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"No where to be found"

Myth-Mapping, Empire, and Resistance in the Black Hills Country, 1800–1860[1]

Elaine Marie Nelson

Every spring, Lakotas gather for the annual Welcoming Back ceremony, which, Sicangu Lakota artist and educator Lydia Whirlwind Soldier writes, "refreshes our spirits for another new year" to "renew and reawaken life." The attendees gather at Owl Maker Hill (Hinyankagapa), the highest mountain peak in the Black Hills (He Sapa) and the continent's highest point east of the Rocky Mountains at 7,242 feet in elevation, where they honor Owl's Nest (Hinhan Hopi). "Each spring I stand on this highest point remembering the hardships and rewards that I have experienced over the last year," Whirlwind Soldier recalls, "and I say my prayers of gratitude and prayers of hope for the coming new year. The gentle winds wash me with the sweet scent of pines, cedar, and spruce. Snow and ice still cling to the granite peaks and crevices, and I revel in the beauty of creation."[2] In reverence to the long history and significance of Owl Maker Hill, Whirlwind Soldier's actions are an extension and continuation of centuries of her people in He Sapa.[3]

Scholars estimate that more than sixty Indigenous tribes traveled, traded, migrated, prayed, hunted, danced, and lived in the Black Hills prior to the invasion of Europeans and U.S. settlers. The seven nations

1. This essay is part of a larger work on the history of memory, tourism, and Indigenous peoples in the Black Hills. I am indebted to Cathleen Cahill, Linea Sundstrom, Kent Blansett, and anonymous reviewers for providing thoughtful and critical feedback. A special thanks goes to the Charles W. and Mary Caldwell Martin Fund for Western History at the University of Nebraska at Omaha for supporting image reproductions. I am especially grateful to Jeanne Ode and Nancy Tystad Koupal for supporting the work of historians of the Northern Great Plains and for encouraging me to submit my work to *South Dakota History*.

2. Lydia Whirlwind Soldier, "Change the Name of Harney Peak," in *He Sapa Woihanble: Black Hills Dream*, ed. Craig Howe, Whirlwind Soldier, and Lanniko L. Lee (St. Paul, Minn.: Living Justice Press, 2011), p. 97.

3. *See* Linea Sundstrom, "The Sacred Black Hills: An Ethnohistorical Review," *Great Plains Quarterly* (Summer 1997): 169–70. Indigenous languages are not italicized here as they are not foreign to North America. He Sapa is also spelled He Sápa.

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of the Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires—speakers of the Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota languages historically known as the Sioux—refer to the Black Hills as He Sapa or Paha Sapa. The Black Hills region also exists in multiple other Indigenous languages: the Omahas and Poncas know it as Pahésábe, the Kiowas as Xṓ-kṓ-qòp, and the Cheyennes as Moxtavhohona. Intertribal relationships formed migration patterns, lifeways, and alliances, and honored sacred Black Hills geography. As economic and environmental factors shifted in the nineteenth century, the Black Hills remained vital to tribes' survival. Today, the land still holds significant meaning for the past and future of many American Indian nations.[4] The Sisseton-Wahpeton Dakota poet and educator Gabrielle Wynde Tateyuskanskan explains that the Black Hills retains ancient information. "There are antiquities in the Black Hills," she states. "There are pictographs, there are stone altars, things that have been there for a long time that show an intellectual ability to understand the landscape." It is land and space that holds sacred value as central to Lakota philosophy, ceremony, and spiritual sustenance. It remains "a library of intellectual thought" for generations of people, much like the continuance of the Welcoming Back ceremony at Owl Maker Hill.[5]

For over a century, however, people who arrived in the Black Hills as visitors recognized Owl Maker Hill by a different name—Harney Peak or Harney's Peak. That designation reveals the long legacy of the

4. For translations, *see* Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, "The Omaha Tribe" in *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1905–1906* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 102; Omaha and Ponca Digital Dictionary Project, *Omaha and Ponca Digital Dictionary*, omahaponca.unl.edu; John H. Moore, *The Cheyennes in Moxtavhohona: Evidence Supporting Cheyenne Claims in the Black Hills Area* (Lame Deer, Mont.: Northern Cheyenne Tribe, Inc., 1981), p. 14; William C. Meadows, *Kiowa Ethnogeography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), p. 263. He Sapa and Paha Sapa translate to mean "Black Mountains" and "Black Hills," respectively. It is also referred to as "Wamakaognaka E'cante"—the "heart of everything that is." *See* Frank Fools Crow, "Introduction" in *Black Hills, Sacred Hills*, by Tom Charging Eagle and Ron Zeilinger (Chamberlain, S.Dak.: Tipi Press, 2004), n.p. In her research on Wind Cave National Park, Patricia C. Albers provides additional Indigenous translations for the Black Hills (Albers, et al., *Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Park Service, the Department of American Indian Studies, University of Minnesota, 2003], pp. 14–15).

5. Oak Lake Writers' Society, "Dialogue," in *He Sapa Woihanble*, pp. 19–20.

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non-Native invasion into the sacred region. In the 1850s, Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren, a topographical engineer in the U.S. Army, led the first federally supported army expeditions there. His reports and maps for the War Department, which resulted in increased American imperial interest in the Black Hills, acknowledged a strong Lakota presence in the names used for peaks, valleys, and rivers. Despite this recognition, Warren suggested in 1857 that should the United States desire control of the Northern Great Plains and intermountain country, "a war with all the [Lakotas]" should "be on our hands." In that scenario, the best place to attack, he advised, would be in the "Black Hills" as it was "the great point in their territory."[6] That same year, in a move to stake a permanent claim over the Black Hills, Warren renamed Owl Maker Hill for General William S. Harney, an infamous army officer who the Lakotas called "Mad Bear" for his volatile personality. The United States barely grasped a geographic understanding of the Hills until Warren produced permanent maps, a move that blatantly disregarded ongoing Lakota protests and warnings. Warren's actions, however, are only one early example of how stories, maps, and strategic military maneuvers—under the guise of "explorations"—advanced the federal government's territorial objectives to control the Black Hills.[7]

The location and size of the Black Hills—now clearly defined on national, state, and regional maps and tourist guides—remained in flux to many Americans for most of the nineteenth century. Maps based on non-Indigenous accounts prior to 1857 placed the Hills in different geographic locations across an ambiguous swath of territory east of the Rocky Mountains. In their intrusive movements through this land from 1800 to 1860, Euro-American engineers, soldiers, and settlers created stories and mappings that both claimed ownership over the Hills and shrouded the region in a persistent fog of mystery, adventure, and abundant riches. The stories and maps that began as rumors grew into origin tales that nationalized the Black Hills. They reveal

6. Warren, *Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren's Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota in the Years 1855–56–57* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 53. Warren's description of Black Hills landmarks appears on p. 30.

7. Warren's reports do not reveal why he renamed the peak, mentioning "Harney's Peak" only once in 1858 (ibid., p. 30). He does, however, describe waiting to meet with Lakota leader Bear's Rib, "appointed first chief by General Harney's treaty" (ibid., p. 20).

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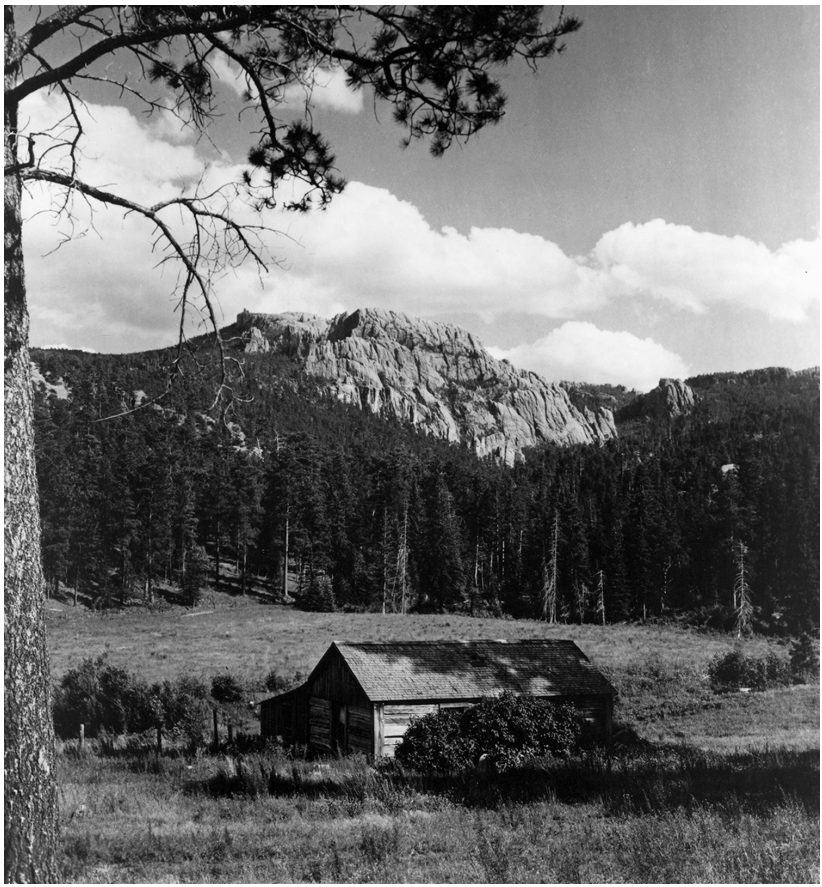

The mountain the Lakota Nation knows as Owl Maker Hill (Hinyankagapa) is now officially named Black Elk Peak. Called "Harney Peak" by federal officials in the nineteenth century, it became a prominent site of colonial mapping.

how non-Indigenous Americans imagined and understood He Sapa as a place with valuable resources that they aimed to occupy and dominate.[8] The emergence of this narrative also effectively dismissed Lakota views about their guardianship of this land. This national movement that

8. For in-depth research on colonial attempts to control Indigenous land and space, *see* Sheren H. Razack, ed., *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002). Mishuana Goeman's work dissects the significance of the relationship between mapping and colonial power: "It is important to see mapping as a means of discourse that mapped an imperial imaginary" (*Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013], p. 20).

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swept the northern plains expanded the structure of settler colonialism—a national, colonial project centered on land control as the main strategy for a government and its people to invade, occupy, and claim Indigenous territories for large-scale imperial expansion. Many scholars examine the Black Hills as a point of contention during and following the landmark Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Long before then, as it rested at the edge of an anxious U.S. empire, however, the Black Hills became a coveted prize in the nation's race to increase its borders and economic interests. Despite widespread, persistent, and unified Indigenous resistance, this expansion fractured and distorted Lakota rights to He Sapa and forever shaped national and international perceptions about the area.[9]

The Black Hills of today is different from the Black Hills of 1800. Although a difficult task, it is necessary to abandon all perceptions about the currently mapped location of the Black Hills—straddling the South Dakota and Wyoming border—to understand how the region fluctuated on maps for decades. What emerges from this exercise, then, is a "Black Hills country." Existing from 1800 to 1860, non-Indian people defined the Hills country using regional markers borrowed from Indigenous knowledge. Materials from these six decades portray the Black Hills country as an ill-defined, vast region that extended from Colorado to North Dakota. For example, many travelers identified mountains in

9. For more on the extension of imperial borders, *see* Ned Blackhawk, *Violence Over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006). The Black Hills legal claim is a landmark case concerning American Indian treaty rights, which the people of the Oceti Sakowin—referred to as the "Sioux" or the "Great Sioux Nation" by settlers and in treaties—protested throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to oral tradition, the Oceti Sakowin or Seven Council Fires connects the tribes of three major groups: Lakota, Dakota, and Nakota-speaking peoples. The Lakotas comprised one of the Seven Council Fires and were further divided into seven subtribes. *See* [Howe and Whirlwind Soldier], "Introduction," in *He Sapa Woihanble*, pp. 3–4; [Vine Deloria, Jr.], "Spirits and South Dakota Land," *A New South Dakota History*, ed. Harry F. Thompson (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, 2005), pp. 1–2; Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Penguin, 2011), p. 7. Patrick Wolf defines settler colonialism as "an inclusive, land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies" ("Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 [Dec. 2006]: 393).

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Wyoming—such as the Laramie Mountains—as the Black Hills. This concept differed significantly from Indigenous definitions of the Hills, also referred to here as the contemporary Black Hills, He Sapa, or Black Hills region. While the Lakota nation, in particular, had a defined space for He Sapa, for the non-Native populations, the Black Hills country existed as both a physical space and a fluctuating mental construction. Only after acquiring a surveyed map or economic incentive did they make it an "official" place. This second instance demonstrates how imperial expansion changes territory from an abstract idea into a mapped region that reflects the political, economic, and legal ambitions of the nation-state.[10]

From early points of contact, Europeans took and used, to their advantage, geographic and spatial knowledge from Indians' maps of North America, or "Turtle Island." Indigenous peoples' use of maps was so common that early European accounts support the contemporary view that Native mapmaking was and remains a natural and integral part of Indigenous lives and cultures. Moreover, their maps provided Europeans and Americans with valuable intelligence about the continent. In fact, maps created by or for the United States over the past several hundred years reflect the significant role that Native mapping played in European and American exploits throughout the continental interior. Although borrowing heavily from Indigenous maps and geographical knowledge, non-Native maps also reveal constructions of power that served to undermine and erase Native worlds. They illustrate how persistent forces representing settler nations invaded, occupied, and renamed Indigenous lands. By mapping places such as the Black Hills country, travelers and surveyors claimed these areas as landmarks symbolic of American expansion. The production of maps in the name of exploration, travel, discovery, and settlement was a political act that served as a tool to create, sustain, and increase an empire.[11]

10. Anssi Passi, "Region and Place: Regional Identity in Question," *Progress in Human Geography* 27 (Aug. 2003): 476–81; Dan Flores, *The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), pp. 96, 171–72.

11. John Rennie Short, *Cartographic Encounters: Indigenous Peoples and the Explorations of the New World* (London: Reaktion Books, Ltd., 2009), pp. 9, 12; G. Malcolm Lewis, *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapping and Map Use* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 13–14; Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking in the Great

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Native peoples produced complex maps that were spatial arrangements of natural features, migration routes, sites of cultural importance, cosmographic charts, communication networks, hunting zones, and the organization of Indigenous knowledge about their worlds. While elements of the sky reflected directional patterns, many Indigenous maps used travel time rather than distance for measurements. They also included pictography to illustrate historic events and shapes or symbols to indicate clusters of camps, villages, and tribes in their network, and recorded messages, instructions, or careful plans for preservation purposes.[12] In stark contrast with non-Native maps, Indigenous practices of mapping did not depict quartered-off parcels or townships representative of government boundaries, private property, and individual wealth.[13]

While Indigenous maps showed their territorial reach, these depictions did not exist to amplify land control. Indigenous peoples often migrated through land where other tribes served as the main protectors. This fluidity explains how the Black Hills, for example, existed as a cultural intersection where several tribes hunted, traded, gathered resources, and held ceremonies. These shared spaces reinforced alliances and called for negotiating the main locations that tribal nations occupied.[14] Native maps were not intended to be permanent documents for the purpose of expansion. Indigenous maps served as sophisticated sets of spiritual, spatial, and economic guides—a "library of intellectual thought."[15] Generations of Indigenous intellectuals illustrate how Native nations created their maps based on the earth's features and

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Lakes Region in Intercultural Contexts: A Historical Review," *Michigan Historical Review* 30 (Fall 2004): 1–34; Goeman, *Mark My Words*, pp. 18–20, 30.

