NPS Form 10-900-a
(8-86)

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name N/A

other names / site number Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark

2. Location

street & number N/A N/A: [ ] not for publication

city, town Wounded Knee [✓] vicinity

state South Dakota **code** SD **county** Shannon **code** 113 **zip code** 57794

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property		
		Contributing	Noncontributing	
[ ] private	[ ] building(s)			
[✓] public-local	[ ] district		12	buildings
[ ] public-State	[✓] site	1	12	sites
[✓] public-Federal	[ ] structure			structures
	[ ] object	1		objects
		2	24	Total

Name of related multiple property listing:
N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this [ ] nomination [ ] request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. [ ] See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official — Date

Signature or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property [ ] meets [ ] does not meet the National Register criteria. [ ] See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official — Date

Signature or Federal agency and bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

[ ] entered in the National Register.
[ ] See continuation sheet.

[ ] determined eligible for the National Register.
[ ] See continuation sheet.

[ ] determined not eligible for the National Register.

[ ] removed from the National Register.

[ ] other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper — Date

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)	Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)
Defense / battle site	Domestic / single dwelling
Funerary / cemetery	Social / meeting hall
Religion / religious structure	Religion / religious structure
Domestic / camp	SEE CONTINUATION SHEET

7. Description

Architectural Classification (enter categories from instructions)

N/A

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation N/A
walls N/A
roof N/A
other N/A

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Item 7

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark, commonly known as the Wounded Knee Massacre Site, is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. It was here that forces of the U.S. Army's Seventh Cavalry and followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot participated in the bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891. The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has undergone alteration and intrusions since 1890. A few modern buildings, building sites, and roads constitute the majority of intrusions. However, the important natural features which played a key role in the historical events that transpired at this Landmark retain their historical integrity. These features are readily apparent and easily distinguishable. Those with the clearest historical importance and highest visibility are burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. Burial hill was the location of the Army's artillery during the massacre and then of the mass grave of many of the Minneconjou fatalities. While many Minneconjous died in the dry ravine, others were able to make their escape through this route. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name and also formed a natural eastern boundary for the events that occurred.

Natural Setting

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands in the southwestern portion of South Dakota. Deep, steep-sided ravines caused by water erosion have cut between most of hills, adding noticeably to the ruggedness of the area. Small perennial streams, such as Wounded Knee Creek are found at wide intervals. The streams meander northward to the White River through narrow valleys.

Native short prairie grasses cover most of the area. Trees, primarily pine, are found along the perennial streams and are also thinly scattered among the hills. Cultivation has been attempted on some of the more level ground although most of the area remains as rangeland for cattle and horses.

[✓] See continuation sheet

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

[✓] nationally [ ] statewide [ ] locally

Applicable National Register Criteria [✓] A [ ] B [ ] C [✓] D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) [ ] A [ ] B [ ] C [ ] D [ ] E [ ] F [ ] G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)	Period of Significance	Significant Dates
Ethnic Heritage / Native American	1890-1891	1890
Military	1903	1891
		1903

Cultural Affiliation

Lakota

Significant Person

N/A

Architect/Builder

N/A

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas & periods of significance noted above.

8. Significance

On December 29, 1890, the last major violent encounter between American Indians and Whites occurred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The event has been entitled the "Wounded Knee Massacre" or "Battle of Wounded Knee", depending on the historical perspective of the writer. The titles reflect two distinct interpretations of the military engagement where forces of the United States Army, Seventh Cavalry, and the followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot, participated in the tragic and bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91.

This was a desperate time of defiance and disillusionment for the Indian tribes. New laws and the recently departed commissions had succeeded in divesting the Lakota of huge tracts of land. The Lakota tribe, as well as many other tribes who were confined to reservations across the West, had turned to the Ghost Dance religion as a way to preserve their traditional way of life and regain control of their destiny. In terms of the significance to the Lakota, Wounded Knee shattered that dream, broke their sacred hoop of the world, and left its members resigned to reservation life and to the acceptance of government dictates.

To the United States military authorities, Wounded Knee ended the threat of an Indian outbreak in the sparsely settled areas of the Plains. The Sioux Campaign was perceived as the last Indian War of the United States, with Wounded Knee representing the last major confrontation. Wounded Knee, as no other event in this county's history, has become associated with the perceived end of the American frontier. Over four hundred years of cultural conflict in North America resulted in the loss of Indian independence.

[✓] See continuation sheet

9. Major Bibliographical References

[✓] See continuation sheet

Previous documentation on file (NPS):
[ ] preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
[ ] previously listed in the National Register
[ ] previously determined eligible by the National Register
[✓] designated a National Historic Landmark
[ ] recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
[ ] recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:
[ ] State historic preservation office
[ ] Other State agency
[✓] Federal agency
[ ] Local government
[ ] University
[✓] Other
Specify repository:
Nebraska State Historical Society

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of property 870

UTM References

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A			
B			
C			
D			

[✓] See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

[✓] See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

[✓] See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Richard E. Jensen / Eli Paul, Research Department
organization Nebraska Historical Society date 12/6/90
street & number 1500 R Street telephone (402) 471-4748
city or town Lincoln state Nebraska zip code 68501

*U.S.GPO:1988-0-223-918 (NPS-RMR-PR-NPP;KOHEN;10-91)

Within the boundaries of the Landmark is a section of the Wounded Knee Creek valley and the adjoining uplands. The Creek crowds the eastern side of the valley creating a nearly level terrace 1,000 to 2,000 feet wide between the Creek and the base of the uplands. A gradual ascent from the valley floor leads to the uplands approximately 80 feet above. Eroded spurs of the uplands which jut into the valley resemble small hills. Beyond the site boundaries, the uplands may be 200 or more feet above the valley floor.

The site is cut by a dry ravine running east to west. Near Wounded Knee Creek, the ravine is approximately 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep with nearly vertical sides. As the ravine extends west, the gulch becomes narrower and deeper as it cuts into the uplands. The ravine divides into smaller narrow branches that rise to a ridge which forms the western boundary of the landmark.

Historic Appearance

The community of Wounded Knee in 1890 included a post office which was housed in Louie Mousseau's general store. Mousseau's residence and those of Red Bear, Eagle Bull, Plenty Bear, Six Feathers, and Fire Lighting were located nearby.[1] The first massacre accounts were written in one of these structures, and after the Army left some of the wounded Indians found shelter in the houses.[2] The remaining structures in the community consisted of an Omaha dance lodge, a school, a Presbyterian church, and at least six additional houses, unrelated to the history of the Landmark and located outside the boundaries.[3] None of these structures have survived.

Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist with the Nebraska Historical Society, conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of Wounded Knee in October 17-19, 1989. During the course of reconnaissance, square nails and salt-glazed pottery were found in the northeast corner of the landmark, suggesting the possible location of the historic structures that comprised the community of Wounded Knee. A shallow depression about 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep was also identified. This feature closely corresponds to the location of the Mousseau residence as described in historic maps and contemporaneous photographs. This kind of feature can result from a partially filled basement. Mousseau noted that his house had a cellar.[4] However, the feature has not been archaeologically tested. During the reconnaissance, a local Lakota informant Pat Rowland identified a general area approximately 1000 feet southwest of the burial hill where, according to local tradition, some of the horses killed during the battle

were buried. Metal harness parts were said to have been found in this vicinity. Archaeological investigations will be needed to confirm this oral account.[5]

Major Samuel M. Whitside selected the community of Wounded Knee for his camp on December 26, 1890 for several reasons. It was a known point on the road from the Pine Ridge Agency, and Whitside believed it was near his objective, the elusive Big Foot band. The nearby Creek provided water for his men and animals as well as fuel for cooking. Major Whitside commanded Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and was accompanied by a platoon of the First Artillery. Two days later Whitside was joined by Colonel James W. Forsyth who established a camp to the northwest.[6] Forsyth was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry and had with him Troops C, D, E, and G. A troop of Oglala scouts and another platoon of the First Artillery also accompanied Forsyth. Big Foot's people camped to the south of the soldiers along the north edge of the ravine.

In 1890 barbed wire fences enclosed three small areas which may have been used for gardens or stock corrals. Although no evidence of them survives, two of the enclosures were important features during the massacre. The western most enclosure partially barred the escape route used by some of the women and children. The escapees were funneled northward between the northeast corner of the enclosure and the right flank of Troop E.[7] When the fighting began Lieutenant Thomas Q. Donaldson and his men of Troop C retreated behind the fenced area of the southernmost enclosure.[8] (See Sketch Map A and Cloman Map A.)

Contemporary maps indicate several roads crossing the Landmark but nearly all vestiges of them have disappeared. Just north of the cellar depression is a road cut leading across Wounded Knee Creek. Because of its location it is possible, even probable, that this was in use in 1890.

South and a short distance east of the burial hill there is evidence of a crossing over the ravine. It is too far west to match the crossing shown on the map drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer of the Division of the Missouri in 1891, but is in the vicinity of a crossing shown on a version of the same map published six years later in James Mooney's monograph on the Ghost Dance.[9]

In May 1903 some of the Indian survivors returned to the site to dedicate a monument commemorating the massacre.[10] This granite shaft, more than six feet in height, was placed at the side of the mass grave. The monument is inscribed with the names of many of the fatalities and is a contributing object in this nomination due to its symbolic and spiritual values.

Present Condition and Intrusions

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has experienced several physical alterations and intrusions since December 29, 1890. The natural features, however, have not been seriously compromised by the alterations. The natural features and the existing historical documentation for the site possess considerable power to illustrate the movements of the principals during the course of the day. Three natural features played key roles in the events that transpired on December 29th: the burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. These features have the clearest and most direct associations to the historical event. The burial hill was the location of the Army's artillery during the engagement and, afterwards, of the mass grave. The dry ravine served as the major escape route for the Indians. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name. It serves as a natural eastern boundary in which the temporary camps and the day's events occurred.

The physical integrity of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark compares favorably to cultural resources where similar activities occurred, e.g. battlefields, councils, and campsites. The Cloman Map can be overlaid on the existing terrain to demonstrate the site's continuing integrity. Maps drawn by eyewitnesses also attest to the site's integrity. Each map posses a high degree of internal consistency. (See attached maps by McFarland, Allen, Wells, and Horn Cloud.) In addition, the historic photographs of the battlefield taken on January 3 and 4, 1891, can be easily matched to present topographical features. Based on these comparisons, Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark retains integrity of setting, feeling, and appearance. The Landmark's integrity of location and association remains clear to both the local inhabitants as well as the general public.

In recent years there have been some intrusions on the Landmark. Fortunately, the intrusions have not obscured or seriously damaged the natural features which were important to the historical events that occurred at the site. The macadam highways with deep and wide ditches on either side

are the most obvious features. The roadways parallel or in part overlay the major trails of 1890. The current unimproved trails are less noticeable and would be quickly reclaimed by prairie grasses if left unused. Two electric power lines cross the site but are relatively unobtrusive.

A Catholic cemetery around the mass grave was established early in the 20th century and continues in use at this time. It is enclosed by a chain link fence with the entrance flanked by brick columns.

Modern buildings and building sites constitute the major intrusions. The structures and sites are relatively small in size and are widely spaced which diminish their impact upon the Landmark.

Period of National Significance

The massacre or battle of Wounded Knee erupted during the morning of December 29, 1890, at approximately 9:15 A.M. The most intense fighting occurred within the first 30 minutes. This was followed by what the commanding officer, Colonel James W. Forsyth, called "skirmish firing" for about one hour.[11] Accounts from eyewitnesses indicate that sporadic gun fire continued for a somewhat longer period, perhaps until early afternoon.[12] It was nearly 5:00 P.M. before the wounded were evacuated and the troops and many of the surviving Indians left for the Pine Ridge Agency.[13]

Although the significance of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark focuses upon this encounter, related events occurred before and after the event that expand the time frame. On December 26, 1890, Major Samuel M. Whitside received an order to leave the Pine Ridge Agency to go in search of Big Foot. Whitside left the Agency with Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and arrived at the Wounded Knee post office at approximately 5:00 P.M. on December 26 and immediately set up camp. This establishment of Whitside's camp marks the beginning of the period of significance of the National Historic Landmark.[14]

On December 27 troops were dispatched from the camp to search for Big Foot and his followers, but the group was not immediately located. The band was found on December 28 eight to ten miles to the northeast of the camp on the Porcupine Creek. The party was escorted to Wounded Knee at about 2:00 P.M. After locating the band, Whitside sent to the Agency for reinforcements.[15] The second battalion of the Seventh Cavalry under the

command of Colonel James W. Forsyth arrived at approximately 8:30 P.M. and proceeded to establish a camp a few yards northwest of Whitside's location.[16]

Although the Army left during the afternoon of December 29, the site continued to be occupied by Indians.[17] A severe blizzard hit the area early on December 31 paralyzing the region for twenty-four hours.[18] A rescue party of Indians travelled to Wounded Knee from the Pine Ridge Agency on January 1, 1891 and found eleven wounded Indian survivors.[19]

A burial party of 30 civilians with military escort assembled on the morning of January 3 to inter the Indian dead. The departure of the burial party the following afternoon of January 4, marks the end of the period of significance.[20]

While not forgotten, the mass grave where 146 men, women, and children were buried was left unmarked for more than a decade.[21] On May 28, 1903 the Indian survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre dedicated a granite monument at the grave site. The monument was purchased from Kimball Brothers of Lincoln, Nebraska. During the dedication ceremony the Reverend W.J. Cleveland delivered a sermon followed by short speeches by Joseph Horn Cloud and Fire Lighting.[22] The historic monument is an integral component of the site and has acquired exceptional cultural and spiritual significance to the Sioux.

The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark boundary contains approximately 870 acres encompassing the site and all related significant natural and manmade resources.

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Contributing Features

	Name	Photographs	Sketch Map
1.	Site of Wounded Knee (including the Mass Grave and probable site of Post Office and Mousseau's Store)	12-14, 41-42 28-30, 38, 39	A,1 A,2
2.	1903 Monument (object)	12-15, 42	A,3

Non-Contributing Buildings
All structures were constructed after 1903

3.	Catholic Church (1975) Material: Log	13 (left) 16 19 (center)	A,4
4.	Small frame dwelling (recent construction) Material: Frame	10 (center) 17	A,5
5.	Visitors Center (1989) Material: Concrete block	8 (left) 9 (right) 18 (center) 19 (right)	A,6
6.	Log dwelling (recent construction)	7 (left center)	A,7
7.	Church of God Material: Frame	7 (left) 21	A,8
8.	Church of God Parsonage Mobile home	21	A,9
9-11.	Church of God Complex Material: Frame (3 buildings)	21A,10-12	

12-13. Dwellings Material: Frame (2 buildings)		A,13-14
14. Concrete block building	5 (right) 26 (right)	A,15

Non-Contributing Sites

Name	Photographs	Sketch Map
15. Catholic Cemetery 1913	12-14	A,16
16. Church of God Cemetery 1950s	21 (left)	A,17
17. Catholic Church foundation & basement 1913, burned July 1973 Material: Concrete	10-11	A,18
18-24. Store & Gas Station Commercial Complex foundations & rubble of 7 structures 1930, burned April 28, 1973	23	A,19-25
25. Small structure foundation Material: Concrete (post 1903)		A,26
26. Foundation of Metal building Material: Rubble and concrete	20	A,27

Endnotes

1. Donald F. Danker, editor, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981): 223. Much of the information on the Wounded Knee community is from maps especially "Battlefield of Wounded Knee reproduced from sketch by Allen" (Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-A15n) and the Joseph Horn Cloud map (Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8). Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends (1938)," MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, 261. War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91, "Lieutenant W.D. McAnaney to Commanding Officer of Pine Ridge, April 22, 1891," Washington, D.C., National Archives microfilm publication M983, hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence.

2. Allen said they wrote in a cabin "behind" the store ("In The West That Was," 284), and Mousseau's house was described as being "behind " his store (Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 228). Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

3. Reports and Correspondence, "Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band", by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, 899. Allen map, Nebraska State Historical Society, M78357-A15n. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Report of Pine Ridge Agency," by H.D. Gallagher, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 156. Chicago InterOcean, (Illinois) January 7, 1891.

4. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 229.

5. Pat Rowland, Chairman of the Wounded Knee Community, personal communication with Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist, Nebraska State Historical Society, October 18, 1989. The story of the horse burial was passed down to Pat Rowland from his grandfather Fire Lightning.

6. Reports and Correspondence, "Colonel James W. Forsyth to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W. J. Nicholson," 670.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant T.Q. Donaldson," 696.

9. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," by James Mooney, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), plate 97.

10. Rushville Standard (Nebraska), May 22, 1903, and Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903.

11. Reports and Correspondence, "Colonel James W. Forsyth to General John R. Brooke, December 29, 1890," 758; Ibid., "Forsyth to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760.

12. Ibid. Forsyth to Brooke, December 29, states that Jackson's fight with the agency Indians was over and he had returned to the camp by 1:30 P.M. At this time Forsyth was preparing to start for the agency.

13. Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was," 284. Allen (page 282) recalled that the fighting in the camp area was over before noon.

14. Nebraska State Journal, December 28, 1890, report by W.F. Kelley, Journal correspondent, who accompanied the troops.

15. Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside," 656-657.

16. Ibid., "Forsyth to Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760. Forsyth reported he left the agency at 4:40 P.M. and arrived at the Wounded Knee camp at 8:30 P.M.

17. Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews," 229. Louis Mousseau said they were "Short Bull's people."

18. Omaha Bee, January 1, 1891.

19. Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

20. Omaha Bee, January 4, 1891; Chicago InterOcean, January 4, 1891.

21. Reports and Correspondence, "Captain Frank D. Baldwin to the Assistant Adjutant General, February 5, 1891," 1075.

22. On the back of the photograph of the dedication (Nebraska Historical Society, W938-51) is the notation that it occurred on May 30, 1903. Rushville Standard, May 22, 1903, and the Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903, both reported the dedication was held on May 28, 1903.

Map Key

Sketch Maps

Sketch Map A

Camps, troop positions, and other features at Wounded Knee were mapped on January 3-4, 1891, by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer, Division of the Missouri, as they appeared on the morning of December 29, 1890. These locations are plotted here as nearly as possible on a 1967 United State Geological Service 7.5 minute map, Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

Locations of the contributing site, important features, the contributing object, and of non-contributing buildings and sites are also shown.

Sketch Map B

"The Breaking Up Of the Great Sioux Reservation," as found in Rex Alan Smith, Moon of Popping Trees (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

Sketch Map C

"Sioux Ghost Dance Disturbance," as found in Rex Alan Smith, Moon of Popping Trees (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

Historic Maps

Cloman Map (A)

"Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band" drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer, Division of the Missouri, from information provided by Major Samuel M. Whitside on January 3-4, 1891, Report of the Secretary of War, First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress, Vol. 1 (1892), 154.

Cloman Map (B)

"Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band". U.S. War Department. U.S. Army. Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91. National Archives microfilm publication, M983, Washington, 769. Note location of the "Pocket".

Forsythe Map

"Map Furnished by Col. Forsythe (sic) 7th Cav of action of 29 December 1890," Reports and Correspondence, 819.

Mooney Map

"Wounded Knee Battlefield" published in U.S. Department of Interior. Bureau of Ethnology. Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Part 2. "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," by James Mooney. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), plate 97.

Allen Map

"Battlefield of 'Wounded Knee' December 29, 1890" from a sketch by Charles W. Allen, newspaper reporter, eyewitness, Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-A15n.

Horn Cloud Map

Sketch of the battle site by Joseph Horn Cloud, Minneconjou eyewitness, drawn about 1904, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8.

Wells Map

Sketch of the battle site by Philip F. Wells, Army interpreter, eyewitness, drawn about 1904, Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker", Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981): 206.

Key to Photographs

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark
Vicinity of Wounded Knee, Shannon County, South Dakota
Photographer, Richard E. Jensen
October 17-19, 1989
Negatives located at the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Photograph 1 — From the highway to Porcupine looking northeast about 0.7 miles to the Wounded Knee Landmark. The Church on the burial hill can be seen immediately to the right of the highway and just beyond where the road disappears into Wounded Knee Creek Valley.

Photograph 1a — From the southwestern boundary of the landmark, at the head of the ravine, looking northeast to Wounded Knee Creek. The Church on the burial hill can be seen at the far left center of the photograph. The head of the ravine can be seen in the lower right hand corner of the print. (Photographer: Dave Hesker, National Park Service, June 17, 1991)

Photograph 2 — Looking west from the top south edge of the burial hill. Photographs 2-10 were taken at this location. The Hotchkiss cannons were placed in approximately in this location. The Mass Grave of fatalities interred on January 3-4, 1891, and the monument erected in 1903 are located on this hill northwest of the camera location. Also located on this hilltop is the Catholic Church and cemetery.

Photograph 3 — Looking southwest from the burial hill. The ravine that was the escape route for many of the Indian survivors can be seen at the extreme left. Near the center of the photograph and to the right of the two vehicles the ravine exits the Landmark boundary and begins to fan out into a maze of channels.

Photograph 4 — Looking south from the burial hill. The west end of the Indian camp was located approximately between the trail in the foreground and the highway at mid-distance.

Photograph 5 Looking south-southeast from the burial hill. The Indian camp was between the highway and the base of the burial hill.

Photograph 6 Looking south-southeast from the burial hill. The initial position of Troop K was near the extreme left and across the highway.

Photograph 7 Looking southeast from the burial hill. The council circle was approximately at mid-distance just left of the sign.

Photograph 8 Looking east-southeast from the burial hill. The cavalry camp was located approximately at center at the base of the hill. The concrete block visitors center is under construction at left.

Photograph 9 Looking northeast from the burial hill.

Photograph 10 Looking north-northeast from the burial hill. Steps of razed church (Sketch Map A, 18) at right. The frame building at center is Sketch Map A, 5. The white building at the left center distance is beyond the Landmark boundary.

Photograph 11 Looking southeast, remains of razed church (Sketch Map A, 18) on south edge of the burial hill.

Photograph 12 Looking north-northwest, entrance to Catholic Cemetery (Sketch Map A, 16) with the Wounded Knee Monument at left center.

Photograph 13 Mass grave (Sketch Map A, 1) of massacre fatalities bordered by concrete walk passing at the foot of the monument. Catholic Church at left. Similar to Photograph 41 taken at the dedication of the monument.

Photograph 14 Looking west, Wounded Knee Monument (contributing object, Sketch Map A, 3) and the Catholic Cemetery.

Photograph 15 Looking north, Wounded Knee Monument.

Photograph 16 Looking northwest, Catholic Church (Sketch Map A, 4) on burial hill.

Photograph 17 Looking north from the east edge of the burial hill to non-contributing building (Sketch Map A, 5).

Photograph 18 Looking east, Visitors Center (Sketch Map A, 6) under construction on east side of the burial hill. Small white frame building at far left is just beyond the northeast corner of the Landmark boundary.

Photograph 19 Looking west-northwest across the highway to Porcupine. Catholic Church at center horizon and Visitors Center under construction at right.

Photograph 20 Looking northwest, concrete foundation and rubble of metal building (Sketch Map A, 27).

Photograph 21 Looking southeast across the ravine toward the Church of God at center (Sketch Map A, 8) and cemetery at left (Sketch Map A, 17).

Photograph 22 Looking south toward an old channel of Wounded Knee Creek (mid-distance center) where Lieutenant Donalson and his men of Troop C took shelter when the fighting broke out.

Photograph 23 Looking north, concrete foundations and rubble of non-contributing site 19 and, at right, 20 (Sketch Map A).

Photograph 24 Looking north across the ravine. Visitors Center just left of center.

Photograph 25 Looking northwest from the ravine to the general vicinity of the "Pocket" on Cloman's map.

Photograph 26 Looking north across the ravine. Small white building at right is non-contributing building (Sketch Map A, 15).

Photograph 27 Looking northwest to where ravine begins to divide near the west edge of the Landmark.

Photograph 28 Looking east, shallow depression (Sketch Map A, 2) probably a result of the basement in Mousseau's house.

Photograph 29 Looking west, at the depression probably created by Mousseau's house. Catholic Church on left center horizon.

Photograph 30 Looking southwest, at the depression probably created by Mousseau's house. Catholic Church on right center horizon.

Photograph 31 Looking north-northeast across the highway to Porcupine. Burial hill at left horizon. Approximately the same view as the historic photograph 35, of the west edge of the Indian camp.

Photograph 32 Looking northeast down the highway to Porcupine. Approximately the same as the historic photograph 37, of Lieutenant Cloman on horseback.

Photograph 33 Looking south-southeast from the south slope of the burial hill. Similar to the historic photograph 34, with the second photographer at left center.

Historic Photographs

Photograph 34 View to southeast. This scene from the burial hill shows the burial party in the Indian camp loading bodies into a wagon. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-119-19B.*

Photograph 35 View to northwest. The west end of the Indian camp (center) reached to the bottom of the burial hill (left). Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-1022.

Photograph 36 View to the northwest. From the Indian camp women and children fled to the northwest past the fence shown in the background. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-64.

Photograph 37 View to the northeast. Lieutenant S.A. Cloman examines the council circle. The post office is at the extreme left. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-119.

Photograph 38 View to the northeast. The post office at Wounded Knee. Photographer, C.G. Mortledge; January 1891; Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, F-8843.

Photograph 39 View to the northwest. There were many fatalities in the ravine west of the Indian camp. This may be the "Pocket" located on the Cloman Map B. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-46.

Photograph 40 View to the northwest. The mass grave on the burial hill. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-47.

Photograph 41 View to north. Indian survivors erected a monument by the mass grave. On May 28, 1903 the monument was dedicated and offerings to the deceased placed around the grave. Photographer, J.A. Miller (Chadron, Nebraska); May 30,1903; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-51.

