SHAPING WHITECLAY:

AGENCY AND DESIRE IN THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN SITES

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Historic preservationists have struggled with how to best interpret the diverse history of the United States. This is especially true when faced with sites that represent the continued colonization of American Indian populations. While preservationists are continually striving to provide a more inclusive history, historic sites remain where preservationists are omitting Native voice, perpetuating stereotypes, and telling history with an emphasis on damage within communities. Whiteclay, Nebraska offers a case study of a site with a complex history where multiple cultures have embedded the same place with different meaning. This thesis argues that through the incorporation of agency, the challenging of stereotypes, and the addition of desire-based research into the historic preservation field, a re-interpretation of Whiteclay, as well as other sites with multifaceted pasts, can emerge and places of colonization can become places of healing.

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To my parents for the endless love.

To my friends for the constant laughs.

And to Whiteclay for the potential legacy.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Journey:

When I first traveled to Whiteclay, Nebraska I thought I was in for a spiritual journey. Probably the same reason most people travel to the community, only they seek out that spirit in the bottom of a bottle of Budweiser. While the "visions" I received were far from renewing or cleansing, they did change my perspective on everything I thought I knew and led me down a path I never expected to find myself on. A two-lane, eerily straight, state highway lined with litter, beer cans, and white cross reminders of death. Natives stumbling, sitting, and sleeping near remnants of colonialism in the form of state sanctioned liquor stores. Church groups passing out sandwiches from the back of a van, providing the only thing resembling order in this lawless place. These images—for good or bad, desire or damage—are the culture, the history, and the place of Whiteclay. They are tragic, heart wrenching, and stark. But at the same time they are also a part of *our* story, regardless of what that story may say about our society and history. Finding the potential for historic preservation in Whiteclay is not easy, but that is the journey I have come to find myself on.

I vividly remember first hearing about the unincorporated town in the summer of 2012 while spending a week near the Pine Ridge Indian and Rosebud Sioux Reservations in South Dakota. I was attending a five-day "Teaching Lakota Culture" workshop sponsored by the South Dakota Humanities Council and hosted by the Center for American Indian Research and Native Studies (CAIRNS). For some crazy reason, a program designed for South Dakota elementary and secondary teachers seemed perfect

for myself, a twenty-four year old graduate student completing one masters in anthropology and writing a thesis on the Nez Perce of the Plateau, and preparing to start another masters program in historic preservation. I drove from Chicago, Illinois to Martin, South Dakota with only an iPhone as a map and a feeling of giddiness that I would finally see with my own eyes what life was really like on the Pine Ridge. Images, investigative reports by Diane Sawyer, and documentaries flood the media and consistently portray the same, impoverished, third world place, but my youthful idealism forced me to believe there was more to the story than just that.

My wake-up call happened on the third day. After driving around the town of Pine Ridge, also the capital of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and Oglala Lakota Nation, our group of six was preparing to head for the site of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre. We had seen boarding schools, cemeteries, and poorly written historic markers, but I knew Wounded Knee would be something all together different. Diana (Yankton Dakota), a retired schoolteacher and the "grandmother" of the group, asked if Craig, our guide and teacher, would be taking us to Whiteclay. Having never heard of Whiteclay before, I immediately assumed it was an age-old spiritual site for the Lakota Sioux, similar to the politically contested Black Hills. From the back seat of the suburban I advocated for the detour, despite basing all my knowledge on the reference to color in both place names. Between quizzing us on the seven *oyate* of the Lakota, Craig had been extremely careful to show us the economic development, educational opportunities, and hope that existed on the reservation, not just the poverty, alcoholism, and despair that is usually highlighted. He caved, and we headed south towards the Nebraska state line.

On the short drive, Craig placed Whiteclay into the context I had been missing. The unincorporated community of Whiteclay, Nebraska sits a mere two miles from Pine Ridge, South Dakota, and about 1000 feet south of the Nebraska-South Dakota state line, which is considered to be the southern border of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation (Figure 1). With a population of around fourteen people, every year approximately 4.5 to 5 millions cans of beer and caffeinated canned alcoholic beverages are sold.[1] Each cent of the tax revenue goes to the State of Nebraska; none returning to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and the Oglala Lakota, even though they are the ones predominantly purchasing the alcohol and suffering from its abuse. The Nebraska Liquor Control Commission issues and re-issues licenses to each of the four retailers in Whiteclay, despite allegations of them breaking the law and emotional testimony against the stores from those living on the Pine Ridge, which, remains the last dry reservation in the United States.[2] From the 1800s until 1953, selling alcohol to American Indians or possessing alcohol on Indian reservations was prohibited, but this did not stop the residents of Whiteclay.[3] Today, despite claims that the land Whiteclay sits on is an extension of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, the selling and consumption of alcohol continues.

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[1] The Battle for Whiteclay, "About Whiteclay, Nebraska," The Battle for Whiteclay, http://battleforwhiteclay.org/?page_id=140 (accessed November 24, 2013); Lisa Wirthman, "Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is drowning in beer," *The Denver Post*, May 27, 2012, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_20704990/drowning-beer (accessed November 24, 2013).

[2] In August of 2013 the Oglala Lakota on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation voted to allow the sale of alcohol on the reservation, which is to be operated and licensed by the Tribe. While I will discuss this is in greater depth in chapters four and five, since this law has yet to go into effect at the time of writing, I will speak about the reservation as if it is still dry. Elements of this research may quickly change, but the general lessons for historic preservation should not.

[3] William E. Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802-1892* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1996), 116.

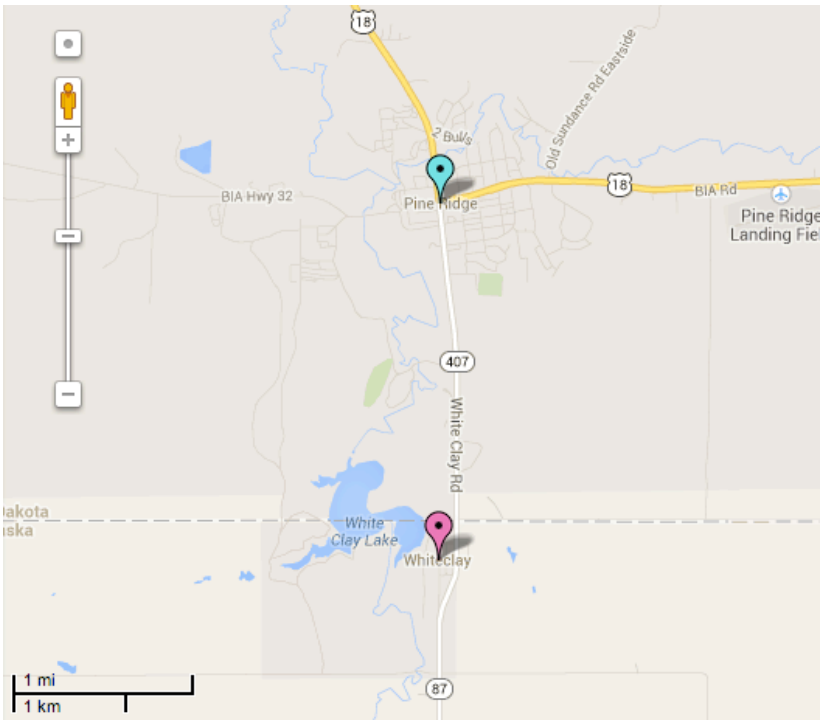

Figure 1. Whiteclay, Nebraska in relation to Pine Ridge, South Dakota (*image created by author with maps.google.com*).

The stretch of highway trafficking people to and from Whiteclay, including myself on that hot June day, is deadly. Murders, drunk driving, and the elements have each caused an untold number of deaths over the years. It is a predatory place as well as a harsh reminder of colonialism, the failure to uphold treaty obligations, and the general lack of justice found in border towns near reservations. It is wicked, damaged, and arguably a scab on the landscape. Regardless, that does not make it any less important to preserve, interpret, and understand within its unique historic context. It is the culture of the landscape, and it is the story. It is important to understand Whiteclay in a broader context so we can interpret the site, and other sites with complex narratives, to acknowledge that our history is far from perfect. You cannot have the good without a little bad, even if that bad challenges the national, mythical story on which American history is founded. In this thesis, I seek to preserve the history of Whiteclay.

The Quest:

The history of the United States is good, bad, and just plain ugly. Some of the most tragic events in our past have been committed against Indigenous populations at sites scattered throughout the landscape as well as in the halls of Congress. Regardless of the strong Indigenous presence on the North American continent since time immemorial, after "discovery" Euro-American society massacred, assimilated, and colonized entire sovereign nations, justified under the mask of "Manifest Destiny," to gain control over land and natural resources. These actions have left an intergenerational scar on Native communities who are still trying to heal from the genocide that began in 1492. The colonization of Native American populations is alive and well, and historic preservationists only perpetuate it by failing to tell history from the perspective of multiple cultures or by hiding the truth, intentionally or not, behind poorly interpreted Native sites. Whiteclay, Nebraska is a site where American Indian populations are misunderstood and misrepresented in the media and the history books by dominant society. The story told is of one "drunk Indians," damage, and hopelessness. However, hidden behind that narrative, there is a story of Native agency, desire, and hopefulness. By reexamining the purpose of historic preservation and challenging stereotypes, a re-interpretation of Whiteclay, and other sites with messy pasts, can emerge and places of colonization can hopefully become places of healing.

Historic preservation as a profession is a reactionary field. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) was passed by Congress and signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson *after* urban renewal, the interstate system, and rapid population growth wreaked havoc on historic resources in urban areas. In the name of

progress and growth, "slums" and historic properties, often homes to marginalized communities, were demolished with little thought given to what was being lost. The 1965 publication of *With Heritage So Rich* noted that the United States does "not use bombs and powder kegs to destroy irreplaceable structures related to the story of America's civilization. We use the corrosion of neglect or the thrust of bulldozers."[4] This is still the case as most determinations of eligibility and mitigation efforts are made only after the Section 106 or Section 4(f) compliance processes are triggered by state and federal agencies. In this thesis, I argue that the historic preservation field should take a more proactive approach to protect cultural resources and produce historical research, especially for those properties and landscapes that are significant to underrepresented ethnic minorities. When thinking about the historic preservation of Native American sites, this thesis further argues that we should adopt three perspectives that will create a better telling of history: first, the incorporation of Native agency and settler colonialism; second, the challenging of "comfortable fictions" and stereotypes; and, third, focusing on desire and healing, instead of damage and ruin. Although I will expand on each of these three pillars in greater depth in chapter two, I would like to briefly introduce each here (Figure 2).

[4] Albert Rains and Laurance G. Henderson, Preface to *With Heritage So Rich: A Report of a Special Committee on Historic Preservation under the auspices of the United States Conference of Mayors with a grant from the Ford Foundation* (New York: Random House, 1966), xv.

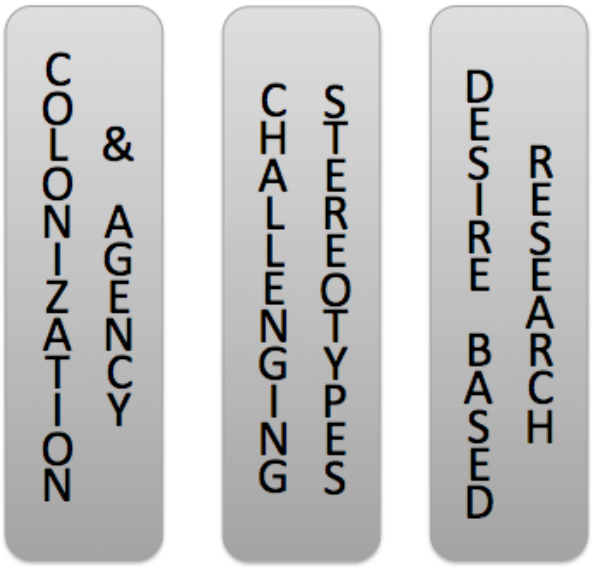

Figure 2. Proposed three pillar model for historic preservationists to consider when working with complex narratives at American Indian sites.

In the current era of Native self-determination and in our post Civil Rights society, it is no longer acceptable to portray the American Indian as the helpless victim of colonization by Euro-Americans.[5] They were not passively pushed out of the picture by "progress." Instead, they actively pushed back against settlers encroaching on their land and colonizing nation-states trying to suppress their culture and society. Today, they continue to push. Over the last thirty years the telling of Native American history has been transformed, moving beyond stereotypes to reveal a narrative of Native agency, power, and control. Scholars have examined the power of the individual and the tribal "empire," allowing for the creation of "Middle Ground," "Native Ground," and

[5] Histories written prior to the 1970s and 1980s often omitted Native voice and choice. Many of the works were "salvage ethnographies" trying to capture and document a culture on the brink of extinction. Today, the focus has been on "ethnic survival and cultural continuity and change" (Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review* 40, no. 3 [August 1971]: 357).

"Borderlands."[6] This shift in paradigms has transformed Native American history and academic scholarship. It is time for the field of historic preservation to reevaluate the creation of space and place in relation to Native Americans, allowing for an appreciation of two cultures, both powerful and agents of change in their own way, to come together in one location.

Second, it is time for historic preservationists to address historical sites that challenge our nation's accepted collective, colonial historical narrative. These stories are often grounded in stereotypes and "comfortable fictions." Vine Deloria Jr. defines "comfortable fictions" as those notions and histories that do not make us uncomfortable, but in turn "distort the image of Indians, create stereotypes of brutality and incoherence, and justify a fictional western history."[7] The list of imposed stereotypes on Natives is endless, but one stereotype that consistently plagues preservationists is the notion that Native people inhabit a distant and often romanticized past with no place in the modern world. Preservationists' frequent adoption of this stereotype allows them to ignore the continued legacy of colonization because the population being interpreted is portrayed as extinct.

Finally, stories and interpretations at sites that highlight damage, ruin, and pain must be written alongside stories that focus on the desire, hope, and the power of healing. This is not to say we should ignore historical trauma. Instead, borrowing from Eve Tuck and her call for "desire-based research," all scholars, regardless of discipline, need to

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[6] Richard, White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[7] Vine Deloria Jr., "Comfortable Fictions and the Struggle for Turf: An Essay Review of *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies," American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1992): 398.

show Native people as complex individuals who have the power to make choices.[8] At sites of historic importance to Indigenous people, historic preservationists should not merely tell the same old stories grounded in the archaeological record, through anthropological classifications and terms, and from a damage-centered research model. Instead, preservationists should lead the way in creating a new model for historic preservation that allows for a combination of agency and individual complexity at all sites. National Register nominations and National Park Service studies are rarely, if ever, amended to provide a more holistic account.[9] Therefore, preservationists need to be on the cutting edge, not only by incorporating new theories, but also by focusing on individuals and their shared human characteristics to promote activism and healing.

American Indian historic sites are not just archaeological in nature, or based around Native "traditions."[10] They can be structures or landscapes where self-determination or struggles for sovereignty have occurred. Examples of these sites might

[8] Eve Tuck, "Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities," *Harvard Educational Review* 79, no. 3 (Fall 2009).

[9] One example of this is the National Register Nomination for "Camas Meadows and battle sites" in Idaho. This site, also a National Historic Landmark, is significant for the Nez Perce War of 1877. However, the National Register nomination form focuses more on the voice of General Howard and does not explore the Nez Perce motivations and choices for engaging in the battle. Providing the Native voice would complicate the story and make it more complete by discussing the difficult choices that Chief Joseph and his band made during a time of great cultural change (United States Department of the Interior: National Park Service, "Camas Meadows camp and battle sites," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, http://history.idaho.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/Camas_%20Meadows_Camp_and_Battle_Sites_89001081.pdf [accessed April 22, 2014]).

[10] One example of this is the "traditional cultural property" (TCP) designations, which are "rooted in the history of a community," or are "important in maintaining the continuity of that community's traditional beliefs and practices" (Patricia L. Parker, "Traditional Cultural Properties: What You Do and How We Think," *CRM* 19 [1993]: 1). Bulletin 38 of the National Park Service defines tradition as, " beliefs, customs, and practices of a living community of people that have been passed down through the generations, usually orally or through practice" (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, by Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King [Washington D.C.: National Register Publications, 1998]). However, I think this leaves the emphasis on Native historic sites in the past and does not account for the notion that certain traditions are colonization internalized and, just like white Americans, Native Americans can adapt and adopt new traditions with each generation.

be border towns located adjacent to American Indian reservations; tribal council headquarters, casinos and other structures on reservations that incorporate Native design elements into their architectural styles; or urban locations where the American Indian Movement (AIM) staged their first protests or provided community meeting places for Natives who had been relocated in the 1950s. They have multifaceted pasts as spaces where many cultures have come together to create unique identities and complex stories. However, history books and materials on historic sites tend to confine Native people to one chapter, and continue to reflect deep-seated stereotypes of Indian/white relations being one of dominance instead of critically examining previous events with regard to agency, resistance, and the creation of shared meaning. One example of this, as discussed in chapter four, can be found in accounts of Sheridan County, Nebraska. Following the "Indian Scare" at Wounded Knee in 1890, the Oglala Lakota are mentioned far less than the relationships between white settlers and other white settlers, though Natives continued to occupy and help shape the region. Advocating for a broader understanding of these sites from multiple points of view and then placing them within a broader historic context will allow for more accurate and inclusive interpretation and preservation in the future of these contested spaces. The National Park Service, through more broad thematic studies using the connections between "people, place, and time," is one way historic preservationists are able to create these more holistic interpretations.[11] The goal of this history is not to inflict guilt on white, Euro-Americans, but instead should be to help communities, of all colors and creeds, learn from past atrocities and heal from the historical trauma of colonization. Whiteclay, Nebraska is one example of a historic site

[11] National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, "NPS Thematic Framework," National Park Service, http://ncptt.nps.gov/articles/c2a/nps-thematic-framework/ (accessed April 22, 2014).

with a complex past that might be easier for us to forget. Yet, it is also a site that has the potential to symbolize significant local, regional, and national historic trends between Native Americans and Euro-Americans trying to make meaning in the same place.

In the foreword to Stew Magnuson's *The Death of Yellow Raymond Thunder*, historian Pekka Hämäläinen writes, "I read *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*…as a story of a borderland where peoples from two seemingly incompatible cultural systems forge a new mutual world of tenuous accommodations."[12] The idea of creating a shared history is central to this study. A central question is, How can preservationists craft a more holistic, shared history of Whiteclay, Nebraska? Today, the popular and mainstream story of Whiteclay is one of Euro-Americans taking advantage of Indians, primarily through the sale of alcohol, with treaty violations playing a lesser known though incredibly important role. Whenever the story is told, the same statistics and images are shared. As previously noted, with a population of around fourteen people, every year approximately 4.5 to 5 million cans of beer and caffeinated canned alcoholic beverages are sold in Whiteclay.[13] Coupled with these bleak statistics are photos of Native Americans passed out in front of buildings, surrounded by garbage and despair. However, more importantly, they are portrayed as passive victims of their past and given no voice. But the story of this site, and the people who inhabit it, is more complex than this simplistic portrayal reveals. The white inhabitants of Whiteclay and surrounding

[12] Pekka Hämäläinen, introduction to *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder and Other True Stories from the Nebraska-Pine Ridge Border Towns* by Stew Magnuson (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2008), xvi.

[13] The Battle for Whiteclay, "About Whiteclay, Nebraska," The Battle for Whiteclay, http://battleforwhiteclay.org/?page_id=140 (accessed November 24, 2013); Lisa Wirthman, "Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is drowning in beer," *The Denver Post*, May 27, 2012, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_20704990/drowning-beer (accessed November 24, 2013).

Sheridan County have needed Natives and the labor they provided on farms and ranches, and over time Natives have come to need Whiteclay and non-Native people for their resources, especially food and clothing stores. Both cultures, though vastly different in their intentions, have shaped how Whiteclay historically developed, and understanding this perspective allows for border towns and other Native American sites to be reexamined.

It is time preservationists realigned and refocused the story in order to address the complexity of contemporary American Indian sites. First, this requires seeking out complex spaces. Whiteclay serves as a case study not only for redefining interpretation at contemporary Native American sites, but also at sites with "borders" separating multiple ethnicities. Border towns "not only serve as contested spaces that divide people, leading to the social construction of seemingly distinct races, nationalities, genders, and cultural practices, but they act as barriers across which social, political, cultural, and economic networks function."[14] However, these places also, "bring people together."[15] Historic preservationists need to seek out these contested landscapes and offer a history that reflects Native agency, challenges comfortable fictions, and reveals the desire that grows alongside damage. All three of these factors are present at Whiteclay. This thesis takes the first steps in tackling complex Native American sites from both the perspective of a historic preservationists and Native American studies. It located the place, shines new light on the history, and redefines what can be in the future. Not only in the molding of Whiteclay, but also in the casting of the preservation field.

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[14] Elaine Carey and Andrae M. Marak, *Smugglers, Brothels, and Twine: Historical Perspectives on Contraband and Vice in North America's Borderlands* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2011), 3.

[15] Carey and Marak, *Smugglers, Brothels, and Twine*, 3.

The Path:

This thesis builds on the work of others—historians, preservationists, and Native scholars alike—and clearly defining certain terms and theories is foundational to make real change in the historic preservation field. Chapter two will do just this by clearly and critically discussing each of the three proposed pillars of preservation I believe should be incorporated into American Indian historic sites. In this discussion I will introduce and expand on many terms and ideas such as: colonization, agency, resistance, historical trauma, desire, Native stereotypes, New Indian History, and healing. Chapter three will expand on these ideas using historic preservation models that are already in practice. The National Historic Trust for Historic Preservation, National Park Service guidelines, and two examples of evolving interpretation at American Indian sites—Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument and the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre National Historic Landmark—highlight the procedures, standards, and tools preservationists have to work with. By critically evaluating these programs and sites, I will reveal the shortcomings and potential they have for future use at historic American Indian sites such as Whiteclay.

Chapters four and five establish the historical context and case study: the history of the Oglala Lakota at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, alcohol in Indian Country, Sheridan County, and Whiteclay. Exposing complex narratives that developed throughout time and place grounds the preservation goals outlined in chapter two and divulges the real world implications they can have to retell the story of other American Indian historic sites. This context further highlights why current approaches to the preservation of American Indians cultural resources should be challenged, and forms an important backdrop to the development of a new preservation model. By providing this history, I

aspire to highlight two pasts that are often missing from American history books and our understanding of how the west was won: colonization by Euro-Americans through the ceding/stealing of lands, and the agency exerted by the Oglala Lakota throughout time. Chapter six will take the preservation model and tools presented in chapters two and three, along with the historical context of my case study, to provide examples of how Whiteclay can help us better understand the struggles, successes, and misrepresentations of Native people and why this should be highlighted in the future work of historic preservationists. Together, these chapters answer the question that we often ask, but fail to truly answer, "*Why* does this place and history matter?" This thesis concludes that it matters not just because it was our history, but it is also our future.

Research and Relevance:

Ned Kaufman identifies two types of preservationists. The first group is those who look "inward seeking progress in the elaboration of tighter criteria and more stringent professional standards."[16] The second group is those whose goal "is not fixing or saving old things, but rather creating places where people can live well and connect meaningful narratives about history, culture, and identity."[17] This thesis, and my personal preservation philosophy, falls decisively in the second group. The focus of this research relies heavily on the notion that "[t]ragedies can be transformed into coherent and cohesive heroic epics. Equivocal and ambiguous events can be positioned in a positive light."[18] Kenneth Foote, a geographer, writes that "few societies seem to have the moral

[16] Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.

[17] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 1.

[18] Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 263.

courage needed to confront directly a legacy of genocide and racism unless they are forced to do so by unusual circumstances," and those circumstances might be the result of greater social activism and awareness.[19] An example of increased awareness in recent years has occurred at sites related to the historic accomplishments and significance of women and the enlarging, refining, and redefining of the interpretive framework to include their contributions and voices, which will be expanded on in chapter two.[20] This thesis aims to extend recent awareness and activism to more contemporary Native American historic sites.

However, this thesis does not take the stance that the buildings in Whiteclay necessarily need to be protected and preserved. While the four stores, with their barred windows and false fronts, are a part of the space, they alone do not invoke the meaning of place that this thesis argues should be the focus. When the Nebraska State Historic Preservation Office produced the *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey* in 1998, the firm contracted to complete the survey and historic overview surveyed no properties in Whiteclay.[21] This thesis does not fill that gap for reasons of time, scope, and security. Instead, the cultural landscape and sense of place are the focus of this research. However, this thesis does introduce new primary source research on the history of Whiteclay, as well as a new preservation approach that brings together literature from scholarly disciplines often not accessed by historic preservationists.

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[19] Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 324.

[20] Heather A. Huyck, "Proceeding from Here," in *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation*, Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman, eds., 355-364 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 357.

[21] Nebraska State Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey*, June 1998, http://www.nebraskahistory.org/histpres/reports/sheridan_county.pdf (accessed March 22, 2014). In fact, I think the State of Nebraska should get their money back for this report. The historic context leaves much to be desired.

While historic preservationists are not strangers to the archives, it is increasingly important for the historic preservation community to seek out primary source documents. While newspaper articles were utilized, it was sources from the National Archives that perhaps told the most complex story. The wide variety of people writing about Whiteclay throughout time has resulted in a narrative full of voices that speak to the dynamic history of the community. As noted above, prior documents on the history of Sheridan County and Whiteclay have not done this, resulting in an incomplete and inaccurate story in the record. Reading these older documents—including letters from Indian Agents stationed at Pine Ridge, residents of Sheridan County, and newspaper articles—through the lens provided by more recent scholarship in Native studies, preservation and history, shines new light on their voices and actions.

Mari Sandoz, who grew up the daughter of a rancher in the Sand Hills and wrote many novels set in the region, once responded to an inquiry asking for more information on Whiteclay. She writes, "[t]here's a lot of scattered material on the Extension as it's called, in my files and elsewhere but so far as I know it has never been brought together."[22] Even in 2014, the available historic information on Whiteclay is buried in archives with a paragraph written here or there in secondary sources. Though this thesis only scrapes the surface, it adds something original to the research done on the creation of Whiteclay in 1904 and the continued struggle over place since.[23] For example, while Stew Magnuson, in *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*, begins to compile this information, he also omits some details I found essential for the complexity of the site,

[22] Kimberli A Lee, ed., *"I Do Not Apologize for the Length of This Letter": The Mari Sandoz Letters on Native American Rights, 1940-1965* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2009), 72.

[23] Much of the information on Whiteclay from more recent time periods had to be redacted by the National Archives due to confidentiality. This further limits what is available to researchers.

and makes some inaccurate statements based on the evidence I located. This thesis offers no architectural description, but instead provides a previously untold historic context, which is just as important for understanding the complex narrative and historic significance of Whiteclay.

This study provides a new approach and way of thinking when interacting with historic Native American sites that are places of continued colonization and agency, but do not fit into our preconceived stereotypes. The proposed three pillar model for historic preservation at more modern American Indians sites incorporates the story of settler colonialism alongside Native agency, challenges stereotypes, and advocates for desire-based research models. Through the case study of Whiteclay, this research demonstrates that even sites with the most complex narratives have the potential for future interpretation. However, it also highlights the need for historic preservationists to be more than a field of professionals who document cultural resources being threatened by growth and development. Previous survey work at the site provides little hope for future preservation. Whiteclay, and other sites where multiple ethnicities have established shared history and meaning in the same landscape, may vanish, but the story they tell must not. If this thesis does nothing else, I hope the reader closes this document feeling inspired to give a voice to the history we have ignored, challenge stereotypes we are too comfortable with calling the norm, and reveal individuals not cast in the shadow of damage but in the light of desire. History and preservation can heal. We just have to be willing to use our education and advantages to break the mold of what was, and recast what can be.

CHAPTER II

SETTLER COLONIALISM, NATIVE AMERICAN STEREOTYPES, AND DESIRE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

After centuries of having their most sacred cultural resources plundered and pillaged, Native American people have finally been given a place at the historic preservation table. Federal policies like the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, adopted in 1990) and the creation of Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO) have helped bring Tribal individuals into the conservation conversation, but there is still progress to be made before pre-historic *and* historic sites that are significant due to their association with American Indian, Alaska Native, or Native Hawaiian populations are interpreted in the best and most holistic way possible. In order for historic preservation professionals to best manage and mitigate these resources three important factors need to be considered and incorporated into interpretation. The first is the acceptance that Euro-American colonization over Indigenous populations, while conflicting with the popular settling of the frontier tale we have become so comfortable with telling, is not only a historic reality but has left a traumatic legacy that continues to this day. The second pillar is that Native people are the victims of damaging stereotypes and historic preservation narratives should challenge these misconceptions instead of perpetuating them. Finally, Native American people must be presented as complex individuals and research should be based in desire and hope instead of focusing solely on damage and ruin, as presented in the work of Eve Tuck and other Native feminist scholars. Together, these three notions create an environment where historic sites are more than dusty house museums you visit in elementary school, and transform

them into places that advocate for change and social activism. The incorporation of these three approaches, while far from all encompassing, should be factored into historic preservation projects—the archaeological ruins of the Medicine Wheel or the architecture of the missionary boarding school, tipi rings or tribal government headquarters, caches or casinos—seeking to mitigate and protect Native American cultural resources.

The power of Native people to act as sovereign bodies both in the past and present is a fundamental part of the creation of place. Anthropologist Keith Basso writes that in order to make place, we ask questions such as: "what happened here? who was involved? what was it like? why should it matter?"[24] We should strive to answer these questions holistically and honestly, even if the answers make us uncomfortable or challenge the historical narrative we have been told for generations. In asking these questions we create "storyscapes," defined by Ned Kaufman as "the imprint of personal and communal stories on the environment—encompass[ing] sites associated with history, tradition, and memory."[25] Storyscapes have personal, cultural, and social value, and can also serve as "lighthouses of historical awareness," as "[c]ertain places [that] are sanctified by suffering, or by people's struggle to achieve justice…have important stories to tell."[26] Max Page and Randall Mason argue that while the field of American history has transformed, the efforts of preservationists to recover a "fuller sense of our past…need much greater attention and investment of the movement's resources."[27] The value of

[24] Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 5.

[25] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 70.

[26] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 43-48; 108.

historic sites "comes not only from their appearance but also from the meanings attached to them."[28] This meaning has the power to not only create greater awareness, but to also challenge stereotypes and provide places of healing.

Accepting Settler Colonialism, Challenging the Frontier Narrative:

When reading, learning, or speaking about Native American history or contemporary issues, some form of the word "colonization" is often used (colonized, colonizer, colonialism, decolonization, etc.). Colonization occurs "when the colonizers [Euro-Americans] interfere with the mechanisms needed to reproduce the life world domains—culture, social integration, and socialization—of the colonized [American Indians]."[29] In his history of the Lakota Sioux from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee, Jeffrey Ostler writes that this always includes "conquest, displacement, and rule over foreign groups."[30] More recent scholarship has furthered defined the actions against Indigenous people as "settler colonialism." This is "the persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own,

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[27] Max Page and Randall Mason, "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*, eds. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004), 15.