12. Lewis, "First Nations Mapmaking," p. 1; Lewis "Indicators of Unacknowledged Assimilations of Amerindian 'Maps' on Euro-American Maps of North America: Some General Principles Arising from a Study of La Vérendryes Composite Map, 1728–29," *Imago Mundi* 38 (1986): 9, 15; Lewis, "Indian Maps: Their Place in the History of Plains Cartography," *Great Plains Quarterly* 4 (Spring 1984): 91–108.

13. Lewis, *Cartographic Encounters*, p. 11.

14. Albers, et al., *Home of the Bison*, p. 69.

15. Oak Lake Writers' Society, "Dialogue," p. 20. G. Malcolm Lewis concludes that an increased understanding of Native maps will create a more complete and complex story beyond maps that Europeans and Americans produced ("Indian Maps," pp. 91–108). Although not a main direction of analysis here, more research is needed on this topic, specifically in the Northern Great Plains.

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their historical experiences that resulted in knowledge shared through oral tradition.[16]

While Indigenous tribes across the plains and Rocky Mountains always knew the location of He Sapa, this mountainous land utterly befuddled whites for decades. Over the first half of the nineteenth century, the Black Hills country appears on printed maps in roughly the same region, but within different sets of mountain ranges and often on different directional trends. These placements are apparent on numerous non-Native maps starting with the 1805 map compiled by British-born cartographer Nicholas King, who joined Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their infamous expedition through the Northern Great Plains. Between this first depiction and Warren's maps for the War Department in the 1850s, four additional maps—an 1814 reproduction of the King map by Samuel Lewis, an 1822–1823 map and report by Stephen H. Long, an 1830 map by Jedidiah Smith, and an 1844 map that combined Smith's with notes from John C. Frémont and George Gibbs—follow this trend. These documents, along with literary and missionary maps, contributed to the contradictory and shifting boundaries of the Black Hills country. They also lent themselves to the platform of expansion that the United States aggressively pursued throughout the century.

The first federally funded excursion through the Northern Great Plains initiated the non-Native construction of the Hills country. King accompanied Lewis and Clark during the expedition from St. Louis, Missouri, to the Pacific Northwest between 1804 and 1806. Famously, Lewis and Clark kept extensive journals. Clark specifically dedicated himself to taking meticulous notes that charted the rivers, landmarks, and people they encountered. Less famously, the men consulted dozens of Indigenous maps before traipsing through tribal territories. The expedition was only successful due to their acquisition of this spatial

16. Oceti Sakowin Indigenous scholars and intellectuals have published widely on this topic. *See*, for instance, Howe, Whirlwind Soldier, and Lee, *He Sapa Woihanble*; Vine Deloria, Jr., *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997); Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Lakota Way: Stories and Lessons for Learning* (New York: Penguin, 2002); and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *Aurelia: A Crow Creek Trilogy* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 1999). *See also* Ronald Goodman, *Lakota Star Knowledge: Studies in Lakota Stellar Theology* (Mission, S.Dak.: Sinte Gleska College, 1992), pp. 1–65.

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and geographical knowledge. King used Clark's notes and sketches, and Native maps presumably, to produce a map of the lands they traversed. Their journals do not mention the "Black Hills" but do refer to the "black Mountain" landmark.[17]

King's map, however, labels the "Black Hills" as a smaller mountainous range with a northwest trend that he located in the heart of the Cheyenne nation. It also portrays two large mountainous ranges labeled "Black Mountains"—likely the Laramie Mountains—that almost connect to the "Black Hills."[18] Since the expedition did not travel close to either the Black Hills or Laramie Mountains, it is unknown how Clark became aware of the presence and directional trends of the "Black Hills" and the "Black Mountains." Most likely, it resulted from these landmarks appearing on Native maps that they consulted before the expedition (Map 1).[19] In 1814, Samuel Lewis, a mapmaker from Philadelphia, republished a map based on King's work. This reproduction ignores many elements from the original. It erased the details of tribes and natural features, making the land appear less inhabited, absent of place names, and ripe for imperial expansion. The Black Hills, which appear in writing on the 1805 map, are even reduced to an unnamed squiggly line depicting a small mountain chain on the Lewis version (Map 2).[20]

17. William Clark, journal entry, 28 June 1804, in *The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery*, ed. Gary E. Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), pp. 15, 15n45.

18. Clark, Nicholas King, Meriwether Lewis, comps., *A Map of Part of the Continent of North America: Between the 35th and 51st Degrees of North Latitude, and Extending from 89° Degrees of West Longitude to the Pacific Ocean*, 1805, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., loc.gov/resource/g3300.ct000586.

19. Short, *Cartographic Encounters*, pp. 60, 62–63; Warren, *Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean: Giving a Brief Account of Each of the Exploring Expeditions since A.D. 1800, with a Detailed Description of the Method Adopted in Compiling the General Map* (Washington, D.C.: s.n., 1859), p. 36.

20. Samuel Lewis, *A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across the Western Portion of North America, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean: By Order of the Executive of the United States in 1804, 5 & 6* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1814), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/79692908. Short argues that this map "became the map that led to the unravelling" of Indigenous territorial holds and that it "erased major elements of a long-standing human presence" (*Cartographic Encounters*, p. 64).

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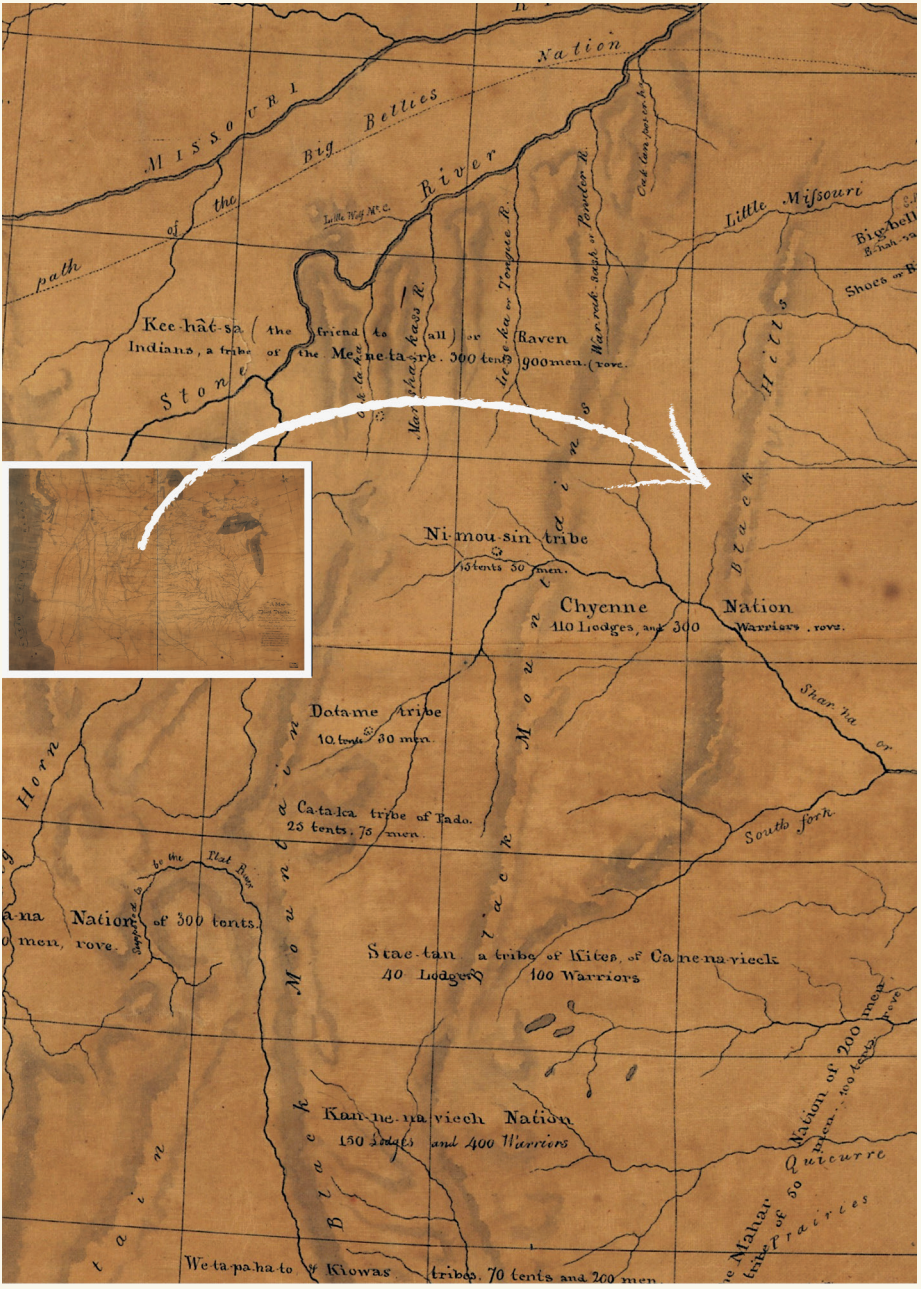

Map 1. On this 1805 map, Nicholas King, William Clark, and Meriwether Lewis marked the "Black Hills" as a vast region among larger mountain ranges, as seen at the tip of the arrow.

(*A Map of Part of the Continent of North America: Between the 35th and 51st Degrees of North Latitude, and Extending from 89° Degrees of West Longitude to the Pacific Ocean* [1805], loc.gov/resource/g3300.ct000586).

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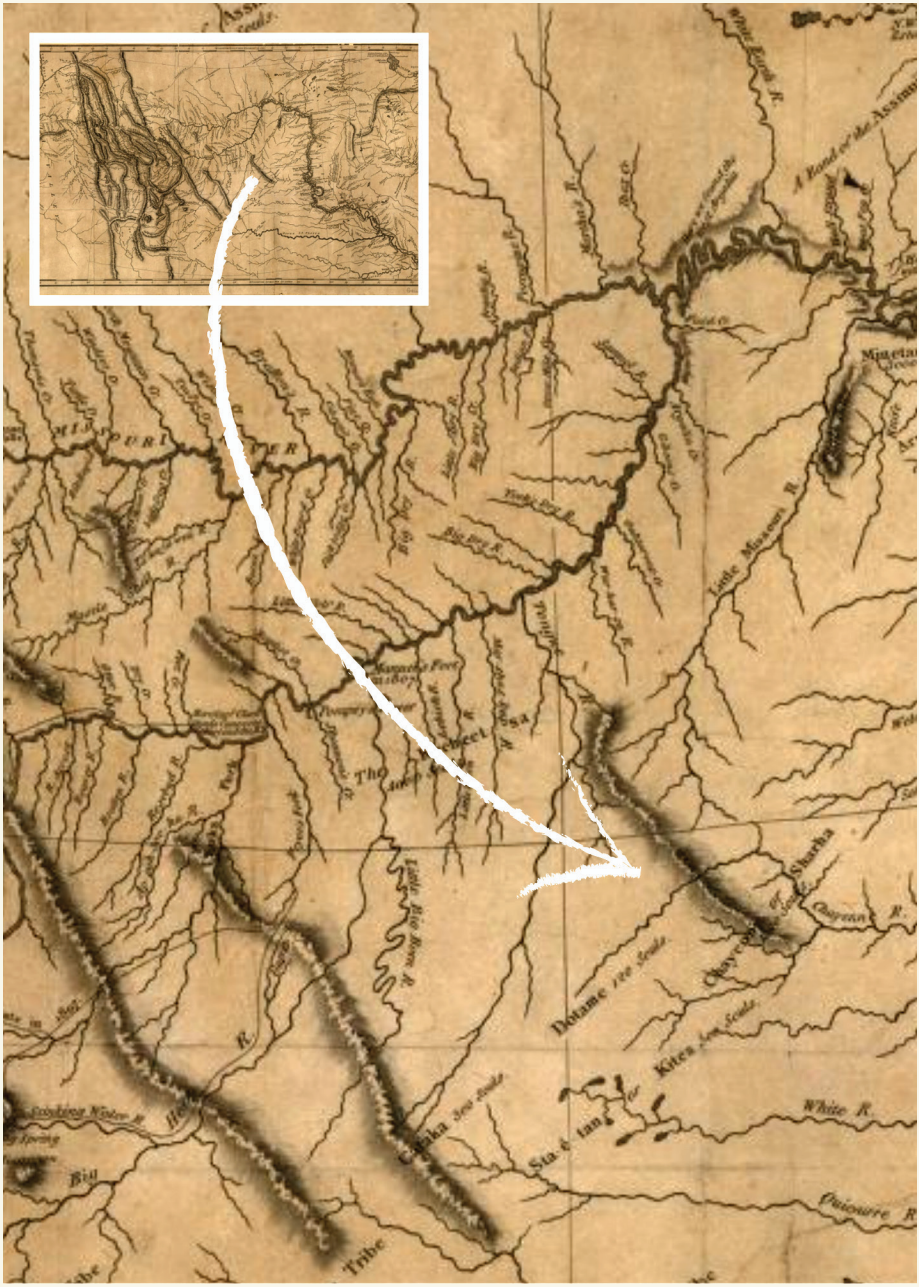

Map 2. In 1814, Samuel Lewis reproduced King's map from 1805 but erased details related to Indigenous sites and geographic place names, including the Black Hills.

(*A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across the Western Portion of North America, From the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean* [1814], loc.gov/item/79692908).

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During his Great Plains expedition from 1819 to 1820, U.S. Army engineer Stephen Long mistakenly believed he encountered the same "black hills mentioned by Lewis and Clark."[21] He likely stumbled into the Laramie Mountains, which King had labeled as "Black Mountains" in 1805. Long discussed the "black hills" country as an extensive "range of hills more elevated than any we had seen west of the Missouri." He wrote, "These hills cross the Platte from north to south. . . . consist principally of gravel, intermixed with . . . fragments of granite and . . . coarse friable sandstone."[22] Although describing today's Laramie Mountains, Long included this range as part of the Black Hills country. According to Long's 1822 map, the Hills country extends from the Platte River in present-day Colorado in the south to the Little Missouri River in present-day North Dakota to the north (Map 3). Other surveyors and settlers who used Long's map replicated these descriptions of the "Black Hills" extending north-south for hundreds of miles.[23]

In 1823, Jedidiah Smith worked as a hunter in the Rocky Mountains. In this role, he noted, "I was enabled to enjoy the full novelty of the scene in which I was placed."[24] During this time, Smith also drew a new map that attempted, from his view, to counter "the inaccuracy of all the maps" of the West, including the Black Hills country. This "new, large, and beautiful map," Smith claimed, "embodied all that is correct of preceding maps," but incorporated Smith's personal knowledge. This aspect supposedly made it the "best, extant, of the Rocky Mountains and the country on both sides."[25] On his 1830 map, Smith described the Black Hills country as "irregular and detached ranges, sometimes . . . at the elevation of considerable mountains. The name is derived from their dark appearance."[26] Still, his location of the Black Hills country, running parallel to the Laramie Mountains, mirrored Long's.