*Many dates shown on the historic photographs reflect copyright dates and do not reflect the actual date the photograph was taken.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is a benchmark in the history of the Lakota Ghost Dance, the Sioux Campaign by the United States Army, and the Pine Ridge Reservation Troubles of 1890-91. The events which transpired on December 29, 1890, are intricately associated with all three of these historical developments. The period of significance for the site begins on December 26, 1890, when U.S. troops established a base camp at Wounded Knee, and extends through January 4, 1891, when the remaining dead were interred in a mass grave, inclusive of all events associated with the "Massacre/Battle of Wounded Knee." The period of significance also includes May 28, 1903, the date the Lakota tribe dedicated a monument to the dead at Wounded Knee.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is associated with an important event (National Historic Landmark Criterion #1), the "Wounded Knee Massacre," also known as the "Battle of Wounded Knee." Significant on a national level in the areas of Native American Ethnic Heritage and United States Military History, Wounded Knee is considered a pivotal point in the history of Indian-White relations. Historic archaeological investigations, especially the distribution patterns of bullets and shrapnel on the site, have the potential to yield important information about the events which transpired between December 26, 1890, and January 4, 1891, at Wounded Knee (NHL Criterion #6). Under the National Historic Landmark thematic framework Wounded Knee is important for its associations with the theme: X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763-1898; subtheme C. Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict; and facet 3. The Northern Plains. The site is also important for its anthropological association with theme: I. Indigenous American Populations; subtheme D. Ethnohistory; facet 5. Becoming Native American; and subfacet d. Native Responses to New Economic, Political and Territorial Arrangements.

Prominent and influential historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his frontier thesis in 1893 with a cutoff date of 1890 for the theoretical end of the American frontier. Turner based his argument on the United States Census of 1890 which had reported that a frontier line no longer existed in the American West. The acknowledged passing of this historic period of Euro-American settlement coincided with the year of Wounded Knee, seen at the time as the last Indian challenge to settlement. Therefore, the events at Wounded Knee have achieved meaning for both White and Indian cultures.

The Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service held a public meeting at Wounded Knee on June 21, 1990, to discuss the draft NHL nomination. The meeting was attended by approximately 40 Native Americans representing various bands of the Lakota Sioux. Tribal elders felt that the contemporary Lakota perspective was not sufficiently contained within the draft nomination. They recommended that interviews be conducted with several elders who were descendants of survivors of the engagement at Wounded Knee. The National Park Service followed this recommendation and in July and August 1990 conducted four oral interviews with Leona Broken Nose, Celane Not Help Him, Leonard Little Finger, and Birgil Kills Straight. Although "Indian" versions of the engagement have been published, most notably, The Wounded Knee Massacre: From the Viewpoint of the Sioux and The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, these four transcribed interviews provide an important historical perspective and therefore have been included in this section of the nomination.[1]

I. Historical Context

During the summer of 1889, the Lakota traditional way of life seemed to be disintegrating. On February 8, 1887, President Grover Cleveland signed the Dawes Severalty Act. Championed by Henry L. Dawes, Senator from Massachusetts and Chairman of the Senate Indian Committee, the Act attempted to quickly assimilate Indians into White society by instructing them in farming and the benefits of individualism and private property ownership. The Act provided for specific 160 acre allotments of land to heads of families with smaller allotments going to bachelors, women and children. "Surplus" reservation lands were then opened to general settlement. The Act, however, stipulated that a majority of the Indians on a reservation must first consent to the allotment plan.

The added pressures of prospective White settlement in the Dakotas quickly prompted Congress to negotiate for the majority consent of the Lakota. As a consequence, the Sioux Bill was passed by Congress on March 2, 1889. The Sioux Bill called for a division of the Lakota Reservation into smaller reservations, the distribution of allotments in severalty, and the cession of the surplus lands. A three-man commission was sent to secure the necessary signatures of three-fourths of all adult Lakota males for approval of this cession. The commission's key member was Major General George Crook, who had a long history of civil and military dealings with Indians. Over a period of months, Crook's use of promises, threats, bribes, and

entreaties eventually secured the necessary signatures. The Lakota subsequently relinquished more than nine million acres of land.[2] Dispossessed of vast tracts of their reservation lands, implementation of the Dawes Act exerted immediate and disastrous consequences on Lakota culture. The allotment process seriously eroded the authority of tribal governments, destroyed traditional land tenure systems, and accelerated the spread of poverty among the tribe.

Upon the departure of the commissioners in late summer 1889, the Lakota were left dazed and confused. Almost before the ink was dry on this latest agreement, the Government reduced the appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Lakota experienced an immediate reduction in their rations. The commissioners had promised this would not happen. The Lakota believed they had been cheated. They saw the resulting sickness and hunger as very real threats to their well being. The reduction in rations coincided with a severe drought which blazed across the High Plains during the years 1889 and 1890. The harshness of reservation life and the failure of the Government to fulfill its obligations appeared to doom the Lakota to a life of despair and frustration.

Then a glimmer of hope appeared. Rumors circulated about a Messiah in the far west who had come to aid the Indians. The source of the rumors was a Paiute Indian shaman, Wovoka, or Jack Wilson, who lived near the Walker Lake Reservation in western Nevada. In January 1889, Wovoka had a great vision which was the genesis of a religious movement that would become known as the Ghost Dance. Wovoka was ignored by the White world for almost two years, but his message spread rapidly through the Indian world by word of mouth, letter, and finally by fact-finding committees, or delegations, sent to Nevada from distant tribes, including the Arapaho, Caddo, Cheyenne, Shoshone, and Ute.[3]

During the fall of 1889, a Lakota delegation of a half dozen men slipped away from the Pine Ridge Reservation to investigate the rumors of the Messiah. They returned with the news that the Son of God was truly on earth and that his coming was for the benefit of Indians, not Whites.[4] The delegates, most noticeably Kicking Bear, would soon become some of the most visible leaders of the Ghost Dance.[5] A second delegation returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation after a visit to Wovoka in March 1890 as confirmed disciples of Wovoka and began to preach the new religion. They were quickly ordered to desist by Pine Ridge Agent H. D. Gallagher.

The Ghost Dance, as preached to new followers, offered a solution to the Lakota's most pressing problems. It prophesied the disappearance of the Whites. There would no longer be restrictions on the familiar Lakota religion and customs. The Indians would again be free to live as they chose. The teachings foretold the return of their dead ancestors, whose number would assure the Lakota of the manpower necessary to regain control of the bountiful land. Finally, the return of vast herds of buffalo would provide the necessary food and raw materials for the increased population. Of equal importance was the buffalo's key role in the Lakota's traditional mythology and religion. The disappearance of the animal had left a spiritual void which would be filled when the animals returned. The Lakota added familiar elements from their own religious rituals to the Ghost Dance. Thus, the Ghost Dance became intertwined with the Lakota's own evolving religion rather than remaining apart as a brief experiment with an exotic belief.[6]

The Lakota, and most other tribes who embraced the new religion, wore a special Ghost Dance costume. Ghost shirts and dresses were ritually prepared garments worn by adherents of the new religion. While many Plains tribes wore the shirts, only the Lakota believed the garments were bulletproof.[7] Whites viewed this as evidence of the Lakota's warlike intentions choosing to ignore the primarily defensive character of a bulletproof garment. The Indians had no prophesied need for aggressive weapons since the Ghost Dance promised that the Whites would disappear through supernatural means rather than by military force. While many Whites were convinced that the Ghost Dancers were preparing for war, the dancers' primary concern was defending themselves from outside interference while continuing the ceremonies. In truth, the Ghost Dancers spent an inordinate amount of time retreating from situations with any potential for conflict.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, perceived the Ghost Dance as a threat to plans for the assimilation of the Sioux. Agents sought to ban all associations with the Ghost Dance on their Agencies.[8] Settlers added their voices to the growing concern. Convinced it was a prelude to war, those near the Lakota reservations demanded the suppression of the religion. Although the fear of an outbreak was unjustified, it grew to epidemic proportions after newspapers began publishing unverified stories about Indian "depredations."[9]

In 1890, two events compounded the increasingly unstable situation. A crop failure and an approximate twenty percent reduction in rations on the

Pine Ridge Agency caused the Lakota to suffer. Hunger has often been cited as a major cause of the Ghost Dance. While privation certainly contributed to the spread of the religion, a more fundamental cause lay in the Lakota's desire to reclaim control of their destiny.[10]

During the summer and fall of 1890, the new religion spread across the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations. There are no reliable figures on the number of converts, but one observer estimated forty percent of the Indians on Pine Ridge favored the new movement, as did thirty percent on Rosebud.[11]

In 1890 a South Dakota physician, Daniel F. Royer, was appointed the Agent for Pine Ridge Reservation. Arriving in late September, 1890, Royer's paramount goal was the suppression of the Ghost Dance. By the end of October, he was insisting that military intervention on the reservation was necessary not only to suppress the new religion, but to protect civilians from an outbreak of hostilities. Royer believed a war was inevitable.[12]

As more converts joined the Ghost Dance, Indian agents adamantly demanded that the religious observances be stopped. On several occasions the Sioux agents sent reservation police to halt the dances. Special Agent E. B. Reynolds summarized the situation when he wrote "that the matter is beyond the control of the police" and called for a "sufficient force of troops to prevent the outbreak which is imminent."[13] On November 13, President Benjamin Harrison ordered Secretary of War Redfield Proctor to ready troops for the field. Based on field reports from both the War and Interior Departments, Harrison concluded that an outbreak at Pine Ridge Reservation was forthcoming and was advised that "it is not safe to longer withhold troops." The following day, General of the Army John M. Schofield told Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Division of the Missouri, to "take such action as, in [your] judgement, may be necessary in view of the existing situation."[14]

By November 18, 1890, the War Department had dispatched troops to begin the military occupation of the reservations. Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke, Commander of the Department of the Platte, and about 400 troops marched north from the railhead at Rushville, Nebraska, toward the Pine Ridge Agency, arriving there before daybreak on November 20. Brooke's orders from his superior, General Miles, were to protect the agency and to

encourage the "loyal" faction of Sioux. In the coming month, additional troops would be transferred to Pine Ridge from posts scattered across the West.

One regiment, the Seventh Cavalry, left Fort Riley, Kansas, on November 23, arriving at Pine Ridge on November 26 after a twenty-five mile ride from Rushville.[15] No other regiment in the entire Army evoked the images of the old Indian fighting Army more than did the Seventh Cavalry. Several of its officers and men had fought at the Little Big Horn fourteen years earlier and, because of this the belief of a "revenge" motive for its subsequent actions at Wounded Knee gained credibility. The Sioux remain convinced that avenging the death of George A. Custer was the motive for the killings at Wounded Knee.[16] On the other hand, officers of the Seventh Cavalry challenged the allegation of revenge as a motive for the massacre. For example, Lieutenant John C. Gresham, Troop I of the Seventh, wrote that prior to their arrival, "[E]ighty-five per cent of our men had seen nothing of Indians--indeed, had no knowledge of them beyond what is usually acquired at home by city or country boys of their class and station."[17]

The ability of the Seventh Cavalry--and the entire United States Army--to respond quickly during episodes of civil turmoil contrasted remarkably from the days of 1876, although nearly all participants and observers considered the events as merely a continuation of warfare with the Sioux nation.

Fundamental changes, however, had occurred affecting both the U.S. Army and the Indian tribes. Railroad and telegraph lines now crisscrossed former Indian domains and linked military posts to one another and to their eastern headquarters. By 1890, buffalo hunting had been replaced by beef issues on annuity days. All tribes had been restricted to carefully delineated reservations, marked not only by surveyed boundaries but also by the new settlers whose property abutted them on all sides. Tribes had become divided between those members who did and those who did not accept change. The events of 1890-1891 on the Pine Ridge Reservation highlighted these contrasts and demonstrate the great degree of change.

Improved transportation and communication had significantly changed the U.S. Army's strategy, especially towards the Sioux. Big forts with large garrisons now ringed the Sioux Reservations. For example, Fort Robinson, Nebraska, guarded the Oglalas at nearby Pine Ridge. Rail and telegraph lines served this and the other forts, ensuring a swift response

to any civil or military emergency. In the 1870s, the Lakota were highly mobile, and the Army operated from enclaves. By 1890, the reverse held true.[18]

The Lakota began to divide into two factions after the first Army units arrived on November 20. Agents were ordered to segregate the "well-disposed from the ill-disposed Indians."[19] At the same time the Ghost Dance leaders "notified all those who did not belong in the dance and would not join it, to stay at home or go to the agency."[20] By November 24 there were 150 lodges of these well-disposed or "friendly" Lakota camped near the east edge of the Pine Ridge Agency.[21] The believers, perhaps 3500 people, congregated in the northwestern part of the Reservation in a section of the Badlands that came to be known as the Stronghold. This group of dancers was comprised primarily of the Brule tribe from Rosebud, but many Oglalas from Pine Ridge were also present.[22] Despite the attempted segregation, the line between believer and non-believer was never sharply drawn.

Generals Brooke's first job, restoring order and Federal authority at the agency, was quickly accomplished. His second job, restoring order on the entire reservation, was more complicated and required more time and more troops. Brooke adopted a policy developed by General Miles of "coaxing" as many of the disenchanted Lakota to the agency with a combination of promises and threats. He promised food for their bellies and redresses for wrongs and threatened military retaliation if the Ghost Dancers left their reservations. Though progress appeared agonizingly slow to civilian observers, Brooke's efforts seemed to work.

President Harrison continued to closely monitor the developments. On December 1 he ordered Miles to "take every possible precaution to prevent an Indian outbreak, and to suppress it promptly if it comes."[23] If trouble came, it was to be confined to the reservation.

Chief Big Foot and his band of Minneconjou Ghost Dancers began attracting attention in mid-September. Big Foot clung to the old Lakota traditions and resisted efforts by the Bureau of Indian affairs to "civilize" him. Chief Big Foot was not overtly hostile, preferring instead a kind of passive resistance and diplomacy. The Minneconjou's Cheyenne River Reservation Agent, Perain P. Palmer, reported that Big Foot's band was "becoming very much excited about the coming of a messiah. My police have

been unable to prevent them from holding what they call ghost dances." Palmer also complained that nearly all of the dancers had Winchester rifles.[24]

A part of the Eighth Cavalry closely monitored Big Foot's actions from Camp Cheyenne, a temporary station only about fifteen miles west of Big Foot's village.[25] After the Army occupation of Pine Ridge, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner was placed in command of the military camp on the Cheyenne River with orders to prevent Indians from leaving their home reservations.[26] On December 8 Sumner met with Big Foot, Hump and other leaders in the area and found them to be "peaceably disposed and inclined to obey orders."[27] After the defection of Hump from the ranks of the believers, Big Foot became the sole leader of the Ghost Dancers on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

On December 15 the situation was exacerbated when Agency police killed Sitting Bull, who had become a Ghost Dance leader on the Standing Rock Reservation. About 150 of Sitting Bull's followers fled the reservation and sought refuge. Big Foot offered to care for these refugees, and perhaps as many as forty joined his village. Another thirty believers from Hump's band also joined the village. Meanwhile at Pine Ridge prior to December 29, the military's plans appeared to be going smoothly. The Ghost Dancers abandoned their refuge, the Stronghold, for the Agency.

Almost by default Big Foot became the center of attention. Miles had sought to close the trail between the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River reservations, which would keep Big Foot's people and the followers of Sitting Bull from going to Pine Ridge.[28] Miles called Big Foot "one of the most defiant and threatening" Ghost Dance leaders, his band considered "malcontents of the Sitting Bull fracas."[29] Miles believed that the situation was too volatile and the negotiations too delicate to allow the introduction of such a catalyst. On December 16 Colonel Sumner received the order to arrest Big Foot.[30]

Big Foot, on the other hand, had recently received a message from several important Chiefs at Pine Ridge, including Red Cloud. The letter invited Big Foot and his growing band to come to Pine Ridge to "help make peace" with the U.S. Army. In return for his help, Big Foot was to receive 100 horses. No doubt motivated by a belief that consolidation of the bands would provide a safer environment for his people, Big Foot and his council decided to travel to Pine Ridge.[31]

Big Foot's band was intercepted and arrested by Sumner on December 21 after it became clear that his band was leaving its reservation for Pine Ridge.[32] Big Foot agreed to take his people unescorted to Fort Bennett and surrender. Most of his followers however wanted to proceed to Pine Ridge. Big Foot acceded to the wishes of the majority.[33] On the night of December 23, the band slipped out of the village, quietly eluding the soldiers.[34]

Miles feared that this "may turn all the scale against the efforts that have been made to avoid an Indian war."[35] Through Brooke, Miles sent out troops from the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Cavalry regiments to comb the country for Big Foot's band and prevent it from escaping into the Badlands.[36] On December 26 Major Samuel M. Whitside with four troops of Seventh Cavalry and two pieces of field artillery was ordered to find Big Foot. On that same day Whitside established a base camp for his field operations at Wounded Knee. Wounded Knee was the site of Louis Mousseau's combination post office and store, and the nucleus of the small crossroads community.

The band moved in a southerly direction, but when Big Foot caught pneumonia, the march slowed to a crawl. On December 28 the band collided with Whitside's column just northeast of Porcupine Butte. Although Big Foot carried a white flag, both sides formed battle lines. Whitside met with Big Foot and ordered the Indians to move to the Army camp on Wounded Knee Creek, and Big Foot agreed. When Whitside demanded twenty-five rifles, the Chief was more evasive but did promise to turn the guns over later.[37]

Brooke sent Colonel James W. Forsyth and four more troops of the Seventh Cavalry, a troop of Oglala scouts, and more artillery to reinforce Whitside. On Sunday evening, December 28, Forsyth arrived at the camps of Whitside and Big Foot along Wounded Knee Creek and, as senior officer, took command. The Hotchkiss cannons were positioned on a little hill northwest of the tent camp.

Accompanying the troops were several civilians, one of whom was a Pine Ridge trader who brought a barrel of whiskey to camp. Drinking was apparently confined that evening to the officers who toasted Forsyth on his capture of Big Foot.[38] Whether any of the principals were intoxicated during the critical events of the next morning is not known, although the subject of soldier drunkenness has clung stubbornly to some modern versions.[39]

Little movement occurred in the Indian camp that evening. According to survivor Help Them, an Oglala who had accompanied Big Foot's band back to his Pine Ridge Reservation home, "The men were not allowed to take the horses to water, so the watering of the horses was done by little boys."[40]

II. The Events of December 29, 1890

On December 29, 1890, the conflict between the Lakota Ghost Dance followers and the U.S. Army's response to this religious movement reached a climax and were forever bound together.

A military map (see Cloman Maps A and B), drawn by Lieutenant S.A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer, Second U.S. Infantry, after his battlefield inspection of January 3-4, 1891, and interview of several principals, greatly assists in following the complicated series of events associated with the "Fight with Big Foot's Band." It purports to be "showing position of troops when first shot was fired."[41] Testimony taken from several witnesses during the military investigation of Wounded Knee corroborated the accuracy of the map.

Testimony and interviews of some of the participants indicated that the first shot was fired at approximately 9:15 A.M. Just prior to this time the ranking military office, Colonel Forsyth, had called a council. He ordered the Minneconjous to surrender all of their guns and told them they would be taken to another camp.[42] In grudging compliance a few old weapons were surrendered, but Forsyth believed the Indians were hiding their best rifles, and he ordered a search of the warriors and the camp.

While a few soldiers rummaged through the Indians' tents for weapons, an Indian from the council circle began singing Ghost Dance songs and "stooping down, took some dirt and rose up facing the west...cast the dirt with a circular motion of his hand toward the soldiers..."[43] Lieutenant John C. Gresham saw this action. Later, expressing the majority opinion of the military, he believed the throwing of dirt was a signal to attack the troops which the Indians had decided upon the night before.[44]

There were however dissenting opinions. Lieutenant W.W. Robinson, an eyewitness, was convinced that the Indians did not plan to fight and therefore a signal was unnecessary. Before the firing started, he "observed the children, of all ages especially, playing among the tepees....it was

proof to me that there was no hostile intent on the part of the Indians."[45] Dewey Beard, one of the Minneconjou survivors, explained that the man threw the dirt "as they did in the ghost dance when they call for the Messiah." Rather than a signal, the action was a prayer. [46]

Shortly thereafter Black Coyote, sometimes called Black Fox, refused to surrender his rifle to the soldiers and a struggle ensued which resulted in the accidental discharge of the firearm.[47] Almost immediately, fighting broke out on both sides. The few Indians who were still armed fought back, while others retrieved firearms from the pile of confiscated weapons and joined the fighting. The shock, the surprise, and the pall of black powder smoke obscured much of the horror of these first few minutes of fighting, in which probably more than one-half of the fatalities occurred. Big Foot was wounded in the initial burst of gunfire and was later killed when his movements, according to eyewitness Charles Allen, attracted the attention of the soldiers.[48] Elk Saw Him heard Black Coyote's rifle discharge and recalled that: "Firing followed then from all sides. I threw myself on the ground/then I jumped up to run towards the Indian camp, but I was then and there shot down." One of the most detailed eyewitness accounts of the council and the first shot is by Philip Wells, a mixed blood Sioux, who served as the Army interpreter for these negotiations.[49]

The deadly fire at the council circle only lasted about ten minutes before the Indian survivors began a full retreat. Most of them ran to the south across the Indian camp to the meager safety of a ravine. Many more died in the ravine, including most of the women and children. Dewey Beard took refuge in the ravine, initially at the feature labeled "the Pocket" on the Cloman Map "B" and also labeled "Pit where some of the Horn Clouds were" on the Joseph Horn Cloud Map.[50] Dewey Beard later described some of the action: "I was badly wounded and pretty weak too. While I was lying on my back, I looked down the ravine and saw a lot of women coming up and crying. When I saw these women, girls and little girls and boys, coming up, I saw soldiers on both sides of the ravine shoot at them until they had killed every one of them."[51]

Several made their escape via the ravine. According to Lieutenant Lloyd S. McCormick: "Several had, however, succeeded in reaching the foot hills and the dense brush growing in the ravines."[52] McCormick was not alone in his use of the plural when referring to the ravine. Lieutenant Ernest A. Garlington wrote: "The majority, including women and children, making for a ravine running along the west side of their camp; others for

ravines leading to the low hills west of camp, firing as they went."[53] Joseph Horn Cloud, an Indian survivor, said he witnessed the capture of the Indians at "the head of the ravine or one branch of it".[54] Henry Jackson, also known as Harry Kills White Man, recalled that he and his sister ran "to the head of the ravine that goes west."[55] These accounts seem to indicate that the Indians took advantage of many of the branches of the big ravine as they made their escape from the troops.

The movements of other participants, especially the cavalry units, can be generally followed across the landscape. According to Whitside, the Indians fired into Troops B and K, with the soldiers returning the fire. The Indian survivors broke through their ranks and left camp in three directions: the majority fled west, up the ravine, some across the ravine and through the south line, and some on the road past the mounted troop facing east (Troop E), between the troop and the wire fence.

Before the first shot Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson, Whitside's battalion adjutant, was on his way to report to his superior that Indian women were packing their belongings, presumably to flee. Nicholson reached the opening between Troops B and K when the shot was fired. He passed in the rear of Troop B "to a point just behind the crest of the hill to the left (west) of the battery."[56]

Commander of Troop B, Captain Charles A. Varnum, and fifteen of his men were on a weapons search of the Indian camp. They had started on the north end of the tepee camp, at "the end towards the hill where the battery was located." Lieutenant Robinson, who was assisting Varnum at the time of the shot, "galloped up the hill to the rear of the battery," dismounted, and went to the crest of the hill, probably to await orders. The remnants of Troops B and K had moved to the hill where the artillery was placed. Later, Varnum reported to Forsyth and was ordered to cover the field hospital located on the slope of battery hill. (See McFarland Map of battlefield.) Varnum testified that he was ordered,

> some hours after to take 20 men and clear the ravine. I cleaned that up towards the head of the ravine some 150 yards.[57]

Captain Varnum and his men captured nineteen noncombatants hiding in the ravine and sent them back to camp under guard. Troop E struck the ravine at the "Pocket" to clear it of Indians.

Artilleryman Corporal Paul H. Weinert took the place of his fallen commander and, according to Captain Allyn Capron, fired the Hotchkiss cannon with devastating effect. Captain Capron estimated that at this time the Indians were 300-400 yards away.[58] The reminiscence of Weinert indicates, however, that the firing occurred at a much closer range. As the fighting progressed, he rolled the gun down the hill to the ravine:

> They kept yelling at me to come back, and I kept yelling for a cool gun--there were three more on the hill not in use. Bullets were coming like hail from the Indians' Winchesters. The wheels of my gun were bored full of holes and our clothing was marked in several places. Once a cartridge was knocked out of my hand just as I was about to put it in the gun, and it's a wonder the cartridge
>
> didn't explode. I kept going in farther, and pretty soon everything was quiet at the other end of the line.[59]

Captain Henry J. Nowlan, who commanded Troop I, was positioned south of the ravine. He testified, "from the position I occupied on the far side of the ravine, I saw the Indians come towards us into the ravine and go up and down it." First came noncombatants who, Nowlan said, were allowed to go. Nowlan's men fired on the men who followed later.

