck Derby" (2012) at https://www.youtube.com <March 18, 2014>.
[795] Derby, "Local Native American Craftsmen," 16.

As the selling of pipestone objects became controversial and calls for a moratorium arose, the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community began to fear for its very existence. In the late 1980s it appeared that tribes were lining up on the side of the Ihanktonwan's claims, demanding stronger sacred-site protections for the quarries and condemning the sale of pipestone. In the early 1990s, there were legislative proposals in Congress to amend AIRFA and strengthen it. Title 1 in one of the bills would have named several dozen sacred sites for study and potential designation by the federal government. The site of the pipestone quarries was on the list. Derby and many others believed that if the legislation passed with its Title 1 on sacred sites, the law could be the death knell for their community. So they fought back.

The Pipestone Dakota went to the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council, a unit of the state government, and asked that it pass a resolution asking Congress to create an exemption for the pipestone quarries if it were to enact Title 1 and the proposed amendments to AIRFA. In their letter to the council, the Pipestone Dakota pressed the issue of what might happen for other American Indian peoples if the Ihanktonwan had exclusive control of the quarries. The Pipestone Dakota people were in favor of stronger sacred-site protections on lands utilized by specific tribes, but they urged that "the Great Pipestone Quarries of Minnesota" be considered in a class by itself since the place was sacred ground to so many American Indian peoples. The council passed a resolution in support of the Pipestone Dakota position.[796]

In 1994, Derby testified at a congressional hearing together with Jim Cochran of the Pipestone Indian Shrine Association. On the panel beside him were two officers of the NCAI who were both on record in favor of banning the sale of pipestone. Derby testified that quarrying and crafting the pipestone was "the primary economic and cultural vehicle for the approximate fifty Indian families who live in the vicinity of the pipestone quarries." He asserted that the quarries should not be under the control of any one tribe because it was a common belief among the tribes that "the pipestone quarries were given to all Indian nations by the 'Creator.' Traditional spiritual philosophy would suggest the 'Creator' owns the pipestone." He warned that a change in current management would have a "devastating effect" for the future of the sacred pipe because digging the pipestone took great skill and if the Pipestone Dakota community were to disperse then no one would be left with the knowledge and perseverance for getting the sacred stone

[796] "Statement in Support of Resolution Proposed by the Minnesota State Indian Affairs Counsel [sic]," September 18, 1991, in U.S. House, Subcommittee on Native American Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources, *American Indian Religious Freedom Act*, 255-58.

out of the ground. Derby's testimony made a strong impression on the House committee.[797]

The Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community had other successes in turning, or at least neutralizing, public opinion. Francis (Bud) Johnston, a Lake Superior Ojibwe who moved to Pipestone in the mid-1980s, was active on the community's behalf. He addressed the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party and got it to remove the plank in the party platform expressing support for the Ihanktonwan's claims that it had voted into the platform in the late 1980s. He went to the NCAI with the same request, but was unable to get that organization to change its position. In 1993, he testified at a congressional hearing. At the hearing he read aloud a letter from the "Pipestone Native American Community," which closed with this appeal:

> We believe the support for this recent movement [to ban the sale of pipestone] will take food from the mouths of young children and beloved elders in our community. Support for this movement will impede the desire for a good education, constrict the ability for Indian adults to be responsible providers, and eventually depress Indian pride and self-sufficiency. Most profoundly, support for this movement goes against the primary spiritual taboo for Indians who wish to quarry here. That it, it is tantamount to an act of war and aggression against peaceful people on the most spiritual land in Indian country. This above all has been forbidden by the Creator, and we pipe makers do not understand this behavior.[798]

The political actions succeeded in tamping down the controversy surrounding the sale of pipestone for about a decade. Derby thought the danger to the community had passed, though others were not so sanguine.

In 1994, Derby retired from the NPS and opened a museum and learning center in Pipestone, which he named the Little Feather Indian Center after his deceased brother. The facility served as a meeting place, learning center, and museum for both the Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community and the visiting public. The free museum was aimed at informing visitors about the history of the American Indian community, the national monument, quarrying, and other traditional practices. In addition to hosting people at the center, Derby gave talks to school groups and adult audiences. Later the center launched a website. The

[797] Mark Fode, "Derby: 'we made them aware…' and "Text of Derby's Washington speech," *Pipestone County Star*, June 16, 1994.
[798] U.S. House, Subcommittee on Native American Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources, *American Indian Religious Freedom Act*, 248.

museum and the website crystallized support for the Pipestone Dakota in places all around the world, from the Netherlands to New Zealand.[799]

After Derby retired from the NPS, his nephew, Travis Erickson, began to assume leadership of the community. Born in 1963, the fourth-generation quarrier and pipemaker was thirty-four years old when *Minneapolis Star-Tribune* reporter Robert Franklin profiled him in a 1997 article about the sacred stone and the American Indian community. "Before he quarries pipestone or carves it into pipes, Travis Erickson often offers tobacco, smudges burnt sage on himself and his tools, and offers a brief prayer of thanks," Franklin's article began. In this feature story, Erickson revealed other details about himself and his craft. As one of the younger active quarriers, he gave much of the pipestone he quarried to elders to carve and sell. As an expert carver himself, he would generally take about a day and a half to make a big, fancy pipe. His earnings from the pipes came to perhaps $3,000 to $7,000 per year. The income from the craftwork augmented what he earned from his day job at a boat-building company. Married with four children, he needed the extra income to pay his debts. "The pipe has fed our families," he said. "It's clothed our children." When it came to the money aspects of working the sacred stone, he was blunt and defiant. "This is a money world, and we have to survive any way we can."[800] In contrast to his uncle, Erickson came to adulthood when the sale of pipestone was already being contested. It hardened him in a way that differed from Chuck Derby's experience.