[28] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 112.

[29] Bonnie Duran, Eduardo Duran and Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart, "Native Americans and the Trauma of History," in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, ed. by Russell Thornton (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 62.

[30] Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2. One of the most commonly cited examples of colonization against Native populations are assimilation policy driven boarding schools, such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial Boarding School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. While at Carlisle, students were given Euro-American names, punished for speaking their Native languages, had their hair cut short, and buckskin clothing burnt. The boarding schools also took children away from their parents, spiritual teachers, and elders during a time in their life when they would have learned the seasonal round, journeyed on spiritual quests, and become a member of society through various rites of passages. When they returned to their communities and reservations, the vocational skills they had learned in boarding school were irrelevant and they could not communicate with family members. Their cultural identity had been stripped in many essential ways (Luther Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux,* [Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 1975], 123-160).

and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there."[31] Lorenzo Veracini characterizes settler colonialism as "a persistent drive to ultimately supersede the conditions of its operations…'tame' a variety of wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity."[32] While the notion behind colonization is that "the other" will work for the colonizer, in settler colonialism the premise is that "the other" will go away entirely. This includes being "physically eliminated or displaced, having one's cultural practices erased, being 'absorbed,' 'assimilated,' or 'amalgamated' in the wider population, [and] the list could go on."[33] For American Indians specifically this included "genocide, the designation of land reserves…and the laws of blood quantum designed to diminish the recognition of Indigenous claims to land over generations."[34] The relationship between Native Americans and the United States government has revolved around the government's attempts to gain access to land and natural resources on that land. In order to profit from and gain access to the land Native individuals and sovereign nations who already held claim to the land had to be "destroyed, removed, and made into ghosts."[35] Massacres, the suppression of culture through federal assimilation policy, and endless broken treaty promises helped the United States transform from thirteen colonies of revolutionaries fighting for freedom to a nation-state of settler colonialists.

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[31] Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Hetereopatriarchy," *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 12.

[32] Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing Settler Colonial Studies," *settler colonial studies* 1 (2011): 3.

[33] Veracini, "Introducing Settler Colonial Studies," 2.

[34] Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 12.

[35] Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 12.

Settler colonization and the oppression of culture are ongoing in American Indian communities. It is true that treaties are no longer signed to cede millions of acres of aboriginal homeland in exchange for rations and annuities, "Manifest Destiny" is no longer the official policy of the United States government, and the Carlisle Indian Industrial Boarding School has long since closed its doors. However, and in order to properly understand the current conditions of American Indian populations, we must accept that the legacy of settler colonialism continues. Its impacts have resulted in intergenerational grief and trauma for the colonized, their families, and communities, found in the form of "alcoholism, poverty, learned helplessness and dependence, violence and the breakdown of values that correlate with healthy living."[36] As Kenneth Foote highlights, if we "celebrate the heroism of Native Americans resisting the destruction of their cultures [it] flies in the face of an entrenched frontier mythology that celebrates the perseverance of white settlers in driving these cultures to extinction."[37] Presenting this reality in the interpretations offered at historic sites forces us to think outside of the narratives of "discovery" and "civilization" we have grown so accustom to telling visitors of historic sites and ourselves. While we cannot tell complex narratives or celebrate our shared humanity without opening the wound of settler colonialism, we also cannot create environments of activism and healing without the acknowledgement of this history.

Presenting the U.S. government as a colonizer and telling that story challenges the very foundation on which the field of historic preservation was founded. The mother of historic preservation, Ann Pamela Cunningham, sought to save Mount Vernon not for its

[36] Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart, "Native Americans and the Trauma of History," 61.

[37] Foote, *Shadowed Ground*, 322.

architectural splendor, but for its connection to President George Washington. In 1853, her hope was that restoring the neglected property would unify a nation about to be torn apart by the Civil War.[38] She was unsuccessful in stopping the war, but she set the standard and other patriotic, and in turn colonialist, properties—including Andrew Jackson's The Hermitage, the site of the First Continental Congress, and Valley Forge—were soon being preserved.[39] Similar to preservation efforts in Great Britain, preservation in America "has historically had a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant cast to it, with the majority of its members and leaders drawn from the upper middle and upper classes…[and] thus been open to charges of…social elitism."[40] American preservation was founded in patriotism, and "homes of local heroes, revolutionary leaders, and of presidents were meant to teach civic obedience… [and] helped to construct civic identities."[41] Ned Kaufman argues that place still "fosters citizenship," though it is "clear that people's understanding of place is more than a sensory thing, that it has a narrative dimension encompassing legend, memory, gossip, tradition, and habit."[42] The leaders and politicians, who were the founding fathers of our nation, and whose homes were the founding properties of historic preservation, committed some of the greatest atrocities against Native people. One example of this is the historic preservation and interpretation

[38] Diane Lea, "America's Preservation Ethos: A Tribute to Enduring Ideals," in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 2.

[39] Barthel, "Historic Preservation," 92. Both the Hermitage and the site of the First Continental Congress were acquired in 1856, while preservation at Valley Forge began in 1878.

[40] Diane Barthel, *Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), 6.

[41] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 33.

[42] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 51.

at Andrew Jackson's The Hermitage, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three. Although, the emphasis on preserving patriotic places continued, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century the United States went through another great transformation that would redefine what sites and histories were preserved; industrialization.

The Industrial Revolution gave way to many changes in the United States. In the field of historic preservation, some of the wealthiest Americans who were profiting immensely from the exploitation of men, resources, and machines, began to memorialize the industrious past of America. These efforts led to the creation of what Diane Barthel calls, "Staged Symbolic Communities." Sites such Henry Ford's Greenfield Village and Old Sturbridge Village "replicated activities of 19th-century farmer and craftsmen" with the goal of teaching the virtues, values, and ideals of the past.[43] Staged Symbolic Communities are popular tourist destinations because they offer "security." They are immaculately "clean" in both appearance and content, as they tend to present a utopian environment with "harmony and stability."[44] They present social and moral order, and "offer an image of ethnic authenticity which may or may not be grounded in historic reality."[45] Another example of a Staged Symbolic Community is Colonial Williamsburg, which was restored to its early to mid-eighteenth century appearance with the financial backing of John D. Rockfeller in the 1930s. Even with a greater social consciousness at Colonial Williamsburg following the African-American civil rights movement of the 1960s, it was not until 1988 that Colonial Williamsburg began to interpret slavery at the

[43] Barthel, "Historic Preservation: A Comparative Analyses," 93.

[44] Barthel, *Historic Preservation…*, 37.

[45] Barthel, *Historic Preservation…*, 41.

site and established the Department of African-American Interpretation and Presentation.[46] In 1994, Williamsburg hosted an extremely controversial slave auction, but Mercedes Quintos states that, even with programs like this and with the interpretation of slavery:[47]

> the average visitor to Colonial Williamsburg does not leave with an understanding of the pervasiveness of slavery in the colonial city's society…The few outbuildings used to portray slave life are overwhelmed by the grand houses, Governor's Palace, and civic buildings on which Colonial Williamsburg's founders focused their preservation, restoration, and interpretive efforts.

Even with attempts to complicate the narrative, a safe interpretation continues to provide "part of the nostalgic vision of an innocent past."[48] This image would be greatly disrupted with the story of genocide and settler colonialism on which the United States was built. Nonetheless, if we as historic preservations seek to find authenticity and achieve historical accuracy in our representations, we must recognize that the "ultimate historic 'truth' of the representation may remain unknown, or may be revealed at a later time to be something quite different than imagined."[49] While a new historic "truth" was partially revealed with the introduction of "New Indian History" into the historiography in the 1970s, it is time for historic preservationists to also adapt and incorporate Native agency and resistance into the interpretations we offer and histories we write.

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[46] Donald Garfield, "Too Real For Comfort," *Museum News* (January/February 1995), 8.

[47] Mercedes Quintos, "Museum Presentations of Slavery: The Problems of Evidence and the Challenge of Representation," George Washington University (1999), 3.

[48] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 41.

[49] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 8.

New Indian History and Agency:

Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, the academic world of history began to borrow from the ethnographies and ethnohistories created by anthropologists to create a "New Indian History." Coupled along with the political shift towards self-determination following urban relocation and termination, a Pan-Indian civil rights movement, and the realization that the "Vanishing Race" had neither been exterminated nor fully assimilated, this theoretical framework continues to impact the way academics in all disciplines present and write about Native populations. Robert Berkhofer, one of the founders of New Indian History, writes "the great desideratum in writing Indian history becomes putting more of the Indians into it."[50] He continues, "the central theme of a new history of Indians ought to be the remarkable persistence of cultural and personality traits and ethnic identity in Indian societies in the face of white conquest and efforts at elimination or assimilation."[51] This in turn "moves Indian actors to the center of the stage."[52] Historian William Hagan notes that "[p]art of writing New Indian History is to emphasize Indian initiatives."[53] While this shift in the approach to historic research and writing was groundbreaking at the time, today is has become commonplace and is subject to increasing critique and adaption.

In line with this shift and placement of "Indian peoples at the center of the scenes," New Indian History further "seeks to understand the reasons for [Indian]

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[50] Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review* 40, no. 3 (August 1971): 357.

[51] Berkhofer, "The Political Context of a New Indian History," 358.

[52] Berkhofer, "The Political Context of a New Indian History," 358.

[53] William T. Hagan, "The New Indian History," in *Rethinking American Indian History*, ed. Donald Lee Fixico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 39.

actions."[54] In order to fully appreciate the historical forces that have resulted in the present day circumstances, we have to appreciate that the relationship between dominant, Euro-American society and Indigenous populations was never as simple as one group immediately dominating and colonizing another. The Pilgrims did not encounter Indigenous people who dined with them at the first Thanksgiving and then adopted Puritan values and lifeways without questioning or resistance. In fact, these "simplifications belittle [five] centuries of interaction and negotiation over space and culture."[55] Instead, Indian-White relations since 1492 have been based on finding "accommodation and common meaning."[56] Settlement happened between two groups, and both groups were required to make cultural changes to survive. While John Gast and other artists in the mid-1800s literally painted a picture of Indigenous people being pushed out of the western frontier in the name of progress, historian Richard White has argued that in certain regions and conditions, settlement could take place on "the middle ground…between cultures, peoples."[57] Understanding this more complex telling of Native American history provides Native people with agency in the shaping of their destiny and a better historical context for current struggles.

Even though the "middle ground" eventually disappeared and the Indian Wars came to a bloody end at Wounded Knee in December of 1890, Native people "called the shots" for a long time after Columbus "discovered" the "New World."[58] For this research,

[54] White, *The Middle Ground*, xxvii.

[55] DuVal, *The Native Ground*, 12.

[56] White, *The Middle Ground*, xxv.

[57] White, *The Middle Ground*, xxvi.

[58] DuVal, *The Native Ground,* 12.

agency is recognizing that Native "individuals made choices—often very different choices—and in doing so actively helped shape the course of events rather than merely being acted upon or responding according to a predetermined cultural script."[59] When Native people protest, exert their political sovereignty, or take advantage of the state and federal judicial system, they continue to make choices and act as agents of their own destiny, just as their ancestors did. Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw) says that scholars, and I would argue this includes preservationists, "can always find Indian voices—if they bother to look."[60] Historic preservationists not only have to seek these voices out, but they have to present them clearly in interpretation to give minority groups a place. The voices presented at historic sites have to represent all the people who interacted with the space to create its meaning, regardless of the history that forces us to accept. Without their voices, minority groups have their place symbolically and literally taken away and "sense of security is weakened."[61] Ned Kaufman states that place, "provide[s] links between past and present, help[s] give disempowered groups back their history, anchor[s] a community's identity, play[s] a prominent role in a community's daily life, provide[s] a distinctive feature within the cityscape, or provide[s] a habitual community meeting place for public ritual or informal gatherings."[62] Place holds power, and preservation must offer a narrative that gives Native Americans agency so they can find value and meaning in place.

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[59] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 5.

[60] Devon A. Mihesuah, "Voices, Interpretations, and the 'New Indian History': Comment on the 'American Indian Quarterly's' Special Issue on Writing about American Indians," *American Indian Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 95.

[61] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 43-48, 248.

[62] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 43-48, 248.

Recognizing and incorporating Native agency into interpretation and history allows for resistance, another important aspect of Native life and representation, to be incorporated into historic sites as well. Simon Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo) defines resistance as "the way that Indian people have creatively responded to forced colonization."[63] This resistance can manifest in a variety of ways, however it most often occurs through the use of "oral traditions," which can be found throughout history and in the proposed future interpretation of Whiteclay. This is not just story telling as we might define it using our western worldview and vocabulary. Instead, oral traditions include, but are not limited to, "prayer, song, drama-ritual, narrative or story-telling, much of it within ceremony- some of it outside of ceremony- which is religious and social."[64] Dean Rader describes resistance as being about the "ability, capacity, energy, and authority" of Native people.[65] George Tinker (Osage/Cherokee) states that "cultural resistance to the colonizer [occurs] at religious, social and political levels."[66] Resistance, similar to agency, can be picking up a weapon, a protest sign, or sitting quietly and holding onto ones culture. Regardless, the goal is to "resist total assimilation into a dominant social system and a loss of cultural integrity."[67] It is to resist settler colonialism. Even though it might seem logical to assume that total colonization could not occur if the colonized exerted agency and resistance, that is far from true. The middle ground can giveaway, massacres of both people and

[63] Simon J. Ortiz, "Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism," *MELUS* 8, no. 2 (1981): 10

[64] Ortiz, "Towards a National Indian Literature," 9.

[65] Dean Rader, *Engaged Resistance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011), 2.

[66] George E. Tinker, "American Indian Religious Traditions, Colonialism, Resistance, and Liberation," in *Native Voices: American Indian Identity & Resistance*, ed, Richard A. Grounds, George E. Rinker, & David E. Wilkins (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 227.

[67] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 7.

resources can devastate populations, and power can shift over time. Native people throughout the United States faced all of these realities eventually. However, that does not make understanding agency and resistance any less important when given the task to accurately represent Native people at historic sites.

Challenging Stereotypes:

While stereotypes are often created from some form of the truth, they are also greatly exaggerated and can result in "anger, frustration, insecurity, and feelings of helplessness" in those who do not live up to these imposed expectations.[68] In our society, "[p]opular culture—television, movies, and romantic literature—reinforces these stereotypical notions" from a young age through adulthood.[69] This is especially true for those who enjoy John Ford and John Wayne western movies, and read romance novels such as *Comanche Warrior, Lone Arrow's Pride,* and *Savage Thunder*. As noted in chapter one, Vine Deloria calls these misperceptions and stereotyped versions of history "comfortable fictions." We prefer to tell a history that does not invoke feelings of "white guilt," make us out to be the "bad guy," or make us feel awkward, but these narratives "distort the image of Indians, create stereotypes of brutality and incoherence, and justify a fictional western history."[70] We have to remember and consider "that the way people are portrayed in history books has a direct bearing on how they are viewed in the present, [and] courses giving accurate information about America's past will help to eradicate stereotypes and will educate our children's future teachers."[71] According to this

[68] Devon Mihesuah, *American Indians: Stereotypes and Realities* (Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, 1996), 118.

[69] Mihesuah, "Voices, Interpretations, and the 'New Indian History,'" 99.

[70] Deloria, "Comfortable Fictions and the Struggle for Turf," 398.

[71] Mihesuah, "Voices, Interpretations, and the 'New Indian History,'" 99.

statement, an accurate history has the power to undo some of the damaging stereotypes created and continued through popular culture.

If we bring Native people into the present, challenge the expectations we have, knowingly or not, placed on Indigenous people, and give them a voice in determining their destiny we not only tell a more authentic history, but we provide Native people with a space for potential healing and a place for them to continue their culture. Native feminist scholar Dian Million (Tanana Athabascan) writes that past generations and elders take their knowledge with them, but:[72]

> we can trust the youth to generate and practice cultures, relations with the land, relations with all life forms, ways respectful of women, men and children into the future. How might we honor languages and songs but not turn a deaf ear when hip-hop is a resistance language that youth and the peoples adapt in order to culturally participate…I want to directly confront the message that our cultures are dying because we live them differently.

There is a long list of stereotypes and expectations that Euro-Americans have placed on Native Americans throughout time that leave their culture trapped in "traditional" ways with little room for evolution and adaption. Native people have come to represent the noble savage, the bloodthirsty savage, the hypersexualized Pocahontas princess, the wise elder, the environmental Indian with one tear rolling down their cheek, the Indian drunk on "fire water," the greedy casino Indian, and the mascot for numerous high school, collegiate, and professional sports teams. Men are usually found in buckskins with long braids, face paint, and a feathered headdress on top of top of a horse riding off into the sunset or passing the peace pipe in a tipi. Women are found in tight, short buckskin dresses with long flowing hair, and singing with their pet raccoon while canoeing "just

[72] Dian Million, *Therapeutic Nations: Healing in an Age of Indigenous Human Rights* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013), 165.

around the river bend."[73] Sometimes these Indians are loosely or unrecognizably based on real historical figures, but usually they are an amalgamation of different regional tribal traits bundled into one individual. Journal articles and entire books are dedicated to the topic of stereotyping Native people, but, for the case of historic preservation, one of the most harmful stereotypes is leaving Native people in the past.

When we see "American Indian people only in traditional dress [it] gives media audiences the idea they are simply seeing historical artifacts without significance in today's world."[74] In his book *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Philip J. Deloria gives numerous examples of Natives in modern situations interacting with technology and white society.[75] These are seen as anomalies and challenge the notion we still hold that Indian people are an "extinct species." This stereotype is continued through "literature and educational material for children [that] tend to encourage the focus on the past with hundreds of items telling what Indians *did* or *knew* or *were*."[76] Native people are stuck in the past tense, making their contemporary issues and histories easy to overlook. The stereotype is that settler colonization was successful in eliminating the Indian, and to find them you have to look backwards in time. Yet, this is not the reality.

Historic preservation has not challenged these misrepresentations and in turn has left American Indian populations stereotyped in the past. In *Place, Race and Story*, Ned Kaufman asks what can be done to address a lack of diversity in historic sites. However,

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[73] *Pocahontas*, directed by Mike Gabriel and Eric Goldberg (Los Angeles: Disney, 1995).

[74] Lucy A Ganje, "Native American Stereotypes," in *Images that Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media,* ed. Paul Martin Lester and Susan Dente Ross (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 118.

[75] Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

[76] Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 247.

in answering the question he notes that the 2002 National Park Service (NPS) "cultural heritage needs assessment" did not discuss Native issues as NPS had already done this in *Keepers of the Treasures,* a 1990 publication that looked at historic preservation on "Indian land."[77] This logic is insufficient and does not account for changes in the historic preservation or history professions during that 12-year period, and the document *Keepers of the Treasures* was not without flaws. In Part II, various perspectives are shared about the role of tribes in preservation projects, mainly the Section 106 review process. The Advisory Council for Historic Preservation (ACHP) noted that tribal participation is usually for "traditional cultural properties," and that State Historic Preservation Offices do not consult with tribes as often as they should.[78] This document places a heavy emphasis on archaeological sites, especially burials, and sites where traditional cultural practices such as religious ceremonies and food gathering, are still being carried out. While these sites are of great importance, contemporary sites are omitted from the document, detrimentally leaving Native people trapped in the past. Another example of Native people being left in the past is in the wording at historic sites and on historic signposts. In Brookings County, South Dakota there is a sign that reads "You Are About to Enter Brookings County—Home of roving Indians *until* 1862."[79] This phrasing not only makes assumptions on the differences between Native and white use of the land (roving versus settling), but it further implies that Indians were only on the land until

[77] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story, 75.*

[78] United States Department of the Interior: National Park Service, *Keepers of the Treasures: Protecting Historic Properties and Cultural Traditions on Indian Lands* (1990), 78-81.

[79] James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1999), 130 (emphasis added).

1862.Where they went after does not seem to matter to whoever created this interpretation, when in fact it does matters when telling the complex narratives of place.

This is not to say that historic preservationists do not have an obligation to preserve Native American sites that represent past cultural ways. A large number of archaeological sites are listed on the National Register and a huge portion of the cultural resource management sector is dedicated to dealing with below ground resources. There is an interest in continuing to preserve them. Our disproportionate focus on these sites most likely stems from the historic roots of the historic preservation field. The United States is a relatively young nation, and is in competition with the histories and sites found in European nations. Therefore, "when interest in preserving Indian ruins arose at the turn of the century, it was because they were viewed as providing the missing antiquity: parks such as the Mesa Verde would substitute for the Athens and Rome."[80] Not only did the United States first make treaties with Native nations to try to legitimize our new form of government, but we have also used American Indian cultural resources to make ourselves look older. While it is still important to acknowledge the sites of the past, we cannot ignore the sites of the present and the future.

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, nearly three million Americans identified as "American Indian and Alaska Native." While this only accounts for 0.9 percent of the total population, this is an increase of nearly 500,000 from the 2000 Census and remarkable for a people that were on the brink of extinction at the turn of the twentieth century.[81] These statistics continue to challenge the notion that Native Americans live in

[80] Barthel, *Historic Preservation*, 30.

[81] United States Bureau of the Census, "Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin 2010," http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014).

the past. Of the three million "American Indian and Alaska Natives" living in the country, half are under the age of 18 and 60 percent live in urban areas.[82] Stereotypes also trap Native people on isolated reservations, but only 22 percent live on reservations or "other trust lands."[83] Given these statistics historic preservationists must ask important questions when interacting with sites or creating interpretative materials off reservations and in cities. Raymond Stedman proposes eight questions that should be asked when portraying Native people in popular culture, and I would argue they apply to historic documentation as well. The fifth question is to ask "Are the Indians portrayed as an extinct species?...Are they presented as creatures of the past who disappeared with the great buffalo herds?"[84] As U.S. Census data shows Native people are far from extinct.[85] They are continuing to make history and give historic significance to extant structures. There are tribal colleges, tribal government headquarters, casinos, and churches being built using Native design values and being encoded with meaning and history for Native individuals and communities. Historic preservationists have to interpret that history in order to be truly valid.

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[82] The Office of Minority Health, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "American Indian Alaska Native Profile," http://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/templates/browse.aspx?lvl=2&lvlID=52 (accessed April 22, 2014).

[83] The Office of Minority Health, "American Indian Alaska Native Profile," http://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/templates/browse.aspx?lvl=2&lvlID=52 (accessed April 22, 2014).

[84] Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian*," 247.

[85] When looking at U.S. Census data for American Indian and Alaska Native people it is important to remember that there have been accusations of undercounting their population, and there are legacies of trauma in these communities that might prevent people from participating in the Census. Historically, Native people were excluded from the Census until 1860, and then only "civilized Indians" were counted. However, individual tribes discouraged members from being counted and there were language barriers. As can be expected, there continue to be general trust issues with any action being carried out by the U.S. government. While there are specific efforts made on reservations to emphasize the importance of being counted, statistics should be read with a grain of salt (Carol Lujan, "As Simple as One, Two, Three: Census Undernumeration Among the American Indians and Alaska Natives," Working Paper #2 [Undercount Behavioral Research Group Staff, May 1990]).

Damage v. Desire-Based Research/Preservation:

Eve Tuck (Tribal Government of St. Paul Island) lays out a very simple, but profound and necessary research model for working with Indigenous communities. While her research is not specifically intended for the historic preservation community, it is important to consider her message for the future interpretation of historic sites. Tuck "invites [us] to join [her] in re-visioning research in [Native] communities not only to recognize the need to document effects of oppression on [their] communities but also to consider the long-term repercussions of *thinking of [them]selves as broken.*"[86] This call for a change in methodology and research design might seem simple, but has historically and into the present day been greatly ignored. Tuck describes damage-centered research as "research that operates, even benevolently, from a theory of change that establishes harm or injury in order to achieve reparation," and one where "pain and loss are documented to obtain particular political or material gains." [87] Meanwhile, "desire-based research frameworks are concerned with understanding complexity, contradiction, and the self-determination of lived lives."[88] These models can "serve as 'advertisements for power' by documenting not only the painful elements of social realities but also the wisdom and hope."[89] This hope can in turn help lead to healing from colonization.

As previously noted, Native American populations and individuals are all too often portrayed in a stereotypical manner. Another one of these stereotypes is that they

[86] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 409.

[87] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 413, 416.

[88] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416.

[89] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 416.

are simple-minded and all alike.[90] In reality, there are 565 federally recognized tribes, and many others that have not yet been given recognition or do not feel as if they need it. Each tribe has different housing styles, economic development, art styles, religious beliefs, and even hairstyles.[91] Desire is about adding this complexity, or "thirding" to the narrative and:[92]

> recognizing complex personhood involves making room for the contradictions, for the mis/re/cognitions, usually in an effort to sustain a sense of collective balance. For tribal peoples, this can mean resisting characterizing one another in ways that tacitly reduce us to being either trapped in the irrelevant past or fouled up by modernity and by acknowledging that as twenty-first-century peoples, it is our collective duty to ensure that any and every member who chooses can engage in traditional sustenance practices, use science and Indigenous ecologies to understand the world around us, and attend relevant, respectful, and responsive schools. In sum, it is our work to afford the multiplicity of life's choices for one another.

Adding complexity and choice is not always easy, but as historic preservationists, when we challenge stereotypes, we must also embrace the notion of "complex personhood" that Tuck advocates for.

Through this framework and with an emphasis on the complex choices of individuals, desire-based research "can yield analyses that upend commonly held assumptions of responsibility, cohesiveness, ignorance, and paralysis within dispossessed and disenfranchised communities."[93] However, nothing about desire-based research models should be interpreted to mean this is about denial, nor is this, "a call to paint

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[90] One example of this is having Native characters in film and on television speak more slowly or use linguistic traits found in "baby talk" (Barbara A. Meek, "And the Injun goes 'How!': Representations of American Indian English in white public space," *Language in Society* 35, no. 1 [2006]: 118). These language patterns should be avoided in interpretive materials.

[91] Mihesuah, *American Indians*, 20-25.

[92] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 421.

[93] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 417.

everything as peachy, as fine, as over."[94] Simple "characterizations frame [Native] communities as sites of disinvestment and dispossession; [Native] communities become spaces in which underresourced health and economic infrastructures are endemic. They become spaces saturated in the fantasies of outsiders."[95] This is not what they are. Place is where people live and people interact. The cycle of portraying "neighborhoods and tribes as defeated and broken," must be shattered.[96] When we look at historic and contemporary American Indian sites and the agency exerted over trying to reclaim place, very little is defeated or damaged. There is room for development and growth.

Healing and Historic Preservation:

Another question Raymond Stedman encourages us to ask "Is Indian humanness recognized?"…are they seen in something resembling a full dimension?"[97] Not only does asking this question help to incorporate the desire-based research model, but it helps preservationists create places of healing. We live in a time when "[m]inority sites are creating a preservation boomlet in part because they solve two of the fundamental problems facing preservation: namely, the perpetual search for new sites and new types of sites to save, and the need to counter charges of elitism and to demonstrate public service to all segments of the population."[98] However, we should not merely take from these communities to make our profession appear inclusive. Instead, we must always look for ways to give back. Bonnie Duran, Eduardo Duran and Maria Yellow Horse Brave

[94] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 419.

[95] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 412.

[96] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 412.

[97] Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian*, 251.

[98] Barthel, *Historic Preservation,* 30.

Heart describe the aftermath of colonist attacks of the life world as "historical trauma," or "soul wound," "characterized as incomplete mourning and the resulting depression absorbed by children from birth onward."[99] Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart propose a model to heal from historical trauma that "incorporates healing rituals for the entire community."[100] These community ceremonies help to bring resolve to almost everyone in the group. This can also be done through the use of "traditional ceremonies" or "specific grief ceremonies."[101] These ceremonies are for "the loss of land, the loss of the right in the past to raise [their] children in culturally normative ways at home, and mourning for the human remains of ancestors and sacred objects being repatriated."[102] While historic sites might not always be the place to conduct these healing ceremonies, they should at least be places that help to empower individuals and communities. When research is done on Native history it must not "fetishize damage but, rather, celebrate [their] survivance."[103] It has to be a place where all feelings—"grief, shame and pain to joy, pride, and resolve—" can be felt.[104]

This thesis relies on the premise that historic preservation has an obligation and role to participate in social activism for sites with complex stories. Ned Kaufman argues that the United States "federal government, led by the National Park Service, should

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[99] Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart, "Native Americans and the Trauma of History," 64.

[100] Duran, Duran, and Brave Heart, "Native Americans and the Trauma of History," 72.

[101] Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and Lemyra M. DeBruyn, "The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief," *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8, no. 2 (1998): 70.

[102] Brave Heart and DeBruyn, "The American Indian Holocaust," 70

[103] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 422.

[104] Brave Heart and DeBruyn, "The American Indian Holocaust," 70

undertake a nation-wide initiative to identify, protect, and interpret places vital to the nation's diverse history. Putting money on the table, the bureau should quickly convene a diverse team of experts outside of government, including historians and community leaders."[105] There has been a broadening of what constitutes cultural heritage to make room for "places of pain and shame, the ugly side of history."[106] One example of this has been at sites where women's history had been previously omitted. Efforts in the 1980s and 1990s were undertaken to include women at house museums, on the National Register of Historic Places, and in National Parks. Through these efforts, it was discovered "[w]omen were historically everywhere."[107] This has also come in the form of civic engagement and restorative justice.

Civic engagement is defined by the National Park Service as "a continuous, dynamic conversation with the public on many levels…and "a commitment to building and sustaining relationships with…communities of interest."[108] In 2003, the NPS director ordered that all national parks incorporate civic engagement into their management plans. If we accept that truthful preservation is essential for reconciliation, history then holds the power for "restorative justice." This type of justice provides "a way for individuals and communities to seek healing when violence has suffused an entire society, when the

[105] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 123.

[106] William Logan and Keir Reeves, "Introduction: Remembering places of pain and shame," in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with "Difficult Heritage,"* ed. William Logan and Keir Reeves (New York: Routledge, 2009), 10.

[107] Huyck, "Proceeding from Here," 356.

[108] Liv Sevcenko and Maggie Russell-Ciardi, "Sites of Conscience: Opening Historic Sites of Civic Dialogue, Foreword," *The Public Historian* 30, no. 1 (February 2008): 9.

magnitude of violence reaches a vast scale."[109] In South Africa, the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 "emphasized that heritage educates, promotes empathy, 'contributes to redressing past inequities,' and 'facilitates healing and material and symbolic restitution.'"[110] Colonization was violent and has left an open "soul wound" that needs healing. In the face of disaster, ceremonies and memorials can bring together fragmented communities, but if these sites are obliterated from the landscape it "subverts the cathartic release of emotion that is so much a part of the ritual of sanctification" and does not allow "communities to come to terms with tragic events."[111] Historic preservation can further assist with healing "through site selection and interpretation that respect the shared yet divergent experiences of people who may have inhabited and used the same space, but who have experienced them very differently."[112] Dolores Hayden argues that "public culture needs to acknowledge and respect diversity," and that "space can help to nurture [a] more profound sense of what it means to be an American."[113] American Indians need sites to grieve and heal, and preservation can provide those spaces through inclusive interpretation and advocating for the telling of a more diverse and complete American history.