21. Stephen H. Long, *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20* (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey and I. Lea, 1823), p. 477.

22. Ibid.

23. Long, *Geographical, Historical, and Statistical Map of Arkansas Territory*, engraved by Young & Delleker, David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University Libraries, purl.stanford.edu/db174pm7020.

24. *Gettysburg (S.Dak.) Compiler*, 23 Apr. 1923; Dale Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953), p. 34.

25. Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1914), p. 515.

26. Notably, Smith does not credit any Indigenous languages with the origin of describ-

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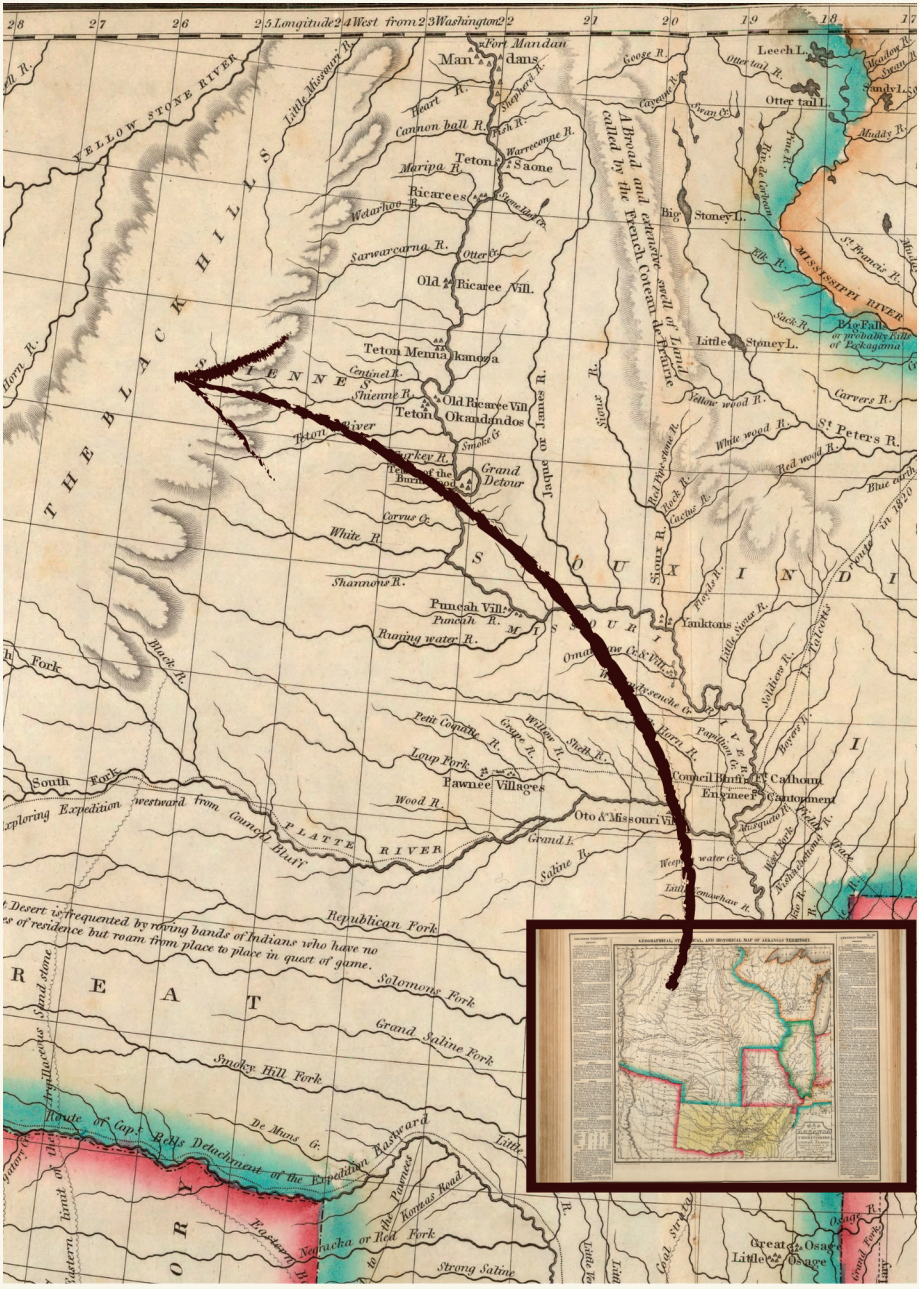

Map 3. Stephen H. Long's "Black Hills" stretched for hundreds of miles between the Platte and Little Missouri rivers.

(Young & Delleker, engravers, *Geographical, Historical, and Statistical Map of Arkansas Territory* [1822], purl. stanford.edu/db174pm7020).

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Although Smith's original map was never printed, in 1844, someone combined Smith's work with notes from explorer George Gibbs and soldier-politician John Frémont for a new map. This reproduction is the only remaining trace of Smith's map as the original was lost (Map 4).[27] Five years before the Frémont-Gibbs-Smith map's publication, another mapmaker, David H. Burr, detailed the same area on a mountainous scale on a set of North American maps. Labeled "Black Hills," it stretched from present-day northern Colorado to southwestern North Dakota.[28] This 1839 map resulted from both the meshing of various reports and the overlay of older maps, like Smith's, that mapped the Black Hills country as a territory that extended for hundreds of miles (Map 5).

These conceptions of space and landmarks exemplify how white Americans imagined the Hills country. Frémont's report, published in 1843, concluded that "the Black hills" was situated between the lower Platte River, actually meaning the Colorado River, and "the mountains," referring to the Rocky Mountains, close to present-day Laramie Peak in Wyoming. He referred to the land as "the Black Hills of the Platte," placing them in present-day east-central Wyoming as previous explorers had also done.[29] The longitude and latitude Frémont provided—42° 52′ 24″ N / 106° 43′ 15″ W—points directly to today's Laramie Mountain Range. The map from 1844 that combined Smith's map, Gibbs's annotations, and Frémont's report repeats the details from Smith's work,

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ing the "Black Hills" as dark mountains. John C. Frémont, *Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon & North California in the Years 1843–44*, contrib. Jedidiah Strong Smith and George Gibbs (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1845), American Geographical Library Digital Map Collection, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries, collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/868. Notes from Smith's original map appear on this second production as Gibbs superimposed Smith's details onto this base map by Frémont before the original Smith map was lost.

27. For more on the superimposed map, *see* Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), pp. 28–29; Carl D. W. Hays, "David E. Jackson," in *Trappers of the Far West: Sixteen Biographical Sketches*, ed. LeRoy E. Hafen (1965; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), pp. 83–84.

28. David H. Burr, *Map of the United States of North America with Parts of the Adjacent Countries* (London: John Arrowsmith, 1839), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/98688304.

29. Frémont, *A Report on an Exploration of the Country Lying Between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, on the Line of the Kansas and Great Platte Rivers* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1843), pp. 29, 33, 43–44, 49, 83–88.

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Map 4. Published in 1845, this map, compiled by George Gibbs, superimposed details from Jedidiah Strong Smith's 1830 map onto a base map by John C. Frémont. It places the "Black Hills," indicated by the arrow, directly east of the "Laramie Plains." Smith's longer description of the Hills appears in pencil in the upper-right section of the map.

(*Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon & North California in the Years 1843–44* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers, 1845], collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/868).

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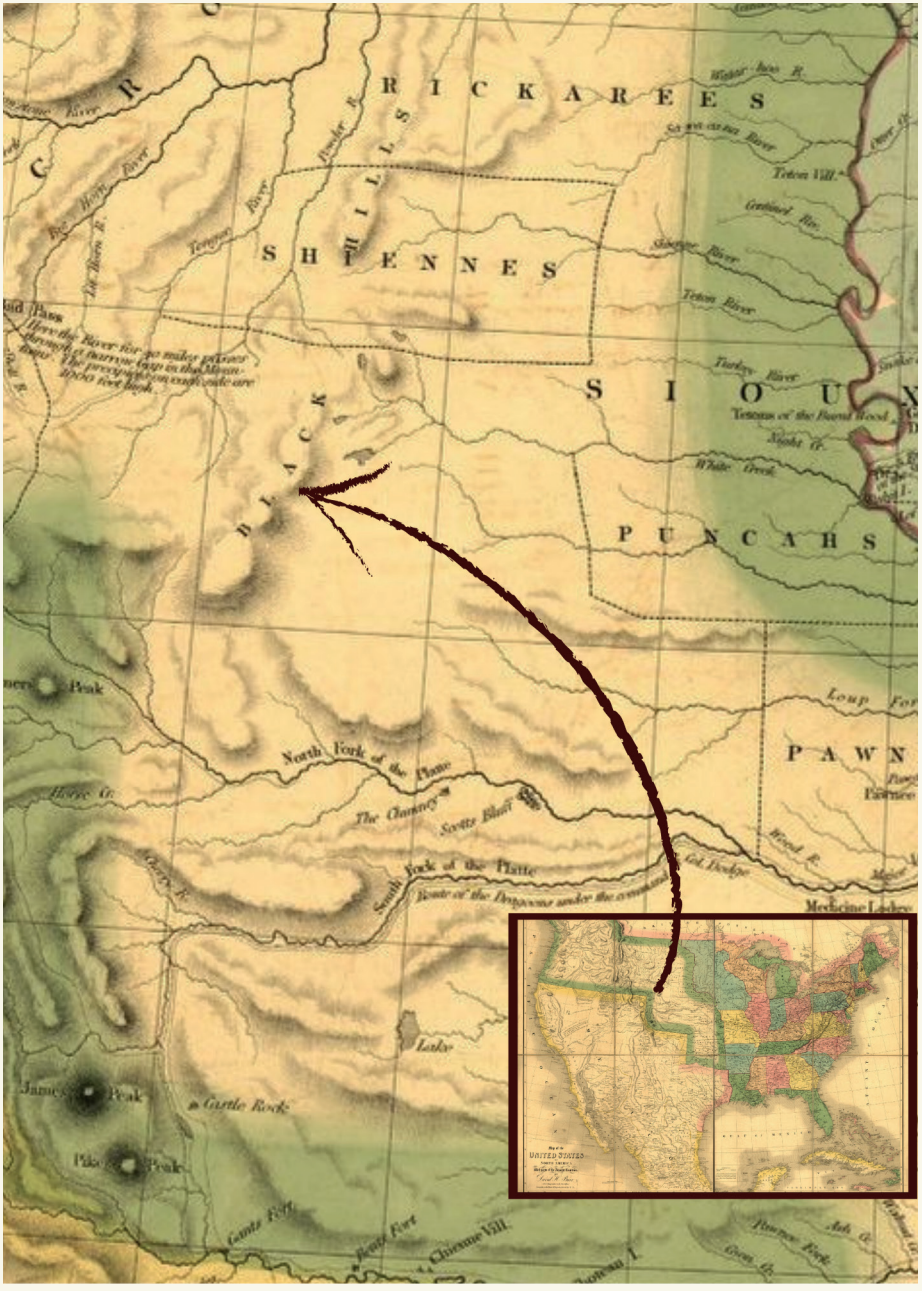

Map 5. David H. Burr created this map in 1839 using Jedidiah Smith's map as a model, just as Gibbs would six years later.

(*Map of the United States of North America with Parts of the Adjacent Countries* [London, 1839], loc.gov/item/98688304).

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confirming how maps replicated the Black Hills country as a large swath of the northern plains (Map 6). The charted calculation from 1844, along with numerous literary accounts, led American travelers to view these smaller mountainous ranges east of the Rocky Mountains, extending from Colorado to North Dakota, as one sweeping Hills country.[30]

Reports and maps of the Northern Great Plains produced in the first half of the nineteenth century brought visual landmarks under the purview of the federal government. Their inconsistent conclusions about the location of the Black Hills country reveal the inaccuracies of contemporary mapping practices and explorers' willingness to adopt discrepancies from earlier maps. In 1861, Gouverneur K. Warren critiqued these imprecise latitudes and longitudes. He concluded that the "surveys and explorations vary in accuracy, by almost insensible degrees" offering information from "vague representations of the imaginative adventurer."[31] While maps charted the terrain, stories and rumors from those who surveyed the area played an important role in defining this ambiguous region just as the United States swelled beyond the Mississippi River.

Maps created in the early decades of the century shaped how Americans imagined the Black Hills country. Beginning in the 1780s, French, French-Canadian, Métis, and American explorers entered the region intent on learning more about the continent's vast resources. Some passed through or around this area quickly; others stayed for short periods. Their accounts about the Hills country unfolded slowly in the early 1800s. Traders, mountain men, explorers, and hunters swapped enthralling tales after their travels and people listened. Detailed descriptions in multiple mediums transformed the Black Hills country into a mythic world with mysterious sounds, breathtaking vistas, and rumors of precious minerals, including gold.[32]

Sounds played a significant part in the earliest non-Native accounts

30. Frémont and John J. Abert, *Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon & North California in the Years 1843–44* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1845), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/resource/g4051s.ct000909.

31. Warren, *Memoir*, p. 87.

32. Indigenous oral traditions will not be defined as "myths" or "folklore." As described here, Black Hills myths and folklore are rooted in non-Indigenous perceptions.