After more than a decade of controversy, the Pipestone Dakota claims could be summarized as consisting of five points. First, and perhaps most important, the community was rooted in quarrying and crafting the pipestone; the members had an economic as well as a cultural stake in the quarries which was inter-generational and which formed the foundation for the community's very survival. Second, the Ihanktonwan tribe's claim to be the "keepers" was contradicted by the past one hundred years of history; if anyone could claim that title, it was the Pipestone Dakota. Third, the idea that selling pipestone products was a sacrilege was a "neo-traditionalist" belief held only by some American Indian people; others, including medicine people, had no problem with it because pipestone objects were not sacred until they were blessed. Fourth, it was imperative for traditional practitioners that access to the quarries remain open to all American Indian peoples. And fifth, at the current rate at which they were quarrying, there was no danger that the pipestone would be depleted.

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[799] Jesse Christen, "Pipe-making tradition lives on," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, September 23, 2003; Debra Fitzgerald, "Memorial to mark one-year anniversary of Chuck Derby's passing," *Pipestone County Star*, August 4, 2011.
[800] Robert Franklin, "Sacred stone," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, September 6, 1997.

The Keepers of the Sacred Tradition of Pipemakers

Bud Johnston began quarrying and carving pipestone in about 1985 and is an enrolled member of the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe. At the end of a long career with United Airlines, he moved from Sioux Falls to Garretson, South Dakota, near Pipestone, and immediately got involved in the contest over the sacred quarries on the side of the local American Indian community. After a few years of talking to state legislators, NCAI leaders, members of Congress, and state and federal bureaucrats, it became clear to him that the Pipestone Dakota, being a non-federally-recognized American Indian community, held less standing than the Ihanktonwan. Since the Pipestone Dakota could not get federal recognition as a tribe, the next best thing for them was to form a Native American church, Johnston suggested.[801]

The church issue became a wedge in the community. Some members supported the idea, while others, led by Chuck Derby, balked at it. A meeting took place at the Little Feather Indian Center on August 24, 1996, to reach a consensus. Johnston laid out his argument for forming a non-profit church for the purpose of protecting the community's future access to the quarries and for defending its sale of pipestone craft items. Chuck Derby explained why he was opposed to such a church: the local American Indian community had no right to form one without the input of spiritual leaders belonging to the many interested tribes. Indeed, Derby and his supporters had received advice from a respected elder that if the Pipestone Dakota were to hold a meeting and vote on this proposal, they should invite medicine men and elders from all over the country to participate. After the two sides presented their views, there was a break in the meeting during which Derby left the room. While Derby was in his office at the other end of the building, Johnston called for a vote without him. The vote was taken and there were thirteen in favor, one opposed, and one abstaining. The group took the name Keepers of the Sacred Tradition, Protectors of the Sacred Quarries. Following the vote, officers were elected. Bud Johnston was elected president, Travis Erickson vice-president, Carol Derby secretary and treasurer, and Adam Fortunate Eagle of Fallon, Nevada, who was one of two participants in the meeting from outside the community, was chosen as spiritual leader.[802]

Fortunate Eagle is a well-known American Indian-rights activist, artist, and author. For him, the honor of being chosen spiritual leader for the Pipestone-based

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[801] Johnston interview; "Bud Johnston 'Ojibewa,'" at www.pipekeepers.org/bjohnston.htm <March 19, 2014>. Note that "Francis Johnson" [sic] appears on the "Listing of quarriers from different Tribal groups from 1971 thru 1990," in U.S. House, Subcommittee on Native American Affairs of the Committee on Natural Resources, *American Indian Religious Freedom Act*, 260.

[802] Chuck Derby, "For Immediate Release," August 24, 1996, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument; Gloria Hazell, "The Pipestone Issue," Little Feather Indian Center, at dragonflydezignz.50megs.com/littlefeathercenter/pipestonez.html <February 26, 2014>.

church also constituted a homecoming of sorts. While he has long resided far from Minnesota, his roots are there. He was born on the Red Lake Reservation in northern Minnesota to an Ojibwe mother and Swedish father. At the age of five his father died and his mother, unable to provide for all her children, sent them to Pipestone Indian School. After attending the boarding school all through the Depression years, Fortunate Eagle went on to receive a college education at the Haskell Institute in Kansas, and then to establish himself in business in San Francisco. There, he was drawn to the Red Power movement and became one of the organizers of the nineteen-month occupation of Alcatraz in 1969-70.[803]

In a draft statement written several months before the church was founded, Fortunate Eagle articulated what the Keepers of the Sacred Tradition (the Keepers) was about. "It is the Pipe that is in the center of the Sacred Hoop, the Sacred Circle of Life," his message began. His statement went on to declare, in part:

