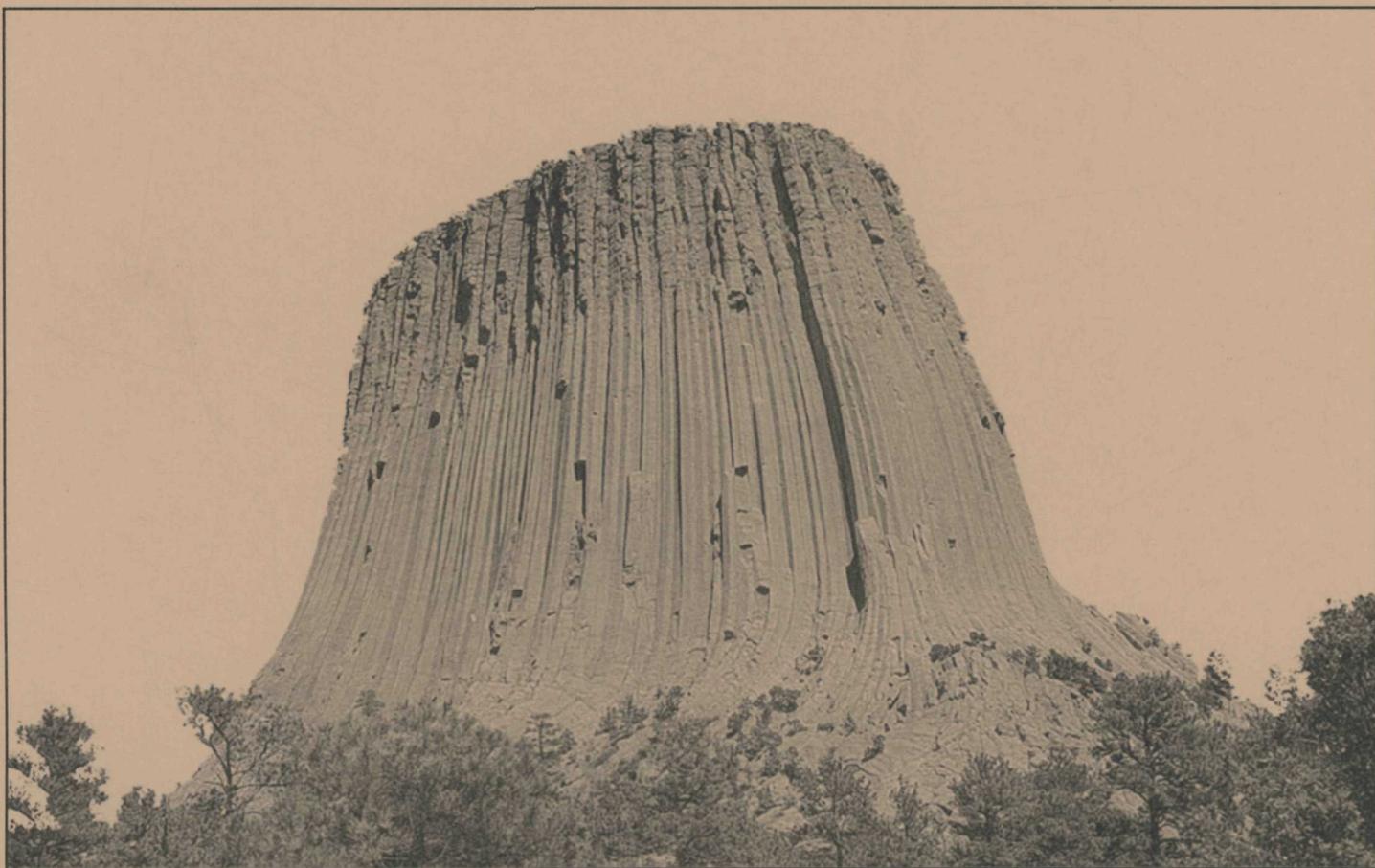


Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Devils Tower National Monument, Wyoming

by

Jeffery R. Hanson and Sally Chirinos



No. 9
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Foreward

The past few years have witnessed an increased public awareness of Indian cultures and religions. This public awareness is most notably reflected in the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-341) as well as in a more recent Executive Order issued by President Clinton which seeks to protect American Indian sacred sites on federal land (E.O. 13007). Along with this rising public awareness, there has also been an increased focus on traditional religious practices among American Indians themselves. Increasingly, American Indian peoples are requesting access to public lands and resources important to their traditional cultural or religious practices. Tribal peoples consistently point to the importance of these lands and resources in the exercise of their religions - both past and present.

Parks and National Monuments are set aside because they contain important aspects of the nation's heritage. These nationally valued assets are deemed significant enough to protect for the use and enjoyment of future generations. But they also often contain historic, cultural or religious values to groups that have had a long and intimate connection to these areas long before the the United States was born. As this report demonstrates, Devils Tower National Monument is one of these important sites for a number of Plains Indian tribes.

This report was commissioned by the National Park Service in early 1990 to document those values held by Indian peoples who consider Devils Tower important to their cultural traditions. The study is one of many undertaken to inventory the wide range of resources (natural, historic, archeological, ethnographic) that are found on park lands. Results of studies like these are fully considered in resource management plans, park interpretive or educational programs, and in the day-to-day operations of parks.

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Regional Director
Intermountain Region

Mission Statement

As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally-owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering wise use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The Department also promotes the goals of the Take Pride in America campaign by encouraging stewardship and citizen responsibility for the public lands and promoting participation in their care. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. Administration.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to express their appreciation to the following individuals, agencies and organizations for their cooperation and support, without which this project could not have been completed. We express our appreciation to the National Park Service for funding the project. In particular, Micki Crespi of the Washington Office was instrumental in providing insight and project guidelines for the applied ethnography program. Thanks also to David Ruppert, Ann Johnson, and Adrienne Anderson for their cooperation and support from the Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region.

We also acknowledge the cooperation of the Medicine Wheel Coalition for Sacred Sites of North America, and representatives of that organization who provided opinions and concerns regarding the sacred nature of Devils Tower. Finally, we would like to thank our key informants from the Wind River (Eastern) Shoshone tribe for sharing their knowledge with us, and members of the Lakota Nation for permitting one of the authors to participate in the 1990 Sundance at Devils Tower.

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Technical Summary

As part of established National Park Service (NPS) policy (1988), issues regarding protection and management of Native American access to and use of ethnographic resources include systematic ethnographic research, employment of trained cultural anthropologists, and consultation with the appropriate Native American communities. In this context, ethnography refers to the systematic collection of data on **traditional** subsistence, residential, religious or other cultural patterns of **contemporary** park-associated ethnic groups. Park resources used by these groups in traditional contexts are referred to as ethnographic resources. Only through systematic and collaborative ethnographic studies will the data that is collected for NPS programs, management, policy, and education/interpretation be accurate and appropriate.

It is within the framework of NPS ethnography that the present ethnographic assessment and overview was conducted.

Research Methods

The research design for this project delineated two analytically related but methodologically distinct data collection techniques: *ethnohistory* and *ethnography*.

Ethnohistory implies the critical examination of historical documents to solve anthropological problems. It involves the use of historical methods and criticism to evaluate the reliability and validity of historical information. *Ethnography* is the collection of cultural data from contemporary peoples, and involves the use of par-

ticipant observation, interviews, or survey questionnaires. The focus on traditional cultural practices and relationships of Northern Plains tribes to Devils Tower created a natural bridge between ethnohistoric and ethnographic data.

Study Parameters

Ethnohistoric and ethnographic data were framed within four study parameters: 1) historical; 2) geographic; 3) ideological; and 4) behavioral. While these parameters overlap, this research generally demonstrated that historical and geographic data on tribal territorial proximity to Devils Tower through time were found in the ethnohistoric materials. On the other hand, ideological (sacred narratives or stories about the origin and place of Devils Tower in tribal cosmology or “thought world”) and behavioral data (actual activity that occurred, or possibly occurred, within Monument boundaries) came primarily from ethnographic information.

Data Summary

The ethnohistoric data suggests that six tribes have inhabited the general region of northeastern Wyoming, including the Devils Tower area, at different times during the historic era: Wind River Shoshone, Kiowa, Crow, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota. The strength of the data varied; it provided the weakest link to Devils Tower for the Shoshone and Kiowa, the strongest link for the Lakota, while the Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho were intermediate. However, further research is needed to clarify the positions of these tribes relative to Devils Tower to deter-

mine whether the apparent strength of these links is historically accurate or a function of the available data.

Analysis of published and unpublished ethnographic materials demonstrated that all but the Shoshone have historic links to Devils Tower in the form of sacred narratives or other stories. To these and other tribes, Devils Tower is a sacred place, and looms large as an important landmark in tribal religion and cosmology.

It should be pointed out that this report does not imply that the Shoshone lack a sacred narrative or set of significant stories about Devils Tower, but only that the literature search did not reveal such information. Currently, the Shoshone do claim a traditional sacred relationship to Devils Tower. As representatives of the Eastern Shoshone explained, because the Shoshone “did not want to be known” they left no traces of their ritual activity. In addition, these representatives asserted that, after the reservation era began, people feared punishment if they were found to have left the reservation to practice what was considered by Whites “heathen” rituals. Thus, the absence of written documentation does not mean the absence of a close relationship to Devils Tower. Rather, the Shoshone believe that some documentation does exist, in the form of rock art, to demonstrate the sacred relationship of Devils Tower to their tribe as well as to others.

Although the ethnographic data were not, in many cases, precise enough to pinpoint to what extent traditional practices were occurring within the Monument, on-site inspection, interviews and participant observation demonstrated that, currently, both personal and group ritual activities are being conducted within the boundaries of the Monument. Personal ritual sites are manifested through the presence of offerings or prayer bundles

in isolated or semi-isolated locations. Tribal identification of the personal ritual areas was uncertain, although a prayer bundle (which was in a secondary location) was identified as a bundle from a Lakota *Yuwipi* sweatlodge ceremony. Eastern Shoshone representatives said that Shoshones traditionally placed prayer bundles atop the tower. In addition, they indicated that generally offerings were placed upon approach to the tower from the four cardinal directions (with east-west approaches being more common). However, to access data on tribal or subtribal variation in personal ritual sites would probably necessitate an in-depth traditional use study. Two group ritual sites consisted of a Lakota Sun Dance compound and a related campground.

One of the major issues emerging from this project was that of a cultural paradox. That is, the National Park Service, in order to protect and manage personal ritual areas, needs data on the location of these sites. The Native Americans interviewed realized this, but also pointed out that, in many cases, these locations are by religious custom not supposed to be revealed, and that Indian people would be acting in a culturally inappropriate manner by doing so. Thus, to provide needed data to the NPS to protect their religious interests, they risk behaving counter to their religion. A solution to this paradox demands very close collaboration between Native people and the NPS. Several of the Native Americans consulted on this project suggested that the NPS permit Native Americans to be included in protection and management issues.

Recommendations

The following recommendations were made to the National Park Service as a result of this research effort:

1) Because the tower itself is both a sacred place and an ethnographic resource, it should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as a Traditional Cultural Property (TCP).

2) In light of several complaints by Native Americans who were interviewed, climbing on the tower should be prohibited;

3) If participants and sponsors of the Lakota Sun Dance concur, the dance compound area at Devils Tower should be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as an ethnographic resource;

4) NPS staff, if it is not already doing so, should educate the general public to refrain from removing offerings in ritual use areas;

5) Since the name “Devils Tower” is an ethnocentric term without any ethnographic foundation, and is considered culturally insensitive to Northern Plains tribes, it is recommended that the National Park Service change the name of the Monument to “Bears Lodge”. This renaming, of course, would be subject to the approval of and collaboration with appropriate tribal and intertribal organizations.

SECTION 1

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AT DEVILS TOWER NATIONAL MONUMENT

In recent years Native American tribes have increasingly voiced concern over the preservation and integrity of aspects of their traditional culture. They have voiced concerns to all levels of government, wherein greater cultural awareness of and sensitivity to Native American cultural traditions, values, and religious beliefs have become important issues. On the federal level, passage of legislation such as the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and the National Historic Preservation Act provided for the acknowledgment and consideration of Native American concerns. However, these laws, while requiring the appropriate federal agencies to consult with tribes or to provide Native Americans access to lands for the pursuit of traditional economic or ritual activities, lack the strength to require management plans and policies that would include tribes in the decision-making process or protect their interests.

In addition, some Native Americans feel that, while various state and federal agencies are listening to their concerns, they are not really being "heard" in any substantial way. For instance, Eastern Shoshone representatives indicated at a July 3, 1991 meeting concerning sacred sites that they felt that non-Indians lacked an understanding of their spirituality, particularly regarding the adverse spiritual effects of sacrilegious behavior. They expressed their concern over the issue of sacred sites not only in terms of preservation and access for ritual purposes, but also in terms of maintaining proper spiritual balance for all peoples.

In its role as conservator of the natural history and cultural heritage found in the nation's

parks and monuments, the National Park Service is also responsible for developing and executing programs that reflect:

knowledge of and respect for the cultures, including religious and subsistence traditions, of Native American tribes or groups with demonstrated ancestral ties to particular resources in parks. Evidence of such ties will be established through systematic archaeological or ethnographic studies, including ethnographic oral history and ethnohistory studies, or a combination of these sources (NPS Management Policies 1988:Chapter 8:8-9).

In order to meet its obligations to park-associated ethnic groups, including Native Americans, the National Park Service has developed an ethnographic component to its Cultural Resource Management program (Crespi 1987a, 1987b). Within the National Park Service, ethnography means the systematic collection of data on the traditional subsistence, residential, religious or other cultural patterns of contemporary park-associated ethnic groups. Park resources used by these groups are referred to as ethnographic resources. A vital element in the NPS ethnographic studies program is the active collaboration between the NPS and these park-associated ethnic groups. Through this kind of ethnographic approach, data collected for park programs, management, policy, and education/interpretation will be culturally sensitive and appropriate (1987a,

1987b).

The present ethnographic overview and assessment of Devils Tower National Monument was conducted within this framework of NPS ethnography. Established in 1906, Devils Tower National Monument occupies 1,347 acres in northeast Wyoming (National Park Service 1986:1). It is a centrally located area for several Native American tribes. It lies approximately 150 miles from the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation to the east, and about the same distance from the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation to the southeast. It is approximately 200 hundred miles from the Wind River Reservation (Shoshone and Arapaho) to the west, and approximately 175 miles from the Crow and Cheyenne Reservations to the northwest.

One of the paramount concerns that arose during the course of the project was the issue of cultural sensitivity and data collection. In order for NPS staff at the monument to make informed, culturally sensitive decisions regarding development and expansion within the monument (decisions that would avoid inadvertent destruction of Native American ritual sites), a data base was needed on ritual use locations and the ethnographic resources associated with them. This need became problematical, especially concerning personal ritual areas because, by their very nature, some of the locations of these areas are not supposed to be revealed; even if they can be revealed, they are not necessarily confined to an habitual location. The result is a paradox for both the NPS and the Native Americans concerned. The NPS needs information to make culturally informed and sensitive decisions, but requesting such data risks being culturally insensitive. Native Americans realize that the NPS needs information to protect

park-associated ethnographic resources, yet they risk acting inappropriately (in their culture) by revealing certain knowledge. The only way this paradox can be resolved is through mutual participation and collaboration by the NPS and the affected Native American communities.

Representing a preliminary step in this direction, the Devils Tower project could not have been completed without the mutual cooperation of the National Park Service and members of the Native American communities, all of whom, for perhaps different reasons, accord Devils Tower a special status in their respective cultural worlds.

Research Design

The objective of this research is to provide an ethnographic overview and assessment of past and current Native American use of resources, derived from traditional cultural patterns, within Devils Tower National Monument. Fundamental to this project is the concept of ethnographic resources, which are defined as “park resources with traditional subsistence, sacred ceremonial or religious, residential, or other cultural meaning for members of contemporary park-associated ethnic groups, including Native Americans” (Crespi 1987a:20). Data derived from this study will form a baseline of knowledge from which the National Park Service can better accommodate various user-oriented ethnic groups, in particular Native Americans, to its management plans.

The ethnographic overview and assessment can be analytically framed around four related general study parameters: 1) historical; 2) geographic; 3) behavioral; and 4) ideological.

The historical parameter is defined as the temporal connections between Devils Tower area and specific bands or tribes that can be documented as having lived in the vicinity and utilized available resources. This parameter necessitates summarizing the ethnohistorical data bearing on the territorial locations and movements through time of at least six Plains tribes known or believed to have inhabited, or in other ways to have been familiar with, northeastern Wyoming and the Devils Tower/Black Hills region: Eastern Shoshone, Crow, Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Lakota.