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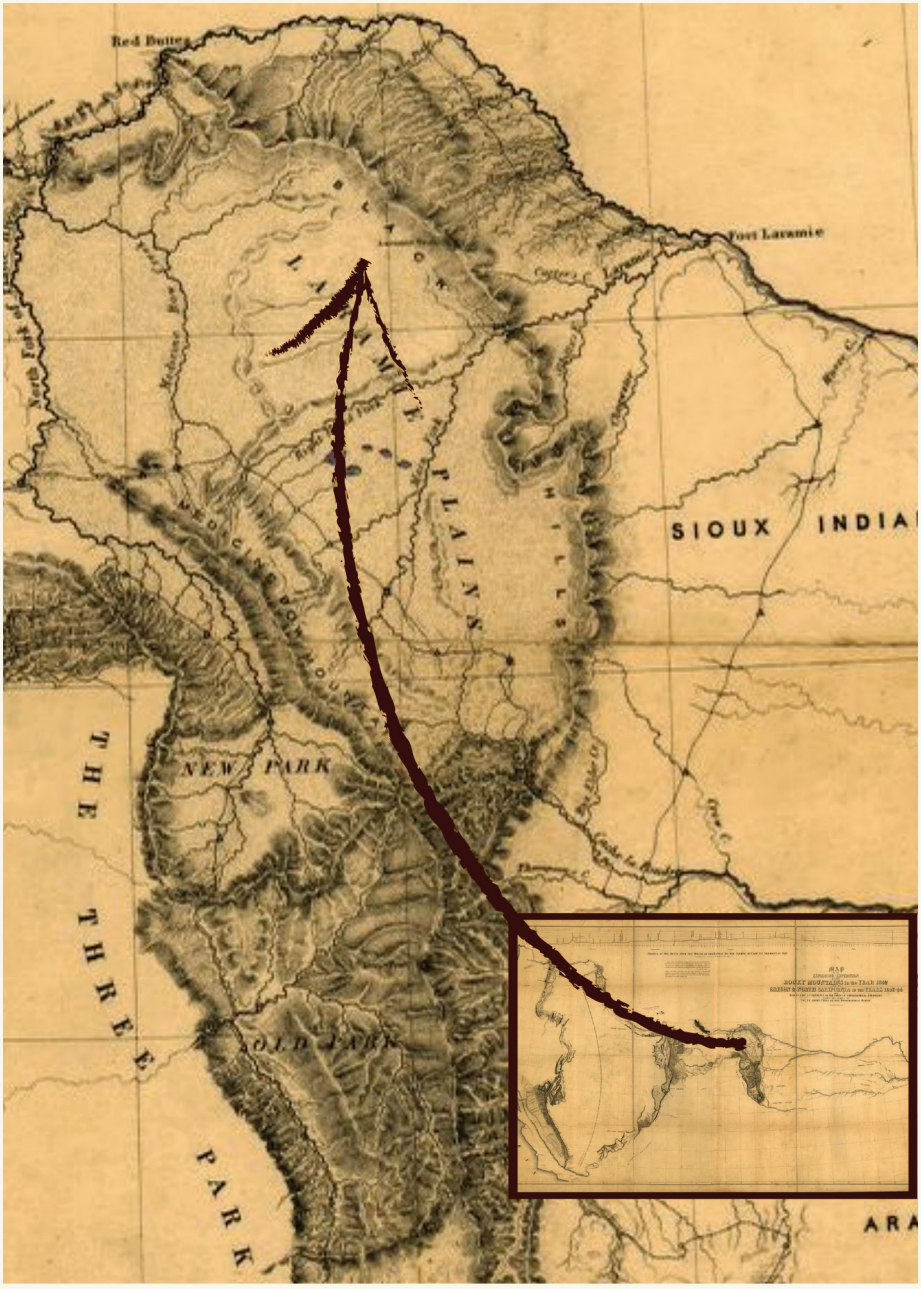

Map 6. The arrow on this 1844 map of Frémont's expedition to the Rocky Mountains—the full version of which is seen in the inlay—indicates his placement of the "Black Hills" directly east of the "Laramie Plains."

(*Map of an Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon & North California in the Years 1843–44* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Senate, 1844], loc.gov/resource/g4051s.ct000909).

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Writers mythologized the fur trappers, traders, and guides who entered the Black Hills, and these stories enticed future settlers. Jedidiah Smith, for instance, became infamous for surviving a grizzly bear attack near Buffalo Gap.

of the Black Hills country, which originated from early French fur traders and trappers. In 1804, trader Jean Vallé warned Lewis and Clark about the "Black Mountains," where "a great noise is heard frequently."[33] Other French and French-Canadian travelers, identified as *voyageurs*, gossiped about loud "boomings and bangings."[34]

Sounds in the Hills country were the topic of a popular book by Washington Irving, the famed author of "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." In *Astoria*, published in 1836, Irving recounted the route of Wilson Price Hunt and Robert Stuart, who traveled through an area referred to as "the Black Hills" on their way to and from the

33. Vallé's interaction with the expedition was recorded on 1 October 1804. Moulton, ed., *Lewis and Clark Journals*, p. 53n37.

34. Watson Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills* (1966; reprint ed., Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2003), p. 8.

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Pacific Northwest between 1811 and 1813. Influenced by the few maps that marked the "Black Hills," Irving described its location as "an extensive chain, lying about a hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains . . . stretching in a northeast direction from the . . . Platte River, to the great north bend of the Missouri," drawing connections among the tributaries of the Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Cheyenne, Little Missouri, and Yellowstone rivers.[35] His account of the "savage cliffs and precipices," their "most singular and fantastic forms . . . resembling towns and castellated fortresses," highlighted the picturesque nature of the Hills country.[36] Yet, the map in *Astoria*, titled "Sketches of the Routes of Hunt and Stuart," was an overly simplified trace of the men's expedition that does not include the Black Hills country. Irving's literary description of it, however, became "the authority that sustains the representation of these hills as it has been made on all the published maps" in the late 1830s and 1840s (Map 7).[37]

Irving's story described the same booming noises in the Black Hills country that Vallé warned of. He called them violent sounds that resembled the "discharge of several pieces of artillery." He also thought that Native populations believed they came from storms created by the powerful elements of thunder spirits.[38] Claiming an intimate knowledge of Indigenous beliefs that he certainly did not possess, Irving

35. Washington Irving, *Astoria; Or, Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1836), 1:252.

36. Ibid., 1:253.

37. The map in Irving's book is "plainly based on information" from reports and a map resulting from explorations of Benjamin L. E. Bonneville, which Irving compiled and published in 1837. Wilson Price Hunt and Robert Stuart, *Sketches of the Routes of Hunt and Stuart* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, 1836), Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps Inc., raremaps.com/gallery/detail/70191/sketch-of-the-routes-of-hunt-stuart-carey-lea-blanchard. *See also* James P. Ronda, *Astoria and Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), p. 326. For the "vague" account of a Black Hills journey, *see* Warren, *Memoir*, p. 36.

38. Irving, *Astoria*, 1:253. Hunt did not travel through the contemporary Black Hills (Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*, p. 8). Like nineteenth century explorers, tourism entrepreneurs in the twentieth century used sound as "[a]coustic markers of place, identity, and class" to further assert America's entitlement to the Black Hills. They mirrored Irving's tone and ridiculed the sounds as a byproduct of Indigenous superstitions (Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007], pp. 45–47). For more on the "aural landscape" in the West, *see* Sarah Keyes, "'Like a Roaring Lion': The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest," *Journal of American History* 96 (June 2009): 22.

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Map 7. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville wrote several reports and created a map after his explorations in the early 1830s that provided the basis for the map in Washington Irving's *Astoria*. The arrow here indicates the unmarked location of the Black Hills.

(*Sketches of the Routes of Hunt and Stuart* [Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1836], raremaps.com/gallery/detail/46784/sketch-of-the-routes-of-hunt-stuart-carey-lea-blanchard).

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carelessly dismissed their views as the superstitions of "ignorant inhabitants." Irving did not respect Indian constructs of power. Instead, he mocked their worldviews and claimed that they attached "unusual significance to the echoes which haunt the precipices." Irving's cultural assumptions about Indigenous people as "wandering" and "ignorant" misled his readers. *Astoria* set the precedent for how future storytellers and boosters misconstrued Indigenous connections to He Sapa as "fanciful and superstitious attributes."[39] This dismissal of Indians' beliefs created doubt about their intimate knowledge of the Black Hills. Settlers later employed this same tactic over and over again to erode Native claims to the land as illogical and erroneous.

Other vivid descriptions of the Black Hills country promoted the land as unique. Some white Americans believed the Hills country represented the West's "crystal mountain," a place that sparkled in the distance.[40] These accounts became legendary as newspapers and travel literature repeated them. Tales of the Hills country included details of unique rock formations and cliffs, with "steep and rugged an[d] rocky" ravines. In his 1823 diary, which documented a hunting group's travels, trapper and guide James Clyman described the Hills country as "a pleasant . . . pine Region" and so "cool and refreshing" when compared to the dry plains environment.[41] Clyman also noted his amazement over "a grove of Petrifi[e]d timber," a comment that resulted in the circulation of tall tales about the Black Hills and greater Rocky Mountain region.[42] Immediately after the group's travels, Moses ("Black") Harris, a hunter who traveled with Clyman, shared the story about the mysterious petrified forest near the Black Hills with patrons in a St. Louis restaurant. Harris's fable recounted "some of the strange things seen in the mountains," including a "petrified grove" with "petrified tree branches and petrified birds."[43]

39. Irving, *Astoria*, 1:253–55.

40. Jonathan Carver, *Three Years' Travels Throughout the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, 1768* (London: C. Dilly, 1781), pp. 118–22.

41. James Clyman, *James Clyman, American Frontiersman, 1792–1881: The Adventures of a Trapper and Covered Wagon Emigrant as told in His Own Reminiscences and Diaries*, 2d ed. (Portland, Ore.: Champoeg Press, 1960), p. 17. Clyman likely wrote his memoirs sometime after 1845.

42. Ibid., p. 19.

43. Ibid. Moses Harris was sometimes described as white, sometimes as African American, and on a few instances as American Indian.

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Harris's exaggerated statements later emerged in newspapers and circulated broadly, generating much excitement. On 16 July 1844, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* described the Hills country as a place where one encountered "forests of stone." From those who traveled through the country, including "many who have long disbelieved," the reporter had "heard much of the petrified forests . . . that *birds* are there, sitting on the branches, the most hard-hearted things of all the feathered tribe, being solidified into stone, for all time to come!"[44] Five years later, George Frederick Ruxton, a British travel writer, repeated a version of the account. He explained how the character "Black Harris" told a similar story to a woman in a St. Louis restaurant. In the Black Hills country, Ruxton wrote, Harris encountered a stony grove where he "snaps the grass like pipe stems, and breaks the leaves a-snappin' like Californy shells."[45] The story also became "one of the Yellowstone tales" that explorers repeated when describing their experiences in the future national park.[46]

Jedidiah Smith, who also traveled with Clyman, offered more substance to this imagined Black Hills country. A grizzly bear attacked Smith in the contemporary Black Hills near Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, shortly before Clyman and the rest of the group came across the so-called petrified forest. According to Clyman, Smith met the bear "face to face." The bear, he recorded, "had taken nearly all [Smith's] head in his capacious mouth" and sent Smith "sprawling on the earth." The attack left Smith's skull "bare to near the crown of the head leaving a white streak to where the teeth passed," and tore one of his ears off. Smith survived, but was "bleeding freely." Clyman detailed how he sewed Smith's scalp "through and through and over laying the lacerated parts together" back on his head.[47] This vivid picture of Smith's scalp hanging by a thread of hair made him a hero and solidified the Black

44. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 July 1844.

45. Ruxton, *Life in the Far West* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849), pp. 16–17.

46. Western "mountain man" Jim Bridger "undoubtedly" was "aware of that persistent tale almost from its origin," but by 1859 he had lifted Clyman's story and Harris's petrified forest, produced a "re-phrasing" of it "in an amplified form," and attributed it to the Yellowstone region he explored (Aubrey L. Haines, *Yellowstone National Park: Its Exploration and Establishment* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. National Park Service, Department of Interior, 1974], pp. 19–20).

47. Clyman, *American Frontiersman*, p. 18.

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Hills country as a place of heart-pounding adventure and extreme danger. His injuries served as souvenirs from a land that both enticed and cautioned future travelers.[48]

Whispers of mineral wealth covered the West in a thick layer of intrigue for decades. While Indigenous knowledge of gold-like stones in the Black Hills country existed before European records, the first written account appeared in the notes of French trapper Régis Loisel in 1804. Reporting to the French lieutenant governor of Louisiana, Loisel mentioned "hidden precious minerals, as is declared by the tribes who frequent them." He believed that the minerals were "so abundant that they are found in nuggets, scattered here and there" throughout *Costa Negra*, which he recorded was the Spanish name for "Black Hills."[49] Loisel's report sparked additional rumors of precious metals in the mountainous land that circulated during the first decade of the 1800s.

The *Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* of 1845 also informed masses of Americans about this land in Indigenous territory. This compendium instructed readers about the landmarks they would encounter after leaving the Fort Laramie trading post. "The emigrant pursues a course, about west by north," the manual instructed, "over the Black hills, seven days, to Sweet-water, near Independence rock; thence up Sweet-water, nine days, to Little Sandy; thence west by north four days, to Green river."[50] Thousands of westward travelers relied on this guide's "very extraordinary" depiction of the Hills country, which it claimed extended far west into Wyoming. "When viewed from an elevated position, they present one interminous succession of treeless, shrubless, rolling swells and hills," the guide read, "which much resemble the rolling billows of a tempestuous ocean."[51] Once again, the guide identified

48. Jon C. Coleman, *Here Lies Hugh Glass: A Mountain Man, A Bear, and the Rise of the American Nation* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2012), pp. 116–17.

49. Pierre A. Tabeau, *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 237. Although Loisel thought *Costa Negra* translated to "Black Hills," it actually translates to "Black Coast." Evidence of a Spanish presence in the Black Hills stems from a recovered "blade," believed to be part of a seventeenth-century "Spanish rapier." E. Steve Cassells, David B. Miller, and Paul V. Miller, eds., *Paha Sapa: A Cultural Resource Overview of the Black Hills National Forest, South Dakota and Wyoming* (Custer, S.Dak.: U.S. National Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, 1984), p. 124.

50. Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (Cincinnati, Ohio: G. Conclin, 1845), p. 134. Fort Laramie became a U.S. Army outpost in 1849.

51. Ibid., p. 136.

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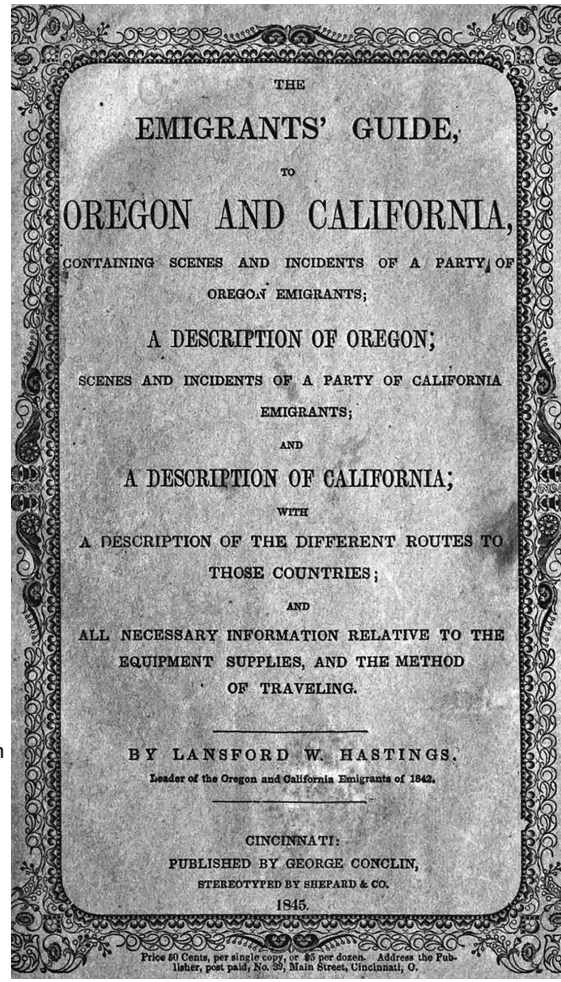

THE

EMIGRANTS' GUIDE,

TO

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA,

CONTAINING SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF OREGON EMIGRANTS;

A DESCRIPTION OF OREGON;

SCENES AND INCIDENTS OF A PARTY OF CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS;

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA;

WITH

A DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT ROUTES TO THOSE COUNTRIES;

AND

ALL NECESSARY INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE EQUIPMENT SUPPLIES, AND THE METHOD OF TRAVELING.

BY LANSFORD W. HASTINGS.

Leader of the Oregon and California Emigrants of 1842.

CINCINNATI:

PUBLISHED BY GEORGE CONCLIN,

STEREOTYPED BY SHEPARD & CO.

1845.