> Pipe making is the oldest, continuous functional art form in North America. The Pipe Maker society had been instructed by the Great Spirit that the Pipes are to be made for everyone. The full story has been handed down from prehistoric times and later retold to George Catlin, who published the first written and illustrated account of the story in 1832.
>
> Henry Longfellow, in his poem of Hiawatha, also acknowledged the beautiful history of the Sacred Pipe. What is so important about this telling is that the story occurs at the very site of the present day quarry. The living descendants of those historic Pipe Makers are still plying their sacred mission.
>
> We do not worship the Pipe. We worship with the Pipe as an instrument of prayer. The tobacco is the true sacred offering to the Spirits. As Pipe Makers, we provide the traditional instrument of prayer and ceremony for many tribes and individuals.
>
> For anyone in Federal circles to entertain the thought of giving the Pipestone quarries to the Sioux tribes would be unwise to the extreme. Our ancient legends teach that the stone and the Pipes made from it are "For all the people."
>
> The buying, selling and trading of the stone and for Pipes is as old as the quarries themselves. In the past, our Pipe Makers have withstood the pressures of the Christian church and the government to give up their ancient tradition. Fortunately, the Pipe Makers prevailed. They saved the

[803] "Contrary Warrior: The Life and Times of Adam Fortunate Eagle," at www.lillimar.com/site <March 19, 2014>.

> sacred quarries from total destruction by commercial interests, who wanted to mine the red quartzite for building material in the last century….[804]

This statement was not intended for church members to read and ponder, but rather for people outside the community to hear. It was a political message. It made clear that the Keepers considered the sacred pipe to be an instrument of prayer rather than an intrinsically sacred object. The references to Catlin's writings and Longfellow's *Hiawatha* connected the pipe with the literary tradition of the dominant society. The "beautiful history" in Longfellow's poem pointedly made the quarries equally Ojibwe and Dakota. All of that was prefatory to the message's two political demands put to the U.S. government: (1) access to the quarries must continue to be "reserved to Indians of all tribes" – not just one tribe or nation, and (2) the sale of pipestone objects must be allowed to continue in order to keep the sacred tradition alive.

Those two demands were also incorporated into a resolution adopted by the Keepers as soon as the organization came into existence. The resolution made the request that "the Great Pipestone Quarries of Minnesota be declared a sacred site for all Indian People, with equal access to all of the quarries, to quarry the stone and to perform their ceremonies as they see fit for time immemorial."[805]

Four years after the Keepers was formed, Chuck Derby remained unconvinced. He believed that Johnston and Fortunate Eagle had manipulated the situation for their own ends. He told a newspaper reporter in 2000:

> The Keepers serve no new or useful purpose. The only reason they came into being was to justify taking sacred pipes and selling them at art shows. Six months before they first organized, their spiritual leader called me to ask if the Pipestone issue was still hot. I said, not really. We had educated many people and they were respecting our position. Their spiritual leader said he was filling out an application to sell pipes at an art show. He really wanted to sell at this show because it was going to be very lucrative. The only problem was it said at the bottom of the application, "NO SACRED PIPES." He was very angry. His attorney told him to organize a church-like group that would legitimize his selling of sacred pipes. That's when the Keepers were organized.
>
> [Johnston] gave the Indian community here a good sales pitch. He said with all these protests we'd better organize under a church-type

[804] Fortunate Eagle, "Keepers of the Sacred Tradition, Protectors of the Sacred Quarries," fax copy dated March 9 and 13, 1996, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.
[805] Keepers of the Sacred Tradition of Pipemakers, "Resolution Maintaining the Great Pipestone Quarries of Minnesota for all Indian People," August 26, 1996, File H1819, Administrative Files, Pipestone National Monument.

> charter to deal with the issue. He said this group would speak for the community.
>
> After they formed the Keepers, their spiritual leader went to another art show and was again prohibited from selling pipes. He pulled out his organizational paperwork and said if they denied him the right to sell pipes they would be infringing upon his religious freedom. That was what he was after. Their president does the same thing – goes all over the country selling pipes. They have not helped the Indian community at all. It has all been for personal gain.[806]

But others, including Travis Erickson, thought the church organization brought at least a measure of federal recognition to the Pipestone Dakota's precarious situation, while also bringing tangible benefits to the community. Within a year of its founding, the Keepers obtained a $50,000 grant from the Mdewakanton Dakota Community, operators of the Mystic Lake Casino Hotel outside of Minneapolis. The grant was for refurbishing the Keepers' new building, the former Rock Island Railroad depot, located on Hiawatha Street just a few hundred yards south of the entrance to Pipestone National Monument. Much like the Little Feather Indian Center, the building served as a meeting place, learning center, and museum, with the difference that it also contained a gift shop for the display and sale of pipestone crafts.[807]

Johnston, in his official capacity as the Keepers' long-serving president, actively promoted the quarrying and pipemaking tradition both at the museum and on his frequent travels to conferences, workshops, powwows, and trade shows. He produced two videos for distribution, and he developed a website. The website explained that the Keepers, a non-profit organization, was "a real asset to the community as well as the world," protecting the local traditions while educating visitors to Pipestone who came from all over the globe. Members included individuals from numerous European countries, Canada, Australia, and even the Faroe Islands. Over half the Keepers' members were American Indian people from 35 different tribes.[808]

The Keepers went beyond advocating for the tradition of the pipemakers by contributing in myriad ways to cultural revitalization. Johnston helped organize American Indian youth dance groups, which he led on tours in Europe. The Keepers worked with prisons around the country to spread a positive image of tribes and American Indian cultures among the prison population, and it donated a

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[806] Jon Lurie, "The Blood of our Ancestors: Spiritual Warfare Ignites Over Minnesota's Sacred Red Quarry," *Pulse of the Twin Cities* 4, no. 3 (April 19, 2000), 5-6.
[807] "History," Keepers of the Sacred Tradition of Pipemakers, at www.pipekeepers.org <February 1, 2013>; Franklin, "Sacred stone."
[808] Ibid.