The geographic parameter refers to the delineation of boundaries, features, locations, and natural resources that can be identified with specific tribal groups. This parameter will include data on the tower itself, nearby springs, the Belle Fourche River, and adjacent habitats that were, or continue to be, utilized.

The behavioral parameter is defined as those specific economic, ritual, or other traditional activities that occur or were known to have occurred within Devils Tower National Monument. In particular, this parameter will attempt to isolate specific individual ritual behavior such as offerings and vision quests, and group ceremonies such as the Sun Dance.

Finally, the ideological parameter refers to the beliefs (as opposed to behavior), sacred narratives, or other means by which the various tribes have encoded Devils Tower into their history or thought-worlds.

Research Goals and Methods

This study had two major research goals:

- 1) To conduct a literature search that would result in an ethnohistoric overview of traditional Native American use of and references to Devils Tower and its immediate environs; and
- 2) To provide an overview of past and current use of ethnographic resources by Native American individuals and groups within Devils Tower National Monument.

In combination, the accomplishment of these goals provides the National Park Service with baseline data and information with which to conduct future, more in-depth, ethnographic studies and to make more informed decisions concerning the Native American presence in the NPS management equation.

Both of the goals were achieved within the context of the four study parameters previously discussed. While these goals are intricately related and comprise the two arms of the overall research objective, they require distinct methods and therefore are treated below as separate research strategies.

Ethnohistoric Overview: Methods and Scope

Ethnohistory can be defined as the complementary application of historical and ethnological methods to solve specific anthropological problems (Axtell 1979; Carmack 1972; Lurie 1961; Sturtevant 1968; Trigger 1982). In Native

American studies, an ethnohistorical approach involves the critical use of historical documents such as journals, narratives, maps, and other forms of non-Native evidence for reconstructing tribal histories or addressing questions of acculturation and other processes of cultural change. These sources of information have the advantage of offering potentially useful ethnographic observations contemporary with various time periods in questions. However, because many of the individuals who authored these documents were not trained ethnographers, their information is often vague and can contain degrees of cultural bias and ethnocentrism. Therefore, these materials must be interpreted cautiously and their accuracy must be established through cross-checking with available ethnographic reports.

In addition to non-Native sources of data, ethnohistorical approaches have also benefited from the use of Native American sources, such as oral history, legends, myths, calendar histories or winter counts, and rock art, as well as more recently developed mediums such as maps and written documents (Allen 1987; Bahr 1971; Day 1972; Hanson 1983; Henning 1982; Lewis 1987). The value of Native American sources of information lies not only in providing a potentially independent check against non-Native sources (and sometimes the interpretations derived from them), but also in the internal validity of beliefs and values that these sources express. They provide an inside perspective of tribal culture that might otherwise be lacking from a purely outside perspective. The major difficulty associated with the use of Native American sources, particularly myths and legends, is the timeless quality that often characterizes these media. While timelessness may help keep a cultural theme relevant, it can constitute a limitation when applied to chronological concerns.

The goal of the ethnohistoric overview is to summarize primary, secondary, original and derived sources bearing on tribal presence in and around Devils Tower National Monument through time.

A primary source refers to a document or statement that reflects the testimony of an eyewitness. A secondary source refers to a document or statement which reflects the testimony of one who was not an eyewitness (Gottschalk 1950:53). For example, Lewis and Clark's observations on the locations of the Arikara villages along the Missouri River in present-day South Dakota constitute a primary source, since they actually saw the villages. However, their information on the Cheyenne tribe southwest of the Black Hills along the Cheyenne River is secondary information because they did not actually see the Cheyenne, but learned of their location from others. Thus, it is possible for a single document (the Lewis and Clark journals) to be a primary or secondary source, depending on the information of interest to the researcher. Usually, but not always, primary sources are considered more reliable than secondary sources. In the absence of a primary source, secondary sources of information can be shown to be reliable to the best of the available materials, but should be cross-checked with other sources if possible.

An original source in an ethnohistorical context is one that gives the earliest available information regarding an event or subject (Gottschalk 1950:53). Sources that have their basis in, or are copied from, original sources can be referred to as derived sources. In general, original sources take ethnohistorical precedence over derived ones, unless new information is offered or original information is reinterpreted in a more compelling way.

In terms of the four study parameters previously described, the ethnohistoric overview encompasses primarily the historical and geographic parameters, and addresses behavioral and ideological parameters where possible and appropriate.

Ethnographic Overview: Methods and Scope

In its broadest sense, ethnography can be defined as the description of cultural patterns and behavior of contemporary peoples (Crespi 1987a:2). Ethnography emphasizes current and ongoing patterns of thought and behavior of ethnic groups. In contrast to the ethnohistoric overview, the ethnographic overview is primarily concerned with documenting the current use of ethnographic resources which derive from traditional cultural patterns of park-associated Native American groups at Devils Tower National Monument (Crespi 1987b:3).

In terms of the four study parameters outlined above, the ethnographic overview focuses predominantly on the geographic, behavioral, and ideological components. A review of the ethnographic literature demonstrates that Devils Tower was a sacred area for many Plains tribes, and that it has been encoded as an important landmark in tribal narratives. These narratives form the ideological backdrop for the current religious value that Devils Tower holds for these tribes. Currently, individual and group ritual activity occurs within the park. Thus, documentation of these activities, the ethnographic resources utilized (plants, animals, lithics, springs, structures, encampments), and the general locations of these activities are fundamental to providing a preliminary data base for conducting more detailed tra-

ditional use studies and for making informed management decisions concerning park-associated tribes and their activities.

Two methods of data collection are employed in the ethnographic overview. First, a literature review is undertaken to provide data on the kinds of activities in which tribes traditionally engaged. For example, the literature suggests that several tribes, particularly the Crow, Cheyenne, and Lakota, engaged in a wide range of economic and ritual activities in the vicinity of Devils Tower prior to reservation times. These activities included winter camps, hunting, vision questing, funerals, and prayer-offerings (Gunderson 1988; Stone n.d.). Data derived from this ethnographic literature search provide a framework for on-site inspections and interviews with knowledgeable Native Americans representative of the tribes concerned. Two ethnographic techniques were employed to elicit information. First, an unstructured interview technique was used. This technique minimizes interviewer questions and reduces the chance of leading the respondent to a conclusion (e.g., "Is this a vision quest site?") or introducing interviewer bias (Sitton et al. 1983:93-108). Second, participant observation was employed, to provide the researcher a substantive understanding of group ceremonies like the Sun Dance from the participant's or actor's point of view.

Another valuable aspect of the interviews was that they provided a record of Native American concerns about the ethnographic resources and the policies and guidelines of the National Park Service concerning Native and non-Native access to, and use of, those resources.

SECTION 2

ETHNOHISTORIC OVERVIEW OF DEVILS TOWER

At least six tribes are known to have lived at various times during the historic and perhaps prehistoric period in the general region between the Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains in Wyoming. This area is close to if not within what is now Devils Tower National Monument. These tribes are the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Kiowa, Lakota, and the Eastern Shoshone. This chapter summarizes the ethnohistoric data bearing on the locations and chronological placement of these tribes in terms of the study area. It should be noted that all these tribes shared the High Plains lifestyle of equestrian bison hunting and nomadic pastoralism and, therefore, were characterized by large overlapping territories that fluctuated in time and place as the needs of hunting, pasturage, trade or offense/defense dictated (Oliver 1962; Wilson 1963). The following tribal summaries appear in chronological order, beginning with those tribes that appear to have been the earliest occupants of the Black Hills-Big Horn Mountain environs, and ending with the most recent. It should also be observed that, in most cases, the data were not refined enough to place tribes within Devils Tower National Monument; rather, the data are presented in terms of the likelihood that tribal territories would have included the area now bounded by the park.

Eastern Shoshone

The Eastern Shoshone, most of whom now live on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, historically represent several bands of Shoshonean-speaking peoples who, at some time during the Late Prehistoric or early historic periods, adopted a Plains cultural lifestyle to augment

their Great Basin and Rocky Mountain backgrounds. Archaeological evidence suggests a Shoshone presence in the Bighorn-Powder River area by A.D. 1500 [Figure 1] (Wright 1978). Later sites establish a Shoshone presence in northern and southwestern Wyoming well into the eighteenth century (Frison 1971, 1976, 1978).

The Shoshone enter the historic record by 1742 when, known by the French and Americans as the “Serpent” or “Snake” Indians, the La Verendrye brothers describe them as a very powerful equestrian tribe that lived to the south and west of the Mandan villages in North Dakota (Smith 1980). What precisely constituted Shoshone territory at this time is open to question, since the La Verendrye journals are so vague in documenting locations. However, it is likely that the La Verendrye brothers were in the vicinity of the Black Hills when their hosts (the “Gens de L’arc”, who may have been the Pawnee or perhaps Arikara) located a recently abandoned Shoshone village nearby (Smith 1980:110, 120-121).

In the winter of 1807-1808, the trapper George Drouillard visited Crow encampments in the Tongue, Yellowstone, Bighorn and Shoshone River valleys, but also identified an encampment of what may have been friendly Shoshones living with the Crow at the confluence of the Bighorn and Shoshone rivers (Hanson 1979). While sketchy, these data suggest that during the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Eastern Shoshone ranged, on a west to east basis, from the Bighorn Mountains to the Black Hills. Hultkranz states that Shoshone terri-

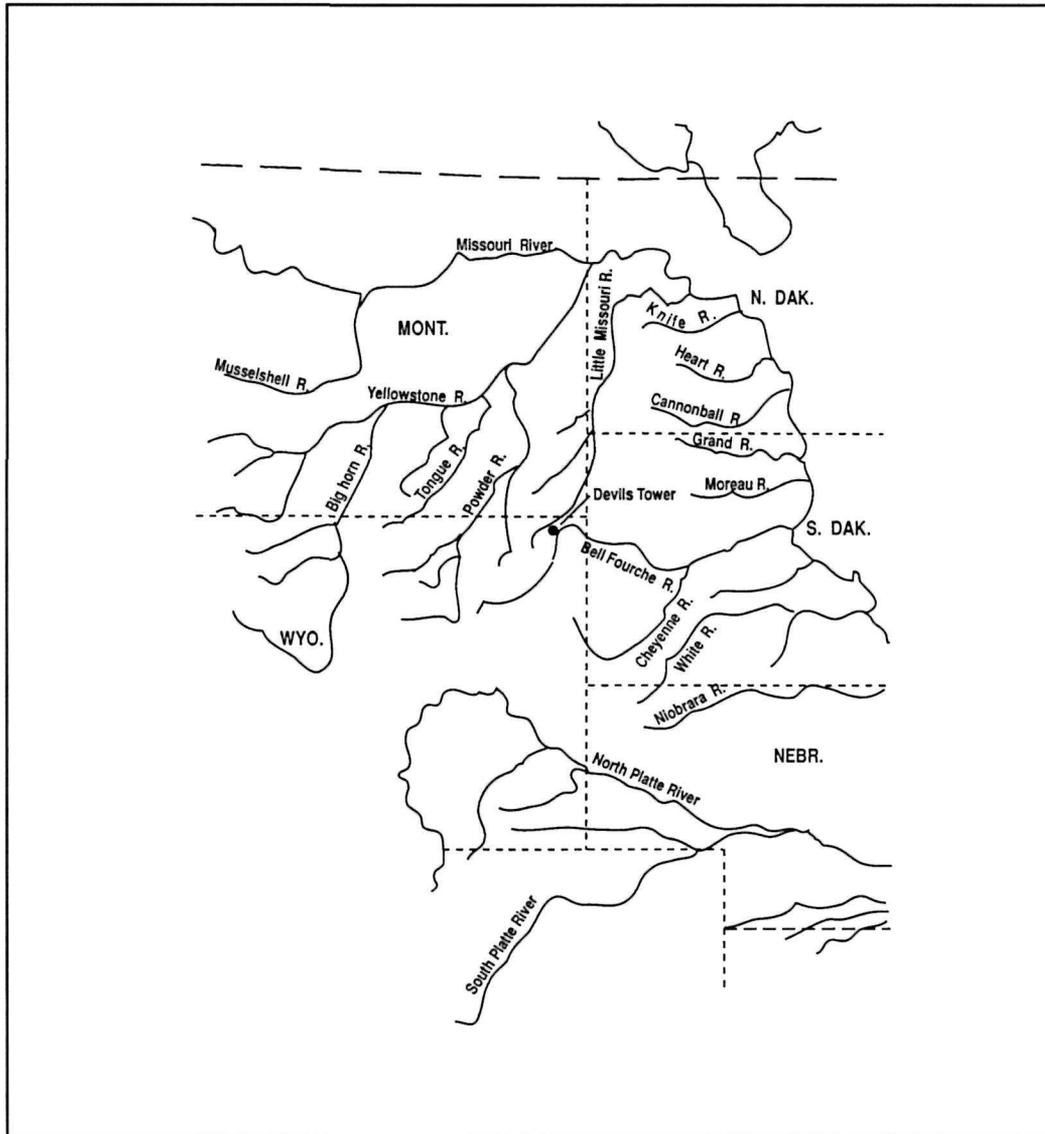


Figure 1: Northern Plains

tory was constricted to the Green River area during the 1830s as a result of Crow pressure. However, upon making peace with the Crows in the 1840s, Shoshone territory again expanded into the Powder River-Bighorn Mountains country (Hultkranz 1974:206).

Shimkin (1938) collected via oral history information regarding what to all intents and pur-

poses were the last free-ranging territorial movements of the Eastern Shoshone during the mid-nineteenth century. According to that information, the Shoshone consisted of four or more independent bands that aggregated and dispersed on a seasonal basis to pursue bison hunting and other economic and social activities (1938:413). These bands customarily united along Wind River during the late spring and dispersed during the fall.

Two of these bands, according to Shimkin's information, regularly wintered in the Powder River valley, one at the headwaters, the other farther downstream (1938:414-415).

In sum, the ethnohistoric data on the Eastern Shoshone relative to Devils Tower are inconclusive at best. While none of the data presented places Shoshone territory within the area now bounded by Devils Tower National Monument, the documented presence of Shoshone encampments nearby in the Powder River valley lends plausibility to the idea that the Shoshone may have encoded Devils Tower in their ethnogeography, religion, and history, and perhaps visited it on occasion for ritual purposes. Eastern Shoshone representatives indicated in a July 3, 1991 meeting that there was a strong traditional association between their tribe and Devils Tower. More in-depth ethnographic and ethnohistoric research would shed greater light on Shoshone traditional relations with Devil Towers and other ethnographic resources within the area bounded by the park.

Crow

The Crow tribe currently occupies ancestral lands on the Crow Reservation in Montana. Historically, they consisted of two main divisions: the River Crow, who habitually occupied the bison-rich country along the Yellowstone River in present-day Montana; and the Mountain Crow, who preferred the Bighorn Mountains and the streams and valleys that trailed from them (Lowie 1956). Both Crow and Hidatsa oral history consistently confirm that the Crow were once part of the Hidatsa tribe, living and farming in villages along the Missouri River (Bowers 1965; Hanson 1979; Medicine Crow 1979). However, sometime during

either the Late Prehistoric or Early Historic period, the Crow began migrating from the Missouri River to the region that they came to occupy historically. These lands were bordered on the north by the Yellowstone River in eastern Montana; on the south by the headwaters of the Powder River in Wyoming; and on the west by the Absaroka Mountains in Wyoming and Montana. The beginning of this series of migrations, and their geographic extent, are debatable. One Crow historian suggests an exodus from the Hidatsa villages, led by the Crow chief No Vitals, around the turn of the seventeenth century (Medicine Crow 1979:68-69). Non-Native ethnohistoric evidence suggests that the Crow came in two separate migrations: an earlier migration by the Mountain Crow from the Awatixa Hidatsa, possibly around 1675, and a later migration by the River Crow, possibly around 1725 (Hanson 1979:83). Archaeologists have suggested, on the basis of what has been labeled "Crow pottery", a Crow presence in northern Wyoming as early as the fifteenth century (Frison 1978:70). These three different perspectives have yet to be reconciled, and further study is needed to increase our understanding of Crow origins and migrations.

By 1805, the Crow were fully adapted equestrian bison hunters, and like the Shoshone and other Plains tribes, ranged far and wide to hunt, trade, and raid (Larocque 1960; Thwaites 1959:6:103). George Drouillard, a trapper and veteran of the Lewis and Clark expedition, spent the winter of 1807-1808 among the Crow. He documented Crow winter camps over a vast area; along Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone, west of the Pryor and Bighorn ranges in Montana; along the Bighorn and Shoshone rivers in northern Wyoming; along the Little Bighorn River in Montana;

and along the upper reaches of the Tongue River, bordering the eastern slopes of the Bighorn Mountains, possibly near present-day Sheridan, Wyoming (Hanson 1979:48).