Price 50 Cents, per single copy, or $5 per dozen. Address the Publisher, post paid, No. 39, Main Street, Cincinnati, O.

The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California directed settlers through Native lands on their way to the Pacific coast, subsequently shaping how the United States understood, mapped, and claimed the Black Hills country.

this land as the Black Hills, but it actually describes the current location of the Laramie Mountains in eastern Wyoming.

The *Emigrants' Guide* and contemporary maps convinced thousands of men and women who traversed this route that the mountainous range they encountered was the Black Hills country. These sources assured them that they were "at the commencement of the Black Hills,"[52] or "in full view of the Black Hills."[53] One traveler noted the perceived

52. *Burlington (Iowa) Hawk-Eye*, 28 Aug. 1849.
53. *Grant County (S.Dak.) Herald*, 2 Dec. 1843.

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accuracy of Frémont's route, writing, "We then shaped our course west, entering the Black Hills about twenty miles north of Frémont's trail."[54] For the next two decades, settlers, travelers, and government officials continued to define the Black Hills country with these descriptions and coordinates, placing them in present-day Wyoming. Historians and writers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are quick to reject settler testimonies about this location of the Hills country because their movements do not place them within the contemporary one hundred square miles that define He Sapa. Yet, their accounts held importance in the evolving imagination of the region. Dismissing these sources skews and diminishes the complex history of how Americans manifested their views of this land.

Settlers imagined the Black Hills country as a spacious, uninhabited landscape through which thousands would pass to stake their claims in Oregon, California, Utah, and other western destinations. As one traveler's account reflects, most non-Indigenous people viewed the Hills as a place-marker between the North Platte and Green rivers in Wyoming.[55] This wave of settlers no doubt appreciated the scenery they encountered. One person admiringly described the Hills as "covered with a dark growth of pine and cedar," giving them "the appearance from which they derive their cognoment [*sic*]. Beautiful timbered streams intersect them, and myriads of buffalo were grazing all around that region when we came over them on our way 'home.'"[56] Newspapers printed letters from emigrants, as well as reports from journalists with headlines that reflected recreational possibilities like "Sport in the Clouds—Fun in the Rain—the Black Hills," statements that advertisements for Black Hills tourism later echoed.[57] Other observers saw isolation or even desolation. One newspaper article reported, "Here barrenness outdid itself, and was illustrated by many ruins of traders' sun-dried brick forts." The remains, the author wrote, "only inspired us with wonder how man could have attempted to live here, where even security has tempted but few animals to penetrate its solitudes."[58]

54. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 11 June 1850.
55. *Pittsburgh Gazetteer*, 24 Aug. 1838.
56. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 6 Sept. 1843.
57. Ibid., 10 Jan. 1844.
58. *Huron (S.Dak.) Reflector*, 28 Oct. 1845.

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These reports, however, failed to acknowledge the existence of the flourishing Native cultures there. Settlers lacked the knowledge or desire to read the land for an active human presence. For decades, their focus on "wild" valleys and vistas created a belief that the Black Hills country remained empty and unused. As one traveler observed, it was "to a great extent, unknown to history," remaining "wild and desolate."[59] After weeks or months on the trail, overland settlers were both bewildered and relieved when they made it to this country. "The Black Hills," one voyager wrote, was a "region of wild elevations" that stretched "away westward for miles yet uncounted."[60] Chroniclers rarely left the unique environment undescribed. "I cannot now trust myself to speak of the grandeur, sublimity, soft beauty and appalling wilderness—all of which have been passing, like a many-changing panorama, before me for the last forty-seven days," wrote another traveler when recalling the Black Hills and the Sweetwater, Green River, and Wind River mountains that spread before him.[61]

By the 1850s, non-Native descriptions of the Black Hills meshed with a growing imagination about its location. Irving, Clyman, Ruxton, and other writers used the Hills country to anchor the dominant literary narratives about the frontier that readers devoured. These audiences vividly imagined the enthralling, mythical Black Hills country, and these stories whet their appetite for more. In short order, consumers of western tales developed a feeling of entitlement over the area as they sought to control and claim this distant land as part of an expanding American empire.[62] With white Americans taking part in this imperial expansion, the quest to control Native lands spurred additional efforts to explore the Black Hills country.

Missionaries joined this endeavor as well. They traveled to the area to "participate in the toils, the perilous adventure, and the wandering and exciting manner of life" and to "furnish more accurate statements" about the land and the people who lived there.[63] Jesuit priest Pierre-Jean

59. *Alton (S.Dak.) Observer*, 12 Apr. 1838.

60. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 10 Jan. 1844.

61. Ibid., 6 Sept. 1843. During their westward movements, settlers did acknowledge Indigenous people as a potential threat. They did not commonly mention this "threat" during their migration through today's Laramie Mountains, however.

62. Coleman, *Here Lies Hugh Glass*, pp. 169–70.

63. *Alton Observer*, 12 Apr. 1838.

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De Smet wrote about his interactions with Native people. They tolerated his presence, referring to him as "Black Robe." He feasted, preached, and interacted with the Oglala, Cheyenne, and Ponca people. De Smet observed their customs with scrutiny, calling their dancing and ceremonies "savage." He also claimed to have little hope "in the future of these poor and wretched tribes," predicting that Indigenous lands like the Black Hills would ultimately fall under the control of the United States.[64] From the displaced tribes, he argued, the president should "pluck some plumes from the Indian eagle"—take over Indigenous lands—and "place them in the crown composed of the trophies of his administration," which could add states that would "enhance the lustre of the galaxy of the flag of the Union." Out of this potential territory, he specifically described the "Black Hills" as a vast area east of the Rocky Mountains that was naturally "rich and verdant" and that promised "an ample reward to the slightest toil." He envisioned farms, orchards, cities, and large populations covering the land that was "destined to form several great and flourishing states."[65]

De Smet called the future of Native nations a "thorny question." The United States would only resolve the issue, he argued, through a "definitive arrangement," such as a treaty, to address the "sad remnant of these numerous nations, who once covered America."[66] The need for a treaty with Northern Great Plains and Rocky Mountain tribes collided with the rising tensions between them and tens of thousands of settlers unlawfully passing through Indigenous lands. De Smet called the overland trail through the Black Hills country the "broadest, longest and most beautiful road in the whole world" and a "magnificent highway" of the "White Nation."[67] The high traffic that it attracted, however, increased the chance for conflict between whites and Indians. The additional people also overwhelmed fragile resources and ecosystems, resulting in decreased bison populations, lands overgrazed by livestock, and devastating bouts of smallpox and cholera.[68] One Lakota winter

64. Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S.J., 1801–1873: Missionary Labors and Adventures among the Wild Tribes of North American Indians*, 4 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 2:633, 646.

65. Ibid., 2:645–46.

66. Ibid., 2:646.

67. Ibid., 2:671–72.

68. Elliott West, *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), pp. 72–77.

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Settlers illegally entered the Black Hills on wagon trains to search for wealth and treasure, spurring the Lakota Nation to defend their land.

count from 1851 recorded the year as "the second time many Sioux were killed by smallpox."[69]

The stories that shaped white Americans' thinking about western lands shifted from mysterious landscapes to dreams of gold and riches, causing the population influx. Miners first explored mineral resources in the contemporary Black Hills as early as the 1830s. One mining party in the 1870s reportedly discovered supplies from that era and a gravestone labeled "J.M., 1846."[70] Four years later, a newspaper reported that the "gold miners have all disappeared among the Black Hills."[71] In 1854, a group of French Canadians claimed they discovered gold in the Black Hills, but were supposedly attacked and killed by Indians soon after. De Smet, a self-proclaimed expert on minerals in the Black Hills country, also circulated gossip of wealth and riches throughout the northern plains.[72]

69. Roberta Carkeek Cheney, *The Big Missouri Winter Count* (Happy Camp, Calif.: Naturegraph, 1979), p. 29.

70. Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*, pp. 11–12.

71. *Palmyra (Mo.) Weekly Whig*, 22 Aug. 1850.

72. Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*, pp. 11–12. Parker, an avid and respected Black Hills scholar, noted that it is doubtful De Smet ever traveled through the contemporary Black

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These growing rumors of gold likely increased federal officials' motivations to force Native nations into signing various treaties. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, also known as the Horse Creek Treaty, was the first major government document that defined land boundaries for Native nations in the northern plains west of the Missouri River, the Black Hills country, and the Rocky Mountains. Prior to the negotiations near Horse Creek in western Nebraska, Colonel David D. Mitchell, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, invited De Smet to attend the council meetings. The assembly lasted over two weeks and included thousands of representatives from the Crow, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikira, Shoshone, Gros Ventre, Assiniboine, and Blackfoot nations, as well as the seven tribes of the Lakota nation—the Oglala, Sicangu, Hunkpapa, Miniconjou, Itzipco, Oohenunpa, and Sihasapa tribes. De Smet recorded that he endorsed the council and the resulting treaty despite the protests he heard in their tribal speeches. "The happy results of this council are, no doubt," he declared, "owing to the prudent measures of the commissioners" and believed that the "council will doubtless produce the good effects they have a right to expect." He supported the government's efforts because the treaty emphasized peaceful relations and shared hunting lands among the tribes. "It will be the commencement of a new era for the Indians—an era of peace," he wrote. As a result, according to De Smet, future "peaceable citizens may cross the desert unmolested, and the Indian will have little to dread from the bad white man, for justice will be rendered to him."[73]

De Smet's role as a missionary overshadows his major political influence at the Horse Creek council. At the government's request, De Smet drew a map that supposedly defined the borders of the signatory nations in the treaty's text. "In compliance with this request," De Smet later wrote in an 1857 letter to the Department of Interior, "I drew up the map from scraps then in my possession." De Smet admitted his map lacked the "accuracy of instrumental measurements and observation," which are "absolutely necessary" for reliability. Instead, the map came

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Hills. In his writings, De Smet clearly viewed the Laramie and Big Horn mountain ranges as the Black Hills. Even Chittenden and Richardson suggest that De Smet referred to the Black Hills as "the great mountain system known as the Big Horn range" (*Life, Letters and Travels*, 2:668, 670–71).

73. Chittenden and Richardson, *Life, Letters and Travels*, 2:684.

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from his years of learning about the terrain from "trappers and intelligent Indians" and were "only an approximation to the true position" of mountain passes, rivers, and other landmarks, including the Black Hills. Despite his confession of inaccuracies, De Smet later informed government officials that "the map, so prepared, was seemingly approved and made use of by the gentlemen assembled in council, and subsequently sent on to Washington together with the treaty."[74]

Although the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 does not include a map of federally imposed tribal boundaries, De Smet's map did contribute to the government's conception of their territorial lands. The Black Hills country is the boldest demarcation of any geographic marking on the map. The treaty's text mirrors De Smet's map in that it stipulates boundaries of nations that overlap, specifically the Lakota, Crow, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. Based on De Smet's distinct labeling, the treaty defines the Hills country as stretching thousands of miles from Red Butte, Wyoming, northeast to the Heart River in North Dakota (Map 8).[75]

Each tribe took these two weeks of council discussions seriously. They expressed grievances about the overland settlers' encroachment and destruction. They voiced dissatisfaction with the government's demand that each tribe select one representative to sign the treaty. Clear Blue Earth, a Sicangu Lakota envoy, argued against the federal officials, declaring "we can't make one Chief" for that purpose.[76] Through interpreters, Native representatives listened to Mitchell's promises of restitution for their destroyed lands, annuity payments, and protection from invading settlers. Believing that the government officials would

74. Ibid., 4:1497–98.

75. The text of the 1851 treaty describes the territory of the Crow Nation as extending from the Powder River to the Yellowstone River, "thence, along the main range of the Black Hills." This description, borrowing from the larger territorial reach of the Black Hills country, has "long perplexed" both Native and non-Native people because the "Black Hills are too far to the east." This idea is yet another example of how U.S. conceptions of the Black Hills relied on a set of inaccurate maps and guides as well as how the definition of this land changed dramatically in the second half of the 1800s (Burton S. Hill, "The Great Indian Treaty Council of 1851," *Nebraska History* 47 [Mar. 1966]: 105n20). For the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851, *see* "Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, Etc., 1851," in *Indian Treaties, 1778–1883*, ed. Charles J. Kappler (New York: Interland Publishing, 1972), pp. 594–95; Pierre-Jean De Smet, *Map of the Upper Great Plains and Rocky Mountains Region*, 1851, Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/2005630226.

76. Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, p. 40.

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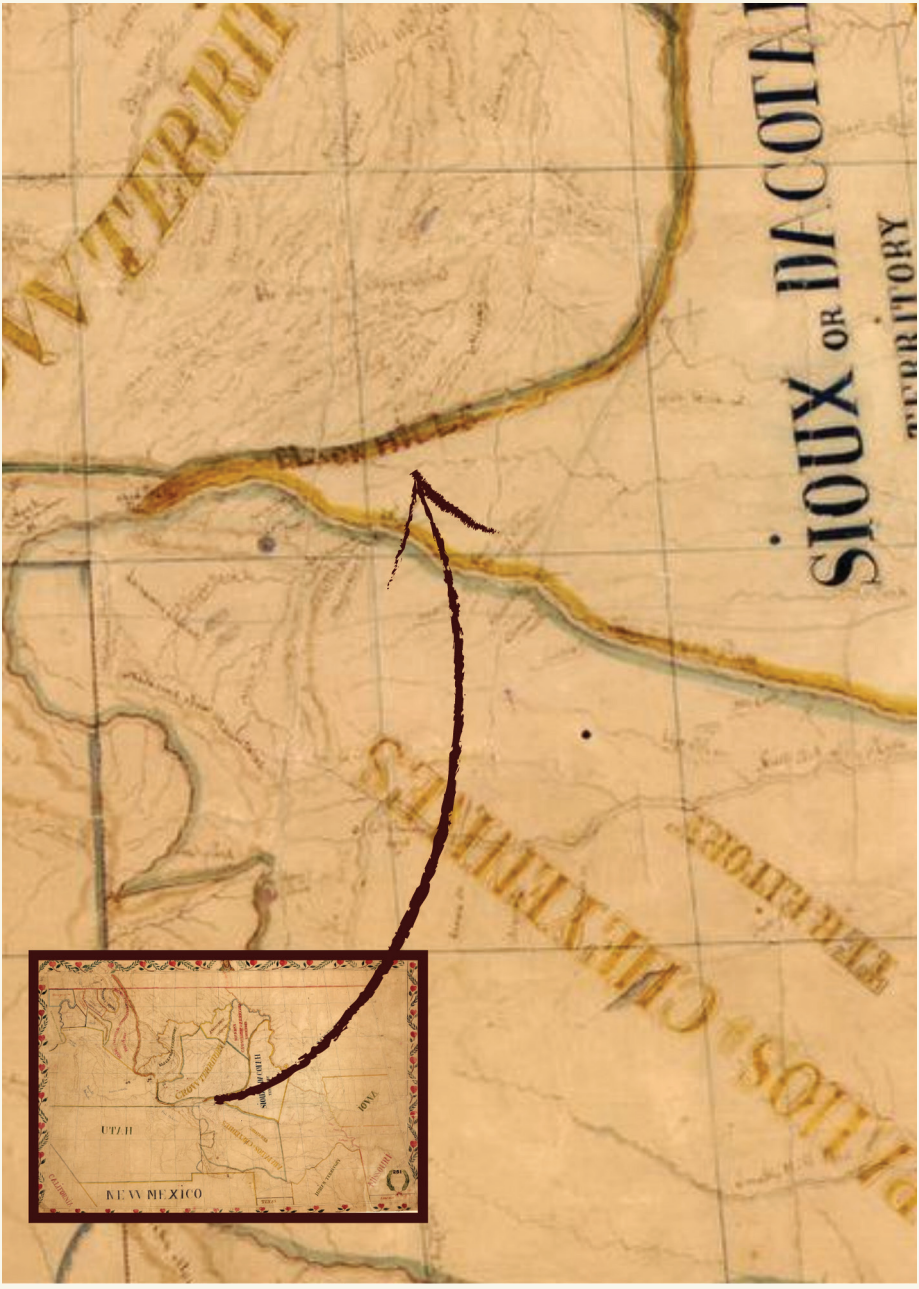

Map 8. The arrow here points to the "Black Hills" scrolled inside a boundary line on Pierre Jean De Smet's map of the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains. This label indicates the Hills as a landmark that divided lands between the Sioux, Arapahoe, Cheyenne, and Crow nations.