pipe to each prison for inmates to use in their ceremonies. After a tornado hit the Pine Ridge Reservation, the Keepers took up a collection for the stricken community and filled two semi-trailers with food and clothing. It took up another collection for a battered women's shelter on the Red Cliff Reservation in Wisconsin.[809]

In 2000, the Keepers and the local American Indian community organized a powwow, the first held in Pipestone since the late 1970s. It became an annual event. Sometimes it was held on the grassy round in front of the Pipestone National Monument visitor center, and sometimes it was held on the Hiawatha Club property and adjoining national monument land next to the Three Maidens. The powwow not only drew the local American Indian community together around all the planning, fundraising, and hosting responsibilities that were involved, it also brought many more American Indians to the sacred quarries. One singer who was with a Menominee and Stockbridge-Munsee drum group said that the prize money for singing and dancing was higher at other powwows, yet his group chose to attend the Pipestone powwow for the opportunity it afforded to be in that sacred place.[810]

While the annual powwow drew one hundred or more people over the July weekend, each year some additional people came to partake in sweat lodges and other types of prayer ceremonies beforehand. The Keepers made sweats available every night, usually asking a spiritual person from one of the tribes to run it. Over the years, Johnston asked people from the Lakota, Cheyenne, Crow, Kickapoo, and other tribes to perform that task. At the conclusion of the powwow on Sunday, Johnston generally led a final prayer ceremony for all those who remained and wanted to participate. Starting at the Three Maidens, Johnston would lead the group along the quarry line, putting down offerings of tobacco, and at the end of the walk he would form the group into a circle, say some prayers, smoke the pipe, and thank the Creator for the gift of the stone.[811]

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Keepers were firmly established at Pipestone. Its claims for the sacred quarries were mostly the same as those of the Pipestone Dakota. The main difference of position between the Keepers and the Pipestone Dakota was that the Keepers was not a tribal organization; it was pan-Indian. Since it defined itself as a church, the Keepers advocated for the local American Indian community from the standpoint that the community produced master quarriers and pipemakers. These dedicated

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[809] "Boozhoo, SiYo, Hau Koda," Keepers of the Sacred Tradition of Pipemakers, at www.pipekeepers.org <February 1, 2013>.
[810] Juan Montoya, "Pow wow draws people from among many circles," *Worthington Daily Globe*, August 27, 2001; Jesse Christen, "Community revives powwow," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, July 25, 2003.
[811] Johnston interview.

individuals constituted a sort of priesthood for maintaining the tradition of the sacred pipe. The Keepers honored these people because they kept the tradition of the sacred pipe alive for the good of practitioners everywhere. This was not to say that the quarriers and pipemakers were medicine people – seers and healers in a more traditional sense – for those people were still to be found primarily within each tribe. The Keepers' credo was "one religion, many visions." The Keepers emphasized toleration for religious differences from tribe to tribe and person to person, and it roundly rejected the idea that one tribe or nation could dictate terms to all others for how the sacred stone was used.[812]

The Sun Dance Ceremony at Pipestone National Monument

In 1991, the Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance was initiated at Pipestone National Monument, and it has been an annual occurrence since. It developed as part of a wider Sun Dance revitalization movement in the latter part of the twentieth century, and it reintroduced an important American Indian use of the area.

Common to many Plains Indian tribes, the Sun Dance in earlier times was a large, lavish, religious ceremony held in summer when the bands came together in big encampments for bison hunts. It was a very social time of year when chiefs met in council to discuss tribal affairs, soldier societies were active in forging camp discipline, families partook in trading and gift-giving, and young people courted or entered into arranged marriages. In this context, the Sun Dance was a "focus of religious and social activity that confirmed tribal membership and helped to secure a healthy, peaceful, and bountiful future for a tribe and its individual members."[813]

In Lakota culture, the Sun Dance is one of seven sacred ceremonies that the White Buffalo Calf Woman introduced when she presented the sacred pipe to the tribe. The earliest recorded occurrence of the Sun Dance is found in the John K. Bear winter count, which associates it with the year 1712 or thereabout.[814]

When tribes were confined on reservations and the federal government stepped up its campaign to assimilate American Indian peoples into American society, federal officials specifically targeted the Sun Dance for eradication. In 1883, the Office of Indian Affairs established a Court of Indian Offenses that was aimed at suppressing certain American Indian rites and customs that federal

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[812] "One religion, many visions," at www.pipekeepers.org <March 20, 2014>. The webpage states: "The legitimacy of Travis Erickson's spirituality lies in an act of devotion expressed in 23 years of physical labor that a saint would admire." See also the Keepers' video production, "The Medicine People."

[813] JoAllyn Archambault, "Sun Dance," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 13, Plains*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, general editor, William C. Sturtevant (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), Part 2, 983.