However, this requires the National Park Service to confront the legacy of colonization. Dolores Hayden says this "[c]hange is not simply a matter of

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[109] Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, "History, Justice, and Reconciliation," in *Archaeology as a Tool for Civic Engagement*, ed. Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, (New York: AltaMira Press, 2007), 37.

[110] Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 9.

[111] Foote, *Shadowed Pasts*, 179.

[112] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 247.

[113] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), 9.

acknowledging diversity or correcting a traditional bias toward the architectural legacy of wealth and power."[114] The commitment to change has to run deeper than just adding a few sites and calling it a day. There must be larger goals in mind, and if "preservationists could recognize the social reform roots of their movement, they would be more apt to see their project not as simply saving individual structures, but as shaping healthier urban and rural environments."[115] These places of healing and social awareness might contradict some of the earliest properties saved by historic preservationists for the teaching of patriotism and civic values, but they still have value and history.

Together, all of this literature situates my theoretical approach to historic preservation at American Indian sites. To borrow again from Ned Kaufman, storyscapes are "lighthouses of historical awareness," and places, "sanctified by suffering, or by people's struggle to achieve justice…have important stories to tell."[116] Social activism and restorative justice are becoming an important component of historic preservation projects and the National Park Service mission, but I believe extra care and consideration must be taken when creating historic contexts and interpretive materials for more modern American Indian sites. Unlike other ethnic minority groups, Native Americans have faced a unique history involving settler colonialism and a distinctive status as sovereign nations. The three pillar model I propose relies heavily on historic preservation literature advocating for social activism and restorative justice. However, it also relies heavily on recognizing the history of settler colonialism and Native voice, challenging stereotypes

[114] Hayden, *The Power of Place,* 8.

[115] Page and Mason, "Rethinking the Roots of the Historic Preservation Movement," 15.

[116] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 43-48, 108.

specifically applied to American Indians, and healing historical trauma. In the literature I accessed, these three frameworks were not being incorporated with one another. This thesis takes previous notions, combines them, and then applies them to future preservation challenges.

Ketih Basso writes, "[b]uilding and sharing place-worlds, in other words, is not only a means of reviving former times but also of *revising* them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others have supposed."[117] As the following chapter will show, historic preservation in American Indian communities is conducted in a particular way. The National Park Service has been slow to amend narratives at battlefields and in thematic studies, and even slower to list more contemporary American Indian historic resources on the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks. This should be revised. Reframing the argument not only introduces settler colonialism, challenges stereotypes, and focuses on desire over damage, but can also create places of healing. Eve Tuck states that "damage can no longer be the *only* way, or even the main way, that [Indigenous people] talk about [them]selves."[118] It can also no longer be the way that others talk about Native people. Historic preservation projects should remind us that, "[h]istory is not God-given, it is humanly made. And what was once socially constructed can be socially reconstructed, through interpretation."[119] It is time for us to reconstruct and reinterpret place and the history of those places.

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[117] Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 6.

[118] Tuck, "Suspending Damage," 422.

[119] Barthel, *Historic Preservation,* 10.

CHAPTER III

PAST AND PRESENT SHORTCOMINGS AND SUCCESSES IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

Indigenous populations and European nation-states have a long and marred history that has resulted in a legacy that is difficult to understand and interpret. Canada, Australia, Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Untied States are continuously faced with the history and long term impacts of colonization. Each of these nations has tackled the legacy of colonization in different ways. Some countries, such as Canada, have issued official government apologies for residential schools in the hopes of reconciliation. Others are more passive, almost as if they are ignoring the history. The United States, the focus of this thesis, is somewhere in the middle. While America has acknowledged some of the historic grievances committed and has designated November "Native American Heritage Month," we have yet to sign the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People and only issued an official government apology to Native Americans in 2009. Historic preservation, while more inclusive of Native history in certain areas of the field (archaeological resources) and regions (west and southwest), still has a long way to go before we recognize the national and contemporary impacts of settler colonialism. In this chapter, I will review three aspects of historic preservation that are providing the tools needed to offer this retelling of history, but are also falling short in being inclusive of all Native sites: the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the National Park Service Thematic Studies, and evolving historic interpretation at two sites—Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument and Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In looking at the different elements of these three areas I hope to draw attention

to the successes and shortcomings they have each had in preserving American Indian history and place. This analysis reveals that there are tools in place to incorporate Native American narratives, but preservationists appear to be hesitant to use these tools to challenge old interpretations and incorporate more modern Native sites.

To reiterate, accepting the legacy of genocide, colonization, and massacres against American Indian individuals and communities requires that Euro-Americans accept that it was often our ancestors who committed these atrocities. Not only does this get into issues of "white guilt," but it also challenges the very narrative that our nation was founded on. If we acknowledge that we in fact did not discover Indigenous people, but instead colonized them, and that our efforts to "civilize" were also efforts to "kill the Indian," the love story of "settling" the frontier is shattered. When we finally "celebrate the heroism of Native Americans resisting the destruction of their cultures [it] flies in the face of an entrenched frontier mythology that celebrates the perseverance of white settlers in driving these cultures to extinction."[120] The mythical history of "winning the west" and "civilizing the savages" that we have been telling for decades is the history we have become comfortable with. It is undeniable that colonized populations "have resisted, contested, and adapted to colonial regimes."[121] Historic preservationists should seek to reveal this history of resistance, contestation, and adaptation in the preservation and interpretation of Native American sites and cultural landscapes.

[120] Foote, *Shadowed Ground,* 322.

[121] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 3.

National Trust for Historic Preservation:

The National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP or the Trust) was chartered in 1949 to lead the private sector of historic preservation. This was seventeen years prior to the adoption of the National Historic Preservation Act so there was no official public counterpart at the time. The Trust provides funding for preservation projects throughout the United States, as well as advocacy and attention rasising for endangered resources through their "Eleven Most Endangered Historic Places" program.[122] The Trust also owns twenty-seven properties that are operated primarily as house museums and open to the public for tours. The mission of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, while incredibly empowering, is somewhat misleading when you compare it to the history being presented at significant American Indian sites. The mission reads that the Trust is "the cause that inspires Americans to save the places where history happened…connects us to our diverse pasts, weaving a multi-cultural nation together…transforms communities from places where we live into places that we love."[123] The Trust elaborates that they "strive to create a cultural legacy as diverse as the nation itself so that all of us can take pride in our part of the American story."[124] However, in operating the Eleven Most Endangered Places and Historic Sites program, the Trust, intentionally or not, is omitting the history of Native American heritage, which are very much "places where history happened," and "multi-cultural" in nature.

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[122] J. Myrick Howard, "Nonprofits in the American Preservation Movement," in *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 322-25.

[123] National Trust for Historic Preservation, "Who We Are," National Trust for Historic Preservation, http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/ (accessed April 22, 2014).

[124] National Trust for Historic Preservation, "About the National Trust for Historic Preservation," National Trust for Historic Preservation, http://www.preservationnation.org/who-we-are/about.html#.U0Loea1dUyc (accessed April 22, 2014).

NTHP Historic Sites and Distinctive Destinations:

Before I discuss examples of the Trust failing, I should note successful efforts to include Native sites into the Historic Sites Program. As noted, the Trust owns twenty-seven historic sites with the intention to "help to keep history alive." One site in particular represents the history of American Indian people—Acoma Sky City in New Mexico. This site is the "oldest continuously inhabited community in North America."[125] It "offers a window in time where Native people carry on the customary traditions of their ancestors" through pottery and ceremonies.[126] While it could be argued that this site leaves Native people in the past, it cannot be ignored that this site embraces the living aspects of Native culture. This is accomplished by visitor beings able to take guided tours of the living site and witness living traditions, such as pottery making and religious ceremonies.

However, there are sites with NTHP support that do not just omit Native American history, but celebrate historic figures and events that oppressed and removed Native Americans from the landscape. Perhaps the best example is The Hermitage, Andrew Jackson's Tennessee home. Jackson, the seventh president of the United States, was awarded the title of "Worst U.S. President" by *Indian Country Today Media Network*, and received the nicknames "Sharp Knife" and "Indian Killer" after abusing his presidential powers to force thousands of Native people from their aboriginal

[125] Sky City Cultural Center & Haak'u Museum, "History of Acoma Pueblo," Sky City Cultural Center & Haak'u Museum, http://www.acomaskycity.org/main.html?pgid=11 (accessed April 22, 2014).

[126] Sky City Cultural Center & Haak'u Museum, "History of Acoma Pueblo," http://www.acomaskycity.org/main.html?pgid=11 (accessed April 22, 2014).

homelands.[127] While Congress passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, it did not authorize "the unilateral abrogation of treaties guaranteeing Native American land rights within the states, nor the forced relocation of the eastern Indians."[128] Jackson did that himself using "fraud, coercion, corruption, and malfeasance both in the negotiation of removal treaties and in their execution."[129] The result of his actions was the removal of 46,000 Indigenous people, 25 million acres of land put into the hands of whites, and the Trails of Tears that left 4,000 Cherokee dead, and the rest displaced from their subsistence knowledge and spiritual centers.[130] Today The Hermitage has been restored and the site features a museum open for tours. The Hermitage website acknowledges the Indian Removal Act, saying Jackson "largely ignored the shady treaties forced on the various tribes and the actions of government officials."[131] They also acknowledge "the Trail of Tears is the most conspicuous blight on his presidential legacy."[132] However, this is merely a blip in the story being told at one of the NTHP "Distinctive Destinations" (formerly known as "Partner Places"). Interpretation at Nashville's "#1 Wedding Location" is focused on Jackson, architecture, farming, and slavery. There is mention of

[127] Gale Courey Toensing, "Indian-Killer Andrew Jackson Deserves Top Spot on List of Worst U.S. Presidents," *Indian Country Today Media Network* February 20, 2012 http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2012/02/20/indian-killer-andrew-jackson-deserves-top-spot-list-worst-us-presidents-98997 (accessed on April 22, 2014).

[128] Alfred A. Cave, "Abuse of Power: Andrew Jackson and the Indian Removal Act of 1830," *The Historian* 65, no. 6 (December 2003): 1331.

[129] Cave, "Abuse of Power," 1337.

[130] Gale Courey Toensing, "Indian-Killer Andrew Jackson," February 20, 2012.

[131] The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, "President," The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/andrew-jackson/president (accessed April 22, 2014).

[132] The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, "President," The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, http://www.thehermitage.com/jackson-family/andrew-jackson/president (accessed April 22, 2014).

the Indian Removal Act in the museum and in one of the "School Programs" provided by the site. However, these references are problematic. The thematic unit on the Trails of Tears provides an image of Jackson that is troubling. It provides teachers with vocabulary words, activities, an outline, and discussion questions. Yet, the lesson plan paints Jackson in a far too kind light and omits the presidential powers he wielded in the removal of Eastern tribes and the death of many Cherokee.[133] At sites like the Hermitage, preservationists must be careful to fully acknowledge what these sites might mean for American Indian people and balance that presentation with what they mean for dominant white society.

Eleven Most Endangered Places:

Each year the Trust lists eleven historic sites in the United States that are threatened by development or neglect. These sites can be individual buildings, landscapes, or represent broader cultural themes and trends (such as school houses or post offices). The purpose is to bring additional media awareness to these sites to help raise funds and awareness for their preservation. Due to the threat of a power line cutting through the landscape of the site, the Trust determined the James River worthy of additional awareness and activism and included it on their 2013 list. However, the story they are highlighting and advocating for at James River is not complete. The James River Association writes, "James River represents the heart and lifeblood of Virginia. Since the founding of America on its banks 400 years ago, the James has played a central and defining role in the development of Virginia. No other natural feature has provided more

[133] The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, "Trail of Tears: Thematic Unit," The Hermitage: Home of President Andrew Jackson, http://www.thehermitage.com/visit/school-programs/sm_files/Trailunit.pdf (accessed May 1, 2014).

for Virginia and it is this legacy that we need to preserve."[134] Jamestown, the "first permanent English settlement" in the Americas was also the earliest site of colonization against Indigenous populations by English settlers. If we are going to preserve the story of English settlement, we must also preserve the other story—the story of the Powhatan people. One of the most stereotypical images of Native people, Pocahontas, developed at Jamestown, and failing to acknowledge what this site represents for Native people only ignores the history of colonization.

This is not to say the Trust has never identified Native sites as endangered. In 1997, they listed the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana as endangered due to a proposed road that would threaten "endangered species, family farms and ranches, historic small towns and National Register sites" on the Reservation.[135] In 1993 the Trust listed "Archaeological Treasures of the Colorado Plateau," and in 2011 Bear Butte in the Black Hills was listed for its significance as "sacred ground" for American Indian tribes.[136] However, while these sites are listed for their connections with Indigenous populations, there are other sites, like James River, where the history told is biased towards the Euro-American story at the expense of the story of colonization and Native

[134] Jamie Brunkow, "The James River added to the National Trust for Historic Preservation's 2013 List of America's 11 Most Endangered Historic Places," James River Association, http://www.jamesriverassociation.org/news/Most-Endangered-Places.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014).

[135] National Trust for Historic Preservation, "11 Most Endangered Historic Places: Flathead Indian Reservation," National Trust for Historic Preservation, http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/11-most-endangered/locations/flathead-indian-reservation.html#.U1E9ROZdUyc (accessed April 22, 2014).

[136] National Trust for Historic Preservation, "11 Most Endangered Historic Places: Archaeological Treasures of the Colorado Plateau," National Trust for Historic Preservation, http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/11-most-endangered/locations/archaeological-treasures-of-the-colorado-plateau.html#.U1E_uuZdUyc (accessed April 22, 2014); National Trust for Historic Preservation, "11 Most Endangered Historic Places: Bear Butte," National Trust for Historic Preservation http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/11-most-endangered/locations/bear-butte.html#.U1E_cOZdUyc (accessed April 22, 2014).

agency. Historic preservation should, especially for the National Trust for Historic Preservation to live up to their mission, preserve all histories at any site.

National Park Service Thematic Framework and Studies:

Since 1936, the National Park Service has provided a thematic framework to categorize cultural resources under different "themes, subthemes, and facets in which they are found to be nationally significant."[137] These themes were based on the notion of American "progress," and in 1987 the themes were revised and *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program* was published to try to cover excluded areas of history and make survey work easier. The product was a list of 24 themes, and over 600 subthemes that historic sites could fit within.[138] Only one year after the framework was adopted, it was criticized and challenged by historians for still being too limiting and exclusive. In 1990, it was signed into law that NPS was to do another overhaul of the Thematic Framework to "reflect current scholarship and research [and] the full diversity of American history and prehistory."[139]

The 1996 NPS Thematic Framework agreed that the 1987 Framework was not comprehensive enough and rewrote the thematic studies to include "not only great men

[137] History Division, National Park Service, *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1987), http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/thematic87/theme0.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

[138] Laura Feller and Page Putnam Miller, "Public History in the Parks: History and the National Park Service," *Perspectives on History* (January 2000), http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2000/public-history-in-the-parks-history-and-the-national-park-service (accessed April 22, 2014).

[139] Laura Feller and Page Putnam Miller, "Public History in the Parks: History and the National Park Service," *Perspectives on History* (January 2000), http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2000/public-history-in-the-parks-history-and-the-national-park-service (accessed April 22, 2014).

and events but also ordinary people and everyday life."[140] The framework had three goals: 1) identify and evaluate properties for listing on the National Register, National Historic Landmark Designation, or inclusion in the National Park System; 2) identify how well the themes are being represented in the Park System, and; 3) expand interpretive programming in the Parks to "provide a fuller understanding of our nation's past."[141] Using the basic premise of "people, time, and place" NPS established eight new themes: 1) Peopling Places, 2) Creating Social Institutions and Movement, 3) Expressing Cultural Values, 4) Shaping the Political Landscape, 5) Transforming the Environment, 6) Developing the American Economy, 7) Expanding Science and Technology, and 8) Changing Role of U.S. in the World.

In 2005 the National Park Service Archeology Program completed a theme study on the "Earliest Americans." At the end of the NPS Thematic Framework document, two examples are provided for how to utilize this new framework. One of the examples is how to apply the eight categories for the "Earliest Americans" and how this can be useful in the profession of archaeology in identifying and nominating archaeological sites. However, this thematic study raises two huge red flags. First, Indigenous people were not the "Earliest Americans." They were members of hundreds of different sovereign nations, many with their own languages, political systems and subsistence patterns. In fact, American Indians were not given blanket U.S. citizenship until 1924. This is a misnomer at best. Second, stating that the framework can be useful for archaeology is true, but keeps Native people in the past. As noted, it is true that Native people have a huge and

[140] National Park Service, *History in the National Park Service: Themes & Concepts* (National Park Service, 1996), 2.

[141] National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, "NPS Thematic Framework," National Park Service, http://ncptt.nps.gov/articles/c2a/nps-thematic-framework/ (accessed April 22, 2014).

important presence in the archaeological record, but they are also present in the built environment and the framework should apply there as well. This framework could also be used to understand the architectural elements and layouts of Native American buildings, though that is not mentioned.[142] This report documents Native people in different regions and throughout a large period of time, but not in the present.[143]

Each of these themes has a place for Native people, we just have to make sure we acknowledge that place and write about it in different thematic studies. These studies and reports encourage that multiple narratives be acknowledged in providing research and context statements for preservationists to utilize. While these documents are written for properties with significance at the national level, they provide the building blocks to write National Register of Historic Places nominations and historic context statements for similar themes with local or state significance. Writing historic context statements can be expensive for State Historic Preservation Offices and other federal agencies that are mandated to complete historic preservation work. Thematic studies not only offer initial research and a framework for identifying future historic sites, but their purpose is to be inclusive for all ethnicities. They are just one of the many tools that historic preservationists have available to tell complex narratives at underrepresented sites.

[142] For the tribal groups of the Great Plains the circle and its relation to nature becomes an incredibly important design element. Cosmological order based on the four directions was also very important. This can be found in the archaeological record, but also in the design of contemporary buildings, such as tribal government offices, casinos, and some more recent churches (Joy Monice Malnar and Frank Vodvarka, *New Architecture on Indigenous Lands,* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 8).

[143] Archeology Program, "The Earliest Americans," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/archeology/pubs/NHLEAM/index.HTM (accessed April 22, 2014).

National Historic Landmark Theme Studies:

Another tool the National Park Service uses to identify properties are the National Historic Landmark (NHL) Theme Studies. Though separate from the larger thematic studies mentioned above as they only serve to identify future NHL sites, they serve a similar function and have a similar structure. These studies and reports provide "national historic context for specific topics in American history or prehistory."[144] Over time, and as historic preservation emerged as a more professional field following the adoption of the National Historic Preservation Act, the quality of these reports has increased. While many of these reports are available online in PDF format for anyone to download, the primary audience is those surveying historic resources. State Historic Preservation Offices, other federal agencies, and cultural resource management firms can use them when looking to nominate properties or determine eligibility. However, that does not mean they are perfect, and many could use revisions. One example is in the two theme studies written about Lewis and Clark. One written in 1958 is full of outdated notions and old-fashioned terms, such as "wild tribes."[145] Other references in the document call the Louisiana Purchase and Northwest Territory "virgin land" and claim Lewis and Clark "were the first to see, to explore, to map, and to report upon a vast region rich in the resource being sought."[146] However, the lands were not virgin nor were Lewis and Clark the first to explore and see. Indigenous people had occupied the land since time

[144] National Historic Landmarks Programs, "NHL Theme Studies," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/themestudiesintro.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

[145] Ray H. Mattison, William C. Everhart, and John O. Littleton, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Theme XI: The Advance of the Frontier: 1763-1830 (National Park Service, 1958), 5.

[146] Mattison, Everhart, and Littleton, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition, 5, 10.

immemorial (or for at least 12,000 to 15,000 years depending on how valid you view the archaeological record and oral traditions). They had mapped it through oral traditions, and even though those maps were not recorded on paper they were real to the people who used them.[147] The 1975 report continued many of these misconceptions. When writing about some of the conflicts between the expedition and Native groups it said that Lewis and Clark "triumphed and their firmness won the respect of the natives."[148] These two reports also leave out oral traditions and Native accounts of the Corp of Discovery, and instead rely heavily on the written diaries of Lewis and Clark.

One of the most recent theme studies, which began in 2000 under the call of Congress, is on the Civil Rights Era. Currently this document includes a general framework and then three more detailed chapters on voting rights, desegregation in public education, and desegregation of public accommodations.[149] Similar to other theme studies, the civil rights series is designed to help identify and evaluate cultural resources for future nomination or incorporation into the park system. The main document on civil rights includes a section on American Indians. While it has flaws, it provides a starting point for the protection of future sites that address colonization and self-determination.

The theme study provides a brief history that gives a context of Native history from early treaty making to self-determination in the 1970s.[150] Importantly, the study

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[147] Keith H. Basso, *Western Apache Language and Culture: Essays in Linguistic Anthropology* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1992), 99-137.

[148] "Lewis and Clark: Historical Background," National Park Service, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/lewisandclark/intro.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

[149] National Historic Landmarks Programs, "Civil Rights Framework," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/civilrights.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

[150] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (National Park Service, 2002), 25. The history should be read with a grain of salt as the document

found that sites representing the civil rights movement of American Indians from the Indian New Deal (1934-1945), Termination (1945-1960), and Self-Determination (1960-1975) eras are greatly limited and lacking.[151] For the self-determination era form 1960-1975 only Alcatraz Island has been identified, though there are many other places where American Indians exerted agency during the same time period.[152] Part of the study includes additional subtheme reports on segregation in school, public spaces, and disenfranchisement. While Native history is included in most of the subthemes, there are few to no sites identified. In the section on voting rights there is a lengthy discussion on the franchisement of American Indian people, but only two sites identified.[153] The theme study on public education also includes a discussion on American Indian education, including the boarding school era. However, none of the properties included in the sample represent American Indian education.[154] The Carlisle Indian Industrial School (already listed as a National Historic Landmark) is not even on the list.

The report on the desegregation of public accommodations highlight in their introduction that for American Indians/Alaska Natives/Native Hawaiians "the *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* did not identify any events, persons, or places associated with access to public accommodations."[155] While it

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states, "[t]ens of thousands of American Indians suffered from colonial and national expansion and gave their lives in defense of their people and their country," when in reality it was many millions.

[151] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America*, 36.

[152] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America*, 46.

[153] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights* (National Park Service, 2007).

[154] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States* (National Park Service, 2000).

[155] National Historic Landmarks Program, *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations*, 4.

goes on to say that the report "did, however, recognize that the American Indian civil rights story is unique," and "recommended that, subject to available funding, a civil rights study related to American Indians be undertaken," this is disheartening. The National Park Service is clearly making an effort to incorporate Native people into the theme studies. However, much more could be done. This could be accomplished through the creation of theme studies on Native American boarding schools specifically, American Indian Movement (AIM) sites, and sanitariums under the theme of Native American health care. While some of the theme studies need to be updated from their 1950 editions, we need to make sure that all future studies include Native American sites and holistic history in the first edition.

The NPS Thematic Framework and additional theme studies are useful tools in identifying cultural resources and important trends in our nations history. However, while they do include Native Americans, preservationists have to push the boundaries further. This means revising older theme studies, as well as writing news ones that challenge stereotypes, acknowledge colonization, and show Native people as complex individuals who are agents of change. While theme studies on civil rights are heading in this direction, there is room to be more inclusive. The written documents used by historic preservationists need to challenge older trends of ignoring more contemporary American Indian sites, but we also have to challenge the interpretation and wording provided to visitors of these sites. Ultimately, this means adding Native agency, voice, and resistance even if that conflicts with the colonial narrative.

Changing Interpretation at Other American Indian Sites:

The general public is unlikely to spend hours browsing through the National Park Service (NPS) website in search of frameworks and theme studies. If they do find them, even fewer will take the time to read through these lengthy documents.[156] The general public, however, is far more likely to visit NPS sites and gain their knowledge from available interpretive materials or park rangers. The Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument—owned and operated by NPS—and the Wounded Knee Massacre site—a National Historic Landmark with multiple owners and no clearly defined management plan—are two case studies where interpretation has changed to allow for the telling of a new narrative. This new history offers more inclusive accounts that help to challenge the frontier narrative. These two examples also show some of the struggles in trying to change interpretation, but also the good that can come from reframing the argument. Sites are not without controversy nor are they static, but strong and accurate interpretation can help to bring all people together under shared history.

Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument:

It is not the purpose of this thesis to recount in exact detail what happened at the Battle of Little Bighorn. The winners (the Sioux and Cheyenne), the losers (the Seventh Cavalry of the United State Army), and the scouts (the Crow) have recounted the story of the battle time and time again. However, some basic facts are essential to understand the debate around recent interpretation at Little Bighorn, the site popularly known as Custer's Last Stand. On June 25, 1876, over 3000 Lakota and Cheyenne, led by Gall, Two Moon, White Bull and Crazy Horse, killed all 210 men of the Seventh Cavalry including

[156] I feel fairly confident making this statement. Even as someone in the historic preservation field I was unaware these documents existed until I started this research. I did not read through many of them.

General George Armstrong Custer.[157] The Cheyenne and Sioux used "disciplined maneuvers" which kept the Seventh Cavalry "off balance," confused and panicked.[158] Immediately after the battle, and when word of this hearty defeat reached the white masses, the narrative became one that did not highlight the cunning military skill of the Sioux and Cheyenne in battle. Instead, the focus was on Custer, painting him in a Christ like, heroic light that would continue for decades in both the public memory and the interpretation of the battlefield.[159]

Popular culture, through literature and films, "portrayed Custer as a sacrificial hero."[160] As a result "in cultural memory a great Indian victory was transformed into both a 'massacre' in which Custer and his men were victims of 'hordes' of Indians, and a great moral victory."[161] Reenactments and large commemorative ceremonies were held at the battlefield in the early 1900s and continued until the National Park Service (NPS) took over management of the site and worried that reenactments "would permanently scar the battlegrounds."[162] They also responded to requests for reenactments saying "very substantial cultural advances that have been made by the descendants of the Indians involved in the original fight…[and] staging the battle would be in bad taste."[163] However, the site was no longer the battlefield where the Sioux and Cheyenne warred

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[157] Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 128; Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Viking, 2010), 98.

[158] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills,* 97-8.

[159] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills,* 98.

[160] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 131.

[161] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 132.

[162] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 139.

[163] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 139.

against the Seventh Cavalry, and had instead become a shrine to Custer through the erection of a monument in his honor.[164] In 1976 the American Indian Movement (AIM) challenged the myth of Custer that this site perpetuated and made speeches against the centennial celebration at the battlefield.[165] One of the solutions proposed to handle these increasing tensions was to change the name of the site from Custer Battlefield National Monument to Little Bighorn National Battlefield.

This change in name was first proposed in the early 1970s, though it would not go into effect for another twenty years and not without controversy. William Harris, superintendent of the park in the 1970s, believed the name change would help to transform the story told at the battlefield and give Native people "equal billing with the military."[166] This "neutrality would demonstrate to all that the park exists to tell the story of a battle—and not just of one individual at the expense of others with equally important stories to tell."[167] However, the Little Big Horn Associates (LBHA), a private group founded in the 1960s to research Custer, sought to preserve the myth of the man and challenged the re-name of the battlefield.[168] The issue of renaming the park was silenced until 1987.

In 1987, NPS created a plan to standardized the way all battlefield sites were named. This restarted the conversation over renaming the Little Bighorn Battlefield. One argument for changing the name was that the current naming "goes against the grain of

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[164] Plans to build the monument began only two years after the battle. Buffalo Bill Cody also played Custer in his Wild West show creating a dramatic and sensational representation of his last stand.

[165] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 143.

[166] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 146.

[167] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 146-47.

[168] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 144, 147.

historical accuracy to name any battlefield for the losing commander" and if anything it should be named for Sitting Bull.[169] There was also rhetoric that encouraged a renaming to "cease 'honoring' Custer" since "Custer symbolizes…a U.S. government bent towards genocidal policies with regard to American Indians."[170] It was further argued that this renaming would be "a very small gesture of atonement for past U.S. policies."[171] However, there were arguments that the name should be maintained as a change would represent "reverse discrimination," and that "the Custer name, like the landscape and the markers, is genuinely historic" and to "change it is to tamper with history itself, to override, so to speak, the action of an earlier generation."[172] While the first congressional bill to change the name failed to pass through committee, in 1991, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R-CO, Northern Cheyenne) had the necessary support to pass the bill through both houses of Congress, and President George H.W. Bush signed it into law. At the official ceremony commemorating the change in 1992, some Lakota noted that the change in the naming represented "a major step forward in the process of healing and reconciliation."[173]

However it was not just the name that needed to be changed to give Native people a voice at the site. Interpretation at the park was heavily biased towards the myth of Custer as well. In the 1940s, right as the United States was entering into World War II, the

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[169] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 147-48.

[170] John P. Hart, "Contemporary Perspectives on the Little Bighorn," in *Legacy: New Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*, ed. Charles E. Rankin (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1996), 272.

[171] Hart, "Contemporary Perspectives on the Little Bighorn," 272.

[172] Debra Buchholtz, *The Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn: Custer's Last Sand in Memory, History and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 121; Robert M. Utley, "Whose Shrine Is It? The Ideological Struggle for Custer Battlefield," *The Magazine of Western History* 42, no. 1 (Winter 1992), 72.

[173] Buchholtz, *The Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn*, 122.

official interpretation of the battlefield and monument was the "devotion of duty and love of country" that the Seventh Cavalry exhibited at Little Bighorn, and this was later connected to their service in the "South Pacific theater of war."[174] A museum was also built at the battlefield site featuring a diorama that "continued the dominance of Custer" by depicting his last stand.[175] This began to shift in the 1950s when NPS, "tried to introduce some balance into the interpretation, giving Natives more emphasis in the museum displays and the tours provided by guides."[176] By the 1970s NPS continued to modify the narrative from Custer to the "long struggle for possession of the continent."[177] In 1986 the NPS *General Management and Development Concept Plan* stated that the purpose of the battlefield was "to provide visitors with a greater understanding of those events which [led] up to the battle, the encounter itself, and the various effects the encounter had on the two cultures involved."[178] Today, the NPS website for the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument features pictures of Custer next to images of Sitting Bull, along with the phrasing that the site "memorializes the U.S. Army's 7th Cavalry and the Sioux and Cheyenne in one of the Indians last armed efforts to preserve their way of life."[179] The site also began to hire more Native Americans "to work at the site" to further help shift the interpretation being provided, including having Gerard

[174] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 151-52.

[175] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 152.

[176] Utley, "Whose Shrine Is It?" 72.

[177] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 153.

[178] Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 154-55.