While the ethnohistorical evidence consistently places Crow primary territory to the west of Devils Tower, Crow trading expeditions to the Mandan and Hidatsa villages may have taken them near enough to the tower for the Crow to have occasionally made use of the resources in the area. Data from the Crow collected by Dick Stone during the 1930s (Stone n.d.) supports this idea. First, Stone cites a July 30, 1859 journal entry by General R.F. Reynolds, who noted the desertion of his Sioux scout upon nearing Devils Tower because they were now entering Crow country. Second, the Crow were familiar enough with Devils Tower to name it *Dabiche Asow* or “bears house”, and to have a legend about it. Third, Stone’s informant, who was allegedly 117 years old and was apparently a grown woman when the “stars fell” in 1833, remembered going to Devils Tower to fast and worship. She also related that the Crow were around the Devils Tower area before the Sioux (Stone n.d.).

To summarize, while the non-Native ethnohistorical evidence is inconclusive regarding Crow occupation and use of the Devils Tower region, Crow oral history does give credence to Crow use of the tower, particularly for religious purposes. It is also clear that Devils Tower holds an important place in Crow ideology and belief, a subject to be addressed in the ethnographic overview in next section of this report.

Kiowa

Today the Kiowa live in south central Oklahoma, and while they are most commonly

considered a southern Plains nomadic tribe, their origin stories point to a northern homeland. Kiowa oral tradition and migration history postulate a period of existence in the Black Hills and nearby regions (Harrington 1939; Momaday 1969; Mooney 1979). Several lines of evidence consistently agree with Kiowa traditions of having lived in the Black Hills vicinity. The La Verendrye brothers encountered a tribe called the “Pioyas” (probably Kiowas) near the Black Hills in 1742 (Smith 1980:120). In 1794, some visiting Cheyenne told Jean Baptiste Trudeau, a fur trader living with the Arikara, that the “Cayoguas” (Kiowas) were camped just west of them (Nasatir 1952:34). At this time the Cheyenne lived along the branches of the Cheyenne River, that is, adjacent to the Black Hills. In 1805, Lewis and Clark noted that the Kiowa ranged southwest of the Black Hills between the headwaters of the Cheyenne River and the North Platte, and Clark’s map of 1810 shows the Kiowa living along the North Platte River (Thwaites 1959:6:101; Allen 1987:45). In addition, Cheyenne oral tradition states that, when the Cheyenne first came to the Black Hills, they found the Kiowa living near the Black Hills and along the Little Missouri, Powder, and Tongue rivers (Harrington 1939:164).

If the above sketch is correct, then the Kiowa lived in the general region of Devils Tower for an undetermined period of time during the eighteenth century. By about 1805, they were drifting south, eventually to end up in the Arkansas River country and subsequently in Oklahoma. That the Kiowa were at one time familiar with Devils Tower is evident by the following:

1) Their name for the tower, *T’sou’a’e* (or “aloft on a rock”) differs from most other tribal names (the various names translating roughly as “Bears Lodge”; and

2) They have encoded the tower in their ideology with a legend about how the tower was formed (Harrington 1939:169, 174-176; Gunderson 1988:32; Momaday 1969:9). These legends will be discussed in the following section.

In sum, the ethnohistory demonstrates a period in Kiowa history when they occupied territory that included present-day Devils Tower National Monument, and also demonstrates that the Kiowa encoded Devils Tower into their ideology and world-view. However, to what extent, if any, the Kiowa performed traditional economic or ritual activities that used traditional ethnographic resources in what now is Devils Tower National Monument is not known.

Cheyenne

Today many Cheyenne live on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in southeastern Montana, near lands that they occupied as nomadic bison hunters during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Historic documentation places the Cheyenne in the general region of the Black Hills during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Trudeau, in 1795, placed the Cheyenne to the west of the Arikara villages along the Cheyenne River in present-day South Dakota (Nasatir 1952:301). In 1805, Lewis and Clark observed that the Cheyenne have “no settled place, they rove to the S.W. of the Ricaras, and on both sides of the Cout Noir or black hills, at the heads of Chien River” (Thwaites 1959:6,100). This statement can be interpreted to mean that at this time the Cheyenne territory stretched between the Belle Fourche (north branch of the Cheyenne River) and the headwaters of the Cheyenne River,

an area that would have included Devils Tower. Furthermore, Lewis and Clark noted that the Cheyenne were driven to the Black Hills from the Missouri River by the Sioux (Thwaites 1959:6, 100). Stephen Long’s map (Allen 1987:48) of his expedition into the Great Plains in 1823 shows the Cheyenne within the Black Hills, but Samuel Parker’s 1838 map (Allen 1987:50) of the Oregon Territory does not depict the Cheyenne. However, the Oglala Sioux are shown occupying lands just east of the Black Hills, while the Crow are shown occupying lands to the west of the hills (Allen 1987:48, 50). Parker probably did not include the Cheyenne because by the early 1830s the Cheyenne had migrated to the general region between the Platte and Arkansas rivers (Gussow, et al. 1974:75).

At about this time the Cheyenne tribe split into Southern and Northern divisions. The Southern Cheyenne moved to the Arkansas River valley of Colorado and Kansas where they became closely allied with the Arapaho and Kiowa. Subsequently, they were settled by the U.S. government within the Indian territory and state of Oklahoma, where they currently live.

The Northern Cheyenne ranged the North Platte and Powder River country, allying themselves with the ever-expanding Lakota. About 1820, the Northern Cheyenne were camped along the Powder River and joined the Lakota in a battle against the Crow (Grinnell 1956:27). Iron Teeth, a Northern Cheyenne woman who was born about 1834, told Thomas Marquis several stories of Cheyenne life during the mid-1800s, including planting of corn in the Black Hills and encampments along the Powder River and tributaries of the North Platte (Marquis 1978:52-71). As late as the 1860s, the Northern Cheyenne

were establishing large camps along the Powder River (Grinnell 1956:206).

While these sources are suggestive, rather than demonstrative, of Cheyenne knowledge and use of the Devils Tower area, Cheyenne oral tradition has provided useful information. According to Stone, who interviewed Northern Cheyennes in the 1930s, the pre-reservation Cheyenne favored the nearby Belle Fourche River valley for winter villages because of the grass (for horses), firewood, and protection that the hills offered from the biting winter winds (Stone n.d.). According to Gunderson, Devils Tower, called by the Cheyenne *Na Kovea* or “Bear’s Lodge”, was the final earthly resting place for Sweet Medicine, the Cheyenne culture hero who had brought them the Four Sacred Arrows and had also founded the warrior societies, as well as tribal government, laws, and ceremonies (Gunderson 1988:38). Gunderson’s source for the death and prophecies of Sweet Medicine is John Stands in Timber, who related this in *Cheyenne Memories* (Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967). It should be added that John Stands in Timber noted (1967:41), which Gunderson did not, that some Cheyenne believe that Sweet Medicine died just west of Bear Butte, a very sacred Cheyenne place at the northeast edge of the Black Hills near present-day Sturgis, South Dakota, and not Devils Tower.

Like the Crow and Kiowa, the Cheyenne have encoded Devils Tower into their creation narratives and myths, which will be discussed in the ethnographic overview in the next section.

Arapaho

Like the Cheyenne, the Arapaho are a tribe who migrated to the Northern Plains from

the east. Unlike the Cheyenne, however, the timing and movements of their migration are poorly known. The Arapaho are archaeologically invisible, and theories that suggest a period of existence in the Red River area of North Dakota and western Minnesota are speculative at best (Trenholm 1970:10). The closest linguistic relatives of the Arapaho are the Gros Ventres, who speak a mutually intelligible dialect. This closeness was also represented socially since the Gros Ventres were considered by the Arapaho as one of their five aboriginal bands (Kroeber 1902:50). As a result of close linguistic and cultural connections, and since ethnohistorians have placed the Gros Ventres near the confluence of the forks of the Saskatchewan River (in present-day central Saskatchewan) during the mid-eighteenth century, it is held that from there the Arapaho left the Gros Ventres and migrated south. Eventually, the Arapaho crossed the Missouri River and, by the late eighteenth century, had entered the region of the North Platte River and headwaters of the Cheyenne River. In 1794 Trudeau, while at the Arikara villages, mentioned a tribe called the “Caminanbiches” who lived to the west of, and were friendly with, the Cheyenne. The latter were living on the branches of the Cheyenne River near the Black Hills (Nasatir 1952:301). These were the Arapaho, and Trudeau met with the chiefs of this tribe on the Platte River in 1795 (Trenholm 1970:23).

Lewis and Clark, in 1805, described the “Canenavich” (Arapaho) who lived above the headwaters of the Loup River, a major tributary of the Platte River in Nebraska (Thwaites:6,101). Interestingly, they also mention a tribe called the “Castahana” or “Gens des Vache” who ranged between the headwaters of the Loup River and the Bighorn River and whose territory was held in common with the Canenavich (1959:6,102).

According to Trenholm, “Gens de Vache” or “Cow (Buffalo) People” was the French-Canadian designation for the Arapaho and Gros Ventres. The old Algonquian term for the Arapaho, according to Trenholm, is “Kananavich” or “Bison Path People” (Trenholm 1970:4, 17). Trenholm believed that the Gens de Vache of Lewis and Clark were the Gros Ventres (1970:29). However, this seems too far south for that tribe at such an early date. It is possible that the Gens de Vache were actually a band of Arapahos, and that Lewis and Clark may have documented the division of the Arapaho into Northern and Southern bands. This is consistent chronologically given that the Southern Arapaho were being drawn from the Platte headwaters to the Arkansas River by 1816 and were well established in the southern Plains by 1820 (Trenholm 1970:41, 44). The Northern Arapaho continued to range between the South Platte in present-day northeastern Colorado and the Powder River country of Wyoming where they maintained a close alliance with the Northern Cheyenne, at times camping with them (Grinnell 1956:210).

The preceding summary of non-Native ethnohistoric sources does not demonstrate that the Arapaho ever occupied territory near, or within, what is now Devils Tower National Monument. Nor does it show that the Arapaho ever utilized resources within what are now park boundaries. Yet Arapaho oral history does describe an Arapaho relationship to Devils Tower. Dick Stone interviewed an Arapaho elder in 1932 who told Stone the Arapaho legend of “Bear’s Tipi” (Devils Tower). This story had been passed down to this elder from his father when he was about nine (or about 1859). In turn, his father had received the story from his father, meaning that this Arapaho legend, by 1932, had spanned at least three generations. In addition, Stone’s informant also stated

that his grandfather, who had once built an antelope trap near the tower, was buried “close to Bear’s Tipi” (Stone n.d.).

Lakota

The Lakota claim historic as well as current cultural association with Devils Tower and the surrounding environs. The Lakota is the largest of the seven traditional divisions of the *Oceti Xakowin* or Seven Council Fires, which also included the MDEWAKANTON, WARPETON, WARPE KUTE, SISSETON (known collectively as the Santee Sioux), the IHANKTONWAN (Yankton), and the IHANKTONWANNAI (Yanktonai). The Lakota are also subdivided into seven bands or subtribes: OGLALA; SICANXU (Brule); ITAZIPTCE (Sans Arc); SIHASAPA (Blackfeet); MINNECONJOU; OOHENONPA (Two Kettle); and HUNKPAPA (Hurt 1974:22).

The Lakota claim that an ancient and sacred relationship exists between their nation and the Black Hills of present-day South Dakota and Wyoming, including Devils Tower and *Inyan Kara* of northeastern Wyoming. Devils Tower is known to the Lakota as *Mato Tipi* or “Bear Lodge” (Black Elk 1986; Cassells et al. 1984; U.S. Senate 1986). The region was and is a place to fast, pray, and worship *Wakan Tankan* or the Great Mystery, the essence of Lakota spiritual and religious life (Black Elk 1986; Gunderson 1988:49-55; Junge 1988:60; Niehardt 1988; Shirl 1982).

Testimony based on oral tradition and ethnoastronomy was given before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, July 6, 1986. According to Charlotte Black Elk’s prepared testimony, the Black Hills had been, in prehistoric times, “a home base” for all the *Oceti Xakowin* (1986:191). It was the place of creation and contained the specific Lakota emergence place (Bird

Horse 1986:84; Cassells et al. 1984; M. Powers 1986). Goodman and Red Bird of Sinte Gleska College in South Dakota, as well as Gerald Clifford, coordinator of the Black Hills Steering Committee, also offered evidence to the Committee. They maintain the antiquity and sacredness of the Lakota relationship to the Black Hills, a relationship that they assert dates possibly to 3,000 years or more ago (Clifford 1986:168-169; Goodman and Red Bird 1986:215-217).

Ethnohistoric documentation regarding Lakota prehistoric and historic geographic locations and migrations tells a different story. The area and chronology of Lakota migration to their historic Black Hills homeland is currently undergoing debate and revision within Plains ethnohistory. In general, the data suggest a westward migration of the Lakota from the region of southwestern Minnesota.

The first and most widely accepted (that is, among non-Lakota) viewpoint argues for a recent Lakota migration (late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries) across the Missouri River into the Black Hills. According to this view, prior to European contact the Lakota lived a semi-nomadic life in and around the edge of the north-eastern periphery of the Plains region, on the Minnesota River near the Sauk Rapids area. Here the Lakota grew small plots of corn and tobacco, gathered wild rice in the fall, and hunted buffalo during the summer months. By about A.D. 1700, the Lakota had begun to migrate westward to the area between the upper Minnesota River and the Red River valley westward to the Missouri River, a migration that necessitated economic change to a total dependence on buffalo (Hyde 1976:84; Hurt 1974:65-66; Powers 1977:162-163; M. Powers 1986:25).

Reassessment of the ethnohistoric data, supplemented by recent archaeological research in the Red River valley, (which separates Minnesota and North Dakota) has shed new light on the Lakota migration. The dating of pottery found at archaeological sites ranges from A.D. 1010 to A.D. 1400. This suggests ancient occupancy by people who engaged in trade with both Plains Woodland and Plains riverine groups (indicated by the presence of Plains Woodland pottery and Knife River flint lithic material). Moreover, these people quite possibly were ancestral to the Lakota, since the pottery found (called Sandy Lake) is very similar to Late Prehistoric Oneota pottery, which has been generally associated with Siouan groups (Michlovic 1983, 1985; Syms 1985; Wood 1985).

Ethnohistoric data on the Lakota tend to support this model. Hennepin's map, circa 1680, is one of the first to refer to the Lakota. Identified on this map as the "Gens des Prairies" or prairie dwellers, Hennepin placed the Lakota on the western side of the upper Mississippi River, near Sauk Rapids (Curtis 1908:31; Hurt 1974:65).

In 1700, while establishing a trading post at the junction of the Blue Earth and Minnesota rivers, Le Sueur met a group of Sioux who told him that the "Sioux of the west" (possibly Lakota), the Oto and the Ioway all traveled and hunted that area (Hurt 1974:58; Michlovic 1985:137). Le Sueur was told that the "Sioux of the west" lived a nomadic existence, neither gathering wild rice nor cultivating crops, but living entirely "by the chase", that is, by buffalo hunting (Hurt 1974:58; Michlovic 1985:137).

The 1718 Delisle map placed the "Tintons" (Lakota) on or about the head of the

“St. Peter’s River” (present-day Minnesota River), probably near Big Stone Lake or Lake Traverse, both of which border Minnesota and South Dakota. The information contained on this map was collected by the French from 1700-1715 and consistently supports information provided by Le Sueur (Ehrenberg 1937a:3-26; Hurt 1974:266).

In 1742, the La Verendrye brothers met a band of Sioux on the Missouri River somewhere between the Arikara villages in South Dakota and the Mandan villages in North Dakota. While the elder La Verendrye noted that the area was Arikara territory, he had been warned in 1738 about Sioux raids in the area (Hurt 1974:72; Smith 1980).

It is interesting to note that the Lakota winter count documentation during this period shows the Lakota at war with three Missouri River tribes (the Omaha, Hidatsa, and Arikara) and one Northern Plains tribe (the Assiniboine), but with no tribes west of the Missouri except the Pawnee until the mid-eighteenth century. This information suggests that while the Lakota made little if any use of lands west of the Missouri prior to the mid-1700s, they were definitely using the region between the Missouri and the Red River (Hurt 1974:85).

By 1750 many of the Lakota had obtained horses from the Missouri River tribes and had become very efficient in exploiting the Plains environment (M. Powers 1986:25). By 1763 the Lakota are known to have occupied the area along the Missouri River from the White River in present-day South Dakota to the Heart River in present-day North Dakota (Hurt 1974:121).

Observations from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries continue to chart Lakota presence along the Missouri River with movements westward. According to Trudeau, the Lakota lived on the Missouri but continued to hunt and trade at intertribal fairs on the James, Big Sioux, and Des Moines rivers to the east, although one band, the “Oconona” (Oglalas?) roamed the Bad River to the west of the Missouri (Hurt 1974:119-120; Nasatir 1952:245-333). He also wrote that the “Saones” (Hunkpapa, Sans Arc, and Minneconjou) would cross the Missouri to the west to hunt buffalo (Denig 1961:23).