[814] Howard, "Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," 26-27.

officials deemed to be "repugnant to common decency and morality." The list of prohibited American Indian practices included the Sun Dance, Scalp Dance, and War Dance, together with any practices done at the direction or under the leadership of medicine men. On each reservation, the superintendent appointed tribal members as court judges to hear cases and render judgments. The federal government vested authority in the superintendent to enforce the judges' decisions. Normally the punishment for taking part in a Sun Dance was the loss of up to ten days' rations or up to ten days' imprisonment for the first offense, and ten to thirty days of the same for each subsequent offense.[815]

Enforcement of the government's edict against the Sun Dance varied from reservation to reservation. The more zealous Indian agents called on U.S. troops or tribal policemen to help suppress it. Other Indian agents showed more tolerance or were simply less effectual in getting tribal judges and policemen to cooperate. Tribal resistance to the edict varied as well. For some tribes, Christianity made strong inroads in stigmatizing their American Indian religion, while in other tribes there was a greater trend toward maintaining traditional ceremonies in secret. As a result, the Sun Dance died away among some American Indian peoples, while it persisted either in altered form or in remote settings in other tribes.[816]

Although the federal policy of suppression of American Indian cultures was officially rescinded under the Indian New Deal of the 1930s, many federal employees and Christian missionaries continued to follow the dictates of assimilation policy by discouraging American Indian religious practices, including the Sun Dance, whatever way they still could. As late as the 1970s, missionaries on the Rosebud Reservation made lists of families who were observed attending sweat lodges and other ceremonies and denied them access to church services and social assistance programs until they recanted.[817]

The Sun Dance survived among a number of American Indian tribes at the start of the twentieth century: Blackfeet, Northern and Southern Cheyenne, Northern Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibwe, Arikara, Sarcee, Kiowa, Hidatsa, Crow, Ponca, Assiniboine, Lakota, Nakota, Dakota, Eastern Shoshone, and Ute. The Sun Dance was said to be extinct among two thirds of these groups in 1965; however, in the following decades most of those tribes revived the Sun Dance either in the tribe's traditional form or in another tribe's form where the original ceremony was lost.[818]

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[815] U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1883* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), xiv-xv; U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the year 1892* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 29-31.
[816] Archambault, "Sun Dance," 988.
[817] Ibid.
[818] Ibid. Archambault includes Nakota with Dakota and Lakota.

Among the Oceti Sakowin, the Sun Dance appeared to have been driven out of existence on all but the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations. On the Pine Ridge Reservation, the Sun Dance took two forms: a public gathering in which the piercing part was omitted from the ceremony and a private one where the piercing was preserved. In 1929, holy man Stirrup taught Frank Fools Crow the public version of the ceremony. In the following years, Fools Crow and his followers pleaded constantly with the agency superintendents to let them restore the piercing part of the ceremony until finally, in 1952, he obtained a letter that permitted them to pierce. As his teacher was by then deceased, Fools Crow had to learn the piercing part on his own. He pierced eight men that year and included the ritual in every Sun Dance after that.[819]

As many young people, especially in urban centers, became interested in recovering their tribal heritage in the 1960s, substantial numbers went to Pine Ridge to participate in the yearly public Sun Dances led by Fools Crow. A similar pattern developed on the Rosebud Reservation. American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks approached the medicine man Leonard Crow Dog, asking him to be the movement's spiritual leader. In 1971, Leonard and his father Henry Crow Dog hosted a Sun Dance on the family property.

American Indian Movement (AIM) co-founder Clyde Bellecourt, an Ojibwe of the White Earth Band, established the Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance at Pipestone National Monument in 1991. Born in 1936 on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, he was the seventh in a family of twelve children. His father, Charles Bellecourt, was a disabled veteran of the First World War. Troubled by the dominant society's abuses of his parents and relatives, Clyde Bellecourt rebelled against authority at the Catholic mission school on the reservation that he attended as a small child and at the public school in Minneapolis that he attended in his teen years after his family relocated to the city in the early 1950s. Bellecourt's rebelliousness eventually landed him in the Minnesota state prison in Stillwater, where he met Eddie Benton Banai, an Ojibwe spiritual leader who taught Bellecourt traditional knowledge. The two collaborated on organizing the American Indian Folklore Group among the more than one hundred American Indian inmates, and the group became a model for American Indian cultural revitalization in prisons around the country. After his release from the state penitentiary, Bellecourt returned to Minneapolis with a desire to help other American Indians heal through recovery of their cultural heritage. In 1968, he co-founded AIM with Dennis Banks, Herb Powless, Banai, and other community activists.[820]

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[819] Ibid, 989; Thomas E. Mails, *Fools Crow* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 119.
[820] "Clyde Bellecourt," Wikipedia (June 2013) at en.wikipedia.org <March 23, 2014> and Clyde Bellecourt, interview by Theodore Catton, March 24, 2014.



Figure 65. Sweat lodge frame at ceremonial site, January 2013. (Photo by the authors.)

As author Peter Mathiessen observed, "AIM came into existence as a direct result of the termination and relocation programs that dumped thousands of bewildered Indians into the cities." Bellecourt himself stressed how important it was for the movement to inspire a cultural revival and newfound pride and meaning in being American Indian, or, as he put it, to "teach our kids the truth about Indian people."[821]

Bellecourt and other AIM leaders saw their own spiritual training as foundational to the movement. In 1970, he and his colleagues went to the Pine Ridge Reservation to meet medicine man Leonard Crow Dog. It was through Crow Dog that Bellecourt got his first exposure to the Sun Dance.[822]

In 1976, Bellecourt had a dream about bringing the Sun Dance back to Minnesota. The idea gestated for fifteen years while he applied his energies to other endeavors, primarily American Indian education and youth programs. Then, in 1991, still working with AIM, he formed a committee to realize his dream of having a Sun Dance in Minnesota "for the first time in over 100 years."[823]

Consistent with Bellecourt's dream, his committee decided that the Pipestone Quarry was the place to hold the ceremony. In preparation for bringing a Sun Dance to Pipestone, Bellecourt and the committee first discussed the project with Lakota spiritual leaders in South Dakota. With the support of traditionalists in the tribes, they next took their plan to the town leaders in Pipestone. The sense of the meeting was that it was outside of the jurisdiction of the town; Bellecourt

