THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL: 
A STUDY OF A SACRED AND CONTESTED LANDSCAPE

by Taylor Danielle LaRocque

A Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of Manitoba in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of MASTER OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

Department of Landscape Architecture
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg

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ABSTRACT

The Black Hills of South Dakota, once home to the Lakota Sioux, is a sacred landscape to these people, but is currently threatened by extensive tourism, mining, industrial and logging activity. Within these sacred hills, an enormous carving in stone is slowly being created in the form of a Lakota warrior: the Crazy Horse Memorial. The carving is meant to honour all American Indian people, as well as Crazy Horse’s people, the Lakota; however, the carving is contested by many Lakota people as it clashes with their spiritual beliefs and traditions. In this practicum, the social, environmental and spiritual character of the Black Hills is studied to determine the efficacy of the Crazy Horse Memorial in contemporary Lakota society, and to determine a more appropriate form of memorialization for the Lakota people. Sacred landscapes throughout the Black Hills are evaluated based on their management practices and current environmental and spiritual states; subsequently, a new regional management strategy is introduced in order to protect traditional sacred sites and preserve traditional Lakota landscapes and traditions. In so doing, the involvement of Landscape Architects is presented as a viable strategy in evolving the cultural and physical landscape of the sacred Black Hills.
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Thank you.
DEDICATION

For the Oglala Lakota people of South Dakota.
FIG. 001 PHOTOGRAPH: SUNDOWN AT THE CRAZY HORSE VIEWING DECK
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As one approaches the Black Hills by highway, and feels the terrain begin to change, a shift in *genius loci* can be felt as well. The hills visible in the distance, black in colour, signal one’s arrival at a place that is somehow different from what surrounds it.

*PaHA SAPA.*
OKAHE: THE BEGINNING
FIG. 002 PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]: DRIVING SOUTH DOWN HIGHWAY 85 TOWARD THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 003 MAP: THE BLACK HILLS AMID THE NORTHERN CENTRAL STATES
As a child, I spent many summer days camping and exploring the Black Hills of South Dakota. Growing up in Regina, Saskatchewan, the hills were an eight hour drive almost straight south from where my family and I lived. This trip was made nearly every summer, and from a very young age, these adventures shaped my worldview and experiences. In these travels I would revisit several of the same sites, reinforcing a specific set of knowledge I possessed about the hills. I knew the names of the four presidents carved into Mount Rushmore; I could ride a horse; I knew the circumstances of Wild Bill Hickok’s assassination over a game of poker in a Deadwood saloon; and I could explain the difference between a stalagmite and a stalactite and how they were formed. We rode trails around Devils Tower, took guided tours of caves and caverns, drove through Custer State Park to feed the wild burros, and even attended chuckwagon dinners and Old-Western music shows. Yet, if fifteen years ago you had asked me, at nine years of age, what the story of the Lakota people was, my knowledge of this rich culture would not have exceeded the name of the warrior being carved in stone on Thunderhead Mountain.

Located sixteen miles by road from the Mount Rushmore National Monument, lies the in-progress mountain carving of Crazy Horse, the Oglala Lakota warrior currently being immortalized in stone. The massive carving, which if finished will dwarf its nearby neighbour, will show the warrior on horseback, pointing into the east across the Black Hills. Today, after sixty-five years of work, all that has emerged completed from the stone is the face of Crazy Horse, with massive amounts of rock removed for the more detailed work to follow. The project, funded solely through donations and visitor’s fees, is the topic of much contention, with certain Lakota groups and individuals denouncing the project as a desecration. In a place where everything from the soil to the air is sacred, the carving and blasting of a mountain seems to many Lakota the antithesis of their culture’s beliefs, and in some cases, exactly what Crazy Horse himself, would not want.

Since the Lakotas’ forced departure from their sacred land, it has been opened to mining and mineral exploration, logging, and extensive tourism activity that has diminished the sacred nature of the land. The Crazy Horse Memorial, meant to empower and memorialize not only the Lakota Sioux but all American Indian Nations, is a cog in this machine, a stop on a map for families spending their summer vacations in the hills. When I think back to my nine-year old self, and wonder how I would tell the story of the Lakota Sioux, I know that my narrative would consist of a vague
description of the Crazy Horse Memorial, with perhaps only anecdotal information regarding the subject.

In this practicum, I strive to tell the story of the Lakota Sioux through the use of mapping, recognizing fully the power that maps hold both in educating the public and establishing cognitive relationships between physical space and our mental landscapes. I have also outlined the benefits and potential of a revised land ethic to protect sacred Lakota land and memorialize the Lakota, and other American Indians, in a way that is authentic to their belief systems and that serves as a much-needed step in repairing their traditional culture. As a result, the role of the Crazy Horse Monument has been questioned and reconsidered in both traditional and contemporary contexts. I have travelled extensively in the Black Hills throughout my life, and twice again this past summer with this specific work in mind. I hiked to the top of the Crazy Horse carving and Harney Peak, took in the breathtaking beauty of Pe’ Sla and Bear Butte, met and spoke with Ruth Ziolkowski, the widow of Crazy Horse sculptor Korczak Ziolkowski, and interviewed Charmaine White Face, an Oglala Lakota activist, scientist, and Coordinator of the Defenders of the Black Hills. I believe that to understand the Lakota people is to understand their sacred land Pahá Sapá (the Black Hills) and that to appreciate the sacred nature of place is to see the true nature of being human. The discipline of Landscape Architecture, dedicated to improving and manipulating the relationship between people and their environments, must necessarily be concerned with traditional sacred landscapes. An awareness of myth, legend and traditional ecological knowledge is necessary in understanding the land and its history. The Lakotas’ struggle for the return of their sacred land involves not only title to this land, but the notion of spiritual ownership, proper care for the land, and the spreading of awareness of the Lakota plight, communicating not only their legal right to the Black Hills, but the importance of the Lakota people to the very composition, ecology and health of the hills. The Lakota story is not a simple one to tell, but “if you tell this story and don’t include the pain, it’s just a story,” (Sharon Drappeau as quoted in Woodard 2002, 11);

Only by understanding our story, can our people live free once again. To our relatives from the four directions, we ask you to listen; not only with your ears, but with your hearts. From the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, in the place you know as South Dakota, this is our story. (Red Cry 2012)
FIG. 004 PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]: ROCK FACE IN CUSTER STATE PARK
FIG. 005 PHOTOGRAPH: ROCK FORMATION IN THE NEEDLES
FIG. 006 PHOTOGRAPH: VIEW FROM NEEDLES HIGHWAY
In the beginning was the World – the mythopoetry of archaic peoples – and the seed syllables that bound them with the running water, the flowers in the meadow, the animals with whom their lives intermingled, and the starry sky above. Today we are thousands of years away from the Paleolithic mind, the modern ego swollen with pride in our cultural achievements. We cannot see the heavens wheeling overhead in their cosmic course – our city lights and smog have rendered them indistinct... Yet we remain, in spite of the myths of modernity that blind us to primordial insights into the mystery of existence, the human animal, bound with the cosmic flux. (Oelschlaeger 1991, 333-34)

A study of contemporary Indigenous people and their traditional and sacred land inevitably involves a consideration of “wilderness” and its changing role from pre-settlement America to today. The lost connection between humans and “wilderness” is one that has been studied by numerous authors and researchers, many of whom claim to have regained their humanity through immersing themselves in forests or climbing to the top of a mountain. This longing for reconnection with raw nature has seemingly come as a result of disillusion with the modern world (shaped by the worldview resulting from the scientific and industrial revolutions), or a yearning to understand the true nature of humanity independent of the controlled landscapes we are so accustomed to. Of his intentions for The Idea of Wilderness (1991), Max Oelschlaeger states: “...I wish to explore what remains for most – and has been for me – a terra incognita, a forbidden place, a heart of darkness that civilized people have long attempted to repress – that is the wilderness within the human soul and without, in that living profusion that envelops all creation,” (1991, 1). This “heart of darkness” refers to humanity’s primal state, the way that humans were prior to the agricultural revolution and the development of the attitude that nature must be tamed or controlled. The “heart of darkness” was a state where humans lived as part of nature, as opposed to separate from it or in control of it. Oelschlaeger argues that the opinion that humans asserting themselves over nature is the key to survival and progress is detrimental to human potential (Ibid., 2). While humans manipulated and changed natural systems to suit their own needs, they lost sight of their own nature. It has been suggested that returning to wild nature for a period of time can renew a person and return them to a more primal state of being. Oelschlaeger cites Sigurd Olson’s (1976) testimony that even city folk, after spending a few days in the wilderness, are renewed and resonating with “ancient rhythms,” (Ibid., 2). If this is true, then John Muir’s belief that “going to the mountains is going home... that mountain parks and reservations are... fountains of life,” (as quoted in Ibid., 2) is more true than at first it may seem.

In his characterization of the Paleolithic hunter-forager, Oelschlaeger suggests that early humans found home in nature in a larger sense, rather than in a specific place, viewing all of nature as alive, sacred and feminine and believing that ritual was critical for maintaining order (Oelschlaeger 1991,12). Similarly, Schama states that one of humanity’s strongest yearnings is to “find in nature a consolation for our mortality” (1996, 15); the
FIG. 007  PHOTOGRAPH: VIEW ACROSS THE HILLS
FIG. 008  PHOTOGRAPH: PINE BEETLE PREVENTION AREA
Paleolithic human’s value system exhibits this, clearly demonstrating their great respect for the Magna Mater. Magna Mater, “the natural, organic process including soil and sun that created Homo sapiens and all other life-forms on earth,” was known intuitively by prehistoric humans (Oelschlaeger 1991, 2), but is a concept difficult to grasp for contemporary people. Today, many people believe that prehistoric people wanted to abandon the wilderness in favour of civilization, viewing them as “degraded savages” (Ibid., 5-6). In fact, scholars believe that Paleolithic people hunted, foraged, buried their fellow humans, practiced religion, were artistic, and understood nature intimately (Ibid., 6). This worldview, evidently more sophisticated than often represented in popular thought, shows a deeper understanding of humanity’s role within the natural order of the earth. Perhaps, it stands to reason, that in order to understand human beingness more wholly, we must look beyond our current conception of what it means to be human and examine how our prehistoric ancestors existed as a part of nature, rather than separate from it (Ibid., 6). This challenge in this notion lies in bracketing our modern understanding of human and nature as physically and ideologically separate, and becoming open to the world as our prehistoric ancestors once did. As Oelschlaeger states, “Human beings are not pure thinking things ensconced within Euroculture but beings whose thoughts and feelings are embodied, centered, in an organic human nature fashioned in the web of life over the longeurs of space and time, internally related to nature,” (Ibid., 9).

The categorical system of places that is used throughout the modern world colours our comprehension of our relationship with nature, and the very idea of “wilderness”. Prehistoric people likely recognized spaces through names distinct for specific places, rather than generic categories like “field”, “river”, or “mountain”. These names were reflected in cultural myth and memory. It is suggested that this characterization of places may have allowed them to deal with the world, which otherwise may have seemed vast and terrifying (Oelschlaeger 1991, 14). By calling certain geographical features by a name, rather than including them in a group of similar spaces thought to be apart from themselves, ancient people avoided a hierarchical classification of space which identified spaces as desirable or undesirable; they had no concept of “wilderness” as we do today. As a result, what today we would see as being “lost in the wilderness” would not have occurred to Paleolithic man, as home was not separate from other places, and thus it was impossible to be lost in a wilderness that did not exist (Ibid., 14).

The agricultural revolution changed the relationship between humans and nature forever. The balanced, harmonious relationship between hunter-forager and nature was replaced by one of human domination over nature, and “the shaman of Paleolithic culture gave way to the priest,” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 34). In contemporary agriculture, fields, weeds and crops are terms used to categorize vegetation type, as well as to describe their usefulness and desirability; these words, or any understandings equivalent to them, were not used by hunter-gatherers as these separations did not exist (Ibid., 28). The introduction of crops and domestic livestock meant the loss of oneness with nature, and the birth of “wild nature” as a place beyond
the cultivated. While these distinctions did not exist for the hunter-gatherer, they affected whole new systems of meaning for the agriculturalist, who would go on to develop an understanding of how other concepts come into competition with each other, such as home versus wilderness, barbarians versus civilized humans, and wild animals versus domestic animals (Ibid.). Today, the concept of wilderness varies from group to group, and some landscapes which appear wild to some might be actively inhabited or used by another. Gary Paul Nabhan, in Cultures on Habitat, (1997) provides the example of the Tohono O’odham (Papago) who make their home in the desert of the American South, but whose landscape might appear as a “wasteland” to other cultures (162). The accepted worldview of modern humans holds humanity and wilderness as separate entities, with the human ability to control or dominate nature used to measure humanity’s success. Dennis Martinez explains that for 1.5 million years, humans evolved as part of nature, an ever essential piece of the ecological puzzle; yet, the Western concept of nature of the last 150 years teaches us that nature and humankind are separate (2003, 250).

What Oelschlaeger terms the “civilized-primitive dichotomy” has perpetuated this notion that human purpose is based on the domination of nature; only recently is “wild” nature becoming accepted as “a source of human existence” rather than simply resource for exploitation (1991, 1). Figures such as Henry David Thoreau, John Muir, Aldo Leopold and Gary Snyder have reevaluated this relationship in more recent times, advocating for a more primitive relationship with wild nature.

Thoreau said that, “In Wildness lies the preservation of the world,” (Walking 1862) a phrase that advocated not only for the preservation of wilderness but [also] of Indians on their native land, as Thoreau considered them “the keepers of true wisdom and wildness,” (Dennis Martinez 2003, 247). Thoreau saw Indigenous people as the purest reflection of humanity, and as a people who possessed the most authentic understanding of nature. Thoreau thought that the Algonquian name of the “Musketa-quid” river, a name which he felt was “rooted in the natural,” and which “captures his imagination as it flows from the tongue,” was an excellent reflection of the river’s character, which illustrated a deeper understanding of the river ecology (Oelschlaeger 1991, 143). Indigenous knowledge, he felt, was what Westerners should be inspired by in looking at the future of wilderness study and conservation; unfortunately, this type of knowledge was neither widely accepted nor understood. He claimed: “If we could listen but for an instant to the chant of the Indian muse, we should understand why he will not exchange his savageness for civilization,” (as quoted in Atkinson ed. 1937, 307). This willingness to seek a more Indigenous knowledge is evidenced in his excursions and subsequent writings. Thoreau traveled to Walden to reconnect with his primal man, to counter “the lives of quiet desperation,” and unearth the archaic human consciousness (Oelschlaeger 1991, 153-4). With the innocence of a child, he sought to achieve Indian wisdom not through calculation or other methods of modern man, but through “contemplative fishing,” (Ibid., 156). He did not believe that science could adequately describe the qualitative aspects of
nature, stating that "The man of science, who is not seeking for expression but for a fact to be expressed merely, studies nature as a dead language. I pray for such inward experience as will make nature significant," (as quoted in Torry & Allen eds. 1984, 5:135). Thoreau hoped to make the wilderness sacred again, "to create a new wilderness mythology," (Oelschlaeger 1991, 160), returning humankind to its original place within the natural world; this would not be an entirely new territory for humans, as he believed that they were simply "wild nature grown self-conscious" (Ibid., 170-71). He stated:

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear, nor did I wish to practice resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God... (Walden 1937, 172-3)

John Muir, considered by many to be the Scottish-born "father of American conservation" (Oelschlaeger 1991, 172), sought empathy with nature, having had a religious experience in the wilderness which reconciled nature with the sacred and furthered his work in this area of study (Ibid., 174). Muir wrote that "going to the woods is going home, for I suppose we came from the woods originally," (1901, 108), sharing a kindred belief with Thoreau that humankind and nature are not as intrinsically separate as modern humans have been taught to believe. Similar to the experience of nature by Thoreau, Muir wrote, "The clearest way into the Universe is through a forest wilderness," (as quoted in Oelschlaeger 1991, 177). Both Muir and Thoreau left civilization for the wilderness, in search of a new way of thinking, free from Western distinctions and full of "mystical reverence for all forms of life"; Muir succeeded when he realized that all nature was alive (Oelschlaeger 1991, 184). When viewing nature as alive, one must reevaluate the ways in which humanity interacts with nature, and question the power that humanity believes it has over nature. With this realization, Muir suggested a reworking of attitudes regarding the molding of nature to humanity’s interests, as he believed that humanity did not intrinsically possess the right to disturb the natural processes that occurred throughout wild nature (1954, 312).

Aldo Leopold’s relationship with the wilderness began by seeking a space for hunting and fishing, but eventually evolved into a belief that nature is a source of "social and psychological well-being," (Meine 1988, 504-5). Leopold developed what might be seen as a postmodern land ethic with Sand County Almanac, which surpassed the modern differentiation of subject and object, instead proposing that science and ethics not
only intertwine, but are also born from the same source (Oelschlaeger 1991, 240). This has been termed a transitional ecology, a concept in progress which began with the work of Darwin (Ibid.). In *Sand County Almanac*, Leopold describes the American wilderness paradox here summarized by Peter Fritzell (1987):

> ...the book proves the continuing vitality of that paradoxical American determination, on the one hand, to reform or redeem history – in the process, restoring or reclaiming an original harmony between human and nonhuman nature – and, on the other hand, to escape history entirely, by turning (or returning) to nature, as we say, by letting nature take its course, by leaving nature to its own devices, or by simply appreciating nature and its working in all their deep evolutionary power and ecological complexity, wherever they may lead. (129)

Fritzell believes that Leopold was seeking a primal experience by returning to wild nature – some way to understand the origin of the human species (Oelschlaeger 1991, 241).

Writer and poet Gary Snyder was an advocate of spiritual ecology, a combination of Eastern, Western and ancient wisdoms, having been critical of modernism’s land ethic and seeing an alternative in the oral teachings of early peoples (Oelschlaeger 1991, 261). He believed that through the exploration of primal, or “primitive”, teachings, humankind could regain the awareness of true nature which modernism had stolen from them, in turn becoming more fully human and lifting some of the pressure that humankind has put upon the earth (Ibid., 262). Snyder shared similarities in philosophy with both Muir and Thoreau; he and Thoreau both sought out Indigenous wisdom, while he and Muir both felt a primal understanding of place, rather than a scientific one (Ibid., 280). Snyder’s poetry asks humankind “to listen, to look, to feel the Mother Earth that we have either forgotten in our busyness or obscured with words and categories, the entangling vines of civilization,” (Ibid., 262).

These men have been critical to the understanding of a revised wilderness tradition in the United States; while the efficacy of their ideas in management practice remains to be seen, their ideas have affected the attitudes toward wilderness areas, national parks and recreation areas throughout America. The American West holds the majority of the most treasured national parks, wilderness areas, and protected areas in the United States; these sites have become a symbol of American freedom, beauty and spiritual renewal (McAvoy 2002, 383). These places are important landscapes for many Americans in vastly different ways, depending on the perceptions of these landscapes from different cultural groups. D. R. Williams and M. E. Patterson identified four approaches for understanding “socially constructed systems of meaning” of natural landscapes: inherent/aesthetic meanings, individual/expressive meanings, instrumental/goal directed meanings and cultural/symbolic meanings (Ibid., 386-7). The inherent/aesthetic meanings relate to the emotional response one has to scenic beauty, with little variation from one cultural background to another (Ibid., 386). The individual/expressive meanings refer to those where an individual personally identifies with a landscape,
having some sort of defining attachment to that space (Ibid., 387). The instrumental/goal directed meaning could also be referred to as resource management, with the goal of benefiting from commodity extraction and management of the land (Ibid.). Lastly, cultural/symbolic meaning is one where a group collectively feels an “emotional, symbolic, historic, spiritual or cultural significance”, often involving a spiritual connection to nature and a tie to their ancestors (McAvoy 2002, 387).

McAvoy’s research done of pertinent literature, public hearing transcripts, and research reports on visitors to national parks concludes that the majority of white Americans prioritize Western landscapes, particularly national parks and forests, in the following order: individual/expressive, instrumental/goal oriented and cultural/symbolic (Ibid.). His research also suggests that tribal groups, in both the United States and Canada, prioritize Western landscapes in the following order: cultural/symbolic, instrumental/goal oriented, and individual/expressive (Ibid.). This reflects the importance that Indigenous people place on respect for the earth and for living in co-existence with nature. While these hierarchies of value demonstrate tribal groups’ cultural and symbolic importance for sites across the country, it also illustrates the disconnect between non-native people and wilderness. While the individual and expressive significance suggests a desire to experience the wilderness in a meaningful way, the lack of cultural or symbolic association with these landscapes shows a deeper break in the human-nature relationship than may be immediately apparent.

In Western culture, the idea of a disconnected wilderness has served as a visual and representational device in popular culture, art and literature, becoming romanticized as an untouched paradise, a barren wasteland, or even the face of American manifest destiny, the idea that the vast wilderness was in some way predestined to be conquered and owned by the American people. As a result, landscapes have become culture as well as nature, serving the ideological interests of the society which “controls” it. Landscape as image has functioned as a screen in Western culture, upon which ideas regarding national identity, religious narrative, historical narrative, ancestral relationships, utopian/dystopian conditions and “newcomers” to the land were projected, edited, exaggerated, idealized, and often presented as realistic (Natali 2001, 107). In fact, according to Brian Osborne, the term landscape has long been used to refer to “culturally loaded geographies,” (2001, 5). Landscape is also used to represent states of mind or intentionality, with “going West” coming to mean “going crazy” or often “returning to the past,” as one embarking on a journey to the “primeval landscape” or untouched wilderness (Natali 2001, 114). In the film Sunchaser by director Michael Cimino for example, the Arizona desert is shown as a utopian landscape where ancient and contemporary culture unite to “share a healing relationship with nature,” (Ibid., 117). One scene in the film uses what Natali calls iconological excess, to layer meanings in a single landscape image: the two main characters drive toward a sacred mountain and lake, when they suddenly pass a group of running horses, ridden by Native Americans (Ibid., 119). These two worlds passing each other results in a “carnivalesque, joyous sequence,” which shows a perceived wilderness or primal reality colliding with
modernity (Ibid.). The scene places in contradiction white and native, horse and car, and Western films and road films, while managing somehow to transcend these paradoxes and produce a “dreamy, visionary movement in a time and space that is greater than that of the story,” (Ibid.). It is also worth noting that the scene is shot in Monument Valley, one of the most clichéd landscapes in all of Western iconography (Ibid., 120-21). These romanticized representations of wild landscape increase the difficulty in perceiving a world with no wilderness, where humans do not exist separately from any other phenomena; the question then is, how do we achieve this understanding from where we are today?

"Perhaps modern people cannot go home again," states Oelschlaeger in *The Idea of Wilderness* (1991, 2). He questions if perhaps we have come too far to regain what we have lost. While it may be true that we can no longer attain, or even desire to attain, that level of communion with nature, there are undoubtedly things that can be learned from this way of living to benefit our environment societally and ecologically. What it seems to amount to is a willingness to sense the rhythms of nature, appreciating them as we once did. Schama states:

...There are places even within the boundaries of a modern metropolitan sprawl where the boundaries between past and present, wild and domestic, collapse altogether. Below the hilltop clearing where my house stands are drystone walls, the remains of a vanished world of sheep-farming and dairying, made destitute a century ago. The walls now trail across a densely packed forest flood, hidden from view by a second growth canopy of tulip trees, white ash, and chestnut-leaf oak. From the midst of this suburban wilderness, in the hours before dawn, barely a fairway away from the inevitably manicured country club, coyotes howl at the moon, setting off a frantic shrieking from the flocks of wild turkey hidden in the covers. This is Thoreau’s kind of suburb. (1996, 577)

Schama writes of similar thoughts, stating that his intention for *Landscape and Memory* was to present a different story of the wilderness, “For it seems to be that neither the frontiers between the wild and the cultivated, nor those that lie between the past and the present, are so easily fixed,” (Ibid., 574). It has been argued with great conviction that civilization is indeed lost; we no longer intuitively understand the earth as an ecosystem, a series of small parts essential to the whole. In fact, it could be said that we have never been so lost before at any point in human history. Yet, we believe that we are found. Having successfully bent nature to our own will, brushing aside that which we see as inconsequential for our economic ends, we have achieved our ultimate purpose. Once we were primitive and lost; now, as fully evolved humans, we believe we are found. It is in this context, although perhaps skewed, where Thoreau proposes we lose ourselves once more. As Oelschlaeger states: “Only when we are lost, Thoreau reminds, can we begin to find ourselves. Once we abandon the signposts, the directions that define the conventional world, we see wild nature, and there, in wildness, lies preservation of the world,” (1991, 321).
Myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation. Religions, philosophies, arts, the social form of primitive and historic man, prime discoveries in science and technology, the very dreams that blister sleep, boil up from the basic, magic ring of myth. (Campbell 1949, 3).

Indigenous people used myth to place human and earthly phenomena within a framework through which they came to understand life’s mysteries. Early people used myth to understand the phenomenon of life and death, the movement of the stars and planets, and the ecology of the earth; myth helped them to maintain order and apply meaning to their lives. In doing so, they projected meaning and stories onto landscapes. Myth serves to explain certain phenomena regarding humans, the earth, or the universe, and manages to account for that which is missing: “an account of the origin, of the human place in the world,” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 10). While many now see myth as an integral part of the lives of early people, modernist thought generally maintains that the belief in myth and magic rendered Paleolithic people primitive, while the rational thought and scientific understanding of modern people makes them superior (Ibid., 9). The onset of the agricultural revolution was regarded as an emergence from darkness; people finally began to reach their true potential, growing crops, raising livestock, and manipulating nature as best they could to suit their needs. However, recent thought suggests that myth was a more sophisticated concept than generally regarded, providing a framework for Paleolithic people to cope with natural phenomena. Posthistoric primitivism, the notion that challenges modernist thought, generally maintains that the belief in myth and magic rendered Paleolithic people primitive, while the rational thought and scientific understanding of modern people makes them superior (Ibid., 9). The onset of the agricultural revolution was regarded as an emergence from darkness; people finally began to reach their true potential, growing crops, raising livestock, and manipulating nature as best they could to suit their needs. However, recent thought suggests that myth was a more sophisticated concept than generally regarded, providing a framework for Paleolithic people to cope with natural phenomena. Posthistoric primitivism, the notion that challenges modernist thought, generally maintains that the belief in myth and magic rendered Paleolithic people primitive, while the rational thought and scientific understanding of modern people makes them superior (Ibid., 9).

Philosophers such as Sir James Frazer, Ludwig Wittgenstein and Carl Jung held differing opinions on the value of nature and landscape myths in relation to human development and the movement towards modernity (Schama 1996, 208-9). Frazer felt that humanity progressed by shedding its myths and primitive religions, a view which Wittgenstein disagreed with (Ibid., 208). Wittgenstein referred to Frazer’s belief as “his unreconstructed Enlightenment insistence that myths became elaborated only to help frightened savages cope with their incomprehension of natural process,” (Ibid., 209). Alternatively, Jung believed that “To embrace myth and to readmit primitive religion in social behavior was not, for Jung, to flee modernity but to face up to it,” (Ibid.). With the many successes of modern humanity came numerous failures, and perhaps only recently has it become apparent that more “primitive” practices are often the most fruitful. Paleolithic people survived in coexistence with nature under the governance of these mythic systems; this type of relationship is worth study in contemporary society.

Where Thoreau and Muir went into the wilderness to find a more authentic way of living, other figures have joined Native people in seeking a more Indigenous experience. The art historian Aby Warburg traveled into the New Mexico desert to observe the rituals of the Hopi Indians, and there made a connection between his Renaissance studies and the symbols evident in the Hopi Indian ritual he was observing, a “timeless universalism,” (Schama 1996, 211). He at first viewed them as devices used by primitive man to deal with their lack of understanding – fear, even - regarding the unknown. Yet, as time passed, he began to feel as though rational and scientific thought could not perform as well as symbolism “as a way of dealing with terror,” (Ibid.). Warburg did not believe in the use of archetypes to trace symbolic connections over time. He thought instead that it was necessary to track particular motifs “from archaic sources through all the mutations and permutations of form and
meaning over time that would not only yield the deep connections between past and present” but “also reveal, somewhere along that road, its cultural and cognitive significance for human apprehension,” (Ibid., 213). He looked at this journey not as a “metaphysical Platonic design,” but rather as a mosaic comprised of small parts of human nature, which he hoped would form a complete, coherent image (Ibid.). This seemingly universal concept has also been linked to the development of religion as a way to frame meaning and phenomenological events. Charles François Dupuis, in L’Origine de tous les cultes; ou, La Religion universelle (Origin of All Religious Worship), offered the possibility that there were connections between the cosmos and earthly cycles such as seasons which he believed to be the beginning of myth as explanation for natural processes in the form of religion (Ibid., 250). Schama proposes the thought: “Perhaps divinity was Nature – its spirit self-embodied in natural forms like the greenery of the world and its running water?” (Ibid.). Discussing Dupuis’ hypothesis, Schama states the following:

All religions, they were convinced, had been (at their essence) natural religions. . . . Suppose, then, that the true fraternity of men [sic] lay not in some rationally articulated political formula requiring universal assent, but in an immense and venerable stock of responses to nature that had been culturally encoded as myth. Suppose also that a diligent investigator could uncover the connections between such myths across cultures and centuries. Would he not then be able to expose the fundamental unity of mankind? Was it conceivable, after all, that the world was both machinery and magic? (1996, 250).

For some, it was irrelevant whether myth was able to rationalize certain phenomena, but rather if it were able to frame these phenomena in a comprehensible system of meaning around which early people could structure their lives. To Plutarch, for example, these myths were not necessarily explanations for natural processes or wonders, but were symbols for these phenomena, which to him was equally fascinating. He seems to suggest that it did not matter so much whether myths were true or explained the cosmos, but rather that they provided humans with the means to understand them (Schama 1996, 257).

The projection of myths onto particular places results in mythologized landscapes with meaning assigned to them. Schama states that:

Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock. . . . Once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery. (1995, 61).

While certain meanings assigned to a landscape may be particular to the culture which assigned them, these associations often become part of the very soil, changing the way that culture cares for the landscape, altering how neighbouring cultures perceive it, and affecting the way in which newcomers approach it. W. J. T. Mitchell goes so far as to claim that landscape is not a noun, but a verb, “not as an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and subjective identities are formed,” (Mitchell 1994, 1). With this in mind, it is unsurprising that so many of the mythologized landscapes in the American West have come to be considered places of renewal, peacefulness and freedom. Others have come to represent whole cultures, places without which people would not be whole. The Black Hills is this kind of mythologized landscape, having become an essential piece of the Lakota cultural milieu, as well as all those tribes who were there before them.
Landscape, after all, is a constructed reality – a form which is given to nature by a particular human perception. The geography of religion, therefore, must necessarily attend to fantastic as well as earthbound places. . . . Sacred place, a "storied place," will always function in this manner. Those who study it will be driven simultaneously to cartography and poetic insight, to geographies and narrative – to that fine, fragile nexus where myth and terra firma intersect. (Lane 2001, 37)

Mythologized landscapes are frequently sacred space as well, so deeply woven into the ritual, culture and history of a people that they become imbued with sacred meaning. Beldan Lane, in his book Landscapes of the Sacred, explores the notion of places as sacred, dissecting the ways that Americans, from Native Americans through to contemporary Christians, identify a higher power within nature. His statement about landscape as constructed reality refers to the human tendency to assign form to nature, making the study of religious geography one of both heavenly and earthly natures (Lane 2001, 37). The ability for people to visit, see and touch places that are roots to stories and myths strengthens those mythologies (Osborne 2001, 5) and in some cases creates sacred space. This, "storied place" becomes sacred space, “that fine, fragile nexus where myth and terra firma intersect,” (Lane 2001, 37). Phenomenological philosophers would remind us that to "imagine the environment as merely an external container filled with neutral objects to which we (or God) may capriciously attach meaning," would result in a failure to look beyond the Western idea of subject and object (Ibid., 53). Edmund Husserl felt that this tendency allows humans to observe and explain the world without ever participating in it (Ibid.). Ecological philosophers like Tim Ingold would insist that the idea of landscape is interactive, as humans exist within "webs of environmental relations," (Ingold 1992, 39). Maurice Merleau-Ponty also believed that as human bodies moved throughout an environment as a component of it, they were "actively engaged in perceiving and being perceived," (Lane 2001, 54). In framing his study, Lane asks the question: "What allows a site initially known to us as topos – a mere location, a measurable, quantifiable point, neutral and indifferent – to become a place available to us as chora – an energizing force, suggestive to the imagination, drawing intimate connections to everything else in our lives?" (Ibid., 39)

Aristotle saw topos as being no different from another place, and having no discernible influence on the people or things within or on it, while Plato saw it as nurturer, chora, "summoning its participants to a common dance, to the "choreography" most appropriate to their life together," (Lane 2001, 39). The transition from topos to chora lies in ritual (Ibid.). Lane recalls his visit to the Great Medicine Wheel in Wyoming, where he witnessed various kinds of offerings left there by Native Americans. Among them were "two deer hooves linked by a leather thong, bundles of sage or tobacco tied in pieces of red, black, white, and yellow cloth; a turtle shell bound with crossed sticks of cottonwood; a peeled banana and three Bing cherries," (Ibid., 40). Performing a spiritual ritual bound to a particular location is but one example of making chora of topos.
FIG. 013 PHOTOGRAPH: BOY SCOUTS PREPARE FOR THE NIGHTLY FLAG FOLDING AT MOUNT RUSHMORE

FIG. 014 PHOTOGRAPH: WAR VETERANS FOLD THE FLAG

FIG. 015 PHOTOGRAPH: BOY SCOUTS COMPLETE THE FLAG FOLDING
Lane identifies three approaches to understanding sacred space: ontological, cultural, and phenomenological (Lane 2001, 40). The ontological approach views sacred place as inherently powerful and of hierophany, with the profane invading the ordinary (Ibid., 43). What the ontological approach fails to take into account is the overlap of sacred and profane, that sacred place can never fully be removed from the influence of that culture (Ibid.). The cultural approach refutes that sacred places had inherent power, instead proposing that cultural influences shape the sacredness of site through social constructions; this approach maintains that space is inherently void of intrinsic meaning (Ibid.). The last approach, phenomenology, advocates listening to place, “to recognize its own topography and material characters as suggesting affordances or offerings of their own,” (Ibid., 44). These approaches, when utilized together, can provide a more holistic understanding of sacred space.