[179] Little Bighorn Battlefield, "Little Bighorn, A Place of Reflection," National Park Service, http://www.nps.gov/libi/index.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

Baker (Mandan/Hidatsa) serve as superintendent of the battlefield in the 1990s.[180]

Changing the name of the site does not eliminate examples of Custer being idolized popular culture. However, something can be done to change the way we understand Custer at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument. The National Park Service changing the name, adapting new interpretation, and building a monument for the Native lives lost is a good start. It provides Natives with agency and voice in the interpretation of the site by giving them credit for their military accomplishments in battle. The controversy over the name and Native activism showed American Indian people as a living and active culture. Only weeks after the battle, there was a movement to build a monument in honor of Custer. Finally, in the 1990 law renaming the site, money was set aside to build a monument for the Natives as well. This became in reality in 2003 and memorializes "all the tribes defending their way of life at the Battle."[181] These transformations have created a place for healing. All of these changes, regardless of when they happened, aim to shift the focus and interpretative narrative away from just Custer towards "equal honor on the battlefield."[182] It is an important step.

Wounded Knee Massacre, National Historic Landmark:

While the Battle of Little Bighorn has come to represent one of the greatest victories of Native Americans over the United States military, Wounded Knee has come to represent one of the greatest defeats. The exact details of what happened at Wounded Knee on December 29, 1890 will never be known. Accounts of that winter morning were

[180] Buchholtz, *The Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn*, 126.

[181] Little Bighorn Battlefield, "Little Bighorn, A Place of Reflection," http://www.nps.gov/libi/index.htm (accessed April 22, 2014).

[182] Foote, *Shadowed Ground,* 327.

conflicted from the moment they happened and, depending on the source, are still inconsistent.[183] This inconsistency is essential to understand interpretive struggles today. What we do know is that Wovoka, a Paiute also known as Jack Wilson, had a vision. Similar to other religious revitalization movements, Wovoka said that God gave him a dance that, when performed, would bring back all the dead ancestors and the almost extinct buffalo.[184] Individual tribes took Wovoka's vision and interpreted it in their own way. For the Lakota Sioux, this meant the incorporation of the Ghost Dance shirt, which was a buckskin shirt painted with certain patterns that the Lakota believe made them bullet proof. Native populations on the Plains had witnessed immense amounts of change and destruction in a short amount of time. The Ghost Dance, with its promise to return Native ancestors and the bison, was embraced by many groups, and most famously by the Lakota Sioux.

The Lakota, while subject to many laws that were impacting the entire pan-Indian community at the time, had unique circumstances that led to the situation at Wounded Knee. On both the Standing Rock and the Pine Ridge Reservations rations were greatly reduced leaving members hungry before the already tough winter set in. On December 15, 1890, Sitting Bull, the Hunkpapa chief who was at the Battle of the Little Bighorn and traveled with Buffalo Bill Cody, was murdered by an Indian police officer at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, north of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[185] Big

[183] I have chosen to cite the work of James Mooney, an anthropologists who was commissioned by the U.S. government to write a report on the massacre two years after the event, and Jeffrey Ostler. Mooney was chosen because he is often cited by many others, and Ostler because I use his historic research in chapter four (and he is on my committee!).

[184] James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 14.

[185] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 104.

Foot's band of men, women, children and the elderly had already fled from the reservation and were heading south to Pine Ridge. When they arrived on Pine Ridge they "raised a white flag" and camped at Wounded Knee Creek.[186] The United States Army had 470 men at the camp. There were only 106 Lakota "warriors."[187] On the morning of December 29, 1890 the Seventh Cavalry (ironically enough) went to disarm the men in Big Foot's band and search the camp for weapons.[188] While Big Foot lay sick with pneumonia and encouraged his men to give up their weapons, Yellow Bird, a medicine man, "stooped down and threw a handful of dust into the air," which was the signal for the young warriors to fire.[189] All hell broke lose. Women and children ran, only to be hunted down by soldiers, their bodies later found miles from Wounded Knee or in the ravines they had sought protection in. Charles Eastman (Dakota Sioux), a doctor at the Pine Ridge Agency at the time of Wounded Knee, remembered that "three miles from the scene of the massacre we found the body of a woman completely covered with a blanket of snow, and from this point on we found them scattered along as they had been relentlessly hunted down and slaughtered while fleeing for their lives."[190] The official government report acknowledged that 200 Indian men, women, and children died that day.[191] Other reports, including the accounts of the Sioux, list the total number of

[186] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 114.

[187] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 114.

[188] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 341-42.

[189] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 118.

[190] Charles Alexander Eastman, *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2003), 65.

[191] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 118.

fatalities between 260 and 300, which, for a band of around 400 people, would have been devastating.[192] Two-thirds of the victims were women and children.

In his official report to the United State government, ethnographer James Mooney, concluded:[193]

> no trouble was anticipated or premeditated by either Indians or troops;…that in spite of pacific intent of Big Foot and his band, the medicine man, Yellow Bird, at the critical moment urged the warriors to resistance and gave the signal for the attack; that the first shot was fired by an Indian, and that the Indians were responsible for the engagement; that the answering volley and attack by the troops was right and justifiable, but the wholesale slaughter of women and children was unnecessary and inexcusable.

However, there is another side to the story that does not blame the Lakota for firing the first shot and shows the actions of the troops as less than "right and justifiable." This is the story told by the Lakota themselves. Big Foot entered the camp with a white flag, but some Lakota accounts say a command was given and the Army began to fire regardless of this sign of truce.[194] Another account says the first shot was an accident in a moment of miscommunication and fear, but that the U.S. soldiers were already aiming their weapons at the Lakota.[195] Twenty soldiers were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for their action and service at Wounded Knee.[196]

Wounded Knee is probably one of the most well known massacre sites of American Indian people, and the significance of the site is fairly obvious, though the

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[192] Richard E. Jensen, "Big Foot's Followers at Wounded Knee," *Nebraska History* 71 (1990): 198.

[193] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion,* 119.

[194] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 348.

[195] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 348.

[196] Josh Huff-Hannon, "No Medals for Massacre: Close the Open Wound of Wounded Knee," *The Huffington Post*, February 12, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-huffhannon/wounded-knee-medal-of-honor_b_2664709.html (accessed April 22, 2014).

history and interpretation is debated. It was established as a National Historic Landmark in December of 1965. However, similar to the Battle of the Little Bighorn, only in recent years has there been in a shift in the naming of the site and its interpretation. In the 1980s descendants of those killed at Wounded Knee began to make a commemorative ride from the Standing Rock Reservation to Wounded Knee each year. Following the path of Big Foot, the Big Foot Memorial Ride or Wounded Knee Centennial Ride allows ancestors to "renew their stories, remember their ancestors, and remind themselves of their true history."[197] This event is not just for those who lost relatives at the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, but is open to all people "attempting to overcome past problems and work toward a better future."[198] On October 25, 1990 both the Senate and House of Representative adopted a resolution to acknowledge the historical significance of Wounded Knee and "express its deep regret on behalf of the United States to the descendants of the victims and survivors and their respective tribal communities."[199] The resolution also recognized the need to "preserve and maintain the terrain," while also establishing some type of monument.[200] The conflict over interpretation at Wounded Knee has reveled fractions and friction within the tribe. Some members of the Lakota do not agree with the management plans proposed by the Wounded Knee Survivors

[197] Gail Brown, "Wounded Knee: The Conflict of Interpretation," in *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape,* ed. Paul Shackel (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 112.

[198] Brown, "Wounded Knee," 112.

[199] Wounded Knee Creek Massacre—One-Hundredth Anniversary Commemoration, S. Con. Res 153,104th Cong. Sess., Concurrent Resolutions (October 25, 1990): Stat 5183-85, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-104/pdf/STATUTE-104-Pg5183.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014); Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 359.

[200] Wounded Knee Creek Massacre—One-Hundredth Anniversary Commemoration, S. Con. Res 153,104th Cong. Sess., Concurrent Resolutions (October 25, 1990): Stat 5183-85, http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-104/pdf/STATUTE-104-Pg5183.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014); Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground*, 359.

Association nor the National Park Service. However, the two groups of Lakota are unified over the desire to tell the "true story" of what happened.[201] Especially in that it was not a battle. It was a massacre.

The National Park Service began a series of studies on the creation of a memorial park at Wounded Knee. Immediately issues and concerns arose over who would manage the site, how the preservation of current monuments would be conducted, and where the park should be established.[202] However, no consensus was ever reached as to what should be done. NPS employees as well as Lakota anthropologists conducted public meetings and interviews with tribal members. While almost all tribal members agreed that the Lakota side of the story should be included, the boundaries, form of interpretation, secondary buildings, and management were contested issues.[203] Three proposals were offered, and each varied in the form of management. The first and second alternatives both created a National Memorial, but one would be solely managed by the National Park Service with the second option being managed by NPS, the Oglala and the Wounded Knee Survivors Association. The third option was the creation of a Tribal Park to be managed by the Oglala and Cheyenne River Sioux (Big Foot was from Cheyenne River). However, concerns were raised regarding this plan because it excluded the Hunkpapa (Sitting Bull's band) and the availability of funding from the two tribes could be inconsistent.[204] But the management of sites is not the topic of this thesis. Instead,

[201] Gail Brown, "Wounded Knee," 115.

[202] Lawrence F. Van Horn, Allen R. Hagood, and Gregory J. Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today: a special resource study for planning alternatives," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 36 (1996): 148.

[203] Van Horn, Hagood and Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today," 149,

[204] Van Horn, Hagood and Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today," 153-55.

concerns over interpretation are more relevant to understand similarities with Wounded Knee and what can be done at Whiteclay.

When NPS held public meetings on the reservations almost "everyone at the public meetings said the Lakota view of what happened at Wounded Knee must be told."[205] As mentioned some were concerned that the story of Sitting Bull was not getting fair attention, and others wanted the emphasis to be on Lakota culture and the intention of the Ghost Dance. NPS wanted the greater focus of the interpretation to be on both the perspectives of the Lakota and the U.S. military. Mario Gonzales (Oglala), a lawyer who was active in the Black Hills land claim and the commemoration of Wounded Knee, wrote in a diary entry about this conflict: [206]

> "Interpretation" of is an important issue to the members of both survivors' associations. Marie Not Help Him, Claudia Iron Hawk Sully, and Sam Eaglestaff believe that the interpretation of the massacre must be from the Lakota point of view since our notion of history (and heroism) has always been diametrically opposed to the non-Indians' interpretation. It is quite obvious that the National Park Service's interpretation of the massacre will be the continuation of the U.S. government's cover-up in violation of article 1 of the 1868 treaty and article 8 of the 1877 Black Hills Act.

As mentioned, this comes down to the use of the word massacre, and also acceptance over the events of December 29, 1890. In addition to the general debate over who fired the first shot and therefore who is to blame, some Lakota believe that what happened at Wounded Knee was "revenge" for the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Also, in telling the story from the Native perspective and focusing more attention on the history and meaning of the Ghost Dance it becomes painfully obvious that "innocent people suffered greatly

[205] Van Horn, Hagood and Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today," 149.

[206] Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground*, 197.

as a consequence of practicing their religion."[207] In 1995 a bill went before the Senate to create a National Tribal Park at Wounded Knee.[208] It failed.

In addition to concerns over phrasing in interpretive materials, commercialization of the site was also a concern for the Lakota who attended the public meeting or were interviewed. This raises issues of land ownership. The legacy of allotment has left a checkerboard pattern across Indian Country. In addition to a jurisdictional nightmare, this can make it incredibly hard for the protection of cultural resources. James Czywczynski, who currently owns the portion of the Wounded Knee where the Gildersleeve Trading Post once stood, is selling the land for over three million dollars. While Czywczynski offered the Oglala the option to purchase the land first, the price was outrageous.[209] Even with rumors of Johnny Depp purchasing the land and donating it back to the tribe, the loss of this land could be devastating for the preservation of the site. In 2004, the National Park Service concluded that the National Historic Landmark is suffering from neglect. A simple stone monument and metal arches mark the area near the mass grave (Figures 3 and 4), and a wood sign shows that little progress has been made in better understanding Wounded Knee from the Lakota perspective.

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[207] Van Horn, Hagood and Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today," 148.

[208] Gonzalez and Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground*, 360-69.

[209] Vincent Schilling, "Wounded Knee for Sale: Still No Depp Deal, but Oglala Sioux Negotiating," *Indian Country Today Media Network,* July 22, 2013, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/07/22/selling-wounded-knee-still-no-depp-no-deal-tribe-negotiates-150536 (accessed April 22, 2014).

Figure 3. Entrance to the Wounded Knee Massacre mass grave (*photo by author*).

Figure 4. Marker of the Wounded Knee Massacre mass grave. Offerings are often left at the site (*photo by author*).

Sitting down the hill from the mass grave, is a bright red sign. As of 2012 the sign tells the story of Wounded Knee. Well, one of the stories. The sign is made of wood and

the text is carved into a board riddled with bullet holes. Instead of getting a new sign, a smaller piece of wood with the word "MASSACRE" engraved in it has been nailed over where it once read "BATTLE OF" (Figure 5). This highlights the ability for interpretation and meaning of sites to change. This change in wording might suggest a ground-up approach to narratives, but also shows that no narrative is static. Even though the argument is made, as we saw at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, that narratives can themselves become historic, this should not be used to justify poor interpretations. Historic sites can be adapted over time and re-represented. This sign shows the incorporation of Native voice and agency. As I will discuss, the text of the sign could use some rewriting, but the title now reflects the opinion of the Lakota of what happened at the site.

Figure 5. Interpretive sign located near the Wounded Knee Massacre mass grave. Note the board that has covered "battle" with "massacre." The text on the sign was written by Stanley S. Walker with South Dakota State Highways (*photo by author*).

This sign, along with the recent conflicts over interpretation and ownership, show that historic preservation efforts at Wounded Knee have some ways to go. For visitors driving through (and given the location most of these visitors are not stumbling upon the site but are instead most likely seeking it out) they can stop and read the story told by James Mooney. While the interpretive board does mention the death of Sitting Bull and the decreased rations, the death count given is only "146 Indians." The sign also tells the visitor that Yellow Bird "incit[ed] the warriors to action." It does not tell the Lakota telling of the event, which is that the U.S. soldiers fired first. While it mentions that the Army buried the dead in a mass grave, it fails to say that they also stripped the dead of their Ghost Dance shirts and beaded clothing, only to be sold or placed in museums. The story provided on this one board is incomplete. The Lakota voice, and their agency, is stripped away, just like the bodies of their ancestors were. It fails to address the reality that many Lakota and Native people still live with what happened at Wounded Knee over one hundred years later. For them, the event and "tragedy remains very real and poignant, passed down in families, as if it had happened yesterday. Many continue to feel betrayed by the incident because Big Foot was traveling under a white flag of truce. The promise of safe conduct was broken, as were treaty promises of adequate land, food, and other provisions."[210] The Lakota, who had been forced to give up their land and way of life, were left in poverty. The legacy of this annihilation is merely continued with the interpretative narrative that paints the massacre as a battle, and hides the settler colonial intentions of the U.S. government.

[210] Van Horn, Hagood and Sorensen, "Wounded Knee, 1890 and today," 147.

Following the Wounded Knee massacre, and despite the sacredness of the hollowed ground, a Catholic church was built within feet of the mass grave and eventually a trading post, featuring a culturally offensive museum operated by whites and offering a "World Famous Indian Village," was built just down the hill.[211] Conditions on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation remained dire and colonialism continued in the form of the Indian Reorganization Act and control over the reservation by the Indian Court of Offenses and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Following the African American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and with similarities to the Black Panther Organization, in 1968 the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in Minneapolis, Minnesota to address police brutality. Though founded by Native Americans who had been relocated to urban areas following relocation policy of the 1950s, AIM took their protests throughout the country, In 1969 they participated in the take over of Alcatraz Island, led the Trail of Broken Treaties in a march on Washington D.C. and occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in 1972, and, finally, in 1973, they went to Wounded Knee.[212] This showed the relevant and living legacy of what had happened 83 years prior.

The AIM occupation of Wounded Knee from February to May 1973 made national news, and even had a place at the Academy Awards in Hollywood. Marlon

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[211] *Voices from Wounded Knee, 1973: In the Words of the Participants* (Rooseveltown, NY: Akwesasne Notes, 1974), 11.

[212] Lauren Waterman Wittstock and Elaine J. Salinas, "A Brief History of the American Indian Movement," American Indian Movement, http://www.aimovement.org/ggc/history.html (accessed April 22, 2014). Dick Wilson, chair of the Oglala at Pine Ridge in the 1970s, was not known for being a traditionalist, and many of the younger, more radical AIM members and leaders believed he was ruling Pine Ridge with terror. Wilson established the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOON squad), which was a police force used to control those on the reservation who opposed him (Brown, "Wounded Knee,"109). AIM members came to the reservation to meet with those who opposed Wilson to see what could be done. Frank Fools Crow, an Oglala elder who represented the "traditional" members of the reservation who were in conflict with Wilson, told (AIM) leaders to "go to Wounded Knee and make your stand there" (*We Shall Remain: Wounded Knee*, PBS, 2009). They did just that. From late February 27, 1973 until May 8, 1973 AIM occupied Wounded Knee

Brando did not accept his award for Best Supporting Actor in *The Godfather* and instead sent Sacheen Littlefeather (Apache) to the stage in his place. In her speech she explained that Brando chose not to accept the Oscar due to the treatment of Native people by the film industry and "also with the recent happenings at Wounded Knee."[213] This speech was given on March 27, 1973, one month into the occupation. There were numerous meetings with FBI agents, representatives of President Richard Nixon, Congressmen, and AIM members to discuss issues of sovereignty and hostages. There was even more gunfire. AIM, and their media grabbing militant actions, was designed to draw attention to the injustices of the past. AIM demanded that all past treaties and the BIA management on the reservation be reviewed. The successes of AIM at Wounded Knee can be argued, but it is still history, and a history of Native agency and resistance.

In nine years the American Indian Movement occupation of Wounded Knee will be "historic" according to the standards set forth by the NHPA. In fact, many of the places where AIM struggled for self-determination may become eligible for listing on the National Register. However, we are still trying to figure out how to best deal with the interpretation and preservation of an event that occurred over 120 years ago. In order to best interpret the historic sites of the late 1880s, as well as those that happened in the mid-1990s we have to make room for Native agency. While Wounded Knee is one site where struggles over interpretation may take place in the coming years, another site is Whiteclay, Nebraska. Just as the Little Bighorn Battlefield and Wounded Knee had prior misrepresentations, so too does Whiteclay. The site is understood outside of its historic

[213] Research and Preservation, "Academy Awards Acceptance Speeches," Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/link/045-1/ (accessed April 22, 2014).

context and only within a narrative of damage in the form of drunkenness. However, reframing the narrative of Whiteclay with colonization, agency, and desire will present a more holistic, complex, and inclusive narrative.

There are shortcomings and successes within the National Trust for Historic Preservation and National Park Service Thematic Studies for the future interpretation and preservation of historic American Indian sites. While the Trust might not be as inclusive as its mission statement leads one to believe, the NPS Thematic Studies are one way to better address this issue by creating a historic contexts to be used to identify sites. There is also hope for the reinterpretation of American Indian sites that have been misrepresented in the past, as has been in the case at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument and the Wounded Knee Massacre site. As many of the struggles for self-determination that took place in the 1970s become fifty years old, the historic preservation community has to be ready to deal with the histories that challenge what we prefer to think about our history. One of the ways I propose this be accomplished is through the incorporation of settler colonialism and Native agency, challenging stereotypes, and basing research in desire. This will allow complex narratives to be told and a more holistic history to be created. We should try to correct the errors of the past, but also prevent the same mistakes in the future. The tools are in place to change interpretative materials, write more inclusive history, and challenge dated frontier narratives. We must take them off our belts and utilize them, even if we face opposition from dominant society. Whiteclay might be a good place to start.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAKOTA, ALCOHOL IN INDIAN COUNTRY, AND SHERIDAN COUNTY

"They made us many promises, more than I can remember, but they never kept but one; they promised to take our land and they took it."[214]

Historian Jeffrey Ostler has pointed out "that it could easily be argued that the *last* thing Sioux people need is yet another book about them."[215] However, one cannot understand Whiteclay and the troubles surrounding future interpretation without first understanding the history of the cultures that interacted to create the landscape and conditions of Whiteclay. This includes the Lakota Sioux, the residents of Sheridan County, and the role of alcohol in the region. In this chapter, I will tell these three histories. I focus on specific examples of colonization and struggles over land, highlighting the agency and resistance exerted by the Oglala and other bands of the Lakota Sioux. First, I provide a brief history of the Oglala Lakota Sioux from their creation at Wind Caves in the Black Hills to the creation of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1889 with an emphasis on Lakota resistance and agency. The continued struggle over alcohol is the second history told. Settlers and traders introduced alcohol into Indian Country very early on in the history of contact, and attempts to control it, while still abusing it, by the United States government began shortly thereafter. Third, I tell the story of Sheridan County, Nebraska, primarily focusing on Indian-White relations and how the two groups, though culturally opposite in many ways, needed each other and both influenced the cultural landscape. These three histories form the backdrop to chapter five, which reviews the history of Whiteclay from 1882 to the present.

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[214] Indian Rights Association, Ninth Annual Report (1891) quoted in Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 59.

[215] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 2.

Before entering into a discussion of Lakota resistance and agency, it should be stated that not all Lakota people picked up weapons against the United States or spoke out against colonization and assimilation. The same can be said for residents of Whiteclay, Sheridan County, and Nebraska. Even though I often refer to the Lakota as one group, that group is comprised of smaller bands, clans, families, and individuals. While leaders like Crazy Horse (Oglala) and Sitting Bull (Hunkpapa) actively fought against the United States, other leaders, like Spotted Tail (Sicangu), are better known for their willingness to accommodate to the wants of the United States. There were also leaders, like Red Cloud (Oglala), who both fought against and embraced certain aspects of American "civilized" life.[216] The history of treaties, battles over land, and agency that follows is clearly biased, with the blame pointed at both the historical record and myself. Women are rarely mentioned, actions of lesser-known Lakota are omitted, and, most importantly, I have a point to prove.[217] While I am drawing from some recorded oral histories, most of the sources I utilize are from the written record. Recognizing the bias in sources and importance of individual choices throughout history can better help historic preservationists work within unique and complex circumstances in the present.

The Oglala Lakota [Teton] Sioux:

Since time immemorial, the Lakota Sioux have inhabited what we now call North America, but what is often referred to by Indigenous populations as "Turtle Island".[218] The Lakota creation story takes place in the sacred Black Hills of the Plains—full of

[216] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills,* 30-34.

[217] While I will try to account for these shortcomings, I cannot fix them all, a critical reading may help.

[218] Leonard Peltier, *Prison Writings: My Life is My Sun Dance* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 4. Many other sources and individuals refer to North America as "Turtle Island," and while the name refers to certain tribal groups creation stories, it has come to be embraced by the larger Pan-Indian community.

geological wonders, Lakota spirituality, and the heads of four United States presidents. According to Lakota oral traditions, it was through Wind Cave that the first people and bison emerged from the center of the Earth. Led by Tokahe, when he and three others first arrived they were shown beautiful clothing, fed a feast with "choice bits of meat and plenty of good soup," and told they would be beautiful forever.[219] Tokahe went back through the cave and, even though warned by elders that it was a trick and they could never return to the center of Earth, six "brave men took their women and children" and traveled through Wind Cave.[220] When they arrived on the Plains, they found that it had been a ploy. It was cold and the wind blew. Eventually the first people learned from those who had held the feast for them to "hunt the game and how to care for the meat and the skins, and how to make clothing and tipis…and their children are thus the Lakota."[221] According to oral history, since creation, the Lakota Sioux have adapted, resisted, and exerted cultural agency over the situations they have found themselves in.

The Sioux as a whole refer to themselves as the "*Oceti Sakowin Kin*" ("Seven Council Fires"), which is composed of the Lakota and Dakota.[222] The Lakota, who call themselves Teton or *Titonwan*, are also comprised of seven smaller bands, one of them being the Oglala.[223] The Sioux, including the Oglala Lakota, have a strong spiritual

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[219] James R. Walker, "How the Lakota Came Upon the World," in *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1917), 182.

[220] Walker, "How the Lakota Came Upon the World," 182.

[221] Walker, "How the Lakota Came Upon the World," 182.

[222] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 7.

[223] James R. Walker, "Divisions of the Lakota," in *Lakota Society*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, 18-19 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 19. While some Lakota groups were given imposed names by colonizers (such as the *Sicangu* being referred to as Brulés), Oglala is their self-designated name, hence why I will refer to them as such.

connection to the Black Hills and the land surrounding it. This is evidenced not only in the connection to the hundreds of miles of Wind Cave through which the Lakota ancestors came to Turtle Island, but also in the "Racetrack" surrounding the Black Hills. It was here that the two-legged and four-legged animals raced around the Black Hills to establish order in the world, but also left the land red from their blood and trampled from the many laps they did.[224] While the bison was in the lead, it was the little magpie that had ridden on his ear throughout the race that flew off and beat him over the finish line, establishing that the two-legged, including humans, will eat the four-legged animals that walk Turtle Island.[225] As this story highlights, the Lakota relied on the land for subsistence and spirituality, and this has created a strong connection between culture and place. Place has provided order to the cosmological world through the connection with the oral traditions, as well as the necessities for survival.

Despite the beauty and spiritual connection to the Black Hills, other parts of the Plains are not referred to as the "Bad Lands" for nothing. Due to extreme weather, scarce resources, and warring neighbors, when colonizers first encountered the Lakota and Dakota Sioux they were living in present day Minnesota.[226] However, by the mid-1700s, the Lakota were the first of the Sioux bands to return to life along the Missouri River where there were more plentiful buffalo herds, greater opportunities for fur trade, and less competition from Euro-American settlers and Northeastern tribal groups being pushed

[224] Linea Sundstrom, "The Sacred Black Hills: An Ethnohistorical Review," *The Great Plains Quarterly* 17 (Summer/Fall 1997), 195.

[225] Personal Communication, Craig Howe, June 2012; Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 309.

[226] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 21-2.

west.[227] The Lakota eventually obtained and embraced horses (which quickly became an essential component of the stereotypical Sioux warrior image) and more power. Yet, at the same time they also had their population devastated by small pox and conflicts with other Native groups living on the Plains, especially the Arikara.[228] While Lewis and Clark were "discovering" the Louisiana Purchase and venturing to the Pacific Ocean, the Lakota continued their move west as well. For a group Meriwether Lewis described as "the vilest miscreants of the savage race," the Lakota had gained control over the Black Hills and surrounding areas by the 1830s.[229] Even though Lewis and Clark had a less than positive view of the Lakota, they saw the potential for Lakota power and predicted the struggle that lay ahead. Lewis wrote, "[u]nless these people are reduced to order by coercive measures I am ready to pronounce that the citizens of the United States can never enjoy but partially the advantages which the Missouri presents."[230] Coercive measures were used and it did not take long for his prophecy to be realized. Within 60 years, the most well known leaders of the Sioux were killed or forced into a docile state, the Black Hills would be stolen, and the Lakota would be required to stay on ever shrinking reservations with some of their most sacred ceremonies banned and essential food sources near extinction. However, Native agency, choice, and resistance against treaties and federal policies that sought to assimilate and annihilate their society and culture are an integral part of the colonization narrative.

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[227] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 22; Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 7; Raymond J. DeMallie, "Sioux Until 1850," in *Plains* ed. by Raymond J. DeMallie (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 731. The Dakota bands of the Sioux stayed in Minnesota during this period of time.

[228] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 9-11.

[229] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 12-3.

[230] Richard White, "The Winning of the West: The Expansion of the Western Sioux in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The Journal of American History* 65, no. 2 (September 1978), 327.

There is a long, troubling, and violent history between the United States government and the Lakota over land being ceded and stolen through the treaty signing process. Though the Plains were considered to be the "Great American Desert," by the 1840s settlers heading to the Pacific Northwest were crossing through Lakota territory, leaving behind a path of environmental destruction, disease, and wide wagon "highways."[231] Eventually the Lakota stopped idly watching these "new white people," especially as they came in even larger hoards seeking gold in California. They made the already challenging journey west a little more difficult for settlers by requesting compensation for crossing Lakota territory, stealing horses, and killing livestock.[232] As white settlers continued to encroach on Lakota land, and with an increased strain on resources, intertribal warfare also increased. The United States government tried to control the Lakota and force them to allow settlers to travel peacefully through, and they also recognized that "intertribal wars endangered American travelers and commerce."[233] The solution to these increasing problems on the Plains was, regardless of the autonomy of tribal groups, to have multiple tribes enter into one treaty with the United States government. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, was to serve two major functions. The first was to end intertribal warfare and bring peace to longstanding enemies.[234] The second aim was to draw boundaries between tribes, allowing for the U.S. Government to "hold a tribe responsible for any depredations committed within its allotted area."[235]

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[231] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 34-6.

[232] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 33. Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 37.

[233] White, "Winning of the West," 340.

[234] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 36.

[235] White, "Winning of the West," 340.

However, Native groups could still hunt outside of these boundaries in usual and accustom hunting areas. In September of 1851, the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Crow, Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara and Sioux entered into the Fort Laramie Treaty, but nothing changed and the treaty was basically irrelevant to the tribes that signed. Warring continued, boundaries were ignored, and promised annuities for allowing the "United States to build roads and military posts in [Native] country" came slowly and not in the promised quantities.[236]

The Fort Laramie treaty was also fundamentally flawed because many Lakota leaders did not sign, and those who did may have greatly misunderstood what they were signing. Only five Lakota leaders put their pen to the paper, and none of them were from the Oglala band, though there were Oglala at the treaty council meeting.[237] The Sioux, like many Native societies, rely heavily on oral traditions and the power of the spoken word. Jeffrey Ostler points out that, as this was the first treaty the Lakota entered into, those who signed probably "considered themselves to be validating all that had been said on both sides during the entire proceedings rather than just the text."[238] One example of this can be found in the words of Black Hawk, an Oglala leader, who challenged the Sioux boundary. He is recorded having said, "[t]hese lands once belonged to the Kiowas and the Crows, but we whipped those nations out of them, and in this we did what the white men do when they want the lands of the Indians."[239] In challenging the boundary he not only shows very keen awareness as to how the U.S. government has chosen to get

[236] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 38-41; Raymond J. DeMallie, "Teton," 795.

[237] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 37.

[238] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 37.

[239] White, "Winning of the West," 341.

land from Native people, but he also does not acknowledge "the treaty as a prohibition of future gains."[240] The United States colonized the Sioux by limiting the nomadic aspect of their lifestyle and by, theoretically, taking away their political power as independent groups. Representatives of the government insisted that the Lakota be represented by one individual, or "chief," regardless of the distinct seven *oyate* and even smaller clans within.[241] Lakota members protested this, but to no avail. Even with their political system disrespected by these arbitrary boundaries, the treaty signing process, and an emphasis on the written over spoken word, more colonization was to come in the form of the reservation system.