[821] Mathiessen, *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse*, 35-36.
[822] Ibid, 40, 85-86.
[823] Duane Winn, "Sundance in session," *Pipestone County Star*, July 12, 2006.

would need to get a special permit from the NPS. Superintendent Vincent Halvorson, who was in attendance, had remained fairly quiet up to that point. Now he was supportive, offering to show Bellecourt around the national monument and help him select a place for the ceremony.[824]

Bellecourt's story of how the exact location for the Sun Dance was determined became part of the tradition of this Sun Dance. First, Halvorson took him to the area of the cemetery but Bellecourt found it would not do because there was too much bare rock, no place to build an arbor, not enough privacy, and no quarry nearby. Next, Halvorson took him to a place above the escarpment near the school, but it had the same problems. Then Bellecourt looked up and saw an eagle flying around in a circle and he said, "Take me over there where that grandfather is." Halvorson replied that no eagle had been seen in the area for many years, and Bellecourt said, "Look up," pointing to where the bird continued to fly in a circle. They got in the car and drove around to the north side of the national monument, where the eagle was still soaring, and Bellecourt said this was where they would hold the Sun Dance. "And every Sun Dance we've had since then, the eagle shows up."[825]

The Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance began at Pipestone National Monument in 1991. Clyde Bellecourt and Chris Leith, a medicine man of the Prairie Island Dakota Community and member of the Sun Dance Committee, were the first to arrive at the Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance at Pipestone National Monument in 1991. American Indians from many different tribes began to arrive soon thereafter, and by August 18, three large tipis and several tents as well as a number of sweat lodges were erected in what is now called the Sun Dance Area. The first year's gathering was described by NPS law enforcement rangers in a daily log.[826]

Because the Sun Dance was connected with AIM, and AIM was still under surveillance by the FBI, the NPS was put on guard. Three special event teams were called in. Each team was made of up around a dozen law-enforcement rangers who were specially trained to provide security in sensitive or volatile situations. The three teams were on an eight-hour rotation around the clock. They deployed at a discreet distance from the Sun Dance encampment and mostly observed what was going on through binoculars. While their ostensible purpose was to monitor interactions between Sun Dance participants and national monument visitors so that the ceremony would not be disturbed, the rangers also formed a kind of defensive perimeter around the development area in the national monument to prevent would-

[824] Bellecourt interview; Winn, "Sundance in session."
[825] Bellecourt interview. See also Hughes and Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument*, 30.
[826] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 166. Rothman cites a daily log in File A38, Pipestone.

be militants from getting into the visitor center. As an extra precaution, valuable pipes were removed from display cases and collections and taken to a hotel room off premises, where an armed ranger sat guard over them. With the advantage of hindsight, NPS personnel came to regard these measures as a massive overreaction to AIM's past reputation for militancy, but at the time the national monument managers thought it was the prudent thing to do.[827]

The Sun Dance participants, for their part, apparently took the ranger presence in stride. Everyone was civil and there were no complaints. After the ceremony was concluded, the Sun Dance Committee thanked Superintendent Halvorson and his staff for their cooperation. The superintendent replied that the dancers were welcome to return the next year.[828]

As the Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance has come back to the park year after year, the NPS has slowly relaxed its stance while remaining vigilant. Annually it produced an incident management plan to prepare for contingencies, but with each passing year the exercise has grown more routine. By the late 1990s, the NPS ceased calling in special event teams and brought in a handful of extra law-enforcement rangers from other nearby units in the National Park System instead. The rangers are on duty around the clock, but as things have grown more relaxed their main purpose is to walk through the encampment once a night to provide security for the campers. Prior to the gathering, rangers mow the grass and grade the dirt road, and help the participants make repairs to the physical structures. As the event gets under way, the superintendent visits the camp to confer with the organizers. NPS employees have been known to participate in some of the ceremonies, such as an opening prayer at the Three Maidens and the cutting and erecting of the sacred tree. One year, Superintendent Palma Wilson attended the nearly four-hour piercing session on the last day of Sun Dance. At an earlier point in the four-day ceremony, the superintendent and one ranger helped cook in the camp kitchen.[829]

The Sun Dance Committee is required to obtain a special-use permit, which stipulates such things as restrictions on cooking fires, disposal of wastewater, contracting for a supply of portable toilets and garbage cans, handling of pets, and so on. As the Sun Dance is classified as a religious freedom event covered under the First Amendment, there is no user fee.[830]

The Gathering of the Sacred Pipes Sun Dance generally follows the pattern of a Lakota Sun Dance, although Bellecourt, who is not Lakota, insists that the ceremony is not Lakota but rather is unique to the place. At the conclusion of the

[827] Glen Livermont, interview by Theodore Catton, January 18, 2013.
[828] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 166.
[829] Hughes and Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument*, 39; Livermont interview.
[830] Livermont interview.

ceremony in 1994, the fourth year, the Sun Dance Committee divided, with some members announcing that in the coming year the ceremony would be turned over to the Ihanktonwan, and others stating that it would continue under the present leadership.[831]

Both the Pipestone Sun Dances have thrived. The ceremonies attract 400 to 500 participants in peak years and, though the numbers have been down in the last few years it is also a fact that the annual ceremonies have entered their third decade. The Sun Dances at Pipestone are a notable development in the overall revitalization of northern plains American Indian religion that began around 1965. Today, there are perhaps as many as 100 Sun Dances occurring from the Yukon to South America, Bellecourt says. He celebrates this florescence, viewing it as part of Black Elk's prophecy that all American Indian tribes will one day come together as one.[832]



Figure 66. Crescent mound covered with pipestone in the Sun Dance area. (Photo by the authors.)