Lane describes the influence of Mircea Eliade on his work, helping him to discover the identity of sacred space; he writes that “sacred space lies in the stories it bears and the power that these tales exert on the people who repeat them,” (Lane 2001, ix). He states that the process of identifying a sacred space must include more than collecting stories of spiritual encounters from individuals, but also cultural tensions, conflicting claims and ecological shifts as well,” (Ibid., 3-4). In his words, “to ignore this part of the story is to betray the dignity of the land itself and to silence the voices of those who have lived upon it and made it their own,” (Ibid., 4). A study of sacred place must involve the autonomous, as well as the social, political and economic conditions of places (Ibid., 5), as “A sacred place is necessarily more than a construction of the human imagination alone,” (Ibid., 4). A rounded study of sacred space, including ontological, cultural and phenomenological approaches, offers robust insight into the true nature of the sacredness associated with a particular site.

Mircea Eliade identified four axioms of sacred space, principles which describe how landscape is dealt with in religious imagination. The first axiom, “sacred place is not chosen, it chooses,” asserts that sacred place “is a construction of the imagination that affirms the independence of the holy,” (Lane 2001, 19). A structure like a church, mosque or other human institution built with the intention of housing spiritual communication cannot guarantee sacred encounters (Oskolkoff 2008, 2). In many religions, houses of God are built rather than discovered, with practitioners seeking an eventual heavenly reality; being unable to dwell in nature is widely resonant in a society which moves rather than rests in place, and consumes the earth rather than lives among it (More & Smith 2010). Richard Rubenstein once warned architects of the naivety of creating sacred space: “the sacred cannot be constructed. It makes itself. . . . Men [sic] can never deliberately create sacred precincts,” (1969, 148-50). The second axiom, “sacred place is ordinary place, ritually made extraordinary,” says that sacred space becomes sacred through rituals being performed at that site, making it different from other places (Lane 2001, 19). Ruth Ann Oskolkoff seconds this notion, stating that “Human actions create, enhance, support and propagate the “sacred”,” (2008, 3). These places are often ordinary places like Mount Cuchama,
is the point where the divine is sensed emerging through ordinariness, becoming “the center of the world, the navel of the earth,” where one can experience a region “beyond,” (Ibid., 20). Many cultures recognize their own sacred places in this way, often with no physical or tangible difference in conditions to mark the transition from sacred to profane. This often results in conflict as these cultures are not able to explain the quality of their sacred space in terms that can be understood and recognized by other cultures, communities or government bodies.

Other figures and academics have different ideas about the true nature of sacred space. In contrast to Eliade’s work, John Eade and Michael Sallnow take a positivist, Durkheimian approach which studies politics, religions, regions, ethnicities and classes of the people, who they believe make a sacred space by conceiving it themselves (Lane 2001, 49). Wasserman recognizes the difficulty surrounding the definition of sacred space, and offers several scenarios in which a place might be deemed sacred. In the New Age tradition, places recognized by traditional peoples where the healing energy of the earth may be experienced can be considered sacred (Wasserman 1998, 43). Christians may experience the sacred in places which have been “sanctified” or validated by the bible (Ibid.). Those who practice the Indigenous Japanese religion Shintoism may find sacred space where Kami spirits have been, and subsequently marked by shrines or temples (Ibid.). Wasserman also points out that the memorial landscape can also be seen as sacred place, as “it functions to transmit community stories and validate those actions deemed honorific in a given

FIG. 016
PHOTOGRAPH: HIKERS AT THE SUMMIT OF HARNEY PEAK
culture,” (1998, 43). In fact, memorials can serve to expose sacred space, by providing “traces and clues to cultural history that have become obscured within a culturally opaque society,” (Ibid.). By informing, teaching and reconciling, these sites can give meaning to these spaces (Ibid.). Much like rituals served to help early peoples cope with the unknown, memorials have helped to explain “the unexplainable” for thousands of years (Ibid.). “The landscape thus becomes, in essence, a mnemonic device for remembering and preserving historic experiences, and a place for new traditions to emerge,” (Wasserman 1998, 43).

Lane points out several issues which accompany the idea of sacred space including whether or not they must be clearly separate from their surroundings, the idea of secrecy as pertinent to the sacredness of the site, and what many consider to be equally important to property rights, “narrative rights,” (Lane 2001, 52). Sacred places are also often contested places, in some cases being valued by two cultural groups who both have religious or spiritual connections with the site, and in other cases being valued by two different cultural groups for entirely different reasons, such as resource extraction, logging or recreation. Contested place can also be born out of tragedy or historical discord between groups. The same landscape can have entirely different connotations and meanings to different cultures. Schama acknowledges this ambiguousness of nature myths, stating that “social memory” ensures “that landscapes will not always be simple “places of delight” – scenery as sedative, topography as arranged to feast the eye. . . . the memories are not
all of pastoral picnics,” (1996, 18). In America, many of these contested landscapes are connected to the loss of land encountered by American Indians during Westward expansion; Native American sacred space, therefore, can today be seen as either places of intense spiritual communication and renewal or places of immense sadness and loss, such as the Wounded Knee Massacre site in South Dakota.

Lane highlights that which differentiates American sacred space from other sacred space: the Indigenous faith of the Native people and the spirit of place from which it comes (2001, 73). To understand the ground beneath the United States, it is pertinent to understand how Native Americans derived meaning from it. In considering the Crazy Horse memorial and the rest of the Black Hills, some of David Chidester and Edward Linenthal’s words from American Sacred Space ring particularly true:

A sacred place is not merely a meaningful place; it is a powerful place because it is appropriated, possessed, and owned. . . . Sacred space is inevitably contested space, a site of negotiated contests over the legitimate ownership of sacred symbols. . . . A sacred space is not merely discovered, or founded, or constructed; it is claimed, owned, and operated by people advancing specific interests. . . . Sacred space is inevitably entangled with the entrepreneurial, the social, the political, and other “profane” forces. In fact, a space or place is often experienced as most sacred by those who perceive it at risk of being desecrated by the very forces – economic, social, and political – that made its consecration possible in the first place. (As quoted in Lane 2001, 63)

When it comes to Native American sacred places, many believe that they are not “made sacred”, but that they simply "are" sacred. Chris Peters, director of the Seventh Generation Fund in Arcate, California, states: “Sacred landscapes are not sacred because Native people believe they are. They are sacred in and of themselves. Even if we all die off, they will still be sacred,” (as quoted in Taliman 2002, 39).

The Black Hills in South Dakota are sacred as a whole, an important cultural landscape for numerous groups. But this sacred land would become contested space, victim to a ruthless land grab at the hands of the United States Government in the 1800s. The status of this sacred land is still being challenged today. These conflicts require a study and classification of sacred place inclusive of a wide-ranging survey of the factors which contribute to its inception. “Landscape is first of all an effort of the imagination – a construed way of seeing the world which is distinctive to a people, their culture, and even their anticipated means of encountering the holy,” (Lane 2001, 131). When we study sacred space, we must endeavor to understand the multitude of ways in which it was deemed sacred in the first place; this inevitably involves a study of the culture who reveres it, the character of the land itself, and the way that one interacts with the space when they dwell in it.

Sacred places are physical and geographic anchor points for our psychic and cultural imaginings, the stories we tell about ourselves, the world, and the relations between them. (Ivakhiv 2001, 239)
WAȘIČUTA _ IN THE WHITE MAN’S WORLD
The removal of the Lakota Sioux and other Indian Tribes from the Black Hills was only a small part of the injustice experienced by Native Americans during westward expansion. A pre-settlement America is often difficult to imagine, since at this time, very little of the United States remains untouched, different from the expansive plains, mountains and rivers of a few hundred years ago that was made home by numerous Native American tribes and freely roaming, plentiful herds of wild animals. Mark David Spence estimates in his book *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*, that at the time of European contact, over 800 Indian nations were present in the area we now call the United States (Anderson & Egan 2003, 245). Throughout North America, Indigenous people lived on all parts of the continent; anthropologists would eventually identify individual culture areas marked by differing lifestyles emerging as a result of climate, geology, weather and resources (Marshall 2010, 58-9). Then, in the name of progress and discovery and with a sense of manifest destiny, the American landscape was claimed, the Indigenous peoples relocated and segregated, wild animals species eradicated or nearly made extinct, and native plant species threatened by extensive agricultural practice (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 59). Prior to the legal formation of the United States, many treaties were drafted to mitigate relations between the settlers and Indian nations, yet most of these treaties were not honoured (Ornelas 2007, 166). This phenomenon is what Echo-Hawk refers to as the “settler state” outlook, where the land is viewed in terms of what it is worth economically and for its potential for resource exploitation (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 61).

It should be noted here that I use the term American Indian in accordance with many of the texts written by Lakota authors referenced in this practicum, as well as the words of American Indian Movement leader Russell Means, an Oglala Lakota from the Pine Ridge reservation. He stated:

*I abhor the term ‘Native American.’ It is a generic government term used to describe all the indigenous prisoners of the United States. These are the American Samoans, the Micronesians, the Aleuts, the original Hawaiians, and the erroneously termed Eskimos, who are actually Upiks and Inupiaqs. And, of course, the American Indian. … At an international conference of Indians from the Americas held in Geneva, Switzerland at the United Nations in 1977 we unanimously decided we would go under the term American Indian. “We were enslaved as American Indians, we were colonized as American Indians and we will gain our freedom as American Indians and then we will call ourselves any damn thing we choose.” Finally, I will not allow a government, any government, to define who I am. Besides, anyone born in the Western hemisphere is a Native American. (As quoted in Gaffney 2006)*

In 1887, after the creation of reservations and the forced relocations of American Indian people, the Dawes Severalty Act (General Allotment Act), converted the collectively owned reservation land to plots of individually owned land, creating 160-acre parcels which were allotted to married men and 80-acre parcels
FIG. 020  INFOGRAPHIC: LOSS OF INDIGENOUS LAND IN THE UNITED STATES (DRAWN WITH DATA FROM HILLIARD 1972)
for single men (Marshall 2010, 30-1). This act was meant to introduce Indians to American modern life, encouraging them to be farmers and ranchers so as to provide individually for themselves and their families; this marked the end of communal tribal ownership (McAvoy 2002, 390). In 1910 when this process was mostly completed, the leftover land was made available to Euro-American settlers (Marshall 2010, 31). Theodore Roosevelt, one of the men immortalized in the carving of Mount Rushmore and supporter of the Dawes Act, referred to this process as a “vast pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass”; it was just a part of the destruction felt by Native Americans during the expansion of the West (Ibid.). McAvoy estimates that after 40 years of the Dawes Act, some tribes lost up to 90 percent of their reserve land (2002, 391), and “During a 47-year period, when the allotment of Indian lands began in 1887 until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 ended it, Native landholdings decreased by approximately 62% (Rice 2006 as cited in Ornelas 2007, 166). Now the “crown jewels” of America’s National Parks system, in 1850 Mt. Rainier, Yellowstone, Yosemite, Mesa Verde, Crater Lake, Olympic, Glacier, Grand Canyon, and Rocky Mountain were all still “Indian country” (McAvoy 2002, 391). These areas were not unclaimed when these parks were established; Native people had inhabited them for centuries, and the experiences of these lands being taken from them have marred the way that Native American people view these protected areas in their oral and written histories (Ibid., 393). In addition to the loss of land, war, disease, famine, and dishonorable treaties brought by European settlers when they infringed upon Indian territory, Indian children were forced into boarding schools and taught to never speak their native language; this nearly destroyed entire cultures (Ibid., 394).

Schama cites the song “America the Beautiful” as an expression of continental expansiveness through its lyrics; this is the manifest destiny that settlers felt they were entitled to (1996, 15). He also states that “landscapes can be self-consciously designed to express the virtues of a particular political or social community,” as was done with Mount Rushmore, which Schama believes had to be hugely scaled to fit the sculptor’s proclamation of “the continental magnitude of America as the bulwark of its democracy,” (Ibid.). Mount Rushmore, carved in stone from 1927 until 1941, features the likenesses of the four American Presidents to whom the sculptor, Gutzon Borglum, attributes the formation of America. The faces of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln now gaze over the Black Hills, but the additional text which Borglum desired for the finished product never saw completion. This text was to include dates he thought important to his message about America:

Of the nine dates Borglum wanted inscribed on a giant “entablature,” no fewer than seven concerned the acquisition of territory. Preferring 1867, the date of the purchase of Alaska, to any reference to the Civil War might have struck a modern visitor as quixotic, had the entablature actually been realized. But to Borglum, as the inscription would make clear, these dates constituted “The History of the United States of America.” Only from the heights, he believed, could this essential, imperial truth be properly appreciated. (1996, 395)
FIG. 022  FEDERAL LAND BY AGENCY
American Indian editor Tim Giago articulated the view of many Native American people towards the Mount Rushmore Monument in South Dakota, only miles from the Crazy Horse Memorial. Giago states that while the Mount Rushmore monument may be a source of great pride, freedom, opportunity, democracy, conservation and expansion for many American people, for American Indians it represents something quite different (McAvoy 2002, 393). Americans view George Washington as “hero of the revolution”, Thomas Jefferson as the author of the Declaration of Independence, Teddy Roosevelt as the father of America’s National Parks, and Abraham Lincoln “as the president who preserved the Union and abolished slavery,” (Ibid.). American Indians on the other hand, remember that Washington “called for the extermination of Indians in New England,” that Jefferson appropriated most Indian Western lands and denied that the land in the Louisiana Purchase belonged to the Indians, that Roosevelt forced many Indian people off their traditional lands in forming America’s national parks and forests, and that Lincoln “sanctioned the largest mass execution in our country’s history when he approved the hanging of 38 Santee Sioux in Mankato, Minnesota in 1862,” (Ibid.). Many Lakota people see Mount Rushmore “as an expression of the dominant culture’s arrogance toward them,” and John Lame Deer states that settlers “could just as well have carved this mountain into a huge cavalry boot standing on a dead Indian,” (as quoted in Ostler 2010, xiv).

When Doane Robinson brought Gutzon Borglum to the cliff where Mount Rushmore would eventually be carved, Borglum “experienced an immediate rush of exhilaration, as though he had identified a celestial platform from which America’s Manifest Destiny could be surveyed,” (Schama 1996, 399). Schama claims that he also knew that the land, granted to the Sioux people in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, had been unceremoniously taken from them (Ibid.). While Borglum would sometimes act as “the Great White Father” and visit native peoples, he did not listen to their outcry when they would protest at the carving, as “Talk of Great Spirits was so much childish superstition, exactly the kind of foolishness that was being properly swept aside by the onward rush of American technology,” (Ibid.). In Borglum’s eyes, “if you couldn’t see it, feel it, touch it, it wasn’t there,” (Ibid.).

In addition to being a visual reminder of American expansion and the subsequent diminishment of Native American lands, the mountain in which the faces are carved is sacred to the Lakota people, along with the rest of the Black Hills. The destruction of sacred space in the name of national progress is a phenomenon that has occurred all too often over the past 150 years. Walter Echo-Hawk Jr. cites the case of Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association, 485 US 439 (1988), where a tribal holy place was determined by the United States Forest Service to be clear-cut, an action which would have destroyed the spiritual practices of three tribes and threatened their very cultural survival (2009, 76). Before this could occur, Congress intervened and protected the area with wilderness status (Ibid.). In another case, Navajo Nation et al. v. US Forest Service, F. 3rd (9th Cir., Slip Opinion, August 8, 2008), a holy place revered by American Indians in the Southwest was used as a site to make artificial snow out of treated sewer water, resulting in fecal matter being dumped on
it (Ibid.). Echo-Hawk feels that these sorts of tragedies would never be tolerated in connection to Judeo-Christian holy places (Ibid., 76-7). In fact, Senator Daniel K. Inouye observes that “the religious prejudices of early colonists” set a precedent for how Americans and Native peoples would interact from there onward (Ibid. 69). This colonial view towards the landscape and its people continues to affect the way that American society perceives the land today (Ibid., 72). Marshall believes that this worldview, which resulted in settlers dismissing critical Indigenous knowledge about the land, has created a lack of respect; historically, humans have not respected things that they did not control or possess, and just because “Property can be prized or cherished, . . . does not necessarily mean it is respected,” (Marshall 2010, 67).

If one needs to see this colonization still prevalent today, one need only look to the names of the National Parks throughout the United States. While thousands of waterbodies, cities and natural features throughout America have names that are derived from Native American words, most of the Nation’s National Parks, monuments and historic sites have names completely free from association with the Native Americans who lived on those sites originally (Anderson & Egan 2003, 245).

In 1978, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act was established:

To protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including, but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonial and traditional rites. (Egan 2003, 259).

Nearly thirty years later, an Executive Order, 13007, Indian Sacred Sites, May 24, 1996 (61 FR 26771), allowed Indian Religious Practitioners to access and utilize sacred sites for ceremonies, with federal land agencies being instructed to allow such ritual; also,
federal land agencies were instructed to avoid damage to these sacred sites in any way possible (Ibid.). These orders have been implemented with varying degrees of success.

When represented in art and media, Western expansion has varied greatly. Art, film and television have all featured highly romanticized stories about the Wild West, the as-yet untouched promised land of Americans. Often these representations featured Native Americans as savages, foes or simply “others”. The “cowboys and Indians” motif was born from this idea, and still resonates today. In response to these forms of representation, a revisionist tradition emerged showing a different side of the expansion West, reexamining commonly accepted histories. The revisionist view of expansion, which materialized in film, literature, art and with Native American historians, show reworked histories of the West through a more multi-cultural and critical lens (Natali 2001, 111). An example of this is the film *Dances with Wolves* which looks at the new Western landscape through a revisionist lens, showing the struggles of the Native Americans who were trying to remain on their traditional lands despite westward expansion and the threat of violence; it should be made clear, however, that the film was not without criticism, as Michael Walker reminds us that a white couple is the center of the narrative (Ibid., 113).

Efforts have been made to give back what was stripped of American Indians during the expansion, yet today many Native American tribes still exist in a state of imbalance, never having adapted to the “white man’s” culture, nor abandoned their traditional ways entirely. This state, which Etienne Gaboury coins a “cultural schizophrenia,” is like two incompatible liquids flowing together, but never mixing (1980, 80). Beginning in the mid 1900s, efforts have been made to reclaim their traditional land, with the few small victories gained providing hope amidst the onslaught of failures. The settler state outlook still persists, raising American idealism to a higher priority, while “the less buoyant settles quietly at the bottom,” (Ibid.).
Tȟaššúŋka Witko Wókiksuye _ THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL
THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL

THE BLACK HILLS
In the 1920s and ’30s, sculptor Gutzon Borglum materialized the colonization of Indigenous America, carving four white Presidents in sacred stone. His assistant, Korczak Ziolkowski, would go on to carve the visage of a very different man in Black Hills granite. Ziolkowski, of Polish descent, was born in Boston and orphaned at one year of age. Growing up in a number of foster homes, he received no training in the arts that would later make him famous (Antonio 2012, 35). His first experience in mountain carving was working as an assistant to Borglum at Mount Rushmore. He would later go on to win first prize at the New York World’s Fair for “Paderewski: Study of an Immortal”, a marble portrait he had carved (Ibid., 33). The bust would eventually gain the attention of Standing Bear, a Lakota Chief from the Black Hills, who wrote in a letter to Korczak: “My fellow chiefs and I would like the white man to know the red man has great heroes, also”; Standing Bear wished for Ziolkowski to carve a monument to the American Indian people in one of the mountains of the Black Hills (Ibid., 35). Ziolkowski no doubt saw this as an opportunity for both the memorialization of a great people, as well as a way to achieve the kind of greatness that Borglum had attained in the carving of Mount Rushmore. It was decided that the Lakota warrior Crazy Horse would be the figure immortalized in stone. In June of 1947, Ruth Ross arrived from Connecticut to work as a volunteer on the carving (Ibid., 36); the two would marry in 1950 and go on to have ten children together (Ibid., 37).

This did not happen immediately, however. Aged 34, Ziolkowski entered into the U.S. Army service in World War II; three years later, he returned to the Black Hills to begin the massive undertaking with “no budget, no running water, no electricity, and no home,” (Ibid., 35). Sam Antonio states that “he would endure four back operations, quadruple bypass surgery, diabetes, arthritis, a broken wrist, and a ruptured Achilles tendon. But never a broken spirit,” (Ibid.). The project’s humble beginnings are apparent when touring the now sprawling museums of the Crazy Horse Memorial site. An introductory short film portrays, in black and white film, Korczak climbing the steep stairs atop the mountain day in and day out, struggling with aging machinery and little help.

Standing Bear died in 1953, at which point there were not many Lakota people involved in any aspect of the carving. Ruth Ziolkowski believes this to be due to the fact that Korczak worked alone most of the time on the mountain, and since he could not afford to pay anyone...
THE MOUNTAIN CARVING

THE BLASTING AND WORK AREA

THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL
VISITORS' COMPLEX
She has taken over the endeavor since Korczak’s death in 1982, aided by many of their children, who still work towards their father’s goal today (Antonio 2012, 37). Ruth and Korczak Ziolkowski lived on the premises of the carving for all those years, and Ruth herself still lives there today. Many of their children live just minutes away from the project, and some of their grandchildren have even worked in the visitors’ centers. When asked where the project would be today if they had accepted that government funding, Ruth stated “I don’t think it would even exist,” (2013). She believes that with the Indian Health Service, the tribal colleges, and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. they would have rendered the Crazy Horse Memorial unnecessary (2013).

Antonio explains that Ziolkowski was once told by a wise Indian man that “When the legends die, the dreams end. And when the dreams end, there is no more greatness,” (2012, 35). This simple phrase kept Ziokowski motivated in his goal of completing the mountain carving, yet one could interpret this saying in many ways. While Ziolkowski felt that the carving was a way to ensure the legacy of the American Indian peoples, the land itself has held the stories and legends of the people for centuries. The carving’s subject, Crazy Horse, lived and fought within the Black Hills and surrounding Plains, creating a legacy that has made him a legend to the Oglala Sioux and beyond. Today many wonder if Korczak’s tribute to him is a fitting one. The form emerging from the stone mountain is an idealized, concrete representation of this man; the story of the flesh and blood man is rougher, and the details are far less concrete.
The man on which the mountain carving is based was born sometime in the 1840s, although his exactly year of birth is often disputed. He was born to his father Crazy Horse, an Oglala Sioux, and his mother Rattling Blanket Woman, a Miniconjou (both Lakota tribes); they named him Cha-O-Ha (In the Wilderness, Among the Trees) at birth (Matson & Frethem 2006). Crazy Horse became notable for his skills in battle against the Crows and the Atsinas and at seventeen, upon returning successful from battle, his father gave him the name (Ostler 2010, 30-31). It is said that in his youth, Crazy Horse embarked on a vision quest, a common ritual practiced by young men where they climb to the top of a butte and await a vision from the spirits. Crazy Horse received a vision of himself riding a horse into battle, emerging unharmed despite an onslaught of bullets and arrows. His appearance, with a smooth stone behind his ear and his hair, long and unbraided with a feather, would become his protection in battle; he was convinced that so long as he dressed this way, he would go unharmed. In his poem titled after the warrior, Robert Fagles describes this attire:

Hair down to his waist, flaring behind him
look, an eagle wing in his scalp-lock
and a stone behind his ear, and listen hard
I hear him saying things that have no words

and the horse and rider plunging headlong on
through the shadows sweeping in around them
on through a streaking hail of lead shot
grazing them, never hitting, melting away. (1992)

Crazy Horse used the insight he gained from his vision quests to develop battle strategies, including fast and very unpredictable movements (Ostler 2010, 31). He refused to live on a reservation and take on the white man’s ways. He once said:

We did not ask you white men to come here. The Great Spirit gave us this country as a home. You had yours. We did not interfere with you. The Great Spirit gave us plenty of land to live on, and buffalo, deer, antelope and other game. But you have come here; you are taking my land from me; you are killing off our game so it is hard for us to live. Now, you tell us to work for a living, but the Great Spirit did not make us work, but to live by hunting. You white men can work if you want to. We do not interfere with you, and again you say, why do you not become civilized? We do not want your civilization! We would live as our fathers did, and their fathers before them. (As quoted in Yellowtail and Fitzgerald 1991, 193)

Today, most Lakota admire Crazy Horse for protecting the Lakota way of life in a period of unrest, only surrendering at Fort Robinson, Nebraska in 1877 when his people were too weak and hungry to go on (Antonio 2012, 36). He was stabbed with a bayonet during a confused skirmish under a flag of truce on September 5, 1877, dying the next day from his injuries (Ibid.).

Korczak Ziolkowski felt that Crazy Horse would represent the Lakota people as proud and noble, rather than defeated, which is why he is portrayed with outstretched arm, gesturing strongly across the hills, echoing his famous words, “My lands are where my dead lie buried,” (Antonio 2012, 36). Crazy Horse remained a leader for his people until his death, and many saw him as a “symbol of Lakota resistance;” (Ibid.). Refusing to sign treaties or live on reservations, he once said that “One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk,” (Ibid.).
The Crazy Horse Memorial, if completed, will be 170 m tall and 195 m long (Waltham 2005, 49). As of 2005, ten million tonnes of rock have been blown off the mountain; to put this into perspective, half a million tonnes were blasted off during the carving of Mount Rushmore (Ibid.). Waltham describes the carving process:

*Rock excavation is by drill-and-blast, using dynamite for the stages of major rock removal, and then detonating cord on the smaller blasts to create details. Finally the granite is shaped and smoothed to the exact profile using hand-held jet-finishing torches. These use flame jets of diesel and compressed air to heat the rock surface by hundreds of degrees so that differential mineral expansion flakes away the material – an artificial version of extremely rapid thermal weathering.* (Ibid.).

The Crazy Horse complex includes the carving and work area, the Indian Museum of North America, the Native American Educational and Cultural Center, and the Indian University of North America, which was launched in 2010 through a summer university program in cooperation with the University of South Dakota (Antonio 2012, 38). These endeavors are meant to compliment Ruth and Korczak's humanitarian efforts, "to tell the story of the Indian people [and] of their pride of the wonderful way of life they had before we came and changed their whole manner of living by taking over their land" (Ruth Ziolkowski in Antonio 2012, 39). Korczak echoed that sentiment, stating that he wanted "to right a little of the wrong that they did to these people because of this part of American history," (Ibid.). The museum houses thousands of artifacts, many of which are in storage due to the sheer amount of donated items received from all over the United States (Ziolkowski 2013). Photographs, jewelry, clothing, paintings and other items provide visitors with a glimpse into Lakota traditional life, as well as that of other tribes represented throughout the museum.

Korczak intended the Crazy Horse memorial to be a dedication to all American Indians, with Crazy Horse as a symbolic representation for the strength and resolve of all Native Americans. Ruth claims that while other Indian figures were proposed and favoured for the carving, "no one ever said it should not be Crazy Horse," (2013). The memorial was officially dedicated on June 3, 1948, with five living survivors of the Battle of the Little Bighorn in attendance to witness 10 tons of rock blown off the mountain with explosives (Antonio 2012, 35). When, or if, the Crazy Horse Memorial reaches completion, it will be the largest mountain carving in the world (Ibid., 34). The memorial's nearby neighbor, the Mount Rushmore National memorial, was completed at a cost of $1 million dollars, mostly funded by the government, and took about 14 years to carve; in contrast, Crazy Horse was started in 1948 and is funded only through private donations and visitor fees (Ibid., 34-5). In the 65 years since the project began, the only part of the carving considered complete is the face of the warrior.

After the death of Standing Bear, the original advocate for the carving, there was no opposition to the continued construction. White Face attributes this to how young the history of oppression against the Lakota truly is,
FIG. 033  COMPOSITE IMAGE: TIME LAPSE OF CRAZY HORSE CARVING 1948-2013

FIG. 034  DIAGRAM: CRAZY HORSE CARVING PROGRESS
pointing out that her own great-great-grandparents were present at Little Bighorn during the period of unrest that resulted in the Lakota being segregated and forced off their traditional lands (Interview 2013). It was not considered a good idea to speak out for Lakota rights at that time.

Barbara Murray-Charging Crow, whose husband’s fifth-generation grandfather rode with Crazy Horse, states that “there are no pictures of these men for a reason. They were a different kind of man. . . . They suffered emotionally and mentally because their people suffered. He never wanted to be a chief. . . . He became a warrior, and a very spiritual man,” (Murray-Charging Crow 2013). Knowing the memorial in so many ways opposes who Crazy Horse was as a person, Murray-Charging Crow shares that her husband feels at the very least, “when they’re gone, they won’t forget us,” (Ibid.). She classifies this sentiment as “trying to find some beauty in the ugly, something to feel a sense of humanity even when you’re being humiliated,” (Ibid.).

Having spent 65 years in a state of incompleteness, it must be considered that the Crazy Horse Memorial will never be fully complete. In our modern world, quickly changing and evolving technology could no doubt help the progress of the mountain carving; but with changing times also comes the progression of values and beliefs, a realm in which the memorial is already straddling as if upon a precipice. Much of the dynamite used to blast on the mountain is donated, and the organization relies on visitors for much of their operation costs. Today, many believe that the Crazy Horse memorial serves as a way to remind a “tuned-out” culture about the heroes of the Indians. While the memorial goes against nearly everything traditional Lakotas hold dear with respect to the land, to some it seems to be the only way to remind an object-oriented culture of their importance.

One of the most perplexing issues surrounding the Lakota and the carving is their idea of the entirety of the Black Hills being sacred. The carving of Crazy Horse into a mountain is the creation of an object meant to represent not only the Lakota, but all Indian nations. However, this is the antithesis of Lakota spirituality, and the primary point of confusion in analyzing the implications of this commemorative act. Of the memorial, White Face says, “Crazy Horse was a sacred Mountain, we did not give permission,” (Interview 2013). This sentiment is one shared by other Lakota Indians who believe that the entirety of the Black Hills is sacred, and that the carving of the Black Hills monoliths is desecration. White Face maintains that the carving of the mountain in the likeness of Crazy Horse was the idea of one man, Standing Bear, and not a shared desire of the Lakota people. “One person cannot give approval from all of us,” she states (Ibid.). In response to a question asked regarding the acquisition of the land the Crazy Horse memorial sits on, White Face states that the U.S. government was involved. According to her, this was similar to how housing developments or other establishments in the Black Hills have received permission to build. She says that some businesses in the Black Hills even frame and put on display the paperwork that allowed them to acquire, settle on, and operate on what used to be treaty territory, an action especially hurtful to the descendants of the Lakota people who were originally forced off that land (Ibid.). The government involvement in the original acquisition
of the Crazy Horse land is an ironic and hurtful detail not overlooked by some Lakota people today.

Of the contemporary Lakota involvement with the Crazy Horse memorial, White Face says that those involved are likely not aware of the spiritual significance of that place, or of the Black Hills in their entirety (Interview 2013). In researching the spiritual significance of the land and the ideals behind the Crazy Horse Memorial, it is easy to become conflicted as to the rightness or wrongness of the project. In the eyes of some Lakotas, the project is sacrilege to everything their traditional ways stood for. To others, it is a contemporary reflection of their proud heritage and hope for a better future. As an outsider studying this paradox, it is easy to move between the two viewpoints, as both have merit; the further one investigates, however, the further from resolution it also seems. White Face says that this is not simply an outsider viewpoint problem, but one facing Lakota people today as well since they are not educated about traditional Lakota values (Ibid.).

One of the more interesting things about the Crazy Horse Memorial is that one seldom is able to see a memorial site like this in progress, especially for this long of a period of time. In many places around the world where people or events are commemorated, statues are often erected very quickly, and memorial landscapes at much smaller scales are constructed in relatively short periods of time. The result of this is that the public response, and the suitability of the memorial, is determined quickly and definitively. If there is room for interpretation in these memorials, it is often in the intentional ambiguity the design is imbued with. On the other hand, the Crazy Horse memorial, in its seemingly perpetual state of incompletion, is unique in that the process of construction is visible, slow, and at a grand scale. Discussions relating to its suitability are different in that the final product is far from present, and there is much that could occur between now and that time, whether it be the effect of social forces or the equally unpredictable forces of nature. A common question that encircles the Crazy Horse memorial is, “when will it be finished?” It is often one of the first thoughts a tourist has upon visiting the site. As a child, I often asked my parents if I would live to see it completed. Copies of the finished design are displayed throughout the interpretive center and museum, reinforcing the image of the completed sculpture and allowing visitors to visualize that form on the mountain, looking past the quarry-like tiers of granite that house large machinery and the crude outline where the horse’s head will eventually be.

Today, the Crazy Horse Memorial is a carved face emerging from a roughly blasted granite mountain; it is not a Native American Warrior astride his horse, and the possibility exists that it might never be. What does a landscape such as this have to say in such a state of incompletion? The brokenness of the memorial in its current state seems to reflect the Lakota people themselves, seemingly shattered after years of heartbreak, loss and forced assimilation. It remains to be seen if both the carving and the Lakota people will emerge strong from the weight that restrains them today, but the question of the meaning in this state of “incompletion” still remains.

It won’t be finished. It will never… That’s a sacred place.
(White Face Interview 2013)
The Crazy Horse Volksmarch is an annual event during which visitors, hikers and enthusiasts may participate in a communal hike through the carving’s surrounding forests, up the rocky base of the carving, and along the service roads used by workers in the carving of the mountain. The Volksmarch begins in the parking lot of the visitors’ complex, and proceeds along the west side of the property, winding its way through the forest and eventually arriving at the base of the mountain. Here, one begins to see the signs of industrial activity that accompany the carving. The trail begins to transition into gravel and service roads, used to store or move machinery through. The trail eventually joins with the primary service road for the mountain, which winds back and forth in a gradual incline up the back of the mountain. The arrival at the top of the carving is from the north side of the tunnel, from where one can ascend the remaining section of road to the top of the arm, where they are able to take in the astonishing beauty of the Black Hills from one of the highest locations for miles. Forests stretch for as far as the eye can see in some directions, and in others the plains can be seen where the expanses of forests end. If this experience alone does not make a person feel especially small, the enormous presence of the face of Crazy Horse certainly will; from this perspective, his eyes are both industrial and fluid, hardened and human.