Warfare continued between the Plains tribes; the United States Army and pioneers massacred Natives; annuities came slowly if they came at all. Yet, agency and resistance continued as well. Only a few years after having signed the Fort Laramie Treaty, the Sioux agreed as a whole to "prohibit all land cessions and to close their remaining productive hunting grounds to American intrusion."[242] The Bozeman Trail cut right through Lakota land and, even after the U.S. Army continued to build forts to protect travelers, attacks by Natives continued, including the Fetterman Massacre in December of 1866. Warfare with tribes was proving to be costly in lives, money, and reputation, and by 1868 the government decided to place the Sioux on one official reservation where they would be unable to leave for hunting and gathering subsistence.[243] The Treaty of 1868, in

[240] White, "Winning of the West," 341. Since the United States Supreme Court ruling in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), one of three cases in the Marshall Trilogy, Native groups were viewed legally as "domestic dependent nations" and at the whim of the United States government.

[241] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 40.

[242] White, "Winning of the West," 341.

[243] DeMallie, "Teton," 796.

addition to creating the Great Sioux Reservation, promised to build schools, encouraged farming based on European land ownership ideals, and provided for additional rations and payments for further ceded lands. The treaty also allowed for agencies to be built throughout the reservation, and further reiterated that the land was for the sole use of the Lakota.[244] Each of these elements was intended to push the Lakota towards assimilation and living a "civilized" life. Many provisions in the treaty were designed for more land cession in the future. Article 12, which became both increasingly important and ignored when mineral resources were discovered in the Black Hills, read in part that "[n]o treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians, unless executed and signed by at *least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians*, occupying or interested in the same."[245] Similar to the Fort Laramie Treaty, it is hard to know what the Lakota thought they were signing, as most were not able to read English. Even though it can be argued that the commissioners did not provide the Lakota who signed with all the information included in the treaty, this meant, and continues to mean, little to the U.S. government.[246]

Far more Oglala signed the Treaty of 1868 than the Fort Laramie Treaty, but not all leaders signed immediately or without vocalizing their hesitations. Most of the Oglala leaders signed in May of 1868, but Red Cloud, one of the most well known leaders and

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[244] DeMallie, "Teton," 797. Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 63.

[245] "Treaty with the Sioux- Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arc, and Santee—and Arapaho, 1868," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/sio0998.htm#mn33 (accessed March 1, 2014) [emphasis added].

[246] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 66.

whose signature carried extra significance for the U.S. government, did not sign until November. While he was at Fort Laramie to sign the treaty he told the commissioners he only came to "get some powder, lead, knives, axes, etc. to fight the Crows."[247] He did not even rise to shake hands with the U.S. officials, choosing instead to stay seated and "sulkily [gave] the ends of his fingers to the officers."[248] On the third day of meetings, Red Cloud "with a show of reluctance and tremulousness" put his pen to the treaty, and while doing so, he "washed his hands with the dust of the floor."[249] While this has been interpreted as a metaphor for peace, Red Cloud continued to voice his intentions that "he will live up to the treaty so long as the white man."[250] Red Cloud taking his time in signing the treaty and making numerous statements is an important example of agency. He did not act as the U.S. government would have preferred, but instead had his own and his peoples self interest in mind. Notably, this treaty did not last long, and soon its promises would be violated and the Lakota were forced onto even smaller reservations without their most holy land and primary subsistence.

When Red Cloud signed the 1868 Treaty he vowed to be peaceful, but also stated that he could not "control all the young braves."[251] This proved to be true, and warfare continued, especially with the growth of the railroad. After years of rumors that there was gold in the Black Hills, in 1874 the United States government officially explored the area,

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[247] "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," in *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission of 1867-68,* eds. Vine Deloria Jr. and Raymond DeMallie (Washington D.C.: The Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1975), 174.

[248] "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," 173.

[249] "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," 174.

[250] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 62; "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," 175.

[251] "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," 175.

under the command of none other than Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. Though some members of the expedition would disagree, including the geologist, Custer reported back that gold had been found.[252] Immediately, and with the help of the media in spreading this news, Americans began to think of ways to justify taking the Black Hills from the Sioux by saying they did not need the lands and had never occupied them.[253] The Lakota disagreed and were "violently opposed…to the presence of the white man on that their sacred ground."[254] Leaders, including Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, travelled to Washington, but refused to even talk about ceding the Black Hills, and instead chose to discuss the poor and rotten quality of the rations they were receiving.[255] They also rejected all financial offers made by the United States to purchase the land or mineral rights. Meanwhile, Crazy Horse and other more militant leaders of bands that did not sign the treaty vowed to guard the Black Hills.[256] In the beginning of 1876, marking the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the Black Hills still belonged to the Sioux. By the end of the year it would be a different story.

1876 was a remarkable year for the Lakota. In July, Custer and the Seventh Cavalry, the same individuals who started the mess with the Black Hills, were soundly defeated at the Battle of Little Bighorn. However, this defeat caused the U.S. Army to harass the Sioux, attempt to disarm them, and apply more force to get them back within

[252] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 84.

[253] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 88-9.

[254] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 90.

[255] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 91.

[256] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 91.

the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation.[257] By September, the Lakota were told to either cede the Black Hills, or the government would "withdraw rations and they [the Lakota] would perish."[258] Regardless of Article 12 of the 1868 Treaty, and with only ten percent of the Lakota men's signatures, the western border of the Great Sioux Reservation was moved east, no longer including the Black Hills. The Treaty of 1868 had been violated, and the Black Hills were no longer Lakota land. Yet, resistance and agency were both exerted by those Lakota leaders who did choose to sign. While those who did not sign might be remembered as showing the most resistance against the U.S. government by not caving under the pressure of their demands, the Lakota leaders who did sign took many days to make their decision, which frustrated the commissioners. They also pointed out the past failures of the U.S. government to uphold the treaties in verbal statements. As Spotted Tail signed the treaty he said, "I am going to touch this pen, and I touch it with the thought that I am going to remain here without having to change to any other place."[259] Standing Elk told the commission that their "speech is as if a man has knocked me in the head with a stick."[260] Many leaders requested that the U.S. Army vacate their land, and others, like Fast Bear, insisted that they negotiate with the "Great Father himself," meaning the President of the United States.[261] Some leaders even signed with a blanket covering their eyes, symbolically saying they were being blinded as

[257] DeMallie, "Teton," 899.

[258] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 100.

[259] *Report and Journal of Proceedings of Commission Appointed to Obtain Certain Concessions from the Sioux Indians*, 44th Cong., 2d Sess., 1876-77, S. Ex. Doc. 9, serial 1718, 44.

[260] *Report and Journal of Proceedings of Commission Appointed to Obtain Certain Concessions from the Sioux Indians*, 42.

[261] *Report and Journal of Proceedings of Commission Appointed to Obtain Certain Concessions from the Sioux Indians*, 33.

to what was in the treaty.[262] The center of spiritual life for the Sioux, the place where the first people and bison emerged from, and the place that dictated the order of life, no longer belonged to those who had held legal and cultural claim to it.

Even without the Black Hills, the Great Sioux Reservation still existed as one large area with smaller agency offices located throughout. After military resistance by the Lakota Sioux came to an end, the bands slowly moved back to the reservation, to surrender most of their nomadic lifestyle that occurred outside of the reservation. By the mid-1880s the Great Sioux Reservation was keeping the Sioux where the government wanted them, but it was also standing in the way of progress. The North Western and Chicago Railroads could not head further west, and most people thought the reservation land was not being used to its full potential.[263] In 1887, Congress adopted the Dawes Act calling for the allotment of reservations. This law opened up land for white ownership, and also established a timeline that would allow Natives to eventually, using the Euro-American definition, "own" their allotments and become U.S. citizens. In 1889, President Harrison sent the Crook Commission (an unfortunate and ironic name) to persuade the Lakota Sioux to cede nine million acres and create five smaller reservations based around the previously existing agencies.[264]

This task was easier said than done. In fact, Crook was the second government official given this task after Richard Henry Pratt failed to get three-fourths of the men to agree a year earlier.[265] While General Crook made many promises, he also made threats

[262] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 67.

[263] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 217.

[264] DeMallie, "Teton," 815.

[265] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 115.

that, if enacted on, would have devastated the Lakota people. While they provided feasts, they also threatened to withhold rations and ultimately coaxed them into agreeing to the land cession.[266] While some Lakota leaders signed the agreement after being made aware of the plenary powers of the government, or out of fear of what would happen if rations were withheld, others did not.[267] Luther Standing Bear recalled an agreement made between leaders "that the first Indian who signed any more papers for the white men would be shot down."[268] Leaders at the Rosebud Agency took several days to decide what to do, and some walked out of the final council meeting and never signed.[269] During council meetings some Lakota pointed out the past failures of treaties. Hollow Horn Bear said, "You have not fulfilled any of the old treaties. Why do you now bring another one to us? Why don't you pay us the money you owe us first, and then bring us another treaty?"[270] Some of the leaders, such as Standing Bear's father, did eventually sign the agreement noting that the education promised for children would be needed when "they will have to mix with the white race."[271] Crook left South Dakota with the necessary number of signatures, and the result was the current reservation system and the establishment of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

The Sioux, and other tribes, have long entered into treaties, legally the "supreme law of the land" according to the Constitution, with the United States government.

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[266] Ostler, *The Lakota and the Black Hills*, 116; DeMallie, "Teton," 815.

[267] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 234.

[268] Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 212.

[269] Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 215.

[270] Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 213.

[271] Standing Bear, *My People, The Sioux*, 214.

Without entering into a lengthy discussion of the precedents set by the U.S. Supreme Court through the "Marshall Trilogy" and other cases that have crippled Native sovereignty, two fundamental notions for American Indian groups (and more recently understood as those with federal recognition) is their status as "domestic dependent nations" and that they are subjects to Congress's "plenary powers." These two factors, along with progress, Manifest Destiny, and general greediness, has resulted in a history of rewritten treaties, disrespected guaranteed rights, and complicated claims to land and place. In 1879, the government erected a schoolhouse at the Pine Ridge Agency. Red Cloud, who drove the corner stone into the ground at the ceremony, said "Almighty god put into the hearts of the white man, not to disturb us in our present home, but allow us to remain here in peace."[272] Jeffrey Ostler describes Red Cloud's words and actions as his understanding they "had won the right live in this place."[273] But place can mean different things for different cultures.

The Lakota understanding of place and property is vastly different than the Euro-American one. Boundaries were "overlapping and were not exclusive."[274] While individuals or families owned possessions and tepees, land was not. There was, and remains, a strong spiritual connection to place. Wind Cave is not just a geological wonder that goes on for hundreds of miles. It is *the* place where the first Lakota and the bison came to this world. The "Racetrack" circling the Black Hills is not just sandstone. It is *the* place where the two-legged and four-legged people raced to establish order. The cosmological world is aligned to the north, south, east, and west, each with landmarks,

[272] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 127.

[273] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism,* 127.

[274] DeMallie, "Teton," 794.

oral traditions, and meaning. Black Elk recounted to Joseph Epes Brown, "We should know that [the Great Spirit] is within all things: the trees, the grasses, the rivers, the mountains."[275] With this understanding of the world, space and place is more than landmarks. It is an integral part of life.

This history is meant to show that the Lakota have long struggled to hold on to their land, and in turn their culture. Despite active resistance, the Lakota were forced onto smaller and smaller reservations, which took away their subsistence patterns and spiritual places. Going to Native sites is so much more than just experiencing geological wonders created in the past. It also involves experiencing a cultural connection and a history of colonization that we cannot forget in the future. The above discussion has highlighted just a handful of the ways the United States government sought to get land from the Lakota Sioux in the efforts to have their culture and society removed from the landscape. As will be discussed in chapter five, having this historic context is essential to understand how the change in legal status of the land Whiteclay sits on is another example of land being stolen with no regard for the spiritual connection and its importance for cultural survival. This section bolsters this important narrative with Lakota voice and agency to illustrate resistance. The story becomes more complex when the Lakota are not viewed as passive victims following the wishes of the United States government. Accepting this dynamic activism preserves a more truthful account of the events and provides Native Americans with a louder voice in creation of place regardless of efforts at colonization.

[275] Joseph Epes Brown, ed., *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), xx.

Alcohol in Indian Country:

Stereotypes aside, it is hard to tell the story of American Indians without mentioning the intergenerational devastation that has been caused by the introduction and abuse of alcohol. It is also hard to tell the history of alcohol in Indian Country without recognizing the agency and resistance against it. Historically, alcohol has been just one of the tools that Euro-American culture has used against Native populations to destroy their lifeways and culture. Evidence found in the historic records of alcohol acting as a colonizer, as defined in chapter two, is strong. The endemic liquid was used in a variety of ways to aid in colonization, and even though it is no longer traded for furs or signatures on treaties, its presence and impact is very real. In 2008, the Center for Disease Control (CDC) reported that 11.7 percent of American Indian/Alaska Native deaths between 2003 and 2005 were "alcohol related" "compared with 3.3 percent for the U.S. as a whole."[276] A year later, in 2009, the CDC cited "chronic liver disease and cirrhosis" as the fifth highest leading cause of death for American Indian/Alaska Native populations.[277] Studies conducted between 2001 and 2002 also showed the rates of "alcohol dependence" for American Indian/Alaska Natives adults at 6.35 percent, while the white, non-Hispanic populations had a dependency rate of 3.83 percent.[278] While these statistics show that alcohol has a disproportionately high negative impact on Native

[276] Mary Clare Jalonick, "Study: 12 percent of Indian deaths due to alcohol," *USA Today,* August 28, 2008, http://indiancountrynews.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=4474&Itemid=33 (accessed April 22, 2014).

[277] Minority Health, "American Indian and Alaska Native Populations," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, http://www.cdc.gov/minorityhealth/populations/REMP/aian.html (accessed April 22, 2014).

[278] National Institute on Alcohol and Alcoholism, Division of Epidemiology and Prevention Research, *Report to the Extramural Advisory Board: Strategic Planning Document* (August 2006), http://pubs.niaaa.nih.gov/publications/DEPRStrategicPlan/BriefingBook2.htm#A._MINORITIES (accessed April 22, 2014).

communities compared to other ethnic groups and the total population in America today, placing these figures in historical context reminds us that alcohol is not a new problem for Indigenous communities.

Alcohol has left a long and devastating impression in Indian Country since the first traders, trappers, and travelers "discovered" the New World in the late 15th and early 16th century. In the late 1500's early explorers brought with them alcohol which was traded and used to "establish friendship."[279] The French, Dutch and British also each used alcohol for economic gain.[280] Abuse of alcohol by fur traders continued into the 19th century, as alcohol, especially whiskey, was "easily the least expensive way to procure furs and skins."[281] In the early 1800s, French traders had an incredibly volatile relationship with the Lakota, and one that included alcohol. When the *Sicangu* were trading with Régis Loisel, they insisted on "payment of a barrel of whiskey and other presents," before continuing with negotiations.[282] Even though federal policy was enacted during the presidency of Thomas Jefferson to prevent alcohol from being used as a trade item, the law was rarely enforced.[283] One of the reasons alcohol was a preferred trade good was because the demand was always high. For example, "whereas a woolen blanket might last for many months and a metal knife or copper pot for years, liquor was quickly

[279] Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran, *Native American Postcolonial Psychology* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), 122.

[280] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 12.

[281] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 29.

[282] DeMallie, "Sioux Until 1850," 732.

[283] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 10.

consumed, creating a demand that perpetuated itself."[284] Yet, it was not just fur traders trying to make a quick dollar that fed Natives alcohol for their personal profit. Some of the United States most respected Founding Fathers did the same in attempts to get tribes to cede millions of acres of land during the treaty signing process.

Benjamin Franklin recorded that in 1753 groups of eastern tribes negotiating a treaty in Carlisle, PA were told "if they would continue sober during the Treaty, we would give them Plenty of Rum when Business was over."[285] This continued well into the 19th century, even after colonists began to fear that "drunken Indians" would go "carousing through the countryside inflicting mayhem."[286] The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi were awarded 932 gallons of whiskey by the Secretary of War for signing the Chicago Treaty in 1821.[287] Even Nicholas Black Elk, the Oglala holy man who was at the Battle of the Little Bighorn and Wounded Knee, suspected that alcohol was used to sign away the sacred Black Hills. He told John Neihardt:[288]

> The *Wasichus* [white men] went to some of the chiefs alone and got them to put their marks on the treaty. Maybe some of them did this when they were crazy from drinking the *minne wakan* (holy water, whiskey) the *Wasichus* gave them. I have heard this; I do not know. But only crazy or very foolish men would their sell Mother Earth.

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[284] Randall Craig Davis, "Firewater Myths: Alcohol Portrayls of Native Americans in American Literature," (Ph.D diss, Ohio State University, 1991), 33-39, quoted in Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water*, 13.

[285] Peter C. Manacall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 11.

[286] Mancall, *Deadly Medicine*, 13.

[287] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 9.

[288] John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 103.

The use of alcohol quickly began to reflect the paternal relationship between the U.S. government (father) and Native tribes (son), with some Native groups referring to liquor as "our father's milk."[289] In 1802, Little Turtle of the Miami Nation, asked "Father" to stop letting alcohol onto the reservation. Little Turtle pled, "Father: The introduction of this poison has been prohibited in our camps but not in our towns… Your children are not wanting in industry, but it is this fatal poison which keeps them poor. Father: Your children have not that command over themselves."[290] When the Indian Removal Act was signed into law, both alcohol abuse and the paternal relationship were exploited by the government and used as an incentive to get East Coast Natives to leave their Indigenous homelands for land west of the Mississippi River. In 1830 the Miami were told by their "Father," "[i]f you continue here where you now are…and let the white people feed you whiskey and bring among you bad habits, in a little while where will be the Miami Nation?... your Great Father cannot prevent his white people from coming among you."[291] However, this is not entirely true. There were laws on the books to prevent white people from selling alcohol to Natives. They were just ignored and poorly enforced.

Alcohol was given to Native populations by Euro-Americans, and they tried unsuccessfully to take it away and monitor it. The Intercourse Act of 1802 allowed for the President of the United States to call for the ban of alcohol as a trade good if they deemed it fit.[292] In 1822 the law was amended and alcohol was entirely banned from

[289] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 16.

[290] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 17.

[291] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 26.

[292] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 17.

Indian Country, and in 1832 a new law adopted, partially in response to the Santa Fe Trail, stated "no ardent spirits shall be hereafter introduced, under any pretence, into the Indian Country."[293] However, fur-trading companies and settlers heading west continued to bring alcohol into the region since the laws lacked any form of punishment. In 1847 these laws finally incorporated penalties, mainly prison sentences, for violators.[294] In 1892, Congress made it illegal for any person to: [295]

> sell, give away, dispose of, exchange, or barter any malt, spirituous, or vinous liquor, including beer, ale, and wine, or any ardent or other intoxicating liquor of any kind whatsoever, or any essence, extract, bitters, preparation, compound, composition, or any article whatsoever, under any name, label, or brand, which produces intoxication, to any Indian to whom allotment of land has been made while the title to the same shall be held in trust by the Government, or to any Indian award of the Government under charge of any Indian superintendent or agent, or any Indian, including mixed bloods, over whom the Government, through its departments, exercises guardianship.

However, over 150 years of policies and amendments, failed to "discourage either Indian drinking or the interdiction of alcohol in Indian country."[296]

By the 1920s, other problems in Indian Country were taking a noticeable toll on the health and welfare of Native people, and marring the reputation of the Indian Service under the Department of the Interior. Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work, along with funding by the Institute for Government Research, employed Lewis Meriam to do survey work and compile a report on the "economic and social condition of the American

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[293] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 37.

[294] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 57.

[295] "An act to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks to Indians, providing penalties therefore, and for other purposes," *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* ed. Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol1/html_files/SES0083A.html (accessed April 22, 2014).

[296] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 116.

Indian."[297] Meriam's 847-page final report, titled *The Problem of Indian Administration,* but now known most commonly as *The Meriam Report*, addressed issues of health, living conditions, economics, education, poverty, policies, and Indian Service staff, to name a few. While offering suggestions for further action, it was a harsh critique. Though no chapter is dedicated to alcohol specifically, liquor is mentioned throughout. It is warned that the "unassimilated, undeveloped Indian readily becomes the victim of the bootlegger, the dope peddler, and the gambler" and that since "its earliest days the Indian Service has been struggling to keep liquor from Indians."[298] Meriam notes that the "liquor problem apparently of some importance in all the jurisdictions visited in this survey," with the exception of some Southwest Pueblos, has "demoralized whole communities."[299] The report says "canned heat" and commercial liquor is being acquired by whites, but was killing Natives. An unidentified field matron recalled "during the past three days we have had three men stricken down by canned heat and bad liquor, two of whom died frightful deaths."[300] No positive mentions of alcohol are provided, nor does the report address the real issues with enforcement, instead stating that laws have been passed and "jurisdiction is clear."[301]

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[297] Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1928), vii.

[298] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 110.

[299] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 221, 571.

[300] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 633.

[301] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 17. The report does suggest that special law enforcement efforts be made to address the issues surrounding alcohol. *The Meriam Report* was published and investigated during a time when the entire United States was living under prohibition. Though I have no evidence of this, I suspect this was having an impact on the final report.

Prohibition on reservations came to an end in 1953 when Public Law 277 "An Act to eliminate certain discriminatory legislation against Indian in the United States," was passed.[302] This allowed for whites off reservations to sell alcohol to Natives, and for tribal councils to vote on whether or not to allow the sale and possession of alcohol within their boundaries, as long as they were in accordance with state laws.[303] If a tribe chose not to address the issue, prohibition remained. Within 18 months of Public Law 277 going into effect, and during the same period when over 100 tribes had their federal recognition terminated, 22 tribes voted to alcohol within their boundaries, but not the Oglala Lakota at Pine Ridge.[304]

Like many other tribes, the Oglala Lakota of the Pine Ridge Reservation voted on whether or not to end prohibition on their reservation and for their members in 1953. Originally the Tribal Council did vote to allow alcohol within the reservation, but decided to put the decision into the hands of the larger community by sending the matter to a referendum vote. In 1953, 484 voted in favor of allowing alcohol on the reservation. 665 voted against.[305] But this would not be the last time this matter came before the Council. In 1969 and 1970 the Tribal Council would again vote to lift the ban on alcohol, and again the decision would be reversed after great dissent from "three traditional district councils."[306] From 1953 until 2014 the Oglala Tribal Ordinance has included some type

[302] "An Act to eliminate certain discriminatory legislation against Indian in the United States," Public Law 277, 83rd Cong. 1st Sess. (August 15, 1953), 586.

[303] James N. Hughes, "Pine Ridge, Whiteclay, and Indian Liquor Law," University of Nebraska College of Law (December 13, 2010), 5-6; Beatrice Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux* (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2007), 36.

[304] Hughes, "Pine Ridge, Whiteclay, and Indian Liquor Law," 6.

[305] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 265.

[306] Hughes, "Pine Ridge, Whiteclay, and Indian Liquor Law," 6.

of clause to the effect that it was a crime to "manufacture, transport, sell, or possess alcohol on Pine Ridge, and even authorized penalties for the condition of being intoxicated whether in public or in private anywhere within the confines of the Pine Ridge Reservation."[307] Being in violation of this code would come with a fine, imprisonment, or being "remanded to the authority of the Federal Court for prosecution under the Federal Liquor laws."[308] However, this does not stop some members from drinking and it does not stop Whiteclay from selling to Oglala people.

In August of 2013, the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and the Oglala Lakota exerted sovereignty and voted on whether or not to legalize alcohol on the reservation. In June, the Oglala Tribal Council, in a 9-7 vote, decided to send a referendum to lift prohibition to tribal members eligible to vote.[309] On August 14, 2013 members went to the polls and the vote was just as close the one in 60 years earlier. 1,678 votes were cast against lifting prohibition. 1,843 were in favor.[310] While the tribe will sell, regulate and tax alcohol sales, with revenue going to fund domestic violence and substance abuse treatment programs, there are several details that have yet to be worked out.[311] Nothing has changed at the time of writing this document, but the future of Whiteclay and the

[307] Hughes, "Pine Ridge, Whiteclay, and Indian Liquor Law," 7; Oglala Sioux Tribe Criminal Offense Code, http://www.narf.org/nill/Codes/oglalacode/criminal_code.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014), 64.

[308] Oglala Sioux Tribe Criminal Offense Code, 64.

[309] Brandon Ecoffey, "Alcohol ban to go to vote," *Native Sun News* June 19, 2013, http://www.indianz.com/News/2013/010146.asp (accessed April 22, 2014).

[310] Vincent Schilling, "Pine Ridge Vote to Sell Alcohol Could Kill Whiteclay, Bring Huge Revenue to Tribe," *Indian Country Today Media Network,* August 16, 2013, http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2013/08/16/lifting-alcohol-ban-fighting-firewater-firewater-150901 (accessed April 22, 2014).

[311] Schilling, "Pine Ridge Vote to Sell Alcohol Could Kill Whiteclay."

Pine Ridge Reservation will undoubtedly be impacted, for good or bad, by this change in policy and the continued impact of alcohol, just as they have been since the early 1800s.

Agency and Resistance Over Alcohol:

Just as Indigenous people exerted agency during the treaty making process and resisted assimilation efforts, many did the same when faced with "fire water." In fact, the previous section is never meant to suggest that all natives drank, when the reality was quite the opposite. As previously stated, in 1802, Little Turtle of the Miami Nation, used the paternal relationship between the U.S. government and Native groups to request that the U.S. stop letting alcohol onto their reservation. Even Indian Agents, pled with the federal government to enforce laws and try to control the use of alcohol as a trade good for "the day was not distant when Indians would be reduced to the most abject misery ever inflicted on mortal man."[312] Agent John Dougherty, who was stationed at Fort Leavenworth, wrote, "[f]or God's sake, for the sake of humanity, exert yourself to have this article stopped in this country."[313]

Some Lakota leaders saw the damage being done by alcohol and made the choice not to drink as well. They tightened control over their people, or had young men pledge to "never touch a drop."[314] The vows these men would take were "supernatural," helped to define their masculinity, and it was "imperative" they be kept.[315] When Red Cloud, whose father died from the "trader's bad liquor," signed the Treaty of 1868 he insisted that "no liquor be allowed to be introduced into his camp; he no doubt having in view the

[312] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 27.

[313] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water,* 27.

[314] Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 30.

[315] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 29.

drunkenness of Man-afraid-of-his-horses, when here last summer."[316] On the site marking where Spotted Tail, the Oglala Lakota leader who was known for his more accommodationist stance, was murdered by Crow Dog, the historic marker reads, "[f]ollowing a drunken orgy, he and others pledged themselves to never drink whiskey. He kept the faith."[317] It has also been noted that Spotted Tail declined to bring his band to collect rations because "the camps near the [Whetstone] agency were supplied with whiskey smuggled across the river into Indians lands."[318] This resistance also happened outside of the reservation and when the Lakota where traveling with Buffalo Bill Cody. Luther Standing Bear recalls that it was it was policy of the Buffalo Bill show that "no Indian shall be given any liquor."[319] Standing Bear did not drink, and states he helped to put a system in place to help the "keep the Indian boys straight" while they were with the show.[320] Besides those traveling with Buffalo Bill Cody, sobriety was, and continues to be, valued by many Lakota. Some Lakota people have chosen never to drink, and others have made the choice to quit drinking, some believing that harm and injury might be caused to themselves or their family if they overindulge.[321]

[316] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 24; "Account of Red Cloud Signing the Treaty," 174.

[317] Personal Communication, June 2012.

[318] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 29.

[319] Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 249.

[320] Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 256.

[321] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 88.

The Lakota refer to liquor as *mini wakan*, which translates to mean "holy/powerful water." However, this is not meant to imply that drinking is a part of Sioux spirituality or religion. Luther Standing Bear explains the translation as follows: [322]

> [bootleggers] sold us poisons to take away our senses. The pale-faces called this poison by various names, but the Indian had only two names for it. At first when the men drank this stuff, they could see different things. Then they found the minister using it in the church in the communion service. This gave them the idea it was 'holy water.' So to this day the name for 'liquor' in the Sioux tongue is 'mini-wakan' or 'holy water.' The men who sold this drink were always near the missionaries of all denominations.

Anthropologist Beatrice Medicine (Lakota) noted in her study on drinking and sobriety among the Lakota, that alcohol is a way for many to deal with a sense of "powerlessness" and "social inequalities."[323] Both of these feelings are not indigenous to the Lakota people, and instead were brought with the colonizers. Lifeways, including the ability to complete the seasonal round and rites of passage such as the "vision quest," were suppressed.[324] The *mini wakan* filled that void.

Besides receiving a Lakota name, the introduction and impact of alcohol also received a place in the Lakota form of record keeping, the winter count. Representing the year of 1821-22, American Horse (Oglala) drew a "barrel with a waved or spiral line running from it," representing whiskey.[325] James Howard, who conducted early research on winter counts, has noted the presence of whiskey in multiple accounts as well. In 1821, Roan Bear (Dakota) recorded "[t]here was much whiskey in the Dakota camps this

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[322] Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 74.

[323] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 45

[324] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 45-6.

[325] Candance S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds. *The Year the Stars Fell*: *Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 170.

year," and John K. Bear (Yankton Dakota) noted for the year 1756 "[a] keg of whiskey was found."[326] Medicine further notes instances of alcohol found in the winter counts of Blue Thunder and No Two Horns. The year 1832-33 is represented by a man with one leg holding a bottle and vomiting accompanied by the text, "Broken Leg found some whiskey. Drank it. Died."[327] In the same winter count, the year 1856-57 is represented by the image of a keg and "[f]ound a keg of whiskey at Fort Yates place, near the shore. Made a council and drank it all up. Many drunk."[328] For each year, only one event is recorded on the winter count. As Medicine points out, these events must have been incredibly significant for the community, and "indicates that kegs of whiskey were being smuggled into the reservation and suggest that whiskey ranches may also have been operating."[329] Both the language and the presence of whiskey in the winter count show that alcohol was not native to the Lakota. Instead, it was introduced and immediately made a profound impact on individuals and the community as a whole.

The history of alcohol in Indian Country highlights that it has longed been used as tool for colonization. Liquor was introduced by traders and those hoping to make treaties with tribal groups, and was abused by many who felt a sense of spiritual loss and powerlessness. While some leaders forbid their young men and women from drinking, the U.S. government also tried to control access to alcohol on reservations through federal prohibition laws. However, due to little enforcement and no punishments, these

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[326] James H. Howard, "Two Dakota Winter Count Texts," *Plains Anthropologist* 5 (December 1955), 19; James H. Howard, "Memoir 11: Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count," *Plains Anthropologist* 21, no. 73 (August 1976), 34.

[327] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 37.

[328] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 37.

[329] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 37.

attempts were in vain. An underground economy quickly emerged to supply the Lakota and other tribal communities with alcohol. That economy was based near the reservation in surrounding border towns.