(*Map of the Upper Great Plains and Rocky Mountains Region* [n.p., 1851], loc.gov/item/2005630226).

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incorporate their contributions into the final document, Indigenous representatives signed the treaty. None of their specific grievances, however, appeared in the text when leaders signed it.[77]

During and after the meeting, tribes collectively protested the proposed boundaries and hunting lands, pointing to their inaccuracies. The territorial outlines, such as defining the Black Hills country as sweeping across thousands of miles, from De Smet's 1851 map and in the treaty text itself did not translate to Indigenous territories. In actions that protested and challenged the treaty provisions, the tribes continued to recognize their own geographic boundaries, such as seeing the Black Hills as a singular mountainous terrain in its contemporary location.

Signed on 17 September, the 1851 treaty was a scheme the federal government implemented to control western tribes under the guise of "shared" land use. This process aided the goal of transforming the Black Hills country into a territory used explicitly for settlement and economic expansion. The treaty promised to protect Indigenous nations from overland settlers, agreed to pay tribes fifty thousand dollars in annuities per year for fifty years, and laid the groundwork for how the government later appropriated their land through additional treaties and commissions. More importantly, part of the stipulations from a single line item—that the tribes recognized the right of the United States to "establish roads and military posts in [Indigenous] territory"—played a major role in Native resistance against future invasions into the Black Hills.[78]

Ultimately, the Fort Laramie Treaty failed to control the tribes. Tensions over boundary disputes, the decline of bison, and disregard for agreements in the treaty bubbled under the surface throughout the 1850s. Beginning in 1853, these tensions increased violence between

77. Their signatures—x-marks—reveal the duality of consent and coercion in the transference of space and land in Indian country during the nineteenth century (Scott Richard Lyons, *X-marks: Native Signatures of Assent* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010], pp. 16–19, 122–26; Goeman, *Mark My Words*, p. 20). "Sioux" is listed on the treaty, not "Lakota." For a summary of the treaty, *see* Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, pp. 36–42.

78. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 1:343. A Senate-proposed amendment, which the tribes ratified, later reduced the fifty thousand dollars per year for fifty years to ten years with the possibility of a five-year extension.

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Native peoples, settlers, and the U.S. Army. An encounter between an army detachment and a Lakota camp of Oglalas, Sicangus, and Miniconjous on 19 August 1854, known as the "Grattan Affair," demonstrates how the military's misunderstandings of U.S. Indian policy escalated cycles of violence in the Black Hills country. Over the two prior days, army officials mishandled a situation between a Mormon emigrant and the Lakotas over a stolen cow. Subsequent jurisdictional confusion led Lieutenant John L. Grattan and his troops to enter the camp east of Fort Laramie and demand the surrender of the alleged thief. After a nervous soldier killed Conquering Bear, one of the Sicangus trying to mediate growing tensions, they retaliated and thirty men, including Grattan, died. Army personnel who wrongly intervened in the initial dispute, however, violated the terms of the 1851 treaty, resulting in unnecessary violence and marking a dark tipping point between Lakotas and the United States.[79]

The Grattan Affair initiated both an increased military presence in the Black Hills country and an interest in new railroad routes and economic development. In early 1855, as retribution for the Grattan Affair, General William Harney and hundreds of soldiers under his command stormed into the northern plains. Known for his aggressive stance against Indians, Harney was also accused of beating a slave named Hannah to death in 1834 while stationed at the Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis.[80] Twenty years after he fled the scene and city, Harney stood on the banks of Blue Water Creek in present-day Nebraska and told his men in a rage of fury: "There are those damned red sons of bitches, who massacred the soldiers [under Grattan]. . . . Now, by God, men, there we have them. . . . Don't spare one of those damned red sons of bitches."[81] In the subsequent assault on the Sicangu camp along the creek, called the Battle of Ash Hollow or Blue Water Creek, the army killed at least

79. Some scholars refer to the Grattan Affair as the "beginning of Sioux military resistance." It is also known as the Grattan Massacre because the soldier deaths "reinforced Americans' views of the Indians as savages" (Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, p. 44).

80. *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (New Lisbon, Ohio), 4 Feb. 1848; Harriet C. Frazier, *Slavery and Crime in Missouri, 1773–1865* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001), pp. 135–39. Several other newspapers also reported the crime. Despite ample evidence against him, Harney was acquitted of murder charges.

81. Quoted in R. Eli Paul, *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854–1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), p. 90.

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eighty-seven Sicangus, half of them women and children. The troops then captured nearly one hundred Sicangu men, women, and children and imprisoned them at Fort Laramie. Some of them later died while in captivity. Numerous Sicangu women prisoners, who were forced to build lodgings for the soldiers, were also raped and abused. Treated as "property," several months later they bore "many war babies."[82] At least one woman disappeared forever when a soldier took her back east. Many survivors later told their stories. "Men, women, and children," one survivor remembered, "were shot right down and lay strewn on the prairies everywhere trampled under the feet of the sharpshod cavalry horses. . . . Groans from the dying could be heard."[83] One trader who saw the brutal massacre reported that after Harney's soldiers "took an infant" from one of the wounded women, "The child was 'put up as a target and shot at by some of the soldiers who killed it.'"[84] Lieutenant Warren witnessed Blue Water Creek, watching as Harney led the mass killing, captivity, and incarceration of Native men, women, and children. Privately, Warren wrote about how the "heart-rending" event disturbed him. After the massacre, however, when Lakotas fled north to the Black Hills for the winter, Warren obeyed Harney's orders to follow them to their sacred shelter.[85]

As the news about Blue Water Creek broke, the *New York Times* questioned Harney's actions. The newspaper report likened the assault to "simply a massacre" and asked "whether it is possible to distinguish between the innocent and the guilty in retaliating these outrages."[86] From Harney's perspective, the Sicangus deserved retaliation for Grat-

82. Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History*, ed. Emily Levin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), p. 155n12. For more on their captivity and forced labor, *see* Richmond L. Clow, "Mad Bear: William S. Harney and the Sioux Expedition of 1855–1856," *Nebraska History* 61 (June 1980): 141.

83. Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes*, p. 62.

84. Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism*, p. 41.

85. Warren's response to Blue Water Creek is in James D. McLaird and Lesta V. Turchen, "Exploring the Black Hills, 1855–1875: Reports of the Government Expeditions," *South Dakota History* 3 (Fall 1973): 360–63. *See also* Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains: Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren's Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota, in the Years 1855–'56–'57* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, Office of Administrative Services, Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1981).

86. Paul, *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War*, pp. 144–45.

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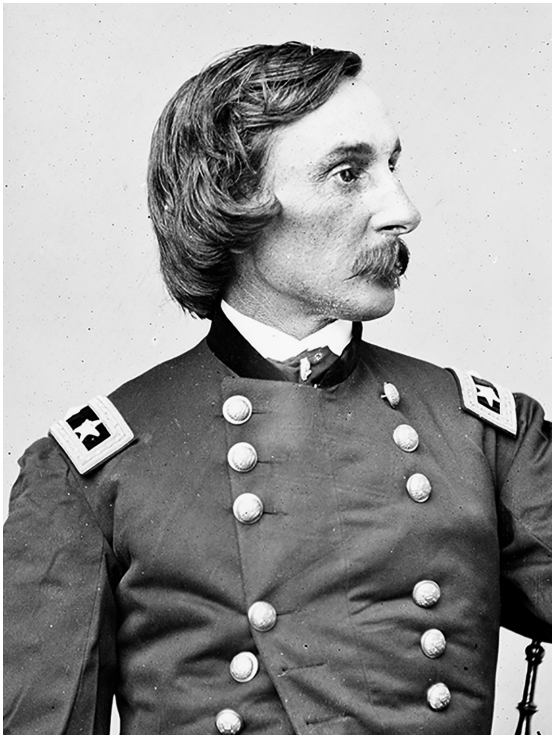

Gouverneur K. Warren, photographed here during the Civil War, led the first federal expedition into the Black Hills and produced the first maps and detailed topographical reports of the region.

tan's death, although they had, in fact, attempted to avoid violence with Grattan. They had tried to resolve the initial issue according to the 1851 treaty—either through restitution or through the direct dealings with an Indian agent.

Amid this military conflict, the Fort Laramie Treaty faced a public and political backlash. Many Americans resented the federal government's role in exercising control over valuable land while at the same time sharing that control with Indigenous nations through a protection clause in the treaty. Tennessee Senator John Bell reflected their frustrations, proclaiming that the Senate should adopt "some rational and practicable scheme for the government and control of these numerous and wild tribes of Indians in the interior of the continent."[87] As people

87. *Republican Banner* (Nashville, Tenn.), 30 Mar. 1854. In 1852, newspapers still referred to the Laramie Mountains as the Black Hills: "These Indians claim all the region between those extreme points North of the Platte, and East of the Black hills [*sic*] which skirt the Southern border of the Yellow Stone Valley" (*New York Times*, 25 June 1852).

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like De Smet and Warren observed, the economic value of gold, timber, and soil in the Black Hills country made it a land of promise.

For the federal government, the Black Hills country remained an ambiguous place until it appeared in the text of the Fort Laramie Treaty, which described its supposed location in latitude and longitude. This detail served as a regional marker and initiated the government's attempt to incorporate more Indigenous land, even though the precise size and location of the Black Hills country eluded Americans. The Grattan and Blue Water Creek incidents prompted the *New York Tribune* to request more information about the area. "Our information is so incomplete" about the "barricade of imaginary mountains," the newspaper reported. The Hills were "no where to be found" and remained "*terra incognita*," except to a large group of fur traders, surveyors, and personnel at military posts. The *Tribune* essentially called for Americans to claim the real "Black Hills," both to ensure accurate mapping and to envision it as having "the capacity to support a civilized population."[88] The clamor about the Black Hills country made more settlers eager to trespass into these sacred Native lands in violation of the 1851 treaty. Additional rumors of gold drew wealth-seeking prospectors to the Black Hills country and fueled the need to map this land. As attention on the Hills country grew, the public increasingly imagined the inevitability of it belonging to the federal government.[89]

The Blue Water Creek massacre resulted in unprecedented turmoil for the Lakotas. They marked it on over two dozen winter counts as the event when "White Beard refused to release the people."[90] In addition to "White Beard" and "Mad Bear," Indians referred to Harney as "Hornet," "Wasp," and "Soldier Chief who Swears."[91] Following the massa-

88. *New York Tribune*, 16 Dec. 1856.

89. Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, p. 69; Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*, pp. 21–23.

90. Linea Sundstrom, "The Chandler-Pohrt Winter-Count: Interpretation of Pictographs," 1998, groups.creighton.edu/sfmission/museum/exhibits/wintercounts/yankton.html, accessed 8 May 2019. Sundstrom's interpretation now appears at thefirstscout.blogspot.com/2016/01/the-chandler-pohrt-winter-count.html.

91. Native names for Harney appear in multiple winter counts. *See* Kingsley M. Bray, "Lone Horn's Peace: A New View of Sioux-Crow Relations, 1851–1858," *Nebraska History* 66 (Mar. 1985): 38–39; Richmond L. Clow, "General William S. Harney on the Northern Plains," *South Dakota History* 16 (Fall 1986): 241–44. Soldiers also complained about serving with Harney. *See* Clow, "Harney on the Northern Plains," p. 240.

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cre, Lakotas dissolved into smaller groups and retreated north to their sacred Black Hills for the winter. Harney maintained his hunger for vengeance and followed, hoping to attack more Lakotas en route to Fort Pierre. Facing blizzard conditions, his force arrived at the post without crossing paths with them.

In March 1856, despite his lack of authority over Indian policy, Harney demanded that leaders from each Lakota tribe meet him to discuss a new treaty. Most, fearing violent retribution, complied and traveled to Fort Pierre. Others did not, especially after at least one federal Indian agent advised them not to attend. Those leaders who attended feared for their lives in the presence of Mad Bear. Manipulating their trauma from Blue Water Creek, Harney bullied the Native representatives into accepting new conditions—specifically quitting horse trading, staying in their 1851 boundaries, and establishing permanent tribal leaders—to achieve "peace." To survive the meeting and Harney's erratic behavior, Lakotas accepted the terms. Quietly, however, they shared plans to meet the following year at a large council in the Black Hills to discuss what occurred in 1855 and 1856. Their signatures on Harney's "treaty," given under duress, were symbolic of a call for united Lakota resistance.[92]

In August 1857, nearly ten thousand Lakotas gathered at a sacred Black Hills mountain. Known as Bear Butte (Mató Páha) to the Lakotas and Bear Peak (Nakoevë) to the Cheyennes, this place holds significant value for ceremony and prayer for several Native nations.[93] While

92. Congress refused to ratify the addended 1851 treaty that included Harney's agreement. *See* ibid., pp. 241–45; Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: Strange Man of the Oglalas*, 3d ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), pp. 87–89; George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (1937; reprint ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), pp. 80–82.

93. By 1857, the Cheyennes occupied territory hundreds of miles south of the Black Hills in present-day Colorado. There, they transformed from an agriculturally based nation to a bison trading power. Their movement resulted both from this economic change and from territorial shifts when the Lakotas grew more dominant over the Black Hills. John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), pp. 137–39. For Indigenous translations and meanings, *see* Sundstrom, "Sacred Black Hills," pp. 183, 190; and Peter J. Powell, *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), p. 88. Mandan, Kiowa, and Neishan tribes have Bear Butte connections as well. *See* J. Gilbert McAllister, "Kiowa-Apache Social Organization," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 162–63; and James Mooney, "Calendar History of

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at the meeting, one leader later reported, "Their hearts felt strong at seeing how numerous they were; and if they went to war again they would not yield so easy as they did before."[94] They scorned the army for killing, capturing, and incarcerating their people. They also spent time at the council mourning, praying, dancing, and making plans to resist continued American encroachment. Although the tribes held differing, in many cases generational, views on how to move forward, the council resulted in a series of intertribal policies. Predominantly, it established ways to protect the Black Hills and surrounding land from invasions of settlers and soldiers and to unite against additional treaty negotiations. The Lakota representatives agreed on resolutions that prohibited the construction of settler and military roads as well as the presence of any Americans, except for traders moving to and from posts and trails, in their land. They also created strategies to aggressively expand west into the game-rich lands of the Crow nation.[95]

After the Bear Butte council, Lakotas circulated their resolutions to the military and government officials they encountered. In September 1857, Lakota leaders met with Upper Missouri River Agent A. H. Redfield and respectfully informed him about the policies their nations adopted:

> *They wanted the traders at their regular trading posts, and nowhere else, and that was all they wanted*. They did not want soldiers sent among them; they did not want the government goods; they did not want anything to do with the government; they did not want any more white men in their country; they did not want white men passing through their country; there were too many white men in their country already; they wanted to be let alone to do as they pleased, as in old times.[96]

Lakotas passed along similar messages throughout the region through the end of 1857 and over the next several years. They also protested the American military presence through horse theft and other incidents

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the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1895–96* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), pt. 1, p. 156.

94. Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, p. 52.

95. Bray, "Lone Horn's Peace," pp. 42–43; Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, pp. 46–47.

96. Redfield to John Haverty, 9 Nov. 1857, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1857* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), p. 136 [emphasis in original].

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In August 1857, members of the Lakota Nation gathered at the sacred Bear Butte (Mato Paha) to discuss settler and military encroachments on their land.

near forts along the Missouri River. Their resistance disarmed Redfield, who urged deploying more troops in this territory.[97] Lakota people, he believed, "may now be easily controlled and kept peaceful and quiet without the destruction of life; but if left alone," he argued, "they will be led on little by little to the commission of outrages not only against other Indians, but the whites also, which will *demand severe chastisement and the destruction of many lives*."[98]

Lakotas followed through on their objections to any intrusions in their Black Hills. In 1855, Warren led the first of many federally commissioned scientific expeditions into the contemporary Black Hills. While Warren pursued the Lakotas who fled north after Blue Water Creek, he proceeded to skulk around the periphery of the Hills. During his movements, Warren concluded the land was an inevitable part of

97. Redfield to Haverty, 9 Sept., 9 Nov. 1857, ibid., pp. 134–37.
98. Redfield to Haverty, 9 Nov. 1857, ibid., p. 137 [emphasis in original].

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the federal government's conquest of Native territory. Eventually, he sat atop Bear Butte to sketch the impressive landscape. Now recognizing them as the actual Black Hills, he believed the Hills offered land for grazing, an "inexhaustible quantity" of timber "useful to future settlers," and was "capable of sustaining a tolerably dense population."[99] Warren rightly predicted a swell of settlers in the Hills, foreshadowing the over fifteen thousand non-Native people who would swarm there to chase gold in 1876. Yet, he was undoubtedly wrong in his lofty belief that "Indians do not set a high value on the land, and it could easily be procured from them."[100] In contradiction, he also anticipated that the government would have to fight a war against the Lakota nation. If so, Warren wrote that the conflict "should not be stopped till [the Lakotas] are effectually humbled and made to feel the full power and force of the Government."[101] At the expense of annihilating Native nations, the expedition initiated concerted efforts to access and control Black Hills resources.

Warren created multiple maps from his 1855 route. Two of them mark the "Black Hills" along mountains that span from present-day Colorado to North Dakota (Maps 9 and 10).[102] On another map, Warren drew two "Black Hills" terrains. One surrounded the Laramie Plains. The other comprised the contemporary Black Hills, which he denoted with the word "Unexplored," his coding method to indicate "imperfect" knowledge of mountain ranges.[103] Warren indicated natural features, including Rapid Creek, Box Elder Creek, Cheyenne River, and Bear Butte—marked as "Bear Peak." (Map 11).[104] He wrote it was "a hurried compilation" that he intended to revise after additional reconnaissance.[105]

99. Warren, "Explorations in the Dacota Country, in the Year 1855," in U.S., Congress, Senate, *Report of the Secretary of War* (1856), Ex. Doc. 76, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 71.

100. Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, p. 30.

101. Ibid., p. 53.

102. Warren, *Map of Routes for Pacific Railroad, Compiled to Accompany the Report of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, Sec. of War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1855).

103. Warren, *Memoir*, p. 106.

104. Warren, comp., Edward Freyhold, illus., *Lieutenant Warren's Report of Military Reconnaissances in the Dacota Country, 1855* (Washington, D.C.: Pacific Railroad Office, 1855), biodiversitylibrary.org/pageimage/32561792.

105. Warren, "Explorations in the Dacota Country," n1.

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Maps 9 (above) and 10 (opposite). In these two maps from Warren's movements after Blue Water Creek, he located the Black Hills along mountains that span from present-day Colorado to North Dakota.

(above, *Map of Routes for Pacific Railroad, Compiled to Accompany the Report of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, Sec. of War* [Washington, D.C.: Office of P.R.R. Surveys, 1855], loc.gov/item/gm70005365; opposite, *Map of Routes for a Pacific Railroad* [Washington, D.C.: Office of P.R.R. Surveys, 1855], loc.gov/resource/g4051p.ct001866).

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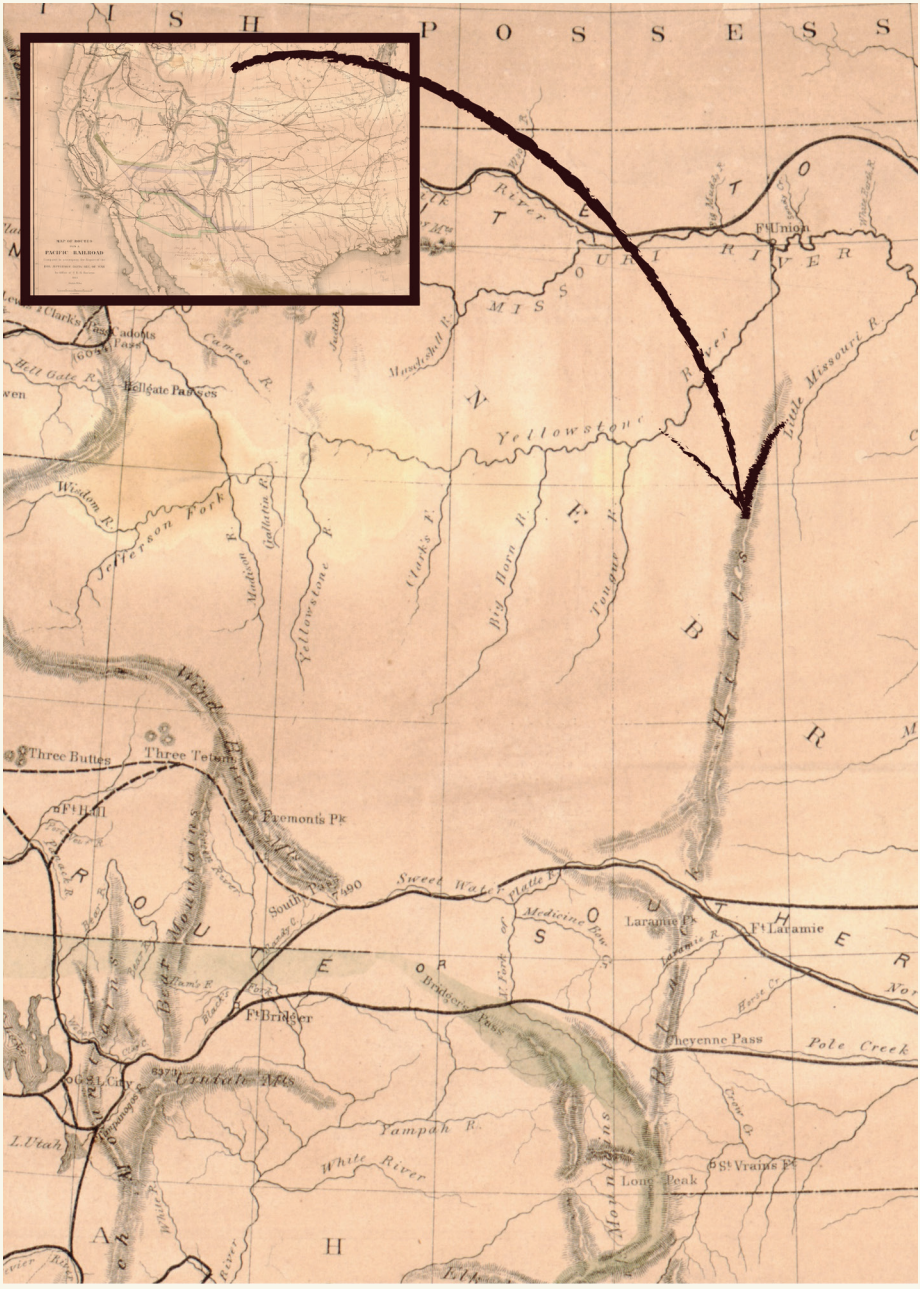

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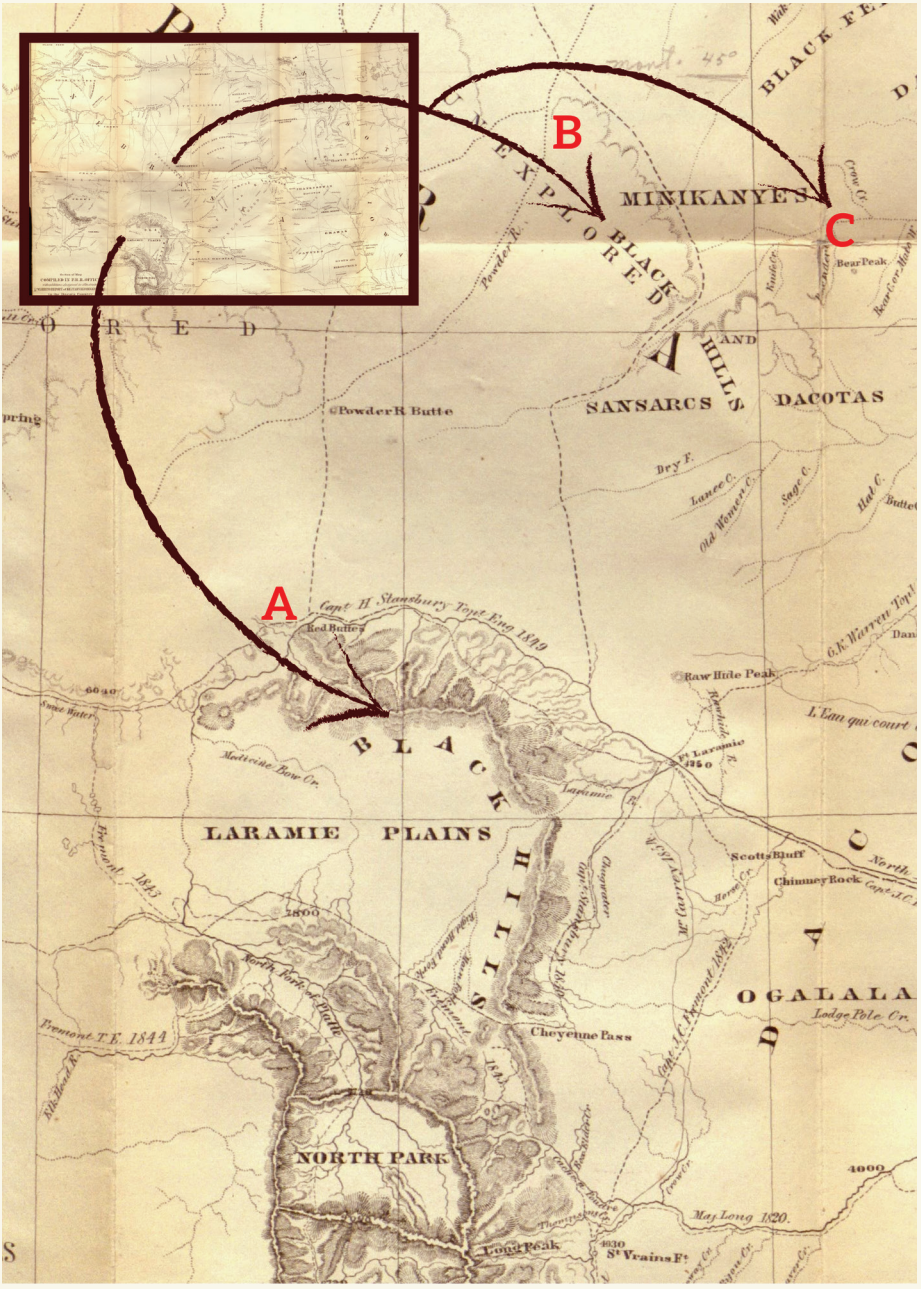

Map 11. Another map drawn by Warren provides additional detail of the Northern Great Plains. Item "A" indicates the Black Hills surrounding the Laramie Plains. Item "B" shows the other, "unexplored" Black Hills, and marks their present-day location. Other natural features include river names and "Bear Peak" (under item "C") to indicate Bear Butte.

(E. Freyholder, illus., *Lieutenant Warren's Report of Military Reconnaissances in the Dacota Country, 1855* [Washington, D.C.: Pacific Railroad Office, 1855], biodiversitylibrary.org/pageimage/32561792).

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Warren led follow-up expeditions into the Black Hills in 1856 and 1857. Immediately upon his arrival near Inyan Kara during the later excursion, he encountered a group of Miniconjous who resisted his intrusion. Being mere weeks after their council at Bear Butte, they ordered Warren's men off their land, threatening the soldiers with violence. Warren observed that the "grounds of their objections to our traversing this region were very sensible. . . . Their feelings toward us, under the circumstances, were not unlike what we should feel toward a person who should insist upon setting fire to our barns." He claimed his objective was to collect scientific data. This gross misrepresentation aimed to pacify them, and the "most violent of them were for immediate resistance when I told them of my intentions." The Lakotas called Warren on his lie, arguing that his passage through their country meant his unit could collect "knowledge of its character and the proper way to traverse it" if war erupted between their nation and the United States. They cited Harney's promise to not enter the Hills from their meeting at Fort Pierre, insisting they had "already given up all the country to the whites that they could spare" and that "these Black Hills must be left wholly to themselves." Privately, Warren confessed that he was "necessarily compelled to admit to myself the truth and force of these objections."[106]

Warren's expedition survived this encounter because he retreated from Owl Maker Hill. Yet, he had no intention of leaving the Black Hills and continued to prowl along the landscape's periphery, eventually encountering a large camp of Oglalas, who were later joined by Hunkpapas, Miniconjous, and Sihasapas. The army unit camped there for a few days, hoping to meet with Hunkpapa leader Bear's Rib. Warren again misled the Lakotas in the camp about the army's "scientific" explorations. He told one Sihasapa man, Black Shield, that he was there to observe and not "interfere with the Indian way of life."[107]

106. Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, pp. 19–20. *See also* Vincent J. Flanagan, "Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Explorer of the Nebraska Territory," *Nebraska History* 51 (June 1970): 188–89; Sundstrom, "Sacred Black Hills," pp. 189–92. In her work Sundstrom discusses how the language used for identifying Inyan Kara was often also used for Owl Maker Hill, but that the geographic sites are not the same.