Being there brings into focus the reality of this carving endeavor. Here, one can see the true scale of the operation. Machinery, trucks, tools, materials, debris and blast fragments are deposited in various locations around the mountain, with quarry-like cuts in the rock.
making the site from up close feel like more of a mine than a memorial. Signage surrounding the mountain warns of the use of explosives, and describes the blast signals one needs to be aware of when travelling within the area close to the mountain. Semi-permanent infrastructure like staircases have also been built to gain access to certain parts of the carving.

“My lands are where my dead lie buried,” the warrior once stated of the Black Hills. Standing on top of the mountain in his line of sight, this concept is more readily understood. The experience of being within the memorial is surreal, and the thought of its eventual scale is staggering when standing beside the already towering visage; it is both beautiful and terrifying.
FIG. 039  PHOTOGRAPH: VISITORS WALK THROUGH THE WOODS AFTER COMMENCING THE VOLKSMARCH

FIG. 040  PHOTOGRAPH: THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL VIEWED UPON EMERGING FROM THE FOREST
FIG. 041  PHOTOGRAPH: A SERVICE ROAD AT THE BASE OF THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL

FIG. 042  PHOTOGRAPH: THE SERVICE ROAD APPROACHES THE TOP OF THE CARVING ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE MOUNTAIN
FIG. 043  PHOTOGRAPH: THE FINAL ASCENT TO THE TOP OF THE CARVING

FIG. 044  PHOTOGRAPH: THE ARRIVAL AT THE TOP OF THE CARVING
FIG. 045  PHOTOGRAPH: A CROWD GATHERS AT THE TOP OF THE CRAZY HORSER MEMORIAL OVERLOOKING THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 046  PHOTOGRAPH: AN AREA OF THE CARVING PREPVED FOR BLAST

FIG. 047  PHOTOGRAPH: THE LINE WHERE THE Refined CARVING OF THE FACE BEGINS
FIG. 048  PHOTOGRAPH: THE HIGH LEVEL OF DETAIL SHOWN IN THE CARVING OF THE LIPS

FIG. 049  PHOTOGRAPH: THE POLISHED FACE ADJACENT TO THE SCORED ROCK BENEATH IT
FIG. 050 PHOTOGRAPH: MACHINERY RESTS UPON THE ARM OF THE CARVING

FIG. 051 PHOTOGRAPH: BLAST FRAGMENTS ARE CLEARED FROM THE AREA IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING THE CARVING
FIG. 052 PHOTOGRAPH: A LONE TREE GROWS THROUGH THE ROCK AT THE TOP OF THUNDERHEAD MOUNTAIN

FIG. 053 PHOTOGRAPH: AN EXAMPLE OF THE ROCK PROFILES EVIDENT IN THE POLISHED STONE OF THE CARVING
FIG. 054 PHOTOGRAPH: THE NORTH SIDE OF THE TUNNEL RUNNING UNDERNEATH THE ARM OF THE CARVING

FIG. 055 PHOTOGRAPH: AN OVERHEAD IMAGE OF THE OUTSTRETCHED ARM BOLTED TO THE ROCK FACE AT THE TOP OF THE CARVING
FIG. 056 PHOTOGRAPH: THE VIEW OF THE VISITORS’ COMPLEX FROM THE TOP OF THE CARVING
FIG. 057 PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: THE VIEW FROM THE END OF CRAZY HORSE’S ARM
FIG. 058 PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: THE VIEW LOOKING NORTH FROM CRAZY HORSE'S ARM
FIG. 059
PHOTOGRAPH: A SIGN DENOTES THE BEGINNING OF THE BLASTING AREA

FIG. 060
PHOTOGRAPH: A SIGN ALONG THE MAIN ROAD DESCRIBES THE BLASTING SIGNALS USED ON SITE

FIG. 061
PHOTOGRAPH: A NOTICE DESCRIBES EVACUATION INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD LIGHTNING OCCUR DURING THE MARCH.
The land can speak to those who listen. The stories it tells are about the people – their origins, struggles, values, and beliefs. The songs and histories that it whispers are often profound, ancient, or can take on sacred meaning. . . . The land also tells the sacred stories of the birds, animals, plants, and the natural phenomena that comprise human habitats. The lessons learned from the land are what give us our identity and make us fully human. (Echo-Hawk, Jr. 2009, 58)

Walter Echo-Hawk Jr.’s words about the spiritual reciprocity that Native Americans shared with the land is a poignant and elegant description of the condition that existed prior to western expansion. Of their cultures, he states that they emerge from the land itself, creating a cosmology that holds an appreciation for Mother [sic] Earth’s ability to support not only themselves, but the plants and animals also (2009, 74). Eagle Chief, a Pawnee Chief, said in 1907 that Tirawa, the One Above, spoke to people through his creations; the skies, the
plants and the animals all brought wisdom. When people needed guidance, they would go out into the wilderness to pray, where they would wait for a vision of an animal to appear to them (Ibid., 75). This is but one example of the importance entire ecosystems held for Native American people.

Luther Standing Bear maintained that the Indian did not conquer the land, but lived within it; “Life was a glorious thing, for great contentment comes with the feeling of friendship with the living things around you,” (as quoted in Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 75). This oneness with nature reinforced the idea of the land belonging to everyone and no one at once, with their nomadic lifestyle only strengthening this “principle of non-ownership,” (Gaboury 1980, 80). Indigenous people, for example, viewed nature with a recognition that they were not in control (Dennis Martinez 2003, 248). John K. Wright used the term geopiety to describe the bond between humans and their land, “a reciprocity between person and place,” (Lane 2001, 6). Through this relationship, one learns to nurture the land that has nurtured them. Of the Lakota and the Great Spirit, Black Elk states: “All things are the words of the Great Spirit. He is within all things: the trees, the grasses, the rivers, the mountains, and the four-legged animals, and the winged peoples. He is also above all these things and people,” (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 70). That principle is one of the most pervasive throughout all Native American cultures, with the Lakota beliefs being no exception. A prominent Lakota, Chief Luther Standing Bear, stated:

_The Lakota was a true naturalist – a lover of nature. He [sic] loved the earth and all things of the earth, the attachments growing with age. The old people came literally to love the soil and they sat or reclined on the ground with a feeling of being close to a mothering power. It was good for the skin to touch the earth and the old people like to remove their moccasins and walk with bare feet on the sacred earth._ (As quoted in Lane 2001, 79)
Joseph M. Marshall III estimates to be in the thousands (2010, 90). Included within this number and beyond are the many sacred sites that are not known to non-natives, and due to their want for secrecy and protection of these sites, probably never will be (Marshall 2010, 91). Marlene Atleo, of the Nuu-chah-nulth Nation in British Columbia, believes that sacred Indigenous places are locations for “spiritual work”, with ceremony and narrative intimately linking many generations to specific sites, and eventually creating cultural schemes and scripts which link sacred sites to the “culture’s cognitive/psychological development,” (McAvoy 2002, 389). This demonstrates that the connection between Native Americans and the land they dwell on is more than simple respect; their culture has rooted itself in the land and continues to grow from it.

Because Native Americans respected the land to such a high degree, it was common for hunters to leave offerings (tobacco or sage in bundles) after killing an animal for sustenance, asking for the forgiveness of the creature who gave its life, as well as giving thanks to Mother Earth [sic] for what she had provided (Marshall 2010, 156). The same was sometimes done when cutting down a tree for use in creating tools or shelter (Ibid.). This ritual is meant to justify an action of “cognitive dissonance” which would otherwise be at odds with their belief system; the process ensures that through reverence for the animal’s spirit, it will one day “return in the flesh” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 17). Similarly, Valeria Taliman speaks of the respect the Navajo people have for water, recognizing that a healthy relationship with Mother Earth will ensure their very survival:

Water is sacred to the Diné, or Navajo people. Water is life. We are taught that if we honor our spiritual responsibilities to N’ihima Nahasdzaan (Mother Earth [sic]) as instructed by our ancestors, we ensure there will be adequate blessings of water for survival. If not, there will be hardship. (2002, 36)

She cites Alfred W. Yazzie, a hataalii’ (medicine man), who spoke of the starvation, disease and drought that the people would face if they were to lose respect for the gods, the sacred, and their clan relationships (Ibid.).

While Christianity is commemorative in nature, marking events and people through doctrine or the construction of churches, Native American religions are
revelatory, constantly receiving “direct, unmediated revelation from a sacred landscape and the genii loci that populate that landscape,” (More & Smith 2010). Myths and rituals are used to communicate dreams and memories, which are relived over and over again in the present (Ibid.). Additionally, Native Americans viewed nature as feminine, a concept that has evolved and persisted through thousands of years up until today; the Sioux’s Maká Iná is proof of this (Oelschlaeger 1991, 310).

Sam Gill states that the Native American language of place allowed them to orient themselves throughout space and time, and because of this their dwellings (also including landscapes, villages and ceremonials sites) were often built in replication of cosmic form (Lane 2001, 74). The Navajo Hogan is one example, symbolizing “the universe in microcosm”; the broken circular shape and the single east-facing door represent important Native American spatial concepts (Ibid., 75). The door faced the sun, representing wisdom and life, while the circle represents the sacred hoop, “a symbolic form revered in almost every Native American tradition,” (Ibid.). Similar concepts are evident throughout the tradition of numerous other Native American tribes.

Storytelling was important to the Native Americans as a way of sharing and understanding traditions and values, in part because the use of metaphor allows mediation between the concrete and the ephemeral, enhancing “the experience of rootedness in place,” (Lane 2001, 85). These stories are often connected to, or embodied by, the place-names of important locations (Ibid., 85-6). The oral storytelling tradition was important to Native Americans, and the tribal storyteller was trusted with keeping the stories, traditions, memories and ancestral presence alive for the tribe (Lane 2001, 86-7). Marshall speaks of walking with his grandparents, and being told by them about landmarks and their significance; “I knew even then that I was being given the responsibility — a duty, if you will — not to forget. It was the way to continue their, and our people’s, connection to the land,” (Marshall 2010, 136-7). More and Smith state that “American Indian myths tell stories of people, human and otherwise, who do not travel toward eventual meaning but who dwell in and move through an inherently meaningful arena,” (2010, 60). Sadly, much of the oral tradition that has kept these cultures alive is being lost as the elders who hold them pass away. On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation south of the Black Hills, the grandmothers hold much of the traditional knowledge, but because of changing cultural conditions they are unable to pass along these important values. Becoming increasingly powerless due to worsening health, poor living conditions and indifference on behalf of their communities, the grandmothers, who would normally be the pillars of their tribes, are often forgotten. In speaking with Charmaine White Face, I felt honored to gain knowledge from such a strong female presence in the Lakota community.

The Native American spiritual tradition is one worth learning about, and passing on to younger generations, as it teaches a responsible land ethic and thankfulness for what Mother Earth provides of us. “A sense of transcendence, a love of the earth, a renewed vision, a story worth telling, silence in the presence of mystery — all these are aspects of the American Indian quest for a fuller humanity,” (Lane 2001, 92). This spiritual tradition is evident when studying the Lakota and the Black Hills. The Lakota culture has rooted itself in the soil and rock of the hills, with their creation stories, legends, traditions and identity intimately tied to the landscape; this type of understanding is foreign to most modern societies, but is valuable to the study of humanity itself.

The Indigenas are bearers of the deepest insights into human nature, and have the best actual way to life . . . May this be realized before they are destroyed. (Gary Snyder as quoted in Oelschlaeger 1991, 266)
BEAR BUTTE
STATE PARK

EDUCATION CENTER
CENTENNIAL TRAIL
HORSE CAMP
Around 1650, French explorers, traders and missionaries met the Ottawas, Foxes, Pottawatomis, Hurons, Ojibwas, and Sioux, a name derived from the Ottawa word which the French wrote as "Nadouessioux" (Ostler 2010, 6-7). The Sioux of the East lived near the Mississippi River, and the Sioux of the West lived near the Missouri River (Ibid.). The Sioux called themselves Oceti Sakowin Kin (The Seven Council Fires), a reference to “the seven people of which the tribe is composed,” (Ibid., 7). Titonwan, known today as the Lakota, were the furthest west of the seven; the remaining six spoke a Dakota dialect (Ibid.). Seven tribes make up the Lakota Nation: the Oglalas, Brulés, Minneconjous, Hunkpapas, Two Kettles, Sihasapas, and Sans Arcs (Ibid.).

James Walker believes that the Lakota, then a single group, at one time made their winter camp at Sacred Lake in Minnesota; following that, people eventually divided into different bands who migrated to the area now called the Sioux domain, which took up present-day South Dakota and parts of North Dakota, Wyoming and Nebraska (David Martinez 2004, 335-6).

When the Lakotas entered the Black Hills around 1775, the Cheyenne occupied the north-western part of the hills, and the Kiowa occupied the south-eastern part
(Sundstrom 1996, 186). Everything in this territory was sacred, but the most sacred was the Black Hills, named *Paha Sapa* by the Lakota because of the colour of the hills (David Martinez 2004, 336). This land became their most sacred land, with everything from the soil to the creatures within it being revered. They identified with the hills as their sacred home, where they were destined to dwell spiritually. Yi-Fu Tuan explains this relationship eloquently:

*Landscape is personal and tribal history made visible. The native’s identity – his [sic] place in the total scheme of things – is not in doubt, because the myths that support it are as real as the rocks and waterholes he can see and touch. He finds recorded in the land the ancient story of the lives and deeds of the immortal beings from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole countryside is his family tree.* (As quoted in David Martinez 2004, 336)

Among the Plains Indians were the Dakota, Lakota and Nakota – three different tribes, speaking three different dialects (Marshall 2010, 110-11). These names mean “allies”, suggesting that the three groups would have come together at certain points; the Lakota dialect was the most individual, suggesting a closer relationship between the Dakota and the Nakota (Ibid.). It is hypothesized that the Lakota migrated from Canada (Ibid., 111). "As a culture, we Lakota are identified with the northern Plains, that open land of flat prairies, occasional buttes, and numerous creeks and rivers, burning hot in the summer and dangerously cold in the winter. Any land shapes character, and ours was shaped by those extremes," (Ibid., 85). Charmaine White Face stated that "The Great Sioux Nation, at one time, properly called Oceti Sakowin, covered 14 American states and three Canadian provinces... The Tetuwan (Lakota speakers) were the last to continue opposition to the incursion of the American settlers, as the other six tribes that constituted the Great Sioux Nation were almost totally obliterated," (2013, “The Sacred Black Hills”).

From 1810 through the 1830s, Lakota winter counts show inter-tribal conflict with the Arikaras, Mandans, Pawnees, Crows, Shoshones, Gros Ventres, Cheyennes and Arapahos, although the latter two were usually allies as opposed to enemies (Ostler 2010, 17).
11,000 BC  The earliest evidence found of human occupancy in the Black Hills and surrounding Plains (Ostler 2010, 5-6).

MID 1600s  The Lakotas were established in the southwestern Minnesota and eastern Dakotas Tallgrass Prairies (Ibid., 6-7).

1650  East Coast First Nations clash with New England colonists (Red Cry 2012).

1700s  The Lakota moved west, where the bison were more plentiful (Ostler 2010, 7).

1740s  Crows, Kiowas, Plains Apaches (Kiowa Apaches), and Arapahos lived in the Northern Black Hills and adjacent plains. The Padouca Apache and Yamparika Comanche lived in the southern Black Hills. The Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, and Poncas hunted regularly in the Black Hills (Ostler 2010, 10).

1750s  The Lakota settled along the Missouri River where they built semi-permanent villages and hunted on the plains to the west (Ibid., 9).

1760s  The Kiowas, Arapahos, and Plains Apaches spread into the southern Black Hills, which pushed the Padouca Apaches and Yamparika Comaches south. The Cheyennes moved west of the Missouri river and hunted in the Black Hills (Ibid., 11).

1775/1776  The Lakota “discovered” the Black Hills (Ostler 2010, 9).

1776  The United States consists of 13 states, gained through what many Native Americans now see as “ethnic cleansing” (Red Cry 2012).

1787  The United States adopted the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Menweather Lewis and William Clark ascended the Missouri River (Ostler 2010, 11). The Lakota acted as middlemen between British traders and northeastern tribes and Western Plains tribes (Ibid.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>Man Afraid of His Horses, a prominent Lakota figure, is born (Ibid., 33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820s</td>
<td>The fur trade resulted in intensive buffalo hunting (Ibid., 19). Traders began to sell the Lakota adulterated whiskey (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1823</td>
<td>Spotted Tail, another prominent Lakota, is born (Ibid.). The Supreme Court rules that discovery superceded the First Nations right to occupancy (Red Cry 2012).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825-1835</td>
<td>Lakota establish full control over the Black Hills (Ostler 2010, 13). Oglala and Brulé Lakotas abandoned the Missouri River trade (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>Sitting Bull is born (Ibid., 30).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Young Man Afraid of His Horses, son of Man Afraid of his horses, is born (Ibid., 33).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830s + 1840s</td>
<td>French men traveled up the river from St. Louis and married into Lakota families (Ibid., 24).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Crazy Horse is born (approximate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>There were twenty-six states, all but three of which were east of the Mississippi. The Black Hills were within “Unorganized Territory” owned by the United States for thirty-seven years (Ibid., 28). More than 2500 overlanders (settlers moving west) passed through southern Lakota territory (Ibid., 34-35) Colonel Stephen W. Kearny marched the Oregon Trail with 250 dragoons, informing Lakotas at Fort Laramie that “the white people traveling upon [the Oregon Trail] must not be disturbed, either in their persons or property,” and then gave gifts to the Chiefs (Ibid., 36).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>The United States established Fort Laramie as a military garrison (Ibid., 38). Settlers travel to California in search of gold (Red Cry 2012).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Moderate bands along the Platte River and in Nebraska and Kansas receive treaty annuities from the government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1851, the first treaty of Fort Laramie was signed, entitling the Sioux to 60 million acres of Black Hills territory, “for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupancy of the Sioux” (Corbin 2003). At first, settlers for the most part respected this land as belonging to the Lakota, with some recognition of its sacredness and, in some cases, out of fear of Indian retaliation.
Government agents and traders traveled across the Plains to ask tribes to attend a great council at Fort Laramie that September (Ibid., 38). On September 4, thousands of Native Americans left for the council. David D. Mitchell explained to them that the President wanted the overlanders to be able to travel freely. In light of damages made by the overlanders, the government would give gifts and provide an annuity of $50,000 for fifty years to those willing to sign a treaty. He also asked each tribe to choose a head chief (Ibid., 29).

On September 17, leaders began to sign the treaty. Only five Lakota leaders signed (Ibid., 40).

1852 In May, the annuity period of the 1851 Fort Laramie treaty was lowered to ten years (Ostler 2010, 41).

In August, an emigrant's stray ox was shot by a Lakota man named High Forehead. Mata Oyuhi, the Lakota leader, went to Fort Laramie to make amends, but instead John L. Grattan was dispatching with twenty-nine men to arrest High Forehead (Ibid., 43). Fire broke out and Grattan and his men were killed. Mato Oyuhi was wounded, dying days later (Ibid., 44).

1853 The U.S. War department dispatches General William S. Harney and six hundred soldiers to Lakota country (Ibid., 44). When they arrived at the Brulés camp, Chief Little Thunder offered to speak with them, but Harney's men attacked, killing 86 Lakota, half of which were women and children, and took 70 women and children captive (Ibid., 45).

1855 Spotted Tail is imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth and decided that fighting against the Americans was futile (Ibid., 34).

The U.S. Court of Claims is established (Ibid., 131).

1856 In March, Harney tells Lakota tribes gathered at Fort Pierre of his terms: "peaceful relations with the overlanders, open travel through Lakota territory, the return of horses stolen from Fort Laramie, the surrender of High Forehead, intertribal peace, and the designation of head chiefs from each tribe to keep order," (Ibid., 46).

1857 In August, between 5,000 and 10,000 Lakota gathered for a tribal council (Ibid.). Sitting Bull and Red Cloud proposed strong measures, while Man Afraid of His Horses, Lone Horn and Bear's Rib suggest other approaches. They decided that bands could accept treaty annuities without interference, fight to retain their ways of life, defend the Lakota territory, and allow outsiders to move between Fort Laramie and Fort Pierre (no military parties). They also decided that the Black Hills should be left "wholly to themselves" and that any Indian who should reveal the gold reserves within the hills to a white man should die (Ibid., 47).

Lieutenant G. K. Warren met a large Dakota force near Inyan Kara.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>Mountain, and when warned to leave the area, complied (Ibid., 48-9). Gold is discovered on Cheyenne and Arapaho land in the Rockies in Colorado (Ibid., 49).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>100,000 Americans set out for Colorado following news of gold (Ibid., 49). A military expedition led by Captain William F. Raynolds passes through Lakota country, after telling the chiefs that “the President would send soldiers and wipe the entire nation from existence.” This expedition later found gold (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850s + 1860s</td>
<td>Violence erupts between the Lakota and overlanders (Ibid., 29). Sitting Bull emerges as strategist among militants (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860s</td>
<td>Red Cloud led Lakota resistance against American invaders (Ibid., 32).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Gold is discovered in southwestern Montana (Ibid., 51).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Black Elk is born (Ibid., 76). The U.S. Court of Claims prevents tribes from presenting claims without obtaining a special jurisdictional act (Ibid., 131).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>On November 29, Black Kettle faced Colonel John M. Chivington and the Colorado Third Cavalry, which killed 150 Cheyennes, including many women and children (Ibid., 50).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>In July, Red Cloud and Crazy Horse joined a Cheyenne-Lakota military operation (1,000 warriors) in attacking a military post at Platte Bridge, killing 28 U.S. troops (Ibid., 51).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1868, the second treaty of Fort Laramie was signed by only a handful of Lakota leaders, cutting their land down to 20 million acres (Corbin 2003). This treaty established the Great Sioux Reservation, including the Black Hills. It read: “No white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the [Indian territory]” (Red Cry 2012).
Two months later, they “repelled a punitive expedition sent against them in the Powder River country,” (Ibid.).

In October, talks began with Lone Horn, Bear’s Rib and other moderate Lakota leaders at Fort Sully. They agreed to expanding treaty annuities in return for not interfering with Americans moving through their lands. The government would pledge to abandon Fort Reno (Ibid., 53).

1866

The Black Hills Exploring and Mining Association started planning a large expedition into the hills (Ibid., 68).

In the summer, three additional forts were constructed in Lakota country: Fort Buford, at the mouth of the Yellowstone on the Missouri River, and Fort Phil Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith on the Bozeman Trail (Ibid., 54).

“On July 17, Red Cloud attacked a wagon train waiting to cross the Bighorn River. Six days later, Crazy Horse intercepted a military escort and killed a lieutenant,” (Ibid.).

On December 21, the Indians carried out a decoy scheme to trap Fort Phil Kearny’s troops in an ambush (Ibid., 55). Grummond and Fetterman’s troops were all killed,” (Ibid., 56).

1867

In June, an Indian Peace Commission is created by Congress (Ibid., 59).

In September, commissioners met with progressive Oglala and Brulé leaders, including Spotted Tail, at North Platte, Nebraska (Ibid., 60).

1868

In April, several Brulés signed the treaty (Ibid., 61).

In May, a few moderate chiefs including Man Afraid of His Horses signed the treaty (Ibid.).

In early July, more chiefs signed the treaty (Ibid., 62).

On November 4, Red Cloud and 130 chiefs arrived at Fort Laramie, where he “washed his hands with the dust of the floor” and signed the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty (Ibid.).

1869

Businessmen in Cheyenne territory discussed plans to remove Lakotas from the Black Hills and the Powder River country. As a result, the Black Hills and Big Horn Association began to prepare an expedition into the Black Hills (Ostler 2010, 69).

1860s + 1870s

Spotted Tail emerged as an influential moderate spokesman, meeting with politicians, officers, and philanthropists in the “Friends of the Indian movement (Ibid., 34).

1870

The Dakota territorial legislature sent a pair of requests to Congress: “a ‘scientific’ expedition into the Black Hills to assess their mineral resources” and also “that the Lakotas be confined to a small portion of their reservation away from the Black Hills,” (Ibid., 69-70).

In May, a group of Oglala and Brulé leaders traveled to Washington to discuss the 1868 treaty with President Grant (Ibid., 71).

In June 10, the treaty was explained in detail to the leaders, when it became clear that they had not been told the true nature of the treaty when they signed it (Ibid., 73).

Black Elk has his formative vision
In 1874, General George Armstrong Custer was sent by the U.S. government to find a location for construction of a fort; however, geologists and miners who accompanied Custer confirmed rumors of substantial gold deposits in the hills, violating the 1868 treaty and eventually leading to the disintegration of its terms (Corbin 2003). Between 1871 and the early 1900s, the US army encouraged the mass slaughter of buffalo by providing free supplies and ammunition (Red Cry 2012).

When the gold rush began, the government unsuccessfully attempted to obtain the remaining 20 million acres from the Lakota; following that, Congress drafted a new treaty in 1877 to seize the land. Only about 10 percent of the adult male Lakota population signed the treaty, and the land was taken (Corbin 2003).
(Ibid., 76), where he identified Harney Peak as the center of the earth (Ibid., 78).

1871 The United States abolishes treaty-making (Ibid., 98).

1872 Black Elk has another vision in which he learns he is to "save" the Black Hills (Ibid., 78).

1873 In October, General Phil Sheridan recommends that a military post be built close to the Black Hills (Ibid., 80), the expedition which would be led by General George Armstrong Custer (Ibid., 81).

1.5 million bison were killed this year alone, making the Sioux dependent on the United States government for even their most basic needs (Red Cry 2012).

Early 1870s It became clear to the Lakota that the bison were becoming depleted (Ostler 2010, 75).

1874 In June, Custer met 200 Lakota at the Fort Abraham staging point, and after showing them the fine print of the treaty, moved through their country (Ibid., 82).

On July 27, Custer came upon between 25 and 30 Oglala, and after a small skirmish, One Stab agreed to guide their expedition for a short while (Ibid., 83).

On July 31, Custer and his party climbed Harney Peak (Ibid.).

On August 14, Custer and his men left the Black Hills and stopped near Bear Butte (Ibid., 84).

In October, the Gordon party (28 argonauts) left for the Black Hills (Ibid., 83).

1875 In May, a delegation of Oglala, Brulé, and Minneconjou leaders went to Washington at the request of the government, in an effort "to soften up the Indians on the question of relinquishing the Black Hills." The Indians instead talked about the poor treaty rations (Ostler 2010, 91).

In the spring, the gold rush began. By July, about 600 miners were in the Black Hills. By August, there were about 1500 men (Ibid., 87).

In the summer, Lieutenant Colonel Dodge and Walter Jenny went to the Black Hills to determine "a fair equivalent" (Ibid., 89).

On September 20, a council was held which was attended by over 5,000 Lakotas, Yanktons, Santees, Cheyennes, and Arapahos (Ibid., 91).

In the summer, Lieutenant Colonel Dodge and Walter Jenny went to the Black Hills to determine "a fair equivalent" (Ibid., 89).

On September 24, Little Big Man and his men threatened to kill any Indian who wanted to sell the land (Ibid., 93).

Crazy Horse seeks a vision, and claims to have seen the end of the buffalo and the Indians confined to reservations (Ibid.).

In December, the U.S. orders all Lakota not living on reservations to report to their agencies by January (Ibid., 94).

In February, 700 troops led by Crook and Reynolds marched north of Fort Fetterman. On March 16, they came upon an Indian village and the next morning they attacked. The Indians suffered few casualties, and Crook returned to Fort Fetterman.
Throughout the 1880s, the Lakota, who “had been taught to imitate the ways of the buffalo, to be tough in the face of the north wind, to be resilient in times of hardship,” tried to find the “good red road”, a way of living with a sense of responsibility to relatives and future generations with a belief that they would once again find good favor – all while undergoing “wrenching change,” (Ostler 2010, 110). They began to raise chickens, pigs, and cattle, and grow fruits, vegetables and grains, as well as hunt every chance they could (Ibid.).

In early April, Colonel John Gibbon and 450 troops left Fort Ellis in Montana (Ibid., 95).

In May, Terry and Custer left Fort Abraham Lincoln with 1,000 troops. Crook left Fort Fetterman with more men (Ibid.).

In the spring, a military party located the Gordon party and ordered them to leave the hills (Ibid., 87).

In early June, Sitting Bull held a Sun Dance on Rosebud Creek with 3,000 Lakotas, Dakotas and Cheyennes (Ibid.).

By June 24, the Indians village was 7,000 strong, with 1800 men willing to fight (Ibid., 96).

On June 25, Custer’s army approached the Little Bighorn, but was met by Lakota and Cheyenne warriors. They destroyed Custer and all his men, 210 total (Ibid., 97-8).

By the fall, there were more Americans in the hills than ever (Ibid., 87).

On September 7, a seven man commission led by George W. Manypenny arrived at the Oglalas’ agency in northwestern Nebraska (Ibid., 99).

On September 19, the Oglalas met with the commissioners and most agreed to give up the unceded territory as well as the Black Hills (Ibid.).

On September 22, Red Cloud, American Horse, Little Wound, and Young Man Afraid of His Horses and other leaders signed in agreement
By the end of October, 230 Lakota, Yankton and Santee signatures were gathered (Ibid., 101).

In late November, troops attacked a Cheyenne band in the Bighorn Mountains, killing dozens (Ibid., 102).

On February 28, 1877, Congress ratified an agreement to take the hills despite receiving only 10 percent of Lakota mens’ signatures (Ostler 2010, 101).

On May 7, Crazy Horse surrendered (Ibid., 102).

On September 5, while government officials attempted to arrest Crazy Horse, a scuffle broke out and Crazy Horse was fatally wounded (Ibid., 109).

The Carlisle Industrial School in Pennsylvania was founded by Richard Pratt, whose goal was “to kill the Indian and save the man,” (Ibid., 114).

Ralph Case was born (Ibid., 136).

About 200 children attended the Carlisle Industrial School (Ibid., 115).

The government begins to provide Lakota with stock cattle (Ibid., 126).

The United States government created the Code of Indian Offenses, which outlawed many rituals including the Sundance (Red Cry, 2012).

Black Elk joins Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West Show to “see the white man’s ways,” (Ostler 2010, 118).

Hardly any bison remained in the U.S. (Ostler 2010, 112).

Influenza, measles, and whooping cough greatly affected reservations (Ibid., 117).

The government sent Richard Pratt and a commission “to demand that the Lakotas sell half of their reservation and divide the remainder into six different reservations,” which was opposed by the Lakotas, Yanktons, and Yanktonais (Ibid., 115-16).

On January 1, Jack Wilson (Wovoka) had a vision where he was instructed to perform a dance, the Ghost Dance, in anticipation of a “cataclysmic event” in which non-Indians would be removed and the good ways would return (Ibid., 117-18).

Black Elk returns from the Wild West Show, and witnesses the Ghost Dance (Ibid., 118).

The Great Sioux Reservation was divided, creating five smaller reservations; the remaining land was opened up for public ownership, even some burial lands (Red Cry 2012).

In the late summer and fall, the government begins to suppress the Ghost Dance (Ostler 2010, 119-20).

In early November, the War Department investigates the Ghost Dance and determines that there is little danger of violence (Ibid., 120).

On November 13, President Benjamin Harrison sent troops to Western Sioux agencies to prevent outbreaks. Days later, 6,000-7,000 troops were present outside Lakota reservations, “the largest military mobilizations since
Jack Wilson, also known as Wovoka, was told by the Great Spirit that the Lakota “must be good and love one another,” and instead of fighting against the white settlers, they should perform a dance which would usher in an event which would remove non-Indians, renewing the earth, welcoming back abundant wildlife and game, and bringing back long dead relatives and ancestors – this movement would become known as the Ghost Dance (Ostler 2010, 117-18). Those performing the Ghost Dance would purify themselves in sweat lodge rituals, then join hands and circle around a tree in the center (Ibid., 118). They moved around the center, singing songs about reuniting with loved ones and gaining back the way of life they once had, with one song predicting the return of the buffalo:

“The whole world is coming
A nation is coming, a nation is coming
The Eagle has brought the message to the tribe
The father says so, the father says so.
Over the whole earth they are coming.
The Buffalo are coming, the Buffalo are coming
The Crow has brought the message to the tribe.
The father says so, the father says so,”
(Ibid., 118-119).

Between a quarter and a third of Lakota people at this time participated in the Ghost Dance (Ibid., 119). While the Ghost Dancers no doubt hoped for the non-Indians to be removed from the Black Hills, “they did not contemplate attacking government officials or local settlers to achieve these aims,” (Ibid., 121).

“Something else died here in the bloody mud, and was buried in the blizzard. A people’s dream died here. It was a beautiful dream... The nation’s hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead.” (Black Elk as quoted in Red Cry 2012)
the Civil War,” (Ibid., 116).
Another commission, headed by
Crook, was sent out, but again
opposed (Ibid.).
The government makes a 20-25
percent cut in the beef sent to Lakota
reservations (Ibid., 117).
On December 14, an agent named
James McLaughlin ordered the arrest
of Sitting Bull. The next morning
Sitting Bull was killed (Ibid., 122).
On December 28, the Seventh Calvary
intercepted Big Foot at Wounded
Knee, and the next morning disarmed
them. After a Lakota weapon was
accidentally discharged, the Seventh
Calvary killed 270-300. Red Cry (2012)
cites the dead numbered at 312 people
of the 400 present (170-200 women
and children) (Ibid., 123).
Twenty-three US troops were awarded
with medals of honour for the Wounded
Knee Massacre (Red Cry 2012).

1890s
Up to 100 meetings are held by
Lakotas concerning the Black Hills
(Ostler 2010, 129).

1892
792 Lakotas sign a petition requesting
$10 million to take back the Black Hills
(Ibid., 128).

1900
Young Man Afraid of His Horses dies
(Ibid., 133).

Early 1900s
Lakotas own large cattle herds and
some participate in rodeos throughout
the Black Hills (Ibid., 126).

1902
A few Oglalas at Pine Ridge ask
their agent for permission to travel
to Washington to speak to the Indian
Affairs Commissioner regarding the
Black Hills, but are denied (Ibid., 129).

1903
Four Oglalas were killed by a Sheriff
when returning to Pine Ridge after
hunting in the Black Hills (Ibid., 128).
Congress was granted authority to
break Indian treaties (Red Cry 2012).
In September, Martin met again with
Lakota leaders (Ostler 2010, 129).