Sheridan County, Nebraska:

On February 25th, 1885, four years before the Great Sioux Reservation was broken up into five smaller reservations and three years after President Chester A. Arthur created the southern Sioux reservation "Extension," the Nebraska State Legislature created the boundaries of Sheridan County.[330] In naming the county in honor of Civil War General Philip H. Sheridan, they also named it in honor of the man who advocated for the exploration of the Black Hills and who has been quoted as saying "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" (creating yet another example of unfortunate and ironic history).[331] Sheridan County is located in the northwestern Nebraska panhandle. The county is divided into three geographical regions: Pine Ridge, High Plains, and Sand Hills. Whiteclay sits in the northern Pine Ridge region, which has more fertile soil that is ideal for farming. The soil in the rest of the county erodes much easier, and therefore has attracted ranching and grazing instead of the plow. The Pine Ridge region also has tree-covered hills, which provided its name and added to the controversy over the ceding of the Whiteclay Extension.[332] The High Plains region is flatter with the occasional canyon. Sand dunes, known as the Sand Hills, cover about one-fourth of Nebraska and about half

[330] Elton A. Perkey, *Perkey's Nebraska Place Names,* (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1982), 177-8; Paul Andrew Hutton, *Phil Sheridan and His Army* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 180.

[331] General Sheridan encouraged the Grant administration to explore the Black Hills to find a fitting location for a military fort. Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, 60.

[332] Nebraska State Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey*, 17.

of Sheridan County, but have few trees.[333] White Clay Creek runs through the northern part of the county, while the Niobrara River runs through the High Plains region. Numerous lakes are found in the Sand Hills and the water table is high enough to easily get water to the surface with a simple windmill.[334] However, while the geographical features are important to appreciate the settlement of the land, the Sioux have defined Sheridan County just as much as by the soil.

Though settlers have been passing through what is now Sheridan County since the 1830s, the earliest history of the county is one based on relations with the Lakota Sioux. According to *Soddies to Satellites*, a publication produced by Sheridan County residents to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the county, the establishment of the Spotted Tail Agency in 1873 "is one of the earliest events of which we have written record."[335] A year later, Camp Sheridan was established near the Spotted Tail Agency, but the reason why this location was chosen varies. Sheridan County residents describe the purpose of the camp as helping "Chief Spotted Tail prevent his young braves from slipping away to join unfriendly Indians still at large and also to keep white horse thieves from stealing Indian ponies!"[336] However, Camp Sheridan was never home to many men and events here were considered calm compared to the other camps and forts in Sioux Country, especially Camp (later Fort) Robinson.[337] Camp Sheridan was where Crazy Horse had last gone

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[333] Charles Barron McIntosh, *The Nebraska Sand Hills: The Human Landscape*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 1.

[334] Nebraska State Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey*, 11.

[335] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," (Rushville, NE: Sheridan County Diamond Jubilee, Inc., 1960), 3.

[336] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 3.

[337] Paul L. Hedren, "Camp Sheridan, Nebraska: The Uncommonly Quiet Post on Beaver Creek," *Nebraska*

before being forced to return to Camp Robinson where he was murdered.[338] However, his body was returned and was "placed in the branches of a tree on the bluff above Camp Sheridan."[339] The Camp was not there for whites, and neither did whites solely define the future of the region.

The Panhandle was the last part of Nebraska to be settled by Euro-Americans. Given the poor quality of the soil and the high quality grass, cattle ranching eventually became a major industry in the region. Sheridan County was not surveyed until the 1880s, and homesteading allotments were subject to federal laws. Most ranchers did not believe this provided for enough grazing lands, and U.S. congressmen from Nebraska tried to pass numerous laws to increase the homestead sizes.[340] They were not successful until 1904 when Senator Moses P. Kinkaid was able to pass the Kinkaid Act, which allowed for 640-acre units of non-irrigable western Nebraska lands to be claimed. Yet, prior to these laws and policies, settlers were coming to the area and trying to make a living, including E.S. Newman who accidentally discovered the success of ranching in 1878. Though he did not stay in Nebraska long enough to see the adoption of the Kinkaid Act, he eventually had a herd that ranged from 10,000 to 40,000 head in Sheridan County.[341] The first permanent white settlement in Sheridan County was along White Clay Creek in the northern portion of the county. Nine families built a schoolhouse by

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History 91 (2010): 85.

[338] Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 414-426.

[339] Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse*, 435.

[340] James C. Olson and Ronald C. Naugle, *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 197.

[341] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"3-4.

1883, with the first teacher being a former Episcopal missionary at Pine Ridge on the Sioux Reservation.[342]

Once white settlers came to the region it did not take long for these two cultures to rely on and interact with each other. E.S. Newman, the first cattle rancher in the area, made his living by selling his herd "to the government for meat for the Indians."[343] Another example of this can be found in the story George Blanchard. After opening a horse ranch in Sheridan County, Blanchard also ran the trading post at Pine Ridge.[344] Much of the county seat of Rushville's history is reliant on the nearby Lakota people. The Pine Ridge Agency warehouse was not located within the reservation, but was instead in Rushville, and it was recalled that Buffalo Bill Cody would pay his Lakota actors in "script good only at the Asay store in Rushville," since he and Mr. and Mrs. Asay were friends.[345] This was incredibly beneficial for the Asay's as "[t]hose who saw it, say the Indians would get their first pay from Buffalo Bill and then literally buy everything down to the bare walls in the Asay store here!"[346] The Federal Writers Project also noted the importance of this connection, noting that Rushville "has been visited by many celebrities, largely because the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota is most easily accessible from this point."[347] These celebrities, mainly politicians, included Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge, as well as military officials.

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[342] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"4.

[343] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"4.

[344] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"4.

[345] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"55.

[346] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites,"55.

[347] *Nebraska: A Guide to the Cornhusker State* (New York: Hastings House, 1939), 317

However, Native people did not merely sit back and watch Euro-Americans come to Sheridan County and then visit their stores and meet celebrities. An account from 1938 notes, "Gordon's horses were dispersed by Indians in that locality and his wagons and freight were burned."[348] They may have been confined to the region, but they could still act against the wishes of their new neighbors.

One of the most interesting instances showing the connection between the two distinct cultures happened around the time of the Massacre at Wounded Knee in December of 1890, referred to by locals as the "Indian Scare." During this time, residents of Sheridan County built fortifications around their homes, slept in the basements of churches and schools, and also formed local militias that did daily drills and received weapons from the U.S. Army.[349] Life was disrupted and women and children were sent "back east to the folks" out of fear the Sioux would "go on the warpath."[350] Noted World War I General John J. Pershing, who was not at Wounded Knee but was instructed to try to stop Big Foot's band at Porcupine Creek (and failed), was stationed in Rushville following the events at Wounded Knee and was entertained at local homes.[351] It was of such unique importance to be noted in the "Diamond Jubilee" history of Sheridan County that "Mrs. Mike Parker had the honor of roasting a turkey to be delivered to General

[348] A.B. Wood, *Pioneer Tales of the North Platte Valley and Nebraska Panhandle* (Gering, NE: Courier Press, 1938), 272.

[349] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 43-4.

[350] Wood, *Pioneer Tales*, 152. I find this interesting as one of the aims of the Ghost Dance movement was that white people would disappear from the land. They kind of succeeded.

[351] Frank Everson Vandiver, *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing, Volume 1* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977), 89-90; Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 43.

Miles while he was at Pine Ridge after the Wounded Knee fracas."[352] Once the fear over Wounded Knee had subsided, Native people were photographed on the streets of Rushville "during an early day celebration when Indians came [there] frequently to dance."[353] Mari Sandoz, perhaps the most famous writer from the Sand Hills region, wrote often about Natives in her works. In *The Cattlmen* she writes of the Sioux, *Hostiles and Friendlies* has a whole section dedicated to "Indian Studies," and she published a biography of Crazy Horse.[354] In a 1938 collection of stories about the North Platte, *Pioneer Tales,* E.P Wilson writes a chapter titled "Indians of the Nebraska Panhandle." He provides a detailed account of the treaties, massacres, and individuals involved in creating the current state of affairs.[355] While many writings on the early settlement of the region fail to give the Sioux credit for being the first on the land, they often, even if inaccurately, mention the interactions between the two cultures both trying to call Sheridan County home, but only up to a certain point in history.

Interaction between the Lakota and non-Native residents of Sheridan County continued throughout the twentieth-century, and many of these interactions happened in Gordon, located southeast of Whiteclay. The Federals Writers Project of the 1930s notes that "Indians from the Sioux Reservation occasionally visit Gordon and walk its streets; they do not wear tribal costumes."[356] In the 1970s things would come to a head at Gordon after the murder of Raymond Yellow Thunder. American Indian Movement (AIM)

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[352] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 51.

[353] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 27.

[354] Mari Sandoz, *Hostiles and Friendlies* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959); Mari Sandoz, *The Cattlemen from the Rio Grande Across the Far Marias* (New York: Hasting House Publishers, 1958).

[355] Wood, *Pioneer Tales*, 235.

[356] *Nebraska: A Guide to the Cornhusker State*, 317

activists flooded the community demanding justice against the white men who killed him.[357] Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was at the "center of AIM's rise," given the overall poverty and fractionalism that existed within the tribe between those who were more traditional and those who sided with then chairman Dick Wilson.[358] Pine Ridge was also a place where the "urban Indians" who had founded AIM could see conditions on the reservation, and "stand with each other, look straight into the eyes of once-disdainful waitresses, once-dangerous young toughs, and once-sneering businesspeople, and see fear."[359] When Sheridan County and AIM came into contact with each other an identity crisis was revealed, one that showed in part how these two cultures had created the same place. There was overt and institutional racism. Yellow Thunder (Oglala) had been beaten and left for dead by white men, who, given the precedent of other trials, probably would have received a far less harsh punishment had AIM not stepped in. But there was also a cohesive community that had been disrupted. Arlene Lamont, Yellow Thunder's niece, did not feel as if she was ever treated with prejudice while growing up in Gordon in the 1950s, though these feelings changed as she witnessed what happened to her uncle and his killers.[360] The white editor of the *Gordon Journal* said during an interview with an other journalist during the protests, "Gordon's always been good to the Indians. They live in every part of town. We have a housing authority that's trying to get rid of those

[357] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*.

[358] Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1996), 190-191. Friction and fraction within the Oglala has long been an issue. Spotted Tail was murdered by Crow Dog in the 1880s because of this fraction. Chairman Dick Wilson was not a "traditional" member and practiced nepotism during his reign, which was one of the reasons he conflicted with AIM leadership who wanted a return to traditions.

[359] Smith and Warrior, *Like a Hurricane*, 117-18.

[360] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 319.

shanties on the south side of town where some of the Indians live."[361] As the next chapter will illustrate, this was not the last time Native people were at odds with the non-Native residents of Sheridan County. Yet, regardless of how these two groups interacted during times of crisis, their two stories go hand in hand.

This twofold history and legacy of the region continues to this day. White settlers and residents have written the history of Sheridan County. This section has highlighted that while there is mention of Natives, they are confined to a certain period of time in the past and are not writing about themselves. Publications by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and local groups in the region are not written by the Lakota and omit most actions of resistance as well as those stories of colonization. In *Pioneer Tales,* E.P Wilson ends his chapter on Native Americans in the region at Wounded Knee saying "[h]ere the curtain falls. The great drama is ended."[362] However, this history and the history to follow emphasizes that nothing has ended. Interactions and activism in creating place by both whites and Natives continues to this day. We cannot forget these modern narratives in historic preservation efforts.

Today, the population of Sheridan County is a little under 5,500, and population predictions show a steady decline in the coming years. 86 percent of the county is white, with 9.8 percent being "American Indian and Alaska Native alone."[363] While this might seem low compared to Shannon County, South Dakota to the north with a population that

[361] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 148.

[362] Wood, *Pioneer Tales*, 235.

[363] United States Bureau of the Census, "Sheridan County, Nebraska," http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/31/31161.html (accessed April 22, 2014).

is 92.3 percent "American Indian and Alaska Native alone," Sheridan County's Native population is high compared to the State of Nebraska as a whole (1.3 percent and four federally recognized tribes solely in the state).[364] These population statistics, when placed in the context of the history of the region, make more sense. Sheridan County and the Pine Ridge Reservation came to be at the same time and the two distinct places needed each other. Sheridan County residents needed the land from the Oglala Lakota, and the Oglala Lakota needed some of the resources available in Sheridan County cities. They have had conflict with each other, but also benefited from each other. The story of Whiteclay is similar in many ways.

When thinking about the model of historic presentation advocated for in this paper—the incorporation of colonization and agency, challenging stereotypes, and desire-based research—and while appreciating each site is unique, similar histories to the one above are essential to incorporate into future complex narratives written about sites with contemporary American Indian histories. Agency has been highlighted in the face of settler colonialism in both the taking of land and the introduction of alcohol. The history provided does not end in the 1800s, but continues well into the present with individual choices and complex aspects of life featured during the racial tensions of the 1970s and given the current population statistics. In providing this historical context, and carefully highlighting examples of agency and interaction, a foundation on which to illustrate how the Whiteclay community represents continued colonization of the Lakota people, the current struggles over the community and the potential for preservation is built. The site

[364] United States Bureau of the Census, "Shannon County, South Dakota," http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/46/46113.html (accessed April 22, 2014); United States Bureau of the Census, "Sheridan County, Nebraska."

is, and historically has been, far from perfect, but so to is our nation's history of interacting with Indigenous peoples. Whiteclay is one place we may be able to better preserve using a new model that advocates for inclusion alongside the writing of a forgotten past.

CHAPTER V

WHITECLAY

"If I am left to choose between the 'low-down whites,' and the sober, respectable Indians, as to who shall be my neighbors, I will take the Indians every time." –George P. Comer[365]

Over the years, Whiteclay, Nebraska has been known by many names. "Extension," "No Mans Land," Dewing, White Clay [with a space], and the list goes on and on. Each of these names represents a different point in the community's history that is essential for understanding the continued colonization, stereotypes, and damage that Whiteclay has come to represent, which are explored in chapter six. However, when we re-examine the historical sources and accounts of how Whiteclay morphed into what it is today, the story we are left with also reflects agency, hope and healing. This chapter begins by looking at Whiteclay in 1882 when the President of the United States placed a small, "ten-mile-long, five-mile-deep piece" of land into Extension status.[366] While this is one of the only times the United States government has ever given land back to Native people, it only lasted for twenty-two years before it was placed back into the public domain. The history in this first section relies heavily on written correspondence between the Indian Agent at Pine Ridge, John Brennan, and others involved in the land dispute from the National Archives in Kansas City, Missouri. The second section will look at Whiteclay from 1904 until the 1990s. This is a period of time marred by alcohol and struggles, but also full of agency and resistance as will be highlighted in the third section.

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[365] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, January 27, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[366] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 94.

The fourth section will provide a more contemporary view of what is happening in Whiteclay, demonstrating that this is very much a living site. After the Oglala Lakota of Pine Ridge voted to allow alcohol onto the reservation, the future of Whiteclay is in a state of flux. This combined history, while meant to show Native agency is not meant to hide the damage and troubling statistics that plague the community. Instead, these narratives should be understood as equally important for understanding what Whiteclay is today and what the history and land can be interpreted as in the future.

"Extension" to Public Domain:

While the history of Whiteclay goes back centuries, as the land was used by Indigenous people long before contact, the story of Whiteclay as a place where two cultures came together to create different meaning in the same space begins in the 1870s and 1880s. The smuggling of illegal goods onto reservations throughout the United States, especially the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, is not a new occurrence, but it has created numerous problems. As soon as white settlers came to the region in the 1880s "whiskey ranches" were established to sell liquor to the Lakotas on the Pine Ridge.[367] Indian Agent Dr. Valentine McGillycuddy along with Lakota leaders recognized the problems with alcohol, and encouraged those in Washington to extend the reservation to the south to keep "saloon[s] and unscrupulous white traders that much further from the Agency."[368] To help address the smuggling issues and tensions around the southern border of the Great Sioux Reservation, President Chester A. Arthur signed an executive

[367] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 92-3.

[368] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 29.

order creating a buffer zone, or "Extension" as it would come to be known, on January 24, 1882. The order read: [369]

> It is hereby ordered that the following-described tract of country in the State of Nebraska, viz: Beginning at a point on the boundary line between the State of Nebraska and the Territory of Dakota, where the range line between ranges 44 and 45 west of the sixth principal meridian, in the Territory of Dakota, intersects said boundary line; thence east along said boundary line 5 miles; thence due south 5 miles; thence due west 10 miles; thence due north to said boundary line; thence due east along said boundary line to the place of beginning, be, and the same is hereby, withdrawn from sale and set aside as an addition to the present Sioux Indian Reservation in the Territory of Dakota.

In the official act breaking up the Great Sioux Reservation in 1889 it declared, "That the said tract of land in the State of Nebraska shall be reserved, by Executive order, only so long as it may be needed for the use and protection of the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Pine Ridge Agency."[370] This block of land, while set aside for the well being of the Lakota people, was "not quite reservation, not quite Nebraska," and referred to by many as "No Man's Land."[371] For one of the first times in history the U.S. government gave land *back* to Native people.

Sheridan County residents, with some of them being more vocal than others, did not appreciate that "their" land was of no value or use to them. "Mixed-blood" squatters tried to settle in the area and started bootlegging operations, but the U.S. Army removed most. Others who tried to log or graze their cattle on the land were kicked off by Indian

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[369] "Sioux Reserve," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol1/HTML_files/NEB0861.html (accessed March 1, 2014).

[370] "An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol1/html_files/SES0328.html (accessed March 1, 2014).

[371] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 258.

police officers.[372] However, efforts to keep smuggled liquor off the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation were in vain. Native people would travel to border towns, such as Rushville or Gordon, where federal Indian prohibition laws were blatantly ignored. Mail carriers were also known to bring alcohol onto the reservation, or to leave it on the edge of the Extension where it would be picked up and delivered to the Lakota.[373] The strip of land designed to protect the Lakota from liquor and other troubles was doing little, but it was still viewed as needed by the Indian agents and the Oglala.

Political pressure from both those who wanted the Extension to be preserved and those who wanted it to be abolished were strong from the beginning. Indian Agent John Brennan (not to be confused with the current director of the CIA John Brennan) and Sheridan County Judge William H. Westover were the two strongest voices for the opposing sides of the land argument. Brennan feared that if the land were opened for white occupation residents of Sheridan County would strip the land of any timber and "move their bootlegging operations right up to the state line, where they could make a tidy profit selling whiskey."[374] Judge Westover and his allies were more concerned with the wasted soil and vacant land. Westover was described as acting like "the Gladiator of old when challenged to mortal combat" over this issue, and that issue was, in his view, business.[375] Former clerk at the Pine Ridge Agency, George Comer wrote to Agent Brennan that "[t]he real 'milk in the coconut' is business is a little dull down on the Railroad in Sheridan County just now, and a boom in the land business and emigration to

[372] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 258-59.

[373] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 259.

[374] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 259.

[375] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, January 27, 1904.

Sheridan County would not be amiss to land-grabbers and money changers."[376] While there is evidence of Sheridan County residents selling liquor to Natives, grazing their cattle, and cutting down timber all on the Extension land since its creation, things came to head and ultimately an abrupt end in January of 1904.

Agent Brennan first heard of Judge Westover's plans to have white residents of Sheridan County occupy the Extension from W.C. Smoot, an "additional farmer" who had a permit from the Agency to farm on reservation land, in early January 1904. He immediately wrote two letters; one to Judge Westover in Rushville, NE, and one to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington D.C. Both of these letters show great frustration with Judge Westover's plan, and ask that immediate action to be taken to prevent settlers from entering the Extension for both the sake of the Lakota at Pine Ridge and white settlers. To Judge Westover he wrote: [377]

> Our Indians here are considerably worked up over a reports going the rounds that you have advised the many officials of your county, Sheridan, to appoint deputy sheriffs and send them over on the strip, know as the Extension to this reservation, drive off the Indian police and take possession of said strip and see that people living along the line in Nebraska were allowed to come in on the strip, cut wood, posts, and allow their stock to run at large on the Extension. What there is in this report, I do not know, but can hardly believe that you could give this sort of advice to your people.

Agent Brennan went on to warn that this could lead to a "clash with the Indians that might result very seriously to all concerned," and further calls Westover's advice "bad, in

[376] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, January 27, 1904.

[377] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Judge Westover, Rushville, NE, January 14, 1903; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO. Other letters on the same topic dated 1904 lead me to believe that this letter was misdated, and because of that it is referred to in the text as 1904, but I will keep the official date in the citation.

fact, vicious."[378] Before telling Westover to take his concerns up with the Department of the Interior as the land was set aside using an executive order, he warned that the "little wood and timber and material for posts there is would be stripped clean" quickly if the Extension was opened.[379] Brennan seems to use this letter to paint himself as not only a friend to the Indian, but also concerned with the well being of residents in Sheridan County. While he voices unease about the close proximity of the Extension to reservation boarding school, he also notes that despite his authority in policing the extension for trespassing livestock and timber cutters, that when faced with these criminals "instead of turning them over to the U.S. authorities and causing them a lot of trouble and a big bill of court expenses, and on their promise that they would not trespass any more, [he] turned them loose."[380] Agent Brennan, while opposed to the change in jurisdiction over the land, shows more anxiety over what the Oglala might do and with the inability of the land to sustain an increase in settlement than any fears he has over liquor.

The following day Judge Westover wrote a response to Brennan, saying that while he too wants to avoid "any conflict of authority, or the results of hasty action" he understands the jurisdictional issue very differently. For Westover, the Extension has always been Nebraska land, and no one, not even the President of the United States, could take that away.[381] However, the greatest point of contention over this piece of land was in the continued necessity for it. To repeat, under the 1889 Act creating the Pine

[378] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Judge Westover, Rushville, NE, January 14, 1903.

[379] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Judge Westover, Rushville, NE, January 14, 1903.

[380] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Judge Westover, Rushville, NE, January 14, 1903.

[381] Judge W. H. Westover, Rushville, NE to John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, January 15, 1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

Ridge Indian Reservation, the Extension was to exist "only so long as it may be needed for the use and protection of the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Pine Ridge Agency."[382] In his letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Agent Brennan writes, "[t]he conditions which prevailed at the time this strip was preserved and rendered its reservation necessary are not changed…strong reason why this strip should not be thrown open to settlement."[383] However, in Westover's response he notes, "I am further satisfied there is no longer any public necessity of withholding land contained in this strip for settlement."[384] It is here that Westover brings up what Brennan feared but never mentioned in any of this early correspondence: liquor. Westover writes that if the Extension is opened "the authorities here would feel in duty bound to be much more vigilant than they are now, and I believe that I could promise the Department that in case it is opened up, that bootlegging will be absolutely suppressed in this territory."[385] Spoiler alert: Judge Westover would fail at fulfilling his promise.

The same day Brennan wrote his three-page letter to the Commissioner, January 14, 1904, he also sent a telegraph. It was simple. "Dispatch from Washington in today's Sioux City Journal says commissioner Jones recommends throwing open for settlement the Extension to this reservation. Considerable excitement. See my letter today. Is report

[382] "An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol1/html_files/SES0328.html (accessed March 1, 2014).

[383] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 14, 1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[384] Judge W. H. Westover, Rushville, NE to John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, January 15, 1904.

[385] Judge W. H. Westover, Rushville, NE to John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, January 15, 1904.

true or not?"[386] One week later, and with no evidence of a response from the Commissioner in Washington, Brennan wrote another letter, but this one shows greater attempts of Native individuals themselves to try to control the destiny of the Extension. Brennan enclosed a "petition from the citizens of Pine Ridge Agency, protesting against the opening" of the Extension, along with letters from local "missionaries and ministers."[387] The Oglala at Pine Ridge had offered to pay $1.25 per acre for the land from their "trust fund," totaling $20,000.[388] Brennan also notes that Native people would not seek to occupy the Extension, but that by having the "strip" become a permanent part of the reservation and fenced in it would "answer the purpose." As Brennan had noted in previous letters, he again emphasized that the reservation boarding school, such an important component for federal government assimilation policy, irrigation ditch and pasture occupied portions of the reservation. He asks that "definite action should be taken on this matter immediately" to prevent trouble.[389] Yet again, it does not appear that Brennan heard back from the Commissioner.

Interests and concerns over the opening of the Extension were never isolated to those living in Sheridan County or on the Pine Ridge Indian Agency. George P. Comer wrote to numerous Senators and Representatives, but also encouraged Agent Brennan to

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[386] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, telegraph to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 14, 1904.

[387] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 21, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[388] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 21, 1904.

[389] John Brennan, Agent at the Pine Ridge Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 21, 1904.

have "every person at the Agency who is interested in the welfare of the Indian" write letters to Washington asking them to veto any law that would restore the Extension to public domain.[390] Upon hearing about the proposed plan to return the strip of land into the public domain, Comer also contacted the Indian Rights Association (IRA) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The IRA, and its founder Herbert Welsh, while considering themselves to be "friends of the Indians," firmly believed that "Indians were capable of civilization" and that the government should "educate the Indian race and so to prepare it for gradual absorption into ours."[391] While the IRA advocated for the adoption of the Dawes Act in 1887 and the allotment of reservations, there are letters showing their interest in the maintaining the status of the Extension. These letters do not address concerns over timber or livestock like Brennan's. Instead, they openly address concerns over intoxication. Matthew Sniffen, who had taken over for Welsh after he suffered "nervous prostration" and was told to take "a much needed rest," forwarded Comer's letters on the "demoralized condition of the Indians, due to intoxication," to the IRA agent in Washington D.C., S.M. Brosius, asking him take the issue up with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William A. Jones.[392] Reverend William J. Cleveland, who had been living with the Sioux for sometime and had been a part of the commission breaking up the Great Sioux Reservation, also wrote a request to the IRA for

[390] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, Pine Ridge, SD, February 2, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[391] William T. Hagan, *The Indians Rights Association: The Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1902* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 18; Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 11.

[392] Matthew K. Sniffen, Indian Rights Association, to George P. Comer, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, January 21, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

assistance.[393] On January 16th, Brennan received a letter from Reverend Cleveland saying, in slanted and rushed cursive, "Dear Sir; I must agree with what you say as to the 'extension' and will gladly do what I can to exert influence against it being opened to settlement."[394] On January 23rd, Sniffen seemed to assure Reverend Cleveland that this "serious condition of affairs" due in part to the use of alcohol "ought to be handled in a vigorous manner by the Indian Office."[395] It was not.

After President Theodore Roosevelt received a visit from Sheridan County Commissioner William Jones (again, not to be confused with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time, though that visit would have made much more sense given the circumstances and matter at hand), he caved to the political pressures of Judge Westover and the white residents of Sheridan County. On January 25, 1904 he signed an executive order simply stating: [396]

> It is hereby ordered that the tract of country in the State of Nebraska 'withdrawn from sale and set aside as an addition to the present Sioux Indian Reservation in the 'Territory of Dakota' by Executive order dated January 24, 1882, be and the same hereby is restored to the public domain.

Neither Brennan nor the Oglala would be aware of the change in the status and jurisdiction over the Extension until February.

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[393] Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, 45.

[394] William J. Cleveland, Priest in Charge, Rectory Agency District, Pine Ridge, SD to Col. John R. Brennan, Pine Ridge, SD, January 16, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[395] Matthew K. Sniffen, Indian Rights Association, to Rev. William J. Cleveland, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, January 23, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[396] "Addition to Pine Ridge Reservation, S. Dak," in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol3/HTML_files/NEV0681.html (accessed March 1, 2014).

Today is it unfathomable to think that Brennan would have been unaware of this monumental change. However, the Pine Ridge Agency and Washington D.C. were separated by 1,550 miles. The Wright Brothers first flight had only happened one-month prior, and Ford's Model A only rolled off the assembly line in July of 1903. Correspondence travel was slow and, with the exception of telegrams, warnings from officials in Washington made little difference, as Brennan would not receive them for many days. One example of this is in a letter dated January 30, 1904, from House of Representatives member E.W. White (R-SD). White responded to Brennan voicing his opinion on the status of the Extension reentering the public domain. It is unclear when this letter arrived to Brennan, but there are references made to President Roosevelt's executive order. His letter is full of pessimism after having met with Commissioner Jones. White says Jones is "firmly set in his opinion that the government should remove the reservation from this strip and leave the land as a part of the public domain…His idea is that all of our reservations must eventually be opened to settlement, and the Indians become a part of the permanent civilized population, and that this move is only a small step in that direction."[397] White goes on to say "the matter had progressed too far when our attention was called to it" and that Roosevelt signed his order "before [Brennan's] letter came to hand."[398] However, this letter gave Brennan false hope as well.

In a letter dated February 4, 1904, Brennan wrote to Dr. Valentine McGillycuddy saying he believed the executive order had been signed but was under the notion that Congressman Martin had the "order held up." However, he also admits, he does "not

[397] E.W. White, Washington D.C. to Major John R. Brennan, January 30, 1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[398] E.W. White, Washington D.C. to Major John R. Brennan, January 30, 1904.

know just what shape the matter is in at present."[399] Comer is also confused about the status of the executive order, and is under the impression the order must first be confirmed by Congress. However, on February 5th Brennan was told by an Indian police officer "surveyors and white settlers were swarming over the Extension."[400] Brennan also received a handwritten letter from George P. Comer on February 5, 1904 saying that a "hasty of surveyors" were beginning operations on the land with the "intention of settling on this land with the hope of acquiring a 'squatters right.'"[401] He encouraged that these acts of "criminal aggression should be nipped in the bud."[402]

Regardless of Brennan's confusion over the status of the land, he sent yet another telegram to Commissioner Jones saying that surveyors had entered the Extension. "Whites are invading the strip…May be serious trouble between the Indians and whites. I desire to be informed at once whether I am to maintain control over this strip or withdraw our police from patrol duty there."[403] The next day, February 6th, his answer finally came. Commissioner Jones, probably annoyed with Brennan at this point (assuming he even

[399] John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD to Dr. V. T. McGillycuddy, Mutual Life Insurance Co., Omaha, NE, February 4, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 347-48.

[400] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 260.

[401] George P. Comer, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, February 5, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[402] George P. Comer, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, February 5, 1904.

[403] Brennan Agent, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 5, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 90.

read any of the earlier correspondence), used few words but made his point clear.[404] "By executive order, dated January 25th, 1904, the Executive addition of Pine Ridge Reservation was restored to public domain. You have, therefore, no further jurisdiction or control there and should withdraw your police at once."[405] A letter had been sent to Brennan from A.C. Tonner, the acting commissioner, on February 4, 1904 clarifying that the land had been restored to the public domain. This letter did not reach Brennan's desk until February 8th.