In May 2007, the Cultural Committee of the Ihanktonwan Dakota/Yankton Sioux Tribe held a meeting at the Fort Randall Casino in Wagner, South Dakota, to discuss the draft general management plan for Pipestone National Monument and prepare written comments for the NPS. The committee included Evelyn Blackmoon, Faith Spotted Eagle, Sharon Drappeau, Michael Rouse, David Arrow, Mabel (Judy) Honomichle, and Glen Drapeau. About two dozen people attended.

[831] Bellecourt interview; Livermont interview; Hughes and Stewart, *Traditional Use of Pipestone National Monument*, 36-37
[832] Bellecourt interview.

Meeting notes indicate that at least two people, Glen Drapeau and Izzy Zephier, raised objections to any Sun Dance being held at Pipestone National Monument . In the official comments submitted by the General Council, it was stated that "by a wide consensus, the Ihanktonwan recommend that there be no Sundances at the Pipestone Quarry. This is a strong recommendation."[833]

The NPS responded with a statement on why it deemed the Sun Dance to be part of the ethnographic landscape of the national monument:

> Although the Sun Dance is an ancient cultural element of many tribes of the Great Plains, it is not especially regarded as traditional to the quarries. Two anthropologists, David Hughes and Alice Stewart, who have conducted ethnographic interviews and have done ethnohistorical research pertinent to the Pipestone area, say that the Sun Dance "was never traditionally held at Pipestone" (Hughes and Stewart 1997, 37). However, a federal government ban on Sun Dances from the late 1800s until the mid-1900s created a tremendous historical gap among subsequent generations in the local community and in the oral history of many tribes. Interviews of elders and archival research may indicate an absence of the Sun Dance, but no doubt Sun Dances were conducted in secret during the time when they were banned by the government, out of sight of federal Indian agents on the reservations and out of sight of some tribal members who might have informed. The fact that tribal oral history does not note the occurrences of Sun Dances may not reflect what really happened.
>
> The Sun Dance could have taken place on the grounds of what is now Pipestone National Monument. The National Park Service does not wish to preclude that possibility in history. Sun Dances could have been practiced by groups that quarried and camped in the immediate area of what is now the national monument. They also could have occurred locally, if not right at the quarries, because the traditional time for quarrying coincides with the traditional time for the Sun Dances. American Indian groups [who came] here to quarry were traditional practitioners of the Sun Dance, so it should be said that Sun Dances could well have taken place in what is now the national monument.
>
> Sun Dances could have been prompted by the sacredness of the quarries themselves. Tribes as tribes did not necessarily come to quarry, but groups did, in addition to individuals. An extended family or another group within a tribe occasionally might have been large enough and of a disposition to conduct a Sun Dance in consultation with tribal leaders and

[833] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument*, 248-69.

elders as to appropriateness and timeliness during an encampment at the quarries.[834]

Today the NPS manages the Sun Dance area within the national monument for both cultural and natural values. The site near the northeast corner of the national monument is zoned as a Ceremonial Use Zone to accommodate the yearly Sun Dance ceremonies held there. Throughout the rest of the year, it is managed to encourage native prairie vegetation. Aside from the few hundred people who take part in the Sun Dance each summer, not many visitors go into the area. When American Indians use the area for their ceremonies, the intent is that they be able to experience solitude and natural sounds in a prairie environment.

The Sun Dance ceremony taking place at the Pipestone National Monument is consistent with the purpose of the national monument to preserve the quarry and manage it for traditional quarrying. As Rothman points out in his administrative history of Pipestone National Monument, the provision in the act of 1937 that reserved quarrying to American Indians made Pipestone "unique among park areas," for it gave the national monument a "de facto responsibility for the protection and maintenance of historic Native American life." Many other units in the National Park System preserve American Indian relics, but Pipestone contains cultural resources that are still in use. "At the inception of Pipestone National Monument," Rothman wrote, "living Native Americans were part of the reason for creating the park, their 'historic' activities part of the milieu. One of the most important features the new park contained were Native Americans working the quarries in the old ways."[835] Sun Dancers, like the quarriers, are keeping a cultural tradition alive.

[834] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement, Pipestone National Monument*, 109.
[835] Rothman, *Managing the Sacred and the Secular*, 72.

Appendix 1: Cross Reference of Names of U.S. Tribes in the Study

Name used in this study:	Name on Tribe's website:	Name in *Federal Register*:
Arikara	Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation	Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota
Assiniboine	Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes	Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, Montana
Blackfeet	Blackfoot Nation	Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation of Montana
Brulé, a.k.a. Sicangu	Rosebud Sioux Tribe	Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota
Caddo	Caddo Nation	Caddo Nation of Oklahoma
Cherokee	Cherokee Nation	Cherokee Nation, Oklahoma
Chippewa Cree	Chippewa Cree Tribe of Rocky Boy, Montana	Chippewa-Cree Indians of the Rocky Boy's Reservation, Montana
Comanche	Comanche Nation of Oklahoma	Comanche Nation, Oklahoma
Crow	Crow Nation	Crow Nation of Montana
Delaware	Delaware Nation	Delaware Nation, Oklahoma
Flandreau Santee Sioux	Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe	Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe of South Dakota
Gros Ventre	Gros Ventre Tribe of Montana	Fort Belknap Indian Community of the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation of Montana