1909
Red Cloud dies (Ibid., 133).

1910
In March, Z. Lewis Dalby, an attorney,
met with individuals from Standing
Rock Reservation, and later drafted
legislation to help the Lakotas submit
a claim to the U.S. Court of Claims
(Ibid., 130-31).

1911
A tribal council is held on the Rosebud
Reservation which "petitioned
Washington against opening "our only
remaining land",” (Ibid., 125).
In January, about a hundred Lakotas,
Santees, and Arapahos meet for
the Black Hills Convention on the
Cheyenne River Reservation (Ibid.,
131).

Henry Standing Bear and Charles
Eastman organized the Society of
American Indians (Ibid., 132).
In June, Ralph Case and his wife visit
Pine Ridge and Rosebud (Ibid., 136).
Ralph Case returns from serving
overseas (Ibid.).

1912
Standing Bear leads a delegation
to Washington to meet with South
Dakota congressman and senators
(Ibid., 132).
Cato Sells, new Commissioner of
Indian Affairs, recommends that
Congress enact legislation which
would allow the Court of Claims to
"hear, adjudicate, and determine all
Doane Robinson had read of a 48 foot tall concrete Indian placed two hundred feet above the Rock River in Illinois, and thought that a similar sculpture could be done in the Black Hills (Ostler 2010, 146). He proposed Red Cloud, Lewis and Clark, Sacagawea, John Frémont, Jedediah Smith, Buffalo Bill, and Jim Bridger, heroes of the West (Ibid.).

FIG. 070
ILLUSTRATION: ABSTRACT 'BLOODSHED' MAP
proper claims of the Indians,” (Ibid., 133).

1916  Harry Gandy, South Dakota Congressman, sponsored a bill to aid the Lakota but it is stalled (Ibid.).

1918  After the November armistice, conditions seemed better for passing legislation (Ibid.).

Late 1910s  The Lakotas’ cattle industry suffered major setbacks (Ibid., 126).

1920  Congress allowed the Sioux to select an attorney and submit claims (Ibid., 134).

In September, the Sioux General Council voted on attorneys (Ibid., 35).

Early 1920s  Doane Robinson envisions attraction of thousands of automobile tourists to the Black Hills (Ibid., 145-6).

1920s  “Lakotas scraped by through gardening, keeping milch cows, hunting small game, gathering plants, cutting wood, and selling their labor to farmers, ranches, railroads, and mine operators,” (Ostler 2010, 142).

1921  In June, Sioux attorney Hughes Jr., son of their court-appointed attorney Joseph Davis, withdrew from their case (Ibid., 135).

1922  In December, Ralph Case began work on their claim (Ibid., 136).

1923  In June, Ralph Case filed the claim. He was made an honorary member of the Brulé tribe and named Young Spotted Tail (Ibid.).

1924  The Pine Ridge Agency official wrote that “the Pine Ridge Sioux have suffered considerably during the winter and spring on account of insufficiency of food,” (Ibid., 127).

1929  Doane Robinson wrote to Gutzon Borglum about carving a sculpture into the Black Hills. Borglum rejected Robinson’s ideas of carving Western figures and instead decided to carve four presidents: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Abraham Lincoln (Ibid., 146).

1930  The national economy collapsed, and Plains Indians were hit the hardest (Ibid., 142-3).

A Pine Ridge delegation met with the commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington (Ibid., 141).

1930s  The Supreme Court modified the Lone Wolf precedent, providing a basis for the Lakotas to succeed (Ibid., 144).

Mount Rushmore became a symbol of American resolve during challenging times (Ibid., 146).

1932  Black Elk Speaks was published by poet John Neihardt (Ibid., 76).

The comptroller general submitted Case’s report (Ibid., 141).

The Rapid City Indian School closed, and was replaced by the Sioux Sanitorium for treatment of Indians with tuberculosis (Ibid., 149).

1934  In May, Case filed petitions on the Black Hills (Ibid., 141).

The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was established, which ended allotment, funded tribal economic development and allowed tribes to “adopt constitutions and organize governments” (Ibid., 143).

1876-1935  $358 million in gold was taken from the Black Hills (Ibid., 130).
Black Elk visits Mount Rushmore as part of the “Sioux Indian Pageant” established by Alex Duhamel, which recreated the Sun Dance and a pipe healing ceremony, among others. Black Elk and his party requested to go to Rushmore's summit to have a religious ceremony, where he “Prayed to the six grandfathers who had appeared in his vision over sixty years earlier,” (Ibid., 147-8).

An Indian Camp is recreated at Wind Cave National Park, where they enacted the skinning and butchering of a buffalo (Ibid., 148).

Case filed his final brief (Ibid., 144)

In October, the Court of Claims considered Case's arguments (Ibid., 144).

In October, Mount Rushmore was completed (Ibid., 147)

On June 1, the Court of Claims dismissed Case's claim (Ibid., 144).

On April 19, the Supreme Court denied Case's petition to reconsider the claim (Ibid., 145).

On April 19, Peter Dillon, president of the Black Hills Sioux Nation Council (BHSNC) wrote Case about the displacement of over one hundred families for an aerial gunnery range (Ibid. 150).

In October, Henry Standing Bear called for the creation of an Indian Claims Commission (Ibid., 151).

Congress created the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) (Ibid., 151).

In October, the BHSNC recommended the renewal of Case's contract (Ibid., 151).
Korczak Ziolkowski began work on the Crazy Horse Memorial, commissioned by Luther Standing Bear’s brother Henry (Ibid., 147). The Army Corps of Engineers began to construct the Oahe Dam without obtaining Lakota consent, resulting in loss of lands and relocation of hundreds of Lakotas (Ibid., 157).

More Lakotas lived in the Black Hills than any time since the 1870s (Ibid.).

In August, Case filed a claim with the ICC (Ibid., 151).

In March, Case presented his oral arguments before the ICC (Ibid.). In July, Case filed a new brief (Ibid., 152).

In June, Case filed another new brief (Ibid., 151).

In April, the ICC rejected Case’s claim (Ibid., 153).

The Eighth Circuit Court upheld a decision to allow Lakota tribal government to tax non-Indians leasing reservation lands; however, the state of South Dakota began to undermine tribal governments and acquire Lakota lands (Ibid., 156). In November, “the Court of Claims upheld the ICC’s ruling” (Ibid., 155). In December, it was suggested that Case resign, referring to his poor health as an excuse (Ibid.).

Ralph Case died after being hit by a car outside his home in Washington, D.C. (Ibid., 155). Helen Peterson stated that “World War II revived the Indians’ capacity to act on their own behalf,” (Ibid., 156). The Duhamel Pageant closed (Ibid., 157).

In October, the Lakotas’ new attorneys Arthur Lazarus Jr., Richard Schifter, and Marvin Sonosky criticize Case’s work and requested the Court of Claims to order the ICC to review the case (Ibid., 158).

The Court of Claims granted the request to rehear the Black Hills claim (Ibid., 159).

The National Indian Youth Council was formed (Ibid., 167).

The majority of South Dakota voters sided with the Lakotas, convinced that the state assuming jurisdiction over the reservations would cost taxpayers (Ibid., 156).

A study revealed that on Pine Ridge Reservation, the annual income was under $3,000, and unemployment was at 40-50% (Ibid., 175-6).

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was established (Ibid., 167).

On August 24, about 20 Lakotas from Pine Ridge arrived at Mount Rushmore asking to conduct a prayer vigil in the amphitheatre. Their request was granted, and they explained to visitors and news media that they were protesting the failure of the government to return land taken from the tribe during World War II (Ibid., 168).

AIM members climbed Mount Rushmore and camped behind Teddy Roosevelt’s head. Russell Means bellowed, “thou shalt honor thy
treaties,” Frank Fools Crow performed a purifying ceremony on the land, and Lehman Brightman told a news crew they wanted to negotiate the return of the Black Hills (Ibid., 168-9).

In February, Raymond Yellow Thunder was beaten to death in Gordon, Nebraska by four white men (Ibid., 169).

Indians from across the country caravanned to Washington along the “Trail of Broken Treaties,” with a document called the Twenty Points, which advocated restoration of sovereignty and the return of 110 million acres of land. On November 2nd, 1,000 Indians occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs buildings, and on November 6th, after hearing rumor of police action to remove them, they looted and trashed the building (Ibid., 170-71).

AIM returned to South Dakota (Ibid., 171).

In February, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO) “initiated impeachment proceedings against the tribal chairman, Dick Wilson,” (Ostler 2010, 171).

On February 27, Frank Fools Crow encouraged AIM members to go to Wounded Knee to make their stand. They prayed at the mass burial site, then occupied a trading post. Federal, state and tribal police sealed off the area, and for a few days gunfire was exchanged between sides (Ibid., 172).

On March 6, Banks set fire to a proposed term of surrender. Five days
later, the occupiers stated that “all further negotiations would be based on the 1868 treaty,” (Ibid., 172).

In late March, Leonard Crow Dog proposed that they hold a Ghost Dance (Ibid., 172).

On April 5, Russell Means, other AIM leaders Clyde Bellecourt and Carter Camp, and OSCRO president Pedro Bissonette signed an agreement (Ibid., 173). A few days later in Washington, the government asked Means to end the occupation but he refused (Ibid.).

On May 5, the occupiers agreed to end the occupation after two Indians were killed. Later that month, the government declined to refer to the 1868 treaty and made no action against Wilson. Banks and Means were arrested and the movement was disrupted (Ostler 2010, 173).

In the aftermath of the Wounded Knee Takeover, the US government backed Oglala Sioux tribe president Dick Wilson and his Guardians of our Oglala Nations paramilitary vigilante force nicknamed GOONS inflicted a reign of terror on Pine Ridge. More than 60 grassroots activists, traditional full-blood Lakota people, and our supporters were assassinated. 300 were harassed and beaten, 562 were arrested, which only 15 were convicted of crimes. During that time the murder rate on the Pine Ridge reservation soared to 170 per 100,000, the highest in the world at that time, (Red Cry 2012).

In October, an amendment ensuring that offsets would not threaten awards became law (Ibid., 163).

In February, the ICC ruled that the government had violated the Fifth Amendment when they had taken the Black Hills (Ibid., 161). The Lakotas rejected the award, stating that the Black Hills were not for sale (Ibid., 173-4).

In June, the Court of Claim dismissed the Black Hills claim by citing res judicata, saying the 1942 decision had rejected that the government had violated the Fifth Amendment (Ibid., 163).

James LaPointe published a collection of stories about myths and places in the Black Hills (Ibid., 175).

In March, “President Jimmy Carter signed into law a bill instructing the Court of Claims to consider the claim de novo,” (Ibid.,163).

In July, the Court of Claims reconsidered the claim and awarded the Lakota $102 million in just compensation (Ibid., 164). Three months later, the Justice Department stated that it would appeal the decision, as it was inconsistent with Lone Wolf (Ibid.).

Frank Fools Crow led young men on vision quests at Bear Butte (Ibid., 175).

The Supreme Court ruled that the government had violated the Fifth Amendment’s prohibition against the taking of property without just compensation when they seized the Black Hills from the Lakota (Ibid., xiv). Three weeks later, Mario Gonzalez, the
Oglala Lakota Sioux’s tribal attorney, “filed suit in U.S. District Court asking for the return of the Black Hills and $11 billion in damages for the denial of the tribe’s use and occupancy of the Hills over the past 103 years (Ibid., 165).

In June, the Yellow Thunder camp was established by Russell Means at Lake Victoria, while some Lakotas also occupied Wind Cave National Park (the Crazy Horse encampment) (Ibid., 179).

In August, district court dismissed a case against the Homestake Mining Company in which they were accused of unlawful trespassing (Ibid., 177). Fools Crow v. Gullet which was filed by the Oglalas and Cheyennes, argued that the state favored recreational activity over religious use at Bear Butte (Ibid., 178).

Throughout 1981 and 1982, Lakotas traveled through Europe presenting to groups (such as the Swedish-American Indian Association) about Lakota life and the sacred Black Hills. They also presented their case at the United Nations Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Land (Ibid., 179-80).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Gonzalez, Fred Brewer, and Michael Her Many Horses drafted legislation calling for the transfer of all federal lands within the Black Hills to the Lakotas with the exemption of Mount Rushmore and public use lands. If passed, the Lakotas would regain 1.3 million of the total 7.3 million acres within the Black Hills (Ibid., 180).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>New Jersey senator Bill Bradley introduced legislation to recognize Lakota and other Sioux tribes’ title to most federal lands in the Black Hills, about 18 percent of total Black Hills land (Ibid., xiv-xv).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>A group of Lakotas submitted evidence of a &quot;long-standing historical connection&quot; with the Black Hills to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs saying that &quot;for several thousand years . . . the Black Hills have been at the very center of the spiritual universe of the Lakota people,&quot; (Ibid., 183). Some Lakotas called for congressmen across the country to cosponsor the Bradley Bill (Ibid., 185). An article was published in Rolling Stone called “The Heart of Everything That Is” increasing national exposure about the Lakota plight (Ibid.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1987 Lakota opposition to the Bradley Bill increased in August, when Phil Stevens, a millionaire from California claiming to be a descendent of Standing Bear, became involved in the proposal (Ibid.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>A congressman in California, Matthew Martinez, introduces the Bradley Bill into Congress, but failed to reintroduce it the following year after Sioux opposition (Ibid., 187).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Early 1990s</td>
<td>Gerard Clifford states that “We are not naive. We know we have to be patient. If the Lakotas return to the spiritual ways, then they will get their Black Hills back, and no little white men are going to stand in the way. We are going to have spiritual possession of them. Time is not important,” (Ibid., 188-89).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>The Defenders of the Black Hills sue the South Dakota Board of Minerals and Environment for allowing uranium exploration to occur in the Black Hills (Ibid., 189-90).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>The Lakota purchase Pe’ Sla for $9 million (Schilling 2012).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“The Black Hills were the casualty of one of the most blatant land grabs in U.S. history and continue to be the site of a legal and political confrontation,” (Corbin 2003). Sarah Amelar puts things into staunch perspective when she states that “The Black Hills, the Lakota tribes’ most sacred site, had been taken from them and carved with American presidents’ heads,” while the government forced young native children into restrictive boarding schools where they were stripped of their culture, their language, their storytelling, and their tribal life (Amelar 1999, 85). White Face told me of her family’s experience with the boarding schools that robbed the Lakota of their identities in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Her grandmother, born in 1894, was one of the first generation of children to attend these schools, with her great-grandmother and that generation remaining at home keeping the traditions intact. White Face’s parents also attended these schools with other people their age, creating a sizable generation gap between her generation and that of her great-grandmother’s who maintained, although secretly, traditional Lakota knowledge. Making things even more difficult for young Lakota people today, the trend in fake medicine men and other superficial spiritual practices are often more enticing than the knowledge they can obtain from their grandparents or parents (White Face 2013, Interview). Additionally, many young people do not have that option, having no living relatives willing to pass on that knowledge (Ibid.).

During the 20s and the 30s, Charmaine White Face said it was especially difficult for Lakota people to perform traditional ceremonies, and many did not partake out of fear of persecution at the hands of the U.S. government and various intolerant groups (2013, Interview). At this time, one had to receive permission from the Department of Indian Affairs superintendent...
to leave the reservation, a condition which White Face recalls lasting until she was a little girl in the 1950s (Ibid.).

The period of time during which Mount Rushmore was being constructed she referred to as still being the "Wild, Wild West", with things improving gradually by the time the Crazy Horse memorial began construction; however, people still did not practice ceremonies openly due to the trauma inherently connected to those practices over the past several decades (Ibid.). With the implementation of the Indian Religious Freedom act in 1978, the "pendulum" swung, and not only were these practices legally allowed to occur, but many were exploited, with fake medicine men and shamans, among other things, beginning to surface (Ibid.). More traditional Lakotas were still hesitant to practice openly, and much ceremony remained hidden to eyes outside the reservation (Ibid.).

In the 1970s when a federal judge reviewed the case for Lakota repossession of the 1868 treaty territory, he stated that "A more ripe and rank case of dishonorable dealing will never, in all probability, be found in our history," (Corbin 2003). By 1980, the Indian Claims Commission, the Court of Claims, and the Supreme Court recognized the right to the 1868 treaty territory to the Lakota Nations, but rather than simply return the land, a monetary sum equaling the land’s 1877 value plus interest was offered, which has been rejected by the Lakota as they do not believe in the sale of sacred land (Ibid.). While the seemingly permanent figures of Mount Rushmore hover over the Black Hills, the Lakota see the state of land ownership as far from permanent, keeping hope that one day they can regain at least parts of the land that their ancestors called home (Ostler 2010, xiv).
THE SACRED BLACK HILLS
The entire Black Hills are sacred, not just one place, one burial site, one prayer site. There is a sacred energy field around the Black Hills. How far does it extend? One elder said that it continues about 50 miles around the Black Hills. How can people who believe that only man-made [sic] designations, such as church or cemetery are called sacred, understand a sacred space and landscape that extend for hundreds of miles? (White Face 2013, The Sacred Black Hills).

Peter Nabokov, an anthropologist, has referred to the hills as “one of the most unusual environmental features in the United States,” with an oblong ridge marking the separation between the hills and the surrounding prairies (Corbin 2003). As the only mountain formation on the Great Plains, the Black Hills stands out as a unique and beautiful landscape without its many sacred associations. The Lakota called them Paha Sapa (Black Hills) because they appeared black in colour when viewed from afar (Ostler 2010, 3). Amy Corbin states that there is a nearly 12,000 year history of Indigenous people within the Black Hills, amounting to roughly four thousand archaeological sites throughout the area (2003). The Lakota are but one tribe, also the most recent who have known this place as their spiritual home; others include closely situated tribes like the Northern Cheyenne and the Omaha (Ibid.). Linea Sundstrom notes that many other groups viewed certain landscapes within the Black Hills as sacred, including the Kiowas and Kiowa Apaches (1996, 177). Some scholars suggest that when the Lakotas moved into the Black Hills, they took on the traditions of other tribes and adapted their own to fit this new landscape (Ostler 2010, 27). In fact, “Karl Schlesier has noted that ethnic groups may alter their sacred geographies as they migrate into new areas,” (Sundstrom 1996, 186). In this area, it seems as though new groups would adopt sacred meaning for particular sites from the group who had previously inhabited the area (Ibid., 187). Sundstrom states:

As one group replaced another over the last several centuries, these locations continued to be recognized as sacred locales and to operate within a system of ethnoastronomical and mythological beliefs. Transference of such traditions took place between groups that differed in language, religion, economic focus and area of origin. (1996, 187-8)

But despite being the last Indigenous group to inhabit the Black Hills, the Lakota have known the area as their spiritual home for much longer. The Black Hills as the “homeland” of the Lakota is not demonstrated by them being the dominant force in the area, but by the care that they demonstrate for the land; in this instance, care means “an expression of life, a concern for another,” as a person who cares for another human being (David Martinez 2004, 336). Through this care, they honor the spirits of the land, perform vision quests, and ultimately seek renewal for themselves and the land (Ibid.). In the 1930s Black Elk told the story of Red Thunder receiving a bow and arrow from the Thunder Beings at the Racetrack (a geological feature and sacred site on the edge of the hills), where they told him “Someday your tribe will be in this land. . . . This land is a being.
FIG. 077 ILLUSTRATION: “THE RACETRACK”, OR “THE GOOD RED ROAD”
Remember in the future you are to look for this land,” (as quoted in Ostler 2010, 27). While they had not always lived there, the Lakota saw their arrival in the Black Hills as prophetic fulfillment, and that it was, in Black Elk’s words, their “promised land,” (Ibid., 27).

The hills have been given many associations, one of which is a living heart. Peter Champoux states that, from an eagle’s eye view, the passage of the seasons and the changing colours of the hills and plains gives the appearance of a beating heart when viewed in time lapse succession (The Black Hills – America’s Sacred Site). This is especially fitting, given that the hills are often referred to by Native people as ‘the heart of all that is,” (Ibid.). Additionally fitting is the fact that the Black Hills lie at the very center of the Dakota, Lakota and Nakota territory that they controlled in the mid-1850s (Marshall 2010, 130).

Many places throughout the Black Hills are considered sacred, and many of them play key roles in creation stories, legends and rituals held by the Lakota people. The Lakota creation story takes place at Wind Cave, in the southeast part of the Black Hills. They believe that their people, and also the bison, came from within the earth, having emerged through the narrow cave opening to inhabit the earth (Ostler 2010, 5). This site is now managed by the National Park Service, where tours are given and an interpretive center has been built. Much of the area has been paved or altered, and the Lakota feel as though one of their sacred places has been destroyed.

The Racetrack, the red sandstone and shale ring that circles the Black Hills, is said to have been made when the “two-leggeds” and “four-leggeds” (birds and mammals, respectively) raced each other (Ostler 2010, 5). “The weight of the animals caused the track to sink while the area in the middle rose, finally bursting open in flames and surrounding the Black Hills with a red circle indented in the earth,” (Ibid.). A sandstone ridge circles the outside of the Racetrack, with openings eroded by streams punctuating it; Pte Tatiyopa (Buffalo Gap), one of these openings, is believed by the Lakota to be the location where the first buffalo left the Black Hills and arrived at the Plains, the gap itself being formed by the stampeding hooves of the bison (Ibid.).

Harney Peak is identified as the center of the world by Black Elk, Lakota holy man and medicine man, having been taken there by spirits during a vision quest; “his identification of Harney Peak as the center of the earth pinpointed it not only as the geographical center of Lakota territory but as the center of a universe charged with spiritual power, the place where the powers of all the directions – vertical and horizontal – came together,” (Ostler 2010, 78). The Lakota called Harney Peak Hinhan Kaga (Owl-maker Butte, likely derived from the Cheyenne name Ghost Owl Butte) (Sundstrom 1996, 182).

Outside of the Hogback, there are still important sacred sites connected to the Black Hills, including Bear Butte, Inyan Kara Mountain, and Devils Tower. Mato Paha (Bear Butte), 1200 feet above the plains, is located just northeast of the Black Hills and is said to look like a sleeping bear from a distance (Ostler 2010, 5). This has been the site of vision quests for centuries in the Lakota tradition. Bear Butte was a sacred location to the traditional Cheyenne people, and was named “the Sacred Mountain Where People Are
FIG. 079  PHOTOGRAPH: BISON HERDS AT CUSTER STATE PARK

FIG. 080  PHOTOGRAPH: BISON HERDS AT CUSTER STATE PARK
Taught” (Sundstrom 1996, 182). In many Cheyenne stories, the people are saved through the receiving of sacred knowledge from spirits at Bear Butte (Ibid.). Fools Crow, a Lakota holy man, fasted at Bear Butte at some time around 1914 and once more in 1950, and related that both the Cheyennes and the Arapahos used the Butte extensively (Ibid., 182-3).

Devil’s Tower, a monolith northwest of the Black Hills, rises 900 feet over the surrounding landscape, with steep vertical columns of phonolite porphyry (similar to granite) (Ostler 2010, 5). Also called Bear’s Lodge, Devils Tower’s legend goes that a few girls wandered from their camp, and were chased by bears to the Butte, when the earth suddenly rose and brought the girls out of the bears’ reach. The bears clawed at the rising butte, creating the vertical ridges that run up the tower (Ibid.). The National Park Service estimates that Devils Tower may hold cultural significance for over twenty tribes, and was considered sacred by several tribes in the Plains region (San Miguel 2013). Devils Tower has been, and is still today, home to prayer offerings, sweatlodge ceremonies, vision quests, funerals, the Sun Dance, legends and origin stories (Ibid.). The Lakota call the tower by many names, among them Bear Lodge, Bear Lodge Butte, Grizzly Bear’s Lodge, Grey Horn Butte and Ghost Mountain (Ibid.). The Cheyenne called Devils Tower Nakoevë (Bear Peak), and also had legends of a girl being saved from the bear spirit (Sundstrom 1996, 182). The Arapahos shared similar traditions relating to Devils Tower, and called it Bears’ Lodge (Ibid., 183). In a Kiowa myth, members of a group violate a bear taboo, and a girl turns into a bear as a result. The bear eats some of the people, but her sister and seven “brother-
FIG. 082 MAP: THE RADIUS OF SACRED LAND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
helpers” manage to flee, running onto a level rock which rises from the earth, saving them from the bear. In this story, the sister and brother would become the Pleiades constellation (Ibid.).

Inyan Kara Mountain, or Inyan Kahga in the Lakota language (Stone Gathering, First Movement of Stone) was associated with the “the forces of creation and recreation evoked during the annual Sun Dance,” (Sundstrom 1996, 186). The creation of the world was made possible through the sacrifice of Inyan (Stone), when he bled himself dry; this echoes the sacrifices performed during the Sun Dance (Ibid.). “Inyan Kara Mountain, the Lakotas’ ‘special place of creation’, was traditionally visited as part of preparations for the annual Sun Dance at Devils Tower,” (Ibid., 186).

The Lakota people lived in small bands (150 to 300 people), each with their own Itancan (chief), each independently deciding the locations and logistics of their camping, hunting and trading (Ostler 2010, 13). Some bands chose to live in and around the Black Hills for the majority of the year, while other bands only passed through the area occasionally (Ibid.). The Lakota winter camps were often situated in the south and southeast parts of the hills, where lower elevations provided greater shelter in the long, cold winters (Ibid., 13-14). The Lakotas’ winters were spent tanning hides as well as making and repairing tools and weapons, so that come springtime, hunting parties could begin their search for food (Ibid., 15). The spring also brought horse-breaking, repair of shelters, and the making of clothing and moccasions (Ostler 2010, 15). The spring inherently brought storms, as well as the presence of Wakinyan (the Thunder Beings), which they both
FIG. 084 MAP: THE RADIUS IMMEDIATELY AROUND THE BLACK HILLS, AND THE 50 MILE RADIUS SURPASSING THAT.
FIG. 085 ILLUSTRATION: THE SACRED BLACK HILLS EXTEND PAST THE HILLS AND INTO THE SURROUNDING PLAINS
FIG. 086 PHOTOGRAPH: A PRAYER TIE CAN BE SEEN IN A TREE AT THE TOP OF HARNEY PEAK
respected and feared (Ibid.). Also in the spring, young men would depart on vision quests on a high, quiet location where they were pray and hopefully receive a vision from a spirit being (Ibid.). Warmer weather allowed the bands to travel further into the hills, where they would collect plants for medicine including blue flag, four-o’clock, wild licorice, purple mallow, sweet cicely, verbena, horsemint, mint, coneflower and sage (Ibid., 16). Sage, red dogwood, sweetgrass and cedar were also using in religious ceremonies; since many of these plants were not available outside of the hills, this area was extremely important to them, as well as to their “physical and spiritual well-being” (Ibid.). The summer brought the Sun Dance, “the great corporate prayer, the highlight of Dakota life,” (Ibid., 17). Ostler cites Devils Tower and Sundance Mountain as the two primary locations for the Sun Dance, which required months of preparation, and pledges by individuals who wish to participate in the dance with hopes that the Great Mystery would hear their prayer (Ibid.). Late in the summer, preparations began for the fall communal hunt. Leaders would congregate to determine where and how to hunt the buffalo, departing for the Plains after the herds (Ibid., 19-20). Different methods were used in the hunt, from the buffalo jump to surrounding a herd and killing them with arrows and bullets (Ibid.). Women skinned and cut up the bison, then dried and stored strips of meat and tanned the hides (Ibid., 20). As fall approached, the men would hunt eagles, which inhabited the Black Hills in large numbers due to the quality of the habitat (Ibid.). Late in the fall, the bison would migrate into the Black Hills from the Plains, usually through passageways in the Hogback such as Buffalo Gap (Ibid., 14). With the onset of winter, the Lakota would establish their winter camp, either in a location previously inhabited or a new location (Ibid., 20-21). During the winter months, the Lakota paid particular attention to the night skies, waiting for communication from the Great Spirit (Ibid.).

Charmaine White Face states that the entirety of the Black Hills is sacred, not just one site or a selection of sites. According to her, there are actually thousands of places within the hills that are considered to be sacred (White Face 2013, Interview). Many, including Harney Peak, Devils Tower, and Bear Butte, people know about, but there are also many that the Lakota do not speak as much about out of fear of them being exploited for tourism. Of the hills, White Face says: “It’s a desecration just to be there, period,” (Ibid.). An area on the southwest side of the Black Hills is currently being explored for the possibility of further uranium mining operations; but White Face says that this area is an ancient burial ground, which even the State Historic Preservation officers have advised against disturbing. According to her, the State Legislature allows many mining operations to operate on sites such as this. She describes a conversation she had with a journalist who asked her about the impending sale of the Wounded Knee Massacre site. In response, Charmaine asked her what price she would put on her family. Upon returning home to her apartment in Massachusetts after filming for several months, the reporter found that her home had been inhabited by squatters who sold many of her possessions while she was gone. The reporter told Charmaine that her first thought was not about the possessions she could see that were missing, but her
FIG. 087 PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: VIEW ACROSS THE HILLS FROM THE SUMMIT OF HARNEY PEAK
parents’ ashes. Upon discovering that the ashes were safe and undisturbed, she said she finally understood Charmaine’s question (Ibid.). The Wounded Knee site and the burial grounds in and around the Black Hills are the equivalent of these ashes to the Lakota people.

As I sat with White Face in a restaurant in Rapid City, she explained the concept of sacredness to me. “We have no word for religion,” she says. “The whole Black Hills – we didn’t hunt in the Black Hills, we don’t kill anything in the Black Hills. . . . Right here, we’re sitting at the edge. It’s sacred. How do you explain sacred? It’s not like walking into church. You can move a church. It’s always hard to try to explain this concept of sacred because it doesn’t stop there,” (2013). The aura of the Black Hills, extending for 50 miles, is felt by her (Ibid.). She now lives in Rapid City, right on the edge of the Black Hills. She says that if she goes to Pine Ridge, 85 miles away, she will start to get sick. She claims that the sacredness, the aura of the hills, keeps her healthy. “How do you pick out one little place within the sacredness? There’s so much there, in the whole Black Hills. . . . You can’t quantify it,” (Ibid.).

Certain mountains were used for certain ceremonies, not only for the Lakota, but for dozens of different Indigenous nations within North America, from which people would travel to the hills to pray (White Face 2013, Interview). In the Lakota tradition, if one has a dream or a vision that they are to travel to a location within the hills and perform a ceremony, it must be completed, often with the help of friends and family (Ibid.). This process was so respected that if adversaries from different tribes were in the hills to pray or perform ceremonies, they were not to be disturbed (Ibid.). While hiking Harney
Peak, I observed tied offerings on branches and rocks, a phenomenon which White Face says has only recently seen a resurgence of in some young Lakota people. She says that people her age still have difficulty openly performing ceremonies and leaving offerings (Ibid.). These offerings, which are sometimes left at sacred locations throughout the hills, consist of dyed fabric strips tied around tobacco, which is then meant to be burned and to go up in smoke, completing the ritual. Due to park management rules, this full practice cannot be completed, which is why when one hikes these areas, the offerings are visibly intact, left on surfaces and tied to vegetation. Older Lakota people see these offerings as incomplete, akin to hanging a letter in a tree rather than mailing it; yet, they also see in these actions, the desire of some young people to perform traditional Lakota rituals and ceremonies (Murray-Charging Crow 2013). “Look at the beauty of the idea that they got that far,” (Ibid.).

Much like so many stories of Christianity are rooted in Jerusalem, many Native American legends take root in the Black Hills. Echo-Hawk Jr. equates the ascension of Sweet Medicine up Bear Butte to Moses climbing Mount Sinai (2009, 68). On Bear Butte, Sweet Medicine, a Cheyenne Prophet, received spiritual teachings from the Creator, and as Moses did for his people, Sweet Medicine taught the Cheyenne people what he had been taught (Ibid.). Holy places around the world such as Mount Sinai, Bethlehem, the Wailing Wall, Mecca, Golgotha, Jerusalem, the Ganges, and the Bhodi Tree are considered to be places where one can be closer to God; however, Huston Smith states that “Many historical religions are attached to places,” but none “is embedded in place to the extent that tribal religions are,” (Ibid.). Murray-Charging Crow expressed to me in an interview, that the current perception of “sacred place” is in need of an ideological shift. She states:

I think the average American person . . . [thinks] of a sacred site in a particularly shaped-out piece of stone that's been carved out and put together with a bunch of other ones that we call bricks and mortar . . . and it has a particular shape that looks exactly the same and it can be put in any place . . . a church or a mosque or a synagogue . . . for Native people, our sacred sites are not formed. They are directly from the Earth, so I think that smashing that or having some sort of a paradigm shift or some sort of awakening and understanding and appreciation...that its not ancient, that its relevant, and that its currently relevant, and that its currently respectful, [is] necessary. (2013)

Thousands of mountains, lakes, waterfalls, caves and other natural features around the world serve as sacred prayer sites for Indigenous peoples (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 68). The concept of “hierophany”, defined by Eliade as the manifestation of the sacred, is evident in the relationships between visions and holy places which form the basis of many religions (Ibid.). Echo-Hawk Jr. theorizes that these hierophanies, these “dramatic encounters with supernatural beings” perceived by individuals, groups, and nations throughout history can reveal esoteric knowledge to those who partake in them (Ibid., 68-9).

When a trader once asked Crazy Horse where his lands were, Crazy Horse responded: “My lands are
where my dead lie buried,” (Antonio 2012, 38). His outstretched arm, yet to emerge from the stone, points across the hills toward the east. Today, he gestures towards a carving of four white American presidents carved in sacred rock, a sacred mountain renamed after an American General who unlawfully crossed through Lakota land and killed Lakota people, and a multitude of boomtowns transitioned into tourist meccas, filled with gimmicks and gift shops. This is not the land to which Crazy Horse refers, and today it gets more and more difficult for visitors to see past these facades to the sacred spirit of the hills. Charmaine White Face speaks to the authentic nature of the Black Hills:

In the Treaties, at the center, was always the sacred Black Hills. More than 60 indigenous nations had been traveling to the Black Hills for millennia to conduct spiritual ceremonies, gather medicines, and lodge poles. No animals were killed if they came from the Black Hills. Many petroglyphs can still be found with messages painted on the sides of high cliffs. Ancient funerary practices of the Tetuwan were held in the Black Hills and bodies were given back to the Creator by being laid on the large branches of trees. Healing water coming from our Grandmother Earth can be found in various places in the Black Hills. Tetuwan origin stories tell of the exact place where the two-leggeds (human beings) entered onto the face of the Earth, a place that is now a desecrating tourist trap. (2013, The Sacred Black Hills).