William Clark’s 1810 map places all Lakota bands on the Missouri River, and to the west locates the “Dotame”, “Kites”, “Kanenavish” (Arapaho), and “Wetapahato”, among others. Speculation as to the identity of some of these tribes or bands is ongoing. However, one Lakota informant, when shown the map, told the investigator that these were all Lakota bands (L2, personal communication 1990).

While the Missouri River may have been the primary area of Lakota territory at this time, various bands were utilizing lands to the west of the Missouri. According to the American Horse winter count, in 1775, at least one band of Lakota had traveled as far as the Black Hills (Walker 1982:127). Other winter counts vary regarding the date of “discovery” of the region. The Battiste Good count states that this occurred in 1784-1785, as does the No Ears count (Mallery 1972:309; Walker 1982:127).

Further evidence of a Lakota presence in the Black Hills region is found on the winter counts of High Hawk, Battiste Good, and No Ears for 1794. In this year, the Lakota attacked either the Crow or Cheyenne at Rawhide Butte,

located 10 miles south of present-day Lusk, Wyoming, southwest of the Black Hills (Curtis 1908; Mallery 1972). Winter counts record that, in 1814, a Lakota attending a Cheyenne trade fair near present-day Scottsbluff, Nebraska, killed a Kiowa (Curtis 1908; Walker 1982:133; Mallery 1972:316). In 1819, these counts recorded that the Lakota camped at Bear Butte, near present-day Sturgis, South Dakota.

The only information that possibly links to Devils Tower comes from an interview with an elderly Lakota by Dick Stone in 1934. According to Old Bull, the Lakota built homes at Devils Tower with rotten logs “about 118 years ago”, and named this time as “the year homes were built with rotten logs.” Since Stone recorded this information in 1934, winter counts should have recorded this information circa 1816 (Shirl 1982:27). Interestingly, the No Ears count of 1817 states that this winter was called “they made lodges of dead wood”, but the location was not given (Walker 1982:134).

A shift in Lakota territory towards the Black Hills, the Platte River, the Powder River, and away from the Missouri River was occurring by the early 1820s. Jedediah Smith reported meeting a band of Oglalas southeast of the Black Hills and north of the White River in 1823 (Morgan 1953:80-86). Nicollet’s ethnographic work of 1838 placed all Lakota bands in or around the Black Hills. The Brule, he was told, lived on the White River, while the Saones lived from the Belle Fourche north to the Cannonball River (Bray and Bray 1976:255-262). Winter count information supports these data. Several counts note the 1828 winter spent at Bear Butte.

John Neihardt’s interviews with Black Elk in 1931 and 1944 document a Lakota presence

in and around the Black Hills during the mid-nineteenth century (DeMallie 1984). Black Elk was born on the Little Powder River, in northeastern Wyoming, in 1863 (DeMallie 1984:102). According to Black Elk, an Oglala, his band had camped on the Powder River, along the Belle Fourche and the Cheyenne River, as well as on Hat Creek (south of the Black Hills). He believed that they had been in the region for a long time.

Dick Stone’s interviews with elderly Lakotas shed light on Lakota use of the Devils Tower region. According to One Bull, his grandfather’s family had camped in the region, usually during the winter months. The winters there seemed less harsh and game was abundant. One Bull stated that the “Pine Ridge people” would camp and worship at Devils Tower (Shirl 1982:23-24). It is interesting to note that the Lakota families currently performing the Sun Dance at the monument are from Pine Ridge. White Bull, also interviewed by Stone, told of winters spent camping at Mato Tipi. He noted that the region was the territory of the Sans Arc, Minneconjou and Hunkpapa bands, and men often worshipped when there (Shirl 1982:25).

Amos Bad Heart Bull’s map of the Black Hills, drawn sometime between 1890 and 1910, evidences Lakota knowledge of the Black Hills and the surrounding environs, including Devils Tower, Bear Butte, Little Missouri Buttes, and others (Blish and Bad Heart Bull 1967:289). By the mid-nineteenth century, if not before, the Lakotas were heavily utilizing the Black Hills region, including Devils Tower.

Historical ethnographies of Lakota traditions and creation narratives, collected during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, maintain the origin and emergence of the Oceti

Sakowin from a cave, most often to the northeast, “beyond the region of the pines.” Many early-twentieth-century ethnographies point to a Lakota emergence somewhere on the prairie of the Northern Plains (Standing Bear 1978:44-45; Walker 1980, 1982, 1983). Arval Looking Horse, the current Lakota Keeper of the Pipe, wrote that the Lakota probably came from Minnesota or eastern South Dakota (Looking Horse 1987:68-69).

Ethnohistoric Appraisal

Ethnohistoric data have been used to investigate tribal historical and geographic affiliation with Devils Tower National Monument. The data suggest, with varying degrees of certainty, that all tribes discussed were familiar with the Black Hills region in general and Devils Tower in particular. A possible exception to this is the Wind River Shoshone, for whom there was no evidence to indicate that they utilized the region or encoded Devils Tower into their patterns of beliefs. The Crow were familiar with the Devils Tower region, incorporated it into their ideological patterns, and apparently utilized the tower area for ritual purposes. For the Kiowa, the data are also inconclusive. While they encoded Devils Tower into their belief patterns, no evidence emerged that could specifically place them within the monument or describe what activities they would have conducted there.

For the Cheyenne the data are more reliable. Their documented presence in and around

the Black Hills, the Belle Fourche and Cheyenne rivers, and the Powder River country, combined with the encoding of Devils Tower into their ideology and the belief by some Cheyenne that Sweet Medicine died at Devils Tower, argues strongly for a Cheyenne attachment to Devils Tower. Documentation of Cheyenne activity within the monument, however, has not been verified. A similar situation holds for the Arapaho, except that informant testimony does indicate economic and funerary practices “close to Bear’s Tipi”, that is, perhaps within the boundaries of the monument. The ethnohistoric data on the Lakota provide the strongest and clearest association with Devils Tower and adjacent environs. The tower has been encoded in Lakota ideology, ethnoastronomy, and ethnogeography, and has been an important ritual place to them.

The ethnohistoric data are weak in many areas, particularly in describing specific tribal occupation and activities within what is now Devils Tower National Monument. More detailed oral histories and ethnohistoric studies need to be conducted in order to clarify tribal relationships with Devils Tower in the past and present. However, the ethnohistoric summary presented here does suggest that several tribes have engaged in economic and ritual practices near the tower. While the reservation era brought an end to economic practices such as winter camps and antelope drives, ritual practices have continued. For this reason, ethnographic resources for Devils Tower are framed in terms of ritual behavior, locations, and ideology.

SECTION 3

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT

This section consists of three parts. First, an overview of the tribal sacred narratives surrounding Devils Tower illustrates the importance of this feature as a significant place in Native American ideology and symbolism. As such, it underscores the ideological parameter discussed in the previous section of this report. Second, traditional activities that were associated with Devils Tower in the ethnohistoric overview are described in conjunction with their associated ethnographic resources as a means of providing data on the range of ritual activities that the National Park Service might expect to encounter at Devils Tower. This discussion underscores the behavioral parameter discussed earlier. Finally, an assessment of the ethnographic data, in terms of its value and limitations, is also presented.

Sacred Narratives

Eastern Shoshone

No sacred narratives concerning Devils Tower were found in the literature review of the Shoshone. However, during discussions with members of the Shoshone tribe during an on-site inspection in May, 1990, informants S1 and S2 noted with sincerity a Shoshone sacred association with Devils Tower. While much of this knowledge is and has been confidential and ritually controlled, further information regarding its sanctity was gathered from informants (S1, S2, and S4) during a July 3, 1991, ethnographic interview. (See Appendix B)

Crow

According to Crow belief, Devils Tower is a holy place put there by the Great Spirit for a special reason and vastly differs from all other rocks (Gunderson 1988:32). According to Crow legend, they were camped at "Bear's House" when two little girls were cornered by a large bear. Just as the bear was within reach, the two girls climbed on top of one of the rocks where they had been playing. Still not out of danger, the girls were aided by the Great Spirit who, seeing that the bear was about to catch them, caused the rock to grow out of the ground. As the rock grew, the bear left its claw marks on it as the bear tried in vain to reach the girls. The rock grew so high that the bear could not reach it. According to legend, the girls are still on top of the rock (Gunderson 1988:32).

Kiowa

Two versions of a Kiowa legends concerning the origin of Devils Tower were found in the literature review. An earlier version provided by Harrington (1939) varies substantially from one provided later by Momaday (1969). In the Harrington version the Kiowa were camped near Devils Tower. One family was off by itself gathering wild plums when the father noticed that his almost-grown daughter had been befriended by a bear, which the father subsequently killed. Later, a group of girls were playing "bear" (a form of hide-and-seek), when the sister of one of the girls turned into a bear monster (or "Mad Girl") and killed many of the other girls along with a good

proportion of the Kiowa tribe. Mad Girl made a slave of her sister, forcing her to do drudge labor and hunt. Subsequently, the girl was rescued by her six brothers, all of whom fled from Mad Girl, who pursued them. Along the way they were befriended by an old buffalo who aided in their escape. Finally, they encountered a rock that instructed them to circle it four times in a clockwise direction. Upon doing this, they stood on the rock that then began to rise just as the bear charged, leaving claw marks down the side of the rock. Seeing that they could more easily reach the sky than the earth, the six brothers and one sister ascended to the sky and became the constellation known as the Pleiades. To the Kiowas it is known as Seven Sisters (Harrington 1939:174-176).

Momaday's version differs in many essential details. According to his version, eight children were at play near Devils Tower, seven sisters and a brother (rather than six brothers and a sister as in the previous stories). The boy was suddenly struck dumb, whereupon he soon was transformed into a ferocious bear. Terrified, the sisters ran and found safety in a large tree stump (as opposed to a rock) that instructed them to climb on it. As they did, it rose into the air. As it did so the bear reared against it, scoring the bark with its claws. Safe, the seven sisters were borne into the sky where they became the stars of the Big Dipper (rather than the Pleiades) (Momaday 1969:9).

Cheyenne

To the Cheyenne *Na Kovea* or "Bears Lodge" (Devils Tower) is a holy place. During the 1930s Dick Stone collected two sacred narratives from the Northern Cheyenne. The first was related by Young Bird, who asserted that the story

was true. While encamped at Devils Tower, the wife of a warrior was seduced by, and eventually turned into, a bear. Upon discovering the indiscretion, the warrior and his companions attempted to kill the bear but were frightened by its size. The warriors climbed onto a large rock and prayed to the Great Spirit to save them. In answer to their prayers the large rock began to grow. Three times the bear futilely tried to reach the top. But on the fourth try its claws were at the top of the rock. However, the warriors, who gained courage from the Great Spirit, were able to kill the bear. After this the bear-woman made the big rock her home, and it became known as "Bear Tipi" by the Cheyenne (Gunderson 1988:39-41).

A second, longer and more detailed version of this narrative was told to Stone by Limpy. Briefly, in this version, the woman was kidnapped by the bear, and the warrior and his six brothers set out to rescue her. The youngest brother, who was a holy man, created Devils Tower from a stone held in his hand. The tower then bore the brothers and the girl high into the air. The youngest brother then killed the bear with special arrows, and with the aid of four eagles, the people were carried down to the ground (Gunderson 1988:41-49).

Arapahoe

An arapaho narrative about Devils Tower, called by the Arapaho *Woox-niii-non* or "Bear's Tipi", was told to Dick Stone by Sage during the summer of 1932. Once an Arapaho lodge was camped at Bear's Tipi. The father of this lodge was a headman who had seven children, two daughters and five sons. The two girls agreed that the one who found the largest rib of a buffalo would get the most favors from the brothers. As

one of the girls picked up a buffalo rib she turned into a bear. The bear-girl scratched the back of her sister and warned her not to tell the other children what had happened. But the sister did tell, and she and the other children were chased by the bear-girl. The bear-girl climbed to the top of a big rock and told her family that there would be seven stars in the shape of a diamond that would appear in the east. The first star to come out each night would be the brightest, and would be called "Broken Chest Star". Ever since, the Arapahoes have called this rock "Bear's Tipi" (Gunderson 1988:37-38).

Lakota

To the Lakota Devils Tower is known as *Mato Tipila* or "Bear Lodge" as well as by other names. Current narratives say that Devils Tower was, and continues to be, a sacred place of renewal. The Lakotas performed the dance of renewal, also known as the Sun Dance at this site. This important religious ceremony is performed during the summer solstice, and the nearby Belle Fourche River was known to the Lakotas as "Sun Dance River" (Black Elk 1986:207; DeMallie 1984:366; Goodman and Red Bird 1986:217).

The Lakota's most venerated or sacred object is the White Buffalo Calf Pipe, which was brought to the tribe long ago by White Buffalo Calf Woman. According to current Lakota theology, before the pipe was given to the tribe it was housed in Devils Tower. A warrior from another tribe, possibly the Cheyenne, entered the interior of the tower through a cave that resembled a tipi. On the north side of the tipi he saw the Sacred Pipe. On the south side he saw some arrows. The man picked up the arrows and left, and since that time the Cheyenne tribe has been

in possession of the Sacred Arrows (Looking Horse 1987:68; L3, personal communication 6/90; Mails 1979:255). According to Gerald Clifford, the Sacred Pipe was brought to the Lakota at Devils Tower (Clifford 1986:176-177).

In Lakota cosmology the constellation Gemini is known as "Bear Lodge" and the Lakota believe that the stars of Gemini represent the Sacred Circle or Hoop of the Sioux Nation (Gunderson 1988:xi). *Mato* ("the bear") is sacred to the Lakota, and in their creation myth *Mato* was the third child of *Maka* ("the earth"). *Mato*, the Great Bear (also known as *Hu Nump*), is one of the 16 Lakota gods and symbolizes wisdom. Current legend holds that *Hu Nump* long ago imparted the sacred language and ceremonies of healing to Lakota shamans at Devils Tower. The area is, therefore, significant because it is the birthplace of wisdom as well as a connection between the tribe and the cosmos (Black Elk 1986:207; Walker 1980:121-128).

Lakota narratives suggest that they prayed, "sweat", and fasted at Devils Tower, and occasionally left offerings (Shirl 1982; Junge 1988). White-Bull, an elderly informant for Dick Stone, made it clear, however, that the Lakota were praying to their gods, not to the formation (Shirl 1982:25). One legend states that long ago a warrior, using a buffalo skull, worshipped near the base of Devils Tower. After two days he awakened to find himself atop the tower. Being afraid, he prayed to the Great Spirit and went back to sleep. When he had awakened he was once again on the ground. The man saw a bear track nearby and cracks in the formation, and he knew that those cracks had been made by a bear. Thereafter the area was known as *Mato Tipila* (Shirl 1982:21).

Regarding the origin of Devils Tower, Lakota narratives usually involve an attacking grizzly bear, a group of frightened children, and a rock rising high into the sky. One such legend, related by Lame Deer, tells of long ago when two boys had wandered away from their band and became lost. On their fourth day away from camp they noticed that a giant bear was following them. The boys ran from the bear while praying to the Great Spirit for help. Suddenly the ground underneath them began to move and rise into the air. The giant bear, whose claws were as large as tipi poles, began to scratch the side of the rock trying to get to the boys, but failed as the formation was too slippery. Upon giving up, the bear went away. Lame Deer did not know if the boys ever got down, but surmised that if they did it must have been with the help of the eagle (Erdoes and Ortiz 1984:255-227).

In fact, in another version of this narrative the children, this time two girls, are rescued by eagles while molten lava pours down on the bears that have surrounded them (Gunderson 1988:54-55). In yet another version of the legend, more children are involved. However, in this case two girls go far into the sky and become the stars Gemini or Bear Lodge (Gunderson 1988:xi; L11 personal communication 6/90).

Traditional Activities and Devils Tower

From the ethnohistoric and ethnographic information it appears that both individuals and groups from several tribes may have conducted a number of traditional ritual activities at Devils Tower in the past. Some of these activities as documented in the following section, are continuing in the present. These ritual activities include: personal rituals such as vision quests, fasting, and praying (Crow and Lakota); possibly

burials (Arapaho and Cheyenne); and group ritual in the form of the Sun Dance (Lakota). Associated with the Sun Dance itself is a sweatlodge and a nearby campsite for the participants and their families. Although not stated, it is likely that sweatlodges constitute an important part of some personal rituals as well. Sweatlodge activity that appears to be personal in nature occurs at nearby Bear Butte.