Captain Charles W. Taylor's Indian scouts, composed of Oglala recruits, found themselves caught in a crossfire. Eyewitness John Shangrau, a scout but not part of this unit, later recalled that many of Taylor's men "broke and ran and took shelter under the bank of W.K. Creek."[60]

Captain Winfield S. Edgerly commanded Troop G, which was mounted 150 yards east of the council circle. A wire fence limited the Troop's movement on one flank. After the firing, Edgerly was ordered by Forsyth to pursue the Indians. Together with Lieutenant Taylor and some scouts, Troop G reached "the head of the ravine." A trooper in Troop G estimated that this was two miles from camp. There they found Captain Henry Jackson and Troops C and D and several refugees.[61]

At the first shot, Troops C and D received fire from the north. It was unclear whether it was from friend or foe. Nevertheless, both troops

fell back to the south behind the cover of a hill. According to Lieutenant Selah R. H. Thompkins of Troop D:

> about 5 or 10 minutes after the firing began the Troop was deployed on the crest of a hill, dismounted. I was ordered down to the ravine to the left to hold the ravine and stop the Indians from firing into the rear of our line as they had been doing.[62]

Whitside rode up to Jackson and ordered him to round up the Indians' horse herd and pursue the Indians "going up the hillside to the westward." According to Jackson's testimony, he and thirty-four men of Troop C,

> started due west, up the bluffs, and had to travel over 2 miles to the head of the ravine. Just as we headed it, at the point where the road came in, as we were turning at the head of the ravine, I saw an Indian slide down the bank into it.[63]

Capt. Edward S. Godfrey's Troop D and Lieutenant Taylor and his scouts met Jackson. Both troops had come from different directions. Taylor thought this point of convergence, the "head of the ravine," was two or two-and one-half miles from camp. Assistant Surgeon Charles B. Ewing, who accompanied Edgerly, estimated the distance from camp as two or three miles. Godfrey remembered it as being one-and one-half to two miles from camp.[64]

The scouts served as interpreters to convince a group of 24 Indians to surrender. A large war party of Indians coming from the direction of Pine Ridge Agency fired on the soldiers from long range and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. Jackson concluded: "We fell back about 400 yards to a good position and stood them off." Troops E and G were dispatched to the area by Forsyth as reinforcements. The military party returned to camp, picking up the Indian pony herd along the way. In his testimony, Ewing remembered that upon his arrival he:

> found the ridge leading from the battery to the house in its rear being barricaded with sacks of grain and cracker boxes, and finally with the wagons drawn up in double line upon the east of the ridge. The guns of the battery were placed in position and

> a number of dismounted cavalry occupied the ridge. The barricade was in extent 400 or 500 feet by 20 or 30 wide. Similar breastworks of sacks of oats were also piled up around Mousseau's store.[65]

By mid-afternoon the intermittent shooting at Wounded Knee had come to an end. Some of the Indian survivors who escaped during the fighting found refuge with the Ghost Dancers at the Stronghold. The Army gathered up their dead and wounded and began the slow march back to the Pine Ridge Agency. The Army was accompanied by most of the Indian survivors including approximately 30 seriously wounded Indians who rode in Army wagons. One Seventh Cavalryman recalled, "Slowly, for the sake of the wounded, the long column left the battleground where the reds were lying as dark spots in the winter night and their sign of peace, the white flag, was moving gently with the wind. . ."[66] The column reached Pine Ridge at 9:30 P.M.[67]

When word of the slaughter at Wounded Knee reached the Agency--the firing could be heard at the Agency, fifteen miles away--a furor arose among the Lakota camped nearby. Many Lakota men became enraged and fired on the soldier camp from long range. Brooke ordered his men to hold their fire. Civilians were convinced that the Agency would be attacked, but it never happened. Nearly all of the Lakota fled north to the Stronghold.

III. Subsequent Events

Although more than two dozen reporters from such newspapers as the Washington Evening Star, New York World, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Chicago InterOcean vied for Pine Ridge news, local talent scooped the eastern correspondents on the Wounded Knee story. Eyewitness accounts were written by Charles W. Allen, editor of the Chadron Democrat but on the New York Herald payroll, Will Cressey of the Omaha Bee, and William F. Kelley, Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln). The newspaper correspondents, who had accompanied the Seventh Cavalry to see the disarming of Big Foot's band, sent their urgent dispatches by horseback to Rushville. On Tuesday morning, December 30, the first accounts of Wounded Knee appeared in daily newspapers nationwide.[68]

On December 31, General Miles arrived and took personal command at Pine Ridge. Miles now had more facts at hand. This additional information led to grave doubts concerning the accuracy of the initial accounts of the

fight. He began to hear of the severe casualties suffered by noncombatants. Miles also began to suspect that the 30 soldier casualties were due to poor placement of troops by Forsyth which resulted in a deadly crossfire. Miles was especially displeased with Forsyth's performance at Wounded Knee and the skirmish that occurred at the Drexel Mission on December 30. With the approval of Washington, General Miles launched an investigation.[69]

An Indian rescue party from the Agency went to Wounded Knee on January 1, 1891, and found several survivors.[70] The rescuers were forced to abandon their mission however, when they were fired upon by other Indians who misunderstood the group's intentions.

On January 3, 1891, the Army escorted a civilian burial party to Wounded Knee.[71] A second contingent of soldiers came from the Rosebud Agency, under the command of Captain Folliet A. Whitney, Eighth Infantry, to meet the party. The burial detail had been detained because of concern about a possible Indian attack and the inclement weather.

Captain Whitney counted 47 dead in the immediate area where the council had occurred but noted:

> There is evidence that a greater number of bodies have been removed. Since the snow, wagon tracks were made near where it is supposed dead or wounded Indians had been lying.[72]

During the course of their task, the burial party collected all the dead remaining on the site. Workers found numerous bodies in the ravine south of the Indian camp where many of the victims had sought shelter. The next day 146 bodies were interred in a mass grave on the same hill from where the Hotchkiss cannons had raked the camp.

The total number of fatalities at Wounded Knee was undoubtedly higher. Survivors, family, friends, and the rescue party removed some of the dead and dying before the burial party arrived on January 3, 1981. Oral tradition among the Sioux people today tells of several bodies being taken and buried along Wounded Knee Creek. Some of the Indians taken to Pine Ridge later died from their wounds. Eyewitness Joseph Horn Cloud compiled a list of 186 Indian dead.[73] Interviews conducted later with survivors and others by Bureau of Indian Affairs investigator James McLaughlin indicate

that some casualties were overlooked by Horn Cloud.[74] A total of at least 250 dead is almost certain.

Angry and frustrated in the aftermath of Wounded Knee, some Ghost Dancers undertook several minor offensives and became hostile in a very real sense. In the days immediately following the Wounded Knee massacre, Sioux warriors fired on the Pine Ridge Agency, fought the Army near the Holy Rosary Catholic Mission and attacked an Army supply train near the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek.[75]

By January 3 peace talks were again under way. On January 7, Miles requested Oglala leader Young Man Afraid of His Horses to travel to the Stronghold and serve as an intermediary. Young Man Afraid of His Horses was able to convince many Oglalas to leave these camps and return to the Agency. Four days later the first large group under Big Road returned to the Agency. During the next few days the most determined believers abandoned the Stronghold and moved cautiously towards the Agency. By the 15th the last of the Ghost Dancers had reached the Pine Ridge Agency. On January 16, Kicking Bear surrendered his rifle to General Miles. On January 18 Miles officially proclaimed the end of the Sioux Campaign.[76] With the "war" concluded, demobilization began immediately. The majority of troops were transferred from Pine Ridge by the end of January.

On June 27, 1891, a group of Government commissioners arrived from Washington to address some of the problems of the previous winter. While meeting with community leaders near Wounded Knee, the commissioners heard from Lakota farmer Bull Eagle:

> My friends, this piece of land on the other side of the creek which has been flooded with blood is where I make my home. . . Some men were killed right inside of my fence on the plowed ground....I am still walking through the field and plowing up the ground, covering up the blood.[77]

With the help of family and friends, Wounded Knee survivor Joseph Horn Cloud erected a monument at the site of the mass grave on May 28, 1903. A contributing feature of the Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark, the marker is inscribed with the names of many of those who were killed at Wounded Knee.[78]

IV. Conclusion

In 1890, the dominant culture saw the events of December 29 as the culmination of the wars between the United States and the Sioux Nation. Wounded Knee has been recognized by Native Americans, scholars, and the general public, as a symbolic event in the long history of Indian-White relations.[79] Controversy over several of its aspects, including the Medal of Honors awarded to twenty-eight soldiers who saw action at Wounded Knee, the contention that Federal troops were "avenging" Custer, and whether soldiers or Indians fired the first shot still persist.[80] This nomination did not attempt to resolve these issues and no doubt they will continue to engage the attention of historians.

Ethnohistorians view Wounded Knee as a turning point, reflecting the drastically reduced visibility of the Ghost Dance movement and the corresponding beginning of tribal resignation to reservation life and recognition of governmental authority. Students of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis note the significant year of 1890 as the theoretical end of the American frontier. For military historians, the same year marks "the last major armed encounter between Indians and whites on the North American continent," if not the official end of the Indian wars.[81] For the Lakota, the site of Wounded Knee became sacred ground, consecrated by the blood of their people and commemorated by survivors, relatives, and descendants. In the Lakota world view, as expressed by Black Elk, Wounded Knee meant the breaking of the hoop of the world and the loss of control of their destiny.[82] In 1973, Wounded Knee once again gained national attention when several hundred Lakota and their supporters occupied the area in a violent expression of Indian rights. Wounded Knee has ultimately become the symbol of the long history of the tragic subjugation of a culture.

V. Descendant Interviews

Between July and August of 1990 the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted four oral interviews with Lakota elders who are descendants of survivors. The scope and richness of detail in the following interviews with Leona Broken Nose, Celane Not Help Him, Birgil Kills Straight, and Leonard Little Finger led to the decision to include each interview in a transcribed form rather than attempting to integrate sections of the interviews into the body of the history. The transcripts have been edited to focus on the events and issues surrounding Wounded Knee.

The original unedited tapes of the interviews are housed at Badlands National Park in South Dakota.

The interviews contain kinship terminology such as "mother," "father," "grandmother," and "grandfather." Although Lakota kinship is based upon a principle of bilateral descent, as is Euro-American kinship, the Lakota interpret kinship categories in a broader context in which some relatives are called by the same term as others. For example, the term "mother" may be used to designate one's own mother and all of her "sisters." The term "sister" includes one's female siblings and one's mother's sister's daughters. "Grandfather" and "grandmother" may include the parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and the siblings of the these forebearers.[83]

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: CELANE NOT HELP HIM AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Celane Not Help Him (CNHH) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside of Manderson, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. Celenane Not Help Him is the grandaughter of Dewey Beard, who surived the Wounded Knee massacre. Dewey Beard was the brother of Joseph Horn Cloud and Daniel White Lance, both of whom also survived the massacre. Although other people were present at the time of the interview, none participated. Mrs. Not Help Him often used different inflections to represent voices of speakers other than herself. Quotation marks ["] are used to capture this. In some cases, she indicated that someone said something without changing her inflection. In these cases, quotation marks are not used. This transcript reflects Mrs. Not Help Him's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
() uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments

JC: So, what I'm interested in finding out are just the details that Dewey Beard told you about what happened to him at Wounded Knee, including what happened on the events leading up to Wounded Knee and also what happened afterwards.

CNHH: Well, I'm going to tell something about my grandfather told me. See, I've been raised by them. When I was 14 months old, my father, Webster Beard, died of a heart attack. We lived north of Kyle.

But ever since then/ I stayed with my mom for a while, and when I was 8 years old, I remember when Grandpa (Dewey Beard) used to talk about/ When I was 8 years old, that's when I fully remember what happened, and what he told me, what we talk about. When he talk about these, he got tears in his eyes. He'd cry a little bit, and when get through talk about it, he always goes

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

outside and sings for them, the people that got killed in Wounded Knee.

He said that they use to camp out along the Cheyenne River, this Big Foot band. They got relatives with Sitting Bull. They used to visit over there, or sometimes some people come to visit. Then, one time, they told them that they were trying to arrest Sitting Bull, and they tried to arrest Sitting Bull, but they moved around so fast, they were not able to. The spies, the security that takes care of the ___, they told them, some soldiers are all over. And some are not soldiers, but they hang in there, and some Indian police. So Sitting Bull, they told him to watch out, be careful and alert. I think that's what he did, and here, all of a sudden, two horseback came over told Big Foot that they killed Sitting Bull that early morning. They said that it was early morning while it was still dark. They said that was in the winter when days are short, and nights are long. During that morning, early morning, but it's still dark, and here, I guess, he said that some of the Sitting Bull's band was going to where Big Foot was camped, somewhere scattered all over somewhere into further north, and, next, they said they tried to get Big Foot. They're going to capture Sitting Bull, and they're going to capture Big Foot.

So, I guess, some wants to go to north and some wants to come, but if you know how it is, if they're going to kill you or something, if they're going to do something to hurt you, you wouldn't want to stay. Just like you can't even think. You want to get away from them. You go where it's safe. So they came over here, and they use to make a camp along the Cheyenne River called Pedro. I think it's southwest along the Cheyenne River. When they're coming this way, they said they left some stuff there until they come over here, and if everything turned out, they were going to go after their stuff, so they left some stuff there. So, I guess, they just grab what they can and head out this way. Before then, Red Cloud told them to come over here and register, and they might even get team and wagon or things like that. So they were coming, but they said that they told them to be careful. But they were just coming anyway. And they said they don't have much food. They don't have too much,

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

just a little bit. They're tired, and they're cold, and they're starving. They're starving for part of it. They came through Red Water, and that's where they stopped, and get ready to eat a little bit and drink water and then head out this way. They stopped at Red Owl Springs overnight, and, from there, in the morning, they head out to Wounded Knee up Pine Ridge. I guess when they get up on that flat, the ___, they said the spy, the security said they saw some horsebacks going towards them, and so told them to get ready or be alert or something. So they did, and when they came closer, they knew it's soldier, Seventh Cavalry. Some were not soldiers, but they were hanging in there, and, I guess, that commander or whatever, he said he's looking for Big Foot, so they said, "He's in the wagon, really sick."

He went over there, and he said, "I came to see you. I want to talk to you. Can you talk?" he said.

So, but you can barely hear you because he's been having hemorrhage, and when they passed the Big Foot Pass, that's when he started having that nosebleed. But he's really weak, but he said, "Yes, I can talk."

He ask him, ask 25 guns when he get to Pine Ridge.

So I guess that what they all think they'll do. And when they get to Wounded Knee, they told them to put up their tipi, and they're going to give him rest, and soon they put up their tipi, and I guess they were all happy because they'll rest. Tipi and fire and rest, (so they were happy). When they got done put up their tipi, they were cooking, so they ate, and Grandpa said, "When you're going to go to bed, you always put long, white dresses on and pillow and everything, and you get ready and go to sleep." He said, "But, in those days, we didn't do that." He said, "Because, instead, when we're going to go to bed, we have to tie our moccasins, and we've got legging, and we got ___, and they fix themselves up and put their coats on, and then they sleep by the fire. They didn't have cover. They had buffalo robes, that's what they sleep on. Back in those days,

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

it's rough." He said, "You have to be alert in the night. Security, let them know something so they can grab everything and just take off."

So he was fixing his moccasins and next thing, there was a tap on the tipi door, so he told them to go in, and they said, "They want you at where Big Foot tent is, and they want you to sit with him over there, because he's really sick."

So, Grandpa Horn Cloud--that's Grandpa Horn Cloud that I'm talking about-- he said, "Yeah, I'll do that."

He came out, and he told Grandpa, he said, "When I walk between them, the Indian soldier and the white soldier, I'm going to Big Foot's camp. They go so far, and he really he treat me mean. They push me," push him around, and say something in white, but he said, "I can't hear, I can't understand so I told this Indian soldier, 'What is he saying? I'm supposed to do something.'

"And he said, 'Well, never mind. Just go to Big Foot tent.'"

He went over there, but he said, "Everyone's tired from walking." Some of them were walking and some didn't have much food to eat, and they were tired and half starved and really cold. I guess that they were all tired, and I guess six men were called over there to sit with Big Foot. All that time, they want us to tell him who all's in the/ when they killed Custer, the Battle of Little Big Horn.

But they said, "We're not going to tell. We're not going to tell. We don't know something for sure, we're not going to tell."

And what Big Foot told them is, "Don't start the trouble. Don't start the trouble but do what you're told."

So, I guess that's what they do. He said he was getting sicker. He's really getting sick, so he told them not to start the trouble but listen to what they're told.

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

In the morning/ Oh, during that time, they were about 44 years old. Grandpa said all this six men were 44 years, about that age, and he said when they were sitting with him, with gun point, he said, "Son, I'm going to tell you something. They torture us. All night, they don't want us to sleep, and they're trying to make us tell who was in that Little Big Horn, in that fight there with Custer. But we don't know everything for sure, so we didn't tell them anything, but they really force us to tell something."

And one of those six men was almost going to sleep. He was doing like that in there. One of those soldiers came (up after) him with a gun and he was really poke him on the side, hard, and it scared him, so he got up right away and said, "It's my fault." He said, " I almost went to sleep. I know that we're not supposed to sleep. You did want us to sleep but I shouldn't do that. It's my fault." And he got up, and he sat up.

Until that morning, daybreak came, and the soldiers came in and took Grandpa Horn Cloud and that man Iron Eyes and Spotted Thunder and told them to go back and eat and come back and sit with Big Foot again until the meeting starts.

So he went back to eat, and here that lady, Blue Whirlwind Woman, that's Spotted Thunder's wife I think. Grandpa Horn Cloud came back and ate and was heading back to Big Foot's camp, and that woman came in and talked to Grandma Horn Cloud. She said, "Did you know that soldier followed your husband, and they was standing in back of the tipi? And that same thing." She said, "They do the same thing to my husband. I fed him, and I take out, and these two soldiers were
standing in the back of the tipi. And I looked this way and there's two more standing over here in back of your tipi."

"What are they doing over there?"

She said, "I don't know. They told them to stay with Big Foot and come back this morning." And she said, "My husband came back this morning, too. He said that he was tired and feel

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

like go to sleep, but was going to, but they told him not to go to sleep, so they stay up."

But I guess, when they were going back to the Big Foot tent, they followed them so far, and then they just go the other way so they went back in the tipi, the tent, and those six men set with Big Foot, Chief Big Foot.

He said if they didn't do anything or say anything, this man could have put his gun out in the center like they're supposed to, but when the men came, he told them, "I want all of you to see this." He said, "I have this gun. This gun is mine. I never shoot two-legged." He said, "I always shoot for my family. I shoot food or meat for my family so I never/ I didn't have this gun for to shoot two-legged." He said, "But today they told me to put in out in the center."

I guess he showed, he showed like this [gesture gun over head] was going to go out in the center here. Soldier here, one on this side and the other side, and then they grabbed the gun. And when all of them put their head down and when they stood up, the gun discharged by itself. He didn't shoot them. That's when that fire starts. You can't hear nothing, and you can't see nothing with the smoke. He said you could see the exchange fire. That's what happened, that's what Grandpa told me.

JC: How did he escape?

CNHH: Well, the chance they get, they just run away. He got shot in the back and on his hip and on his leg, in the leg muscle so he can't normally walk like this, 'cause this was shot, so he drag his foot. In the meantime, he's really short on breath, 'cause they shot him in the lung. Up 'til he was 99 years old, he/ that's when he died of pneumonia.

He lost his first wife and son, and his father, Grandpa Horn Cloud, and his brother were killed there, and his step-mother. Grandpa's real mother is buried in Canada, the oldest one. They're two sisters, the older and the younger one, but they're both married to Grandpa Horn Cloud. So the oldest one died in

Celane Not Help Him Interview Continued:

Canada, and that younger one, they killed her in that Wounded Knee Massacre.

And ever since then, it's a hundred years now, and it will be a hundred years pretty soon and nothing ever been done about it. It looks like they had to kill them. I think they feel bad for Custer, and when we ask for something/ Right now, we are working on a compensation deal, but I don't know if we are going to get it or not, but Grandpa said he went to Washington, D.C. several times before he died. We got a lot of horses, so when we go to Washington, D.C., he sold the horses, and he raised funds, and then they go to Washington. They never go to tribal or any place to ask for help. They are always on their own. But he said, "If nothing, if they don't apologize," he said, "something is going to happen to the white people."

Grandma said, "Not all the white people," she said, "just those Seventh Cavalry, their relatives should be punished by." Nothing has been done, and if that was the white people that happened to them like that, they'll get help. They'll get paid or something. They'll get something, but looks like they don't care for what they did. They owe apology to us, the descendants, and we want something big for them, not little monument.

JC: Did your grandfather ever take you out to the site and show you around?

CNHH: [interrupts JC] Always, yeah, every year when we go to Decoration Day. We have Decoration in June, and we always camp there, gather over there. And they put flowers, they decorate the mass grave. And then after that, they eat and have a little meeting. And he always showed me the places.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONARD LITTLE FINGER
JULY 14, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on July 24, 1990 with Leonard Little Finger (LLF) at his home outside Oglala, South Dakota. Leonard Little Finger is a direct descendent of Joseph Horn Cloud (maternal grandfather) and of John Little Finger (paternal grandfather), both of whom survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were Mr. Little Finger, Dave Vasarhelyi, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park, and Jennifer Chapman, also a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park who conducted the interview. The transcript reflects Mr. Little Finger's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or few words
() uncertain transcription
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments
/ break in speech not representing a full thought

LLF: Okay, well my name is Leonard Little Finger, and my ancestry involves, as far as Wounded Knee massacre is concerned, both my maternal and paternal sides. On my maternal side, Joseph Horn Cloud was a young boy, approximately 12 years old at the time of the massacre; and on my paternal side, John Little Finger, who was approximately 15 years old at the time of the massacre. And I guess the impact that I have from that is that I'm a second generation person from the original massacre, and my father being the first generation, and my mother being the first generation on the other side.

And I guess, I know this is on tape, but approximately about two miles from here, due east at the top of those pine hills, there's a deep canyon in there. And my grandfather on my dad's side, along with four other men, escaped the slaughter and came to Red Cloud School. In his statement, my grandfather, John Little Finger, he indicated that they had escaped through the ravine and had ended up near the top, and they were being pursued by cavalry soldiers. And at that time apparently some people living nearby had heard the shooting and had grabbed weapons, and they were coming to see what was going on, and as they came over the rise, the cavalry that was pursing the four men saw the people on horse back, and they turned, and they fled back to the main

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

contingent. So consequently, in the course of that flight there, my grandfather was shot twice, one in the calf and then the other in the heel, which I would like to note that they shot him from the back, they didn't shoot him face forward. He was shot (in the back), and that's something that's very upsetting to me.

But nevertheless, these--the group of people that were there--took them to the Red Cloud, or then what was known as the Holy Rosary Mission and later Red Cloud Mission, but they treated with sulfa to the wounds of my grandfather and were asked to leave, and the Jesuits that were there, fearing that there might be further outbreaks of violence and not wishing to a be part of it, apparently had asked them to leave. And this was in the midst of a blizzard that was going on, so they left. And from Red Cloud we live approximately 7 miles. And they followed this ravine or valley down to the point that where, as I mentioned, approximately two miles from here there's the outcropping of (deep) canyons and the pine trees that rim it. Well, there's a big, deep canyon in there that's probably maybe a 150 foot, and its almost of a horseshoe shape, and that is where they ended up, and they dug a trench, and that's where they hid out from December--well that would have been December 29--all the way through what he called spring when it started to get green.

So, I imagine they were there maybe three to four months during which time they subsisted on whatever they could find. And of course the activity that they saw coming down this valley included people that lived in this area. They had no idea where they were because they had come from around an area called Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River Reservation and were totally unaware of the people here or the landmarks. And they also were fearing for their lives, and occasionally they would see soldiers coming through here. I don't have too much detail as to the day-to-day activities, but the grandfather had mentioned to me that on several occasions they had seen some cavalry troops coming in line, and at the end of the period of time they did come back down into the valley and subsequently married some people here. All four were brothers.

I would like to note also that my grandfather, John Little Finger, is a direct descendent from Chief Big Foot [Big Foot's son Yellow Horse was the father of John Little Finger]. Chief Big Foot had, I believe,

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

around seven wives, and it was a custom at that time that if you married one sister, you took the whole group if there were other sisters. So Chief Big Foot was under those conditions, and out of that the indication I've been given is that my grandfather was one of the/ and it must have been so that they were all together, and those family members included the Little Fingers, the Blue Legs family, the He Crow family, and the Pipe on Head family, and so that's a point that I'd like to mention.

I was with him until he passed away in 1954, and at the time that he passed away, I was 15 years old, and I grew up with him. Both he and his wife, my grandmother, essentially raised me during the summer time. In fact, my first words were in Lakota, so they must have had a tremendous influence on me at the time of my growing up. I did not realize the impact of what he had sustained until much later. And I guess that's part of the indoctrination--if I can use that term--that they had with the Indian people; indoctrination from the stand point of trying to, rather than acculturate the Indian people to the white ways including religion and the way of life, rather than acculturating them, trying to assimilate them. And so, consequently my indoctrination was to really look down on the Indian aspects. This is just what they ingrained into us, but as I grew older I began to realize the impact that it had on him. And he did show me his scars. They were scars that were not adequately sewn, you know, so they were jagged, jagged scars that he had. He walked with somewhat of a slight limp, never really altering, I guess, his lifestyle because he was able to do all of the manual labor that was required to maintain life. As I mentioned, I live approximately two miles from where they were holed up for three months, and he liked this place, and, as the allotments came, he took this land, so we're actually living at the place he came to in order to carry on a life afterwards.

I think that the most specific things that I recall are several things: one is the actual battle itself. He indicated to me that he had no intention of coming to Pine Ridge. He was out riding horseback one afternoon, and he seen a large group of people that were coming south. And so he rode horseback over to them and decided to find out what was going on. And he met his cousins there, and he rode horseback with them and pretty soon it was dark. They invited him to stay, and during the course of the evening they talked him into coming

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

along with them to Pine Ridge. The story that I have been told is that Big Foot, Chief Big Foot, was coming down at the request of Red Cloud, and that there was a discussion of giving Chief Big Foot a hundred head of horses and a hundred head of cattle, and that in the subsequent spring that Chief Red Cloud was going to assist him to go to Washington, D.C. and seek additional funds for being able to survive on the Cheyenne River Reservation. And Chief Big Foot, having a large clan and band of people, he found it necessary to do that because of the very essence of survival--being able to obtain sufficient food and so on. But, nevertheless, my grandfather started to travel with them, and by the time that they entered the Wounded Knee area, it dawned on him that he was in a terrible situation.

I think that one of the points that has always been shown from the military perspective as well as the Indian agents' perspective has been that they were coming down to Ghost Dance, and that this was, I think, a very difference of opinion from the stand point of the Indian people. There was indications that there was going to be an uprising and so on. I imagine if you're hungry, without any food, you may call it an uprising, but you're going to all call it a necessity to find adequate food for your children.

I think maybe I'll divert a little bit and cover the aspect of the Ghost Dance because the Ghost Dance is a direct translation Wagni Wacipi and wagni being ghost, but the proper term for it is the spiritual connection with the spirit world. That needs to be corrected. It's not a Ghost Dance. Ghosts are in comics and in movies, but they are not in the spirituality aspect as identified by the Sioux Indians. The Ghost Dance was an act that was performed in the sense of spirituality and that through the prayers and through the ability to establish communications with the spirit world, that this was the rite, the ritual that was performed. So that needs to be clarified.

As they approached Wounded Knee, it's unclear because my grandfather never really talked about the evening that they settled there. Where he picks up, and what he had told me was when the gunfire started that he immediately ran. He apparently was close to the ravine, and he immediately started running for the ravine. And before he made it to the ravine, he said that there was scuffling; there was a tremendous

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

amount of gunfire, a tremendous amount of smoke from the gun barrels. That's probably maybe because impending blizzard, there's probably an inversion of air so nothing was dissipating, it just kind of hung to the ground.