The tourism and destruction occurring in the Black Hills is adversely affecting centuries, if not thousands of years, of traditional sacred land. Charmaine White Face believes that the Indigenous people of the Great Plains and Black Hills lived as humans were meant to live in this area, stating that “The only way you could live within this geographic area was how our people lived. And if you look any place all over the world where Indigenous people would live in their own way within that geographic area, that’s the only way human beings should live. Otherwise they’re going to destroy it,” (as quoted in Red Cry 2012). White Face says that she experiences pain entering the Black Hills now, only doing so if absolutely necessary. The layers of economic culture that have covered the traditional nature of the land are the cause of great sadness for her and other Lakota people who hope to preserve, and someday reacquire, their sacred lands. Now, she wants people to know about the environmental, social and spiritual destruction that has, and still is, occurring in the area. The challenge lies in permeating the layers of tourism and industry that have blanketed this landscape, to expose the true nature of the land.

“To see the ghostly outline of an old landscape beneath the superficial covering of the contemporary is to be made vividly aware of the endurance of core myths,” (Schama 1996, 16).
These origin stories – that we emerged or fell from the sky or were brought forth – connect us to this land and establish our realities, our belief systems. We have spiritual responsibilities to renew the Earth and we do this through our ceremonies so that our Mother, the Earth, can continue to support us. (Dr. Henriette Mann as quoted in Taliman 2002, 40)

The Lakota Sioux felt an intense spiritual connection to Mother Earth that was evident in all parts of their traditional life. Ritual, ceremony and prayer were used to give thanks to the Earth for what it had provided to them, as well as to gain forgiveness for things like killing an animal for food, clothing and shelter. Oelschlaeger refers to the Lakota Sioux concept of nature as “alive and responsive, nurturing humankind much as a mother nourishes her baby at her breast;” (1991, 16). The Maká Iná is “a bountiful mother”, and Robert Bunge argues that “the soil of . . . [their] hereditary home was . . . [humankind’s] highest heaven and to be earthbound [their] greatest joy,” (as quoted in Oelschlaeger 1991, 30). The Lakota creation story about Wind Cave speaks to their intense spiritual connection with the Black Hills:

Long ago, it was said, the people resided inside the earth. They would look out from the hole in the earth and see what life was like on the surface, and they wanted to live under the blue sky and fair winds and among the trees and the grasses. So they climbed out, emerging to a new life in the open, except for one person, a woman. She stayed behind, remaining beneath the earth.

Life turned out to be good for the people on the surface. There were many fruit trees and plants for them to gather, and plenty of animals like the deer and elk for them to hunt. So the people prospered and became many, and grew into a strong nation. However, years of plenty came to an end when drought visited the land. In the springs and summers there was no rain, and very little snow in the winter – not enough to replenish all the things that grew each spring. Soon there was little for the animals to eat, so they moved away. All of this, of course, meant that the people had practically nothing to eat. The people suffered, became ill, and many died of starvation. The woman who stayed behind looked out and saw what was happening, and her heart broke. She prayed to the Great Spirit for help, and was guided out to the surface. There she turned into a great animal, the pte, also called tatanka – the buffalo. Soon enough, the buffalo became many and were so plentiful that the people hunted them and lived. They prospered once again, much more than they had before, and became an even more powerful nation. So grateful were they to the great animal that saved them that they called themselves Pte Taoyate, the people of the Buffalo, or the Buffalo Nation. (Marshall 2010, 85-7)

The strengthening of the Buffalo Nation is told in the story of the White Buffalo Calf Woman. Plagued by famine, two young men are hunting when they come across a woman who claims to have been sent by the Buffalo Nation. The woman, being beautiful, is lusted after by one of the men, who is then eaten by snakes.
FIG. 090  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK
FIG. 091  PHOTOGRAPHS: VARIOUS ROCK FORMATIONS
           AT WIND CAVE
FIG. 095  ILLUSTRATION: SWEATLODGE WITH COVERING

FIG. 096  ILLUSTRATION: SWEATLODGE FRAME [FRONT ELEVATION]

FIG. 097  ILLUSTRATION: SWEATLODGE FRAME [SECTION]
She tells the other man that she has brought his people a pipe, as she knows they are starving. She instructs him to announce her coming when he arrives back at camp. She appears the next morning with the pipe, and proclaims that Wakan Tanka (the Great Mystery) “has smiled upon everyone present,” and that she, representing the Buffalo Nation, is their sister (Ostler 2010, 8-9). She briefs the men, women and children on their responsibilities, and then lights the pipe to make an offering to the earth, as well as the four directions. First, she puffs on the pipe, then hands it to the Chief before leaving. As she leaves them, she turns into a white buffalo calf. “The White Buffalo Calf Woman enabled the Lakotas to become like the buffalo – a Buffalo Nation, strong, generous, and enduring,” (Ibid.).

With Lakota myth also came ritual and ways to renew body and earth and thank the Great Spirit. A symbolic locale was often identified as a place where the sacred could be felt and contacted; the sweat lodge of the Sioux is one example of this. Lane identifies the desired conditions for these locations: “the symbolic place of divine encounter is the confined and dark place of visionary insight. It is a black hole with fire at its center where the sacred imagination takes flight on beating wings,” (Lane 2001, 82). The sweat lodge ritual was meant to be a form of renewal, or rebirth, speaking to the creation story where they are reborn from the earth (Marshall 2010, 87-8). The structure of the sweat lodge itself, is meant to represent the memory of being from the earth; since they remember where they were born from, and that one of them, a woman, stayed behind, the lodge resembles a womb, “the earth itself” (Ibid., 88). The lodge is made from poles arranged into a dome and then covered by animal hides (Ibid.). Black Elk explains that this structure is meant to represent the universe in four quarters (David Martinez 2004, 339). Beldan Lane describes the sweat lodge ritual in detail in his book Landscapes of the Sacred:

Imagine on the slopes of Bear Butte Mountain near the Black Hills, or along the White River region of South Dakota – between the Badlands and Pine Ridge Reservation – a campsite set apart from ordinary and common uses. Willow saplings have been forced into the ground and tied with thongs to make a crude circular framework over which heavy buffalo robes can be thrown. The enclosed space is maybe six feet in diameter, enough room for four or five people to crouch around a central pit dug in the center. Olive-green leaves of sage have been spread in a circle on the ground, the sweet-pungent odor filling the air. A short earth-packed path runs ten paces out from the single door of the hut, facing east. It ends in a small mound where a fire has been set to heat stones for the ceremony. All preparations have been made with care, for here in the sweat lodge of the Sioux the sacred rite of purification (Inipi) will soon be observed. This is a sacramental act repeated frequently in an individual’s life, especially on occasions when spiritual direction is needed for important decisions. In this hut the spirits of all living things are brought together – the purifying qualities of fire, water, earth, and sage all joining to give new life and new vision to those who enter the place’s mystery.

Imagine, therefore, yourself bending over to enter
FIG. 098  ILLUSTRATION: LAKOTA TIPI WITH HIDE COVERING AND SMOKE FLAPS [FRONT ELEVATION]

FIG. 099  ILLUSTRATION: LAKOTA TIPI WITH HIDE [SECTION]

FIG. 100  ILLUSTRATION: LAKOTA TIPI FRAME [FRONT ELEVATION]

FIG. 101  ILLUSTRATION: LAKOTA TIPI FRAME [SECTION]
the small enclosure, walking with others sun-wise around the interior circle, then sitting on the scattered, fragrant sage. Expectation is heavy in the air. Tobacco is offered to the six directions (east, south, west, north, up and down) as prayers rise like incense. A pipe is passed, the smoke both inhaled and rubbed over one’s body even as the divine spirit is seen to pervade all things - within and without. Then rocks from the sacred fire are passed in and placed in the pit. Heat instantly fills the small space. The door is covered. There is no longer light, only intense darkness, and then steam – blinding, seering steam – as ice cold water is poured onto red-hot rocks. In that moment, sky and earth meet. Grandfather and Grandmother. The presence of God. Your head is buried between your knees, your mind screaming to escape, as your lungs gasp for air but breathe only fire. You know that you can always cry out, Mitakuye oyasin, “All my relatives!” if the heat becomes too severe; someone will throw open the flap and you will live again. But you remain silent, not knowing entirely why. You become all the scorching pain that you feel, until after several minutes (which seem hours), the flap is finally opened and the world is remade with air, light, and a mind that thinks again. Soon the cycle will be repeated (four times in all) each time with more steam, as the white breath of the Great Spirit absorbs the whole of what you are. Nothing exists but sage, fire, water, rock. You have lost names for all these things, though, perhaps you also find new names that seem wiser than old. At last, when it finally no longer matters, your body emerges from the sweat lodge, half-hearing the leader’s words, “May we be as children newly born.” You walk slowly, moving and seeing as if for the first time – your life given back with breathless wonder, your mind still filled with blackness . . . and a vision inarticulate. (Lane 2001, 83)

Yi-Fu Tuan believes that oriented mythical spaces “[organize] the forces of nature and society by associating them with significant locations or places within the spatial system,” such as with the Lakota and the Black Hills (David Martinez 2004, 334). Since the stories tell of the Wakan beings living in tipis and lodges prior to emerging from Wind Cave, it is suggested that building homes did not originate as a form of shelter, or as a claim to property, but as a place for the spiritual life to dwell; as a result, the homes they do build mimic the form of the cosmos (Ibid.). For example, the Oglala tipi is placed in accordance with the four winds. William K. Powers states:

...We see that the catku, or place of honor, is located at the west; the women’s side is at the north, or on the left (from the perspective of the catkin), the tiyopa, or doorway, is at the east; the men’s side is at the south, or right (again viewed from the catku)... (As quoted in David Martinez 2004, 334)

Young teenage boys will sometimes embark on vision quests, where they seek a place on a hilltop, for up to four nights without food, hoping to receive a vision that will provide them with wisdom and direction (Lane 2001, 84). In David Martinez’s words, “A vision includes all of the senses as they are transmogrified by the appearance of sacred beings into one’s living space,” (2004, 326). What the young man gains is
meant to better himself not for his own gain, but for the betterment of all (Ibid.). For the Lakota, the vision quest was a vital part of life, rather than a distraction; of the highest concern to them was the land and the creatures upon it (Ibid.). It is important to note that this concern for the concrete, rather than the abstract, did not mean that the Lakota had less sophisticated thought processes than some modern thinkers, but rather that it met a genuine need (Ibid.). David Martinez proposes that the Lakota vision quest and its ensuing visions or dreams were not results of fasting or sleep deprivation, but an awakening to the mythological land; the locations chosen for visions quests are not selected randomly, but likely as a result of collective experience, becoming known as places where one would be more likely to receive a vision (Ibid., 324). It was also very important that the formal aspects be properly executed, so as to more probably generate a vision; ultimately, however, the results of the vision quest depend on the individual (Ibid., 337).

Certain buttes, such as Bear Butte, were thought to be the dwelling places of dream-spirits who would share their knowledge with young men undertaking a vision quest; it is already a sacred place because of this, but before beginning the ground must be prepared (David Martinez 2004, 340). Martinez describes their procedure:

*Once a space is cleared, the assistants will plant five willow poles, beginning with the central one, in whose securing hole they will sprinkle kinnikinnick. Then they will walk ten paces to the west and plant the next pole. Similarly they will do this for the poles marking the north, east, and south. Between the central and eastern poles either a bed of sage or a shallow pit covered with brush will be prepared so that if the vision seeker wishes to rest, he may do so with his head leaning against the central pole, enabling him to face east. Prayer offerings consisting of small bags of tobacco, only "as big as the end of a finger," will be tied to the top of all the poles, as well as strips of colored cloth symbolizing the four directions. (Ibid.)*

When this process is complete, the young man arrives on horseback accompanied by the holy man, from where he will walk up to the prepared site with his pipe and buffalo robe, to begin the vision quest* (*Ibid.*). According to Black Elk, he would begin praying at the
center pole, before moving to the east, south, west and north poles (Ibid. 341). If he is able to receive a vision, it may begin with “a voice in the distance, the approach of a shadowy figure, or singing coming from somewhere,” and the seeker slipping into a dream-state (Ibid.). This ceremony is meant to give them insight, yet other ceremonies often do the same, such as the Sun Dance which also requires the construction of a sacred lodge (Lane 2001, 83).

The Sun Dance would begin far in advance, with the dancer purifying themselves through sweat lodge rituals, making offerings, and learning from holy men (Ostler 2010, 18). Prior to the solstice, bands would gather at the site and construct tipis in a large circle, and a specially selected cottonwood tree would be cut and placed in the middle of this circle (Ibid.). In the highest branches of the tree they would leave figures of a man and a buffalo, a sacred bundle, and a quilled buffalo robe (Ibid.). Between then and the dance, people would fast, the dancers would continue purification, and songs were offered asking for good weather (Ibid.). The day of the dance is described by Ostler:

*On the day of sacrifice, the dancers arose before dawn. After holy men painted their bodies with religious symbols, they entered the enclosure, when the leader made an altar and set a buffalo skull on a bed of sage nearby. Carrying the lariat he had used to capture the Arikara’s horse, Chased by Bears led the dance and fulfilled his vow by having helpers cut pieces of flesh from his body, later explaining that when a man gives his flesh “he is giving the only thing which really belongs to him.” After further preparations and singing, the other dancers made their sacrifices. (Ibid.)*

While most dancers who would participate did so because they were suffering, they knew that the community would benefit also; “All present placed supreme value on their sacrifice, knowing that through the Sun Dance the world had been renewed and the Lakotas would continue to live,” (Ibid., 19). National Park Service records show that contemporary Sun Dance ceremonies have been held on the Devils Tower Site since 1983, part of the resurgence of Lakota tradition that followed the American Indian Movement and the Supreme Court’s ruling in the Lakotas’ favour (San Miguel 2013).
FIG. 102  ILLUSTRATION: SUNDANCE LODGE WITH COTTONWOOD TREE
These rituals form part of a larger spiritual tradition which was essential to the Lakota livelihood. To call it a religion would be inaccurate, since it was engrained in every aspect of their life. The Lakota had no word for religion, because they did not possess a “dogmatic body of belief”; specific spirit knowledge was shared by a select few holy men, while the greater body of knowledge was created through shared individual experience (David Martinez 2004, 326). This “people’s mythology” is a result of thousands of years of knowledge and memories, and the vision quest is part of it; therefore, it cannot be attributed to a single group of people, but belongs to all Lakota (Ibid., 329). Wasserman states that “Ritual is an essential component of the memorial landscape. Like pilgrimages up ancestral mountains, ritual baths in sacred springs, or storytelling, place-as-holder-of-ritual assists in community restoration,” (2002, 193). This is especially true of the Lakota, and in pondering the future of the Black Hills, their spiritual home and place of ritual, these practices must be not only considered, but prioritized, as they hold the key not only to cultural knowledge, but intimate knowledge of the landscapes on which they were practiced.
WIČHAHPI WOUNSPE _ STAR KNOWLEDGE
On November 13, 1833, a massive meteor shower was viewed by the Lakota, recorded in the winter counts (records of the year’s events) as the year “the stars moved around” and “the storm of stars,” (Ostler 2010, 22). This event, while bringing to mind Wohpe, a mythic figure associated with meteorites, also “drove home the volatility of the world and the uncertainties of living in it,” (Ostler 2010, 22). The significance of this event also shows the importance that the Lakota people placed on the heavens, referring to stars and other celestial bodies throughout the year for guidance and direction.

One Black Hills scholar, Patricia Albers, believes that the Black Hills are so significant to the Lakota people because there is an axis mundi connecting all parts of the Lakota cosmos (Ostler 2010, 26). “Their topographical features, which mirror the heavens, link the heavens to the earth’s surface, while their underground caves link the earth’s surface to the depths of the earth, the wellspring of humans and the bison,” (Ibid.). The seven directions were “obviously manifest” here, therefore “the Black Hills were wakan in a singular way,” (Ibid.). Lakota star knowledge, “an astronomy and astrology that shapes traditional Lakota worldview, religion, and everyday life,” involves the features on earth mirroring those of the constellations above (Amelar 1999, 87). To the Lakota, the stars were called “The holy breath of the Great Spirit,” and perceived the progression of the sun through the constellations as spiritual instruction (Goodman 1992, 1). The stars moving through the sky also served as guides for the Lakotas’ movements by season throughout the Black Hills, from one natural feature to another (Ostler 2010, 21-22). They believed that when they performed ceremonies on earth, they were simultaneously performed in the spirit world also; with this alignment of place, time and ritual, hierophany could be achieved (Goodman 1992, 1).

While no body of sacred geography for this region is complete, Sundstrom believes that the Lakota knowledge set is the most complete since they are the most recent native residents of the Black Hills (Sundstrom 1996, 185). One of the best sources for Lakota star knowledge is the ‘Amos Bad Heart Bull’ map, created between 1890 and 1912 by Bad Heart Bull, who was traditionally educated by Oglala elders, rather than formally schooled (Ibid., 179). Sundstrom also refers to maps which the Lakota created on animal hides to illustrate the connection between the earthly land features and the constellations (Ibid., 181). They were sometimes separate earth and sky maps, and sometimes the two realms were combined (Ibid.).

Sundstrom states that each natural feature of the landscape was associated with one of the Falling Star myths, and the seasonal movement of the Lakota to these places would reflect the retelling of these stories (1996, 179). Falling Star is referred to by the Left Huron as “a Messiah” and by Black Elk as “Saviour” or the “Holy One” (Goodman 1992, 3). “The Falling Star myth cycle clearly illustrates a belief in a dual universe, wherein star people in the sky and humans on earth occupied analogous and sometimes interchangeable roles,” (Sundstrom 1996, 181).

One Falling Star myth tells of two girls who are taken to the heavens, wishing to marry stars. One of them becomes pregnant, and after digging turnips after being told not to, falls to earth and is killed by the fall. However, she gives birth to a baby, Falling Star,
FIG. 108 PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: 180° VIEW OF THE SOUTH DAKOTA SUMMER SKY BY NIGHT
FIG. 109 ILLUSTRATION: SPRING CONSTELLATIONS
[DRAWN WITH DATA FROM GOODMAN 1992, 6]

FIG. 110 ILLUSTRATION: THE MILKY WAY, "THE ROAD OF THE SPIRITS"
WHICH LEADS TO "THE PLACE OF THE SPIRITS [LIFE AFTER DEATH] [DRAWN WITH DATA FROM GOODMAN 1992, 6]
who is saved by the meadowlarks. In days he begins to walk, hunt and seemingly overnight he grows into a young man. The meadowlarks tell him to take pity on all he meets as they let him go off into the world. Being very intelligent and skilled, he protects the people from Waziya (Winter), provides for them, and retrieves a chief’s arm that had been lost to the Thunder Beings. Falling Star marries this chief’s daughter, who gives birth to a son who performs similarly great deeds. “In one telling of this story, the seven stars of the Pleiades represent their deeds. In another version, an eagle swoops down and takes seven girls to the top of Harney Peak and kills them. Falling Star arrives, kills the eagle, and then places the girls in the sky, again describing the Pleiades,” (Ostler 2010, 21).

Nicholas Black Elk told many Falling Star myths in the 1930s and ‘40s which took place in and around the Black Hills, mostly in the East; some of these also took place in the cosmos (Sundstrom 1996 179). In the stories, it seems as though Falling Star is traveling throughout the Black Hills, yet the seven villages he goes to are called ‘Star Villages’, each one associated with one of the seven stars in the Pleiades or the Big Dipper (Ibid. 179). These locations are both in the skies as well on Earth, as Falling Star is both human and star person (Ibid. 179-80).

Ronald Goodman identifies five Lakota constellations along the ecliptic (path of the sun): Dried Willow (Cansasa Ipusye), Seven Little Girls (Wicincala Sakowin), An Animal (Tayamni), The Race Track (Ki Inyanka Ocanku) and The Bear’s Lodge (Mato Tipila) (1992, 6). Dried Willow represents the start of spring, named from the inner bark of the red dogwood tree which is smoked in the Sacred Pipe (Ibid., 7). When the sun passes through Dried Willow, the People are to ready themselves for another year of the teachings of the Sacred Pipe (Ibid.). Performing a pipe ceremony at the winter camps mirrored the celestial pipe ceremony in the heavens (Ibid.). The next constellation, the Seven Little Girls, is also called the Pleiades; this constellation is linked to Harney Peak. During the winter, the Elders would tell the Harney Peak story of Falling Star placing the girls in the sky as stars, and in the spring as the sun passed through the Pleiades, Harney Peak would act as a site for various ceremonies (Ibid.). The Race Track was the site of the race between the two-leggeds and four-leggeds, resulting in the lifting of the Black Hills and the creation of the track (Ibid.). It is also referred to as “The Sacred Hoop”, which references the notion that “all of life occurs within an unending circle of time, space, matter and spirit,” (Ibid.). As such, the Black Hills are seen as “the microcosmic hoop of out of which annually new life is born,” (Ibid.). The last constellation, Tayamni, is made up of individual stars as its tail, head, backbone and ribs; it symbolizes all of life, appearing to be emerging from the hoop (Ibid., 8). Tayamni is often thought of as a buffalo (Ibid.). Slate Prairie, an area southeast of Pe’ Sla (“A Bare Place”), is a rock outcropping thought to resemble the constellation (Ibid.). The Bear’s Lodge corresponds with Devil’s Tower (The Hill of the Bear’s Lodge) (Ibid., 9). The ‘Amos Bad Heart Bull’ map shows the Black Hills as a large enclosed area, including Devils Tower which in reality is sixty miles northwest of the hill (Ibid.). This correlates with the stellar formations, as Devil’s Tower’s heavenly counterpart is found within the circle of stars (Ibid.).
FIG. 111
MAP: SPRING CONSTELLATIONS OVER THEIR ASSOCIATED LANDSCAPES

- TAYAMNI: AN ANIMAL
- WICINCALA SAKOWN: THE SEVEN LITTLE GIRLS
- MAJOTPIHAL: THE BEAR'S LODGE
- KI INYANKA OCANKU: THE RACE TRACK
- CIINSAIPA IPUSYE: DRIED WILLOW
FIG. 112 MAP: LOCATION OF CONSTELLATIONS IN THE SKY IN RELATION TO THEIR ASSOCIATED LANDSCAPES ON EARTH
In his article, Champoux discusses the seemingly disproportionate relationship between the earthly landmarks and the celestial ones, stating that ‘the ‘Raceway’ around the Black Hills does not match the celestial raceway when geopositioned at the center of the star overlay,” (The Black Hills – America’s Sacred Site). However, when one considers the spatial relationships that the early Lakota people had with the celestial bodies above, it would be miraculous if these maps overlaid each other so perfectly. Living on the earth and viewing the heavens as they did, relationships were formed based on perceived distance between landmarks and features visible to the human eye. The symbolism behind these associations is much more useful in studying the significance of Lakota star knowledge.

Goodman describes the spring ceremonial journey, which took place over a three month period beginning with the spring equinox and ending with the summer solstice; during this time, the sun passes through four Lakota constellations (1992, 11). Of these four constellations, three correspond to physical landmarks within the Black Hills. The journey represents the people making the sun’s path on earth, as the sun does in the skies (Ibid.). In order to receive spiritual communication from the Great Spirit, it was important to be in the proper locations and perform the essential ceremonies at the correct time (Ibid., 12). When the sun was in the Dried Willow constellation, the people were still at their winter camps in Nebraska performing the spring equinox pipe ceremony (Ibid.). The solar event that signals the start of this journey is the rising of the summer-solstice sun through the constellation of the Great Pipe (commonly known as the Big Dipper); the Lakota say this “lights the pipe” (Amelar 1999, 90). When the sun was in the Pleiades constellation, the people were at Harney Peak “welcoming back the thunders” (Goodman, 12). This ceremony involved a dance to welcome back Wakinyan, the giver and destroyer of life which came to them in the form of thunder and lightning (Ibid.). When the sun was in the Race Track, or Sacred Hoop, and Tayamni, the people were at Pe Sla, named Reynolds Prairie on contemporary maps, “welcoming back all life in peace,” (Ibid.). This ceremony welcomed the lifeforms for which they had prayed during the equinox, including the feeding of plants, birds and other animals (Ibid., 13). At this time they also began to prepare for the Sun Dance. This involved gathering stones at Inyan Kara mountain in Wyoming, and carrying them to Devil’s Tower where they would be used during the Sun Dance in the purification lodges (Ibid.). Finally, when the sun was passing through The Bear’s Lodge constellation, the people were at Devil’s Tower, performing the Sun Dance during Summer Solstice (Ibid., 12). Many Western tribes would attend this event, as meetings were often held of religious, social and legal significance; following this, the people would go on to Bear Butte and hold national councils (Ibid., 14). Goodman states that “As the sun moved counterclockwise through the constellations on the ecliptic, the Lakota moved clockwise through the Black Hills from one ceremonial site to another; each site correlated to a different constellation. In this manner, the tribe mirrored the sun’s path on the plains,” (Ibid.).
FIG. 116 ILLUSTRATION: THE PATH OF THE SPRING CEREMONIAL JOURNEY
Amy Corbin states that during the 1700s and 1800s, the buffalo stampede through Buffalo Gap, from the Black Hills to the prairies, would mark the beginning of the Lakota ceremonial season (2003). During the later part of the spring journey, the names of three hills were changed: Devil’s Tower was renamed Grey Buffalo Horn (Pte He Gi), Inyan Kara was renamed Black Buffalo Horn (Pte He Sapa), and Bear Butte was renamed Buffalo’s Nose (Pte Pute Ya); together, they formed a buffalo’s head (Goodman 1992, 13). In a period of about a month surrounding the Sun Dance at Devil’s Tower, this head became spiritually charged. Following the bison from site to site, including Devils Tower and Bear Butte, would form a pathway in the shape of a buffalo’s head (Corbin 2003).

Goodman estimates that the spring journey originated between 1000 and 100 B.C., because of the timing of the sun entering the Dried Willow constellation on spring equinox (1992, 12). He also states that this precise timing of the journey, while ideal, was not always attained (Ibid.). Additionally, wherever a band had spent the winter on the Plains, if they could see the sun move near the Dried Willow, they could perform the Pipe ceremony where they were on the first day of spring and thus help to renew the earth (Ibid.).

While the spring ceremonial journey and its associated landmarks make up a significant part of Lakota Star Knowledge, other constellations play large roles in other parts of Lakota life. What people today call the Big Dipper was referred to by Lakota as “the Carrier”, “because it took the spirits of those who had recently died to the Road of the Spirits – the Milky Way – which in turn led to the Place of the Spirits, a final resting place,” (Ostler 3010, 21). The seven stars which make up the Big Dipper, or the Carrier, also represent the seven sacred Lakota rituals and the Seven Council Fires (Ibid.).

Certain shapes and symbols also have celestial associations in Lakota culture. The symbol “Kapemni”, known as the place where the sky and earth meet at the horizon, is the Lakota representation of the nature of the universe (Amelar 1999, 87). Visually, it consists of two cones meeting at their apexes, one representing the skies and one the earth (Ibid.). This is embodied in the construction of the tipi, with the poles crossing at the top resembling this same relationship (Ibid.).

In his article, Champoux relates the sacred significance of the Black Hills in the context of Lakota ceremonial cycles:

*The Black Hills is a place that is all about the interplay between spirit and matter. Through the ceremonial cycles of the Lakota year, this interplay was brought into collective consciousness... as above, so below. It is the very breath of life that blows out of the wind caves, gulps from the sink holes and flows from the many springs of these hallowed hills.* (The Black Hills – America’s Sacred Site)

This language puts into perspective the degree to which the Lakota depended upon the Black Hills for physical and spiritual health; it was the source of life.
FIG. 117  ILLUSTRATION: THE SPRING CEREMONIAL JOURNEY LANDSCAPES
ILLUSTRATION: THE SPRING CEREMONIAL JOURNEY LANDSCAPES AND THEIR ASSOCIATED CONSTELLATIONS
itself. Goodman communicates the significance of the spring journey in his description of the end of the ritual: “When the councils at Bear Butte were concluded, the three month ritual of incorporating the powers of the Wakan Waste was completed also. The People were then on the Red Road. Their will, individually and collectively, was now highly attuned to Wakan Tanka,” (1992, 14). Here, the Red Road refers to a proper way of living. This ceremony, their tracking of the stars, and their physical presence at specific places throughout the Black Hills was not only a tradition, but a necessary procedure for fully uniting the Lakota with the Great Spirit. Their spiritual and physical lives were so intertwined that the physical location and tracking of their movements ensured a greater connection with their provider. Lakota Star Knowledge is therefore more than a system of categorizing mythologies, but a vital piece of their spiritual lives, which affected not only their spiritual health, but the health of their land. When viewed in this way, it is easier to see how the Lakota and the Black Hills truly are intertwined as one. Goodman states:

“Perhaps now, we can see why David Blue Thunder said, “The Black Hills is the Home of our heart, and the heart of our home.” (1992, 14)
FIG. 122 PHOTOGRAPH: POPCORN ROCK FORMATION AT WIND CAVE

FIG. 123 PHOTOGRAPH: BOXWORK ROCK FORMATION AT WIND CAVE
The Black Hills began to rise above the Plains between 60 and 70 million years ago, eroding sediments and exposing massive formations of igneous and metamorphic rock (Ostler 2010, 3); today they sit about 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the plains (Sundstrom 1996, 177). Some of these rocks have been estimated to be 2.5 billion years old, the oldest on the North American continent (Ostler 2010, 3). The central core of the Black Hills contains the highest locations including Mount Rushmore, the Cathedral Spires and Custer Peak; the tallest location, at 7,242 feet, is Harney Peak (Ibid.). Champoux describes the hills as “a metallic granite batholith that grew toward the sun from the surrounding lime sandstone clay overburden,” (The Black Hills – America’s Sacred Site). Containing gold, copper, uranium, lithium, lead, bentonite clay, basalt, limestone, and sandstone among other commodities, the Black Hills are particularly vulnerable to unwanted mining activity, much of which leaves great amounts of industrial waste and destruction in their wake. There are also many caves in this area, most lying beneath the surface of the limestone plateau which sits below and surrounds the core of the hills (Ostler 2010, 4). Circling around this plateau is the ring of red-coloured sandstone and shale known as the Racetrack (Ibid., 5).

The treecover of the Black Hills National Forest is made up primarily of pine trees, also including oak, aspen, birch and spruce (Maynard 1997, 46). The limestone plateau is populated with ponderosa pine, quaking aspen, and expanses of prairie and meadow (Ostler 2010, 4).

Both Crazy Horse and Mount Rushmore are carved into the Harney Peak granite, an Archaean batholith
“that intrudes the mica schist’s now exposed in the core of the Black Hills anticline,” (Waltham 2005, 49). This rock contains quartz, muscovite, feldspar and biotite, “[retaining] features from the original country rock, [parts of which] it are so clearly banded that the rock may better be described as migmatite,” (Ibid.). This type of banding can be seen on the rock where Crazy Horses’ horse may emerge from (Ibid.). Similar banding, in this case schist xenoliths, was present in the Mount Rushmore mountain, affecting carving plans for Washington’s torso and, consequently, the entire monument (Ibid., 50).
Cross sections through the Black Hills show the contrast in character and landform from the surrounding prairies. This unique landscape, when viewed from above in satellite image, is visibly different from all that surrounds it, and it readily recognized from even the largest of scales.

FIG. 125 PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: VIEW OF THE BLACK HILLS FROM THE NORTHEAST
FIG. 126 SECTIONS: CROSS-SECTIONS THROUGH THE BLACK HILLS TOPOGRAPHY
FIG. 134 PHOTOGRAPH: THE NEEDLES, ONE OF THE MOST ICONIC HIGH POINTS IN THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 135  MAP: VEGETATION TYPE FOR THE BLACK HILLS AND SURROUNDING AREA

- EVERGREEN FOREST
- MIXED FOREST
- HERBACEOUS RANGELAND
- MIXED RANGELAND
- OTHER
- SHRUB AND BRUSH
FIG. 136  MAP: TREE COVER FOR THE BLACK HILLS AND SURROUNDING AREA
FIG. 137 PHOTOGRAPH: THE BARK OF THE PONDEROSA PINE, THE MOST PREVALENT TREE IN THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 138 PHOTOGRAPH: A PILE OF DISEASED OR THREATENED TREES CUT DOWN TO BE REMOVED
INFESTED FIRES BLACK HILLS NATIONAL FOREST TREATMENT AREA REMAINING FOREST AREA

FIG. 139 MAP: INFECTED AREAS AND PREVIOUS FIRES [DRAWN WITH DATA FROM FOREST SERVICE 2009]

FIG. 140 MAP: PINE BEETLE INFESTATION TREATMENT AREAS [DRAWN WITH DATA FROM FOREST SERVICE 2011]
FIG. 141 MAP: WATER PRESENCE IN THE BLACK HILLS AND SURROUNDING AREA

FIG. 142 PHOTOGRAPH: SYLVAN LAKE, A RECREATIONAL LAKE IN THE HEART OF THE HILLS
... Resistant materials such as bronze, iron, marble, and granite ensure forms become archaic and remain as enigmatic elements in the landscape. They are frozen in space while time moves on around them, their rigid materiality ensuring their estrangement from the everchanging values of the society in which they are located. (Osborne 2001, 19)

Brian Osborne illustrates the disconnect between our rapidly changing society and the classical idea of commemorative statue with this quote. The Crazy Horse Memorial, while it would be the largest mountain carving in the world if completed, is just part of a long tradition of stone carvings and statues used to commemorate or memorialize events, people and ideals.