Personal Rituals

These ritual activities include vision quests, fasting and praying rites, and sweatlodge rites. Locations where rites could be conducted in solitude and isolation would constitute an ethnographic resource. During discussions with knowledgeable members of the Shoshone and Crow tribes, the importance of privacy and solitude was emphasized (S1, S2; Joe Medicine Crow, personal communication 5/90). Rock ledges, shelters, outcrops, cairns or other formations often are the focal point of personal ritual activity, and, accordingly, constitute potential ethnographic resources. According to Stone's Crow informant, Kills-Coming-to-the-Birds, the Crow in the past built "dream houses" (vision quest sites) of stone at Devils Tower. Currently, the Crow interpret some secluded rock cairns as vision quest sites (Joe Medicine Crow, personal communication 5/90). For sweatlodges, materials of importance would include saplings (preferably willow) for the construction of the lodge and a supply of heatable rocks for the pit.

Group Rituals

For the Sun Dance, an important ethnographic resource would consist of an open area for the construction of the Sun Dance lodge and associated activities. Plant resources necessary

for the ceremony include cottonwood trees, chokecherry, pine boughs, and sage (Brown 1971:67-100; L2, L3, L10, personal communication 6/90).

Ethnographic Assessment

The foregoing discussions provide useful data on both the ideological importance of Devils Tower to some of the Northern Plains tribes and some of the traditional ritual activities that these tribes may have performed there. However, significant gaps in the traditional data on several levels create problems for the assessment of current Native American ritual activity within Devils Tower National Monument. First, on the intratribal level, more data are needed on individual, family, or band variation in traditional ritual practices in order to render a more accurate and detailed record of traditional cultural patterns that National Park Service personnel otherwise would not recognize. Second, on the tribal level, the data on the Shoshone relationship to Devils Tower are poor at best. The literature search produced no docu-

mentation of Shoshone beliefs about, or ritual practices within, Devils Tower. Third, in terms of the overall ethnographic data presented, much of the descriptions of traditional ritual activity at Devils Tower came from a single source, Stone's interviews during the early 1930s. This is problematical because no sources were located that could corroborate Stone's information. Another problem with Stone's data is that specific locations or details about ritual activity within the monument were not collected (perhaps because those who rendered their stories were not at liberty to divulge much more than superficial details, or perhaps because they could not remember them).

The net result of the above is that, given the present state of the data collected, accounts of traditional ritual activity within Devils Tower National Monument are somewhat vague and imprecise and, therefore, in need of improvement. However, it is clear that Native Americans are currently engaging in personal and group ritual activity within Devils Tower National Monument.

SECTION 4

CURRENT ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES

During May and June of 1990, on-site inspection and ethnographic fieldwork documented six Native American ritual use areas within Devils Tower National Monument (See Figure 2). These ritual use areas were defined by the presence of material remains (cloth, tobacco, Sun Dance remnants, sweat lodge areas and associated rock piles). These ritual areas reflect both personal and group activity. Personal ritual sites included: (1) a prayer bundle site (Figure 2, Location C) located west/northwest of the tower; (2) two prayer cloth sites (Location D) in two separate locations due east of the tower; and (3) a small offering site along the edge of the paved road directly east of the tower. Group ritual areas included: (1) Sun Dance grounds due northwest of the tower with a nearby ravine containing remnants of previously held Sun Dances; and (2) a Sun Dance-associated encampment across the Belle Fourche River due east of the tower.

Tribal affiliation with respect to these ritual use areas can be identified with certainty for the Sun Dance-associated sites as well as for the prayer bundle east of the tower (C). These sites reflect personal and group rituals and ceremonies of the Lakota. Given current data, tribal identification of the remaining personal ritual use areas with one exception cannot be made. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the Lakota rituals and associated ethnographic resources, followed by a discussion of the more problematical ritual sites whose tribal affiliation cannot as yet be determined.

Lakota Ritual and Devils Tower: Current Use

Lakota spiritual beliefs revolve around those things in the cosmos that are *wakan* or sacred, and to the Lakota, Devils Tower or *Mato Tipi* is just such a place.

Traditional Lakota worship can stem from either individual or group needs, and sacred ceremonies may be performed either individually or collectively depending on the situation (Powers 1977:129). At Devils Tower evidence indicates that both individual and group rites have occurred, including prayer offerings, the *inipi* or sweat lodge, and the highly ritualistic Sun Dance.

Offerings by individuals may be of cloth, tobacco, or even bits of flesh, and represent prayers (and vows) to *Wakan Tanka* or other Lakota gods and spirit helpers. Offerings are given on behalf of those individuals or for the group, the entire tribe, or even the nation. Health, welfare, and personal direction are but a few of the things for which they pray.

The prayer bundle located due east of the village is almost certainly a Lakota tobacco bundle, although it is not now located in its original place of offering. This bundle, which consists of approximately 400 small pouches of tobacco wrapped in square pieces of red "bandanna" cloth bound and tied individually onto one long string, was brought in to National Park Service personnel by a tourist in March of 1990. Through con-

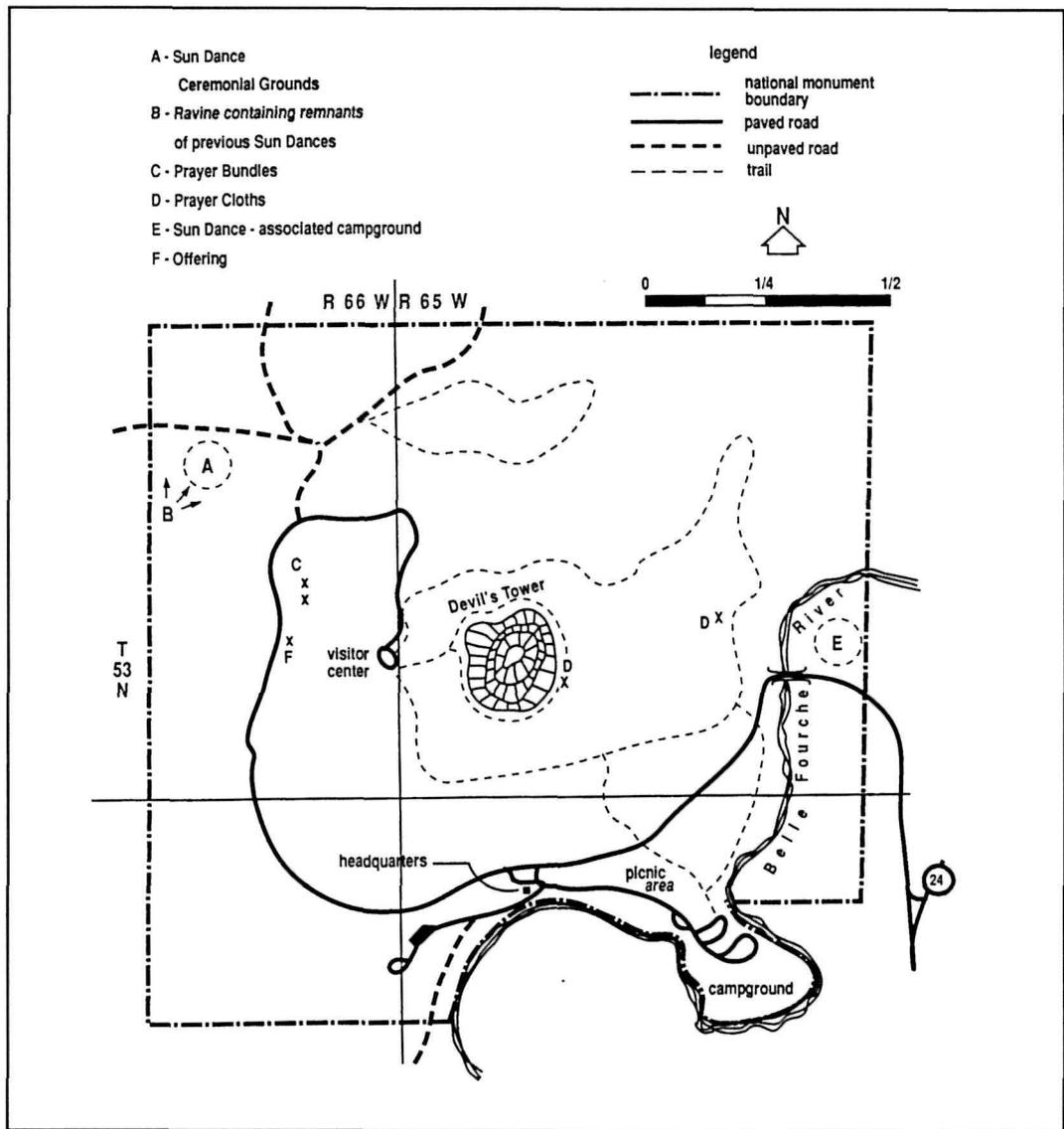


Figure 2: Devils Tower National Monument Ritual Use Areas, General Locations

tacts with members of the Lakota community National Park Service personnel were instructed to take the offering to a secluded spot west of the tower and hang it from a tree. This accounts for the bundle's present location.

Tobacco bundles are associated with sweat lodge activities and prayer undertaken by

individuals (Brown 1971:48-51; Powers 1977: 90-100; L3, L6, personal communication). Because of its size, however, the tobacco bundle found at Devils Tower is thought to be a set of offerings associated with the Lakota *Yuwipi* or healing ceremony. These ceremonies are conducted by a *Yuwipi* shaman who has received power from personal worship, vision quests,

dreams and purification rites. *Yuwipi* rituals vary from shaman to shaman, but there is always an altar constructed within a square space delineated by four to seven containers of sacred objects. Encircling the containers of sacred objects, altar, and ritual space are long strands of *canli wapahte* or tobacco bundles. Usually the median number of strands tends to be 400 (about the same number as that found at Devils Tower). The strands are made for the shaman's helper spirits (Lewis 1990:71-85; Powers 1977:148-153).

It is, therefore, suggested here that the tobacco bundle at the tower is a Lakota *Yuwipi* bundle offering, which was placed at Devils Tower after a healing ceremony had been performed, most likely at a different location. It should also be noted that, subsequent to the 1990 Sun Dance ceremony, at least one of the pouches had been cut from the larger bundle strand and placed on a rock ledge to the southwest of the bundle.

Group ritual sites at Devils Tower include the sweat lodge and Sun Dance sites for 1990 and previous years, located in the same general area northwest of the tower (Figure 2, Location A). A third related group ritual site is located off monument grounds, northeast of the tower where the sacred cottonwood tree (*Populus sargentii*) was cut for the Sun Dance ceremony. Finally, the Lakota campground for the 1990 Sun Dance was located east of the tower on the east bank of the Belle Fourche (Figure 2, Location E). This camping location was a vital part of the Sun Dance since this is where participants and their families ate, slept, and prepared for the ceremony. As such, this location also constitutes an important ethnographic resource.

To the Lakotas the Sun Dance is a communal, religious ceremony whereby individuals

pray and worship through fasting and self-sacrifice. By these methods it is thought that not only the individual, but also the group as a whole, is renewed and at the same time symbolically joined with the universe (Amiotte 1987:89; Black Elk 1986:207; Dugan 1985:112-113).

Because the Sun Dance is a religious ceremony, the Lakotas at Devils Tower do not charge, and never have charged, for attendance. It is expected, however, that one voluntarily help whenever possible (attending the fires, caring for children, cooking, going for supplies), thereby "gifting" the camp as well as showing support for the dancers (L3, L6, L10).

Since 1984, the Sun Dance at Devils Tower has been sponsored by Charlotte Black Elk and Gerald Clifford, at great expense. They act as the Lakota liaisons with National Park Service personnel, arranging for camping and special use permits and any other requirements. They arrange locker space nearby for the buffalo meat brought from Pine Ridge and secure permission from area ranchers to cut the sacred cottonwood tree for the ceremony. Most of the resources used for this traditional ceremony are brought in from Pine Ridge, including the willows (*Salix* sp.) for the sweat lodge, the fresh pine boughs (*Pinus murrayana*) for the Sun Dance arbor, chokecherry branches (*Prunus virginianus*) that are affixed to the cottonwood center pole, sweetgrass (*Savastana odorata*), and the tipi and Sun Dance lodge poles. Many of the rocks used in the sweatlodge ceremony consist of the igneous-formed phonolite porphyry, which makes up the columnar structure of the tower. However, one Lakota informant suggested that historically the rocks were brought in from Inyan Kara, approximately 40 miles south of the monument (L2). Other resources that come from within the park

are sage (*Artemisia indoviciiana*) used in the making of head and wrist garlands for the dancers, and cedar needles (*Juniperus virginiana*) for use as an aromatic.

**Personal Ritual Use Areas:
Tribal Identity Uncertain**

As previously stated, several prayer cloths and offerings were located within the monument. Tribal identification of these cloth offerings cannot be made with certainty at this time. However, one red prayer cloth, approximately 6 inches in length, was found tied to a cedar tree just east/southeast of the tower. (See D, Figure 2). The offering was fairly well concealed from observation from the footpath. While National Park Service staff did not see who left the offering, one Lakota informant stated that the offering was probably Lakota (L2). While this is certainly possible, the possibility of the prayer cloth being Shoshone, Crow, Cheyenne or Arapaho cannot be excluded at this time (although Shoshone informants S1 and S2 did not think that the prayer cloth was of Shoshone origin).

A white prayer cloth was found by National Park Service personnel shortly after the Lakota Sun Dance had been held in June, 1990. This offering was also east of the monument and not far from the Lakota campground (See D and E, Figure 2). Circumstantial evidence points to a Lakota origin for this offering.

A very small offering, what appeared to be a tiny packet of sage, was tied to a tree branch just off the edge of the paved road west of the tower. Tribal identification of this offering is unknown at this time.

Summary

This section of the report has documented two categories of current Native American ritual activity that occur at Devils Tower National Monument: personal rituals and group rituals. In order to be performed, each of these ritual categories involves the use of various ethnographic resources. The personal ritual sites, with one exception, occur in relatively secluded settings where rites can be conducted in private. Thus, in terms of Native American ritual, secluded locations (e.g., ritual space) are ethnographic resources. For the Lakota group rituals, the Sun Dance grounds constitute an ethnographic resource as ritual space. Another location necessary for the ceremony is the area for the Lakota campground. In addition to locations, other ethnographic resources documented here include several species of plants such as sage, cottonwood, willow, pine, chokecherry and cedar. Another important ethnographic resource is the phonolite porphyry of the tower itself, used as a source of rocks to be heated in the Lakota sweatlodges. Currently, the only resources that come from the monument are the heating rocks, sage, cedar, and ritual locations.

SECTION 5

EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

This brief section consists of four parts:

1. An evaluation of study findings and methodology in terms of the adequacy of the data;
2. A consideration of additional study needs;
3. A discussion of the concerns of Native Americans regarding their relationship to Devils Tower National Monument; and
4. And recommendations concerning management approaches to these concerns and other ethnographic issues.

The research design (see Section 1) outlined four study parameters that encompass the dimensions of data required for an ethnographic assessment and overview of Devils Tower. These were described as historical, geographical, ideological, and behavioral parameters. These parameters were then articulated with the related but methodologically distinct perspectives of ethnohistory and ethnography. While some overlap was expected, the findings generally demonstrate that the historical and geographic parameters coincided with the ethnohistoric perspective, while the ideological and behavioral parameters coincided with the ethnographic perspective.

The ethnohistoric overview showed that, historically and geographically, at least six Plains Indian tribes (Eastern Shoshone, Crow, Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Lakota) were in a posi-

tion to become familiar with Devils Tower and its immediate environs. The positive aspects to these data are that they provide fairly accurate chronological control on tribal territory and migration patterns. They also demonstrate that tribal territories, especially an area as large as the Black Hills or Powder River basin, were overlapping rather than mutually exclusive in many cases. Thus, there is no necessary contradiction in the data when they show that, at one time, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota all recognized the area of northeastern Wyoming as part of their homeland. The major weakness of the ethnohistoric data is their rather general and imprecise quality. While it is generally the case that these data improve from the earliest to the most recent references, they are nevertheless weak in specifically documenting tribal occupation or use within the area now bounded by the park. This especially characterizes the Shoshone and Kiowa data. Also problematical are the Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho data, since activities described at the tower for these tribes all come from a single original source (Dick Stone's interviews) or from derived sources. Corroboration of this source would greatly strengthen its validity. For the Lakota, while it is clear that since the 1800s they were the most prominent tribe in the general vicinity of the Black Hills, contemporaneous sources have not verified the assertion that the Sun Dance was traditionally held at Devils Tower.

The ethnographic data demonstrated that five of the six tribes encoded Devils Tower into their ideology in the form of legends explaining

the origins of the tower. Eastern Shoshone informants said that, although their tribe has a strong traditional association with Devils Tower, they are a tribe that “does not wish to be known” and are very guarded concerning Devils Tower and other religious matters. They have provided what they firmly believe is documentation in various rock art designs (Appendix B) that represents Devils Tower and encodes its legend.