And as he ran, he said he felt like somebody hit him in the back with an axe. It was just a sharp pain and it was strong enough to bowl him over. He laid there for a while, realizing that he had been shot, but he also realized that he needed to get away so he jumped back up, and he started to run again. And again he felt like someone hit him with an axe, and this time they shot part of his heel away, and it was both on the same side of his same leg, and again he went down, but this time he was able to crawl into the ravine. And he said he laid there for a while but, you know, the sounds of the gunfire and the crying of the people/ The sounds that he mentioned were very awful sounds of people being slaughtered, and he knew that was going on, so he proceeded to run up that ravine.

And there were several of them that, as they ran along, that were hiding. And it just so happened that the four cousins got together, and they continued to run. But by the time they had reached about half way up the ravine, the soldiers, realizing that some of them were escaping--and this apparently must have been after the immediate shooting had occurred and they were in and around--they began to fire at them, and they were running towards them. Fortunately, the ravine twists and turns and there's curves, and so consequently, they were able to make those turns. They stayed very close to the ground, and as they were nearing the top is when there was a group of Indians, local people, that had guns, and, of course, when the cavalry had apparently gone up that far, and if you look at the site itself, it's maybe a mile and a half from the site itself. So they were able to escape because of that. Had not that happened, I'm sure that he would have been killed, and I guess I wouldn't be here talking.
As they got to the top, the other thing that he mentioned was that down a little bit further there was a woman that was sitting on the ground, and she had a baby in her hands, and she was rocking the baby. And what he had saw was a soldier had come over and took the bundle from the woman. And he flung the bundle to the ground a ways, far enough that the mother couldn't reach. And he had a rifle, and he fired three or four shots into that bundle. And the mother, he saw

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

her stand up and start running with her arms outreached. She totally ignored the cavalry soldier, and the calvary soldiers side-stepped her, and as she came by, he hit her in the back of the head with that rifle, and he knocked her to the ground. And he took his heel of his boot, and he put it over her throat. And then he leveled that rifle on her, and he probably fired maybe five or six shots into her head. And he said that has always been in his mind. He could never really ever get that away from his mind. I think that's probably the most traumatic thing that stayed with him despite being wounded and despite being displaced.

I think the thing that I want to mention here is that had I been in that position I probably would have had very mixed feelings. I guess my feeling would be hatred, my feelings would be revenge, but I never did detect them from my grandfather. And instead of the hatred and the revenge, it was more towards: we are all people and we must live together; this thing has happened; there is nothing I can do about it, but I must forgive whoever has done whatever to us; I bear no grudge; I bear no hatred towards the federal government. And I think that has given me a lesson. It has probably helped me in my ability to cope with the world, knowing that to have something so awful happen to my grandfather. Yet it gives me the strength to know that those things happen, they come to pass and that to forgive and to be able to carry on is a much stronger way for a man to live. And I teach my children the same thing. I tell them when they are old enough, they will hear my story, and they will carry that on.

Within my grandfather's side, we go back to seven generations of people whose name is a name by the name of Yellow Horse, and every succeeding son in the following generation receives the Indian name of Yellow Horse. My grandfather had it. My dad had the name, and I did not get it, and now my son carries that name on, and that name probably goes back to maybe early 1600s or mid 1600s.

This household that I have is a Takini Oyate, and these are survivor people, so as my generations carry on forward, they will forever be known as Takini Oyate. We are survivors, and with each generation, we've come a long ways, from my grandfather to me to be able to be a hospital administrator, to have educational and experienced background. Putting those together and carrying it on to the next

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

generation, moving on forward--that gives us a chance for greater survival.

That's one side of the story. On my other side, Joseph Horn Cloud. Joseph's father was Horned Cloud. His name was Horned Cloud with No Name was killed there, along with two sons, Sherman and William Horn Cloud. Also there was a cousin, who at that time was considered as a sister, was also killed there. Along with that, his brother Dewey Beard whose wife and ten day old daughter were killed also. I've got about five or six of my immediate family that were killed there, and there were probably around four or five that sustained wounds and were able to survive, the largest loss of life being from my mother's side.

Joseph Horn Cloud is also the person who, in later years/ Well in his early years went on to school at an all-black college in Virginia--Hampton Institute--and had a good command of the English language. And he took my two uncles and my mother along on trips back east, and the purpose of the trips was to raise funds. And the funds that he raised erected that monument there. And that's the only monument that has ever been established there. He felt very strong about it. I unfortunately never knew my grandfather because he died around 1929, and he had left his three children as orphans: my mother and my uncle both were raised at Red Cloud Mission, and then the other uncle was raised by some ranchers up at Potato Creek.

But, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, was part of the band that was involved at the Custer's battle. And, I guess it's interesting to note that--again from the white man perspective--that Custer's was a massacre and Wounded Knee was a battle, and it probably should be recognized both ways. If you look at it from the Indian perspective, it's exactly the opposite. There's no need to mention much of Custer because much has been written, and those that are aware that Custer's tactics led [to] a loss of life that, you know, was largely his responsibility. But anyway, I just wanted to mention that part.

Following the battle at Little Big Horn, Horned Cloud, who would be my great grandfather, along with his family, went with Sitting Bull into Canada. And they stayed there for a period of time, maybe at least three years. And they decided to return back to the Cherry Creek

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

area. They were from the Cheyenne River Reservation. Both sides of my family are Minicojou Lakotas, and so on their way back to the area that they originally had left, for some reason, they stopped at Fort Lincoln. And during that period of time that they were at Fort Lincoln, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, who was probably at that time somewhere between five to nine years old, was permitted to attend school with the fort children there. Subsequently, he learned the English language. The family did not use the English language, but that was his start in learning the language. And when the Wounded Knee Massacre occurred, the evening that they were taken to Wounded Knee, my grandfather took it upon his own to visit the campfires of the cavalry. And he has indicated to me that at that time there was some drinking that was going on, and that he had heard mention that this group of Indians that we have right now are members of the band that killed Custer. And he also heard that we should kill these people also, we should avenge what they did to Custer. And they did not know that he understood the English language, and so he immediately went to his father, and he told his father, who was Horned Cloud, that there was going to be something to happen, and he told him that they were drinking, and that these men were talking about this group killing Custer, and that they wanted to do something about it. Of course, there was not much they could do because they were under guard at the time, but it was decided that Horned Cloud, my great grandfather, would stay with Chief Big Foot, and that he would try to protect him in whatever way he could, and, of course, he was probably one of the first to die because when the shooting started, he was with Big Foot, and both he and Big Foot are in that grave, that mass grave.

Joseph was able to escape. He escaped along with Dewey Beard, who was his brother, and White Lance, who was also his brother, and what they did was they went down into the creek area, and somewheres they found a hiding place, and they hid there. They did not know exactly where they were either. So, the following morning, what they did was somewheres early in the morning, the horses had/ They had a considerably large amount of property with them, but what they did was they caught some of the horses that they recognized which were theirs and immediately left the scene. Of course, Dewey Beard was my, in Indian ways, also my grandfather. He left knowing that he was leaving his wife and his ten day old child, and he's well documented. I think

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

he's given his story as to what had happened there. That's how they were able to survive.

Their family was completely decimated, and as a result, they essentially all took/ They kept their names, their Indian names, and when in later years when allotment took place Horn Cloud, Beard and White Lance all took that as their English name but they were (direct) brothers. I think from the perspective of my uncle Joe, well I have an uncle that's Joseph Horn Cloud also. It's his son. But I think from the perspective of my grandfather, he had written and had to try to find some form of compensation. He did as much as within his power, political power which was almost absent up until Senator Francis Case was involved in it. He wrote a lot of correspondence, and on record, which I have access to, are statements that he has given regarding the loss of property that occurred. And I started to calculate that. If you take a human life--of course, there is really no measure for that, and I did not include those figures for loss of human life, but I took into consideration the listing that he had given to/ I'm not sure, I have to refer to my notes that I have, but I'm thinking that its a commanding officer. Well, the name's not important, but, what he had done was he had made a list of everything that he had lost. He initiated that because he felt that, at some point in time, there would be an opportunity to seek compensation for that, and there's something like 37 head of horses, approximately 11 tipis, utensils, bedding, beadwork, knives, guns, wagons, teams.

One of the things that both grandfathers essentially had hoped, but were not in the position to do, was some form of compensation. They both provided testimony which was documented, and I find it somewhat in a sense personally offensive from the standpoint that the retired Indian agent, by the name of Valentine McGillycuddy I believe, took that testimony, and upon his retirement, went back to Boston and had that information published, took the direct testimony of the people. And I do not know what he did with that money, whether or not he turned it back over to the Indian people or not, but from my understanding that was for personal compensation for himself, and I find that offensive, extremely offensive. I'm grateful that he was able to document it, but if he were able to document that, he should have also been able to turn that money back over to the people, at

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

least the survivors that at that point in time had not received anything.

But also they come across saying that this is a place of death. This was something that they died in such a way without the ability to defend themselves except with their hands. Women, men and children. No regard for women and children, all were killed. And that this type of action should be left as it is, that there should not be any form of recognition for them. These people tried for those survivors while they were alive, tried to get something but were unsuccessful. And I guess that some people can interpret it as such to leave it as it is without any further development or without any further recognition. My feelings are that to interpret it that way, I feel that this is a very sacred place, as is any cemetery where it is essentially a consecrated ground, and its largely probably because of the respect that you have for the people that have gone on.

My specific recommendations are that it's very appropriate for us to take that theme and to establish through the Federal Government a continuum of care. There should be a place so that the things--for example for what I have said and for what other people will say--should go down as documented history, not only for the people that are aware of Wounded Knee and have read it in books and have come to see the site, but most importantly for the children who will be coming up in future generations. I have had direct contact with my grandfather and I knew him. I walked with him; I ate with him; he cared for me. But, after I'm gone, my son will not know that, except through what I have said. And I personally would like to see a permanent record that shows the documentation of the people that are able to relate the story from the Indian standpoint. I would like to see permanent documentation in a memorial very similar to the, as called, the Battlefield of Custer, to have the National Park Service to establish a memorial. It doesn't have to be anything elaborate, but it should at least at a minimum contain things that are mementos or that to document what has happened there, and I'm very much in favor, and I support strongly any effort that the Federal Government can do. I probably am speaking out of place from the standpoint of many people as they look at it, but I feel that the Federal Government, at this point, is probably in a better position than any group people to establish a memorial that is very befitting of a site like that, and

Leonard Little Finger Interview Continued:

is in much better position than any group of people to maintain that ongoing. I would not favor any exploitation such as setting up hot dog stands within, you know, a two mile radius. It's all right if they set up the hot dog stand, you know, away from that area, but that whole area is a death ground, and I would not favor anything like that. Beyond a established limit, (whatever) boundaries are established, beyond that I could see whatever needs to be done.

JC: Okay, Can I ask you a couple of questions?

JC: I'm interested in/ in that report the dates for the landmark goes until 1903 when your grandfather Horn Cloud put up that memorial but not much is known about what happened there between 1890 and 1903. How was the site revered or memorialized by the people who had survived? Like, how did your grandfathers/

LLF: My grandfather Horn Cloud, he felt a very strong connection, a very strong bond. On occasion, he became what they called a catechist. This is an earlier version of a lay person in the Catholic Church. They assisted the priest; they worked directly with him. And what he did was on occasion that he came to Red Cloud over on Pine Ridge, he made it a point to camp there, and he actually slept on the grave. And some of the cousins that were with him, his cousins, said that they used to be afraid. They were, you know, spooked or whatever. My grandfather Horn Cloud felt that he was at home because of the brother and his father were buried there, were laying there. He said that its just like/ I mean, he looked at it as much as another home because that's where the remains of his family was, and so he held that in very, very high reverence, and that must be enough of a reverence that he felt that it was necessary for him to put something up. And, you know, if he didn't put that there at that time, maybe nobody else would have.

But, my other grandfather, John Little Finger, he always referred to it as the killing place, and it was something that he looked at it, I guess, as an atrocity ___ . He had respect for it, but nevertheless it was a place that (held) very strong, terrible memories, too.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONA BROKEN NOSE
AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Leona Broken Nose (LBN) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside Manderson, South Dakota, by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). Leona Broken Nose is the grandaughter of James Pipe on Head who survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were members of the BBC crew, Alex White Plume, and Jennifer Chapman, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. The transcript reflects Ms. Broken Nose's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
() uncertain transcription
/ break in speech in which thought is incomplete
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BBC: Leona, we'll ask you to start and tell the story you told me about your grandfather ___ and the feelings that you have about the people that died there___.

LBN: The way my grandfather, James Pipe On Head, explained to us while he was/ He told us all these stories when he was on his death bed. Really, I didn't really pay attention to what he was talking about in the first place about the Wounded Knee business until he started telling us. He told us to sit down and listen and talk. He said it was really important to him that he said that he was the ___ of that Wounded Knee Association, and then he never got to it, and then he passed away.

So, when he told us this, he said he was coming from the north with the band. His grandfather's name was Chief Big Foot, and he said he was about/ I don't know about how old he said. And his sister was about 15 year and a two year old. Okay, and they were coming and camping, and his grandfather was sick, so they come so far, and they camped, and they keep going until they got to Wounded Knee, and they camped there. All of a sudden, these cavalry start going on, and he said that his grandfather was so sick that his mother or grandmother

Leona Broken Nose Interview Continued:

made some Indian medicine to take it to his grandfather, Chief Big Foot, to give him his medicine throughout the night, and he went over to the tent, and he said he was laying there, and all these generals or whatever were in that tent, and that cavalry were around the tent. They wouldn't even let him in, but he said he opened the back of the tent and crawled in to give the Indian medicine to his grandfather, and he left.

He said he went back to the other tent to where his mother was, and the next morning, he said they were going to leave, and he said he didn't know what happened at that time. He said all of a sudden, there was a big bang and that's it. He said everything was shooting guns and they're running all over, and he said my grandpa was with his mother running. His mother had his little sister on her back, and they were running over the hill, and, all of a sudden, his mother stopped and said, "Your little sister's dead."

So they're going to bury her right here, and he said there was a big tree beside the big hill, so they dug under this tree. And his mother got his little sister off and wrapped it on his blanket. And they put her under there, and they covered with a lot of weeds and twigs. And then they took off again. He said they were still running when they met up with a little boy, so he had it by the hand. They were running and running. He said that all they time, they were kept pointing towards the west. That was the direction they were running until some people found them, and they helped them get back, (he always tells me), and he gave us some papers, which I can't find last night, the story and all the list of the names he had with him, those people that were there with him that time, but I can't find the papers last night.

That's all he keeps telling us. That's as far as he remembers. (They went) back to Pine Ridge. He said they took him to a church. He said there was a church that/ and there was like a hospital. It was a church, but they made it into a hospital, and now, that church is way out in the country, seven miles from Oglala towards Red Shirt Table. That church is still out there. It's called St. Johns Episcopal Church. So that church is about a hundred years old, (at least) a hundred years old. That's all.

Leona Broken Nose Interview Continued:

[she continues her response with more feelings on the significance of the site. This appears below.]

LBN: So they always talks about this Wounded Knee. Why would this happen? Why did the government never even pay them? They didn't even pay attention to them. They say that there's a lot that keeps going to meetings, meetings, meetings, and they never accomplished anything (until the day he died.) So I don't know why the government didn't turn around and apologize to them or what, why they didn't do it. They just let it go.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: BIRGIL KILLS STRAIGHT
JULY 14, 1990

This transcript is a shortened version of a full interview conducted on July 14, 1990, with Birgil Kills Straight at his home in Kyle, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from Badlands National Park. Birgil Kill Straight is a direct descendent (grandson) of Daniel White Lance, a survivor of the Wounded Knee massacre. Daniel White Lance was the brother of Dewey Beard and Joseph Horn Cloud, both of whom also survived the massacre of December 29, 1890. At Mr. Kills Straight's request the original interview was edited to obtain a shortened version. The transcript reflects Mr. Kills Straight's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation, the following notation is used in this transcript:

/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
___ missed word(s)
() uncertain word(s)
[] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BKS: If you don't know, stories and legends all come from actual events, so it's not anything that's made up for children like most (myths and legends) are. It has a beginning and that's part of oral history. Creation; the language; our understanding of the natural world, we call spiritual, now, other people call it religion. It's separate. We don't really have a religion per say. We talk about the spiritual. In the well established culture everything is separate. It wasn't. It began in a time when we lived in the spirit world at the time of creation of this earth, this particular spirit world. There were several before this one. And how the sun spun off of this earth, called the rock. We call it inyan. And the sun came from earth and it was the first being inside the inyan. The first being in the wi. Wi or the sun is wi, w-i. And inyan is the rock. So probably the first word, at least from the time of that creation, understanding is winyan, which is the woman. And that's what we call the earth. The language is very important here because everything was built on the way the whole universe is.

The second life I suppose was really the root, the hutkan, because we are talking about the time when we were part of the vegetation, the

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

things that grow. Then the third life: the buffalo, pte, the four-legged. We didn't say (when), but you can imagine the first sign of buffalo that appeared in the world was a four-legged creature. It must have been during prehistoric times. And then the forth life, we became two-legged. We originated out of the Black Hills from the hole called Wind Cave. But that is probably where the buffaloes came out, from (Wind Cave) which is the surface. [They] came from underneath from part of a root (from a plant) and we are here now.

The relations were very important, understanding who our relations are. And I don't know how much you know about Indian history and culture, but there is a very simple prayer called Mitakuye Oyasin which means "All My Relations." It sorts of leaves it at that. It didn't specify. It wasn't very specific. It just says "All My Relations." So everything that moves, everything that grows and everything that is (is) our brother.

Translating that into the modern (or) the contemporary history of 100 years ago, I started to say that families are important. White Lance is (in fact) my grandfather, my mother's father. He was part of the incident at Wounded Knee. He survived. His other brother was Iron Hail. Iron Hail is also known as Putinhinla. The translation of that name, Putinhinla means "beard". Actually, what would have probably been more appropriate was "moustache" but that Putinhinla is what they called "beard" and the name stuck. And from him I've heard of the events that took place, perhaps not in sequence. In my older, later years, I was able to piece that back together into some sort of sequential order.

There was another one of the Horn Clouds. There were several Horn Clouds. For some reason or another they adopted their father's name. It must have been during the time that most everyone, the youngsters took on their father's name. So there were several, and I can't remember/ And then there was Iron Deer and then there were several others. One was named Surrounds. His body was never found. And then another one was named Her Horses and another one was called Elk Nation Woman. There was a total of eleven of them. There were twelve but one stayed up in Canada with Sitting Bull so eleven brothers and sisters came back down. They lived from around Bridger up to near perhaps ___ or some place around ___.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

When Sitting Bull was killed, some of the relatives came into Cherry Creek and Bridger. In fact, they came to Bridger, and Big Foot was coming here to negotiate sort of a truce. There was a build up of an army here and then the idea was to totally, at one point, was to totally wipe out the Oglalas, and Red Cloud probably realized this. He sent for Big Foot. (He was) a negotiator, an arbitrator, and the community knew him that way, sort of a holy man. He understood what was going on.

Of course, he never arrived at Pine Ridge. And in a way, the white people that lived here and the government panicked as well after what had happened. So the final assault on the Oglalas never took place. Instead, their ways would develop to more fit the government's ideas about a (nation) ___. And after that stopped, everything went underground. The religion aspects, the spiritual aspects, the rituals went underground, and the people had accepted their way of life ___ until a time of (resistance).

There's still some anger. There's still some sadness. There's still all of this. There's still a lot of hate. And to lead into what happened in 1890, it's really not a case of, as the saying goes, that there was a battle and that they lost the battle. It wasn't that at all. It's just the fact that after 1890, the government of the United States had much more influence, not as quite as influential today as most people like to think. We have a treaty with the U.S. government in 1868 which was bounded with a pipe. Anytime you do it with a pipe, you can't break it. And so for us, that still exists. On the other hand, the U.S., it was just a game, a game of words, and what they take is okay. They feel that they're the conquerors and they can take whatever they can. They're not the conquerors. They haven't conquered us. But until the day that I die, until the day that feeling of nationalism dies, we're still a separate nation.

Around Cherry Creek, Eagle Butte area, Pierre, what seemed to be the case was, in the late 1800s, the movement into the Black Hills and across this land probably really had accelerated and the treaty was signed. The U.S. government couldn't control the masses according to that treaty. I mean, I don't think they tried. They were part of it. Custer was the main person. Some of the generals and commissioners, they'd already made investments all over the country. It's greed and

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

(it made them) want more gold and more land, and we just happened to be in the way. So the final assault was supposed to happen. I don't know when that was, but the years that led up to it until 1890/ And some of the ones that you probably heard about more were like Sitting Bull and Big Foot, but there were several other, many other spiritual leaders. I think somebody might have at about that time discovered that when you believe in something and will die for it, the only way to remove them or to put them out of the way is to kill them, and that's what they tried. The medicine men, the holy men, we call them Holy Interpreters, in Lakota we call them wakani ieska, were being killed.

The Ghost Dance wasn't all (the ancient way) either. The formal Ghost Dance was Christian, but there was already ceremonies like the Keeping of the Spirit, which is one of the seven rituals that were very strong, and because we lived spiritually, the physical and the metaphysical were everyday. They must have discovered that we were on the way, and if they wanted to stop us, they had to kill the spiritual leaders. In a way that was partially successful, at least that's the feeling that we got. And I can't remember the exact words Iron Hail used, but I suspect this is what he was talking about. I was about 14, 15 years old when he died, so the stories that he told me were told to me before I was 14, 15. It was like I said, (it was) years before I'd begin to occasionally, some of what he said, I'd think about it and tried to figure out what he means.

1890, I guess is when, at least as Black Elk says it, that Sacred Hoop, the way we understood it, was broken, and, from that point on, that our life would be different. And it turned out that way. But also, [the] holy men--it wasn't just Black Elk--the current wakani ieska, the people who have this understanding a lot more, in fact, much more than I do, tell me the Sacred Hoop is still here. All what we must do is mend it, put it together.

That goes back to ceremonies that we must have before undertaking a major event; purification; going up on the hill vision questing for four days and four nights. We prepare ourselves, wash in that bed of sage which is still plentiful now. Our spiritual understanding begins upon a vision quest.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

And the medicine men, the holy men or the waskani ieska who interpreted some of the (stuff) that took place then and even now tell us that it's become much more urgent to create this attention. That in the seventh generation after Wounded Knee, 1890, that we will resurface. These were some of the prophecies. After all of this, people will get at least full conscious throughout the world. (It's time we take) a very serious look at the way we're living now. From the year August 15, 1987, to the year 2012 is when the period of adjustment (starts to take place.) This is according to [Edgar] Cayce and to the Mayan Calendar. It's more like, I said this before, it's like Doomsday prophecies. But in a way, the understanding here is at least what had happened back then (as I learned) runs parallel to what is happening now. And when the life of a nation is threatened _____ many of the people of that nation died. It's happening again. Wounded Knee symbolizes that. For some reason or another, nothing throughout the world more symbolizes this than Wounded Knee, the 21st century.

White Lance undoubtedly knew some of this. I never knew him. He was shot. His stomach intestines were coming out. He wrapped it up in a blanket. [His] heel was shot off so he crawled for about 2 miles, maybe a little more, along the ravines, and climbed up on the side of the/ way to near the top of where Wounded Knee is visible from. A blizzard came in. He stayed in a snow drift in the bank for four days and four nights. When the blizzard lifted, someone came to him and talked to him and told him that he was going to fix him. (To the left of the) bank, the snow bank, was a coyote. The coyote came in, licked his wounds and he was okay. So he communicates with the coyotes, the spirits that reside within the coyote body.

The stories that he told were pretty much similar to the ones that were talked about. I couldn't set the sequence or use his language. I can paraphrase a lot of it.

An hour is up.

JC: Can I ask one more question?

BKS: Yes.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

JC: One thing that we wanted to know/ Right now in the report, the time frame is up to 1903, and we were wondering what happened between 1890 and 1903. What did people do to memorialize or revere the site of Wounded Knee?

BKS: Every place where there's a dead/ Okay there's a word in Lakota, wamakaskan,

wamakaskan, WA-ma-ka-skan. Four syllables. Each has a meaning. Wa means, its interpretation is snow. Snow comes from the direction north. That's what purifies; that has a power from the north; that's what's called holy, sacred. The word wakan, it's wa-kan. Kan is the blood vessel, and because it purifies, the wind and snow purify it and filters out the air and the water, it prepares it for new growth, and it becomes drinkable again. Wa, the snow, means purity. And maka is earth, the world or dirt, just any common dirt that you step on if you want. You probably don't think about what you step on as you walk, but that dirt, it's just that one portion that you step on becomes dust. The dirt or the dust is called maka. It depends on how yo use it: maka can also mean the world or the earth. Skanskan is movement, something that moves, something that has life that moves. So the word, wamakaskan, which in today's language is considered as an animal/ Animals are called wamakaskan, but it has more of a deeper meaning than that. So what comes to the center, the spirit from the spirit world, what comes to us through the metaphysical world in our ritual is a wamakaskan. We call them wamakaskan _____, which literally translated, again, like I said it would be/ Well not literally, but the understanding that we have now of what the words mean, it would be the animal people, the animal nation. That's what comes to us. This is why the coyotes and all that is important; the deer; eagle; the birds themselves are important, but what is more important is the spirit that resides within those animals. The word wamakaskan is its truest form, is the sacred dirt or the sacred parcel of dirt that is (moving). That is the word wamakaskan.

> Our understanding, that spirits that come from us still reside within us, is the one that we see as we see ourself, because other spirits occupy our body. Several spirits at different times or at one time, use our bodies for their work. The medicine men have up to 400 and some spirits that work in them.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

> These are representatives of the animal. Like I say, it's not always the animal that's important, but the spirit that resides within the animal or within the fruit or within the insect or whatever. Any time a person is buried--if I were to look at this as an archangel, where I have a higher level of understanding of life that the archangel is supposed to have and some of the spirits who we work with are supposed to have, then I would look at the wamakaskan that is buried wherever a person is buried. [It] is sacred for that person returns to find dust, fine powder, but the spirits that resides there go in the (air), so wherever a person is buried is sacred. You come back to wamakaskan.