Hidatsa	Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation	Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota
Ho-Chunk, a.k.a. Winnebago	Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska	Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska
Ihanktonwan	Yankton Sioux Tribe	Yankton Sioux Tribe of South Dakota
Ihanktonwana, a.k.a. Yanktonai	Two tribes: (1) Crow Creek Sioux Tribe (Lower Yanktonai) and (2) Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Upper Yanktonai)	Two tribes: (1) Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota (Lower Yanktonai) and (2) Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North and South Dakota (Upper Yanktonai)
Ioway	Two tribes: (1) Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska and (2) Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma	Two tribes: (1) Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska and (2) Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma
Jamestown S'Klallam	Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe	Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe of Washington
Kansa	Kaw Nation	Kaw Nation, Oklahoma
Lakota	Numerous tribes, a.k.a. Teton, Teton Sioux	Numerous tribes in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana
Maidu-Konkow	Konkow Valley Band of Maidu	N/A, not federally recognized
Mandan	Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation	Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota
Mdewakanton	Numerous tribes and communities	Numerous tribes and communities in Minnesota, South Dakota and Nebraska

Menominee	Menominee Nation, a.k.a. Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin	Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin
Muscogee	Muscogee (Creek) Nation	Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Oklahoma
Navajo	Navajo Nation	Navajo Nation, Arizona, New Mexico and Utah
Nez Perce	Nez Perce Tribe	Nez Perce Tribe
Northern Arapaho	Northern Arapaho Tribe	Arapahoe Tribe of the Wind River Reservation, Wyoming
Northern Cheyenne	Northern Cheyenne Tribe	Northern Cheyenne Tribe of the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, Montana
Oglala	Oglala Lakota Nation	Oglala Sioux Tribe
Ojibwe	Numerous tribes and bands, a.k.a. Ojibwa, Ojibway, Chippewa, Anishinabe	Numerous tribes and bands in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, North Dakota, and Montana
Omaha	Omaha Tribe	Omaha Tribe of Nebraska
Oneida	Oneida Indian Nation	Oneida Nation of New York
Oneida of Wisconsin	Oneida Nation of Wisconsin	Oneida Indian Tribe of Wisconsin
Osage	Osage Nation	The Osage Nation
Ottawa	Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma	Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma
Otoe-Missouria	Otoe-Missouria Tribe	Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians, Oklahoma
Oceti Sakowin	Numerous tribes, a.k.a. “Sioux”—Numerous tribes in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana	
Paiute	Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah	Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah

Papago	Tohono O'odham Nation	Tohono O'odham Nation of Arizona
Pawnee	Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma	Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma
Penobscot	Penobscot Indian Nation	Penobscot Nation
Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community	Pipestone Dakota Tribal Community	N/A, not federally recognized
Ponca	Two tribes: (1) Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma, (2) Ponca Tribe of Nebraska	Two tribes: (1) Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, (2) Ponca Tribe of Nebraska
Potawatomi	Citizen Potawatomi Nation	Citzen Potawatomi Nation, Oklahoma
Quapaw	Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma	Quapaw Tribe of Indians
Sac and Fox	Three nations: (1) Sac and Fox Nation, (2) Sac and Fox Tribe of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska, (3) Meskwaki Nation a.k.a. Sac and Fox Tribe of Mississippi in Iowa	Three nations: (1) Sac and Fox Nation, Oklahoma, (2) Sac and Fox Tribe of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska, (3) Sac and Fox Tribe of Mississippi in Iowa
Sans Arc	Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe	Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe of the Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota
Santee Sioux	Santee Sioux Tribe of Nebraska	Santee Sioux Nation, Nebraska
Seneca	Seneca Nation of Indians	Seneca Nation of Indians
Sicangu, a.k.a. Brulé	Two nations: (1) Rosebud Sioux Tribe, (2) Lower Brule Tribe	Two nations: (1) Rosebud Sioux Tribe of the Rosebud Indian Reservation, South Dakota, (2) Lower Brule Sioux Tribe of the Lower Brule Reservation
Siletz	Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians	Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians of Oregon

Sisseton	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation, South Dakota
Southern Cheyenne	Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes	Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes, Oklahoma
Spirit Lake Nation	Spirit Lake Nation	Spirit Lake Tribe, North Dakota
Spokane	Spokane Tribe of Indians	Spokane Tribe of the Spokane Reservation, Washington
Stockbridge-Munsee	Stockbridge-Munsee Community Band of Mohican Indians	Stockbridge Munsee Community, Wisconsin
Teton	Numerous tribes, a.k.a. Lakota, Lakota Sioux	Numerous tribes in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana
Upper Sioux Community, Pezihutazizi Oyate	Upper Sioux Community, Pezihutazizi Oyate	Upper Sioux Community, Minnesota
Wahpeton	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation	Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate of the Lake Traverse Reservation, South Dakota
Winnebago a.k.a. Ho-Chunk	Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska	Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska
Ihanktonwana, a.k.a. Yanktonai	Two tribes: (1) Crow Creek Sioux Tribe (Lower Yanktonai) and (2) Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Upper Yanktonai)	Two tribes: (1) Crow Creek Sioux Tribe of the Crow Creek Reservation, South Dakota (Lower Yanktonai) and (2) Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North and South Dakota (Upper Yanktonai)

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The Blood of the People

Historic Resource Study
Pipestone National Monument, Minnesota