Also encoded are beliefs about the final resting place of culture heroes or powerful figures (Cheyenne), or beliefs about the genesis of sacred religious objects (Lakota and the Sacred Pipe). To all these tribes, Devils Tower was, and is, a sacred place.

The ethnographic data were instrumental in documenting a range of traditional activities (behavioral parameter) that may have been performed in what now constitutes the monument. These included winter camps, hunting activities, vision quests, prayer offerings, sweatlodge rites, Sun Dances, and burials. Currently, traditional activities within the monument include personal and group ritual activity: prayer offerings; prayer bundles; sweatlodge rites; and the Sun Dance. Most of this ritual activity appears to be Lakota-related, however, the data are weak in determining for certain the tribal affiliation of some activity. Most of the ethnographic resources used by the Lakota are brought in by them, at their own expense. However, one very important, if not the most important, resource that is park-related is the ritual space of the Sun Dance grounds. For personal rituals, as well, ritual space (in this case preferably private areas or areas not easily observed) is an important ethnographic resource.

Additional Study Needs

The question of additional research can be framed within the four study parameters previously discussed.

Historical and Geographical Parameters

1. More in-depth ethnohistorical research needs to be conducted in order to specifically place tribal activity within the boundaries of the monument. This might best be pursued through systematic research of local, regional, and national archives for documents dating from the nineteenth century to the present.

2. Also needed is oral history research among the Lakota, Northern Cheyenne, Northern Arapaho, Crow, and Eastern Shoshone tribes concerning traditional activities within Devils Tower National Monument during the recent past (i.e., within the lifetime of tribal elders). This would provide a more solid anchor to the ethnohistoric component in the analysis of traditional use questions.

Behavioral and Ideological Parameters

1. Additional research needs to be conducted on the Shoshone relationship to Devils Tower. Interviews conducted with members of this tribe during on-site inspection indicate that such a relationship exists. Further information was obtained during a meeting on July 3, 1991. However, these individuals were bound not to reveal substantial information about Devils Tower at that time. If the tribe were willing, oral history and ethnographic field studies would greatly improve the available information concerning the current Shoshone relationship to Devils Tower.

2. Traditional use studies of personal rituals such as prayer offerings and vision questing are needed in order to document individual, group (family, band, or clan), or tribal variation in procedures, resources used, and offerings left. Information derived from ethnographic field studies would help the monument staff in identifying tribal affiliation for offerings left in the monument, and providing them contacts in case these offerings were removed or disrupted in any way.

3. A study should also be conducted, specifically dealing with the conflict between the nature and location of what are apparently Lakota personal ritual activities and visitor sensitivity education. Such a study would include survey and mapping of personal ritual locations, and collecting cultural information that can be used in the monument's public education program

Native American Concerns at Devils Tower

During the course of this project, discussions with Native Americans and Native American organizations, such as the Medicine Wheel Coalition for Sacred Sites of North America and the Medicine Wheel Alliance, raised a number of concerns from the Native American perspective. Many of these concerns revolved around the following subjects: the display of possible sacred materials at the Devils Tower Visitor's Center; climbing on the tower; the violation of privacy and the intrusion into ritual space; the removal of offerings by visitors to the monument; the Sun Dance; and the name "Devils Tower".

First, there was some concern, particularly by the Shoshones interviewed, that several of the items displayed at the Visitor's Center are

possibly objectionable (S1, S2, S3). These items included a doll, a Cheyenne beaded lizard, beaded eagle feathers, and a beaded eagle feather fan. With the assistance of NPS staff at the monument and the Principal Investigator of this project, documentation on these objects has been forwarded to the Shoshone who are currently researching these objects. The superintendent of Devils Tower has stated that, if the Native American consensus supports the removal of the objects, then he will abide by this request.

There was also concern voiced, particularly by the Shoshone, about the climbing activity taking place on the tower. For them, this place is a major center of power and climbing on it is not only sacrilegious, but also dangerous to those who do not "respect" it (S1, S2). They felt that to protect climbers from any adverse effects, climbing should be prohibited.

Several individuals voiced concern over other park users' possible transgression of the ritual space of Native American users. They particularly expressed concern over personal ritual use areas where vision quests or prayer offerings occur, and where isolation and privacy are demanded for the proper employment of the rites. Bill Tall Bull, of the Northern Cheyenne, urged for more ethnographic work so that Native Americans and the general public might be able to conduct themselves more appropriately within the monument. He felt that lack of knowledge about these sites increased the risk of desecration. National Park Service staff at Devils Tower and elsewhere are aware of potential conflicting use over space and recognize the importance of making informed decisions on the use of such space. However, merely because ritual space areas are recognized and used by some Native Americans

but are unknown to other Native Americans, non-Indian park users, and National Park Service staff, will not lessen the potential for use conflict. On the other hand, as several Native Americans from different tribes pointed out, personal vision or prayer stations are determined through spontaneous interaction with spiritual powers. They, in essence, are led to these places, so that assigning designated places for Native American worship might be considered inappropriate.

A concern related to the violation of ritual space is the removal of offerings left at these ritual sites. This, again, is tied to the culturally different perceptions of the environment in national parks in general and Devils Tower in particular. The general consensus among the Native Americans consulted was that these offerings should be left in place and subjected to the natural elements. Their removal violates their religious beliefs and practices. Conversely, Park Service staff are entrusted with the responsibility of preserving park habitats and keeping them relatively pristine and free of contemporary material remains. Non-Indian park users often wish to help in this endeavor by picking up and bringing in such remains. At Devils Tower this problem arose when a prayer bundle (which in the previous section was associated with the Lakota *Yuwipi* ceremony) was brought in to the staff by a park visitor. Several Native Americans consulted were concerned about this. However, by contacting the appropriate Native Americans, the staff at Devils Tower were able to mitigate the problem by relocating the bundle in a culturally appropriate manner.

Another area of concern specifically relates to the Lakota Sun Dance. At the outset, it should be pointed out that the current superintendent at Devils Tower and the current sponsors of the Sun Dance have a very good working rela-

tionship concerning providing access and other accommodations within National Park Service guidelines and policies. Still, concerns were raised by one of the sponsors (L2). One problem pertained to the development of a policy of cooperation regarding access to the Sun Dance grounds and the closure of the west access road during the Sun Dance. Visitors to the monument have, on occasion, knowingly or unknowingly, wandered into the area of the Sun Dance, disturbing the participants, photographing the ceremony, or in other ways violating Lakota etiquette. It was felt that, at present, cooperation by the current staff was discretionary and might not last past the current administration at the monument. According to the Devils Tower National Monument Statement for Management for 1989, while general management objectives included the protection of cultural resources on a year-round basis, there were no specific management statements regarding the protection of culturally sensitive places or provisions for access to Native American ritual sites/resources. One of the Lakota Sun Dance sponsors (L2) stated that the dance location was sacred and should be protected, even if the ceremony is temporarily moved to another location.

Other concerns pertaining to the Sun Dance included requests to set up two latrines near the ceremonial area since all dancers, both male and female, must remain on the ceremonial grounds for the duration of the ceremony. Also, the current sponsors wanted it known that after they discontinue their sponsorship, the ceremony will continue at the same location. There are no plans to move it to any other place.

Some of the Lakotas requested that fallen trees and brush, which might be cleared from areas within the monument, be piled at the Lakota

campground. A consensus was not reached on this issue. Many asked that a large open fire be allowed near the camp so that children could warm themselves after swimming. Some wanted to be allowed to construct a pine arbor near the cooking area for shade. Several women recommended digging a large cooking pit (5' by 3' with a metal grate). They thought that the smaller metal grates now in use were hard to cook on and were a danger to the children (one of whom stepped on a coal that had fallen out of the grate). Many Lakota campers would like to construct a sweatlodge in the Lakota campground, a request to which the current superintendent has agreed. Some requested portable showers, stating that the showers used at the nearby KOA were too expensive. A request was also made to install a locker at or near the monument to store buffalo meat for the ceremony, since trips to Sundance, Wyoming, where the locker is now located, can be relatively expensive.

Lastly, several of the Native Americans interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with the name "Devils Tower". They felt that it conveyed an inaccurate and ethnocentric image of how Native American tribes viewed the tower. They consider "Bear Lodge," or some other name, more appropriate for the monument.

Management Recommendations

As part of NPS established policy, issues regarding protection and management of Native American access and use of ethnographic resources at Devils Tower must continue to include cooperative dialogue between park staff and representatives of the respective tribes involved (NPS-28,1985:Appendix B:9); NPS Management Policies 1988:Chapter 8:8). Therefore, the

following recommendations are made specifically for National Park Service consideration. It should be emphasized that these recommendations should not be interpreted as requirements or action items.

1. Devils Tower should be considered for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places as a sacred site and ethnographic resource for Native Americans. This landform is central to the religious beliefs and practices of tribes considered in this report.

2. Since Devils Tower is clearly a sacred site for many tribes, it is recommended that the National Park Service prohibit people from climbing on it.

3. Subject to consideration and approval by the Lakota, the National Park Service might consider nomination of the Sun Dance grounds at Devils Tower to the National Register of Historic Places. National Register nomination could help to insure the protection of this area for continuation of this very important and sacred Lakota ceremony. This or other policies directed toward preserving this location for Lakota use is consistent with established NPS management guidelines for addressing access to, and physical protection of, ethnographic resources and locations (NPS-28,1985: 2,4).

4. If requested by the Lakota, park staff should allow them to cut the cottonwood center pole for the Sun Dance from monument property, if upon written determination such activity would not adversely affect monument resources (NPS Management Policies 1988:Chapter 8:15).

5. Given the problems of locating and identifying personal ritual activity areas, park staff should encourage visitors not to remove or in

other ways disturb prayer bundles or other offerings. This could be accomplished through an educational program at the Visitor's Center or through an interpretive program on the cultural value of Devils Tower from the Native American perspective. On the other hand, Native Americans might consider placing their offerings away from heavily used areas if this would be consistent with their personal religious beliefs and practices. Park staff and Native Americans should continue to work together on the nature, extent, and placing of offerings *within the monument*.

6. Specific management objectives concerning the preservation, protection, and utilization of

ethnographic resources within Devils Tower National Monument should be included in future management statements and plans. This will provide an institutional framework for relations between National Park Service staff and Native Americans that at present is mostly discretionary.

7. Subject to the will and consent of the tribes involved, the National Park Service should consider renaming Devils Tower, giving it a name (proposed by the tribes) that is more ethnographically appropriate. Native Americans coming to the tower do not worship anything remotely resembling the Devil. The name Devils Tower is an ethnographic misnomer and a negative epithet to many American Indian people.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Annotated Bibliography

The following annotated bibliography contains a brief description of the content of the sources used in this report. It also contains an evaluation of the sources in terms of whether they are primary, secondary, original, or derived sources. These source types are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, a source might be a primary source as well as an original source, or a secondary source and a derived source. The intent is to classify the sources for reader awareness and future use. Source codes are listed in parentheses at the end of each entry.

Source Key:

1=Primary

2=Secondary

3=Original

4=Derived

5=Not Applicable

Amiotte, A.

1987 The Lakota Sun Dance: Historical and Contemporary Perspective in *Sioux Indian Religion*. R.J. DeMallie and D.R. Parks, eds. Pp. 75-89. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

One of several works examining Dakota Indian religion. This work discusses the various influences on traditional Sioux beliefs and practices, and their evolution through time. With regard to the Sun Dance, Amiotte's work is, as the title suggests, an examination of the historic and contemporary Lakota Sun Dance. Amiotte suggests that, even though the modern ceremony has undergone change, the basic ritual retains its historic, sacred character. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Axtell, J.

1979 Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint. *Ethnohistory* 26:1-13.

Axtell's article focuses on the nature of ethnohistory, from an historian's point of view. According to Axtell, while ethnohistory is a "disciplinary hybrid" (of history and anthropology), the discipline has been dominated far too long by anthropologists. He suggests more cooperation between the two fields, and greater recognition of historical research by anthropologists. (5)

Allen, J.L.

- 1987 Patterns of Promise: Mapping the Plains and Prairies. In *Mapping the North American Plains*. F.C. Luebke, F.W. Kaye, and G.E. Moulton, eds. Pp. 41-62. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This work presents explorers' maps (with text by Allen) pertaining to early- and mid-nineteenth-century mapping (1800-1860) of the west. Ethnohistoric material. (1, 2, 3)

Bahr, D.M.

- 1971 Who were the Hohokam?: Evidence from Pima-Papago Myths. *Ethnohistory* 18:245-66.

Bahr offers an exercise in the method of trying to address a problem in prehistory using historic myths. (5)

Bird Horse, R.

- 1986 Prepared Statement of Reginald Bird Horse. In *Hearings on the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act*. Pp. 227-234. Washington D.C.: GPO.

A member of the Hunkpapa tribe of the Lakota, Reginald Bird Horse spoke on behalf of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Treaty Council, in support of the Bradley bill (S. 1453) which seeks return of 1.3 million acres of land ceded to the federal government in 1877. Mr. Bird Horse provided historical information regarding all Sioux tribes involved in the dispute, as well as information regarding their claims of aboriginal occupation and the sanctity of the Black Hills region. Regarding the information found within this prepared statement, the Sioux Nation Treaty Council and the Black Hills Steering Committee do differ on various points of the bill, including acreage to be returned. (1, 3)

Black Elk, C.

- 1986 Black Hills Steering Committee "Respect for the Earth." In *Hearings on the Sioux National Black Hills Act*. Pp. 205-210. Washington, D.C.: GPO.

This work provides an overview of current myths and legends pertaining to Lakota genesis, and their relationship to the earth, specifically the Black Hills region. The material covers specific areas of the Black Hills and associated Lakota place names (household, formal and sacred), which [Ms. Black Elk claims] is evidence of aboriginal knowledge and, therefore, the sanctity of the region. Specifically, this information applies to Section 12 of the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Blish, H. and Amos Bad Heart Bull

- 1967 *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

This work is a pictographic, historical record of the years 1890-1913, by Amos Bad Heart Bull, Oglala Sioux. Helen Blish wrote the accompanying text, (originally her M.A. thesis at

the University of Nebraska), with an introduction by Mari Sandoz. The book contains a topographical sketch of the Black Hills area, including Devils Tower, as Bad Heart Bull knew it. Ethnographic/ethnohistoric work. (1, 3)

Bowers, A.

1965 Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 194. Washington D.C.

Bowers' work is a classic ethnographic report on this tribe, with a heavy emphasis on Hidatsa cultural history, kinship and ceremonial organization. (1, 3)

Bray, E.C., and M. Bray, eds.

1976 *Joseph Nicollet on the Plains and Prairies*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

This compilation presents an edited version of all notes, journals and letters, regarding the Sioux, written during Nicollet's expedition of 1838-1839. This material is quite probably the earliest (published) ethnographic work, regarding the Lakota. Ethnographic/ethnohistoric work. (1, 2, 3)

Brown, J.E.

1971 *The Sacred Pipe*. Baltimore: Penguin.

First published in 1953, this work is a detailed description of the seven sacred rites of the Oglala Sioux, told to Brown by the Lakota Holy Man, Nicholas Black Elk. The book gives the reader a fundamental understanding of Lakota ritual practices and related aspects. Ethnographic work. (1, 2)

Carmack, R.M.

1972 Ethnohistory: A Review of its Development, Definitions, Methods and Aims. *Annual Review of Anthropology*.

This work provides an overview of the field of ethnohistory. (5)

Cassells, S.E., D.B. Miller, and P.V. Miller

1984 *Paha Sapa: A Cultural Resource Overview of the Black Hills National Forest*, South Dakota and Wyoming. Custer, South Dakota: USDA Forest Service.

This report pertaining to Native American use (historic and contemporary) of the Black Hills region includes information on those areas of the region that various Native American tribes perceive as sacred, and management recommendations regarding said areas. While a few popular Native American myths of Devils Tower appear in this report, additional information regarding aboriginal sanctity of the area is lacking. Ethnographic work. (1, 3, 4)

Clifford, G.M.

- 1986 Prepared Statement of Gerald Clifford. In *Hearings on the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act*. Pp. 166-184. Washington D.C.: GPO.

Gerald Clifford, coordinator of the Black Hills Steering Committee, presented this testimony to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. Information found in his statement includes the purpose of the Steering Committee, (e.g., to regain the ceded lands of 1877); additional information regarding each section and subsection of S. 1453; and the current underlying Lakota philosophical, ideological, and theological principles held regarding the Black Hills region. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Crespi, M.

- 1987a Ethnography and the NPS: A Growing Partnership. *CRM Bulletin* 10(1):1-4.