Wounded Knee, in that sense, is sacred. Wounded Knee should be left the way it is. Take out the foundation, that church foundation. Maybe move that church. Remove that road. Just close it off. You don't even have to put anything. Perhaps sitting away from it there might be a museum or a cultural center to help explain some of the things that I'm talking about. The U.S. Congress bestowed 28 Congressional Medal of Honors to men who killed unarmed men and children. They threw the babies up in the air and shot them. They cut the outer parts of the vaginal area and put them over the/ into the women. They took out the heart. They took the babies out of the wombs, and for that, they received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Now that is what I think some of the people object to. Why was the fact the U.S. Government should be ___? We may be small in numbers, but we have an understanding of life that is much more important. Those stories, those kinds of stories are never heard. Some of the stories I'm telling you third and fourth hand now. I wasn't there. I've heard it talked about from people who were there before, who talked to the peoples who were there. The Sand Creek (Massacre), the Sand Creek was the same way. That's the thing that I think should be done. I mean, I don't really care what is done. The only thing that should be done is to clear out that whole area to return it back to its natural state. In its natural way, the people where who had died there will be ___ rest in peace.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview Continued:

There's an old ceremony we have called "Wiping the Tears of the Mourners." The ceremony is conducted when a person dies within a family. And after that ceremony is concluded the family continues to live without the deceased family member. That ceremony was never done to the whole nation, and that's what we're trying to do. Four times, we purified ourselves in preparation for this ceremony. We should be prepared to tell the people: "We can never forget what happened at Wounded Knee, but we must live for the future. Thinking about what happened there a 100 years ago that is what keeps us in a state of uncertainty. Let's look towards that future ___. Let's look towards the future together."

Endnotes

1. For example, see James H. McGregor, The Wounded Knee Massacre: From the Viewpoint of the Sioux, 9th ed. (Rapid City, South Dakota: Fenske Printing, Inc., 1987). This book contains the reminiscences of several Wounded Knee survivors.

2. The activities of the Crook Commission and the events preceding the appearance of the Lakota Ghost dance are detailed in Jerome A. Greene's, "The Sioux Land Commission of 1889: Prelude to Wounded Knee, South Dakota History, 1:1 (Winter 1970), 41-72; Herbert T. Hoover, "The Sioux Agreement of 1889 and Its Aftermath," South Dakota History, 19:1 (Spring 1989), 56-94; and James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 306-319.

3. The classic anthropological study of the Ghost Dance is James Mooney's "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896). More recent studies of note are: Michael A. Sievers, "The Historiography of 'The Bloody Field... That Kept the Secret of the Everlasting Word': Wounded Knee," South Dakota History, 6:1 (Winter 1975): 33-54; Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," Pacific Historical Review, 51:4 (November 1982): 385-405; Russell Thorton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); and L.G. Moses, The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

4. George Sword, "The Story of the Ghost Dance," The Folk-Lorist, 1:1 (July 1892), Chicago Folk-Lore Society.

5. Congress, Senate, The Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the Fifty-first Congress, "Executive Document No. 9," William T. Selwyn to E.W. Foster (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 35-36. Hereafter referred to as Senate Executive Documents, No.9.

6. Warren K. Moorehead, "Ghost-Dances in the West," The Illustrated American, January 17, 1891, 327; Daniel Dorchester, "Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools," Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 528-33.

7. George E. Bartlett, "Wounded Knee," manuscript in the Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln; Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends," 215-217, MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln.

8. For the Pine Ridge Reservation, these efforts are illustrated in the report of the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1890, Agent H.D. Gallagher, August 28, 1890, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 49.

9. These fears were heightened after a correspondent from the Omaha Bee, one of the State's leading practitioners of yellow journalism, arrived at Pine Ridge mid-November 1890. Will Cressey, the journalist in question, drew the disdain of his newsmen colleagues for his sensational stories. Allen, "In The West That Was," 209, 236-237.

10. This was perceptively noted at the time by William Hare, the Episcopal Bishop of South Dakota. Omaha Bee, December 28, 1890.

11. Reverend William J. Cleveland, the Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1891 (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1891), 29.

12. Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Daniel F. Royer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12 and 30, 1890, 5, 10-11.

13. Ibid., E.B. Reynolds to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12 and 30, 1890, 13.

14. President Benjamin Harrison to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, November 13, 1890; George Chandler, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to President Harrison, November 13, 1890; War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle of Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891, Major General John M. Schofield to Major General Nelson A. Miles, November 14, 1890 (Washington, D.C.) National Archives microfilm publication M983, hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence. This file, #5412-PRD-1890, brought together the records of the Kent-Baldwin Investigation into the conduct of Colonel James

Forsyth. It conveniently drew together nearly 2,000 pages of documentation, not only from the War Department but also the Bureau of Indian Affairs, relating to the events leading to and including the Wounded Knee fight. Also available, although somewhat of a duplication, is Special Case No. 188, found in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, National Archives. This file likewise brought together documents relating to the Ghost Dance of 1890-91.

15. Reports and Correspondence, Brigadier General Wesley Merritt to the Adjutant General, November 24, 1890, 218.

16. David Humphreys Miller's Ghost Dance (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959), 234, 236, 243-244, is one narrative which expresses the revenge motive.

17. John C. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," Harper's Weekly, February 7, 1891.

18. This thesis is expanded in R. Eli Paul, "Your Country is Surrounded," in Eyewitness at Wounded Knee, ed. Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul and John E. Carter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

19. Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Robert V. Belt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Daniel F. Royer, November 14, 1890, 21.

20. Ibid., A.T. Lea to J.A. Cooper, November 22, 1890, 29.

21. Ibid., J.A. Cooper to R.V. Belt, November 24, 1890, 30.

22. War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1891, I, Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger to Assistant Adjutant General Merritt Barber, November 26, 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 189-90; Ibid., Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger, "Report of Operations Relative to the Sioux Indians in 1890 and 1891," 179.

23. Reports and Correspondence, Proctor to Miles, with instructions from President Harrison, December 1, 1890, 401-402.

24. Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Perain P. Palmer to T.J. Morgan, October 11, 1890, 14.

25. Army and Navy Journal (November 22, 1890): 207; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Ruger to the Adjutant General, October 19, 1890, 180.

26. Ibid., Charles M. O'Connor to E.V. Sumner, November 29, 1890, 235.

27. Ibid., Sumner to Miles, December 8, 1890, 228.

28. Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, December 13, 1890, 576.

29. Ibid., Miles to the Adjutant General, December 22, 1890, 604; Army and Navy Journal (December 27, 1890): 298.

30. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Assistant Adjutant General to Sumner, December 16, 1891, 229.

31. Donald F. Danker, editor, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981), 168, 180, 185. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard.

32. Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, with Sumner's report of Big Foot's capture, December 22, 1890, 604-608.

33. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 168, 185, 186. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard. The decision to go to Pine Ridge was undoubtedly influenced by multiple factors. Some members of the Big Foot bands believed that the U.S. Army intended to forcibly relocate them from their homelands. For example, Dewey Beard was convinced that the Army intended to take them to "an island in the ocean in the east."

34. Reports and Correspondence, Ruger to the Adjutant General, December 27, 1890, with telegrams from Sumner, 627-628; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of Lieutenant Colonel E.V. Sumner, February 3, 1891," 223-228.

35. Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, December 24, 1890, 608.

36. Ibid., testimony of Brigadier General John R. Brooke before the Kent-

Baldwin Investigation, 740-741; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of Major General Miles, September 14, 1891, 147-148, 150. Several military, civilian, and Indian witnesses gave their accounts of the fighting to the investigative board looking into Colonel Forsyth's conduct at Wounded Knee. This testimony, taken January 7-17, 1891, is an important historical source for reconstructing the actions and movements of the principal participants.

37. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interview," 170, 189. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard.

38. Ibid., 222. Statement of Richard C. Stirk.

39. Robert Gessner, Massacre: A Survey of Today's American Indian (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931), 414-418; Miller, Ghost Dance, 221-222.

40. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Help Them before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 719-720.

41. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, the Cloman military map accompanies Miles' report, 147.

42. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 171. Statement of Joseph Horn Cloud.

43. Ibid., 205. Statement of Philip F. Wells.

44. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," 106.

45. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Robinson before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 694.

46. James R. Walker, Lakota Society, Raymond J. Demallie, editor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 165; Philip F. Wells, "Ninety-six Years Among the Indians of the Northwest," North Dakota History 15 (1948): 303. Philip Wells witnessed this event and said it was "not a signal to fight, but to illustrate the harmlessness of the soldiers' bullets."

47. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 173, 192. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard. Eyewitness accounts differ concerning the moment when the fighting started. The consensus opinion however, was that the first shot was accidental.

48. Allen, "In The West That Was," 279.

49. Wells, "Ninety-six Years among the Indians," (statement of Elk Saw Him), 291; Ibid., (Wells account), 285-287. Wells was one of the few eyewitnesses to the events that transpired at Wounded Knee who was fluent in both Lakota and English:

> I was interpreting for General Forsyth just before the battle of Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890. The captured Indians had been ordered to give up their arms, but Big Foot replied that his people had no arms. Forsyth said to me, "Tell Big Foot he says the Indians have no arms, yet yesterday they were well armed when they surrendered. He is deceiving me. Tell him he need have no fear in giving up his arms, as I wish to treat him kindly." Continuing, Forsyth said, "Have I not done enough to convince you that I intend nothing but kindness? Did I not put you into an ambulance and have my doctors care for you? Did I not put in a good tent with a stove to keep you warm and comfortable? I have sent for provisions, which I expect soon, so I can feed your people."
>
> Big Foot replied, "They have no guns, except such as you have found. I collected all my guns at the Cheyenne River Agency and turned them in. They were all burned."
>
> They had about a dozen old-fashion guns, tied together with strings--not a decent one in the lot.
>
> Forsyth declared, "You are lying to me in return for my kindness."
>
> While the soldiers were searching for arms, Big Foot gave substantially the same answer as before.
>
> During this time a medicine man, gaudily dressed and fantastically painted, executed the maneuvers of the ghost dance, raising and throwing dust into the air. He exclaimed, "Ha! Ha!" as he did so,

meaning he was about to do something terrible, and said, I have lived long enough," meaning he would fight until he died.

Turning to the young warriors, who were squatted together, he said, "Do not fear, but let your hearts be strong. Many soldiers are about us and have many bullets, but I am assured their bullets cannot penetrate us. The prairie is large, and their bullets will fly over the prairies and will not come toward us. If they do come toward us, they will float away like dust in the air."

Then the young warriors exclaimed, "How!" with great earnestness, meaning they would back the medicine man.

I turned to Major Whitside and said, "That man is making mischief," and repeated what he had said.Whitside replied, "Go direct to Colonel Forsyth and tell him about it," which I did.

Forsyth and I went to the council of warriors, where he told me to tell the medicine man, who was engaged in silent maneuvers and incantations, to sit down and keep quiet, but he paid no attention to the order. Forsyth repeated the order. After I had translated it into the Indian language, Big Foot's brother-in-law answered, "He will sit down when he gets around the circle."

When the medicine man came to the end of the circle, he squatted down.

Big Foot's brother-in-law asked at the end of the conversation that the Indians be permitted to take Big Foot, who he said was dying, and continue the journey begun before the troops intercepted them.

Forsyth replied, "I can take better care of him here than you can elsewhere, as I will have my doctors attend him."

Forsyth then went to one side to give instructions elsewhere. A cavalry sergeant exclaimed, "There goes an Indian with a gun under his blanket!" Forsyth ordered him to take the gun from the Indian, which he did.

Whitside then said to me, "Tell the Indians it is necessary that they be searched one at a time."

The old Indians assented willingly by answering, "How!" and the search

began.

The young warriors paid no attention to what I told them, but the old men--five or six of them--sitting next to us, passed through the lines and submitted to search. All this time I kept watching the medicine man, who was doing the ghost dance, for fear he might cause trouble. While turning my eyes momentarily away, I heard some one on my left exclaim, "Look out! Look out!" Turning my head and bringing my arms to "port," I saw five or six young warriors cast off their blankets and pull guns out from under them and brandish them in the air. One of the warriors shot into the soldiers, who were ordered to fire into the Indians. The older Indians sitting between the younger ones and us immediately rose up so that the farther end of the circle, forty or fifty feet away, was hidden from my view. I heard a shot from the midst of the Indians. As I started to cock my rifle, I looked in the direction of the medicine man. He or some other medicine man approached to within three or four feet of me with a long cheese knife, ground to a sharp point and raised to stab me. The fight between us prevented my seeing anything else at the time. He stabbed me during the melee and nearly cut off my nose. I held him off until I could swing my rifle to hit him, which I did. I shot and killed him in self-defence and as an act of war as soon as I could gain room to aim my rifle and fire.

By this time a general fight was raging between the soldiers and the Indians. Troop "K" was drawn up between the tents of the women and children and the main body of the Indians, who had been summoned to deliver their arms. The Indians began firing into "Troop K" to gain the canyon of Wounded Knee Creek. In doing so they exposed their women and children to their own fire. Captain Wallace was killed at this time while standing in front of his troops. A bullet, striking him in the forehead, plowed away the top of his head. I started to pull off my nose, which hung by the skin, but Lieutenant Guy Preston shouted, "My God, Man! Don't do that! That can be saved!" He then led me away from the scene of the trouble.

50. Map of Joseph Horn Cloud of Wounded Knee, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln. Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard were brothers.

51. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 195. Statement of Dewey Beard.

52. L.S. McCormick, "Wounded Knee and the Drexel Mission Fights," By Valor and Arms: The Journal of American Military History 1:2 (January 1975): 11.

53. John M. Carroll, editor, A Seventh Cavalry Scrapbook (Bryan, Texas: Privately published, no date), 4. Letter from Brigadier General (Ret.) E.A. Garlington to the Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, April 4, 1931.

54. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 175. Statement of Joseph Horn Cloud.

55. James H. McGregor, The Wounded Knee Massacre from the Viewpoint of the Sioux (Baltimore: Wirth Brothers, 1940), 120.

56. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Whitside, Varnum, Nicholson, and Robinson before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 659-660, 667-668, 670-671, 694.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., testimony of Capron before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 698-699.

59. W.F. Beyer and O.F. Keydel, editors, Deeds of Valor, 2 (Detroit, 1907), 316. Quote by Paul H. Weinert.

60. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Taylor and Nowlan before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 681-682, 701. Interview of John Shangrau, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln. This is corroborated in the Standing Soldier interview from the same collection. Standing Soldier was a member of Taylor's scouts.

61. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Taylor, Jackson, and Edgerley before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 682, 687-688, 690; "Letter of Private Edward Edmunds, December 31, 1890," Washington Evening Star, January 8, 1891.

62. Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Tompkins before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 697.

63. Ibid., testimony of Godfrey and Ewing before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 677, 705-706; Barry C. Johnson, "Tragedy at White Horse Creek: Edward S. Godfrey's Unpublished Account of an Incident near Wounded Knee," The Brand Book, 19:3-4 (London: The English Westerners' Society, 1977) 1-13; E.S. Godfrey, "Battle of Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, December 29th, 1890," Winners of the West, 12:2 (January 30, 1935): 1.

64. Ibid.

65. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 231. Statement of Louis Mousseau.

66. Christer Lindberg, "Foreigners in Action at Wounded Knee," Nebraska History, 71:4 (Winter 1990). Reminiscence of Ragnar Theodor Ling-Vannerus (Theodore Ragnar on his enlistment).

67. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of the Surgeon-General, September 22, 1891," 600.

68. William Fitch Kelley, Pine Ridge 1890: An Eye Witness Account of the Events Surrounding the Fighting at Wounded Knee, Alexander Kelley and Pierre Bovis, editors (San Francisco: Pierre Bovis, 1971), 1-4, 181-203.

69. Peter R. DeMontravel, "General Nelson A. Miles and the Wounded Knee Controversy," Arizona and the West, 28:1 (Spring 1986): 23-24. Details Miles' action against Forsyth.

70. Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891 (dateline of January 1), and January 14, 1891.

71. "Extracts from Letters Written by Lieutenant Alexander R. Piper, Eighth Infantry, at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, to his wife Marie Cozzens Piper, at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, during the Sioux Campaign, 1890-1891," The Unpublished Papers of the Order of Indian Wars, Book #10, John M. Carroll, editor (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Privately published, 1977), 10; Diary of Frank D. Baldwin, 1890-1891, diary entry for January 4, 1891, Baldwin Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Reports and Correspondence, Frank D. Baldwin to Assistant Adjutant General, February 5, 1891, 1075-1076.

72. Ibid., Whitney to the Assistant Adjutant General, January 3, 1891, 824.

73. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 176-178.

74. Wounded Knee Compensation Papers, James McLaughlin Collection, MS H76.24, Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota.

75. Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 231-241.

76. Army and Navy Journal, Miles congratulatory order, Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, in the Field, January 18, 1891 (January 24, 1891): 366.

77. Congress, Senate, "Affairs of the Indians at Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota," 52nd Congress, 1st session, Senate Executive Documents, No. 58, 64.

78. Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903.

79. Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 253-261.

80. "South Dakota Won't Urge Revoking 18 Wounded Knee Medals," Omaha World Herald, April 21, 1990. A recent controversy has developed regarding the Medals of Honor awarded after Wounded Knee. Tribal members have lobbied public officials to have the medals taken away from the recipients.

81. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890, 257. Utley considerably modified his views in this later study. Wounded Knee was not the last Indian war but a bloody reaction to the reservation system. In his earlier book, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation viii, 5, 267, Utley presented Wounded Knee as the last battle in the last Indian war. Notwithstanding this change, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation, is considered a classic and remains the standard work on Wounded Knee.

82. John G. Neihardt, Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Ogalala Sioux (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1932), 276. Raymond J. DeMallie, editor, The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

83. Lawrence F. Van Horn, Ethnographer, Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service; personal observations of Marie Not Help Him's speeches; Wounded Knee Alternatives Study team member, June 17, 1991, at the Wounded Knee site, Wounded Knee, South Dakota; and, June 18, 1991, at Wounded Knee Public Meeting, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

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--------. Executive Documents of the Senate of the United State for the First Session of the Fifty-Second Congress. "Executive Document No. 58." Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892.

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--------. Fifty-Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890. "Report of Pine Ridge Agency," by H.D. Gallagher. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890.

--------. Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891. "Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools," by Daniel Dorchester. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891.

--------. Special Case No. 188. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, n.d. National Archives microfilm RG75.

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--------. Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1891, 1. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892.

Collections

Charles W. Allen Collection. Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, NE.

Frank D. Baldwin Collection. Huntington Library. San Marino, California.

James McLaughlin Collection. Robinson Museum. Pierre, South Dakota.

Eli S. Ricker Collection. Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, NE.

Newspapers

Army and Navy Journal

Chicago InterOcean

Nebraska State Journal

Omaha Bee

Omaha World-Herald

Rushville Standard

Washington Evening Star

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 870 acres

UTM References

A. Zone 13 713850 easting 4779980 northing
B. Zone 13 715050 easting 4780000 northing
C. Zone 13 714700 easting 4778720 northing
D. Zone 13 714080 easting 4778720 northing
E. Zone 13 714080 easting 4778060 northing
F. Zone 13 713600 easting 4778060 northing
G. Zone 13 713420 easting 4776615 northing
H. Zone 13 713850 easting 4779440 northing

Verbal Boundary Description

Beginning at UTM Point A (located on the NE corner of the NE quarter of the NW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 35, T.37N, R.43W) on the Wounded Knee South, South Dakota Quadrangle, then proceeding east along the northern section lines of Sections 35 and 36 (outside the southern fence line of a local community cemetery) to an intersection with the east bank of Wounded Knee Creek (contour line elevation 3200); then proceeding in a southerly direction along the west bank of Wounded Knee Creek to UTM Point C (located in the south half of the SW quarter of Section 36, T.37N, R.43W); then proceeding in a westerly direction for approximately 1000 feet to UTM Point D (located in the SE quarter of the SE quarter of Section 35, T.37N, R.43W); then proceeding due south approximately 1000 feet to UTM Point E (located in the NE quarter of the NE quarter of Section 3, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding due west approximately 750 feet to the intersection with the Big Foot Trail Road or UTM Point F (located in the NW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 3, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding in a southerly direction along the west edge of the Big Foot Trail Road to its intersection with an unimproved dirt road or UTM Point G (located in the SE quarter of the NW quarter of Section 9, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding in a northerly direction along the eastern edge of the unimproved dirt road, which follows a ridge line above the dry ravine to the east, to UTM Point H (located in the SW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 35, T.37n, R.43W); then proceeding due north approximately 900 feet to UTM Point A.

Boundary Justification

The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark boundaries are defined on the basis of eyewitness descriptions of the area and maps drawn by observers. As would be expected, some sources are detailed while others provide a single item relative to the boundary issue. The map drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer of the Division of the Missouri, is one of the most detailed sources. Although Cloman was not at Wounded Knee on December 29, he accompanied the burial party on January 3-4, 1891. At this time Major Whitside pointed out the locations of the Seventh Cavalry Troops prior to the massacre.[1] During the investigations in early January concerning the events at Wounded Knee, officers who participated testified that the Cloman map was accurate.[2] Cloman's map is also helpful in that it provides the reference points necessary to clarify and support much of the information in the written reports and on the less professionally drawn maps. Some of the maps are extremely crude sketches, yet one of the more conspicuous aspects of the collection is consistency.

Like the maps, written descriptions range from general to specific accounts. Written accounts are quite specific when describing events which occurred in the immediate vicinity of the historic site. These accounts become increasingly vague however as the distance from the Army and Indian camps increases. No doubt adding to the ambiguous nature of some accounts was the fact that nearly all of the writers were unfamiliar with the area. By combining all available sources material with exhaustive on-site inspections it is possible to accurately delimit those areas where the most significant events occurred.

The Landmark encompasses the area occupied from late afternoon on December 26, 1890, when Major Whitside's units of the Seventh Cavalry set up camp [3] until the burial party left Wounded Knee on January 4, 1891, after interring the dead.[4] Most of the events took place near the NW 1/4 of Section 36, T.37N, R.43W, of the Landmark area in the vicinity of the Army and Indian camps (see attached Sketch Map A). The massacre started in this central area, but as the Indians retreated and were followed by Army units other locations outside the central area became significant to the event. The sites where other significant incidents occurred have been identified to the extent that it was possible to determine their locations.

The Landmark is bounded on the east by the east bank of Wounded Knee Creek. On the morning of December 29, the closest unit to the stream,

Troop G was positioned a short distance west of the creek.[5] There is no evidence that suggests that any events took place east of the Creek, thus it seems to have been a natural barrier in 1890 and is the logical east boundary of the Landmark.

The northeast corner of the Landmark is anchored by building sites. Major Whitside commandeered the home of Louis Mousseau for use by his officers. Mousseau's general store was nearby.[6] Newspaper reporters Charles Allen, William Kelley and William Cressey wrote the first accounts of the massacre in a "windowless cabin behind the store."[7] Wounded Indians found refuge in these buildings after the Army left Wounded Knee late on the afternoon of December 29.[8] Cloman's map indicates four buildings at this location but only the Wounded Knee Post Office is labeled. A map drawn many years later by Charles Allen also shows four buildings. Three structures are labeled on Allen's map including a store and the houses (presumably) of Plenty Bear and of Six Feathers.[9]

During an on-site survey of the area during the week of October 16, 1989, salt-glazed pottery shards and square nails which could date from the 1890s were found in this vicinity. Also in the area was a circular depression approximately 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep. The measurements are suggestive of the remains of a basement. When Mousseau recalled the massacre in 1906, he said that Army officers "put goods into his cellar."[10]

Near the northwest corner of the Landmark was a refuge for some of the civilians and Army officers during the fighting. They ran from the camp area to the northwest where they found a safe retreat behind the hill where the cannon were located.[11]

A section of the western boundary is defined by a barbed wire enclosure on the right flank of Troop E's initial position. Lieutenant W. J. Nicholson described the troop location as being "in a little depression of ground" which would be the low saddle between then gill where the Hotchkiss guns were placed and the one immediately to the west.[12] The Fast Horse Road was immediately west of the Troop E and east of the barbed wire enclosure. The road served as an escape route for some of the Indian women during the fighting. Once past the corner of the enclosure, at approximately the west boundary of the Landmark, the escapees could fan out to the west and north. This group was not pursued by the Army and no record exists concerning their route beyond the fence.[13]

The southeast boundary is defined to include troop and Lakota movements that occurred early in the fighting. On the morning of the 29th parts of Troop C and Troop D were ordered to form a line south of the ravine. When the fighting started, shells began falling in their midst and the troops retreated. Lieutenant T.Q. Donaldson and the men of Troop C went behind a barbed wire fence and secured their horses in a shallow ravine to the south.[14] Vestiges of this ravine remain visible and are probably an old channel of Wounded Knee Creek. This position marks the southeast corner of the Landmark. Captain Edward S. Godfrey and his men of Troop D retreated to the southwest behind a ridge.[15] This position is inside the southwest corner of the Landmark. These positions are the southeastern limit of the troop movements. Later, Troops C and D would again move north.

The western boundary of the landmark has been drawn to include all major branches of the dry ravine, noted by both military and Lakota eyewitnesses as the major escape route for Big Foot's followers. Captain Henry Jackson's command fought with and captured many of the Indians who attempted to flee at "the head of the ravine." A second group of Indians who had ridden out from Pine Ridge arrived from the west about this time. Jackson encountered some of them but fearing an attack by these reinforcements retreated down the ravine and thus ending the engagement. Unfortunately, descriptions of the event's are extremely vague. Jackson merely said he captured Big Foot's people at "the head of the ravine."[16] Other accounts refer to the upper reaches of the ravine in the plural indicating that it had several branches.[17]

In October 1989, the survey team examined this ravine and discovered several major branches that Jackson could have followed and appropriately labeled as the ravine's head.[18] As a consequence, all of the main branches of the dry ravine which could have served as an escape route have been included within the boundary of the Landmark. Future archaeological studies may shed more light upon the exact branches of the ravine used by Chief Bigfoot's followers.