The British imperial conqueror of Tibet, Sir Francis Younghusband, stated:

Both man and mountain have emerged from the same original Earth and therefore have something in common between them. But the mountain is the lower in the scale of being, however massive and impressive in outward appearance. And man, the punier in appearance but the greater in reality, has that within him which will not let him rest until he has planted his foot on the topmost summit of the highest embodiment of the lower. He will not be daunted by bulk. (As quoted in Schama 1996, 397)

The idea of humankind conquering nature was fulfilled for many through the climbing of mountains. Yet, the carving of a mountain would surpass even that, showing a more complete domination of nature; humans changing what were perceived to be the largest, most solid forms in the world. “Mountain carving, of course, went one better than mountain climbing, for it proclaimed, in the most emphatic rhetoric imaginable, the supremacy of humanity, its uncontested possession of nature,” (Schama 1996, 397). Gutzon Borglum saw the carving of mountains in this way, especially in the United States which he continually lauded for their manifest destiny and expansion. “For Borglum, bigness was bigger than just big: it was endurance, magnificence, the spiritual awesomeness without which Angkor Wat and the heads of Easter Island would have barely merited notice. The ideological grandeur of America demanded something on the same scale as “the thick volumes of American writers,” the “vast ranches of the West,” (Ibid., 395). Borglum saw America as an escape from the sickness of cities of the Old World; he saw urban culture as “puny, pallid, enervated,” and its art as “a degenerate celebration of deformity,” (Ibid.). He believed that a monument to America needed to be housed “in the Western heartland of the great continent, high in the cleansing skies, hewn from its heroic geology,” (Ibid.). Also, he believed that the only place such a monument could exist would be America, which he saw as “the most heroic, the most masculine since the Greeks”, (Ibid., 397). For Borglum, Mount Rushmore was about more than a mountain carving; he wanted to portray the greatness of the American nation’s expansiveness, strength and character. In more ways than one, Mount Rushmore embodies the domination of wilderness.

James E. Young outlines the difference between monuments and memorials in *The Texture of Memory:*

FIG. 143 PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]: MACHINERY AT THE BASE OF THUNDERHEAD MOUNTAIN
FIG. 144 PHOTOGRAPH: MINE-LIKE STEPPING BLASTED INTO THUNDERHEAD MOUNTAIN
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: THE PHYSICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL AND MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MONUMENT

AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: THE MOUNT RUSHMORE MEMORIAL SITE
FIG. 147 PHOTOGRAPH: THE REMARKABLE DETAIL IN THE CARVING OF CRAZY HORSE’S FACE
Holocaust Memorials and Meaning:

Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends. . . . Monuments make heroes and triumphs, victors and conquests, perpetually present and part of life. The memorial is a special precinct, extruded from life, a segregated enclave where we honor the dead. With monuments, we honor ourselves. (1993, 3)

That Mount Rushmore identifies as a monument speaks to the role of the men on the mountain. The carving is less about preserving the memory of the four individuals, and more about demonstrating the ideals for which they stood. Gutzon Borglum, in creating the monument aimed to both honor and demonstrate American enterprise, making Young's words, "With monuments, we honor ourselves," particularly fitting (Ibid.). The Crazy Horse carving identifying as a memorial at first seems to honor the life of Crazy Horse; but what is actually being commemorated in this instance, is the traditional life of the Lakota and other Indigenous people. While it could be seen as a monument in a similar sense as Mount Rushmore is, the tragic history of the Lakota people within the Black Hills illuminates different meaning which changes the connotations of the carving. The fact that it serves to honor all American Indians, shows the broad spectrum of events included under the memorial umbrella. In another sense, the carving memorializing the life of Crazy Horse himself serves as a tragic reminder of the injustices faced by all American Indians. While both the Crazy Horse Memorial and the Mount Rushmore National Monument are similar in scale, materiality and setting, their intentions and theoretical bases vary greatly, and differentiate them as memorial and monument, respectively.

Judith Wasserman discusses different forms used in memorial design, and the connotations that accompany them: "Walls contain ritual action, providing clues to movement patterns. Rocks represent stability and eternity. Engraved or embossed text becomes the liturgy, while plants and wildlife connect the visitor to the greater cyclical rituals of birth, death, and transformation." (2002, 195). The use of rock in creating memorials and monuments is by no means a recent concept, having been used for thousands of years to "permanently" represent, commemorate or remember people or concepts. "Rocks are one of the most essential memorial forms. They represent a permanence that helps make sense of the impermanence of life. They fulfill a primal need to fix memory relative to an object," (Wasserman 1998, 53). For this reason, they were often used in burials. In creating statues or carvings of human form in rock or other comparably permanent materials, humans try to preserve something of that person being represented. According to Katherine Verdery, "statues are dead people cast in bronze or carved in stone. They symbolize a specific famous person while in a sense also being the body of that person. By arresting the process of that person's bodily decay, a statue alters the temporality associated with the person, bringing him into the realm of the timeless of the sacred, like an icon," (1999, 5).

"Commonly held sets of symbolic meanings about
FIG. 148 PHOTOGRAPH: THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL ILLUMINATED AT NIGHT

FIG. 149 PHOTOGRAPH: THE MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MONUMENT ILLUMINATED AT NIGHT
places have often been developed to reinforce peoples’ identification with specific social values. Carefully selected because of their emotive power, they become iconic and are empowered by the careful cultivation of associated mythologies,” (Osborne 2001, 3). This phenomenon can surely be seen in the Mount Rushmore National Monument, as it has come to represent patriotism, freedom, and opportunity for some Americans. Places such as this, symbolically-loaded sites as Osborne refers to them, enhance collective national identity, social continuity and act as societal reference points (Ibid.). Mount Rushmore, the carving of four men’s likenesses, is a representational work meant to portray a certain American idealism; there is little room left for interpretation. Judith Wasserman discusses this phenomenon in combination with the less concrete social structure which accompanies most works like Mount Rushmore:

Representational sculpture freezes the image of the event in a specific action. Often, sculptures are created to foster an emotional reaction from their viewers. The human forms tend to be embellished and beautified. While all memorials contain encoded meanings, the danger of over-reliance on the representational is that the realism of the objects implies a certain fixed truth. Given the elusive nature of truth and the multitude of narratives concerning historic events, this poses a danger: the danger of dictating some supreme reality where none exists. (1998, 52)

Landscapes, monuments and commemorative sites formally and informally reinforce collective memory and construct national identity (Osborne 2001, 3). “If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine” (Basso 1996, 7). Osborne states that places do not inherently have identity, but that human behavior as a reaction to places constructs identity (2001, 4-5). These places or monuments can also intentionally perpetuate certain desired memories or histories:

...Monuments were spatial and temporal landmarks; they were loaded with memory; they performed a didactic function; they were signs of national progress; they were heroic figures – men, of course! – who represented the anonymous masses; symbols of rights and liberties. (Ibid., 15)

As these constructions of meaning occur, a variety of responses can be present, including alienation, ambivalence, and attraction (Ibid.). Kenneth Foote’s term “Shadowed ground” is an example of this, used to describe the state of place where tragic events have negatively affected society’s remembrance of the site (Briney, Shadowed Ground: An Overview). He notes four ways in which Americans have handled shadowed ground, including sanctification (positive meaning is preserved, often in the case of heroism or sacrifice), designation (recognized for their history, but not ritualized), rectification (recognized temporarily, but ultimately rebuilt or repaired to be woven back into the
FIG. 150  PHOTOGRAPH: SCALE MODELS AND TOOLS ON DISPLAY IN THE MOUNT RUSHMORE MUSEUM
FIG. 151  PHOTOGRAPH: A SCALE MODEL OF THE MOUNT RUSHMORE SITE
FIG. 152  PHOTOGRAPH: A SCALE MODEL OF THE MOUNT RUSHMORE CARVING
landscape fabric), and obliteration (removing evidence of the event, becoming erased with the hope of being forgotten) (Ibid.). Where the response is sanctification, statues, monuments and memorials are often erected. Eric Hobsbawn referred to the Western public statuary tradition as “an open-air museum of national history as seen through great men,” beginning in classical times and continuing to this day (1995, 13). In the period from 1870 -1914, Statuemania, “the rage for commemorative statues”, peaked, filling a void that the hurriedly changing world had created, with statues and monuments anchoring memory on site and providing a physical location for the rallying of national memory and identity (Osborne 2001, 15). This type of behavior is also seen in connection to more recent monuments, the Crazy Horse monument included. To say that all Lakota see the monument as a desecration would be unfair, as there are no doubt individuals who see the site of the carving as a healing landscape. With a monument such as Mount Rushmore, which reinforces a history which is not agreed upon by many, particularly those Native Americans who feel personally affected by the events of the past, the idea of “shadowed ground” is present. For them, the monument represents oppression. However, for many non-native Americans, the monument is a patriotic symbol of freedom.

Wasserman states that “Sole reliance on a singular sculptural piece can cause the memorial to become a distant monument to be viewed, as opposed to a memorial site to engage ritual,” (1998, 53). This state of interaction is already visible both at Mount Rushmore, as well as at the Crazy Horse Memorial. Neither sculptures invite participation, aside from the pathways available to walk near them or the rare opportunity to actually climb on top of them. It is clear in their design that they are meant to be viewed from afar and interpreted as was intended by the original sculptors. Both sculptures would be considered classical in terms of sculptural form, as “Historically, a figure or group of figures were used as an idealized version of the person or event,” (Ibid., 51). Tamms outlined requirements for didactic public sculpture:

*It must be rigorous, of spare, clear, indeed classical form. It must be simple. It must have the quality of “touching the heavens.” It must transcend everyday utilitarian considerations. It must be generous in its construction, built for the ages according to the best principles of the trade. In practical terms, it must have no purpose but instead be the vehicle of an idea. It must have an element of the unapproachable in it that fills people with admiration and awe. It must be impersonal because it is not the world of an individual, but the symbol of a community bound together by a common ideal.* (As quoted in Hinz 1979, 236)

These classical statues often portrayed royal figures, political leaders, mythic characters, or military heroes in classical pose with “predictable accouterments” and often situated “in heroic pantheons established in national capitals,” (Osborne 2001, 16). Additionally, they were often situated in order to perpetuate the symbolic character or role of that particular space, as for example, the Statue of Liberty does for New York City (Ibid.). Wasserman also points out that animal forms have been used to communicate mood and tone in relation
FIG. 153 PHOTOGRAPH: A SCALE MODEL SHOWS WHAT THE MONUMENT WAS MEANT TO RESEMBLE UPON COMPLETION

FIG. 154 PHOTOGRAPH: THE INDIAN MUSEUM OF NORTH AMERICA AT THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL
to the event or person being depicted (1998, 53). This certainly is the case in the Crazy Horse carving, which shows the strong, idealized form of a horse charging forward with his rider atop him. In more recent years, abstract and other more contemporary sculptural forms have been used in commemorative, monumental or memorial sculpture, reflecting current trends in the art world (Ibid.). Largely, memorials featuring artistic sculptural forms of any kind are object-oriented, with little permeation into the surrounding area.

Alternatively, designers like Maya Lin have successfully created stirring commemorative sites using a landscape-based approach which relies on participation of the visitor. In some cases, the land itself serves as a memorial or a monument. Brian Osborne discusses the idea of landscape as having a large role in the keeping of cultural memory:

The abstraction of time becomes punctuated by symbolic dates; the abstraction of space is focused on specific sites associated with particular events. Consider some examples: Masada (AD 73) for Jews; Hastings (1066) for the English; Kosovo (1389) for Serbians; Mohacs (1529) for Hungarians; the Plains of Abraham (1759) for the French; Culloden (1746) for Scots; the Battle of the Boyne (1690) for Protestant Irish; Gallipoli (1916) for Australians; Vimy Ridge (1917) for Canadians. And it is not insignificant that many of these places are associated with battles, mythic victories, and mythic sacrifices. They are places where blood and soil come to signify belonging. (2001, 14)

As seen in the creation of sacred space, landscape can also be identified with important cultural or societal events, individuals or ideas. A key difference when studying commemorative landscapes and memorials is that landscapes cover a broader spectrum of memory, while monuments pay memory to specific locations, people or events, and thus "are central to...constructing symbolic landscapes of power," (Ibid.).

Robert David Sack states that "[w]e live in a dynamic and complex culture in which experiences, memories, and stories are not necessarily shared by others, so that one person’s associations with place, though intense, may not be culturally reinforced," (1997, 138). This statement is relevant in respect to disparities among certain Indian tribes concerning the treatment (or desecration) of the mountain as well as the memory of Crazy Horse. Jeffrey Ostler reminds us that few visitors upon leaving the Mount Rushmore National Monument site would have gained any meaningful knowledge about the American Indians who lived on the land before the carving began; they likely would not know who the Lakota were, who Crazy Horse or Sitting Bull were, or know about the treaties that facilitated the settlement and construction of gold rush towns and eventually the carving itself (2010, xiv). The mythologized landscape enables landscape to be not only an external phenomenon, but an internal one carrying symbolic information; by interpreting the form and meaning of landscape, its role in manipulating culture and wielding influence can be understood (Osborne 2001, 13).

Osborne cites Doreen Massey’s connection between society and place, stating: “It follows, therefore, that as a society evolves and changes, places themselves change as they become dynamic and reflexive sites of innovation,” (Osborne 2001, 5). When studying a monument such as Mount Rushmore, the issue of changing values is an interesting one. Certain value sets associated with the carving have likely changed little since its inception, such as the American patriotic culture which allowed for its creation. However, environmental values have changed considerably in this time, and were a similar carving to be proposed today, there would likely be strong opposition. When viewing the Crazy Horse Memorial, I would argue that values surrounding Native American rights has changed very little, as American Indians are still marginalized and often misrepresented culturally. However, values surrounding the appropriateness of the memorial have seemed to change, as Native groups have spoken out against the carving due to its destruction of landscape and its “object–oriented” nature. Another possibility is that the values surrounding the monument have not changed, but the circumstances surrounding the Lakota people and their willingness to speak against it has.

In considering all the factors that together form and challenge the appropriateness and efficacy of commemorative landscapes and objects, it is fair to ponder the meaning and relevance of contemporary monuments and memorials one hundred, two hundred, or even a thousand years from now. What role will they play in the landscape and for the people? What has the Crazy Horse mountain carving done for the legend of Crazy Horse the man? What does it do for his memory? Additionally, and far more importantly, what does it mean for the Lakota people of the future? As Osborne states, “indeed, it is the nature of the public reaction to monuments that determines whether or not they serve as passive visual statements contributing to social cohesion, or as active elements in a public discourse of redefinition,” (Osborne 2001, 18). Sanford Levinson argues that each social or cultural group has its own set of heroes, and also their own set of villains; public space is then open for claim, often becoming contested landscapes rather than spaces of cultural and societal consensus (Ibid.). Osborne also cites James E. Young, who points out that while a monument’s myths and ideals are taught to be as real as the ground on which the statue stands, neither the statue nor its meaning is permanent, as “Both a monument and its significance are constructed in particular times and places, contingent on the political, historical and aesthetic realities of the moment,” (as quoted in Osborne 2001, 19).

In considering the appropriateness of certain monuments, Wasserman relates that for some people, the preservation of ancestral lands, for example, would be a far more fitting memorial than a physical carving or statue. “For some, preserving ancestral lands may be the most appropriate form of memory making. In some cases, the memorial can function solely as a gathering place for those with a shared cultural practice, used for community rituals. In other cases, it can serve the purpose of educating those outside the culture – teaching important values of a divergent culture,” (Wasserman 2002, 198). Wasserman also outlines the characteristics of authentic memorial places, which “allow the visitor not only a deepening of intellectual knowledge, but the gaining of experiential insight as well,” (1998, 43). Additionally, Wasserman debates the use of text to help visitors interpret memorials, stating that “…an explanatory text about the memorial and its symbolism may limit the view and understanding of the visual text. Provided with a tidy explanation, the tourist can walk away, feeling served but unchallenged. With no explanatory text, the tourist becomes an active participant in the memorial,” (Ibid., 57). She argues that “Through experiencing spaces, viewing and touching artifacts, moving in ritual patterns, and engaging in community activity, the viewer becomes an active participant in the experience of memory,” (Ibid.). Perhaps though, this experience does not have to be triggered by a traditional
The act of participating in ritual or movement in or around a memorial site may have a more profound impact on the visitor, as “Movement and ritual are major components of memory experiences and as such are bound to the memorial landscape,” (Ibid., 45). The act of hiking to the top of Harney Peak or Bear Butte would arguably have this affect on the visitor, as these landscapes are in themselves memorial, sacred landscapes – perhaps more so than the Crazy Horse Memorial can ever be.

Speaking to the area where Mount Rushmore was carved, Schama describes:

...The mountain itself, in which the Great Spirit, Wakonda was indistinguishably embedded with the rock and the scree. To feel its presence and that of all the ancestors buried in such a place required only a kind of respectful annihilation of the human self. Which is why Indian campaigns, from the 1930s onward, to have the face of Crazy Horse or Sitting Bull inscribed on Rushmore or another mountain in the Black Hills (even had they not been brushed aside) have been tragically self-defeating. Emulating the white obsession with visible possession, with self-inscription, with cutting the mountain heights to the scale of the human head, would in the most poignant way imaginable, be to accept the terms of the conqueror. It would be as if Sioux religion were merely a dumb echo of the anthropocentric fixation suggested by Frank Lloyd Wright's reported remark that the heads on Rushmore made it look as though the mountain had responded to human prayer. (1996, 399)

This disconnected notion of a memorial to the American Indian people in stone is hotly debated and surely provides no one definitive answer. The Crazy Horse memorial, which seemingly emulates and even attempts to exceed the Mount Rushmore memorial in scale, material and impact on the visitor, is situated among miles of sacred land; yet, it seems to disregard the beautiful simplicity of the Great Spirit residing in all parts of nature. When viewed through a lens which portrays all of the Black Hills as sacred, the Crazy Horse memorial seems wholly unnecessary and in some ways incredibly intrusive. If this is considered to be true, then what would be an appropriate monument to the Lakota people, and other American Indians?

As landscape architects, we are charged with mediating between people and their environments; we also have the ability to communicate certain aspects of landscapes that might not be immediately obvious to others, even scientists or engineers. “The earth contains stories – stories of people's lives, stories of environmental transformations. Landscape architects are vital in establishing memorial sites, preserving them, and creating a memorial design process to ensure that heroic stories and lives are remembered, preserved, and passed on to future generations,” (Wasserman 1998, 60). How should a landscape architect approach the commemoration of the American Indian people, and more specifically, the Lakota people who hold the Black Hills so sacred? There are many scenarios which could be proposed, none of which would ever be universally agreed upon by all those emotionally and physically invested in the issue; yet, an approach which delicately treads upon the land, preserving that which the Lakota hold most dear, and additionally facilitates ritual and ceremony to strengthen their traditional culture, may be most effective. Schama reminds us of the intrusiveness with which we as humans have acted upon our earth in the past, suggesting that we rethink the methods which have governed our previous attempts at the preservation of memory; after all, “To make over a mountain in to the form of a human head is, perhaps, the ultimate colonization of nature by culture, the alteration of landscape to manscape,” (1996, 386).
In the Black Hills, as in many parts of the United States and Canada, Native Americans are represented as part of the cultural history of the place with varying degrees of success. Often, the images of Native Americans represent a link to the untouched land of the past, a romantic allegorical image of tipis, fires and tanned hides. Other times, they are represented as a tragic characters in the history of the West, what Shezad Dawood refers to as “the patronizingly common image of the native American as tragic martyr to the incipient logic of capital,” (2009, 119). Walter Echo-Hawk Jr. states that “For most of American history, the United States has looked upon the land as a conqueror. . . We have the minds, hearts, ears, and eyes of settlers, and we romanticize the American past through movies, dime novels, school books, and song,” (2009, 59).

The arrival of the horse meant many changes for American Indians, from the speed at which they could travel long distances, to the kind of lodging they could build. The horse ensured that they could construct taller tipis, eighteen feet tall as opposed to the usual twelve feet, requiring more poles, often 28 feet tall (Marshall 2010, 133-4). The introduction of the horse also helped to create one of the most famous images of the Native American: on horseback, carrying a lance and wearing a feather headdress; this image is misleading, as the era of the horse lasted for about 150 years, while Native Americans have thrived on the landscape without the horse for thousands (Ibid., 134). Therefore, this image is a European influenced one, rather than a purely Indigenous one. In 1833, painter George Catlin even suggested that the government preserve large natural land areas where people could go to see Native Americans in traditional garb riding horseback among large elk and buffalo herds (Martinez 2003, 247). Today, similar places still exist within the Black Hills. While often praised for its revisionist style, the film *Dances with Wolves* portrays Plains Indians as “idealized natives”, illustrating a picturesque and romanticized landscape of plains, hills, villages, rivers and freely roaming animals (Natali 2001, 115). As Oskolkoff describes in her analysis of the film, “Images of the Sioux village are romantic and idealized with horses running, the moon over still water, and peaceful inhabitants,” (2008, 10).

Throughout America, vast “natural” habitats are preserved and put on display for tourists to drive and walk through, taking photos and approaching these “wild” animals at their own discretion. Similarly, at Yellowstone National Park the elk population was being artificially fed throughout the winter and put on display to provide tourists with a “wilderness” experience, while really only creating an illusion of a natural environment “in spite of the ecological costs,” (Dennis Martinez 2003, 249). This type of artificial wilderness is also prevalent throughout the Black Hills. Custer State Park is home to a buffalo herd of over 1,000 animals which visitors can see when driving through the state park. While the herd is packaged as wild, the reality is more farm-like, with the bison being herded annually and sold for population management or meat (Associated Press 2012). The Black Hills is also home to a drive-through zoo which allows visitors to see timber wolves, bears, elk, buffalo and mountain lions in “naturalized” habitats separated by cattle guards.

Other forms of tourism dominate most areas of
GRAVE OF WILD BILL HICKOK IN MT. MORIAH CEMETARY IN DEADWOOD. Wild Bill Hickok is the most famous figure in Deadwood’s History, with much tourism revolving around his life and death in the town.

VINTAGE RODEO POSTER IN THE BULLOCK HOTEL, DEADWOOD. The town of Deadwood, established during the Gold Rush, has become a symbol of the Wild West, exaggerating this for the sake of tourism.

SHOOTOUT ON MAIN ST. DEADWOOD. Every day during peak season, various Deadwood legends are reenacted for tourists.

SALOON NO. 10, DEADWOOD. The site of Wild Bill Hickok’s death is now one of the most visited establishments in town.

VIEW OF DEADWOOD FROM MT. MORIAH CEMETARY. Guided and self-guided tours are taken throughout the cemetery daily, romanticizing Deadwood’s sordid past.

FIG. 157 MAP: SELECTED TOURISM-RELATED SITES AND PHENOMENA IN DEADWOOD.
06 THE CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL
The mountain carving of Lakota Warrior Crazy Horse is situated north of Custer adjacent to the highway, similar to its predecessor Mount Rushmore.

07 INDIAN MUSEUM OF NORTH AMERICA, CRAZY HORSE MEMORIAL
The museum, part of the Crazy Horse complex, features artifacts, art and various items reflecting the Lakota and other American Indian tribes.

08 PRESIDENTIAL TRAIL, MOUNT RUSHMORE
A foot walking trail along the base of the mountain, offering close views and ending at the sculptor's studio.

09 MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MONUMENT
The carving of Washington, Jefferson, Roosevelt and Lincoln has become a symbol of American freedom and enterprise.

10 RUSHMORE CAVE
This cave, located near Keystone, is one of many caves that have been excavated and renovated for guided tours.
11 HARNEY PEAK. Harney Peak, named after General Harney, is the tallest peak in the hills and was originally a sacred Lakota site. Today, it is a popular hiking ground.

12 CUSTER STATE PARK BURROS. The burros (donkeys) in the park were originally used to transport people up Harney Peak. Now, they roam wild in the park and are popular with tourists.

13 WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK. This park is home to sprawling grasslands and one of the most beautiful caves in the hills.

14 NEEDLES HIGHWAY. This road twists and turns through the Needles rock formations, with several narrow passages through the rock.

15 CUSTER STATE PARK BURROS. The bison herd in the park roam freely within park limits, but are no more wild than farm cattle.
16 DEVILS TOWER NATIONAL MONUMENT. This natural rock formation has become iconic for tourists and rock climbers.

17 BEAR COUNTRY, U.S.A. Bear Country is a drive through wildlife park containing bears, elk, wolves and sheep among many other. It simulates natural habitats and creates the illusion of wilderness through the use of cattleguards rather than cages.

18 STURGIS BIKE RALLY. Every August thousands of bikers descend on Sturgis for the annual rally, a major source of income for the city and region.

19 CHUCKWAGON DINNER SHOWS. Several places throughout the hills offer Chuckwagon dinner shows, providing a “cowboy” meal and western music show.

20 RAPID CITY. Being the largest city within the vicinity of the hills, Rapid City offers a break from most tourist-centric towns like Keystone and Hill City, with galleries, shops and historic buildings.

FIG. 160 MAP: SELECTED TOURISM-RELATED SITES AND PHENOMENA OUTSIDE OF THE BLACK HILLS FORESTS
FIG. 161  PHOTOGRAPH: THE ENTRANCE TO THE MOUNT RUSHMORE NATIONAL MONUMENT

FIG. 162  PHOTOGRAPH: THE PRESIDENTIAL TRAIL
the Black Hills, particularly the towns of Keystone, Hill City, Custer, and Deadwood. These towns capitalize on nearby cultural and geological attractions such as caves, carvings and museums, creating what has turned out to be a highly lucrative industry for the area. Many caves throughout the hills have been opened up, outfitted with lights, pathways and stairs, and filled with tourists hoping to see the rare crystal formations that the caverns are famous for. Some abandoned gold mines offer tours of the old tunnels, while the still functioning mine in Lead does the same. Campgrounds are scattered throughout the area, concentrated mostly along highways in close proximity to the main tourist attractions. They often offer horseback riding, hiking, and water recreation on nearby lakes or entertainment such as music shows. In the town of Keystone, probably the most tourist-central town in the hills, attractions such as an “alpine slide”, helicopter tours, and ziplining have been implemented, immediately adjacent to the dense strip consisting almost entirely of gift shops and restaurants. It is easy to imagine the distaste the Lakota and other surrounding tribes would hold for these areas.

At the Mount Rushmore National Monument, former Superintendent Gerard Baker, a Mandan-Hidatsa Indian, strove to bring awareness to the cultures that inhabited the Black Hills before the four presidents were carved in stone. A controversial figure, Ruth Ziolkowski relates that he once took down one of the presidents’ portraits in the visitor’s center and replaced it with a picture of a tipi (2013), and Charmaine White Face states that another time he dug a pit on the property and roasted a buffalo (2013, Interview). He also allowed the Black
FIG. 164 PHOTOGRAPHS: TUNNELS BLASTED THROUGH ROCK FOR VEHICULAR ROADS, WITH SPECIFIC VIEWS OF MOUNT RUSHMORE IN MIND
Several points throughout the areas surrounding Mount Rushmore have been tailored in order to provide views of the carving that are more difficult to avoid than access. This heavy-handed depletion of landscape elements to provide views of an already heavy-handed carving is an example of the sense of entitlement that seems to be felt by those who implemented the carving and designed the areas surrounding it.
Dennis Martinez states that “Indigenous cultural survival depends on healthy land,” (2003, 250). In the Black Hills, the land has been abused for decades, threatening the culture of the Lakota and other tribes who once inhabited the hills. Of great insult to the Lakota Sioux is the mining, logging and tourism activity that has engulfed the Black Hills in the 19th century. All of these activities have in some form, some more seriously than others, degraded the environment and desecrated sacred sites throughout the hills. Coal and uranium mining pollutes water sources, cyanide heap-leaching gold mines cause cyanide and other chemicals used in the mining process to enter the groundwater, and many operations of all commodity types leave open pits in their wake, with operators frequently failing to clean up or restore the land in any way (Corbin 2003).

Harney Peak, located within the Norbeck Wildlife Preserve, was once described as “the Center of the World,” by Black Elk, a Lakota spiritual leader (Corbin 2003). This spiritual center is now under threat, with logging roads being run through the landscape, an activity which will affect remaining old-growth trees, water systems and wildlife (Ibid.). Also, according to Amy Corbin, the Black Elk Wilderness Area (0.8 percent of the Black Hills land area), “is the only protected area, but even here, timber companies are pressing for access,” (Ibid.). Charmaine White Face states:

All of the forests in the Black Hills have been logged at least once. Ninety-seven percent have been logged at least three times. Most recently, the oldest trees in the Black Hills, supposedly protected by a US Wilderness designation, were cut down for road safety and expansion. There are over 8,000 miles of roads in the Black Hills, more than any other National Forest. (2013, The Sacred Black Hills)

When I met Charmaine White Face, and her Black Hills Defenders colleague Barbara Murray-Charging Crow, she explained the genesis of the Black Hills Defenders and the circumstances under which they mobilized. In 2004 when the Black Hills forests were being lost to logging, other environmental organizations failed to effectively stop the logging operations from moving into the hills. Political leaders were pushing individual agendas, and piece by piece, the sacred forests were disappearing (White Face 2013, Interview). At this point in time, a group of environmental activists began to work in cooperation with Native people who also feared for the area, and the Black Hills Defenders were formed. Their goal was to unite individuals and groups with a shared interest in saving the Black Hills from destructive logging, mining and industrial activity, free of any political party or individual agenda. Not only were there Lakota people involved, but nearby Cheyenne and Arapaho people were encouraged to participate and have their voices heard (Ibid.). Whiteface states that their mission is to "preserve, protect, and restore the environment of the 1868 treaty territory," which includes an area reaching far past the Black Hills including western South Dakota, and parts of North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming and Nebraska (Ibid.). Amy Corbin refers to a quote from Charmaine White Face, in which she states:

The Fort Laramie Treaties remain the supreme law of
the land, and as such, enforcement of these treaties should form the basis for all stewardship decisions made by the Forest Service in its stewardship role on the lands of the Great Sioux Reservation, in general, and the sacred Black Hills in particular. (As quoted in Corbin 2003).

Of particular concern to White Face in the Black Hills area, is the uranium mining activity and the lack of public awareness of the work being carried out. After travelling to a site to study the potential effects of the destruction of what was described to her as a catch pond related to oil drilling, she discovered that what was actually being proposed was a catch pond for radioactive runoff resulting from abandoned uranium mining sites (White Face 2013, Interview). The proposed site for the pond, if constructed, would have destroyed a sacred burial ground, and thus was eventually constructed further away on a different site. However, this caused White Face and the Black Hills Defenders to look closer at uranium mining activity in the area. Since that time, she has extensively studied the scope of uranium mining in the Black Hills area, and is currently trying to get a bill passed through Congress in Washington D.C. that would enforce the cleanup of all abandoned uranium mines, and put a moratorium on new mining activity until this cleanup occurs (Ibid.). She states that there are 2,885 abandoned uranium sites in their territory (Ibid.). Murray-Charging Crow stated the implications of this: “You’ve basically travelled to Chernobyl,” (2013).

“By the mid-1970s, there were 380 uranium leases on Native land and only 4 on public or acquired lands,” (Winona Duke as quoted in Red Cry, 2012). White Face cites Winona Duke’s article in which she talks about a policy that President Nixon wrote in 1972, “declaring our treaty territory, our region, a national sacrifice to radiation. That’s not genocide?” (White Face in Red Cry 2012). In the documentary Red Cry (2012), one elder discusses how the ecology around the reservation has changed, with birds and animals no longer coming in the numbers they once did – “they know,” he says. Additionally, “Radioactive elements, heavy metals, and toxic chemicals in drinking water on Pine Ridge have passed from mother to child during pregnancy, and caused birth defects and miscarriages at a rate six times higher than the US national average,” (Red Cry 2012).

Recently, Canadian company Powertech has expressed interest in mining in the area using an in-situ process, requiring large amounts of water from the Inyan Kara and Madison aquifers, the latter which supplies water to more than half of Rapid City (McLaughlin 2013). Oxygen-rich water draws out uranium like a magnet, yet the company promises that its presence would not mean any threat to local water (Ibid.). Mark Hollenbeck, a former state legislator, described the mining structure as “a series of wells...dug about 70 to 100 feet apart,” with depth ranging from 200 to 800 feet (Ibid.). Half the wells would inject water, while the other half would the extract metal-laden solutions; a pipeline then would take the solution to an above-ground processing plant where uranium oxide is produced, and subsequently shipped to an enrichment facility (Ibid.). The proposed mine site sits adjacent to the Cheyenne River, sparking fear that potential contamination could spread to the Pine Ridge Reservation, where there is
FIG. 171  MAP: COMMODITY AND MINERAL PROCESSING PLANTS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 173 MAP: SAND AND GRAVEL OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 174  MAP: CRUSHED STONE OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

11  RAPID CITY QUARRY + MILL  [44.19, -103.28]
COMPANY: Pete Lien & Sons, Inc.
COMMODITY: Crushed Stone
STATE: South Dakota
COUNTY: Pennington
OPERATION TYPE: Mine + Plant

12  PQ #1643  [44.17, -103.32]
COMPANY: Hills Materials Co.
COMMODITY: Crushed Stone
STATE: South Dakota
COUNTY: Pennington
OPERATION TYPE: Mine + Plant

13  RAPID CITY QUARRY  [44.09, -103.29]
COMPANY: Hills Materials Co.
COMMODITY: Crushed Stone
STATE: South Dakota
COUNTY: Pennington
OPERATION TYPE: Mine + Plant

14  GCC DACOTAH QUARRY  [44.08, -103.23]
COMPANY: GCC Dacotah, Inc.
COMMODITY: Crushed Stone
STATE: South Dakota
COUNTY: Pennington
OPERATION TYPE: Mine + Plant
FIG. 175  MAP: FELDSPAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 176  MAP: MICA OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 177  MAP: CEMENT OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 178  MAP: COMMON CLAY AND SHALE OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
MAP: METALLIC AND NON-METALLIC COMMODITY OCCURRENCES IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 183
FIG. 184  MAP: TYPE OF COMMODITY OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 185  MAP: PRODUCTION SIZE AND STATUS OF MINING AND COMMODITY OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 187  MAP: URANIUM OCCURRENCES IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 188 MAP: STATUS OF URANIUM OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS

URANIUM PRODUCER
PAST URANIUM PRODUCER
URANIUM PROSPECT
URANIUM OCCURRENCE
UNKNOWN STATUS
WÓAWANYANKE _ PROTECTION: CULTURE + TRADITION
While protecting the Black Hills from further destructive resource extraction, it is also vital to preserve sacred sites in their natural state, as they would have been before Western expansion and settlement. Several places throughout the Black Hills which are particularly sacred to the Lakota people, while protected to a certain degree, are highly trafficked and used recreationally in ways that could be detrimental in the long term.