Crespi provides a good, brief description of the purpose and application of ethnography within the policy mandates of the NPS, especially concerning the relationship between the NPS and cultural user groups. (5)

- 1987b Inventorying Ethnographic Resources Servicewide. *CRM Bulletin* 10(4):3-5.

Crespi concisely defines “ethnographic resource” for NPS cultural anthropological projects. (5)

Curtis, E.S.

- 1908 *The North American Indian*. Vol. 3. Edited by F.W. Hodge. New York: Johnson Reprint Co.

Curtis supplies information regarding Sioux history and culture of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Ethnographic work. (1, 3, 4)

Day, G.M.

- 1972 Oral Tradition as Complement. *Ethnohistory* 19:99-108.

Day’s article presents an exercise in ethnohistoric method wherein Day uses Native American oral tradition to interpret an eighteenth-century military encounter. Ethnohistoric work. (1, 2, 3, 4)

DeMallie, R.J., ed.

- 1984 *The Sixth Grandfather*. Black Elk’s Teachings Given to John G. Niehardt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, this work contains all notes taken by John Niehardt during interviews with the Oglala Holy Man, Black Elk. This work tells of Lakota life during the

mid- to late-nineteenth century, primarily with regards to Black Elk and the band to which he belonged. While not mentioning Devils Tower specifically, it should be noted that other Oglala informants (friends of Black Elk, also interviewed at this time by Niehardt) stated that this band preferred to hunt and camp in the northwestern region of the Black Hills. Ethnographic work. (1, 2, 3)

Denig, E.T.

1961 *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*. J.C. Ewers, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Written by Edwin Thompson Denig, an American Fur Company trader, this book details the culture of the Sioux, Arikaras, Assiniboines, Cree and Crow Native Americans from 1833-1855. Although written almost 20 years after Denig came into contact with these tribes, the book does contain valuable information on the Saone Lakota division (e.g., Hunkpapa, Sans Arc and Blackfoot), tribes with whom Denig traded during the years, 1833-1836. Ethnohistoric work (Re: Lakota). (1, 2, 3)

Dugan, K.M.

1985 *The Vision Quest of the Plains Indians*. Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press.

First published in 1977 as her doctoral dissertation, this work examines Native American (primarily Cheyenne and Lakota) vision quests and various associated rituals. Ethnographic work. (1, 3, 4)

Ehrenberg, R.E.

1987a Exploratory Mapping of the Great Plains Before 1800. In *Mapping the North American Plains*. Pp. 3-26. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

1987b A Catalog of the Exhibition. In *Mapping the North American Plains*. F.C. Luebke, F.W. Kaye and G.E. Moulton, eds. Pp. 173-230. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This material (with accompanying text by Ehrenberg), is a compilation of maps of the Great Plains drawn prior to 1800. Ethnohistoric material. (1, 2, 3)

Erdoes, R. and A. Ortiz, eds.

1984 *American Indian Myths and Legends*. New York: Pantheon Books.

This book is about Native American myths and legends, and includes several Lakota myths and legends regarding Devils Tower. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Frison, G.C.

1971 Shoshonean Antelope Procurement in the Upper Green River Basin, Wyoming. *Plains Anthropologist* 16:258-284.

Frison uses archaeological evidence, mainly pottery, to suggest Shoshonean occupation of a prehistoric site in southwestern Wyoming. Archaeological report. (1, 3)

1976 Crow Pottery in Northern Wyoming. *Plains Anthropologist* 21:26-44.

This work provides an archaeological assessment of the presence of “Crow” pottery during the later prehistoric period in northern Wyoming. Archaeological report. (1, 3)

1978 Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains. New York: Academic Press.

Frison synthesizes the archaeological knowledge of prehistoric groups in the northwestern Plains. This book reviews a combination of artifactual remains, animal ecology, and geology to reconstruct lifeways of Native American big-game hunting. (1, 2, 3, 4)

Goodman, R. and S. Red Bird

1986 Lakota Star Knowledge and the Black Hills. In *Hearings on the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act*. Pp. 215-218. Washington D.C.: GPO.

Presented in September 1983, at the First International Ethnoastronomy Conference in Washington D.C., (sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution), the information contained in this document supports current Lakota claims of the ancient occupation and sanctity of the Black Hills region. Said evidence is derived from Lakota ethnoastronomy and oral legends. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Gottschalk, L.

1950 Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method. New York: Alfred Knopf.

A relatively outdated, but still useful book on the basics of how to conduct historical research, this work contains good sections on primary and secondary sources and historical criticism. (5)

Grinnell, G.B.

1956 The Fighting Cheyennes. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This is a well-known and important source on Cheyenne history and culture during the latter part of the nineteenth century. It contains some good primary oral accounts of Northern Cheyenne camps during the 1870s. Ethnographic/ethnohistoric work. (1, 2, 3, 4)

Gunderson, M.A.

1988 *Devils Tower. Stories in Stone.* Glendo, Wyoming: High Plains Press.

This work, including a foreword by Raymond J. DeMallie, outlines the geology of the monument and details its early exploration. Secondary source information pertaining to Native American tribes with past associations to the area is included. Ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

Gussow, Z., L.R. Hafen and A.A. Ekirch, Jr.

1974 *Arapaho-Cheyenne Indians.* New York: Garland.

This ethnohistoric report on these tribes, conducted for the Indian Claims Commission, contains good primary and secondary material on Arapaho and Cheyenne territorial movements during the nineteenth century. Ethnohistoric work. (1, 2, 3, 4)

Hanson, J.R.

1979 Ethnohistoric Problems in the Crow-Hidatsa Separation. *Archaeology in Montana.* 20:73-86.

This article proposes dates for the separation of the various Crow bands from the agricultural Hidatsa on the Missouri River. The dates of 1675 for the separation of the Mountain Crow, about 1725 for the separation of the Mountain Crow, and about 1725 for the separation of the River Crow are based on a reappraisal of pertinent historic sources. Ethnohistoric work (2, 4)

1983 Ethnohistoric Notes on the Fate of a Mandan War Party in 1836. *North Dakota History* 50:11-15.

Independent sources, including Mandan winter counts and fur trade-era journal entries and letters, are used to verify a regionally well-known battle between the Yanktonai Sioux and the Mandan. Ethnohistorical work. (2, 4)

Harrington, J.P.

1939 Kiowa Memories of the Northland. In *So Live the Works of Men.* D.D. Brand and F.E. Harvey, eds. Pp. 162-176. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This article is a discussion of Kiowa legends and myths concerning an ancient existence to the north of their present Oklahoma location. Harrington recorded a legend concerning Devils Tower that differs in some respects from the one popularized in Momaday's *Way to Rainy Mountain.* Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Henning, E.R.P.

- 1982 Western Dakota Winter Counts: An Analysis of the Effects of Westward Migration and Culture Change. *Plains Anthropologist* 27:57-66.
Henning uses Lakota winter count entries of encounters with enemy tribes to document a westward migration. Ethnohistorical work. (2, 4)

Hultkranz, A.

- 1974 The Shoshones in the Rocky Mountain Area. In *Shoshone Indians*. New York: Garland.

This report on the historical locations of the Shoshone, conducted for the Indians Claim Commission cases, presents an excellent summary of information. Ethnohistorical work. (2, 4)

Hurt, W.R.

- 1974 *Dakota Sioux Indians*. New York: Garland.

This material was presented before the Indian Claims Commission regarding Sioux lands ceded to the federal government in 1877. The report details not only archaeological data, historic journals, narratives and maps of trappers and explorers, but various Dakota winter counts as well, all pertaining to the region in question. Ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

Hyde, G.E.

- 1976 *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This work examines the history of the Oglala Sioux tribe, from the proto-historic period through the nineteenth century. Ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

Junge, M.

- 1988 *Inyan Kara Mountain*. In *Wyoming: A Guide to Historic Sites*. Casper: House of Printing.

Written for the Wyoming Recreation Commission, this is a brief paragraph of selected information regarding Inyan Kara Mountain of northeastern Wyoming. Reference is made concerning the Sioux belief of sanctity of the Black Hills region including Inyan Kara, Devils Tower and Bear Butte. (2, 4)

Kroeber, A.L.

- 1902 The Arapaho. *American Museum of Natural History* 18.

Kroeber offers a classic primary ethnographic study of the Arapaho culture prior to the reservation period. Most of the monograph is devoted to decorative art and style. However, there is a brief introduction to the names and numbers of Arapaho bands. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Larocque, F.A.

- 1960 The Missouri Journal. In *Les Bourgeois de la Campagne du Nord-Quest*. 2 vols. L.R. Masson, ed. New York: Antiquarian Press.

Larocque's journal entries are presented in this very important primary document on the Crow tribe circa 1805, when Larocque accompanied the Crow from the Hidatsa villages to their Rocky Mountain territory. Ethnohistorical work. (1, 3)

Lewis, T.H.

- 1990 *The Medicine Men*. Lincoln and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Lewis examines contemporary traditional Lakota healing practices, medicinal plants and rituals. Using the models and methods of medical anthropology, Lewis examines not only the traditional medical techniques employed by various Lakota medicine men, but the results of the techniques used as well, and attempts to discern observable patterns that possibly relate to underlying societal structures. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Lewis, G.M.

- 1987 Indian Maps. Their Place in the History of Plains Cartography. In *Mapping the North American Plains*. F.C. Luebke, F.W. Kaye, and G.E. Moulton, eds. Pp. 63-80. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

This work provides a very useful, critical appraisal of the value of maps drawn by Native Americans as historical documents. Ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

Looking Horse, A.

- 1987 The Sacred Pipe in Modern life. In *Sioux Indian Religion*. R.J. DeMallie and D.R. Parks, eds. Pp. 67-73. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

Written by Arval Looking Horse, Keeper of the Sacred Pipe, this work gives the reader the history of the Pipe according to the current Lakota mythology, certain aspects associated with the Pipe, as well as its meaning to the Lakota people. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Lowie, R.H.

- 1956 *The Crow Indians*. New York: Rhinehart.

This classic ethnographic report examines the pre-reservation Crow tribe, with an emphasis on kinship, dancing societies, religion, myth and legend. The report includes excellent primary data on Crow ceremonies and matrilineal clan groupings. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Lurie, N.O.

- 1961 Ethnohistory: An Ethnological Point of View. *Ethnohistory* 8:78-92.

Regarding the nature of the ethnohistorical discipline, Lurie suggests that this science is a

technique or methodology of ethnology. The discipline is useful in that it brings to light a special knowledge that is helpful in problem-solving. (5)

Mails, T.E.

1979 *Fools Crow*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday.

Mails presents a biographical account of Lakota Holy Man Frank Fools Crow. Ethnographic material. (1, 3)

Mallery, G.

1972 *Picture Writing of the American Indians*. 2 vols. New York: Dover.

Mallery's study pertains to Native American sign language, pictographic art, winter counts, life and culture. Information is presented on the Lakota, primarily obtained by Dr. W.H. Corbusier at Camp Sheridan during the years 1879 and 1880. The winter counts of other Lakota, (Battiste Good and American Horse), are included as well. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic work. (1, 2, 3)

Marquis, T.B.

1978 *The Cheyennes of Montana*. Algonac, Michigan: Reference Publications, Inc.

Marquis bases his history of the Northern Cheyenne on a combination of written historical materials and oral historical accounts by Cheyennes. Historical work. (1, 2, 4)

Medicine Crow, J.

1979 The Crow Migration Story. *Archaeology in Montana* 20:63-73.

Crow tribal-historian Joe Medicine Crow offers an ethnohistorical approach to the Crow migration legend, under the leadership of Chief No Vitals.

Michlovic, M.G.

1983 The Red River Valley in the Prehistory of the Northern Plains. *Plains Anthropologist* 28:23-31.

This work examines information regarding the archaeology and possible pre-historic inhabitants of the Red River Valley, North Dakota. Archaeological and ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

1985 The Problem of Teton Migration. In *Archaeology, Ecology, and Ethnohistory of the Prairie-Forest Border Zone of Minnesota and Manitoba*. Janet Spector and Elden Johnson, eds. Pp. 131-145. Lincoln: J & L Reprint.

This study re-examines Lakota migration onto the Plains, using ethnohistorical information in conjunction with archaeological findings. Ethnohistorical work. (2, 4)

Momaday, N.S.

1969 *The Way to Rainy Mountain*. New York: Ballantine.

Momaday offers a literary approach to Kiowa migration from the north to their present-day location in Oklahoma. One version of a Kiowa legend about Devils Tower is presented. Historical work. (2, 4)

Mooney, J.

1979 *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

This work represents a major contribution of primary ethnographic material regarding Kiowa history as recorded by the Kiowa in "Winter Counts" or calendar histories. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Morgan, D.L.

1953 *Jebediah Smith and the Opening of the West*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Morgan's book is an historical account of the trapper Jebediah Smith, who lived and trapped the northern Great Plains in the nineteenth century. Information regarding Lakota occupation of lands in and around the Black Hills was obtained from Smith's journal reprinted in this text. Ethnohistoric work pertaining to the Lakota. (1, 2, 4)

Nasatir, A.P., ed.

1952 *Beyond Lewis and Clark*. 2 vols. St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation.

This work is a collection of eyewitness accounts, including the letters, journals and narratives of early trappers, traders and explorers west of the Mississippi prior to the nineteenth century. (1, 3)

Niehardt, J.B.

1988 *Black Elk Speaks*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Written by John G. Niehardt and originally published in 1932, this material is an autobiographical account of Nicholas Black Elk, Lakota Holy Man. The material spans the life of this individual from the mid- to late-nineteenth century and, because of its spiritual and social significance to contemporary Native Americans, has often been referred to as the Native American "Bible". Ethnohistoric and ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Oliver, S.C.

- 1962 Ecology and Continuity as Contributing Factors in the Social Organization of the Plains Indians. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 48:1-90.

Oliver's widely referenced ethnological paper examines the role of ecology and tribal historical backgrounds in the development of historic Plains Indian social organization. He suggests that those Plains tribes with an agricultural background developed more complex social institutions than those with a hunting and gathering background. Ethnological work. (2, 4)

Powers, M.

- 1986 *Oglala Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Powers focuses on Oglala culture and societal structure, emphasizing women's roles and their relationships to others in Lakota society. His work includes historical information, current oral traditions regarding Lakota genesis, and the various roles that females encounter from birth to death. Ethnographic material. (1, 3)

Powers, W.K.

- 1977 *Oglala Religion*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

First published in 1975, this text gives an overview of Oglala (and Lakota) mythology and religion, as well as a glimpse of tribal government and customs. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

- 1986 *Sacred Language*. Norman: University of Nebraska Press.

Powers offers further perceptions of Lakota culture, continuing to focus on myths and traditions, but expanding to include Lakota linguistics as well. The work includes a brief dictionary of Lakota words and their meanings. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Shimkin, D.

- 1938 Wind River Shoshone Geography. *American Anthropologist* 40:413-415.

Shimkin's article provides brief but important ethnographic interpretation of Wind River Shoshone band locations and seasonal movements during the nineteenth century, perhaps earlier. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Shirl, (Shirley Rathbun)

- 1982 First Encounters: Indian Legends of Devils Tower. Sand Creek Printing.

Based on the ethnographic work of Dick Stone, and written by Wyoming author Shirley Rathbun, this work is a compilation of Native American memories, myths and legends per-

taining to Devils Tower. Material was collected by Stone during interviews with Native American informants in the early twentieth century. Ethnographic work. (2, 4)

Sitton, T., G.L. Mehaffy and O.L. Davis, Jr.

1983 *Oral History. A Guide for Teachers (and others)*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

This is a fairly good book on methods for collecting oral histories. (5)

Smith, G.H.

1980 *The Explorations of the La Verendryes in the Northern Plains, 1738-43*. W.R. Wood, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

This excellent edition presents the La Verendrye narratives of their journeys to and beyond the Mandan villages of present-day North Dakota during the period 1738-1742. New interpretations on tribes, locations, and geography are offered. These narratives represent the earliest written documentation on the Mandan and other Northern Plains tribes to date. Ethnohistoric work. (1, 4)

Standing Bear, L.

1978 *Land of the Spotted Eagle*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Written by the Oglala, Luther Standing Bear, this is an autobiographical account that highlights various Lakota oral and cultural traditions. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Stands in Timber, J., and M. Liberty

1972 *Cheyenne Memories*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

John Stands in Timber presents a mixture of autobiographical and ethnographic material from the latter nineteenth century. Ethnographic and ethnohistoric work. (1, 3)

Stone, D.

n.d. *History of Devils Tower, 1804-1934*. Microfilm on File at Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

This compilation contains information, interviews, and correspondence pertaining to Native American memories and oral traditions of Devils Tower, collected by Dick Stone in the early twentieth century. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Sturtevant, W.C.

1968 *Anthropology, History and Ethnohistory*. In *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, by James A. Clifton. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin.