The location of a significant event which occurred outside the Landmark could not be located. After the Indians began to retreat, Captain Godfrey, with personnel from Troop D, went up the ravine (see Sketch Map A) and continued westward over a ridge top and then across a creek. Godfrey then went down the creek "some distance" where Indians were discovered hiding in brush. Fearing an attack, the soldiers fired on the partially hidden Indians killing a woman, two children, and an adolescent male. Godfrey then

returned by another route, which is also not clearly described, until he saw Captain Jackson at the head of the ravine and turned to join him.[19] Joseph Horn Cloud saw cavalrymen on Fast Horse Creek which may have been Godfrey: if it was, no clues are given to suggest where the sighting occurred along the length of the stream.[20] On January 31, Captain Baldwin found the bodies left by Godfrey on a creek described as eleven miles east of Pine Ridge and three west of Wounded Knee. These distances do place Baldwin on Fast Horse Creek, but he refers to it as White Horse Creek which further complicates the matter.[21] With the evidence presently available it is impossible to determine the location of this event.

Another, less significant, incident which cannot be precisely located occurred outside of the Landmark boundaries. Captain Taylor with some of his Indian Scouts was ordered by Colonel Forsyth to search for a group of escapees in a northwesterly direction from the hill where the Hotchkiss guns were placed. Taylor went about one mile where he found part of the horse herd belonging to Big Foot's people. He left a guard and continued on one to one-and-one-half miles until he joined Captain Jackson at the ravine and then returned to Forsyth's position. Except for the starting and ending points there is insufficient documentation to trace Taylor's route.[22]

Endnotes

1. War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle of Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891, "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside, January 11, 1891," National Archives microfilm publication M983, Washington, D.C., 708; hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence.

2. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 668. Nicholson posted the Seventh Cavalry guards. Other witnesses agreed that the map was accurate.

3. Ibid., "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside," 822.

4. Omaha Bee, January 4, 1891.

5. Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 669.

6. Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981), 228.

7. Ibid., 228-229; Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends (1938)," MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, 284.

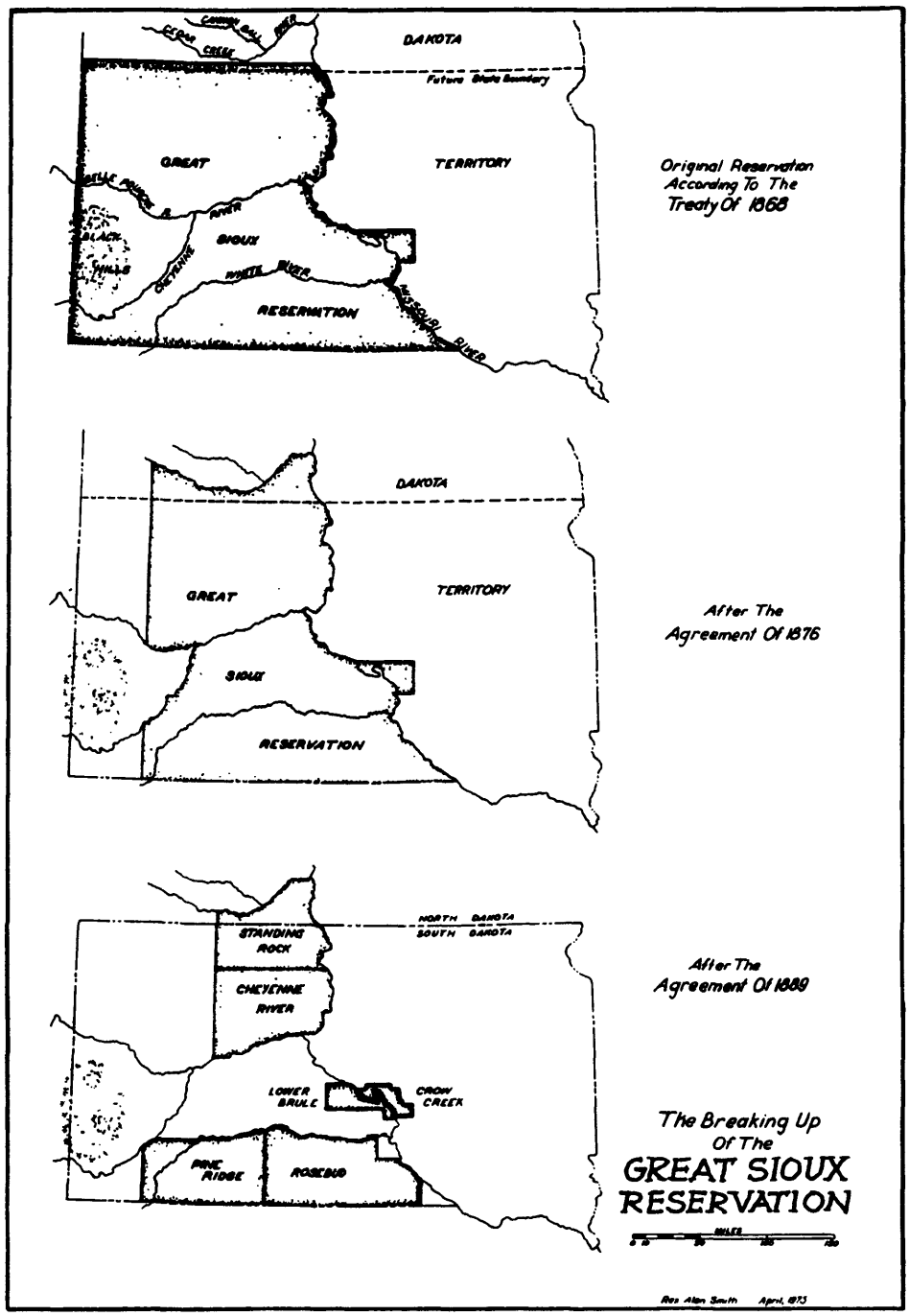
8. Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

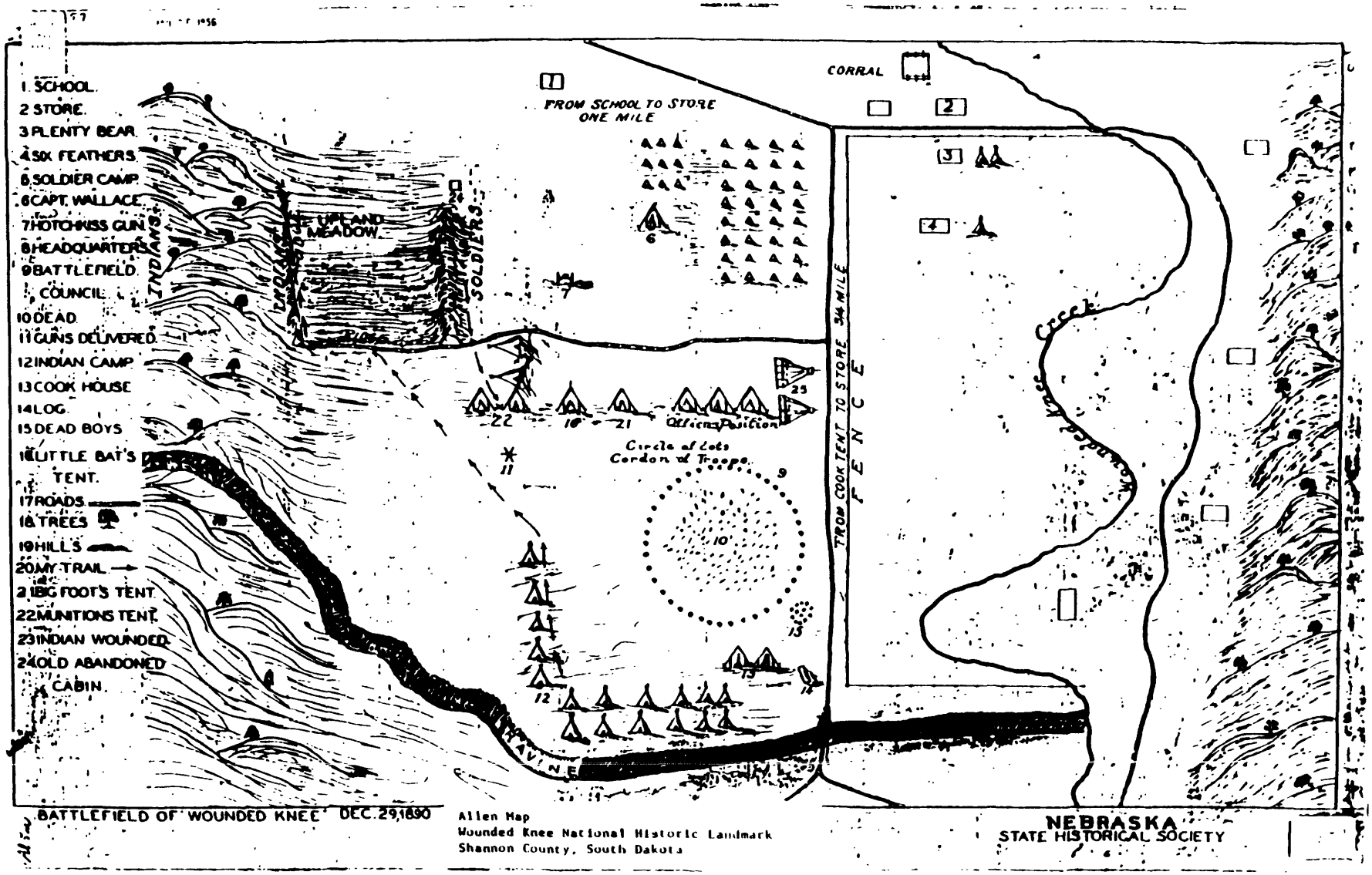
9. Allen, "In The West That Was," 261; "Battlefield of Wounded Knee Reproduced from Sketch by Allen," Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-A15n. It is most probable that the store and the post office were in one building.

10. Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 229.

11. Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Lieutenant W.W. Robinson," 694. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 670.

12. Ibid.


DAKOTA
Future State Boundary
GREAT
TERRITORY
SIOUX
RESERVATION
Original Reservation
According To The
Treaty Of 1868
DAKOTA
GREAT
TERRITORY
SIOUX
RESERVATION
After The
Agreement Of 1876
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
STANDING ROCK
CHEYENNE RIVER
LOWER BRULE
CROW CREEK
PINE RIDGE
ROSEBUD
After The
Agreement Of 1889
The Breaking Up
Of The
GREAT SIOUX
RESERVATION
Ros Allen Smith April, 1973


1 SCHOOL
2 STORE
3 PLENTY BEAR
4 SIX FEATHERS
5 SOLDIER CAMP
6 CAPT. WALLACE
7 HOTCHKISS GUN
8 HEADQUARTERS
9 BATTLEFIELD COUNCIL
10 DEAD
11 GUNS DELIVERED
12 INDIAN CAMP
13 COOK HOUSE
14 LOG
15 DEAD BOYS
16 LITTLE BAT'S TENT
17 ROADS
18 TREES
19 HILLS
20 MY TRAIL
21 BIG FOOT'S TENT
22 MUNITIONS TENT
23 INDIAN WOUNDED
24 OLD ABANDONED CABIN
FROM SCHOOL TO STORE ONE MILE
CORRAL
UPLAND MEADOW
INDIANS
SOLDIERS
FROM COOK TENT TO STORE ¾ MILE
FENCE
Wounded Knee Creek
Officers Position
Circle of Cots
Cordon of Troops
RAVINE
BATTLEFIELD OF WOUNDED KNEE DEC. 29, 1890
Allen Map
Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark
Shannon County, South Dakota
NEBRASKA
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: N/A

Other Name/Site Number: Wounded Knee

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: N/A Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Wounded Knee Vicinity: X

State: South Dakota County: Shannon Code: 113 Zip Code: 57794

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property		Category of Property	
Private:	___	Building(s):	___
Public-local:	X	District:	___
Public-State:	___	Site:	X
Public-Federal:	X	Structure:	___
		Object:	___

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
___	12	buildings
1	12	sites
___	___	structures
1	___	objects
2	24	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 0

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

_____ _____
Signature of Certifying Official Date

_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

_____ _____
Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I, hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register _____
___ Determined eligible for the _____
National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the _____
National Register
___ Removed from the National Register _____
__✓__ Other: National Historic Landmark Boundary Study approved

Carol D. Shull 3-30-01
Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Defense	Sub:	Battle site
	Funerary		Cemetery
	Religion		Religious structure
	Domestic		Camp
Current:	Domestic	Sub:	Single dwelling
	Social		Meeting hall
	Religion		Religious structure
	Agriculture		Agricultural field

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A

MATERIALS:
Foundation: N/A
Walls: N/A
Roof: N/A
Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark, commonly known as the Wounded Knee Massacre Site, is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. It was here that forces of the U.S. Army's Seventh Cavalry and followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot participated in the bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891. The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has undergone alteration and intrusions since 1890. A few modern buildings, building sites, and roads constitute the majority of intrusions. However, the important natural features which played a key role in the historical events that transpired at this Landmark retain their historical integrity. These features are readily apparent and easily distinguishable. Those with the clearest historical importance and highest visibility are the burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. The burial hill was the location of the Army's artillery during the massacre and then of the mass grave of many of the Minneconjou fatalities. While many Minneconjous died in the dry ravine, others were able to make their escape through this route. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name and also formed a natural eastern boundary for the events that occurred.

NATURAL SETTING

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is located in a vast area of gently rolling grasslands in the southwestern portion of South Dakota. Deep, steep-sided ravines caused by water erosion have cut between most of the hills, adding noticeably to the ruggedness of the area. Small perennial streams, such as Wounded Knee Creek, are found at wide intervals. The streams meander northward to the White River through narrow valleys.

Native short prairie grasses cover most of the area. Trees, primarily pine, are found along the perennial streams and are also thinly scattered among the hills. Cultivation has been attempted on some of the more level ground although most of the area remains as rangeland for cattle and horses.

Within the boundaries of the Landmark is a section of the Wounded Knee Creek valley and the adjoining uplands. The Creek crowds the eastern side of the valley creating a nearly level terrace 1,000 to 2,000 feet wide between the Creek and the base of the uplands. A gradual ascent from the valley floor leads to the uplands approximately 80 feet above. Eroded spurs of the uplands which jut into the valley resemble small hills. Beyond the site boundaries, the uplands may be 200 or more feet above the valley floor.

The site is cut by a dry ravine running east to west. Near Wounded Knee Creek, the ravine is approximately 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep with nearly vertical sides. As the ravine extends west, the gulch becomes narrower and deeper as it cuts into the uplands. The ravine divides into smaller narrow branches that rise to a ridge which forms the western boundary of the landmark.

HISTORIC APPEARANCE

The community of Wounded Knee in 1890 included a post office which was housed in Louie Mousseau's general store. Mousseau's residence and those of Red Bear, Eagle Bull, Plenty Bear, Six Feathers,

and Fire Lighting were located nearby.[1] The first massacre accounts were written in one of these structures, and after the Army left some of the wounded Indians found shelter in the houses.[2] The remaining structures in the community consisted of an Omaha dance lodge, a school, a Presbyterian church, and at least six additional houses, unrelated to the history of the Landmark and located outside the boundaries.[3] None of these structures have survived.

Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist with the Nebraska Historical Society, conducted an archaeological reconnaissance of Wounded Knee in October 17-19, 1989. During the course of reconnaissance, square nails and salt-glazed pottery were found in the northeast corner of the landmark, suggesting the possible location of the historic structures that comprised the community of Wounded Knee. A shallow depression about 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep was also identified. This feature closely corresponds to the location of the Mousseau residence as described in historic maps and contemporaneous photographs. This kind of feature can result from a partially filled basement. Mousseau noted that his house had a cellar.[4] However, the feature has not been archaeologically tested. During the reconnaissance, a local Lakota informant, Pat Rowland, identified a general area approximately 1000 feet southwest of the burial hill where, according to local tradition, some of the horses killed during the battle were buried. Metal harness parts were said to have been found in this vicinity. Archaeological investigations will be needed to confirm this oral account.[5]

Major Samuel M. Whitside selected the community of Wounded Knee for his camp on December 26, 1890, for several reasons. It was a known point on the road from the Pine Ridge Agency, and Whitside believed it was near his objective, the elusive Big Foot band. The nearby Creek provided water for his men and animals as well as fuel for cooking. Major Whitside commanded Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and was

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[1] Donald F. Danker, editor, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981): 223. Much of the information on the Wounded Knee community is from maps especially "Battlefield of Wounded Knee reproduced from sketch by Allen" (Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-Al5n) and the Joseph Horn Cloud map (Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8). Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends (1938)," MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, 261. War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91, "Lieutenant W.D. McAnaney to Commanding Officer of Pine Ridge, April 22, 1891," Washington, D.C., National Archives microfilm publication M983, hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence.

[2] Allen said they wrote in a cabin "behind" the store ("In The West That Was," 284), and Mousseau's house was described as being "behind " his store (Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 228). Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

[3] Reports and Correspondence, "Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band", by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, 899. Allen map, Nebraska State Historical Society, M78357-Al5n. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs "Report of Pine Ridge Agency," by H.D. Gallagher, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 156. Chicago InterOcean, (Illinois) January 7, 1891.

[4] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 229.

[5] Pat Rowland, Chairman of the Wounded Knee Community, personal communication with Richard E. Jensen, Research Anthropologist, Nebraska State Historical Society, October 18, 1989. The story of the horse burial was passed down to Pat Rowland from his grandfather Fire Lightning.

accompanied by a platoon of the First Artillery. Two days later Whitside was joined by Colonel James W. Forsyth who established a camp to the northwest.[6] Forsyth was the commanding officer of the Seventh Cavalry and had with him Troops C, D, E, and G. A troop of Oglala scouts and another platoon of the First Artillery also accompanied Forsyth. Big Foot's people camped to the south of the soldiers along the north edge of the ravine.

In 1890 barbed wire fences enclosed three small areas which may have been used for gardens or stock corrals. Although no evidence of them survives, two of the enclosures were important features during the massacre. The westernmost enclosure partially barred the escape route used by some of the women and children. The escapees were funneled northward between the northeast corner of the enclosure and the right flank of Troop E.[7] When the fighting began Lieutenant Thomas Q. Donaldson and his men of Troop C retreated behind the fenced area of the southernmost enclosure.[8] (See Sketch Map A and Cloman Map A.)

Contemporary maps indicate several roads crossing the Landmark but nearly all vestiges of them have disappeared. Just north of the cellar depression is a road cut leading across Wounded Knee Creek. Because of its location it is possible, even probable, that this was in use in 1890.

South and a short distance east of the burial hill there is evidence of a crossing over the ravine. It is too far west to match the crossing shown on the map drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer of the Division of the Missouri in 1891, but is in the vicinity of a crossing shown on a version of the same map published six years later in James Mooney's monograph on the Ghost Dance.[9]

In May 1903 some of the Indian survivors returned to the site to dedicate a monument commemorating the massacre.[10] This granite shaft, more than six feet in height, was placed at the side of the mass grave. The monument is inscribed with the names of many of the fatalities and is a contributing object in this nomination due to its symbolic and spiritual values.

PRESENT CONDITION AND INTRUSIONS

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark has experienced several physical alterations and intrusions since December 29, 1890. The natural features, however, have not been seriously compromised by the alterations. The natural features and the existing historical documentation for the site possess considerable power to illustrate the movements of the principals during the course of the day. Three natural features played key roles in the events that transpired on December 29th: the burial hill, the dry ravine, and Wounded Knee Creek. These features have the clearest and most direct associations to the historical event. The burial hill was

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[6] Reports and Correspondence, "Colonel James W. Forsyth to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W. J. Nicholson," 670.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant T.Q. Donaldson," 696.

[9] Department of the Interior, Bureau of Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," by James Mooney, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), plate 97.

[10] Rushville Standard (Nebraska), May 22, 1903, and Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903.

the location of the Army's artillery during the engagement and, afterwards, of the mass grave. The dry ravine served as the major escape route for the Indians. Wounded Knee Creek gave the site its name. It serves as a natural eastern boundary defining the area in which the temporary camps and the day's events occurred.

The physical integrity of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark compares favorably to cultural resources where similar activities occurred, e.g. battlefields, councils, and campsites. The Cloman Map can be overlaid on the existing terrain to demonstrate the site's continuing integrity. Maps drawn by eyewitnesses also attest to the site's integrity. Each map possesses a high degree of internal consistency. (See attached maps by McFarland, Allen, Wells, and Horn Cloud.) In addition, the historic photographs of the battlefield taken on January 3 and 4, 1891, can be easily matched to present topographical features. Based on these comparisons, Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark retains integrity of setting, feeling, and appearance. The Landmark's integrity of location and association remains clear to both the local inhabitants and the general public.

In recent years there have been some intrusions on the Landmark. Fortunately, the intrusions have not obscured or seriously damaged the natural features which were important to the historical events that occurred at the site. The macadam highways with deep and wide ditches on either side are the most obvious features. The roadways parallel or in part overlay the major trails of 1890. The current unimproved trails are less noticeable and would be quickly reclaimed by prairie grasses if left unused. Two electric power lines cross the site but are relatively unobtrusive.

A Catholic cemetery around the mass grave was established early in the 20th century and continues in use at this time. It is enclosed by a chain link fence with the entrance flanked by brick columns.

Modern buildings and building sites constitute the major intrusions. The fact that the structures and sites are relatively small in size and are widely spaced diminishes their impact upon the Landmark.

PERIOD OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

The massacre or battle of Wounded Knee erupted during the morning of December 29, 1890, at approximately 9:15 A.M. The most intense fighting occurred within the first 30 minutes. This was followed by what the commanding officer, Colonel James W. Forsyth, called "skirmish firing" for about one hour.[11] Accounts from eyewitnesses indicate that sporadic gunfire continued for a somewhat longer period, perhaps until early afternoon.[12] It was nearly 5:00 P.M. before the wounded were evacuated and the troops and many of the surviving Indians left for the Pine Ridge Agency.[13]

Although the significance of Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark focuses upon this encounter,

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[11] Reports and Correspondence, "Colonel James W. Forsyth to General John R. Brooke, December 29, 1890," 758; Ibid., "Forsyth to the Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760 .

[12] Ibid., Forsyth to Brooke, December 29, states that Jackson's fight with the agency Indians was over and he had returned to the camp by 1:30 P.M. At this time Forsyth was preparing to start for the agency.

[13] Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was," 284. Allen (page 282) recalled that the fighting in the camp area was over before noon.

related events occurred before and after the event that expand the time frame. On December 26, 1890, Major Samuel M. Whitside received an order to leave the Pine Ridge Agency to go in search of Big Foot. Whitside left the Agency with Troops A, B, I, and K of the Seventh Cavalry and arrived at the Wounded Knee post office at approximately 5:00 P.M. on December 26 and immediately set up camp. This establishment of Whitside's camp marks the beginning of the period of significance of the National Historic Landmark.[14]

On December 27 troops were dispatched from the camp to search for Big Foot and his followers, but the group was not immediately located. The band was found on December 28 eight to ten miles to the northeast of the camp on Porcupine Creek. The party was escorted to Wounded Knee at about 2:00 P.M. After locating the band, Whitside sent to the Agency for reinforcements.[15] The second battalion of the Seventh Cavalry under the command of Colonel James W. Forsyth arrived at approximately 8:30 P.M. and proceeded to establish a camp a few yards northwest of Whitside's location.[16]

Although the Army left during the afternoon of December 29, the site continued to be occupied by Indians.[17] A severe blizzard hit the area early on December 31 paralyzing the region for twenty-four hours.[18] A rescue party of Indians traveled to Wounded Knee from the Pine Ridge Agency on January 1, 1891 and found eleven wounded Indian survivors.[19]

A burial party of 30 civilians with military escort assembled on the morning of January 3 to inter the Indian dead. The departure of the burial party the afternoon of January 4, marks the end of the period of significance.[20]

While not forgotten, the mass grave where 146 men, women, and children were buried was left unmarked for more than a decade.[21] On May 28, 1903 the Indian survivors of the Wounded Knee Massacre dedicated a granite monument at the grave site. The monument was purchased from Kimball Brothers of Lincoln, Nebraska. During the dedication ceremony the Reverend W.J. Cleveland delivered a sermon followed

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[14] Nebraska State Journal, December 28, 1890, report by W.F. Kelley, Journal correspondent, who accompanied the troops.

[15] Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside, 656-657.

[16] Ibid., "Forsyth to Assistant Adjutant General, December 31, 1890," 760. Forsyth reported he left the agency at 4:40 P.M. and arrived at the Wounded Knee camp at 8:30 P.M.

[17] Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews, " 229. Louis Mousseau said they were "Short Bull's people."

[18] Omaha Bee, January 1, 1891.

[19] Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

[20] Omaha Bee, January 4, 1891; Chicago InterOcean, January 4, 1891.

[21] Reports and Correspondence, "Captain Frank D. Baldwin to the Assistant Adjutant General, February 5, 1891," 1075.

by short speeches by Joseph Horn Cloud and Fire Lighting.[22] Because the historic monument is an integral component of the site and has acquired exceptional cultural and spiritual significance to the Sioux, the date of its construction is included in the period of significance.

The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark boundary contains approximately 870 acres encompassing the site and all related significant natural and manmade resources.

CONTRIBUTING FEATURES

	Name	Photographs	Sketch Map
1.	Site of Wounded Knee (including the Mass Grave and probable site of Post Office and Mousseau's Store)	12-14, 41-42 28-30, 38, 39	A, 1 A, 2
2.	1903 Monument (object)	12-15, 42	A, 3

NONCONTRIBUTING BUILDINGS
(All constructed after 1903)

3.	Catholic Church (1975) Material: Log	13 (left) 16	A, 4 19 (center)
4.	Small frame dwelling (recent construction) Material: Frame	10 (center) 17	A, 5
5.	Visitors Center (1989) Material: Concrete block	8 (left) 9 (right) 18 (center) 19 (right)	A, 6
6.	Log dwelling (recent construction)	7 (left center)	A, 7
7.	Church of God Material: Frame	7 (left) 21	A, 8

[22] On the back of the photograph of the dedication (Nebraska Historical Society, W938-51) is the notation that it occurred on May 30, 1903. Rushville Standard, May 22, 1903, and the Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903, both reported the dedication was held on May 28, 1903.