Despite the push from Sheridan County residents to open the Extension, official word from the media and county commissioners did not come until mid-February. On February 12, 1904, J.W. Fimple, the acting county commissioner, reported in the *Chadron Journal* that the "Sioux Indian Reservation Opened." While this title is misleading, the reprinted text of a telegram clarified what reservation lands were being entered into the public domain. "Unsurveyed lands in townships thirty-four and thirty-five west, reserved by president's order January twenty-fourth, eighteen eighty-two, restored to public domain. Give notice to the public that lands are open to settlement through local press as matters of news."[406] One week later the *Rushville Standard*

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[404] It is easy to paint Commissioner Jones as the "bad guy" in this historical context. George Comer wrote to Brennan on February 4, 1904 some less than kind words about Jones, but words that sum him up nicely in his handling of this situation. Comer says, " I don't believe in all my life in knowing public men, personal and otherwise, I was ever more fooled in a man as I have been in Com. Jones. The policy he advocates in relation to opening up Indian lands is at variance with all past agreements, treaties, and law governing Indians and I am strongly in sympathy with the idea that none of our higher courts would sustain the sale of Indian lands with out the consent of the Indians." (George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, February 4, 1904.)

[405] Commissioner W.A. Jones, Washington, to Brennan Agent, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, February 6, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[406] "Sioux Indian Reservation Opened, "*Chadron Journal*, February 12, 1904, 1.

included on its front page, "Rush to Secure Lands: Squatters Make a Break for Claims in Sheridan County:" [407]

> It has just been learned at Rushville that on Feb. 6, the agent at Pine Ridge agency received instructions from Washington to relinquish authority over the extension known as "No Mans Land," in Sheridan County, and a rush is now on to secure choice claims on the extension. Quite a number have already been located, many of which are worth $3,000 to $4,000. The squatters are locating mostly along White Clay and Larrabee Creeks, which are the two finest trout streams in Nebraska. The bottom lands are covered with fine timber.

The Gordon Journal added that while the telegraph sent on February 8, 1904 was the first word of opened settlement, "the action of the commissioner has been anticipated by a number of squatters who immediately moved onto the land, even before Agent Brennan of Pine Ridge received instructions from Washington to release authority of the extension."[408] In less than a month since Roosevelt's executive order was signed, it was reported that over thirty families would be eligible for homesteads after the land was surveyed, and that "it will not be long before every foot of the land will be taken."[409] On February 26, 1904 the Sheridan County Board of Commissioners deemed it "necessary to attach said territory to adjacent precincts for assessment, voting and other purposes."[410] The Extension officially became part of the White Clay Precinct, but the Oglalas and Agent Brennan did not stop putting up a fight over conditions on the Extension that had a direct impact on the Lakota of Pine Ridge.

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[407] "Rush to Secure Lands: Sqautters Make a Break for Claims in Sheridan County," *Rushville Standard*, February 19, 1904, 1.

[408] "Sioux Indian Reservation Opened," *The Gordon Journal,* February 19, 1904, 1.

[409] "Sioux Indian Reservation Opened," *The Gordon Journal,* February 19, 1904, 1.

[410] Sheridan County Board of Commissioners, February 26, 1904; RG253, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.

In his earlier correspondence to Indian Affairs Commissioner Jones, Agent Brennan often noted the status of the newly built boarding school irrigation system and pastureland, as well as the timber on the Extension. After his authority to police the land was stripped, he still had questions about the status of this essential infrastructure. On February 11, 1904, Brennan wrote to Commissioner Jones to notify him that this land, which contained the irrigation ditch (which cost $7,000 to build at the time) and the 100 acres of fenced pastureland, was "jumped" and homesteads had been filed.[411] It is easy to translate Brennan's words in what I like to consider a passive aggressive jab at the Commissioner for ignoring his earlier attempts at communication. "These rights should have been protected before the strip was opened. Your attention is called to my letter on January 21st, 1904, in which your attention was called to this matter."[412] On March 2, 1904 Brennan received a telegram from acting commissioner Tonner saying that on February 20, 1904 the "executive order January 25th had been modified, reserving from entering and settlement the Section in the Nebraska extension embrasing [sic] school irrigation ditch and school pasture."[413] The reinstatement of Section 24 of Township 35N Range 45W back to the reservation gave Brennan and future agents jurisdiction over that piece of land and it was to be treated like all other parts of the Pine Ridge Indian

[411] John Brennan, Pine Ridge, SD to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., February 11, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 103-4.

[412] John Brennan, Pine Ridge, SD to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., February 11, 1904, 103-4.

[413] A.C. Tonner, Washington D.C. to Agent Brennan, Pine Ridge, SD, March 2, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 136.

Reservation.[414] However, this did not immediately solve any problems, and Brennan, while excited about this change in status, faced squatters (or homesteaders depending on who you side with) who refused to vacate the land that had been given back to the Pine Ridge. Charles Nines, who was a licensed trader with the Pine Ridge,[415] threatened legal action if he was forced to leave his new plot of land. Brennan made his point clear as to why these squatters needed to be removed. "That section is needed badly for the purpose named in the order and for the general good of the agency. The people who have squatted on this section are objectionable for many reasons and will, if allowed to remain there continually, be a source of annoyance to the welfare of agency and school."[416] On April 2nd, Brennan takes a risk and asks the Commissioner to also withdraw Section 25 from settlement. This never happens.

This issue, though it might seem simple to an outsider looking back 110 years after the fact, was far from and Judge Westover returned to the debate after having squatted on a piece of land. Section 24 of the Extension had been placed back under the jurisdiction of the Pine Ridge agent solely because it contained the boarding school irrigation ditch and school pasture. Or, according to Judge Westover, *supposedly* contained. On March 18, 1904, Westover wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and said that he "made a personal examination of the situation, and [found] that the

[414] The current community of Whiteclay, with the exception of the western most street, which is not where the liquor stores are located, is in Section 19 Township 35N Range R44W. The original Whiteclay, located south of the present location was also not in this section.

[415] The same day Brennan sent this letter to the commissioner warning of Nines' intentions to sue if told to vacate, he also wrote a letter to the commissioner asking that Nines' trading license be revoked because he had moved off the Pine Ridge Agency to claim a homestead in the Extension.

[416] John Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., March 7, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

school pasture, as it has been kept and used for years, does not come within one-half mile of the Nebraska line."[417] Westover also claimed that the irrigation ditch for the school, while only "constructed nine or ten years ago" had "not been in the condition to receive water from White Clay Creek for six or seven years."[418] He also accuses the Indian Agents at Pine Ridge of using the land to benefit those interests who had paid them off for access to the land. Brennan responded to the Commissioner on April 4, 1904 and addresses many of the "misstatements," "perversions of the truth" and "pipe dreams" in Westover's letter.[419] Three days prior to Brennan's response the Department of the Interior General Land Office determined that it will not subdivide Section 24 and "therein are not subject to settlement and entry, and are permanently reserved for the specific purpose named in the Executive Order of February 20, 1904."[420] Brennan and the Oglala had finally won one battle over the Extension after having lost all the rest.

One month after the executive order had been signed, Agent Brennan was finally asked to add his input on the conditions and status of the Extension. Charles P. Bresee, a citizen of Rushville, had written to Senator Moses Kinkaid (R-NE) saying "an effort is being made by the people at the Pine Ridge Agency to entirely denude the extension in

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[417] Judge W.H. Westover, Rushville, NE to Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., March 18, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[418] Judge W.H. Westover, Rushville, NE to Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., March 18, 1904.

[419] John Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., April 4, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 187, 189.

[420] W.A. Richards, Commissioner, Washington D.C. to Hon. A. B Kittridge, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C., April 1, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

Nebraska of timber" by illegally logging the land.[421] Brennan was asked to comment on these accusations, and concluded that Bresee and others in Rushville were "mistaken" and "misinformed."[422] In fact, Brennan, who notes there is very little quality timber on the Extension, said it was not the Oglala or those who received permits from the Agency to harvest wood doing any cutting. Instead "there was a grand rush by those living along the border of this strip in Nebraska to secure wood, posts, poles and logs."[423] Upon hearing receiving jurisdiction over Section 24 of the former Extension, and while trying to fight a battle with squatters, Brennan makes one thing very clear. On official Department of the Interior letterhead and addressed to "Whom It May Concern" he cites the February 20th executive order and "hereby warn[s] all parties cutting timber on the above section, that such trespassing will not be tolerated and that [he] will take steps to prosecute any one found taking timber from this section."[424] Some of the last communication over the status of the Extension is from June of 1904. Brennan received a letter from the Louisville Nashville Railroad Company asking when the "the Indian Reservations will be opened for settlement in South Dakota and Wyoming."[425] Despite

[421] Chas P. Bresee, Rushville, NE to Hon. M. P. Kinkaid, Washington D.C., January 28, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 378.

[422] John Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., February 18, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 108.

[423] John Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., February 18, 1904, 110.

[424] John R. Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, March 18, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[425] E.E. Cowden, Middlesboro, KY to U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, June 8, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

Indian Commissioner Jones and Judge Westover's attempts to open the entire Pine Ridge Reservation for white settlement, this would never be realized.

Almost all of the official communication about the Extension status usually had more to do with land than with liquor, but Agent Brennan had a reason to fear liquor becoming a growing problem among the Oglala with the opening of the Extension. In a letter dated January 27, 1904 Comer writes to Brennan with regard to Judge Westover's initial issues with the legality of the land (while this letter was sent two days after Roosevelt signed his executive order, neither man was aware of the change at the time). Comer warns: [426]

> Intemperance and drunkenness has increased among the Indians 50 percent in the past six years, and in my opinion is increasing everyday. Ten years ago it was a rare thing to see a drunken Indian among the Sioux at Pine Ridge, and now it is quite as rare a thing when passing along the road between Rushville and Pine Ridge to see one that is not under the influence of intoxicating liquor.

The "road between Rushville and Pine Ridge" would soon run right through Whiteclay.

The history above is the creation of the place known today as Whiteclay. However, this history is rarely told as an explanation as to why Whiteclay is in its current location. Therefore, our understanding of the current conflicts is ill informed. Failing to provide the narrative of Whiteclay from its time as an extension of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation to the opening of the land into the public domain does not account for its significance as a unique site with local and national significance. Preservation efforts in the future have to include this little noted history in order to provide inclusive and complete history.

[426] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, January 27, 1904.

"The Whiskey Days":

As the above history shows, even before the Extension was opened for settlement, there was a rush of settlers and bootleggers to the area. And after it was open, that rush began to organize into a more structured community. Whiteclay was not originally in its present location. Charles Nines, the trader and settler who threatened legal action against Brennan for exercising his legal authority over the Extension, operated a post office (established December 22, 1904) and store about two and a half miles southwest of present day Whiteclay.[427] The town was named for White Clay Creek, which was named for its "clay like color."[428] Eventually the town would have a "few houses, a church, and a graveyard," but after fifteen years of establishment would quickly become a ghost town when a better-situated town was founded to the north.[429] In 1919, Tom Dewing and his wife Caroline (nee Jacobs) platted out the section of land Caroline had inherited from her father, William Jacobs.[430] Caroline had been the first teacher of the Extension school, which opened in 1905, and Tom was a farmer and owned a small store. It has been said, "they were good Presbyterians, and neither was interested in opening a whiskey ranch or an all-night dance hall similar to the ones that had sparked the creation of the Extension more than twenty years before."[431] Regardless of those intentions, after they platted out the town of Dewing that is exactly what would happen. Merchants quickly purchased

[427] Sheridan County: Diamond Jubilee, "Soddies to Satellites," 29; Perkey, *Perkey's Nebraska Place Names*, 181; Nebraska State Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey*, 41.

[428] Perkey, *Perkey's Nebraska Place Names*, 181

[429] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 262.

[430] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*, 261.

[431] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 261.

plots and opened up stores. This time much closer to the border with the Pine Ridge Reservation and better located "since many Indians still arrived on foot."[432] When the post office moved north and into the new town of Dewing, the name did not change. Whiteclay stuck.

It is important to remember that until 1953 it was in violation of federal law to sell alcohol to American Indians. It is equally important to remember that this law meant nothing to the people of Sheridan County, and almost immediately after President Roosevelt placed the Extension into the public domain, the history of Whiteclay becomes one based around liquor and lawlessness. Grocery stores in Whiteclay sold alarming amounts of vanilla extract and other products, such as "white shellac" that contained alcohol in the 1910s and 1920s.[433] Indian Agents were aware of this problem, and in 1908 Agent Brennan told Washington they were "experiencing considerable trouble on account of the sale of 'extracts.'"[434] Saloons opened for white business, but that did not stop some Natives from coming to the backdoor and purchasing alcohol (Figures 6 and 7). These actions were in clear and known violation of federal law, but no one was there to enforce them. Rushville, the county seat of Sheridan and home to the Sheriff was too far south for any real patrolling to occur.[435] Whiteclay would reach its peak population of 112 in 1940, but it was lawless since its creation.[436]

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[432] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 262.

[433] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 263.

[434] John Brennan, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to Hon. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., September 10, 1908; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[435] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 264.

[436] Perkey, *Perkey's Nebraska Place Names*, 181.

Figure 6. Whiteclay in 1940 (*courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USF34-061934-D*).

Figure 7. W.A. Smith Beer Tavern, Whiteclay, Nebraska, 1940 (*courtesy of Library of Congress, LC-USF34-061924-D*)

That is not to say everyone got away with bootlegging. During a time when no one should have been drinking in the United States due to the 18th Amendment there is evidence of two situations of Indian Agents enforcing the law. Superintendent E.W. Jermark caught George Buckminister, who hauled freight to the Pine Ridge Agency, intoxicated on the reservation in June of 1925. He was let go with a warning.[437] In May of 1926, Andrew Bissonette (Oglala) was arrested in Gordon, NE for "being intoxicated." On him was a partial bottle of moonshine whiskey, which was supplied by Tug Palmer.[438] The United States Indian Service filed federal charges against Palmer though I am unsure how the case was resolved. Histories and ethnographies written about the Sioux in the 1940s also make note of Whiteclay. Gordon MacGregor, an anthropologist noted Whiteclay in on of his studies on the Sioux. He describes the town as the "'Gay White Way' for the reservation employees, since they can buy beer there."[439] Not failing to forget the federal laws against Native people consuming and purchasing alcohol, MacGregor says "the Indians get [liquor and beer] through bootleggers."[440]

However, Indian agents had varying levels of success in handling the alcohol problem due in large part to jurisdictional issues. *The Meriam Report* suggested intoxicants be handled by "special prohibition enforcement officers of the Indian

[437] E.W. Jermark, Pine Ridge Agency, SD to George Buckminister, Gordon, NE, June 16, 1925; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 110.

[438] R.J. Hart, United States Indian Service, May 15, 1926; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 110.

[439] Gordon MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons: A Study of the Society and Personality Development of the Pine Ridge Sioux* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 83.

[440] MacGregor, *Warriors Without Weapons,* 83.

Service" with one "chief liquor enforcement officer" coordinating the work.[441] John Collier was greatly influenced by *The Meriam Report* and strove to implement many of its recommendations, and this is clear in his suggestions on how the Pine Ridge should handle the continued problems with bootlegging. In September of 1934, Collier replied to Pine Ridge Superintendent James McGregor regarding "the authority of Indian Police at [his] jurisdiction to cross the Nebraska State line for the purpose of arresting Indians who are intoxicated."[442] The influence of *The Meriam Report* comes out in his response. While Collier notes that this was outside of the jurisdiction of tribal police, he does encourage Agent McGregor to have those "policemen who are sufficiently qualified to be furnished" with the role of "Special and Deputy Special Officers" "clothed with the necessary authority to make arrests off the reservations in connection with the enforcement of liquor laws."[443] Collier also notes, "we believe that more good can be accomplished by stopping the source of the liquor supply than by arresting Indians after they are drunk and it is suggested that your efforts be directed principally toward apprehending those persons who furnish liquor to the Indians."[444] Eventually tribal police were made special officers and actions were taken to try to curb the sale of alcohol. In 1937, a letter was sent to Verle Harding of White Clay, NE from the Indian Commissioner, thanking him for "pledging his cooperation with representatives of this

[441] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 767.

[442] John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James McGregor, Superintendent of Pine Ridge Agency, Sept. 10, 1934; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[443] John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James McGregor, Superintendent of Pine Ridge Agency, Sept. 10, 1934; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[444] John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James McGregor, Superintendent of Pine Ridge Agency, Sept. 10, 1934.

[Indian] Service who are engaged in the suppression of liquor traffic among Indians."[445] However, not everyone was as good hearted as Mr. Harding.

In 1953, Sheridan County was no longer subject to the federal laws that prohibited the sale of alcohol to Natives, meaning that the bars could legally sell alcohol to Natives inside and no longer out the back door. Quickly, things escalated with an increase in fighting and violence, but no additional law enforcement. Between 1953 and 1956 the Sheridan County Commissioners approved seven "On & Off Sale Beer License" and denied only one application from residents in Whiteclay. Problems continued to get worse. Meetings were held and additional law enforcement was called into the region for short periods of time, but nothing changed. In 1962 funding was allocated from the state to provide a deputy sheriff just for the community of Whiteclay. Jim Talbot, who lived in Whiteclay himself, was selected for the job and was described as "the most evenhanded lawmen to ever wear a badge in Sheridan County."[446] In 1974 funding for his position was cut, at the same time the national AIM organization were flooding into neighboring border towns in Nebraska, primarily Gordon and Rushville, to protest the inequality that existed between Natives and non-Natives in the justice system. Alcoholism was continuing to plague some members of the Pine Ridge Reservation, but agency against the community by Native individuals was also increasing.

Early Agency at Whiteclay:

When we look for Native agency in the texts and accounts available, we have to look for all Native voices, whether they are for or against alcohol. In a letter dated

[445] S.M. Dodd, Washington, D.C. to Verle A. Harding, White Clay, NE, May 21, 1937; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 110.

[446] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 266.

February 4, 1904 Geroge P. Comer tells Agent Brennan he had an interesting encounter with Philip White (Oglala) while in Rushville. White "was just about as drunk as it was possible for him to be and get around, " and told Comer he was "circulating a petition among the Indians securing signatures which he expected to send to Commissioner Jones, asking that the Extension be thrown open for settlement." White also told Comer that George Killthunder was doing the same on the reservation. Comer concludes: [447]

> [t]his Indian is evidently being kept full of whiskey by a certain group for the purpose of playing some part in the scheme to open up the land mentioned. He also stated the Indians are not receiving rations and annuities at Pine Ridge Agency and that alone should open the land. He has not sense enough to advance such an idea without it being put in by some white man.

Comer blames these thoughts on "slow fever" and suggests "60 days on the wood-pile or rock-pile with mild diet" and an allotment as the cure.[448] However, while White and Killthunder offer examples of Indians in favor of the Extension being placed in the public domain as well as the negative impact of alcohol, there are many more examples of Oglala opposed to the opening of their land.

As the controversy over the Extension status illustrates, Native people were subject to the choices of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior. Rarely were they consulted on these matters, but they could still make their voices heard and challenge decisions. It also shows they understood the implications of these actions and the laws being violated. On January 29, 1904, the Oglala held a general council meeting to discuss these issues. Red Dog served as president and adopted a

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[447] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, February 4, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

[448] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, February 4, 1904;.

resolution to be sent to the Commissioner of Indian affairs regarding the Extension. The council reports begins by outlining the previous acts that set aside the Extension and the purpose before concluding: [449]

> It is plain enough for the Indians that the tract of land known as the 'Extension' was made a part of the reservation so long as they need this land. Indians protesting against the opening to settlement of the 'Extension' and whereas, the Indians will need this land in the future. Therefore be it resolved by the Indians in general council assembled; that we request the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs to allow no one to come into the this tract of land for settlement. If it is possible we will get signatures of every member of male Indians on this reservation. ¾ names is necessary to carry out this as required by the 12 article of the treaty between the U.S. and the Sioux Indians in 1868.

On April 23, 1904, the Oglala Indian Council appointed four individuals—Kills A Hundred, Thomas Black Bear, George Fire Thunder, and Sits Poor—as delegates to meet with the Pine Ridge Agent regarding "the Oglala boundary lines and other matters concerning the reservation."[450] Both of these examples of Oglala agency against the Extension being placed in public domain show the complexity of the problem and the great understanding the Oglala had. In fact, I would argue, that the Oglala understood the legal status of the land just as well as the U.S. government who created the situation in the first place. Reference to the 1868 Treaty is one example of this. I found no evidence that neither Commissioner Jones nor Agent Brennan made the argument that the 1868 Treaty was being violated by the ceding of the land without the necessary number of votes from the Lakota. Another example of agency is in the attempts of the Oglala to

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[449] Red Dog, President of the Council, to Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C. through the U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, February 8, 1904; Miscellaneous Letters Sent, 1903-1904; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 367-68.

[450] Kills A. Hundred, Wounded Knee District, Manderson, SD to Hon. J.R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, April 23, 1904; Making Part of Reservation Called Executive Addition Public Domain, 01/15/1904 - 07/15/1904; Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 - 1999; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO.

offer financial compensation for the land. As was the trend, they were unsuccessful, but they tried nonetheless.

As time went on Oglala agency continued. The same year the federal prohibition law was repealed Kelly's Cove opened in Whiteclay and the town became rowdy with public drunkenness, fighting, and "hell raisin'."[451] In 1956, the Liquor Commission came to Rushville, the county seat of Sheridan County, to hear concerns about the conditions at Whiteclay. Tribal elders were there with their complaints, but nothing changed.[452] The Sheridan County Board of Commissioners minutes from July 3, 1959 note that they met with, "several from White Clay protesting the issuing of a 'Off Sale Beer License' within the limits of White Clay."[453] While it does not identify who these individuals were, it still shows the push back. Also, in May of 1958 Oglala Tribal members and residents of Sheridan County met at the "Second Conference on Indian Affairs" in Rushville. The three topics included "better health, better education and better economic development."[454] Sheridan County Sheriff Wendall Hills led a group discussion titled "Alcoholism—How It Can Be Controlled," and noted that alcoholism is "an increasingly serious problem among the Indian people."[455] Pine Ridge Special Officer Lambert also noted the problem and was present at the meeting. The two sides came together with words to discuss the issues. In the 1970s, they would come together again at border towns

[451] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 266.

[452] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder,* 266.

[453] Sheridan County Board of Commissioners, July 3, 1959; RG253, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.

[454] "Summary of the Second Conference on Indian Affairs," Rushville, NE, May 14, 1958; Record Group 75.19.85: Records of the Pine Ridge Indian Agency, SD; National Archives Building, Kansas City, MO, 1.

[455] "Summary of the Second Conference on Indian Affairs," Rushville, NE, May 14, 1958, 2.

near the Pine Ridge Reservation, but this time with words *and* weapons. The protests in Gordon, as noted in chapter four, shook up the region, but eventually came to an end. AIM had lost its direction in the mid-1970s. Following the protests in Gordon and the occupation of Wounded Knee many of the leaders had falling outs and were no longer on speaking terms. But in 1999 these differences were put aside for the moment and the new stage for activism was Whiteclay.

As previously noted, AIM was attracted to the Pine Ridge Reservation for issues surrounding inequalities in the justice system and the racist treatment of Native people in border towns. Whiteclay offered the perfect stage for raising awareness. In fact, what more could they have asked for? Whiteclay stores were operated and owned by whites, liquor licenses were issued by the state of Nebraska, and all of the tax revenues went back to the state of Nebraska. But whites were not the ones purchasing the alcohol nor were they ones suffering from its abuse. In June of 1999, former AIM members—notably Russell Means, Clyde Bellecourt, and Dennis Banks—gathered together and led over 1000 people to march on Whiteclay.[456] They made speeches emphasizing the illegal taking of the Extension land in 1904, and tore down the "Welcome to Nebraska" state sign to be moved further south where they believed the border should be.[457] The leaders were arrested, but it did not stop them from returning. Over the summer, the "Walk for Justice" returned each Saturday, but in dwindling numbers and without the more well-known members. One Saturday, they placed an "Eviction Notice" on the doors of the liquor stores, which was more symbolic than legally binding.[458] Nothing changed, but in

[456] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*, 282.

[457] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*, 283.

[458] Magnuson, *The Death of Raymond Yellow Thunder*, 294.

drawing attention to the lawless place, AIM and Oglala members ended up drawing SWAT teams and state police forces into the community, the media, and in some ways the President of the United States. Four days after the first March for Justice rally, President Bill Clinton made his previously scheduled visit to Pine Ridge and gave a speech calling for job creation and economic investment. The timing was perfect, but only for that moment. While no changes happened, the choices made by these individuals' highlights the agency the Oglala and the pan-Indian community is continually trying to exert over the colonizer, especially at Whiteclay.

As the next section will highlight, today, Whiteclay is defined by alcohol but also by continued agency. The above history illustrates that, while this has always been the case, the problem is not easily explained and the historic narrative is complex. Simplifications undermine the creation of place and portray Natives as passive against the actions of white settlers trying to claim their lands. However, there are endless examples of Lakota in the region trying to dictate the direction of Whiteclay through the control and protest over alcohol. Through historic preservation and interpretation, this story can be told giving Native individuals a voice in the creation of a contemporary and significant space.

Agency at Whiteclay Today:

Agent Brennan did not have a crystal ball in his poorly built office at the Pine Ridge Agency. But in many ways he was able to predict the future. Dr. Valentine McGillycuddy had many experiences with the Oglala people at the Red Cloud Agency and at Pine Ridge, including serving as agent when the Extension was first set aside. He received the name "Friend of Crazy Horse," was a witness of the Wounded Knee

Massacre, and Brennan wrote to his "dear doctor" as a friend, sharing his deepest concerns about the Extension. Brennan sounds exhausted by his efforts to persuade the Department that the Extension is still needed. He tells McGillycuddy: [459]

> The appetite of the Indians for [whiskey] and the disposition of the whites to supply it to the them have not changed since you were agent here or since you made your repots in 1881 and 1882. At this time, when our Indians are beginning a life of industrial manhood and self-dependence, and beginning to earn money by their own individual effort, it is necessary for us to offer every protection that can be given them against squandering it for whiskey, in debauchery and degradation. The reservation of this strip has, in the past, been a great protection form evil influences and would be in the future, if continued. Those who are interested in having the strop opened make a claim that it will maintain two hundred families, this, you know, is all moonshine.

It is no secret that Whiteclay continues to provide the majority of the alcohol for the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, just as Agent Brennan feared. In 2013, the four liquor stores in Whiteclay sold a combined 335,917 cases of beer for a total of $299,233 in state and federal taxes.[460] While data provided by the Nebraska Liquor Control Commission show a decline in consumption since 2010, the problem of alcoholism and alcohol abuse has not disappeared and continues to run rampant on the reservation. However, it should be obvious by now that just as the problem continues so does the pushback.

In an average year, it is safe to assume that very few Americans go out of their way to travel to or through Whiteclay, Nebraska. And why would they? There are only fourteen people, a handful of vernacular and run down buildings, and a lot of litter. It is

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[459] John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD to Dr. V. T. McGillycuddy, Mutual Life Insurance Co., Omaha, NE, February 4, 1904.

[460] Nebraska Liquor Control Commission, "Whiteclay Year End Statistics: 2013," Nebraska Liquor Control Commission, http://www.lcc.nebraska.gov/Revenue%20Docs/2012%20Whiteclay%20Year%20End%20Stats%20Bar%20Graphs.Excel.pdf (accessed April 22, 2014). According the Nebraska Liquor Commission, each case is the equivalent of 24 12 ounce cans of beer. Using this math, this would mean over 8 million cans of beer were sold in Whiteclay. However, this is not true as beer can be purchased in 24 ounce cans as well.

isolated in a rural area, and with the blink of an eye someone driving through can easily miss it. While residents of Sheridan County and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation might be more connected to Whiteclay and create meaning from personal interactions and first-hand memories of the site, the general public must primarily rely on the media for information. The mainstream media often fails to present the Native voice, but Indigenous media sources are full of it because actions are still being made by Native individuals to direct the future of the community.[461]

One example of this recent agency has been practiced in the court system. In February of 2012 the Oglala Sioux filed a $500 million dollar lawsuit against the owners of the Whiteclay liquor stores and the brewing companies. The damages sought were to cover tribal costs for, "health care, law enforcement and social services related to chronic drinking," and in the hopes a limit would be placed on how much beer Whiteclay stores could sell.[462] There is no legal place in Whiteclay to consume alcohol, as consuming on both the streets and in the stores is illegal, though rarely enforced. In October of 2012, a

[461] In October of 2011, and after a year of filming and investigating, Diane Sawyer brought the Pine Ridge Indian Reservations and Whiteclay into the homes of those who watch ABC's 20/20. Sawyer then shares the statistic that 80% of the population of Pine Ridge is "addicted to alcohol," noting that the reservation is dry. Sawyer asks, "Where do they get the alcohol?" Cut to Whiteclay. While sharing current facts about the town (such as population and liquor sales) the screen is filled with images of crumbled beer cans and crushed boxes on the ground. Images then follow of each of the four bars and liquor stores in Whiteclay, along with Natives passed out on sidewalks. Sawyer then says, "There is a kind of passive acceptance of the unacceptable." While Sawyer does interview the founder of *Anpetu Luta Otipi* ("Living in a Red Day"), an organization on the reservation with the goal to address substance abuse issues, she does not place this in the context of Whiteclay specifically. Instead, neither resistance nor agency is being signified in this signifier of Whiteclay. The meaning of Whiteclay becomes one of despair and acceptance by Natives. None of the protests against the community, or the history of the land is highlighted. Not showing these images reinforces the "drunk Indian" notion and does not give agency any place at Whiteclay.

[462] Timothy Williams, "At Tribe's Door, a Hub of Beer and Heartache," *New York Times* March 5, 2012 http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/us/next-to-tribe-with-alcohol-ban-a-hub-of-beer.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (accessed March 22, 2014).

federal judge in Nebraska dismissed the case.[463] Even though this did not end in the way the tribe would have preferred, it shows Native agency and pushback against what has been imposed on them. They have done this outside of the court system as well.

As noted in chapter four, 2013 was a remarkable year for the Pine Ridge when it came to exerting their sovereignty as a nation. Before they voted to legalize the sale and possession of alcohol on the reservation, Tribal President Bryan Brewer and other Oglala made two strong stances against the community. It cannot be overstated that the Pine Ridge Reservation and its residents face dire conditions. Poverty, unemployment, and violence are epidemics. Conditions are often compared to those in third-world or developing nations. Substance abuse, including alcoholism, is often blamed as a major cause of these ills. *The Lakota Times* states, "many motor vehicle accidents, domestic violence incidents, youth suicide and incidences of child neglect and abuse are attributed to abuse of alcohol."[464] President Brewer is not soft-spoken about his distaste for Whiteclay, and his actions make that clear. In June of 2013, he and others marched on Whiteclay in a peaceful protest to block beer deliveries one day. Brewer and others had formed a line when the sheriff of Sheridan County arrested him. In a video of the arrest, the sheriff is heard saying "You are standing in the state of Nebraska." Brewer responds, "This is our land. This is our land." The following month, President Brewer walked out of a meeting with Nebraska Governor Dave Heineman after only three minutes. President Brewer said "We set up the meeting with the governor to ask for the state's help in

[463] Timothy Williams, "Tribe Considers Lifting Alcohol Ban in South Dakota," *New York Times,* October 4, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/05/us/the-oglala-sioux-tribe-considers-lifting-alcohol-ban-in-south-dakota.html (accessed March 22, 2014).