This article deals with the fields of anthropology and history, and how the hybrid discipline, ethnohistory, combines concepts and methods of each. (5)

Syms, E.L.

- 1985 Fitting People into the Late Prehistory of the Northeastern Plains. In *Archaeology, Ecology, and Ethnohistory of the Prairie-Forest Border Zone of Minnesota and Manitoba*. Janet Spector and Elden Johnson, eds. Pp. 73-107. Lincoln: J & L Reprint.

Syms provides material that stresses the holistic approach in solving anthropological questions relating to aboriginal locations during the proto-historic periods. Syms suggests the use of ethnohistory, linguistic and physical anthropology in conjunction with archaeological data in anthropological problem-solving. (1, 2, 4)

Thwaites, R.G., ed.

- 1959 The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expeditions. 8 vols. New York: Antiquarian Press.

As the title suggests, this work presents the original journals of the Lewis and Clark expeditions, in the early nineteenth century (1804-1806). Ethnohistoric material. (1, 3)

Trenholm, V.C.

- 1970 *The Arapahoes, Our People*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Trenholm has written an overview of Arapaho history during the late prehistoric and historic eras. His work contains useful information on the division of the Arapaho into Northern and Southern subtribes as well as band names. Ethnohistorical work. (2, 4)

Trigger, B.

- 1982 Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects. *Ethnohistory* 29:1-19.

Trigger asserts that, because of the holistic approach of the discipline, ethnohistory is advantageous in the pursuit of historical truth, especially in the areas of Native American and colonial history.

U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs

- 1986 *Hearings on the Sioux Nation Black Hills Act*. 99th Congress, Second Session, S. 1453. Washington D.C.: GPO.

Introduced by Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey, on July 17, 1985, this bill seeks the return of approximately 1.3 million acres (out of 7.3 million) ceded to the federal government in 1877. The bill seeks to provide for the economic development, resource protection

and self-determination of the Sioux Nation. It also seeks removal of barriers regarding traditional religious practices on sacred lands. Portions of this material are ethnohistoric and ethnographic works. (1, 3)

Walker, J.R.

- 1980 *Lakota Belief and Ritual*. R.J. DeMallie and E.A. Jahner, eds. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Compiling text from the original data collected by Dr. J.R. Walker during his 18 years as agency physician on the Pine Ridge Reservation, 1895-1915, this work focuses on Lakota narratives pertaining to Lakota ideology, rituals, warfare and associated tribal societies. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

- 1982 *Lakota Society*. R.J. DeMallie, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

This work provides text from the original research collected by Dr. J.R. Walker during his years as resident physician on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The book details Lakota culture, e.g., lifestyle, social organization, religious and ceremonial practices, and includes several winter counts as well. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

- 1983 *Lakota Myth*. E.A. Jahner, ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Comprised of text from the original data collected on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the years 1895-1915, by J.R. Walker, this work focuses on Lakota myths and legends, reflecting their beliefs and ideals regarding man and his place in the universe. Ethnographic work. (1, 3)

Wilson, H.C.

- 1963 An Inquiry into the Nature of Plains Indian Cultural Development. *American Anthropologist* 65:355-370.

Wilson provides an excellent ethnological discussion of the role of horses in the development of historic Plains Indian culture. (2, 4)

Wood, W.R.

- 1985 *The Plains-Lakes Connection: Reflections from a Western Perspective*. In *Archaeology, Ecology, and Ethnohistory of the Prairie-Forest Border Zone of Minnesota and Manitoba*. Janet Spector and Elden Johnson, eds. Pp. 1-8. Lincoln: J & L Reprint.

This work is an overview of traditional thought and associated archaeological research regarding Native American habitation of the Northern Plains and prairie-forest border regions. Wood suggests supplementing archaeology with ethnohistorical research to correct long-standing inaccuracies regarding occupation of this region. Ethnohistoric work. (2, 4)

- 1987 Mapping the Missouri River through the Great Plains, 1673-1895. In *Mapping the North American Plains*. F.C. Luebke, F.W. Kaye, and G.E. Moulton, eds. Pp. 27-40. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

With accompanying text by W.R. Wood, this material pertains to exploratory mapping of the Missouri River region, during the late-seventeenth through the late-nineteenth centuries. Ethnohistoric material. (1, 2, 3)

Wright, G.A.

- 1978 The Shoshonean Migration Problem. *Plains Anthropologist* 23:113-137.

Wright offers an archaeological discussion of Shoshonean migration into Wyoming from the Great Basin. (2, 4)

APPENDIX B

Shoshone Documentation

The lack of written evidence of Shoshone sacred narratives regarding the Devils Tower region does not necessarily eliminate past or current tribal affiliation. As was explained during ethnographic interviews by Eastern Shoshone representatives in May, 1990, tribal knowledge regarding Devils Tower is culturally sensitive information and normally not revealed to outsiders. Furthermore, past visitors to the area by the tribe would have gone unnoticed by other groups, as the Shoshone are a private people and have traditionally destroyed any evidence of their presence (S1, S2, S4). However, concerns regarding (perceived) religious and physical desecration of the monument have overridden Shoshone concerns for privacy, compelling members to share some tribal information. This information was given during the latest ethnographic interview of July 3, 1991.

According to Shoshone informants, S1, S2 and S4, the Devils Tower area is a sacred and powerful region, not only to the Shoshone, but to all Native Americans. Sacred areas, because of their power, can be dangerous and should therefore be treated with the utmost respect. (Climbing the monument, for example, is seen by the Shoshone as an irreverent activity, and something that may lead to future misfortune for the climber).

Evidence of the region's sanctity and importance are exemplified, they maintain, within the petroglyphs found throughout Wyoming. According to the Shoshone, these rock art forms were not made by any one tribe but were designed by supernatural beings or higher powers, and are thus sacred to all Native Americans. The meaning or significance of each symbol or shape will vary from tribe to tribe. Noting the photographs of distinct petroglyphs found in *Indian Rock Art In Wyoming* (Hendry 1983), and using these in conjunction with various Shoshone sacred narratives, the informants presented detailed information on the Shoshone and their ties to Devils Tower.

According to informant S2, Shoshone traditions hold that certain symbols are and have been important to the tribe, noting that these figures often have more than one meaning. For example, the shape of a diamond simultaneously represents the Shoshone symbols for flower and peace. The shape of a circle has many meanings as well and, according to oral tradition, petroglyphs containing circular patterns are representations of Devils Tower. For example, the petroglyphs seen in Hendry (1983:107, 173-174), and noted herein as Figures A-1, B-1 and C, are symbolic of Devils Tower to the Shoshones.

Regarding Figure A-1, informant S1 noted the similarity in design between the pattern and the drawing of Devils Tower found in this report (Figure 2: Ritual Use Areas). Figure B-1, they maintain, is symbolic of Devils Tower, and shows the claw marks left by the bear when he tried to climb the formation. The circular patterns seen in Figure C are also symbolic of Devils Tower. It should be noted that, according to S1, S2, and S4, all representations are from the top of the tower looking down.

Figures D-1 and E-1 (Hendry 1983:172 and 181) also represent Devils Tower, and the importance of the bear and Bear Lodge to the Shoshone people. Figure D-1 has been interpreted as nine bear tracks on the figure of a woman, which is symbolic of the Ten Sisters and the Bear, a Shoshone sacred narrative about the origin of Devils Tower. Figure E-1 contains a bear in the upper left hand corner, and on the right, a circular pattern with claw marks radiating from the symbol, once again said to be a pecked form representing Devils Tower.

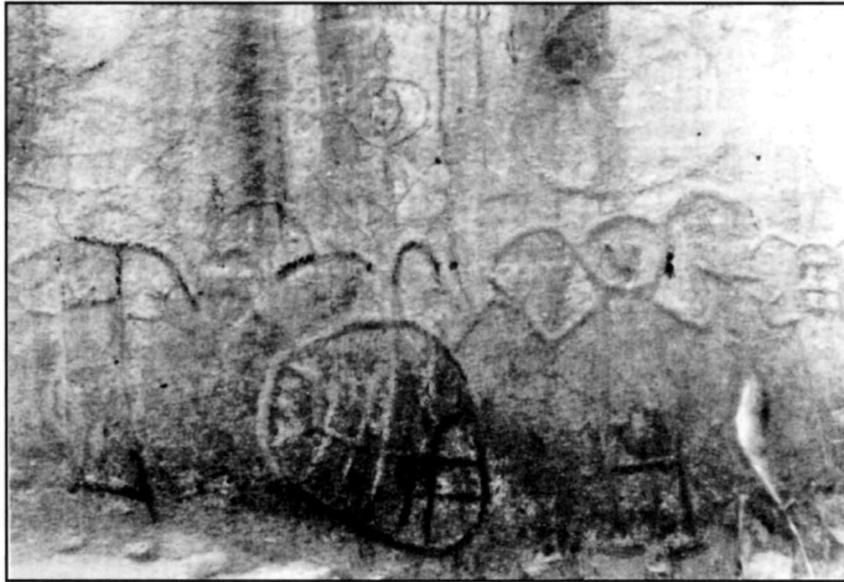


Figure A: (From Hendry 1983:107)



Figure A2: (From Hendry 1983:107)



Figure B1: (Castle Garden) Closer view of one of the circular composite designs. The vertical line through the center of the larger circle has two legs, a small head and two arms. (from Hendry 1983:174)

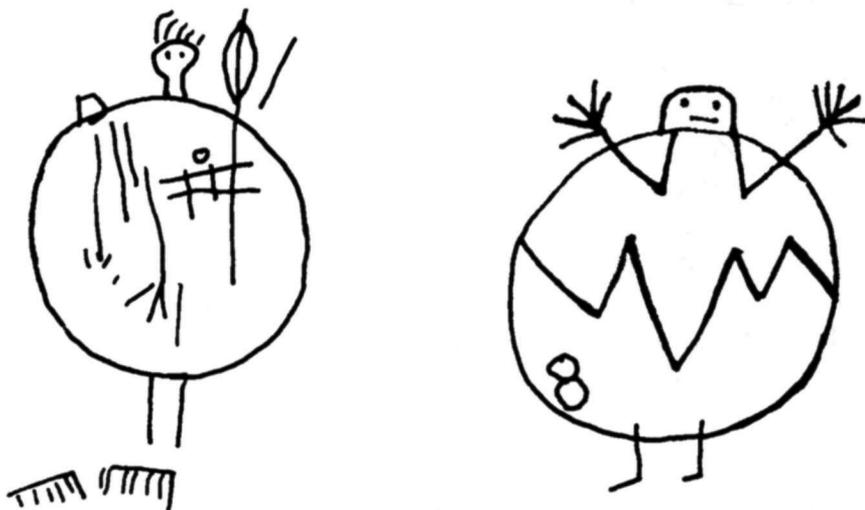


Figure B2: (Hendry: 1983:174)

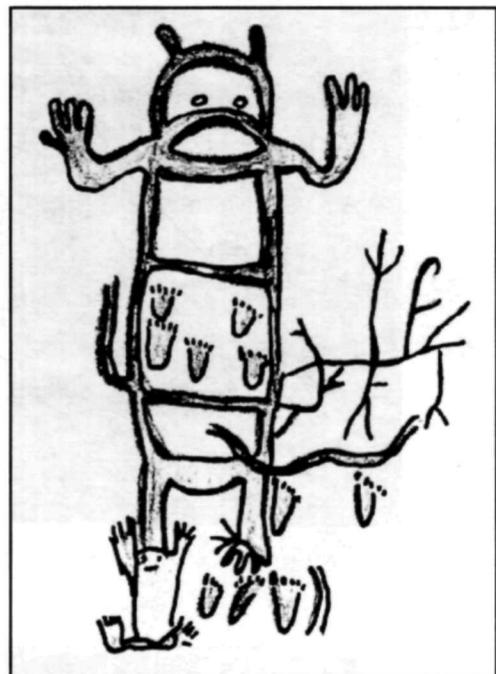


Figure C: (Castle Garden). Circular designs with interior depictions of animals, humans and abstract symbols. These have been referred to as shields by some rock art investigators. However, the shields of Plains Indians of the 1800s were decorated with sacred medicine fetishes that had appeared to the shield owners in visions or dreams. The symbols applied to the shields were believed to have great supernatural protective powers quite aside from perhaps deflecting arrows or bullets of the enemy. Care was taken to keep the shields covered with specially prepared and decorated animal skin to keep the shield's medicine powers from being seen by the enemy and casual observers. For that reason it seems doubtful that warriors would create their shield designs in a "public" place. These designs are probably late-style interpretations of circular design composite symbolism. (Hendry 1983:173)



Figure D1: (Castle Garden) A v-necked, rectangular bodied composite with footprints that probably indicate additional humans merged with the larger one. Chalking by an unknown vandal has distorted the figure by ignoring the mark on the pelvis and the motif attached to the head. (Hendry 1983:172)

Figure D2: An illustration of a figure that also has human footprints on its body. (Hendry 1983:172)



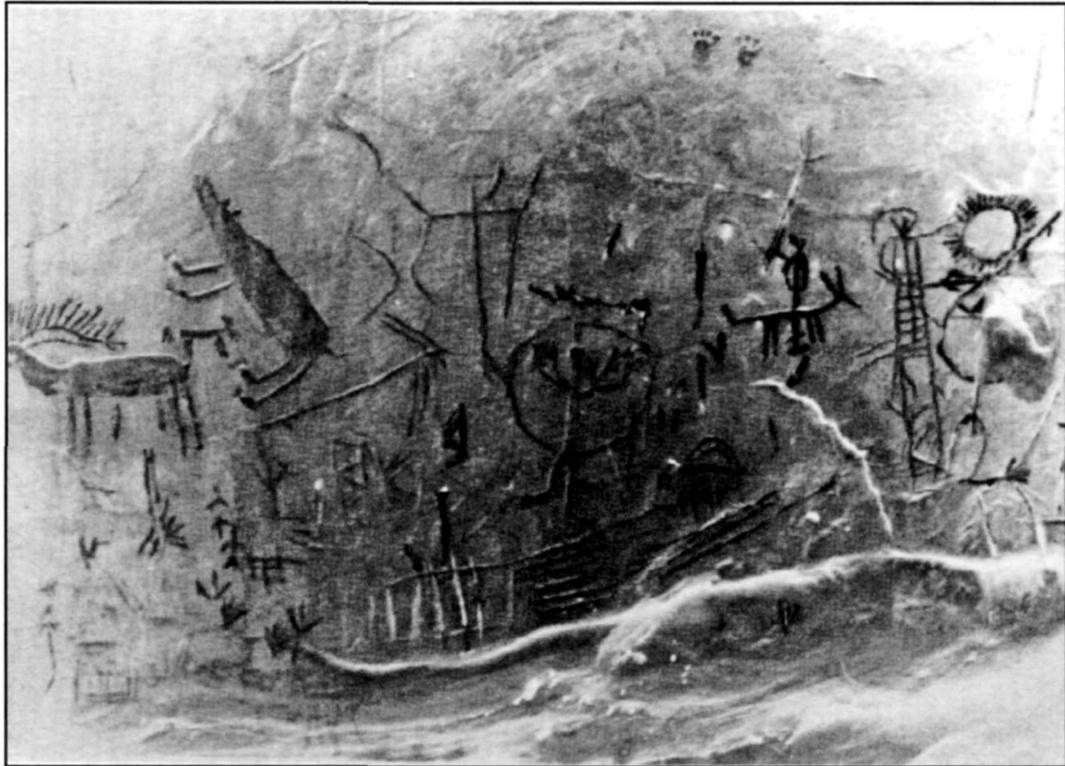


Figure E1: Incised panel of art by several different art-makers. (Hendry 1983:181)

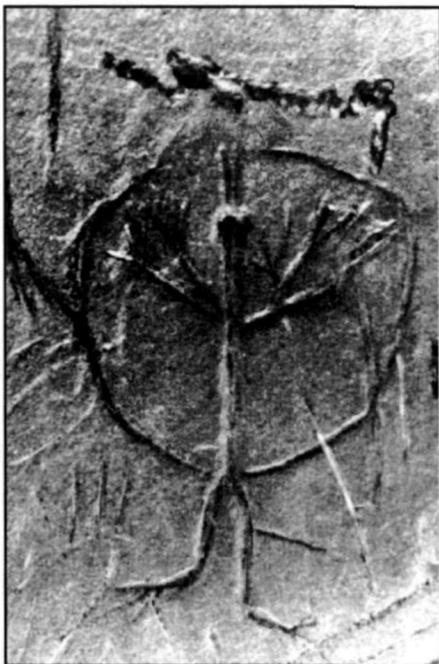


Figure E2: This figure appears at the center of the photo above. The stick figure is a composite design with two right arms and three left arms. The legs are in the typical spread posture. (Hendry 1983: 181)

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