	Name	Photographs	Sketch Map
8.	Church of God Parsonage Mobile home	21	A, 9
9-11.	Church of God Complex Material: Frame (3 buildings)	21	A, 10-12
12-13	Dwellings Material: Frame (2 buildings)		A, 13-14
14.	Concrete block building	5 (right) 26 (right)	A, 15
	NONCONTRIBUTING SITES		
15.	Catholic Cemetery 1913	12-14	A, 16
16.	Church of God Cemetery 1950s	21 (left)	A, 17
17.	Catholic Church foundation & basement 1913, burned July 1973 Material: Concrete	10-11	A, 18
18-24.	Store & Gas Station Commercial Complex foundations & rubble of 7 structures 1930, burned April 28, 1973	23	A, 19-25
25.	Small structure foundation Material: Concrete (post 1903)		A, 26
26.	Foundation of metal building Material: Rubble and concrete	20	A, 27

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties: Nationally: X Statewide: _ Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B__ C_ D_

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A_ B_ C_ D_ E_ F X G_

NHL Criterion: 1

NHL Exception: 7

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
6. Encounters, conflicts, and colonization

Areas of Significance: Ethnic Heritage/Native American
Military

Period(s) of Significance: 1890-1891, 1903

Significant Dates: 1890, 1891, 1903

Significant Person(s): Chief Big Foot

Cultural Affiliation: Lakota

Architect/Builder: N/A

Historic Contexts: X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763-1898
C. Military-Aboriginal American Contact and Conflict
3. The Northern Plains

I. Indigenous American Populations
D. Ethnohistory
5. Becoming Native American
D. Native Responses to New Economic, Political and Territorial Arrangements

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Summary Statement of Significance: On December 29, 1890, the last major violent encounter between American Indians and Whites occurred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The event has been entitled the "Wounded Knee Massacre" or "Battle of Wounded Knee," depending on the historical perspective of the writer. The titles reflect two distinct interpretations of the military engagement where forces of the United States Army, Seventh Cavalry, and the followers of the Minneconjou Chief Big Foot participated in the tragic and bloody nadir of the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91.

This was a desperate time of defiance and disillusionment for the Indian tribes. New laws and the recently departed commissions had succeeded in divesting the Lakota of huge tracts of land. The Lakota tribe, as well as many other tribes who were confined to reservations across the West, had turned to the Ghost Dance religion as a way to preserve their traditional way of life and regain control of their destiny. In terms of the significance to the Lakota, Wounded Knee shattered that dream, broke their sacred hoop of the world, and forced an unwilling resignation to reservation life and to government dictates.

To the United States military authorities, Wounded Knee ended the threat of an Indian outbreak in the sparsely settled areas of the Plains. The Sioux Campaign was perceived as the last Indian War of the United States, with Wounded Knee representing the last major confrontation. Wounded Knee, as no other event in this country's history, has become associated with the perceived end of the American frontier. Over four hundred years of cultural conflict in North America resulted in the loss of Indian independence.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is a benchmark in the history of the Lakota Ghost Dance, the Sioux Campaign by the United States Army, and the Pine Ridge Reservation Troubles of 1890-91. The events which transpired on December 29, 1890, are intricately associated with all three of these historical developments. The period of significance for the site begins on December 26, 1890, when U.S. troops established a base camp at Wounded Knee, and extends through January 4, 1891, when the remaining dead were interred in a mass grave, inclusive of all events associated with the "Massacre/Battle of Wounded Knee." The period of significance also includes May 28, 1903, the date the Lakota tribe dedicated a monument to the dead at Wounded Knee.

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark is associated with an important event (National Historic Landmark Criterion #1), the "Wounded Knee Massacre," also known as the "Battle of Wounded Knee." Significant on a national level in the areas of Native American Ethnic Heritage and United States Military History, Wounded Knee is considered a pivotal point in the history of Indian-White relations. Under the National Historic Landmark thematic framework, Wounded Knee is important for its associations with the theme: Peopling Places; topic: Encounters, Conflicts, and Colonization. Although the property does not meet the conditions of NHL Criteria #6, historic archaeological investigations, especially the distribution patterns of bullets and shrapnel on the site, have the potential to yield important information about the events which transpired between December 26, 1890, and January 4, 1891, at Wounded Knee.

Prominent and influential historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his frontier thesis in 1893 with a cutoff date of 1890 for the theoretical end of the American frontier. Turner based his argument on the United States Census of 1890 which had reported that a frontier line no longer existed in the American West. The acknowledged passing of this historic period of Euro-American settlement coincided with the year of Wounded

Knee, seen at the time as the last Indian challenge to settlement. Therefore, the events at Wounded Knee have achieved meaning for both White and Indian cultures.

The Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service held a public meeting at Wounded Knee on June 21, 1990, to discuss the draft NHL nomination. The meeting was attended by approximately 40 Native Americans representing various bands of the Lakota Sioux. Tribal elders felt that the contemporary Lakota perspective was not sufficiently contained within the draft nomination. They recommended that interviews be conducted with several elders who were descendants of survivors of the engagement at Wounded Knee. The National Park Service followed this recommendation and in July and August 1990 conducted four oral interviews with Leona Broken Nose, Celane Not Help Him, Leonard Little Finger, and Birgil Kills Straight. Although "Indian" versions of the engagement have been published, most notably, The Wounded Knee Massacre: From the Viewpoint of the Sioux[23] and "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker,"[24] these four transcribed interviews provide an important historical perspective and therefore have been included in this section of the nomination.

I. Historical Context

During the summer of 1889, the Lakota traditional way of life seemed to be disintegrating. On February 8, 1887, President Grover Cleveland signed the Dawes Severalty Act. Championed by Henry L. Dawes, Senator from Massachusetts and Chairman of the Senate Indian Committee, the Act attempted to quickly assimilate Indians into White society by instructing them in farming and the benefits of individualism and private property ownership. The Act provided for specific 160-acre allotments of land to heads of families with smaller allotments going to bachelors, women and children. "Surplus" reservation lands were then opened to general settlement. The Act, however, stipulated that a majority of the Indians on a reservation must first consent to the allotment plan.

The added pressures of prospective White settlement in the Dakotas quickly prompted Congress to negotiate for the majority consent of the Lakota. As a consequence, the Sioux Bill was passed by Congress on March 2, 1889. The Sioux Bill called for a division of the Lakota Reservation into smaller reservations, the distribution of allotments in severalty, and the cession of the surplus lands. A three-man commission was sent to secure the necessary signatures of three-fourths of all adult Lakota males for approval of this cession. The commission's key member was Major General George Crook, who had a long history of civil and military dealings with Indians. Over a period of months, Crook's use of promises, threats, bribes, and entreaties eventually secured the necessary signatures. The Lakota subsequently relinquished more than nine million acres of land[25]. Implementation of the Dawes Act had immediate and disastrous consequences on the culture of the

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[23] James H. McGregor, The Wounded Knee Massacre: From the Viewpoint of the Sioux, 9th ed. (Rapid City, South Dakota: Fenske Printing, Inc., 1987). This book contains the reminiscences of several Wounded Knee survivors.

[24] Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History 62:2 (Summer 1981).

[25] The activities of the Crook Commission and the events preceding the appearance of the Lakota Ghost dance are detailed in Jerome A. Greene's, "The Sioux Land Commission of 1889: Prelude to Wounded Knee, South Dakota," South Dakota History, 1:1 (Winter 1970), 41-72; Herbert T. Hoover, "The Sioux Agreement of 1889 and Its Aftermath," South Dakota History, 19:1 (Spring 1989), 56-94; and James C. Olson, Red Cloud and the Sioux

Lakotas, now dispossessed of vast tracts of their reservation lands. The allotment process seriously eroded the authority of tribal governments, destroyed traditional land tenure systems, and accelerated the spread of poverty among the tribe.

Upon the departure of the commissioners in late summer 1889, the Lakota were left dazed and confused. Almost before the ink was dry on this latest agreement, the Government reduced the appropriations to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Lakota experienced an immediate reduction in their rations. The commissioners had promised this would not happen. The Lakota believed they had been cheated. They saw the resulting sickness and hunger as very real threats to their well being. The reduction in rations coincided with a severe drought which blazed across the High Plains during the years 1889 and 1890. The harshness of reservation life and the failure of the Government to fulfill its obligations appeared to doom the Lakota to a life of despair and frustration.

Then a glimmer of hope appeared. Rumors circulated about a Messiah in the far west who had come to aid the Indians. The source of the rumors was a Paiute Indian shaman, Wovoka, or Jack Wilson, who lived near the Walker Lake Reservation in western Nevada. In January 1889, Wovoka had a great vision which was the genesis of a religious movement that would become known as the Ghost Dance. Wovoka was ignored by the White world for almost two years, but his message spread rapidly through the Indian world by word of mouth, letter, and finally by fact-finding committees, or delegations, sent to Nevada from distant tribes, including the Arapaho, Caddo, Cheyenne, Shoshone, and Ute.[26]

During the fall of 1889, a Lakota delegation of a half dozen men slipped away from the Pine Ridge Reservation to investigate the rumors of the Messiah. They returned with the news that the Son of God was truly on earth and that his coming was for the benefit of Indians, not Whites.[27] The delegates, most noticeably Kicking Bear, would soon become some of the most visible leaders of the Ghost Dance[28]. A second delegation returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation after a visit to Wovoka in March 1890 as confirmed disciples of Wovoka and began to preach the new religion. They were quickly ordered to desist by Pine Ridge Agent H. D. Gallagher.

Problem (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 306-319.

[26] The classic anthropological study of the Ghost Dance is James Mooney's "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896). More recent studies of note are: Michael A. Sievers, "The Historiography of 'The Bloody Field. . . That Kept the Secret of the Everlasting Word': Wounded Knee," South Dakota History, 6:1 (Winter 1975): 33-54; Raymond J. DeMallie, "The Lakota Ghost Dance: An Ethnohistorical Account," Pacific Historical Review, 51:4 (November 1982): 385-405; Russell Thorton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); and L.G. Moses, The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

[27] George Sword, "The Story of the Ghost Dance," The Folk-Lorist, 1:1 (July 1892), Chicago Folk-Lore Society.

[28] Congress, Senate, The Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the Fifty-first Congress, "Executive Document No. 9," William T. Selwyn to E. W. Foster (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 35-36. Hereafter referred to as Senate Executive Documents, No. 9.

The Ghost Dance, as preached to new followers, offered a solution to the Lakota's most pressing problems. It prophesied the disappearance of the Whites. There would no longer be restrictions on the familiar Lakota religion and customs. The Indians would again be free to live as they chose. The teachings foretold the return of their dead ancestors, whose number would assure the Lakota of the manpower necessary to regain control of the bountiful land. Finally, the return of vast herds of buffalo would provide the necessary food and raw materials for the increased population. Of equal importance was the buffalo's key role in the Lakota's traditional mythology and religion. The disappearance of the animal had left a spiritual void which would be filled when the animals returned. The Lakota added familiar elements from their own religious rituals to the Ghost Dance. Thus, the Ghost Dance became intertwined with the Lakota's own evolving religion rather than remaining apart as a brief experiment with an exotic belief.[29]

The Lakota, and most other tribes who embraced the new religion, wore a special Ghost Dance costume. Ghost shirts and dresses were ritually prepared garments worn by adherents of the new religion. While many Plains tribes wore the shirts, only the Lakota believed the garments were bulletproof[30]. Whites viewed this as evidence of the Lakota's warlike intentions choosing to ignore the primarily defensive character of a bulletproof garment. The Indians had no prophesied need for aggressive weapons since the Ghost Dance promised that the Whites would disappear through supernatural means rather than by military force. While many Whites were convinced that the Ghost Dancers were preparing for war, the dancers' primary concern was defending themselves from outside interference while continuing the ceremonies. In truth, the Ghost Dancers spent an inordinate amount of time retreating from situations with any potential for conflict.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, perceived the Ghost Dance as a threat to plans for the assimilation of the Sioux. Agents sought to ban all associations with the Ghost Dance on their Agencies[31]. Settlers added their voices to the growing concern. Convinced it was a prelude to war, those near the Lakota reservations demanded the suppression of the religion. Although the fear of an outbreak was unjustified, it grew to epidemic proportions after newspapers began publishing unverified stories about Indian "depredations."[32]

In 1890, two events compounded the increasingly unstable situation. A crop failure and an approximate twenty percent reduction in rations on the Pine Ridge Agency caused the Lakota to suffer. Hunger has often

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[29] Warren K. Moorehead, "Ghost-Dances in the West," The Illustrated American, January 17, 1891, 327; Daniel Dorchester, "Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools," Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 528-33.

[30] George E. Bartlett, "Wounded Knee," manuscript in the Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln; Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends," 215-217, MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln.

[31] For the Pine Ridge Reservation, these efforts are illustrated in the report of the Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1890, Agent H.D. Gallagher, August 28, 1890, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1890), 49.

[32] These fears were heightened after a correspondent from the Omaha Bee, one of the State's leading practitioners of yellow journalism, arrived at Pine Ridge mid-November 1890. Will Cressey, the journalist in question, drew the disdain of his newsmen colleagues for his sensational stories. Allen, "In The West That Was," 209, 236-237.

been cited as a major cause of the Ghost Dance. While privation certainly contributed to the spread of the religion, a more fundamental cause lay in the Lakota's desire to reclaim control of their destiny.[33]

During the summer and fall of 1890, the new religion spread across the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations. There are no reliable figures on the number of converts, but one observer estimated forty percent of the Indians on Pine Ridge favored the new movement, as did thirty percent on Rosebud.[34]

In 1890 a South Dakota physician, Daniel F. Royer, was appointed the Agent for Pine Ridge Reservation. Arriving in late September, 1890, Royer's paramount goal was the suppression of the Ghost Dance. By the end of October, he was insisting that military intervention on the reservation was necessary not only to suppress the new religion, but to protect civilians from an outbreak of hostilities. Royer believed a war was inevitable.[35]

As more converts joined the Ghost Dance, Indian agents adamantly demanded that the religious observances be stopped. On several occasions the Sioux agents sent reservation police to halt the dances. Special Agent E. B. Reynolds summarized the situation when he wrote "that the matter is beyond the control of the police" and called for a "sufficient force of troops to prevent the outbreak which is imminent[36]. On November 13, President Benjamin Harrison ordered Secretary of War Redfield Proctor to ready troops for the field. Based on field reports from both the War and Interior Departments, Harrison concluded that an outbreak at Pine Ridge Reservation was forthcoming and was advised that "it is not safe to longer withhold troops." The following day, General of the Army John M. Schofield told Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commander of the Division of the Missouri, to "take such action as, in (your) judgement, may be necessary in view of the existing situation.[37]

By November 18, 1890, the War Department had dispatched troops to begin the military occupation of the reservations. Brig. Gen. John R. Brooke, Commander of the Department of the Platte, and about 400 troops

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[33] This was perceptively noted at the time by William Hare, the Episcopal Bishop of South Dakota. Omaha Bee, December 28, 1890.

[34] Reverend William J. Cleveland, The Ninth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1891 (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1891), 29.

[35] Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Daniel F. Royer to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12 and 30, 1890, 5, 10-11.

[36] Ibid., E.B. Reynolds to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 12 and 30, 1890, 13.

[37] President Benjamin Harrison to Secretary of War Redfield Proctor, November 13, 1890; George Chandler, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to President Harrison, November 13, 1890; War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle of Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891, Major General John M. Schofield to Major General Nelson A. Miles, November 14, 1890 (Washington, D.C.) National Archives microfilm publication M983, hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence. This file, #5412-PRD-1890, brought together the records of the Kent-Baldwin Investigation into the conduct of Colonel James Forsyth. It conveniently drew together nearly 2,000 pages of documentation, not only from the War Department but also the Bureau of Indian Affairs, relating to the events leading to and including the Wounded Knee fight. Also available, although somewhat of a duplication, is Special Case No. 188, found in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, National Archives. This file likewise brought together documents relating to the Ghost Dance of 1890-91.

marched north from the railhead at Rushville, Nebraska, toward the Pine Ridge Agency, arriving there before daybreak on November 20. Brooke's orders from his superior, General Miles, were to protect the agency and to encourage the "loyal" faction of Sioux. In the coming month, additional troops would be transferred to Pine Ridge from posts scattered across the West.

One regiment, the Seventh Cavalry, left Fort Riley, Kansas, on November 23, arriving at Pine Ridge on November 26 after a twenty-five mile ride from Rushville[38]. No other regiment in the entire Army evoked the images of the old Indian fighting Army more than did the Seventh Cavalry. Several of its officers and men had fought at the Little Big Horn fourteen years earlier and, because of this, the belief of a "revenge" motive for its subsequent actions at Wounded Knee gained credibility. The Sioux remain convinced that avenging the death of George A. Custer was the motive for the killings at Wounded Knee[39]. On the other hand, officers of the Seventh Cavalry challenged the allegation of revenge as a motive for the massacre. For example, Lieutenant John C. Gresham, Troop I of the Seventh, wrote that prior to their arrival, "Eighty-five per cent of our men had seen nothing of Indians--indeed, had no knowledge of them beyond what is usually acquired at home by city or country boys of their class and station."[40]

The ability of the Seventh Cavalry--and the entire United States Army--to respond quickly during episodes of civil turmoil contrasted remarkably from the days of 1876, although nearly all participants and observers considered the events as merely a continuation of warfare with the Sioux nation.

Fundamental changes, however, had occurred affecting both the U.S. Army and the Indian tribes. Railroad and telegraph lines now crisscrossed former Indian domains and linked military posts to one another and to their eastern headquarters. By 1890, buffalo hunting had been replaced by beef issues on annuity days. All tribes had been restricted to carefully delineated reservations, marked not only by surveyed boundaries but also by the new settlers whose property abutted them on all sides. Tribes had become divided between those members who did and those who did not accept change. The events of 1890-1891 on the Pine Ridge Reservation highlighted these contrasts and demonstrated the great degree of change.

Improved transportation and communication had significantly changed the U.S. Army's strategy, especially towards the Sioux. Big forts with large garrisons now ringed the Sioux Reservations. For example, Fort Robinson, Nebraska, guarded the Oglalas at nearby Pine Ridge. Rail and telegraph lines served this and the other forts, ensuring a swift response to any civil or military emergency. In the 1870s, the Lakota were highly mobile, and the Army operated from enclaves. By 1890, the reverse held true.[41]

The Lakota began to divide into two factions after the first Army units arrived on November 20. Agents

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[38] Reports and Correspondence, Brigadier General Wesley Merritt to the Adjutant General, November 24, 1890, 218.

[39] David Humphreys Miller's Ghost Dance, (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959), 234, 236, 243-244, is one narrative which expresses the revenge motive.

[40] John C. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," Harper's Weekly, February 7, 1891.

[41] This thesis is expanded in R. Eli Paul, "Your Country is Surrounded," in Eyewitness at Wounded Knee, ed. Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul and John E. Carter (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

were ordered to segregate the "well disposed from the ill-disposed Indians."[42] At the same time the Ghost Dance leaders "notified all those who did not belong in the dance and would not join it, to stay at home or go to the agency."[43] By November 24 there were 150 lodges of these well-disposed or "friendly" Lakota camped near the east edge of the Pine Ridge Agency[44]. The believers, perhaps 3500 people, congregated in the northwestern part of the Reservation in a section of the Badlands that came to be known as the Stronghold. This group of dancers was comprised primarily of the Brule tribe from Rosebud, but many Oglalas from Pine Ridge were also present[45]. Despite the attempted segregation, the line between believer and non-believer was never sharply drawn.

Generals Brooke's first job, restoring order and Federal authority at the agency, was quickly accomplished. His second job, restoring order on the entire reservation, was more complicated and required more time and more troops. Brooke adopted a policy developed by General Miles of "coaxing" as many of the disenchanted Lakota to the agency with a combination of promises and threats. He promised food for their bellies and redresses for wrongs and threatened military retaliation if the Ghost Dancers left their reservations. Though progress appeared agonizingly slow to civilian observers, Brooke's efforts seemed to work.

President Harrison continued to closely monitor the developments. On December 1, he ordered Miles to "take every possible precaution to prevent an Indian outbreak, and to suppress it promptly if it comes."[46] If trouble came, it was to be confined to the reservation.

Chief Big Foot and his band of Minneconjou Ghost Dancers began attracting attention in mid-September. Big Foot clung to the old Lakota traditions and resisted efforts by the Bureau of Indian affairs to "civilize" him. Chief Big Foot was not overtly hostile, preferring instead a kind of passive resistance and diplomacy. The Minneconjou's Cheyenne River Reservation Agent, Perain P. Palmer, reported that Big Foot's band was "becoming very much excited about the coming of a messiah. My police have been unable to prevent them from holding what they call ghost dances." Palmer also complained that nearly all of the dancers had Winchester rifles.[47]

A part of the Eighth Cavalry closely monitored Big Foot's actions from Camp Cheyenne, a temporary

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[42] Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Robert V. Belt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Daniel F. Royer, November 14, 1890, 21.

[43] Ibid., A.T. Lea to J.A. Cooper, November 22, 1890, 29.

[44] Ibid., J.A. Cooper to R.V. Belt, November 24, 1890, 30.

[45] War Department, Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1891, 1, Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger to Assistant Adjutant General Merritt Barber, November 26, 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1892), 189-90; Ibid., Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger, "Report of Operations Relative to the Sioux Indians in 1890 and 1891," 179.

[46] Reports and Correspondence, Proctor to Miles, with instructions from President Harrison, December 1, 1890, 401-402.

[47] Senate Executive Documents, No. 9, Perain P. Palmer to T.J. Morgan, October 11, 1890, 14.

station only about fifteen miles west of Big Foot's village[48]. After the Army occupation of Pine Ridge, Lieutenant Colonel Edwin V. Sumner was placed in command of the military camp on the Cheyenne River with orders to prevent Indians from leaving their home reservations[49]. On December 8 Sumner met with Big Foot, Hump and other leaders in the area and found them to be "peaceably disposed and inclined to obey orders."[50] After the defection of Hump from the ranks of the believers, Big Foot became the sole leader of the Ghost Dancers on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

On December 15 the situation was exacerbated when Agency police killed Sitting Bull, who had become a Ghost Dance leader on the Standing Rock Reservation. About 150 of Sitting Bull's followers fled the reservation and sought refuge. Big Foot offered to care for these refugees, and perhaps as many as forty joined his village. Another thirty believers from Hump's band also joined the village. Meanwhile at Pine Ridge prior to December 29, the military's plans appeared to be going smoothly. The Ghost Dancers abandoned their refuge, the Stronghold, for the Agency.

Almost by default Big Foot became the center of attention. Miles had sought to close the trail between the Pine Ridge and the Cheyenne River reservations, which would keep Big Foot's people and the followers of Sitting Bull from going to Pine Ridge[51]. Miles called Big Foot "one of the most defiant and threatening" Ghost Dance leaders, his band considered "malcontents of the Sitting Bull fracas."[52] Miles believed that the situation was too volatile and the negotiations too delicate to allow the introduction of such a catalyst. On December 16 Colonel Sumner received the order to arrest Big Foot.[53]

Big Foot, on the other hand, had recently received a message from several important Chiefs at Pine Ridge, including Red Cloud. The letter invited Big Foot and his growing band to come to Pine Ridge to "help make peace" with the U.S. Army. In return for his help, Big Foot was to receive 100 horses. No doubt motivated by a belief that consolidation of the bands would provide a safer environment for his people, Big Foot and his council decided to travel to Pine Ridge.[54]

Big Foot's band was intercepted and arrested by Sumner on December 21 after it became clear that his band

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[48] Army and Navy Journal (November 22, 1890): 207; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Ruger to the Adjutant General, October 19, 1890, 180.

[49] Ibid., Charles M. O'Connor to E.V. Sumner, November 29, 1890, 235.

[50] Ibid., Sumner to Miles, December 8, 1890, 228.

[51] Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, December 13, 1890, 576.

[52] Ibid., Miles to the Adjutant General, December 22, 1890, 604; Army and Navy Journal (December 27, 1890): 298.

[53] Annual Report of the Secretary of War, Assistant Adjutant General to Sumner, December 16, 1891, 229.

[54] Donald F. Danker, editor, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981), 168, 180, 185. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard.

was leaving its reservation for Pine Ridge[55]. Big Foot agreed to take his people unescorted to Fort Bennett and surrender. Most of his followers however wanted to proceed to Pine Ridge. Big Foot acceded to the wishes of the majority[56]. On the night of December 23, the band slipped out of the village, quietly eluding the soldiers[57].

Miles feared that this "may turn all the scale against the efforts that have been made to avoid an Indian war."[58] Through Brooke, Miles sent out troops from the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Cavalry regiments to comb the country for Big Foot's band and prevent it from escaping into the Badlands.[59] On December 26 Major Samuel M. Whitside with four troops of Seventh Cavalry and two pieces of field artillery was ordered to find Big Foot. On that same day Whitside established a base camp for his field operations at Wounded Knee. Wounded Knee was the site of Louis Mousseau's combination post office and store, and the nucleus of the small crossroads community.

The band moved in a southerly direction, but when Big Foot caught pneumonia, the march slowed to a crawl. On December 28 the band collided with Whitside's column just northeast of Porcupine Butte. Although Big Foot carried a white flag, both sides formed battle lines. Whitside met with Big Foot and ordered the Indians to move to the Army camp on Wounded Knee Creek, and Big Foot agreed. When Whitside demanded twenty-five rifles, the Chief was more evasive but did promise to turn the guns over later.[60]

Brooke sent Colonel James W. Forsyth and four more troops of the Seventh Cavalry, a troop of Oglala scouts, and more artillery to reinforce Whitside. On Sunday evening, December 28, Forsyth arrived at the camps of Whitside and Big Foot along Wounded Knee Creek and, as senior officer, took command. The Hotchkiss cannons were positioned on a little hill northwest of the tent camp.

Accompanying the troops were several civilians, one of whom was a Pine Ridge trader who brought a barrel of whiskey to camp. Drinking was apparently confined that evening to the officers who toasted Forsyth

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[55] Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, with Sumner's report of Big Foot's capture, December 22, 1890, 604-608.

[56] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 168, 185, 186. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard. The decision to go to Pine Ridge was undoubtedly influenced by multiple factors. Some members of the Big Foot bands believed that the U.S. Army intended to forcibly relocate them from their homelands. For example, Dewey Beard was convinced that the Army intended to take them to "an island in the ocean in the east."

[57] Reports and Correspondence, Ruger to the Adjutant General, December 27, 1890, with telegrams from Sumner, 627-628; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of Lieutenant Colonel E. V. Sumner, February 3, 1891," 223-228.

[58] Reports and Correspondence, Miles to the Adjutant General, December 24, 1890, 608.