One of the most important sites to the Lakota in the Black Hills is Bear Butte, a state-run park. Bear Butte is located on the Northeast side of the Black Hills and once was the site of annual ceremonies, vision quests and meetings for the Lakota Sioux; it was declared a South Dakota State Park in 1961 and in 1973 was named on the National Register of Historic Places (Corbin 2003). Of all the sacred sites within the Black Hills, Bear Butte’s management is perhaps the most exemplary. To accommodate both native practitioners and public use, two separate trails were established; one reserved for Indigenous ceremony and ritual, leading to a ceremonial area, and one for recreational public use such as hiking. While both trails are accessible to the public, non-native visitors are asked not to leave the trail, disturb offerings and prayer bundles, or disturb people during ceremonial practices (Ibid.). This type of protection for a site is rare, and while it does offer Lakota people the opportunity to engage in tradition at a culturally sacred site, non-native visitors who do not understand Lakota tradition and ritual may still prove disruptive, or even be unintentionally disrespectful. With federal and state protection of a site, must come an educational process to inform visitors of the history, use and spiritual relevance of a site; this would help to ensure that the guidelines in place are seen as fitting and that they are followed with respect by all people who visit the site.

At Bear Butte, the proposal for a new sports complex and firing range approximately four miles north of the site sparked immediate anger from the Lakota in 2003. The project, a cooperative effort between the city of Sturgis, South Dakota and private investors was to be home to roughly 10,000 fired rounds per day, increased traffic, new building and infrastructure development, increased air pollution, and excessive noise pollution (Corbin 2003). This complex would negatively affect the serenity of the individuals from over 60 tribes who pray here, the experience of visitors, and the birds and wildlife who live in the area (Ibid.). With the dissemination of literature regarding the project and persistent opposition to its construction, the plans for the facility were dismissed in 2004.

Robert Pahre identifies the five National Park units in and around the Black Hills: Jewel Cave National Monument, Mount Rushmore National Monument, Wind Cave National Park, Badlands National Park, and Devils Tower National Monument (2013). Pahre correctly identifies that while all these National Parks exist within the same landscape, the treaty territory of the Lakota Sioux, their interest in communicating Lakota history within the National Park setting varies greatly between the parks (Ibid.). Devils Tower National Monument, similar to the state-managed Bear Butte, also does more than many National Parks to tell the story of the American Indian people. Pahre relates that the site tells of its sacredness...
FIG. 192  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: BEAR BUTTE STATE PARK
FIG. 193  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: BADLANDS NATIONAL PARK
FIG. 194  MAP: NATIONAL PARKS IN AND AROUND THE BLACK HILLS
FIG. 195  MAP: NATIONAL PARKS WITHIN THE AREA OF THE SACRED BLACK HILLS
to American Indian tribes, also calling it by the names the tribes know it as (Mato Tipila) (Ibid.). Similar to what the state does at Bear Butte, management at Devils Tower explains the concept of prayer ties and offerings, asking visitors not to disturb them, and also asks climbers not to climb the tower during the month of June, when ceremonies typically occur at the tower; they also explain why it is that many Native Americans feel that rock climbing should not occur at all during that time (Ibid.).

Mount Rushmore, while the very idea still offends most Native Americans, has changed positively under Gerard Baker’s leadership as superintendent. The Heritage Village, staffed with Native American speakers, has allowed visitors to see another side to the Black Hills that otherwise they may not. However, as I noted when visiting in the summer of 2013, the museums, nightly videos and other areas of the monument’s site continue to gloss over the more authentic history of the site of the carving and the circumstances surrounding its construction.

Badlands National Park, the south part of which is now working towards cooperative management with the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation, does tell the stories of the Lakota people through their programming. However, Pahre notes that the visitor center on the south part of the National Park is lackluster compared to other visitor centers throughout the remaining Black Hills National Parks (2013). He suggests that this is due to lower visitor numbers and being of low priority to the National Park Service in comparison to other units (Ibid.).

Wind Cave National Park, which the Lakota name as the place from which their ancestors emerged, is an extensive cave system lying beneath the grasslands and rock of the southeast Black Hills. From my experience, this park has the poorest consideration for the Lakota history involved in the site. Historically “discovered” by
Tom and Jesse Bingham in 1881, entered by explorer Charlie Crary later that year, and documented extensively by Alvin McDonald (National Park Service 2013), the cave has over time been retrofitted with walkways, elevators, ramps, railings and hundreds of lights to accommodate large tours led by park rangers. The expansive parking lot, an enormous slab of concrete sitting directly over the cave, is also worthy of question because of a seemingly blatant disregard for the natural state of the site as a delicate and rare natural phenomenon. I visited Wind Cave in the summer of 2013, and upon taking the tour was astonished that no mention of the site’s spiritual significance to the Lakota is explained, or during my particular tour, even mentioned. A glaring omission in this site’s interpretive center and museum is the emphasis on Alvin McDonald’s early exploration of the caves, when it is widely acknowledged that the Lakota had spiritual ties to this site long before that time. Robert Pahre notes this deficiency, stating that while park management acknowledges “that the cave opening is the site of the Lakota origin story,” they are clearly more interested in the Anglo history of the site; “It tells of the struggles over cave ownership before this site became a national park, the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps to build the park’s infrastructure, and the government’s efforts to build a game preserve here;” (2013). This type of misinformation is, in my view, irresponsible on the part of the National Park Service, and disrespectful to the Indigenous populations that lived on the plains long before settlers arrived from the east. In 1981, “the site was occupied by Lakota activists and elders . . . to protest the 1980 Supreme Court decision that offered financial restitution for the taking of the Black Hills,” (Corbin 2003) showing that the site still holds sacred significance, and perhaps even political significance now. Pahre additionally notes that Jewel Cave National Monument also fails to relate any relevant history concerning the Lakota people or other American Indian tribes in the area (2013).

While most of these sites are protected from logging and mining, the cultural threat is just as real as the physical. While some take great care to communicate the Lakota story, other management agencies seem to intentionally disregard it, acting in a different, yet equally hurtful, type of destruction. Yet, there are more sacred sites all throughout the Black Hills that do not have
even this level of protection. This is not a phenomenon specific to the Black Hills, however. Taliman discusses the various laws that have been implemented to provide protection to American Indian peoples’ freedom and sacred lands, including the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the National Historic Preservation Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (2002, 73). She also quotes the Chair of the National Congress of American Indians, Tex Hall, as stating that “Our sacred places are not held in high regard by the federal government, an attitude evidenced by the blatant lack of compliance demonstrated by several federal agencies who deal most directly with sacred lands,” (as quoted in Taliman 2002, 73).

Dennis Martinez believes that how we define nature plays an important role in the preservation of sacred lands. “If we view nature as functioning best without human care-givers, then not only will American Indians continue to be locked out of their ancestral lands, but the freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution will be denied them,” (Dennis Martinez 2003, 250). Since these lands are considered to be “natural” and were not built by human hands, such as a mosque or a temple, Native American site protection cases are constantly denied (Ibid.). “America desecrates our sacred places, which are sites of profound cultural, spiritual, and ancestral importance that ensure the wellbeing of all life,” (Charmaine White Face as quoted in Red Cry 2012). She goes on to compare other religious or sacred sites throughout the world, and the disconnect in understanding that people have with Native American sacred sites. If, she relates, the Vatican or a church were desecrated, people would go to prison and people would be outraged (Red Cry 2012). Yet, Native American sacred sites which have been around for thousands of years, are consistently being destroyed with no real action nor concern otherwise. With this in mind, it is clear that the idea of the sacred mentioned by Murray-Charging Crow is more important than ever; until society begins to view sacred places as more than stacked brick and mortar, Native American sacred land, essential to these cultures’ physical and spiritual wellbeing, will continue to disappear, both in the Black Hills and beyond.
Throughout the course of my research it has become apparent that for the most part, the Lakota did not want, nor need, anyone to fix their situation. Their goal, as it has been for many years, is to gain back their traditional tribal land and be allowed to once again provide for themselves in the land they were meant to inhabit. Solutions that are proposed to the Lakota for improvement of life on the reservations, economic development through tourism, or other culturally irrelevant options do not address the key values of concern for most Lakota people. In considering this, the idea of designing landscapes for the Lakota is challenging, and perhaps in these cases not even necessary.

In the design of new buildings at the Sinte Gleska University campus in South Dakota, “the oldest tribe university in the Americas” (Stevens 1998, 67), Clark Stevens, architect for RoTo Architects, described their experience of trying to understand the values of the Lakota people and how they could translate into built form. The University which was established in 1971, sought to “reclaim the Sicangu Lakota culture at a time when Native American languages, lore, and rituals across the country, faced danger of extinction,” (Amelar 1999, 85). Stevens felt that “in light of their cultural and life experiences, that [the design team] was not to be trusted with that knowledge,” (Ibid.). He recalls wondering whether what the architects had to offer was appropriate, describing a reluctance on behalf of the university representatives to express their desires for the new structures (Ibid.). When the design team realized that they were not getting the answers they needed, they decided to go about it a different way;
they initiated a design-build exercise of a straw-bale house. The architects labored alongside tribal members to erect the structure which would be a house for a tribal elder. Amelar states that this experience of learning, rather than directing, resulted in the tribal members opening up to the design team, recounting stories and myths which would eventually be reflected in the new designs at Sinte Gleska (Ibid., 86).

Upon learning that many young tribal members did not know about traditional Lakota Star Knowledge, RoTo Architects used this information to inform their campus plan for Sinte Gleska University, seeking “to design a campus that would encourage its inhabitants to wander the territory and generate more stories,” (Amelar 1999, 87). The efficacy of these design decisions has been challenged, however. Amelar states that a faculty member has referred to the building’s celestially-inspired design features as “gadgets”, and notes that RoTo even briefly considered creating a booklet outlining the building’s concept, telling visitors where to stand in order to properly experience the design (Ibid., 90). Rather, they decided to allow people to figure it out for themselves. Michael Rotundi stated: “I hope people will gradually start to decode the work like archaeologists, in the same way they read the land and sky. One day, someone may find him – or herself standing there at sunset and suddenly see all kinds of things,” (Ibid.).

Stevens states that “becoming ‘native’ or Indigenous has as much or more to do with learning to be conscious and respectful of the natural world than it does with blood ancestry or cultural inheritance. It also involves learning that human systems are only a subset of natural systems, and that our technologies, including building technologies, should be applied with a sense of balance and restraint,” (1998, 68). With this in mind, it makes the Crazy Horse Memorial seem especially crass. Stevens advocates for an approach to design which does not preserve an idealized landscape, but which looks at the contemporary condition and reality of the place “and find links to traditional, organic and integrated systems of values,” (Ibid.).

Approaching the Crazy Horse Memorial, and trying to understand how one might approach a design for the Lakota people, I empathized with the way that RoTo chose to conclude their work. However, I began to question the willingness of people to truly act as “archaeologists” and examine the land and sky surrounding a design, when most already fail to do so with their own environments, let alone a foreign one which they pass through. The richness of tradition and myth embedded within the Black Hills landscape can be unearthed in a similar way to the building described above, if the visitor is willing and has the knowledge as to what to look for. With this much value inherent in the land already, a designed landscape, even if created sensitively and with great purpose, may not provide as much value as the preservation of existing tribal land and a concerted effort to educate the public about the importance and significance of Lakota lands. In turn, sensitively-informed designs may encourage the public to investigate these special places more. How this occurs must inevitably involve the Lakota people at the foundational level, and would preferably see them at the reigns. Photographer and journalist Aaron Huey, after spending years photographing the Pine Ridge Reservation for National Geographic, expressed his desire to eventually step away from the issue in hopes that he has provided enough of a platform for the Lakota people to tell their own story (Becker 2012). Art, design and mapping can all play a similar role to this.
MAK'HÓČHEOWÁPI PAHÁ SÁPA _ MAPPING THE HILLS
The average tourist develops a cognitive map of the Black Hills based on the major tourist sites, towns, and highways. These are the features that are made evident on most maps, particularly those that are provided for free to tourists at the many gas stations, visitor centers and attractions in the Black Hills. As one travels on the highways, points of reference are made that help to triangulate certain sites and evolve a mental map of the hills. Distances are calculated from the roads to the bodies of water, the mountains and the adjacent plains. To magnify this tendency, more and more restaurants, campgrounds, and family attractions are being built adjacent to the major highways running through the hills, increasing the number of times a family might drive down the same stretch of road and reinforcing the spatial relationships that they may have cognitively established. Trying to imagine the Black Hills without these throughfares is difficult, but if one were to consciously visualize the land without these features, and instead focus on major geological landmarks, waterbodies and the path of the sun and stars, it is possible to imagine how the Lakota people navigated amongst the hills and plains.

Marshall relates the story of his grandfather staring across the plains, stating that he wished that fences had never been invented (2010, 73-4). His grandfather found binding the landscape to be the “non-Lakota” notion which he despised the most, a sentiment which Marshall still shares, stating that his “feelings are fueled by hours and hours of imagining what the plains looked like without fences, without cornfields, vehicle trails and roads, and high line and telephone wires,” (Ibid., 4).

FIG. 201
PHOTOGRAPH: A ROAD RUNS THROUGH PE’ SLA

FIG. 202
PHOTOGRAPH: A VIEW FROM THE DASHBOARD ACROSS THE SOUTHERN PART OF CUSTER STATE PARK
Marshall discusses the difficulty of imagining the larger landscape of North America without state lines or roads, a difficulty that I find in imagining a pre-settlement Black Hills. The visualization of this untouched landscape is critical to understanding the Indigenous landscape, yet “As children of our modern era, we cannot think of the natural environment without some indication of human passage, imprint, or habitation,” (Ibid.). Maps of pre-settlement times often show ghosted outlines of contemporary divisions for this very reason, perpetuating our discomfort with the non-delineated landscapes (Ibid., 81-2).

Of the petroglyphs and pictographs left by their Native American ancestors, Marshall’s grandfather used to say, “Someone passed this way,” (2010, 150). These images reminded Marshall of a few important things: Indigenous people were there many thousands of years ago, the artists of the images were his ancestors, and those artists knew that there would be many generations following them; “So they painted pictures of their lives because they did not want to be forgotten,” (Ibid.). The act of mapping cultural information is an ancient practice, and one that has been used throughout history to communicate vital information about civilizations. English geographer W. G. Hoskins once stated that “poets make the best topographers,” because the plotting of cultural landscapes must be imaginative in order to convey how powerful that place is to those who revere it (Lane 2001, 59). A poet can mediate between different modes of discourse to allow the blurring of boundaries in order to achieve a more unified understanding of sacred space (Ibid., 60). This type of mapping is necessary in order to communicate the problems occurring in the Black Hills area in a way that is engaging and inspiring. Marshall states that “One can look at a map of North America that delineates the indigenous culture areas and see that the Plains are the second-largest culture area. But such a map does not reveal the character of the land - the natural environment - there is nothing to indicate its cycles, rhythms, and patterns,” (2010, 132). The way that one maps this information is, however, difficult to determine. Paintings, photography, literature and film have all mapped cultural histories. Films such as Sunchaser, which looks at contemporary Navajo struggles with sacred space, and Dances with Wolves, which studies the tensions between white settlers and Native Americans in the Great Plains of South Dakota, projects the struggle over “manifest destiny” between Americans and Native Americans onto the landscapes; “Film landscapes are a part of the contemporary archive of remedies; they instigate a conflictual memory and produce emblems of cinematic iconological “excess”,“ (Natali 2001, 106). This, too, is a form of mapping – one which maps the cultural landscapes on film. Film “reframes nature,” creating conditions to convey emotions through editing, composition and cinematography; space becomes depicted as a “moving landscape,” taking cues from its predecessors like landscape painting, panoramas, photography “and other mises en scene,” (Ibid., 107).

As a child visiting the Black Hills, I can recall sitting in the backseat of the car with a creased roadmap of the area laid across my lap, gazing out the windows as the rocks and pines flew by like stills from a motion picture. I remember remaining vigilant, attentive to the landscape, hoping that I could be lucky enough to spot a bear or a mountain lion, or at the very least a doe. Just as Joseph M. Marshall III was told by his grandparents about sacred places, and entrusted him with the oral knowledge he keeps today, children are taught about their landscapes and form perceptions about them based on those early experiences of wonder. I now wonder, if I knew as a child what I know now about the Black Hills, what would that landscape have looked like to me? Looking back on this memory, I ask myself the question: years from now, when other children travel through this landscape, what will be on their maps? What will the landscape look like to them? What will they be looking for and what could they discover?
“When a man moves away from nature, his heart becomes hard.”

- Lakota saying (Red Cry 2012)

“As the historical Indian disappeared, so would the memory of their integral role in the ecology of their homeland disappear,” (Dennis Martinez 2003, 249). Charles Kay, a wildlife biologist and political scientist, believes that Native Americans were “keystone players” in North American ecosystem dynamics (Ibid., 248). This role meant that they did not need to manipulate their environments in major ways to affect an ecosystem due to the expansive length of time they have co-evolved with the plants and animals (Ibid., 248-9). Yet, Marshall observes that how people have referred to Native Americans as “the original environmentalists” is not entirely accurate, because to do so would suggest that they perceived themselves as separate from nature, rather than part of it (2010, 125). They did not possess a certain set of practices for dealing with or maintaining their environment; since they too were part of the environment, they simply lived respectfully, feeling that it was their “sacred obligation” to do so in response to all they had received from Mother Earth (Ibid., 125-6). Evidence of this lies in the fact that the Lakota, for instance, had no word in their language for “wilderness”; in response to the need in our culture for words to represent certain things, the word manitu, which actually means “away from the village”, has been adopted (Ibid., 126).

McAvoy states that, “Basic to American Indian mythology is the knowledge that human life depends on a healthy and structured natural world. In order to ensure a delicate balance between nature and human activity, appropriate acts of idealized behavior (rituals) are conducted at times of seasonal change,” (2002, 389). Hunter-gatherers conducted themselves in this way for thousands of years. “The ‘primal’ cosmology of hunters, fishers, and gatherers sanctifies the human presence in the natural world. . . . [and] shows humans how to comport themselves with animals and plants,” (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 63). This Indigenous cosmology suggests how humans should exist amongst plants and animals and is infused with the underlying belief that humans are not all that different from the flora and fauna of tribal habitats. They are woven into the spirit of the land (Ibid., 63). This belief lies in stark contrast to the agriculturalist worldview, which holds humans in a position of ownership over all plants, animals and natural processes (Ibid.). The way that Native Americans have traditionally interacted with the land historically “teaches that some places are holy ground, we have important relatives in the animal and plant kingdoms, and humans must cooperate with the natural world to survive,” (Ibid., 60). These values are ones that humans have abided with for thousands of years, becoming part of human biology, allowing those who hunted, fished, and gathered all across the planet to not only survive, but to flourish within their Indigenous settings (Ibid.).

The multitude of ways that Native Americans cared for, interacted with and performed rituals upon the land in pursuit of connectedness with Mother Earth is referred to as Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), and is inclusive of hunting, fishing, pruning, burning, weeding, sowing and tilling (Anderson & Egan 2003,
245). This Native American land ethic is also referred to as “spiritual management” by Vine Deloria, an American Indian scholar, with decisions regarding the land often being based on sacred traditions, the strong connection between humans and nature, and the long history that they share with the land (McAvoy 2002, 388).

In their article “Simulated Indigenous Management: A New Model for Ecological Restoration in National Parks”, Kat Anderson and Michael Barbour state their belief “that there are areas within various national parks where nature has been influenced by long-term Indian occupation, management, and stewardship,” (2003, 269). In many of America’s national parks, the Park Service works to restore these landscapes to “a wilderness state” (Ibid., 270), something that could only benefit from the involvement of local Native American tribes and their intimate knowledge of the land, including oral accounts of their ancestors’ relationship with the earth. Native Americans have managed flora and fauna to create specific conditions which would meet their cultural and physical needs (Ibid., 271). This includes the lighting of surface fires, which increased germination rates of numerous plants (Ibid., 272), as well as “transplanting, weeding, tillage and sowing practices,” (Ibid., 273).

Walter Echo-Hawk Jr. advocates for an Indigenous land ethic for progressing through the twenty-first century, stating that “The Indigenous worldviews of the world’s surviving hunting, fishing, and gathering cultures have much to offer to nations that are searching for land ethic . . . but those wisdom traditions have been largely forgotten, dismissed as “primitive,” disparaged as “inferior,” or demonized by the modern world,” (2009, 58). This land ethic is not one known only to traditional Native Americans, but one that every person can identify with if they become more aware of the primal cosmology; in Echo-Hawk Jr.’s words, “It lies on the land beneath our feet,” (Ibid., 76).

Dave Egan defines an ethnographic landscape as “associated with contemporary groups and typically . . . used or valued in traditional ways,” (2003, 259). The National Park Service defines an ethnographic resource as “a site, structure, object, landscape, or natural resource feature assigned traditional legendary, religious, subsistence, or other significance in the cultural system of a group traditionally associated with it,” (as quoted in Egan 2003, 260). A positive collaboration between the National Park Service and nearby Native American tribes could make an immense difference in the quality and health of areas such as the Black Hills and the surrounding plains. Ethnographic landscapes, which would be managed in cooperation with tribes, and eco-cultural landscapes, which would simulate Indigenous land practices (Anderson & Barbour 2003, 276), are both viable options that are worth exploring in the context of the Black Hills. Anderson and Barbour recognize this, stating in their article that “If land managers, ecologists, and archaeologists understand the intricacies and mechanics of how and why native people shaped ecosystems, this will enrich their inventory of management methods, and they will be in a better position to make informed, historically based decisions,” (Ibid.).

Echo-Hawk Jr. points out that even professional foresters tasked with preserving the state of remaining natural areas in the United States have “lost sight of
[Leopold’s] ideals in their stewardship of the public lands,” with particularly poor treatment of places that are imbued with sacred significance to the American Indian people (2009, 60). With a realization that the current system is not managing these spaces effectively, a new land ethic in cooperation with Native American tribes would be a viable option. The National Park service has begun to realize that not only do Native American tribes benefit from working in cooperation with them, but the Park Service experiences benefits as well, with “traditional tribal reverence for the earth and her systems...becoming a persuasive addition to the findings of science and scholarship,” (ibid., 62). However, there are still tensions present between not only American Indians and “old-timer” settlers (including loggers, ranchers etc.), but also between American Indians and park management agencies who manage recreational and tourism lands that lie on or near traditional lands (McAvoy 2003, 385). As a result, some tribes are beginning to show interest in co-managing recreational lands near or adjacent to their reservations as a way to be involved in the process rather than to be left powerless to it, as seen in the example of the Badlands National Park management practices (Ibid.). Cooperative processes could occur at specific sacred sites and over large areas such as national or state parks to authentically manage culturally and ecologically important landscapes and enrich the lives of Indigenous stakeholders.

In Keith Basso’s article, “Stalking with Stories,” he explores the connection between cultural balance and land preservation in the context of the Western Apache. He collected statements from various Apaches, which “verify the importance of the land to this community,” (Wasserman 2002, 191). One account, from Nick Thompson (age 64) in 1980 reads:

We used to survive only off the land. Now it’s no longer that way. Now we live only with money, so we need jobs. But the land still looks after us. We know the names of the places where everything happened. So we stay away from badness. (As quoted in Basso
With the recognition that change has occurred and life is no longer as it once was, some Lakota see the benefit in cooperative management practices of traditional sacred lands. This type of cooperation proved incredibly rewarding for Michael Rotondi, who wrote of his experience working with Lakota people in the design and building of the new Sinte Gleska University complex. He states:

We were in a complete volume. It felt as if we were on the ocean this place once was. Everything was moving, yet all was still. Everything was unified: the place, all that inhabited it and our experience of it. There was no distinction of property or territory. There was little evidence of the synthesized human world we had come from: our world. We were bodies in space with no special privileges other than our responsibilities to each other, to the earth and sky. The scale and characters of this place equalized all that existed out there; rocks, plants, creatures and people. There were no artificial boundaries to separate us, even in our mental abstractions. We had a sense of being interdependent. We were all related. ‘Mitake Oyasin’, the Lakota say. (1999, 85)

It is evident that a cooperative management strategy between Native American tribes and National and State Park Services could be both feasible and mutually beneficial. Devising a strategy for the Black Hills region requires additional sensitivity to the spiritual and colonial history of the land, yet by using the parameters already set in place to increase protection and preservation of culturally significant sites and through the dissemination of knowledge regarding the concerns of the Lakota over their traditional land, the management of the cultural landscape of the Black Hills could be set on a more rewarding path, for visitors and American Indians alike.
THELYĂ WŌAWAĈIN – A NEW WAY OF SEEING
“One of the most remarkable intuitions in Western thought was Rousseau’s Noble Savage: the idea that perhaps civilization has something to learn from the primitive,” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 267). Yet, it has proven difficult in the contemporary United States to properly communicate the sacred significance of tribal lands and the subsequent importance of practical policies to protect them (Ornelas 2007, 165). An example of this is the Garrison Dam construction during the 1940s and ‘50s, which resulted in the flooding of historic reservation areas, including graves, of the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara Nation) of North Dakota (Ibid.). These lands were once used for community events, reflection, and gathering of medicinal plants among other uses, as well as being home to lodges and shrines (Ibid., 165-6). Since this time, protection has improved for sacred sites in general, with laws and legislation prohibiting the disturbance of many traditional sites and allowing for the use of these sites by Native Americans for ritual and ceremony. In 2001, a set of recommendations was released for the National Park Service to “Nurture Living Cultures and Communities,” including:

1. The National Park Service should help conserve the irreplaceable connections that ancestral and Indigenous people have with the parks. These connections should be nurtured for future generations.
2. Parks should become sanctuaries for expressing and reclaiming ancient feelings for place.
3. Efforts should be made to connect these people with parks and other areas of special significance to strengthen their living cultures. Such efforts should include access by Native Americans to sacred sites and the use of ecologically sustainable cultural practices and traditions.
4. A formal Heritage Areas program should be established to support partnerships among communities so that the full scope of the American experience is revealed,” (Ruppert 2003, 263).

Since the early 2000s, more American Indian people have been seeking permission to enter parks and public lands with the intention of collecting natural resources such as medicinal plants (Ibid., 261). The opportunity for land management agencies and Indigenous peoples to work together in partnership would not only benefit the land ecologically, but is a vital step towards “restoring a cultural landscape” (Ibid., 262). Many times when American Indian people make these requests to collect material, they also request to bring children along to teach them about traditional gathering places and the importance of natural resources to the tribe and its cultural traditions (Ibid.). There are many opportunities here for cultural education for both Native Americans and non-Natives.

While Anglo-Americans often view valuable protected landscapes as being separate from humans, a place where one goes to in search of a wilderness experience and reflect or seek a spiritual experience, American Indians “often see the same lands as places to fulfill their way of life as part of the land on a level of coexistence which is not separate from these areas,” (McAvoy 2002, 38). McAvoy states that many Anglo-Americans accept that Indians want to maintain a sense of place.
in protected areas, just as long as they do not ask for these lands to be returned to them, restrict Anglo-Americans’ access to these landscapes, or restrict how Anglo-Americans use these places recreationally (Ibid., 390). To Anglo-Americans these places may represent power, beauty, majesty, personal freedom, national pride, and escape from civilization, but to American Indians these represent so much more: “lost land, deception, continued oppression and the death or near death of a culture,” but also spiritual fulfillment, a connection to their ancestors, and a sense of spiritual ownership that comes from being descended from the people who inhabited these lands for thousands of years (Ibid.).

It is the opinion of Charmaine White Face that the tourism industry in the Black Hills has played a large role in the misrepresentation of the Lakota people. Gerard Baker made several changes at the Mount Rushmore National Monument which he hoped would positively affect the relationship between local Indian tribes and the National Park Service. Baker allowed the Black Hills Defenders to table there one year, handing out treaty and territory maps and other data to tourists regarding environmental issues throughout the hills, and he also tried to incorporate an Indigenous perspective into the interpretive elements of the site (White Face 2013. Interview). A Lakota/Nakota “village” was constructed, containing a tipi and various artifacts, as a means to communicate the lifestyle of the Plains Indians that inhabited the hills prior to Western expansion. White Face says that individuals from the Pine Ridge Reservation, including one of her son-in-laws, would sometimes work there, telling stories to tourists. Despite these efforts, she does not like to go to Mount Rushmore, considering it to be “an abomination, like Crazy Horse;” (Ibid.). Speaking of exploitation of sacred place in the hills, Charmaine says that “Sometimes its so painful for me that I try not to go there. It’s too painful to see what has happened,” (Ibid.). A similar instance occurred when an elder spoke of the loss of cottonwoods in the Missouri River flooding, and the “profound spiritual hurt” she feels when confronted with this reality (Ornelas 2007, 169).

A lack of cultural awareness within the tourism industry in the Black Hills is coupled with the still prevalent idea of “newly found” place (as seen in American Manifest Destiny) that resulted in the Black Hills being stripped from the Lakota in the first place. The phenomenon of “newly found” places throughout the United States during colonization remains in practice, and Dave Egan and Kat Anderson suggest that this “New World” history may be contributing to the failure of park managers to repair natural processes within National Parks (2003, 245). “The way that societies view the land tells much about them – revealing the characters, values, history, and aspirations of a people,” (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 63). With this in mind, we must aspire for more. The Native American cosmology, inherent in traditional language, culture, stories, art and values, is a suitable model for replacing the existing American land ethic, having been born of the very soil it arises from (Ibid., 64). Luther Standing Bear once stated that “The man from Europe is still a foreigner and an alien. But in the Indian, the spirit of the land is still vested; and it will be until other men are able to divine and meet its rhythm,” (1978, 248). European settlers,
although alien to the new lands they were colonizing, became the stewards of the land, preventing American Indians who had lived with the land for thousands of year from practicing their traditional methods, and in most cases living on their traditional land. This lack of knowledge pertaining to the land was visible in the way that “They raced through the landscape without understanding even the plants beneath their feet,” not knowing of the rich medicinal, nutritional and practical uses of the native species which they overlooked (Echo-Hawk Jr. 2009, 65). Rather, colonists rejected native species in favour of those familiar to the lands they had come from, and more tragically, doing the same unto the American Indians who inhabited these colonized areas (Ibid.). The Colonists’ land ethic, which holds the view that the natural world cannot be sacred in and of itself, is “at odds with the long human experience on the planet,” and is therefore at odds with the new land ethic being proposed here (Ibid., 67). Echo-Hawk Jr. states that “a land ethic for our industrialized nation cannot be founded upon science and technology alone, for they caused much of the environmental trouble and lack the tools, knowledge, wisdom, and moral willpower to solve that crisis,” (Ibid., 72). He believes that once we cease to see the world through the colonized lens, “an America emerges as a land filled with Indigenous holy places, a wondrous land where everything has a spirit, including the earth, water, every living thing, and even the mystical powers of the universe,” (Ibid., 68). To achieve this, one need only “ask the Native peoples, or see the land through their eyes,” (Ibid.).

Walter Echo-Hawk Jr. states that as landowners and stewards, Native Americans in combination with federal land management practices can develop a set of policies to serve as an example to the rest of the nation (2009, 58). Echo-Hawk sees this form of management as an important part of setting ourselves on the right track toward addressing environmental issues as well as social issues involving Native Americans and their traditional land. He claims that society cannot through politics alone solve these issues, and that a new land management model is vital to achieving these goals (Ibid., 58-9). He envisions “a more just culture that has adapted to the land and incorporates valuable Indigenous knowledge and values of its Native peoples into the social fabric,” (Ibid.). He also cites Leopold as having advocated for a decolonization of landscape, to “evolve a land ethic as the social product of a mature society,” (Ibid., 59). For Echo-Hawk, this means progressing past these public land laws, conservation laws, and environmental legislations that are occurring as of late; while encouraging, a more progressive stance is needed (Ibid.). He defines ethnology as “[working] with contemporary cultural issues and traditional communities to investigate links between cultural values and the cultural and natural resources located on public lands,” expressing that “a strong federal ethnography program” is vital alongside current public land laws (Ibid., 61). Dennis Martinez likens this proposed role of humans in a new land ethic to a medical doctor, “intervening no more than necessary to nudge nature just enough to change its natural trajectory from a human caused downward spiral to one that is potentially positive,” (2003, 250). This responsibility is ours as beings living upon the Earth, and our role as part of, and in service of, nature, (Ibid.).
Echo-Hawk comments on how visitors to the giant redwoods of the west coast might liken an opening between them to a cathedral, or even referring to the experience of being in that place as “sacred”. In his eyes, “such metaphor is important to what national parks stand for, and to the willingness of the public to use and support parks,” (2009, 62). The key lies in using that willingness to introduce the public to the cultural traditions and histories of the Indigenous people for whom the concept of “sacred” exceeds metaphor (Ibid.). David Ruppart felt that it was the duty of federal agencies, whom he saw as having “a higher degree of knowledge about the nature of the land and its cultural significance to the American public,” to introduce visitors to this new land ethic (Ibid.). However this type of movement from current land ethic to this proposed land ethic requires an interdisciplinary approach involving “comparative religion experts, Indian studies scholars, historians, ecologists, ethnobotanists, wildlife and fishery biologists, traditional tribal religious leaders, and tribal hunters, fishers, and gatherers” in establishing a synthesis of resources, thus creating a new “American Way” of approaching our natural environments and sacred places and eventually imparting that knowledge onto the American public (Ibid., 62). A new land ethic must provide balance between the sacred and the secular (Ibid., 72).

The opportunity for a landscape architect to take on some of these roles is obvious, as landscape architects are frequently tasked with mediating between people and space; taking into account the cultural, economical, environmental and societal conditions and effects inherent in those spaces and populations. Being able to communicate to the public in a way that is digestible, engaging and exciting would help to establish the groundwork needed for a new land ethic to gain footing amongst visitors and professionals alike. Additionally, being able to sensitively understand and communicate the important cultural concerns and opinions of Native American groups implicated in these spaces would help to mitigate between culture, ecology and economy in a way that is mutually beneficial to all parties involved.

In looking to a future land ethic for the Black Hills, the concept of “borderlands” is especially useful; Gloria Anzaldúa defines borderlands as “wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shirks with intimacy,” (1987, 78). Assisting non-natives living, working, visiting or otherwise existing adjacent to sacred sites, be it a mountain, river, or forest grove, in grasping the significance of such a site, is critical in developing successful relationships and cultivating respectful understanding of culture (Ornelas 2007, 169).