[464] Tom Crash, "Brewer walks out of meeting with Nebraska governor," *Lakota Country Times*, July 11, 2013, http://www.lakotacountrytimes.com/news/2013-07-11/Front_Page/Brewer_walks_out_of_meeting_with_Nebraska_governor.html (accessed March 22, 2014).

dealing with Whiteclay…I was there to ask for help, to ask how we could work together to deal with the problem, he didn't seem interested in working with us at all, so I got up and left the meeting."[465] Agency was exerted in 1904 when the Oglala offered to purchase the extension and formed a committee to handle the issue. It is still being exerted 110 years later, even if the conditions have changed very little.

The three primary objectives for a more inclusive historic preservation as presented in this thesis can all be found in the history presented above, and will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter six. Native agency in the face of colonization is clear in the challenging of land status and the protest against alcohol. Stereotypes are challenged when we portray Native individuals in a more contemporary setting, and desire is added to the story as the complex choices of individuals are highlighted. However, historic preservation has to spotlight these three elements to make sure Whiteclay is viewed as a site with the potential to educate on our shared history and heal historic trauma. It is not easy to summarize the story that has led to present day circumstances. Jurisdiction, legal status, and the level of lawlessness cannot be easily understood. But that does not make it any less important to try.

The future of Whiteclay is unknown, and while the past is in many ways a tragic narrative of colonization, Native agency and desire can easily be found in voices, votes, and protests. Though slightly different legal conditions have existed over time—as bars have been replaced with stores and there is no longer any legal place to drink in the community—Whiteclay remains a problem and the struggle continues. Alcoholism runs

[465] Crash, "Brewer walks out of meeting with Nebraska governor."

rampant on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation but protests and legal challenges to return the land have not stopped. Anthropologist Thomas Lewis said that Whiteclay "was notorious for violence a hundred years ago and still is today."[466] However, at any moment that history might change, and then the historic preservation community will be faced with the challenge of what Whiteclay should become in our shared history and national landscape. A site where colonization will either be ignored or accepted? A site where Natives will be left in the past or thrust into the present? A site where the focus will be on damage or desire? It is just one site of many with endless potential, and chapter six will look at the different forms that potential can take.

[466] Thomas H. Lewis, *The Medicine Men: Oglala Sioux Ceremony and Healing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 15.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE INTERPRETATION OF WHITECLAY

This thesis has offered a model for the future interpretation of complex and contested historic sites due to their connection with Indian-white relations and the multifaceted creation of space. To reiterate, this model has three parts. The first is to address the continued colonization of Native people while also adding Indigenous agency and voice to narratives. Second, is to challenge stereotypes that have left Native Americans in the past by challenging "comfortable fictions" through the highlighting of sites that are important to Native people in more contemporary times. Finally, this model advocates for a desire-based research approach by stressing the importance of healing and hope at historic sites. Though borrowing heavily from Native studies, this model allows the field of historic preservation to not only preserve a more truthful account of history, but also to provide Indigenous populations with sites that can be used for healing and social activism. In this chapter I will briefly discuss each of the three points within my proposed model and how they specifically can be emphasized in the future interpretation of Whiteclay.

The late Beatrice Medicine (Lakota) notes that Whiteclay and the trading center it was "indicated the symbiotic nature of Indian-white relations in the Great Plains."[467] The histories presented in chapters four and five illustrate that Indians and whites have created both the history and meaning of place at Whiteclay. Land hungry white settlers in Sheridan County advocated for the opening of the Extension, but the economy of Whiteclay could not have developed without the fundamentals of supply and demand

[467] Medicine, *Drinking and Sobriety Among the Lakota Sioux*, 41.

provided by the Oglala. This relationship continues into the present with Sheridan County residents maintaining judicial control over the unincorporated town, and some Native people still purchasing alcohol in the town. The historic contexts also provide a framework of what can and should be highlighted by the historic preservation community in the interpretation of Whiteclay. Though the future is unclear, Whiteclay is a case study that offers one example of a historic site with an intangible and irreplaceable story, and draws attention to what can be done at other sites with complex narratives.

Given the politics, complexity, and impression of the site it might seem easier for the preservation community to ignore the past through "obliteration." Geographer Kenneth Foote says this action "makes no attempt to set things right but tries instead to scour the landscape of all evidence of a shameful event."[468] This action often occurs at sites where incredibly shameful events took place, events we would rather forget.[469] These are usually sites of mass serial murders, massacres, or human caused deaths that could have been avoided. However, the destruction of these sites does not allow for the "cathartic release of emotion that is so much a part of the ritual of sanctification" nor does it provide a space for "entire communities to come to terms with tragic events as they pay respect to the dead."[470] Sites of shame and horror are destroyed without the option given to create sites of healing.

[468] Foote, *Shadowed Grounds*, 174.

[469] Foote, *Shadowed Grounds*, 7.

[470] Foote, *Shadowed Grounds*, 179.

Although Whiteclay might invoke feelings of guilt and sadness, it is an important historic place and deserves attention. Preservationist Ned Kaufman describes historic places as:[471]

> a place where something happened—an event, a pattern of events, a movement, a way of life, a traditional ceremony or activity. But it is more. It is a place where that something can be understood, remembered, or retold especially well because of the physical survival of a structure or landscape. It may also be a place where vital traditions, carried over from the past, are still being enacted; places some people call 'cultural sites' or even 'living landmarks.' Such living landmarks remind us that history not only happened but is still happening here, and that the past is connected with the present.

Whiteclay is just this. It is living and the cultural landscape connects the past to the present. A cultural landscape is a "material phenomena, reflective and symbolic of individual activity and cultural ideals."[472] The past impacts the present, and the history of the site is still being written and re-written, defined and re-defined. I would further argue Whiteclay is also a "cultural asset," with its importance deriving from its association with marginalized and ethnic populations.[473] Many Indigenous populations "not only assert their deep historical connections to places but also point to culture, myth, and place affection, alongside ecology and health, as reasons to protect them."[474] Instead of ignoring the site, historic preservationists should take advantage of the unique position they are in to be able to write the history of a Whiteclay from a more aware and activist viewpoint.

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[471] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 233.

[472] Richard H. Schein, "The Place of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting an American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87:4 (December 1997), 660.

[473] Eric W. Allison and Mary Ann Allison, "Preserving Tangible Cultural Assets: A Framework for a New Dialog in Preservation," *Preservation Education and Research* 1 (2008), 29.

[474] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 13.

Settler Colonialism and Agency in the Interpretation of Whiteclay:

The first pillar of the preservation model offered in this thesis is to address settler colonialism and add Native agency to the history of sites like Whiteclay. To reiterate, settler colonialism is the effort to kill off a group of people. Through the taking of land and the introduction of alcohol at Whiteclay the U.S. government has tried to do just that. While there was not a single day of horrendous massacre at Whiteclay, like at Wounded Knee, each day for 110 years the site has helped to advance the settler colonialist purpose and devastate the Lakota population. Alcohol not only has the ability to kill people directly, but it has the power to kill a culture. This is especially true for Native cultures that had alcohol introduced as a means to negotiate treaties and force them from their aboriginal homelands. At Whiteclay specifically, tribal members and independent groups have tried to use legal means to curb the sale of alcohol to Lakota people, but they have received little justice in the state or federal courts. This is one of the stories of settler colonialism at Whiteclay. Examples in the historical record are clear. The Extension was created to keep whiskey further away from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. However, President Theodore Roosevelt decided the ten-mile by five-mile strip of land was no longer needed to protect the Lakota from Sheridan County residents and their bootlegging operations in 1904, without consulting the Pine Ridge Indian Agent or tribal members. Intoxication and the societal ills it caused was still a problem on the reservation and alcohol abuse continued to worsen as permanent stores were established within feet of the reservation boundary and federal laws prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Native people were blatantly ignored. Though not speaking specifically of Whiteclay or the conditions of Pine Ridge, *The Meriam Report* identifies the proximity of alcohol sellers as a

problem. It was concluded that trying to keep alcohol away from the "unassimilated underdeveloped Indian…becomes increasingly difficult as the white civilization comes closer."[475] This was the case at Whiteclay. Anthropologist Raymond DeMalllie notes that near the Pine Ridge in "1881 a 'whiskey ranch' was established near the reservation boundary, just across the Nebraska line…[and was] a source of annoyance for many years…[and] still the major source of intoxicants for the people of Pine Ridge town."[476]

Whiskey and alcohol has been a problem at Whiteclay since it's founding, but there is more to the town that can be highlighted to show efforts to colonize at the site. Dominant society, primarily the political system in Nebraska and the United States, has failed to address the issue of both alcohol and the legal status of the land, despite protests and lawsuits challenging that the land is still an extension of the reservation and therefore subject to Oglala laws and jurisdiction. The complex history of alcohol in the Whiteclay landscape should be a part of the historical record and context of the community alongside the taking of land in the hopes of presenting an account that shows how Native people have been the victims of colonization, but also resisted.

The untold history of Whiteclay is one of white settlers trying to take Native land with the hope of removing them from the landscape entirely. Due to political pressures from land hungry Sheridan County residents, mainly Judge Westover, the Extension was placed into the public domain in 1904 under an executive order modifying the 1882 executive order. There is further archival evidence to suggest the reopening of the Extension was meant to be the first of many steps in opening up the entire reservation to

[475] Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, 110.

[476] Raymond J. DeMallie, "Pine Ridge Economy: Cultural and Historical Perspectives," in *American Indian Economic Development*, ed. Sam Stanley (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978), 253.

white settlement, which would have been devastating for the continuation of Lakota culture and lifeways at Pine Ridge. Congressman White wrote to Agent Brennan that Indian Affairs Commissioner Jones, "idea is that all of our reservations must eventually be opened to settlement, and the Indians become a part of the permanent civilized population, and that this move is only a small step in that direction."[477] The opening of reservations for white settlement became official policy with the adoption of the Dawes Act in 1887, and on and off reservation boarding schools were given the task to "kill the Indian, save the man," in the hopes of full assimilation into white, "civilized" society. In order to meet the Euro-American definition of civilization Lakota had to give up their traditions, ultimately putting an end to their culture. However, along side this national context and the local conditions, the opening of the Extension seems like total cultural annihilation (settler colonialism). It was carried out in an even more destructive way through total disregard for federal law prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians and the undoing of protection put in place to try to control alcohol abuse. Even though Judge Westover promised Brennan he would help to enforce the laws against Natives drinking, the town of Whiteclay and later Dewing sprung up immediately not to help monitor bootleggers, but to house them.

Regardless of how damaging these policies and change in land status have been for Native individuals and their society as whole, they ultimately failed to kill off Lakota culture. Interpretation and historic narratives should tell a story that celebrates survival in the face of continued efforts to colonize. One way this can be accomplished is by focusing the narrative on the struggle for land for all Indigenous nations, as well as that

[477] E.W. White, Washington D.C. to Major John R. Brennan, January 30, 1904.

struggle in the specific context of Whiteclay. As this paper demonstrates, interpretation should begin with the strong connection the Lakota Sioux have to land, with an emphasis on the importance of land for both spirituality and subsistence. Following should come a presentation of how the United States government rapidly took away millions of acres of land through numerous treaties, executive orders, and just plain theft. Taking away the land base of a sovereign state so intimately connected to place was federal policy aimed at destroying Indigenous people. For Whiteclay specifically, the history must highlight what happened in 1882 when the Extension was created, and then in 1904 when the Extension was dissolved not by Congress or the Oglala Tribe, but through an executive order. While it should not be the whole focus of the interpretation, alcohol must also be a part of the story as it has defined the function of the land for both whites and Natives. Shifting the narrative from one of the "drunk Indian" to one that highlights the history of alcohol abuse during the treaty making and trading process will help tell a more holistic story that provides a new contextual understanding for current days ills. Throughout this historic interpretation, Native agency and voice must be highlighted. While the actions of the United States government are pivotal, as they are the colonizer, equal voice should be given, whenever possible, to the colonized, Indigenous populations.

As Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw) argued one "can always find Indian voices—if they bother to look."[478] This is especially true at Whiteclay as Native agency is a major part of the previously omitted history. Voice can be found in the letters of Agent Brennan, but also in the actions and resolutions passed by the Oglala General Tribal Council. As time has gone on voice can be found again when Native people meet with

[478] Mihesuah, "Voices, Interpretations, and the 'New Indian History,'" 95.

Sheridan County and Nebraska state lawmakers, as well as when they march or protest the site. In the last two years, this voice has been loudest through lawsuits and tribal votes to lift prohibition on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. While these voices can be found, it is also easy to omit them from the historic records, as has all too often been the case, especially in some of the published histories of Sheridan County. We can no longer be guilty of this omission.

As noted in chapter two, this history flies in the face of the frontier narrative we have become so comfortable with. Historic Preservationist Ned Kaufman asks two questions about sites created and defined by multiple cultures. "How should preservationists balance the competing claims of disparate sites and divergent values recognized by culturally diverse groups? How do historical narratives, traditions, and memories, define sense of place?"[479] While this thesis does not have perfect nor exact answers to either of these questions, I do believe that giving agency to both cultural groups is a good place to start. The story of Whiteclay in the *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey*, which was written for the Nebraska State Historic Preservation Office, does not mention anything about the bootlegging economy on which Whiteclay was built, nor does it note the continued controversy surrounding the legal validity of the land being in the public domain.[480] While I would argue this shows poor research skills and a potential political agenda, it is unacceptable for this to be the history used by state agencies and made accessible to the public. It does not challenge the conventional history of the site. In order to present a fair and accurate interpretation of

[479] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 2.

[480] Nebraska State Historical Society, State Historic Preservation Office, *Sheridan County: Nebraska Historic Buildings Survey,* 41.

Whiteclay, or any contemporary American Indian site where multiple cultures have come together to define place, historic preservationists have to be willing to discuss and incorporate the reality of settler colonialism while making room for Native agency. At Whiteclay it is nearly impossible, and incredibly prejudiced and irresponsible, not to do so. The narrative of genocide and should be told with an emphasis that Indigenous people and cultures did not perish. Their history is not only found within the archaeological record or the museum diorama. They are still very much alive in the present day.

The history of Whiteclay that I have provided addresses this issue by adding as much Native agency as I was able to locate. The motivations of white Sheridan County residents, like Judge Westover, who ultimately wrote the history of the region are told along side the response of Indian Agent Brennan and the Oglala Lakota in the written, archival record. However, this alone does not address all of the problems in historic preservation at American Indian sites. There also has to be the addition of contemporary contexts to illustrate Native people as a living culture who continue to find meaning and healing in place.

Challenging Stereotypes at Whiteclay:

As emphasized in chapter two, Indigenous people are all too often left in the pre-historic context in the historic preservation field. Evidence of this exists in some of the Thematic Studies reviewed in chapter three, as well as in *Keepers of the Treasures*, both with a heavy emphasis on pre-historic sites significant for their identification with traditional cultural practices such as religious ceremonies and food gathering. While these sites are of great importance, contemporary sites are often omitted from discussions or documentation. However, Whiteclay is an ideal site to represent Native people living in

the present and taking an active stance against colonization. Even if this is not how we understand the settling of the west and the "civilization" of the American Indian.

In 1971, the Keep America Beautiful Campaign released a commercial that not only helped to forever imprint the "ecological/environmental Indian" stereotype, but also illustrated society's tendency to keep Native people out of modern times. The commercial begins with an Italian actor, Iron Eyes Cody, dressed in buckskins with two long braids paddling a birch bark canoe through a polluted lake. He arrives on land only to have someone driving an automobile throw garbage at his feet. A single tear wells up in his eye.[481] This image features the image of a Native person who is trapped in the past, unable to break into the present day. However, at the same time this commercial was being broadcast, AIM members and other Indigenous people were marching on Washington D.C., occupying Alcatraz Island, and protesting the racial injustices happening at border towns, not in their buckskins, but in jeans and denim jackets. They did not wear beaded headbands, but instead opted for bandanas. But, most importantly, they did not appear as an extinct, vanished race. They were living.

The same can be said for those Native individuals who have had a voice in the shaping of Whiteclay. While they have held onto their traditions and culture, they have also adopted and adapted to meet changing needs and demands placed on their culture. In 1904, Oglala elders offered to purchase Whiteclay with trust funds, something they would most likely not have done in a pre-contact society. In the 1950s, they met with state officials and participated in county-level committees to have their voices and concerns heard. The 1990s Walk for Justice, while containing spiritual elements and

[481] Finis Dunaway, "Gas Masks, Pogo, and the Ecological Indian: Earth Day and the Visual Politics of American Environmentalism," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2008): 84.

references, also involved modern technologies. Today, they continue to protest against the community and exercise political authority. In 2012 the Oglala Tribe took Whiteclay to the courts, and in 2013 they peacefully protested the delivery of beer to the stores. Social media even has a place in the struggle over Whiteclay. Facebook is the host of several anti-Whiteclay groups, including "Whiteclay Awareness" and "The Battle for Whiteclay."[482] There have also been documentaries made on the subject of resistance against Whiteclay, including *Battle for Whiteclay* in 2008. The website for the film includes blog posts and news articles on Whiteclay.[483]

When Native people push back against actions and polices that directly impact them in the present day it not only provides them with agency, but it challenges the stereotype that Native individuals have been left in a distant past. Historic preservationists should highlight these more contemporary struggles of Indigenous people at historic sites, archaeological or extant, by incorporating past as well as present complex narratives. If we do so, our answer to Raymond Stedman's fifth question—"Are the Indians portrayed as an extinct species?"—is very different and our presentation of history is more complete.[484] Whiteclay is a site that, while holding prehistoric importance, also offers a rich modern narrative of struggle and survival that can be interpreted and preserved for future generations. In telling that history, stereotypes are challenged and the rhetoric of damage is shifted towards desire and healing.

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[482] The Battle for Whiteclay, "Facebook Groups," The Battle for Whiteclay, http://battleforwhiteclay.org/?page_id=148 (accessed May 1, 2014).

[483] The Battle for Whiteclay, "The Battle for Whiteclay," The Battle for Whiteclay, http://battleforwhiteclay.org/ (accessed May 1, 2014).

[484] Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian*, 247.

Desire Over Damage at Whiteclay:

Desire-based research is essentially about showing both the good and bad in all communities. It is about adding complexity, contradictions, and humanity to the stock story and the place. Images of drunk and damaged Natives lining the streets of Whiteclay is one image of the community, but there can also be the image of protesters and positivity. The history told can be one of Native people getting taken advantage of by white storeowners, or Native people pushing back. It can be a site of continued harm or a space where healing can take place. Kenneth Foote argues that certain sites can "allow entire communities to come to terms with tragic events as they pay respect to the dead."[485] Many Native sites have this potential, and preservationists have to incorporate the potential for healing into the story we tell. It is easy to cite statistics about suicide rates, domestic violence, and drunk driving deaths. These numbers are an important part of the legacy and continuation of colonization, but they should not be presented alone. Mari Sandoz, a writer who grew up in the Sand Hills near Whiteclay and borrowed from her experiences and the landscape in many of her works, had the philosophy that "writing about Native Americans was a privilege and an honor, not something she was 'entitled' to do."[486] Historic preservationists are not entitled to interpret or preserve Native sites. We must work in consultation with tribes. When first encountering sites that have a Native voice, whether they are on reservations or in urban centers, we should look for all sides of the story, especially for desire.

[485] Foote, *Shadowed Pasts*, 179.

[486] Lee, *"I Do Not Apologize for the Length of This Letter,"* 11.

The desire of Whiteclay can also be in the passion that tribal members have always had in the land and its potential. This importantly shifts the focus away from Whiteclay merely being a source of alcohol and the problems it causes. In her novel *The Cattlemen*, Mari Sandoz tells the story of a horse race between Jim Dahlman and Joe Larvie. The race brought together Texans, Frenchmen, cowboys, ranchers, and the Sioux, and was "to be run at White Clay, Nebraska, just south of the Pine Ridge Reservation."[487] At the event there was an alarming amount of betting by all parties, as they were all brought together with one purpose. Prior to the beginning of the race, Sandoz described Young Horse as he "squatted down and touched the racecourse with his hands, palms pressed into the soft dust."[488] It was at this place on the racetrack that Dahlman's horse, Fiddler, the clear favorite, veered off the track and ultimately lost the race. Cowboys and ranchers at the race said, "Young Horse has made good medicine this very day, very good horse medicine."[489] Due to legal reasons, horse racing cannot be quickly introduced into the Whiteclay landscape. However, this story should not be lost as it shows how to two cultures have come together in the landscape, not just for the purpose of alcohol. It again highlights Native agency over trying to impact the future, even if just a horse race.

Preservation through interpretation and understanding of places such as Whiteclay can "provide links between past and present, help give disempowered groups back their history, anchor a community's identity, play a prominent role in a community's daily life, provide a distinctive feature within the cityscape, or *provide a habitual community*

[487] Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 410.

[488] Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 411.

[489] Sandoz, *The Cattlemen*, 413.

meeting place for public ritual or informal gatherings."[490] By telling a history of the site that we can all share, and by giving voices to both cultures that have created meaning in the same place, healing can be provided. Preservationists need to be willing and able to tell historic narratives from multiple points of view so past struggles and social ills can be resolved. This is not just our duty as a profession funded by tax dollars, but our duty as human beings.

Proposals for Future Interpretation:

This paper does not advocate for Whiteclay to become a Tribal or National Park with brochures and interpretive panels everywhere. The economic feasibility of a museum is also questionable as it is not located near a major tourist destination. However, this thesis does advocate for Whiteclay to become a place that provides education to the greater community and a site of healing for Indigenous individuals. One interpretative tool that I propose be incorporated into the site are large signs located at the north and south border of the former Extension along Nebraska State Highway 87—the road running from Pine Ridge through Whiteclay. These signposts could notify drivers they are entering legally contested land in text large enough to read from their vehicles. This would add complexity but also historic authenticity for those thinking they are merely leaving the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and simply entering the State of Nebraska. For those interested in learning more, I propose having smaller interpretive panels with detailed information on the 1904 placing of the Extension into the public domain as well as information on continued agency exerted against ownership and alcohol. This would place the site in historic context for those driving by, hopefully

[490] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 248 (emphasis added).

raising questions and awareness, while also adding Native agency and complexity to the landscape.

As noted, given the rural and isolated location of Whiteclay, it is a place that very few people will visit in their lifetime. However, it is also a place that receives state and national media attention whenever alcohol problems in Native American communities are discussed. While Facebook offers a place to learn more about social activism at Whiteclay, for broader educational and outreach purposes, the creation of a website with a more historic focus might be helpful in reaching a large audience. Similar to "Urban Experience in Chicago: Hull-House and Its Neighborhoods, 1889-1963," a website on Whiteclay could discuss not only the geographical features of the landscape, but the contested history and creation of the community.[491] This discussion should include voices from the Lakota community, as well as Sheridan County residents found in the historic record. A website with a historic focus would offer a resource for educators and those interested in learning more about Whiteclay specifically, but it could also serve as a tool for introducing the topic of colonization into the conservation.

While religious ceremonies should be held at sites chosen by those practicing, the third proposed interpretation of the former Extension land surrounding Whiteclay could be as a host to healing ceremonies. Traditionally and in the present, the Sun Dance is a remarkable healing ceremony for the Lakota Sioux. The area surrounding Whiteclay has historically been a place where the Sun Dance has taken place. There is no reason this cannot be noted in interpretation and incorporated into the future use of the site as a way

[491] University of Illinois at Chicago, College of Architecture and the Arts, Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, "Urban Experience in Chicago: Hull-House and Its Neighborhoods, 1889-1963," http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/urbanexp/contents.htm (accessed June 1, 2014).

to tell a more complete history while also offering a space for Lakota people to practice their traditional, spiritual ways. In the 1880s, the "physical torture" in the Sun Dance was considered "contrary to the ideas of civilization."[492] Indian Agent Valentine McGillycuddy allowed for the Sioux to do one last public Sun Dance in June of 1881. The location was "near White Clay Creek Valley across the Nebraska line."[493] This was very close to the site of present day Whiteclay, and should be a part of the complex history we tell. A site that once held an incredibly spiritual ritual can become that again. Brave Heart and DeBruyn advocate that tribes need to perform grief ceremonies as a community to heal from historical trauma. [494] Whiteclay, a site of historic trauma and colonization, can become a site of healing.

Perhaps one of the most powerful examples of continued colonization, modernism, and desire can be found in *Skins*, a 2002 film directed by Chris Eyre (Cheyenne and Arapaho). While not replicating a historic event, one scene of the film highlights agency and forces us to put Whiteclay and Native people in a contemporary context. Rudy (Eric Schweig), an Oglala tribal police officer, is frustrated by his brother Mogie's (Graham Greene) alcoholism, as well as general conditions of the Pine Ridge Reservation. He drives his truck, not a canoe or horse, to set fire to the "Old Chief" liquor store. Even though the scene ends with Mogie being badly burnt in the fire, it greatly illustrates many of the notions presented in this thesis, even with the destruction of the

[492] Julia B. McGillycuddy, *Blood on the Moon: Valentine McGillycuddy and the Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 167.

[493] McGillycuddy, *Blood on the Moon*, 169.

[494] Brave Heart and DeBruyn, "The American Indian Holocaust," 70.

building. Rudy is no longer passive towards the actions of Whiteclay. He takes a stance and his character becomes increasingly complex and conflicted. Historic preservation and interpretation at Whiteclay will not be easy, as most would probably prefer the site be ignored. However, there are too many sites that represent continued colonization of Native people within our national landscape that are overlooked and obliterated each day. In order to tell a realistic history of our nation through the built environment and cultural landscape, these sites must be given attention. Whiteclay is contested and messy, but in that way it offers an ideal landscape for preservationists to learn from. The history of Whiteclay can be one of whiskey and despair. Or it can be one want and desire. It is the professions obligation to acknowledge the ruin, but also embrace healing and hope.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Leonard Peltier, who is currently serving two life sentences in federal prison for the murder of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1975 though his guilt is strongly questioned, says it better from his prison cell than I ever could from my ivory academic, white privilege tower. To quote from his *Prison Writings* at length: [495]

> Yes, the roll call of our Indian dead needs to be cried out, to be shouted from every hilltop in order to shatter the terrible silence that tries to erase the fact that we ever existed. / I would like to see a red stone wall like the black stone wall of the Vietnam War Memorial, which I've only seen in pictures. Yes, right there on the Mall in Washington, D.C. And on that red stonewall—pigmented with the living blood of our people (and I would happily be the first to donate that blood)—would be the names of all the Indians who ever died for being Indian. It would be hundreds of times longer that the Vietnam Memorial, which celebrates the deaths of fewer than sixty thousand brave lost souls. The number of our brave lost souls reaches into the many millions, and every one of them remains unquiet until this day. Just as effective might be a Holocaust Museum to the American Indian to recall the voices of those slaughtered. / Yes, the voices of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, of Buddy Lamont and Frank Clearwater, of Joe Stuntz and Dallas Thundershield, of Wesley Bad Heart Bull and Raymond Yellow Thunder, of Bobby Garcia and Anna Mae Aquash…those and so, so many others. *Their stilled voices cry out and demand to be heard.*

There is a gap in the historic preservation world. That gap is found at sites that have an American Indian history to tell, but do not address the reality of settler colonialism, do not challenge stereotypes, and do not add desire into a damage heavy narrative. And it is time for that gap to be filled. Ned Kaufman states "[h]istory is interpretation, and the history of any place, event, or group, is as much a product of the 'facts' as of who is doing the telling. As we learn to interpret sites and events in ways that respect and encourage different versions of the same stories, conflicting accounts are inevitable. *They*

[495] Peltier, *Prison Writings*, 21.

should be welcomed."[496] Historic preservationists need to take all of the facts and present them in a way we can all learn, mourn, celebrate, and heal.

This thesis has proposed three ways in which historic preservation at American Indian sites can be altered to be more inclusive and holistic. The first is to add Native agency and voice to interpretation while also urging the retelling of the frontier narrative to include settler colonialism. The second is to challenge stereotypes that leave Native people in the past and in archaeological sites, even if these stories make us "uncomfortable." Finally, I advocate for the incorporation of complex stories and desire-based research models to allow Native communities to help to heal from historical trauma. Through the case study of Whiteclay, Nebraska, an extreme example of some of the continued atrocities committed against Native people, I tried to show how these three notions can be incorporated when we write historic context statements and future interpretations. The National Park Service, through their Thematic Studies, especially the Civil Right framework, has provided a place for historic preservationists to start to change the landscape, but we have to still push further and take advantage of these opportunities. Peltier further states that: [497]

> American Indians share a magnificent history—rich in its astounding diversity, its integrity, its spirituality, its ongoing unique culture and dynamic tradition. Its also rich, I'm saddened to say, in tragedy deceit, and genocide. Our sovereignty, our nationhood, our very identity—along with our sacred lands—have been stolen from us in one of the great thefts of human history.

We won't return the land anytime soon. We did that in 1882, and then took it back in 1904. But, through the telling of history, we can help to heal the wounds of the past.

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[496] Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story*, 244 (emphasis added).

[497] Peltier, *Prison Writings*, 43.

Through the incorporation of colonization, complex personhood and agency we can bring Native people and Native sites into the present to have them for the future. The settler colonialist actions against the Lakota Sioux throughout time and at Whiteclay have created the preservation challenge we now face.

Rarely do Indian Agents have an easy job or a noted place in the history of reservations. The same can be said for those of us in the field of historic preservation. While Agent Brennan was never successful in reclaiming the Extension for the Oglala as a part of the Pine Ridge Reservation, he continued to write letters and argue for the Extension to be restored months after President Theodore Roosevelt and Indian Affairs Commissioner Jones had made up their minds. George P. Comer wrote to him throughout this ordeal, and was probably one of few white allies Brennan had in the region. In an early letter about the matter Comer gives both Brennan and historic preservationists a rude awakening and issues a challenge that we should strive to attain. Comer challenges:[498]

> The thing for an Indian agent to do is to stand up and fight all people, corporations, and influences that are advocating a plan that is detrimental to the well being of the Indians. You have some of the strongest influences on your side in the United States, if you will use them, to battle this land agitation to a successful conclusion in favor of the Indians…It is not perhaps the popular thing to fight but, in my opinion, it is the proper thing. One will be hated any how for doing their duty, and it is far better to do it well.

This thesis is not the end all be all of historic preservation at sites of importance to American Indian communities in both the historic and pre-historic contexts. It is not even the tip of the iceberg. Instead it is a challenge. A challenge for us "to stand up and fight." Stand up against a history that omits settler colonialism and Native agency. Fight against

[498] George P. Comer to Mr. John R. Brennan, U.S. Indian Agent, Pine Ridge, SD, January 27, 1904.

the comfortable fictions and stereotypes we continue to reinforce. Stand up against damage based narratives and fight for interpretations that show Indigenous people through desire based research models. The story of Whiteclay can be one of whiskey, but it can also be one of want for healing and cultural survival. Which one will we tell?

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