107. Flanagan, "Gouverneur Kemble Warren," pp. 189–90. Black Shield was killed at the Wounded Knee Massacre on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1890.

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Instead of heeding the Lakotas' warnings, Warren doubled back around the periphery of the Hills, continuing his research to "ascertain if [the Black Hills] was of value to the whites, and to discover roads through it and places for military posts." He departed the area on 21 September 1857 and traveled south for forty miles before turning east. Two days later, Bear's Rib, who had been following the expedition, interrupted their travels within miles of Wind Cave (Wasúŋ Wicóniya Wakáŋ), Buffalo Gap (Pte Tali Yapa), and Hot Springs (Mnikȟáta), all sacred places to Lakota people. The well-known leader "reiterated all that had been said by the other chiefs, and added that he could do nothing to prevent our being destroyed if we attempted to proceed further."[108] Bear's Rib, citing the Lakotas' recent council at Bear Butte and the strong resolutions adopted there, cautioned Warren that "if they went to war again they would not yield so easy as they did before." Warren recounted Bear's Rib's words: "At that council they solemnly pledged to each other not to permit further encroachments from the whites. . . . many of them, entertain no respect for the power of our Government."[109] After a full day negotiating, Bear's Rib allowed Warren to continue toward Bear Butte in exchange for him delivering a message: "he wished me to say to the President and to the white people that they could not be allowed to come into that country; that if the presents sent were to purchase such a right, they did not want them. All they asked of the white people was, to be left to themselves and let alone."[110]

Warren's insistence on intruding into Lakota lands resulted in the completion of his 1857 and 1858 maps. For the first time, official maps for the United States revealed a topographical survey of the contemporary Black Hills, correcting previous maps with "erroneous impressions" of mountain ranges.[111] Warren's *Military Map of Nebraska and*

108. Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, pp. 19–20.

109. Ibid., pp. 52–53.

110. Ibid., p. 20. *See also* Sundstrom, "Sacred Black Hills," pp. 194–95; James V. Fenelon, *Culturicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota ("Sioux Nation")* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), p. 289.

111. Warren, *Memoir*, p. 107. In the official map by Warren and Freyhold in 1858, the "Black Hills" again appears as a separate region surrounding the Laramie Plains (*Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean; Ordered by Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War to Accompany the Reports of the Explorations for a Railroad Route* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1858], Geography and Map

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Dakota from 1857 was a major departure from all previous maps that labeled the Black Hills. He situated the Hills in its contemporary location with detailed features of complex topography, rivers, creeks, geologic strata, and the hogback ridge. He also noted the elevated peaks of the Black Hills, attributing translated Lakota names for "Bear Butte," "Inyan Kara," and "Mato Teepee or Bear's Lodge." He did, however, rechristen one summit: he declared Owl Maker Hill "Harney's Peak," likely as a call to Harney's role at Blue Water Creek and in the subsequent pursuit of the Lakotas. This summit was the first of many landmarks the army renamed to erode Indigenous land claims (Maps 12 and 13).[112] Warren believed that the new names of western lands would reflect the "eminent scientific men" who mapped them and the more "common ones of the country."[113] In bestowing the name "Harney's Peak," he predicted an inevitable American takeover of the Black Hills. "I almost feel guilty of crime in being a pioneer to the white men who will long drive the red man from his last niche," he penned.[114]

Warren's reports and maps from his expeditions between 1855 and 1857, which also include geologic data collected by Ferdinand V. Hayden, transformed the Black Hills from a mythic land to a utilitarian landscape. They recounted the limitless possibilities for a fruitful timber industry. "The time cannot be far distant when this region . . . will be settled by a thriving population, and the vast forests of pine rendered serviceable to the wants of man."[115] He also speculated on the rumored

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Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/76695833). Although the contemporary Black Hills received significant attention, it is likely that people still believed the Hills was a strip of land that expanded north to south for hundreds of miles until the early 1870s.

112. Warren, *Military Map of Nebraska and Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: Explorations and Surveys, War Department, 1857), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, loc.gov/item/2015591069. The War Department renamed another geologic marvel located just west of Inyan Kara known as Mato Teepee (Bear's Lodge) to the Lakotas. In 1875, Colonel Richard Irving Dodge attributed the name "Devil's Tower"—later Devils Tower—to the peak. Warren's work, including selecting the name of "Harney's Peak" for what became a popular tourist destination, was later commemorated with the naming of "Warren Peaks" near where he entered the region in the southwestern Black Hills, marking his legacy of mapping.

113. Warren, *Memoir*, p. 101.

114. Warren quoted in "Introduction," by Frank N. Schubert, in *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, p. xxvi. *See also* Warren and Freyhold, *Map of the Territory of the United States*.

115. Warren, *Explorer on the Northern Plains*, p. 107.

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Map 12. The Black Hills appears as a thick U-shaped formation in the left-center of this map based on Warren's expeditions.

(*Military Map of Nebraska and Dakota* [Washington, D.C.: Explorations and Surveys, War Department, 1857], loc.gov/item/2015591069).

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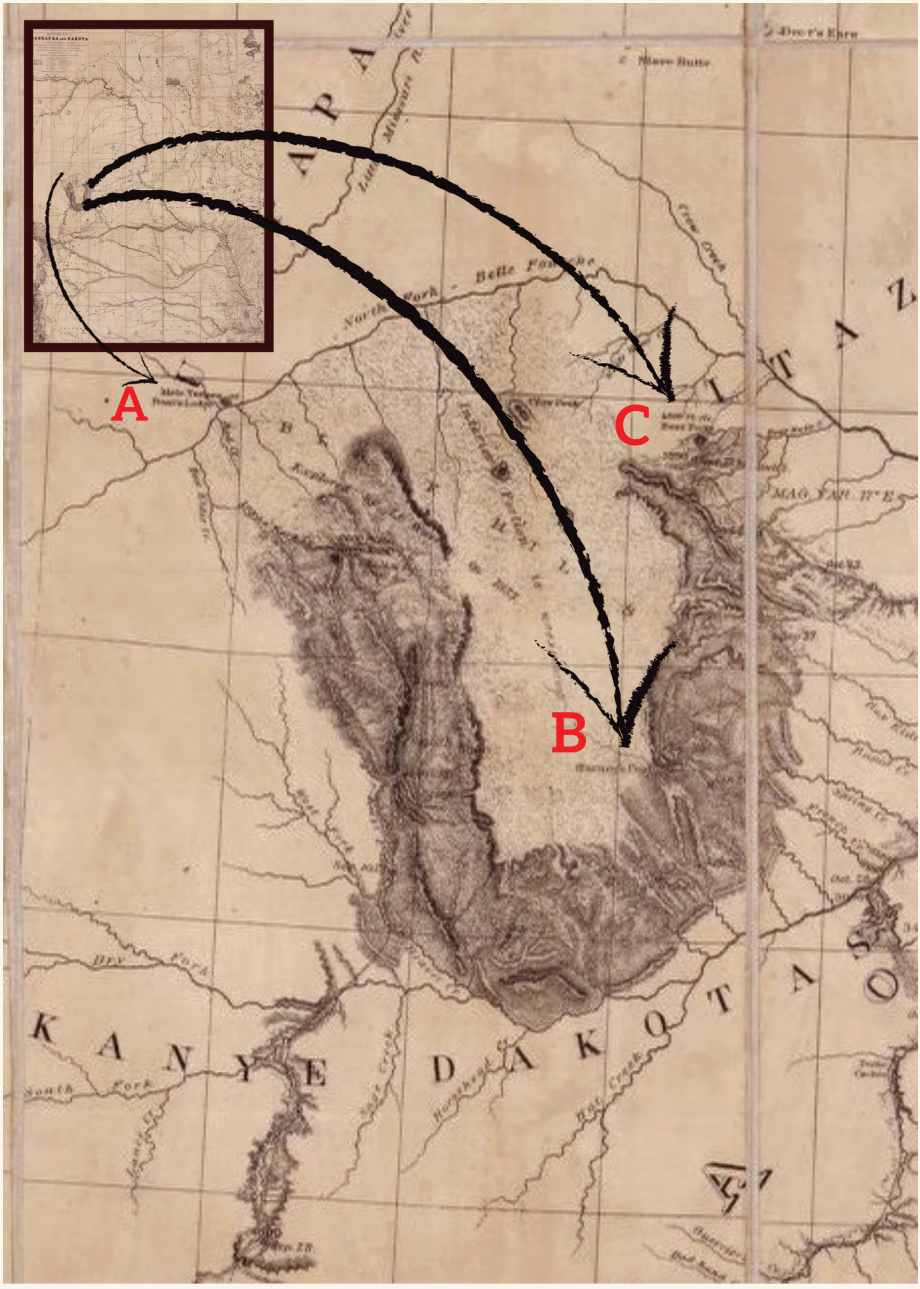

Map 13. On this map from 1857, arrows point to "Mato Teepee" or Bear's Lodge—later renamed Devils Tower (A), "Harney's Peak" (B), and "Bear Butte" (C). Richard Irving Dodge attributed the name "Devil's Tower" to Bear's Lodge in 1875.

(*Military Map of Nebraska and Dakota* [Washington, D.C.: Explorations and Surveys, War Department, 1857], loc.gov/item/2015591069).

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Black Hills mineral wealth and sketched diagrams of geologic strata for mining interests. "Gold has been found in places in valuable quantities," Warren emphasized, "and without doubt the more common and useful minerals will be discovered when more minute examinations are made."[116] Ultimately, Warren concluded that the "greatest fruit" of his expeditions was the insight he gained on the Lakotas and "the proper routes by which to invade their country and conquer" them.[117] After spending several pages suggesting a strategy to invade the Black Hills for settlement, he concluded, "If the Indian title were extinguished, and the protection of the territorial government extended there, so as to be effectual, there would soon spring up a settlement that would rival that of Great Salt Lake."[118] In 1857, newspapers claimed Warren's findings would "throw a new light on this hitherto unknown region."[119]

Initially buried in the appendix to the secretary of war's annual report in 1858, however, the reports barely dented the national news, as other events garnered greater attention. Readers were far more focused on that year's Colorado gold rush and then the mineral rushes in Montana, Idaho, and Nevada between 1862 and 1868. Likewise, growing tensions over the expansion of slavery in the West led to the outbreak of the Civil War. Increased violence between Indigenous nations and Americans in the Powder River region in eastern Montana halted most government explorations in the Lakota-controlled Black Hills. Notwithstanding, some newspapers still took notice of the region. In 1863, the *St. Paul Daily Press* connected the settler invasion into the Dakotas with the Black Hills, arguing, "The people of the Territory of Dakota have a right to the protection of the Government, in their advance upon the Black Hills." The article claimed that the Hills faced "inevitable colonization" despite its status as the "citadel" land "cherished" by Lakotas. It also reported that settlers were "preparing to hold, occupy and possess" the Black Hills. The region's colonization, they wrote, will become "an unavoidable military necessity."[120] After Lieutenant Colonel George

116. Ibid., p. 30.

117. Ibid., p. 53.

118. Ibid., p. 30. For his lengthier discussion about invading the Black Hills, *see* ibid., pp. 30–31, 39, 47–54.

119. *New York Tribune*, 17 June 1857.

120. *St. Paul Daily Press*, 8 Sept. 1863.

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Armstrong Custer's Black Hills Expedition in 1874 drew international attention and media coverage due to reports of gold, the government printed two thousand copies of Warren's earlier report on demand. By the 1870s, the trickle of travelers who illegally entered the Black Hills for adventure mushroomed into a flood of settlers and soldiers who dreamed of gold dust, leading the charge for American control.

Indigenous people named and claimed the advanced geography of "Turtle Island" long before the arrival of Europeans and their descendants. After the United States invaded their lands, mapped images of the continent—visual extensions of control—reflected imperial claims of territories with valuable resources. Maps distribute power and authority. As much as maps chart features of land, the things they omit through erasure are just as, if not more, revealing about their ultimate purpose. For instance, it took only a few years for non-Indigenous people to regularly refer to the continent's highest point east of the Rocky Mountains as "Harney's Peak." Transformed into a popular destination by regional boosters in the 1880s, today the landmark attracts millions of tourists who hike the sacred mountain range seeking a thrilling Black Hills experience. Native men, women, and children who, like Lydia Whirlwind Soldier, climb the peak for prayer and ceremony are disturbed by the "travesty" of the colonial overtones of violence, trauma, land theft, and broken promises the peak's name carried.[121]

Place names in the Black Hills and elsewhere in North America do not remain contested issues because of past centuries of mapping and myth. Rather, they mark the continuity of tensions in the present. Lakotas always objected to Mad Bear's name on their mountain. For decades, they challenged local sentiments and state officials on this matter as well as other naming discrepancies. Finally, in 2016, the U.S. Board of Geographic Names voted to permanently change the name to Black Elk Peak. This alteration recognizes the central role of Owl Maker Hill to the prayers and visions of Nicholas Black Elk, the infamous subject of the book *Black Elk Speaks*. Although the decision drew angry protests from some non-Native South Dakotans, the new name resists the set-

121. Warhus, *Another America*, pp. 3–4; Whirlwind Soldier, "Change the Name of Harney Peak," p. 97.

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tler narrative, recognizes the long history of Indigenous nations in the Black Hills, and upholds the significance of He Sapa for Lakotas.[122]

Decades of maps, reports, and myths from the early nineteenth century contributed to structures of settler colonialism that transformed how Americans imagined the Black Hills country, as the region evolved from an amorphous mythic mountainscape to an invaluable region that awaited imperial incorporation and development. Warren's mapping of "Harney's Peak" alone signaled the federal government's view that its stake in ownership of the Black Hills was manifest, resulting in the destructive erosion of Native land and treaty rights. Amid complex debates over how to "expand the boundaries of empire" into Indigenous-controlled lands, the nowhere-to-be-found Black Hills emerged as an attractive target for the national ambitions of the United States.[123]

122. In 2015, the South Dakota Board of Geographic Names supported a proposal from Lakota elders to revert the peak's name to "Owl Maker Hill." Public backlash from South Dakotans, however, forced the board to retain "Harney Peak" until a year later when the national board made the final change (*USA Today*, 20 Sept. 2015, 12 Aug. 2016; *Washington Times*, 29 June 2015; *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 12 Aug. 2016). Some local reports suggested that the state would not be legally obligated to make moves to acknowledge the name change (*Rapid City Journal*, 13 Aug. 2016). *See also* Eric Steven Zimmer, "Statement on the Renaming of Harney Peak, Submitted to the South Dakota Board of Geographic Names," 29 Apr. 2015, ericzimmerhistory.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/cairns_statement-on-harney-peak-renaming.pdf, accessed 4 May 2019.

123. Schubert, "Introduction," p. xxviii; [David A. Wolff], "The Black Hills in Transition," in *New South Dakota History*, p. 296; James P. Ronda, "'A Knowledge of Distant Parts': The Shaping of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 41 (Autumn 1991): 10.

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On the cover: Mapmaker David H. Burr used previous maps and exploration reports to construct this map of the Northern Great Plains, one of many that contributed to Americans' understandings of the Black Hills before 1860. *Map of the United States of North America with Parts of the Adjacent Countries* (London, 1839), Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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