“For the moment, much of the Lakotas’ efforts are focused on working within the existing institutional and legal framework to gain greater access to the Black Hills and to protect them from further damage,” (Ostler 2010, 189). Through taking advantage of the framework, additional protection can be demanded on these important sites that are feasibly within the ability of State and National Park groups to protect.
FIG. 209  PHOTOGRAPH: DEVIL’S TOWER

FIG. 210  PHOTOGRAPH: DEVIL’S TOWER AS VIEWED FROM ITS BASE
Devils Tower

At Devils Tower in Wyoming, tension between rock climbers and American Indians has led tribal groups to ask the National Park Service to limit climbing activity on the tower throughout the month of June, when many Indian practitioners descend on the area to practice traditional rituals. Upon banning climbing during June, the Park Service was sued by the Mountain States Legal Foundation as well as a group of climbers and advocates; the result is the implementation of a “voluntary ban” on climbing during the month of June (McAvoy 2002, 387-388). The climbers argued on behalf of individual/expressive place meaning, claiming that climbing Devils Tower was important to who they were as people, with some even citing “climbing” as their religion and the tower as their Cathedral (Ibid., 388). The tribes, on the other hand, argued from a cultural/symbolic perspective, claiming that Devils Tower and the surrounding lands were, and had been, important to their whole tribal group, their ancestors, and future generations as a place of spiritual significance (Ibid.).

A new land ethic would propose a revised climbing ban, which would limit any climbing on the monument during the month of June. While this would no doubt be met with resistance, climbing can be practiced during other months of the year; the Sun Dance traditionally must be held at a certain time in the spring. Additionally, the publicized restriction of recreational climbing would advocate for a greater importance to be placed on Indigenous ceremony and ritual not only at Devils Tower, but at other sites as well. Allowing Native American practitioners a month of unrestricted use of the site would allow them to more fully reconnect to their traditional lands and feel as though their use of space is important, prioritized, and respected. As Devils Tower was important to the Sun Dance prior to the arrival of European settlers, so too should the Lakota be important to the cultural identity of the site today. Rather than being seen as something in need of accommodation, the Sun Dance and other rituals should be welcomed as foremost in the rich tradition and history of the area.

Harney Peak

Ostler states that “Lakotas are increasingly using areas in the Mount Rushmore-Harney Peak area for religious ceremonies. In years past, government officials might have stopped these activities, but current managers are allowing them to take place,” (2010, 189). While this may be true, there is certainly room for improvement. In hiking to the Harney Peak Summit, it became apparent that the experience of ascending such an incredible natural feature was spiritual in itself. The trails are fairly rugged aside from the signage, and because of the sheer distance covered by the trails there is little threat of infrastructure being built to accommodate hikers which could disrupt the landscape. However, the use of signage throughout the trails as well as at the trailheads could be used to instruct visitors about the traditional uses for Harney Peak, and indicate why some Native Americans still visit the site to perform rituals or leave offerings. Also, this signage could use the Lakota name for Harney Peak, Okawita Paha, as it was known by this name long before General
PROHIBIT CLIMBING DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

CONTINUE EDUCATION REGARDING OFFERINGS AND CEREMONIES

ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO ENGAGE WITH THE LANDSCAPE AND INVOLVE NEARBY TRIBES IN THE CARE OF THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE.
FOSTER AN ENVIRONMENT OF RESPECT TOWARD LAKOTA PRACTITIONERS USING THE SITE
ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO LEAVE OFFERINGS AND PERFORM CEREMONIES AT THE SITE
RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE
IMPLEMENT NEW SIGNAGE WHICH RECOGNIZES HARNEY PEAK BY ITS LAKOTA NAME, OKAWITA PAHA.
FIG. 211  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]: DEVIL'S TOWER
FIG. 212  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]: HARNEY PEAK
FIG. 213  PANORAMIC PHOTOGRAPH: A VIEW FROM THE TOWER AT THE SUMMIT OF HARNEY PEAK
William S. Harney entered the hills in the 1870s. These small actions could provide Lakota practitioners with a sense of ownership, which is lacking currently. If more Lakota people felt the desire to perform rituals or leave offerings on or around Harney Peak, the public would also become increasingly aware of the Lakota presence and relevance throughout the Black Hills.

**Mount Rushmore**

During Gerard Baker’s time at Mount Rushmore, he made several significant changes, but there are more changes that could be made to more appropriately recognize the presence of the Lakota people prior to the carving of the mountain. While the monument places a great emphasis on history, the history of the Black Hills and the land on which the carving sits is noticeably sparse. While this may be due to the monument’s mission to serve as a National Monument for all Americans, rather than just a regional monument, it is an important part of the Rushmore story that should not, in good conscience, be omitted. The Heritage Village serves a great purpose when open, but when it is not available to visitors, they should still leave the site with some knowledge as to the original occupants of the land and the circumstances under which they were removed. This almost certainly has to occur within the museums and multimedia presented on-site.
FIG. 214    PHOTOGRAPH: WINDBLOWN AND WEATHER-BEATEN TREES NEAR THE TOP OF HARNEY PEAK
FIG. 215    PHOTOGRAPH: BEAR BUTTE
FIG. 216 PHOTOGRAPH: BEAR BUTTE AS VIEWED FROM THE ENTRANCE TO THE STATE PARK

FIG. 217 PHOTOGRAPH: A SIGN DESCRIBES THE BEAR BUTTE STATE PARK RULES AND HOURS
Bear Butte

Jeffrey Ostler describes the current management practices at Bear Butte State Park, the most accommodating sacred site to Native Americans in the Black Hills:

At Bear Butte, currently part of the South Dakota state park system, the park manager is Jim Jandreau, a Lakota from the Lower Brulé Reservation. To facilitate Indians’ use of Bear Butte for vision quests, Sun Dances, and other religious purposes, Jandreau discourages “wannabes” and “culture vultures” who take advantage of Bear Butte’s reputation to promote fraudulent religious ceremonies. He had his staff also educate non-Indians who hike Bear Butte to respect the prayer cloths and tobacco ties that are seen along the trail. (Ostler 2010, 189)

These actions, while small, speak loudly of respect to the Lakota people who frequent the site, as well as the land itself. While Bear Butte has a lower profile than many other sites throughout the Black Hills, those visitors who do visit the site and respectfully explore the sacred landscape take the knowledge they have gained there with them throughout the remainder of the Black Hills. The Black Hills should function as a system of knowledge, since the entirety of the Black Hills are sacred.

To maintain the freedom and peacefulness that the site entails for Native American practitioners, projects similar to the scrapped gun range should be prohibited from being built within a distance which would disrupt
RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT IN THE AUDIBLE VICINITY OF THE PARK TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND QUIET FOR CEREMONY AND RITUAL.

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE.

CONTINUE EDUCATION REGARDING OFFERINGS AND CEREMONIES.

ENCourage INDIGENous PEOPLE TO ENGAGE WITH THE LANDSCAPE AND INVOLVE NEARBY TRIBES IN THE CARE OF THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE.

FIG. 218 AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: BEAR BUTTE
Make notable changes to the interpretive center to be inclusive of the history of the Lakota people.

Restrict development of additional infrastructure both on the surface and in the caves.

Include the Lakota creation story and the cave's significance in the tours.

Involve nearby tribes in the care of the surrounding landscape.

FIG. 219  AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH: WIND CAVE
FIG. 220  PHOTOGRAPH: BOXWORK ROCK FORMATIONS IN WIND CAVE
FIG. 221  PHOTOGRAPH: BOXWORK ROCK FORMATIONS IN WIND CAVE
FIG. 222  PHOTOGRAPH: LIGHTS INSTALLED IN THE ROCKS IN WIND CAVE
the site. With sites such as Bear Butte, which have so far been maintained in a relatively untouched state, the strict limitation of building and usage on site and in the surrounding area is especially important.

**Wind Cave National Park**

While Wind Cave has, in my view, already made many mistakes which cannot be undone, the management strategy should be adjusted to pay respect to the cave’s original discoverers, the Lakota. Park management’s current strategy, focusing only on the Anglo and geological history, which even to the untrained eye may seem like a blatant disregard for the Lakota history with the site, is neither an honest portrayal of the place’s story nor an authentic experience for the visitor. Science, geology, and mythology can come together in a site such as this to provide the visitor with a well-rounded experience, providing knowledge that will shape their view of this site and the culture which originally recognized it.

**Pe Sla**

In November of 2012, the Great Sioux Nation bought back Pe Sla, a sacred patch of prairie in the heart of the Black Hills, for $9 million after protesting the public auction which would have seen their sacred land be handed over for development. As the rightful owners of this land once again, they are able to freely pray and practice ritual at the site which has been sacred to them for centuries. No management plan would be suitable or necessary at this site, and thankfully the reacquisition of this land by Oceti Sakowin (The Great Sioux Nation), the ensures that there will not have to be one. Russell Eagle Bear of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe ensured that discussions as to how the land would be used for ceremony and ritual would occur among tribes (Rose 2012).

The process of carrying out ritual and ceremony can allow the cultural conditioning of the past several thousand years to be overcome in favour of a more organic relationship with nature that neither opposes it nor tries to work with it, but allows one to find themselves in nature; Dolores LaChapelle believes that this is the road to a more sustainable culture, using ritual as a logical, analytical and ecological tool (Oelschlaeger 1991, 312).

In *The Idea of Wilderness*, Max Oelschlaeger states that “what is more important about the many streams of influence are not their differences but their convergence on a spiritual or sacred ecology,” (1991, 265). While a convergence in this case may seem far from near, it is feasible to adopt a more strict protection and management plan of certain sites throughout the Black Hills which can take into consideration the spiritual and recreational importance placed on the areas by different groups. In doing so, it may be possible for the Black Hills to act as an educational and transformational landscape where an Indigenous experience is both authentic and life-affirming. L. Edwin Folsom argues that Gary Snyder’s central success:

*is a rediscovery and reaffirmation of wilderness, a clear rejection of Turner’s (and America’s) closure*
PE' SLA HAS BEEN REGAINED BY THE GREAT SIOUX NATION, WHO NOW DETERMINE ITS FUTURE.
Snyder announces the opening of the frontier again and attempts to push it eastward, to reverse America’s historic process, to urge the wilderness to grow back into civilization, to release the stored energy from layers below us. (1980, 109)

Along with Thoreau, Snyder encourages people “to become seekers of Indigen wisdom, to pursue knowledge not to dominate nature but to find our proper place in the web of life,” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 276).

“We now stand in position to reawaken a primordial consciousness of the Great Mother who sustains us all. And yet we cannot walk the same path of those who have gone before, for we are farther along that road,” (Oelschlaeger 1991, 336). Oelschlaeger articulates the difficulty in returning to traditional ways, yet what is being proposed here is not a reversal of action but a conversion of perceptions of the landscape. If a management plan such as this were to be implemented with even moderate success in the Black Hills, this would serve as a precedent for other state and National parks throughout the United States. It is also possible, as Ornelas states, that “Attention to the needs of tribes and their sacred lands in the United States may impact the decisions being made about indigenous people internationally,” (2007, 169)

While it is clear that the myriad of environmental and social issues plaguing the Black Hills area will not be wholly solved easily or quickly, it is within reach to implement a new management and educational plan that values traditional, ecological, and social landscapes, creating a more unified land ethic which respectfully views the land and its people. Ultimately, the success of such a plan will depend on the will of the people who inhabit the landscapes - whether Indigenous, non-native, or visitor. Understanding the many layers of the Black Hills landscape and seeing the true character of the land is the only way to ensure that the inherent value of the spaces are recognized, and in turn, that new legislation will be respected, followed and modeled upon.
PROHIBIT CLIMBING DURING THE MONTH OF JUNE

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

CONTINUE EDUCATION REGARDING OFFERINGS AND CEREMONIES

ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO ENGAGE WITH THE LANDSCAPE AND INVOLVE NEARBY TRIBES IN THE CARE OF THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE

PE’ SLA HAS BEEN REGAINED BY THE GREAT SIOUX NATION, WHO NOW DETERMINE ITS FUTURE

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT IN THE AUDIBLE VICINITY OF THE PARK TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND QUIET FOR CEREMONY AND RITUAL

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

CONTINUE EDUCATION REGARDING OFFERINGS AND CEREMONIES

ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO ENGAGE WITH THE LANDSCAPE AND INVOLVE NEARBY TRIBES IN THE CARE OF THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE

MAKE NOTABLE CHANGES TO THE INTERPRETIVE CENTER TO BE INCLUSIVE OF THE HISTORY OF THE LAKOTA PEOPLE

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE BOTH ON THE SURFACE AND IN THE CAVES

INCLUDE THE LAKOTA CREATION STORY AND THE CAVE’S SIGNIFICANCE IN THE TOURS

INVOLVE NEARBY TRIBES IN THE CARE OF THE SURROUNDING LANDSCAPE

RESTRICT DEVELOPMENT OF ADDITIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE

ENCOURAGE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO LEAVE OFFERINGS AND PERFORM CEREMONIES AT THE SITE

FOSTER AN ENVIRONMENT OF RESPECT TOWARD LAKOTA PRACTITIONERS USING THE SITE

IMPLEMENT NEW SIGNAGE WHICH RECOGNIZES HARNEY PEAK BY ITS LAKOTA NAME, OKAWITA PAHA.
The conception, development and implementation of a revised land management strategy for the Black Hills would necessarily involve the role of landscape architects and planners. Where policy and legend alone cannot solve some of the mounting issues in this region, a mediation between history, cultural sensitivity, ecological consideration and spiritual necessity can be offered by landscape architects.

The success of such a management strategy would require the support of not only Indigenous tribes, but residents of the affected areas, local business owners, National and State Park agencies and, most dauntingly, government bodies. Reaching consensus between all stakeholders involved in this potential plan would be incredibly difficult, and would almost certainly require a discipline such as landscape architecture to consider the issue in the interests of all of parties involved and present the information in convincing fashions to all of them. The landscape architect’s role with each stakeholder could take the following forms:

1. Working in cooperation with park agencies to most effectively use existing infrastructure and policy to propose feasible changes to existing management structure.
2. Engaging local residents and business owners to voice their opinions regarding changes to recreation, tourism and environmental policy, as well as to communicate to them the benefits of a cooperative management plan with local tribes.
3. Working closely with the Lakota and other nearby tribes to access vital traditional

FIG. 229
PHOTOGRAPH
[PREVIOUS SPREAD]:
A BRIDGE WRAPS AROUND ONE OF THE HEAVILY TRAFFICKED SCENIC HIGHWAYS THROUGH THE BLACK HILLS

FIG. 230
PHOTOGRAPH:
PINE AND ASPEN TREES GROW ALONGSIDE ROCKY OUTCROPPINGS

FIG. 231
PHOTOGRAPH:
A TRAIL RUNS THROUGH AN UNDISTURBED FOREST AREA NEAR HARNEY PEAK
knowledge, involve tribal members at all levels of the design and planning process, and authentically present their needs and intentions to other stakeholders,

4. Illustrate to governing bodies the benefits of such a management plan to the ecology, tourism economy, and cultural richness of the Black Hills, as well as stress the urgency with which these changes be implemented due to the fragile nature of the aforementioned landscape components.

5. Work with passionate individuals and groups from different disciplines to spread awareness about the current state of affairs within the Black Hills and to unearth and enrich the appreciation for authentic cultural experiences that many contemporary tourists value in their travels.

These roles are but a few examples of how a landscape architect could bring change to the Black Hills and other similar cultural landscapes.

The landscape architect, often tasked with creatively approaching a design problem to offer an informed and beautiful solution, must first understand the landscape which they hope to improve. In this practicum, I stress the necessity of approaching cultural landscapes with an awareness of the people, stories, legends, and in this case, spirit of the land. I believe that a designer cannot hope to effectively design for people whose values and hopes they do not seek out. In first approaching the Crazy Horse Memorial, and then the Black Hills as a whole, I looked for a design solution which would enrich the lives of the Lakota people and improve the cultural landscape of the Black Hills. The design solution I found was not one that I had originally expected. What is proposed for this problem is not a permanent designed landscape, but a reworking of how we as designers approach all landscapes, large or small; if we are to remain honest to our goal of improving the relationships between people and their environments, we must shed our preconceived notions of what a designed landscape looks like. I found instead, that in this chapter of the story of the Lakota and their sacred hills, the most suitable design intervention is no design at all.

The Black Hills landscape is in dire need of a comprehensive shift in understanding before the authentic ecological and cultural layers of this landscape are eradicated entirely. I propose landscape architecture as playing a lead role in this, and through the development of this new framework, sacred landscapes everywhere could be considered in a new way.
THE BLACK HILLS ARE NOT FOR SALE
FIG. 232 PHOTOGRAPH [PREVIOUS SPREAD]:
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A revised land management strategy to protect sacred sites within the Black Hills and educate the public about mounting social and environmental issues within the area is necessary in order to preserve the cultural heritage of these lands. With this strategy comes the Native American concept of co-existing with nature, rather than above it. Joseph M. Marshall III suggests that an awareness of the futility of controlling nature comes from living on the land, and having to exist as part of nature in order to survive (2010, 132). The idea that humans can exert power over nature and “tame” or “conquer” it, is in his words a “flimsy delusion” which “comes from building a road or a bridge and thinking you’ve significantly changed the laws of nature. We humans suffer from the delusion of power when it comes to the natural environment. In the end it will outlive us all,” (Ibid., 132-3).

In *To the Stonecutters* by Robinson Jeffers, Jeffers communicates his disbelief in the efficacy of stone monuments, stating: “stone cutters fighting time with marble, you foredefeated / Challengers of oblivion” (as quoted in Oelschlaeger 1991, 257-8). Oelschlaeger points out that stone, while a strong material in human time, slowly disintegrates, “crumbing into oblivion,” and that not only is the material impermanent, but the theoretical base of a stone memorial is also unstable, being “anchored only in the shifting sands of time,” (Ibid., 258). The poet, Oelschlaeger states, “builds his monument mockingly,” (Ibid.). The Crazy Horse Memorial is a giant resting within the hills, emerging slowly as funds permit. It is meant to be a source of pride for the American Indian people, but what I see it as today, is as a representation of the brokenness that the Lakota and many other tribes throughout the state and country feel following years of subjugation and deception. The Crazy Horse Memorial, broken in form, a face emerging from a roughly hewn granite mountain, has unintentionally become a reflection of the conditions of its people; sitting dormant until conditions permit them to break free from the seemingly indestructible constraints that prevent them from living to their full potential. In this sense, the Crazy Horse Memorial is, as intended, a monument to the American Indian people in its current state – but instead of looking to it as an eventual finished sculpture we can look to it as a reminder of how far we have yet to go in repairing the state of American Indian culture.

As the Crazy Horse memorial sits overlooking the Black Hills, a constant reminder of this state of imbalance, brokenness and constraint, the whole of the Black Hills, a land sacred to the Lakota people, serves as a memorial in itself. The role of art and design in communicating the beauty of this place, the preservation of the spaces which are within our control to protect, and the ongoing perseverance and diligence of groups like the Black Hills Defenders to protect areas which are far more vulnerable, is a living, breathing memorial to the Lakota people. This memorial works to protect what the Lakota hold most dear, a part of their very identity; a far more fitting tribute to a people who have evolved alongside the land, valuing it above all monetary or objective gain.

In his book *To You We Shall Return*, Joseph M. Marshall III states, “The river itself was, for the most part, an enigmatic old friend. . . . It told stories with its calm, soft gurgles. I yearned to understand them, sensing somehow that I was listening to a voice as old as time,”
PHOTOGRAPHS: LAKOTA YOUTH PARTICIPATE IN THE ANNUAL SACRED HOOP 500-MILE RUN, WHICH STOPS AT BEAR BUTTE AND OTHER SACRED LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT SOUTH DAKOTA, NEBRASKA, WYOMING AND MONTANA TO RECONNECT WITH THEIR TRADITIONAL CULTURE.
Marshall describes growing up with his grandparents on the Pine Ridge reservation in South Dakota, south of the Black Hills. At that time, much had changed for the Lakota, who lived on reservations farming and raising cattle to support themselves. Since that time, much more has changed. Today, the Red Cry documentary estimates the average Lakota language speaker to be 65 years old, with only 14% of the Lakota population knowing the language. Yet, there is a yearning for a return to more traditional ways, and to do that the Lakota are seeking the return of their traditional land. If actions are needed to validate this claim, one need only look to the Lakota declining of a monetary settlement in restitution for the government’s taking of their land. “The land claim settlement money sits untouched in a bank account while the Lakota, who have the lowest income and highest unemployment rates in the country, continue to demand the return of their land,” (Corbin 2003). In Red Cry, the Lakota stress that genocide is “not a tragedy of the past alone,” but continues today in many forms. Yet, they are both persistent and patient in their fight. “We are not naïve. We know we have to be patient. If the Lakotas return to the spiritual ways then they will get their Black Hills back . . . We are going to have spiritual possession of them. Time is not important,” (Gerald Clifford as quoted in Ostler 2010, 188-89).

The occupation of the Black Hills and the eviction of Native American populations that lived there has stifled the stories and legends that the Lakota carried with them. As they lost their land, they lost their connection with who they were as a people; today, we see it in the young Lakota people. Some are trying to regain what they have lost, looking to the traditional Lakota ways of life to reinvigorate a culture that was suffocated so many years ago. Yet others know nearly nothing of the way life was for their ancestors, living off the land and being thankful for the soil, the air, the water and the wind. I believe it is true that “When the legends die, the dreams end. And when the dreams end, there is no more greatness” (Antonio 2012, 35), not because of the creation of an object of commemoration, but because the legends of the Black Hills are embedded in the rock and the earth itself, waiting to restore greatness to the Lakota people who were stripped of their culture over a century ago. The stories and legends of the Lakota people are embedded within the landscapes they viewed as sacred for centuries, and in all likelihood if one asked a Lakota person to show a place where the Lakota spirit is strongest, it would be in one or many of the natural sacred locations throughout the Black Hills. The carving in stone of Crazy Horse, while beautiful, does not necessarily harbor the spirit of the Lakota people. The Legends lie within the land; we must learn
to look closer and remain still enough to listen.

Walking through the streets of Rapid City in June of this year, I was taken aback by the significance of the words I saw plastered all over the dumpsters, back alleys, and lightposts of the downtown. “The Black Hills are Not For Sale,” the poster read, depicting a somberly-posed, yet strongly defiant, Lakota Indian. It is a reminder that these words still matter today; we do not look back on the broken treaties as a time past and injustices long ago compensated for. The Black Hills are as sacred today as they were over a century ago, and the words of Crazy Horse and the young Lakota people yearning for a sense of place echo together throughout the hills, reverberating through the pines and growing louder still.
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“...The objective eye of science, striving to see Nature plain, must finally look at “subject” and “object” and the very eye that looks. We discover that all of us carry within us caves; with animals and gods on the walls, a place of ritual and magic.” (Snyder 1957, 131-2).


Crazy Horse Memorial Foundation. 2002. Crazy Horse: Dynamite and Dreams. 41 min. Finley-Holiday Film Corp. DVD.


John Watermolen, United States Geological Survey. 1:2,000,000-Scale Hydrologic Unit Boundaries, 2005: Reston, Virginia.


National Atlas of the United States. 1:1,000,000-Scale Streams of the United States, 2012: Rolla, Missouri.

———. 1:1,000,000-Scale Waterbodies and Wetlands of the United States, 2012: Rolla, Missouri.


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FIGURE 231 - Photograph: A trail runs through an undisturbed forest area near Harney Peak [2013]
FIGURE 232 - Photograph: The Black Hills as viewed from afar [2013]
FIGURE 233 - Photograph: A Lakota man dances at the Crazy Horse Memorial on the anniversary of the Battle of the Little Bighorn [2013]
FIGURE 234 -
FIGURE 235 -
FIGURE 236 - Photograph: Lakota youth participate in the annual Sacred Hoop 500-mile Run, which stops at Bear Butte and other sacred locations throughout South Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming and Montana to reconnect with their traditional culture [2013]
FIGURE 237 -
FIGURE 238 - Photograph: Shepard Fairey's "The Black Hills are Not for Sale" poster plastered on surfaces in Graffiti Alley and other locations throughout Rapid City [2013]
FIGURE 239 - Photograph: "The Black Hills are Not for Sale" [2013]
FIGURE 240 - Photograph: The base of the Harney Peak trail [2013]

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FIGURE 195 COMPONENTS:
**ACTIVE MINES AND MINERAL PROCESSING PLANTS [MINEPLANT]**


Originator: U.S. Geological Survey
Publication_Date: 2005
Title: Active Mines and Mineral Processing Plants in the United States in 2003
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: vector digital data
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Reston, Virginia
Publisher: U.S. Geological Survey
Online_Linkage: <http://mrdata.usgs.gov/mineplant/>
Current as of 2003

Abstract:
This data set includes mineral and metal operations in the United States. The data represent commodities monitored by the National Minerals Information Center of the USGS, and the operations included are those considered active in 2003 and surveyed by the MIT.

Purpose:
The digital data set of the National Minerals Information Center is used to create electronic and hard copy maps that depict various mineral or metal mine and/or processing locations on a national map. The data can be used to conduct graphic analysis on national and large regional scales.

**ELEVATIONS [ELSL48I0100A]**


Originator: U.S. Geological Survey
Publication_Date: 201303
Title: 100-Meter Resolution Color-Sliced Elevation of the Conterminous United States
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: Raster digital data
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Rolla, MO
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: <http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp-1m.html>
Current as of December 2012

Abstract:
The map layer of Color-Sliced Elevation of the Conterminous United States is a 100-meter resolution elevation image of the United States, in an Albers Equal-Area Conic projection. Each color tint represents a range of elevation values. There are 32 elevation classes and colors required to map all 50 of the United States, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands, plus an additional class and color to represent non-U.S. land. The conterminous United States map layer contains elevation classes 1 to 31, as well as class 33 (non-U.S. land).
The color-sliced elevation data were derived from National Elevation Dataset (NED) data and show the terrain of the conterminous United States at a resolution of 100 meters. The NED is a raster product assembled by the U.S. Geological Survey, designed to provide national elevation data in a seamless form with a consistent datum, elevation unit, and projection. Data corrections made in the NED assembly...
process minimize artifacts, permit edge matching, and fill sliver areas of missing data. More information on NED can be found at <http://ned.usgs.gov>.

Purpose:
The 100-meter resolution color-sliced elevation data were developed to portray the terrain of the United States at 1:1,000,000 scale. They are intended primarily for visual purposes. The original NED data should be used for conducting analysis and determining the most accurate elevation values. No responsibility is assumed by the National Atlas of the United States in the use of these data.

FEDERAL LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES [FEDLANP020]


Originator: National Atlas of the United States
Publication_Date: 200512
Title: Federal Lands of the United States
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Reston, VA
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp.html

Date Range: 1972-2005

Abstract:
This map layer consists of federally owned or administered lands of the United States, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Only areas of 640 acres or more are included. There may be private inholdings within the boundaries of Federal lands in this map layer. This is a revised version of the January 2005 map layer.

Purpose:
These data are intended for geographic display and analysis at the national level, and for large regional areas. The data should be displayed and analyzed at scales appropriate for 1,200,000-scale data. No responsibility is assumed by the National Atlas of the United States in the use of these data.

INDIAN LANDS OF THE UNITED STATES [INDLANP020]


Originator: National Atlas of the United States
Publication_Date: 200512
Title: Indian Lands of the United States
Publication_Information:

MINERAL RESOURCES DATA SYSTEM [MRDS]


Originator: U.S. Geological Survey
Publication_Date: 2005
Title: Mineral Resources Data System
Edition: 20120127
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: map
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Reston, Virginia
Publisher: U.S. Geological Survey
Online_Linkage: http://mrdata.usgs.gov/mrds/

Current as of 2012/01/27

Abstract:
Mineral resource occurrence data covering the world, most thoroughly within the U.S. This database contains the records previously provided in the Mineral Resource Data System (MRDS) of USGS and the Mineral Availability System/Mineral Industry Locator System (MAS/MILS) originated in the U.S. Bureau of Mines, which is now part of USGS. The MRDS is a large and complex relational database developed over several decades by hundreds of researchers and reporters. This product is a digest in which the fields chosen are those most likely to contain valid information.

Purpose:
This digest of the complex mineral resources database is intended
for use as reference material supporting mineral resource and environmental assessments on local to regional scale worldwide.

**STREAMS [STREAML010]**


Originator: National Atlas of the United States
Publication_Date: 201207
Title: 1:1,000,000-Scale Streams of the United States
Edition: Version 1
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: Vector digital data
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Rolla, MO
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: <http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp-1m.html>

Current as of July, 2007

Abstract:
This map layer shows streams of the United States, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The map layer was produced from the Medium-Resolution National Hydrography Dataset NHDFlowline feature class, through feature selection and cartographic generalization, based on reference to published small-scale ancillary data sets.

Purpose:
These data are intended for geographic display and analysis at the national level, and for large regional areas. The data should be displayed and analyzed at scales appropriate for 1:1,000,000-scale data. No responsibility is assumed by the National Atlas of the United States in the use of these data.

**TREE CANOPY [TREE48I0100A]**


Originator: U.S. Geological Survey
Publication_Date: 201301
Title: 100-Meter Resolution Tree Canopy of the Conterminous United States
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: Raster digital data
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Rolla, MO
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: <http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp-1m.html>

Current as of 2007

Abstract:
This map layer contains tree canopy data for the conterminous United States, in an Albers Equal-Area Conic projection and at a resolution of 100 meters. The tree canopy data were derived from the National Land Cover Database (NLCD) 2001 percent tree canopy data set, a product of the Multi-Resolution Land Characteristics Consortium (MRLC). The MRLC is a multi-agency cooperative effort to study land cover change. The NLCD 2001 is described at <http://www.mrlc.gov/nlcd2001.php>.

Purpose:
The 100-meter resolution tree canopy data was developed to portray the tree canopy of the United States at 1:1,000,000 scale. They are intended primarily for visual purposes. The original NLCD data should be used for conducting scientific analysis.

**WATERBODIES [WTRBDYP010]**


Originator: National Atlas of the United States
Publication_Date: 201207
Title: 1:1,000,000-Scale Waterbodies and Wetlands of the United States
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: Vector digital data
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Rolla, MO
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: <http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp-1m.html>

Current as of July, 2007

Abstract:
This map layer contains waterbodies and wetlands of the United States, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The map layer was produced from the medium-resolution National Hydrography Dataset waterbody feature class, through feature selection and cartographic generalization, based on reference to published small-scale ancillary data sets.

Purpose:
These data are intended for geographic display and analysis at the national level, and for large regional areas. The data should be displayed and analyzed at scales appropriate for 1:1,000,000-scale data. No responsibility is assumed by the National Atlas of the United States in the use of these data.
WATERSHEDS [HUCS00M020]

John Watermolen, United States Geological Survey. 1:2,000,000-Scale Hydrologic Unit Boundaries, 2005: Reston, Virginia.

Originator: John Watermolen, U.S. Geological Survey
Publication_Date: 200506
Title: 1:2,000,000-Scale Hydrologic Unit Boundaries
Edition: Version 2.4
Geospatial_Data_Presentation_Form: Map
Publication_Information:
Publication_Place: Reston, VA
Publisher: National Atlas of the United States
Online_Linkage: <http://nationalatlas.gov/atlasftp.html?openChapters=chpwater#chpwater>

Current as of May, 2005

Abstract:
This map layer contains hydrologic unit boundaries and codes for the United States, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. It was revised for inclusion in the National Atlas of the United States of America, and updated to match the streams file created by the USGS National Mapping Division (NMD) for the National Atlas of the United States of America. This is a revised version of the November 2002 map layer.

Purpose:
These data are intended for geographic display and analysis at the national level, and for large regional areas. The data should be displayed and analyzed at scales appropriate for 1:2,000,000-scale data. No responsibility is assumed by the U.S. Geological Survey or the National Atlas of the United States in the use of these data.

RAILROADS, ROADS AND VEGETATION [RRLINE + RDLINE + VG POLY]


Digital Chart of the World (DCW)
Datum: WGS84
Projection: Geographic

The Digital Chart of the World (DCW) is an Environmental Systems Research Institute, Inc. (ESRI) product originally developed for the US Defense Mapping Agency (DMA) using DMA data. The DCW 1993 version at 1:1,000,000 scale was used. The DMA data sources are aeronautical charts, which emphasize landmarks important from flying altitudes. This explains why there is a separate aeronautical theme with all conceivable airports, yet why on some themes small islands and lakes are simply unnamed points. ESRI, in compiling the DCW, also eliminated some detail and made some assumptions for handling tiny polygons and edgematching. Also, note that the completeness of the thematic categories present in each layer will vary. Please read the layer descriptions (through links in the following table).

Available Themes: Type: Coverage Name
Political/Ocean Network PONET
Populated Places Polygon PPPOLY
Populated Places Point PPPPOINT
Railroads Line RRLINE
Roads Line RDLINE
Utilities Line UTLINE
Drainage Network DNNET
Drainage Point DNPOINT
Drainage Supplemental Point DSPPOINT
Hypsography Network HYNET
Hypsography Line HYPOINT
Hypsography Supplemental Line HSLINE
Hypsography Supplemental Point HSPOINT
Land Cover Polygon LCPOLY
Land Cover Point LCPPOINT
Ocean Features Point OFPOINT
Ocean Features Line OFLINE
Physiography Line PPLINE
Aeronautical Point AEPOINT
Cultural Landmarks Polygon CLPOLY
Cultural Landmarks Point CLPOINT
Cultural Landmarks Line CLLINE
Transportation Structure Line TSLINE
Transportation Structure Point TDPOINT
Vegetation Polygon VG POLY

ArcGIS WORLD IMAGERY BASEMAPS


This map was last updated November 2013. World Imagery provides one meter or better satellite and aerial imagery in many parts of the world and lower resolution satellite imagery worldwide. The map includes NASA Blue Marble: Next Generation 500m resolution imagery at small scales (above 1:1,000,000), cubed 15m eSAT imagery at medium-to-large scales (down to 1:70,000) for the world, and USGS 15m Landsat imagery for Antarctica. The map features 0.3m resolution imagery in the continental United States and parts of Western Europe from DigitalGlobe. Additional DigitalGlobe sub-meter imagery is featured in many parts of the world, with concentrations in South America, Eastern Europe, India, Japan, the Middle East and
Northern Africa, Southern Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In other parts of the world, 1 meter resolution imagery is available from GeoEye IKONOS, Getmapping, AeroGRID, IGN Spain, and IGP Portugal. Additionally, imagery at different resolutions has been contributed by the GIS User Community.