[59] Ibid., testimony of Brigadier General John R. Brooke before the Kent Baldwin Investigation, 740-741; Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of Major General Miles, September 14, 1891," 147-148, 150. Several military, civilian, and Indian witnesses gave their accounts of the fighting to the investigative board looking into Colonel Forsyth's conduct at Wounded Knee. This testimony, taken January 7-17, 1891, is an important historical source for reconstructing the actions and movements of the principal participants.

[60] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interview," 170, 189. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard.

on his capture of Big Foot[61]. Whether any of the principals were intoxicated during the critical events of the next morning is not known, although the subject of soldier drunkenness has clung stubbornly to some modern versions.[62]

Little movement occurred in the Indian camp that evening. According to survivor Help Them, an Oglala who had accompanied Big Foot's band back to his Pine Ridge Reservation home, "The men were not allowed to take the horses to water, so the watering of the horses was done by little boys."[63]

II. The Events of December 29, 1890

December 29, 1890, the conflict between the Lakota Ghost Dance followers and the U.S. Army's response to this religious movement reached a climax, forever binding both parties together.

A military map (see Cloman Maps A and B) greatly assists in following the complicated series of events associated with the "Fight with Big Foot's Band." The map was drawn by Lieutenant S.A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer, Second U.S. Infantry, based on his battlefield inspection of January 3-4, 1891, and interviews of several principals. It purports to be "showing position of troops when first shot was fired."[64] Testimony taken from several witnesses during the military investigation of Wounded Knee corroborated the accuracy of the map.

Testimony and interviews of some of the participants indicated that the first shot was fired at approximately 9:15 A.M. Just prior to this time the ranking military officer, Colonel Forsyth, had called a council. He ordered the Minneconjous to surrender all of their guns and told them they would be taken to another camp.[65] In grudging compliance a few old weapons were surrendered, but Forsyth believed the Indians were hiding their best rifles, and he ordered a search of the warriors and the camp.

While a few soldiers rummaged through the Indians' tents for weapons, an Indian from the council circle began singing Ghost Dance songs and "stooping down, took some dirt and rose up facing the west... cast the dirt with a circular motion of his hand toward the soldiers. . . "[66] Lieutenant John C. Gresham saw this action. Later, expressing the majority opinion of the military, he believed the throwing of dirt was a signal to attack the troops which the Indians had decided upon the night before.[67]

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[61] Ibid., 222. Statement of Richard C. Stirk.

[62] Robert Gessner, Massacre: A Survey of Today's American Indian (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931), 414-418; Miller, Ghost Dance, 221-222.

[63] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Help Them before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 719-720.

[64] Annual Report of the Secretary of War. The Cloman military map accompanies Miles' report, 147.

[65] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 171. Statement of Joseph Horn Cloud.

[66] Ibid., 205. Statement of Philip F. Wells.

[67] Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," 106.

There were however dissenting opinions. Lieutenant W.W. Robinson, an eyewitness, was convinced that the Indians did not plan to fight and therefore a signal was unnecessary. Before the firing started, he "observed the children, of all ages especially, playing among the tepees .... it was proof to me that there was no hostile intent on the part of the Indians."[68] Dewey Beard, one of the Minneconjou survivors, explained that the man threw the dirt "as they did in the ghost dance when they call for the Messiah." Rather than a signal, the action was a prayer.[69]

Shortly thereafter Black Coyote, sometimes called Black Fox, refused to surrender his rifle to the soldiers and a struggle ensued which resulted in the accidental discharge of the firearm[70]. Almost immediately, fighting broke out on both sides. The few Indians who were still armed fought back, while others retrieved firearms from the pile of confiscated weapons and joined the fighting. The shock, the surprise, and the pall of black powder smoke obscured much of the horror of these first few minutes of fighting, in which probably more than one-half of the fatalities occurred. Big Foot was wounded in the initial burst of gunfire and was later killed when his movements, according to eyewitness Charles Allen, attracted the attention of the soldiers[71]. Elk Saw Him heard Black Coyote's rifle discharge and recalled that: "Firing followed then from all sides. I threw myself on the ground/then I jumped up to run towards the Indian camp, but I was then and there shot down." One of the most detailed eyewitness accounts of the council and the first shot is by Philip Wells, a mixed blood Sioux, who served as the Army interpreter for these negotiations.[72]

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[68] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Robinson before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 694.

[69] James R. Walker, Lakota Society, Raymond J. DeMallie, editor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 165; Philip F. Wells, "Ninety-six Years Among the Indians of the Northwest," North Dakota History, 15 (1948): 303. Philip Wells witnessed this event and said it was "not a signal to fight, but to illustrate the harmlessness of the soldiers' bullets."

[70] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 173, 192. Statements of Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard. Eyewitness accounts differ concerning the moment when the fighting started. The consensus opinion, however, was that the first shot was accidental.

[71] Allen, "In The West That Was," 279.

[72] Wells, "Ninety-six Years among the Indians," (statement of Elk Saw Him), 291; Ibid., (Wells account), 285-287. Wells was one of the few eyewitnesses to the events that transpired at Wounded Knee who was fluent in both Lakota and English:

> I was interpreting for General Forsyth just before the battle of Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890. The captured Indians had been ordered to give up their arms, but Big Foot replied that his people had no arms. Forsyth said to me, "Tell Big Foot he says the Indians have no arms, yet yesterday they were well armed when they surrendered. He is deceiving me. Tell him he need have no fear in giving up his arms, as I wish to treat him kindly." Continuing, Forsyth said, "Have I not done enough to convince you that I intend nothing but kindness? Did I not put you into an ambulance and have my doctors care for you? Did I not put in a good tent with a stove to keep you warm and comfortable? I have sent for provisions, which I expect soon, so I can feed your people."
>
> Big Foot replied, "They have no guns, except such as you have found. I collected all my guns at the Cheyenne River Agency and turned them in. They were all burned."
>
> They had about a dozen old-fashion guns, tied together with strings--not a decent one in the lot.

Forsyth declared, "You are lying to me in return for my kindness."

While the soldiers were searching for arms, Big Foot gave substantially the same answer as before.

During this time a medicine man, gaudily dressed and fantastically painted, executed the maneuvers of the ghost dance, raising and throwing dust into the air. He exclaimed, "Ha! Ha!" as he did so, meaning he was about to do something terrible, and said, "I have lived long enough," meaning he would fight until he died.

Turning to the young warriors, who were squatted together, he said, "Do not fear, but let your hearts be strong. Many soldiers are about us and have many bullets, but I am assured their bullets cannot penetrate us. The prairie is large, and their bullets will fly over the prairies and will not come toward us. If they do come toward us, they will float away like dust in the air."

Then the young warriors exclaimed, "How!" with great earnestness, meaning they would back the medicine man.

I turned to Major Whitside and said, "That man is making mischief," and repeated what he had said. Whitside replied, "Go direct to Colonel Forsyth and tell him about it," which I did.

Forsyth and I went to the council of warriors, where he told me to tell the medicine man, who was engaged in silent maneuvers and incantations, to sit down and keep quiet, but he paid no attention to the order. Forsyth repeated the order. After I had translated it into the Indian language, Big Foot's brother-in-law answered, "He will sit down when he gets around the circle."

When the medicine man came to the end of the circle, he squatted down.

Big Foot's brother-in-law asked at the end of the conversation that the Indians be permitted to take Big Foot, who he said was dying, and continue the journey begun before the troops intercepted them.

Forsyth replied, "I can take better care of him here than you can elsewhere, as I will have my doctors attend him."

Forsyth then went to one side to give instructions elsewhere. A cavalry sergeant exclaimed, "There goes an Indian with a gun under his blanket!" Forsyth ordered him to take the gun from the Indian, which he did.

Whitside then said to me, "Tell the Indians it is necessary that they be searched one at a time."

The old Indians assented willingly by answering, "How!" and the search began.

The young warriors paid no attention to what I told them, but the old men--five or six of them--sitting next to us, passed through the lines and submitted to search. All this time I kept watching the medicine man, who was doing the ghost dance, for fear he might cause trouble. While turning my eyes momentarily away, I heard some one on my left exclaim, "Look out! Look out!" Turning my head and bringing my arms to "port," I saw five or six young warriors cast off their blankets and pull guns out from under them and brandish them in the air. One of the warriors shot into the soldiers, who were ordered to fire into the Indians. The older Indians sitting between the younger ones and us immediately rose up so that the farther end of the circle, forty or fifty feet away, was hidden from my view. I heard a shot from the midst of the Indians. As I started to cock my rifle, I looked in the direction of the medicine man. He or some other medicine man approached to within three or four feet of me with a long cheese knife, ground to a sharp point and raised to stab me. The fight between us prevented my seeing anything else at the time. He stabbed me during the melee and nearly cut off my nose. I held him off until I could swing my rifle to hit him, which I did. I shot and killed him in self-defense and as an act of war as soon as I could gain room to

The deadly fire at the council circle only lasted about ten minutes before the Indian survivors began a full retreat. Most of them ran to the south across the Indian camp to the meager safety of a ravine. Many more died in the ravine, including most of the women and children. Dewey Beard took refuge in the ravine, initially at the feature labeled "the Pocket" on the Cloman Map "B" and also labeled "Pit where some of the Horn Clouds were" on the Joseph Horn Cloud Map[73]. Dewey Beard later described some of the action: "I was badly wounded and pretty weak too. While I was lying on my back, I looked down the ravine and saw a lot of women coming up and crying. When I saw these women, girls and little girls and boys, coming up, I saw soldiers on both sides of the ravine shoot at them until they had killed every one of them."[74]

Several made their escape via the ravine. According to Lieutenant Lloyd S. McCormick: "Several had, however, succeeded in reaching the foot hills and the dense brush growing in the ravines."[75] McCormick was not alone in his use of the plural when referring to the ravine. Lieutenant Ernest A. Garlington wrote: "The majority, including women and children, making for a ravine running along the west side of their camp; others for ravines leading to the low hills west of camp, firing as they went."[76] Joseph Horn Cloud, an Indian survivor, said he witnessed the capture of the Indians at "the head of the ravine or one branch of it."[77] Henry Jackson, also known as Harry Kills White Man, recalled that he and his sister ran "to the head of the ravine that goes west."[78] These accounts seem to indicate that the Indians took advantage of many of the branches of the big ravine as they made their escape from the troops.

The movements of other participants, especially the cavalry units, can be generally followed across the landscape. According to Whitside, the Indians fired into Troops B and K, with the soldiers returning the fire.

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aim my rifle and fire.

By this time a general fight was raging between the soldiers and the Indians. Troop "K" was drawn up between the tents of the women and children and the main body of the Indians, who had been summoned to deliver their arms. The Indians began firing into "Troop K" to gain the canyon of Wounded Knee Creek. In doing so they exposed their women and children to their own fire. Captain Wallace was killed at this time while standing in front of his troops. A bullet, striking him in the forehead, plowed away the top of his head. I started to pull off my nose, which hung by the skin, but Lieutenant Guy Preston shouted, "My God, Man! Don't do that! That can be saved!" He then led me away from the scene of the trouble.

[73] Map of Joseph Horn Cloud of Wounded Knee, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln. Joseph Horn Cloud and Dewey Beard were brothers.

[74] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 195. Statement of Dewey Beard.

[75] L. S. McCormick, "Wounded Knee and the Drexel Mission Fights, " By Valor and Arms: The Journal of American Military History 1:2 (January 1975): 11.

[76] John M. Carroll, editor, A Seventh Cavalry Scrapbook (Bryan, Texas: Privately published, no date), 4. Letter from Brigadier General (Ret.) E.A.Garlington to the Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, April 4, 1931.

[77] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 175. Statement of Joseph Horn Cloud.

[78] James H. McGregor, The Wounded Knee Massacre from the Viewpoint of the Sioux (Baltimore: Wirth Brothers, 1940), 120.

The Indian survivors broke through their ranks and left camp in three directions: the majority fled west, up the ravine, some across the ravine and through the south line, and some on the road past the mounted troop facing east (Troop E), between the troop and the wire fence.

Before the first shot Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson, Whitside's battalion adjutant, was on his way to report to his superior that Indian women were packing their belongings, presumably to flee. Nicholson reached the opening between Troops B and K when the shot was fired. He passed in the rear of Troop B "to a point just behind the crest of the hill to the left (west) of the battery."[79]

Commander of Troop B, Captain Charles A. Varnum, and fifteen of his men were on a weapons search of the Indian camp. They had started on the north end of the tepee camp, at "the end towards the hill where the battery was located." Lieutenant Robinson, who was assisting Varnum at the time of the shot, "galloped up the hill to the rear of the battery," dismounted, and went to the crest of the hill, probably to await orders. The remnants of Troops B and K had moved to the hill where the artillery was placed. Later, Varnum reported to Forsyth and was ordered to cover the field hospital located on the slope of battery hill. (See McFarland Map of battlefield.) Varnum testified that he was ordered,

> some hours after to take 20 men and clear the ravine. I cleaned that up towards the head of the ravine some 150 yards.[80]

Captain Varnum and his men captured nineteen noncombatants hiding in the ravine and sent them back to camp under guard. Troop E struck the ravine at the "Pocket" to clear it of Indians.

Artilleryman Corporal Paul H. Weinert took the place of his fallen commander and, according to Captain Allyn Capron, fired the Hotchkiss cannon with devastating effect. Captain Capron estimated that at this time the Indians were 300-400 yards away[81]. The reminiscence of Weinert indicates, however, that the firing occurred at a much closer range. As the fighting progressed, he rolled the gun down the hill to the ravine:

> They kept yelling at me to come back, and I kept yelling for a cool gun--there were three more on the hill not in use. Bullets were coming like hail from the Indians' Winchesters. The wheels of my gun were bored full of holes and our clothing was marked in several places. Once a cartridge was knocked out of my hand just as I was about to put it in the gun, and it's a wonder the cartridge didn't explode. I kept going in farther, and pretty soon everything was quiet at the other end of the line.[82]

Captain Henry J. Nowlan, who commanded Troop I, was positioned south of the ravine. He testified, "from the position I occupied on the far side of the ravine, I saw the Indians come towards us into the ravine and go up and down it." First came noncombatants who, Nowlan said, were allowed to go. Nowlan's men fired on

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[79] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Whitside, Varnum, Nicholson, and Robinson before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 659-660, 667-668, 670-671, 694.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., testimony of Capron before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 698-699.

[82] W.F. Beyer and O.F. Keydel, editors, Deeds of Valor, 2 (Detroit, 1907), 316. Quote by Paul H. Weinert.

the men who followed later.

Captain Charles W. Taylor's Indian scouts, composed of Oglala recruits, found themselves caught in a crossfire. Eyewitness John Shangrau, a scout but not part of this unit, later recalled that many of Taylor's men "broke and ran and took shelter under the bank of W.K. Creek."[83]

Captain Winfield S. Edgerly commanded Troop G, which was mounted 150 yards east of the council circle. A wire fence limited the Troop's movement on one flank. After the firing, Edgerly was ordered by Forsyth to pursue the Indians. Together with Lieutenant Taylor and some scouts, Troop G reached "the head of the ravine." A trooper in Troop G estimated that this was two miles from camp. There they found Captain Henry Jackson and Troops C and D and several refugees.[84]

At the first shot, Troops C and D received fire from the north. it was unclear whether it was from friend or foe. Nevertheless, both troops fell back to the south behind the cover of a hill. According to Lieutenant Selah R. H. Thompkins of Troop D:

> about 5 or 10 minutes after the firing began the Troop was deployed on the crest of a hill, dismounted. I was ordered down to the ravine to the left to hold the ravine and stop the Indians from firing into the rear of our line as they had been doing.[85]

Whitside rode up to Jackson and ordered him to round up the Indians' horse herd and pursue the Indians "going up the hillside to the westward." According to Jackson's testimony, he and thirty-four men of Troop C,

> started due west, up the bluffs, and had to travel over 2 miles to the head of the ravine. Just as we headed it, at the point where the road came in, as we were turning at the head of the ravine, I saw an Indian slide down the bank into it.[86]

Capt. Edward S. Godfrey's Troop D and Lieutenant Taylor and his scouts met Jackson. Both troops had come from different directions. Taylor thought this point of convergence, the "head of the ravine," was two or two-and-one-half miles from camp. Assistant Surgeon Charles B. Ewing, who accompanied Edgerly, estimated the distance from camp as two or three miles. Godfrey remembered it as being one-and one-half to two miles from

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[83] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Taylor and Nowlan before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 681-682, 701. Interview of John Shangrau, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln. This is corroborated in the Standing Soldier interview from the same collection. Standing Soldier was a member of Taylor's scouts.

[84] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Taylor, Jackson, and Edgerly before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 682, 687-688, 690; "Letter of Private Edward Edmunds, December 31, 1890," Washington Evening Star, January 8, 1891.

[85] Reports and Correspondence, testimony of Tompkins before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 697.

[86] Ibid., testimony of Godfrey and Ewing before the Kent-Baldwin Investigation, 677, 705-706; Barry C. Johnson, "Tragedy at White Horse Creek: Edward S. Godfrey's Unpublished Account of an Incident near Wounded Knee," The Brand Book, 19:3-4 (London: The English Westerners' Society, 1977) 1-13; E.S. Godfrey, "Battle of Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota, December 29th, 1890," Winners of the West, 12:2 (January 30, 1935): 1.

camp.[87]

The scouts served as interpreters to convince a group of 24 Indians to surrender. A large war party of Indians coming from the direction of Pine Ridge Agency fired on the soldiers from long range and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. Jackson concluded: "We fell back about 400 yards to a good position and stood them off ." Troops E and G were dispatched to the area by Forsyth as reinforcements. The military party returned to camp, picking up the Indian pony herd along the way. In his testimony, Ewing remembered that upon his arrival he:

> found the ridge leading from the battery to the house in its rear being barricaded with sacks of grain and cracker boxes, and finally with the wagons drawn up in double line upon the east of the ridge. The guns of the battery were placed in position and a number of dismounted cavalry occupied the ridge. The barricade was in extent 400 or 500 feet by 20 or 30 wide. Similar breastworks of sacks of oats were also piled up around Mousseau's store.[88]

By mid-afternoon the intermittent shooting at Wounded Knee had come to an end. Some of the Indian survivors who escaped during the fighting found refuge with the Ghost Dancers at the Stronghold. The Army gathered up their dead and wounded and began the slow march back to the Pine Ridge Agency. The Army was accompanied by most of the Indian survivors including approximately 30 seriously wounded Indians who rode in Army wagons. One Seventh Cavalryman recalled, "Slowly, for the sake of the wounded, the long column left the battleground where the reds were lying as dark spots in the winter night and their sign of peace, the white flag, was moving gently with the wind. . ."[89] The column reached Pine Ridge at 9:30 P.M.[90]

When word of the slaughter at Wounded Knee reached the Agency--the firing could be heard at the Agency, fifteen miles away--a furor arose among the Lakota camped nearby. Many Lakota men became enraged and fired on the soldier camp from long range. Brooke ordered his men to hold their fire. Civilians were convinced that the Agency would be attacked, but it never happened. Nearly all of the Lakota fled north to the Stronghold.

III. Subsequent Events

Although more than two dozen reporters from such newspapers as the Washington Evening Star, New York World, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Chicago InterOcean vied for Pine Ridge news, local talent scooped the eastern correspondents on the Wounded Knee story. Eyewitness accounts were written by Charles W. Allen, editor of the Chadron Democrat but on the New York Herald payroll, Will Cressey of the Omaha Bee, and William F. Kelley, Nebraska State Journal (Lincoln). The newspaper correspondents, who had accompanied the Seventh Cavalry to see the disarming of Big Foot's band, sent their urgent dispatches by

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews, " 231. Statement of Louis Mousseau.

[89] Christer Lindberg, "Foreigners in Action at Wounded Knee," Nebraska History, 71:4 (Winter 1990). Reminiscence of Ragnar Theodor Ling-Vannerus (Theodore Ragnar on his enlistment).

[90] Annual Report of the Secretary of War, "Report of the Surgeon-General, September 22, 1891," 600.

horseback to Rushville. On Tuesday morning, December 30, the first accounts of Wounded Knee appeared in daily newspapers nationwide.[91]

On December 31, General Miles arrived and took personal command at Pine Ridge. Miles now had more facts at hand. This additional information led to grave doubts concerning the accuracy of the initial accounts of the fight. He began to hear of the severe casualties suffered by noncombatants. Miles also began to suspect that the 30 soldier casualties were due to poor placement of troops by Forsyth which resulted in a deadly crossfire. Miles was especially displeased with Forsyth's performance at Wounded Knee and the skirmish that occurred at the Drexel Mission on December 30. With the approval of Washington, General Miles launched an investigation.[92]

An Indian rescue party from the Agency went to Wounded Knee on January 1, 1891, and found several survivors[93]. The rescuers were forced to abandon their mission, however, when they were fired upon by other Indians who misunderstood the group's intentions.

On January 3, 1891, the Army escorted a civilian burial party to Wounded Knee[94]. A second contingent of soldiers came from the Rosebud Agency, under the command of Captain Folliet A. Whitney, Eighth Infantry, to meet the party. The burial detail had been detained because of concern about a possible Indian attack and the inclement weather.

Captain Whitney counted 47 dead in the immediate area where the council had occurred but noted:

> There is evidence that a greater number of bodies have been removed. Since the snow, wagon tracks were made near where it is supposed dead or wounded Indians had been lying.[95]

During the course of their task, the burial party collected all the dead remaining on the site. Workers found numerous bodies in the ravine south of the Indian camp where many of the victims had sought shelter. The next day 146 bodies were interred in a mass grave on the same hill from where the Hotchkiss cannons had raked the camp.

The total number of fatalities at Wounded Knee was undoubtedly higher. Survivors, family, friends, and

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[91] William Fitch Kelley, Pine Ridge 1890: An Eye Witness Account of the Events Surrounding the Fighting at Wounded Knee, Alexander Kelley and Pierre Bovis, editors (San Francisco: Pierre Bovis, 1971). 1-4, 181-203.

[92] Peter R. DeMontravel, "General Nelson A. Miles and the Wounded Knee Controversy," Arizona and the West, 28:1 (Spring 1986): 23-24, details Miles' action against Forsyth.

[93] Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891 (dateline of January 1), and January 14, 1891.

[94] "Extracts from Letters Written by Lieutenant Alexander R. Piper, Eighth Infantry, at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota, to his wife Marie Cozzens Piper, at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, during the Sioux Campaign, 1890-1891," The Unpublished Papers of the Order of Indian Wars, Book #10, John M. Carroll, editor (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Privately published, 1977), 10; Diary of Frank D. Baldwin, 1890-1891, diary entry for January 4, 1891, Baldwin Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Reports and Correspondence.

[95] Ibid., Whitney to the Assistant Adjutant General, January 3, 1891, 824.

the rescue party removed some of the dead and dying before the burial party arrived on January 3, 1891. Oral tradition among the Sioux people today tells of several bodies being taken and buried along Wounded Knee Creek. Some of the Indians taken to Pine Ridge later died from their wounds. Eyewitness Joseph Horn Cloud compiled a list of 186 Indian dead[96]. Interviews conducted later with survivors and others by Bureau of Indian Affairs investigator James McLaughlin indicate that some casualties were overlooked by Horn Cloud[97]. A total of at least 250 dead is almost certain.

Angry and frustrated in the aftermath of Wounded Knee, some Ghost Dancers undertook several minor offensives and became hostile in a very real sense. In the days immediately following the Wounded Knee massacre, Sioux warriors fired on the Pine Ridge Agency, fought the Army near the Holy Rosary Catholic Mission and attacked an Army supply train near the mouth of Wounded Knee Creek.[98]

By January 3 peace talks were again under way. On January 7, Miles requested Oglala leader Young Man Afraid of His Horses to travel to the Stronghold and serve as an intermediary. Young Man Afraid of His Horses was able to convince many Oglalas to leave these camps and return to the Agency. Four days later the first large group under Big Road returned to the Agency. During the next few days the most determined believers abandoned the Stronghold and moved cautiously towards the Agency. By the 15th the last of the Ghost Dancers had reached the Pine Ridge Agency. On January 16, Kicking Bear surrendered his rifle to General Miles. On January 18 Miles officially proclaimed the end of the Sioux Campaign[99]. With the "war" concluded, demobilization began immediately. The majority of troops were transferred from Pine Ridge by the end of January.

On June 27, 1891, a group of Government commissioners arrived from Washington to address some of the problems of the previous winter. While meeting with community leaders near Wounded Knee, the commissioners heard from Lakota farmer Bull Eagle:

> My friends, this piece of land on the other side of the creek which has been flooded with blood is where I make my home. . . Some men were killed right inside of my fence on the plowed ground.... I am still walking through the field and plowing up the ground, covering up the blood.[100]

With the help of family and friends, Wounded Knee survivor Joseph Horn Cloud erected a monument at the site of the mass grave on May 28, 1903. A contributing feature of the Wounded Knee National Historic

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[96] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 176-178.

[97] Wounded Knee Compensation Papers, James McLaughlin Collection, MS H76.24, Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota.

[98] Robert M. Utley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 231-241.

[99] Army and Navy Journal, Miles congratulatory order, Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, in the Field, January 18, 1891 (January 24, 1891): 366.

[100] Congress, Senate, "Affairs of the Indians at Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota," 52nd Congress, 1st session, Senate Executive Documents, No. 58, 64.

Landmark, the marker is inscribed with the names of many of those who were killed at Wounded Knee.[101]

IV. Conclusion

In 1890, the dominant culture saw the events of December 29 as the culmination of the wars between the United States and the Sioux Nation. Wounded Knee has been recognized by Native Americans, scholars, and the general public, as a symbolic event in the long history of Indian-White relations[102]. Controversy over several of its aspects, including the Medal of Honors awarded to twenty-eight soldiers who saw action at Wounded Knee, the contention that Federal troops were "avenging" Custer, and whether soldiers or Indians fired the first shot still persist.[103] This nomination did not attempt to resolve these issues and no doubt they will continue to engage the attention of historians.

Ethnohistorians view Wounded Knee as a turning point, reflecting the drastically reduced visibility of the Ghost Dance movement and the corresponding beginning of an unwilling resignation to reservation life and governmental authority. Students of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis note the significant year of 1890 as the theoretical end of the American frontier. For military historians, the same year marks "the last major armed encounter between Indians and whites on the North American continent," if not the official end of the Indian wars[104]. For the Lakota, the site of Wounded Knee became sacred ground, consecrated by the blood of their people and commemorated by survivors, relatives, and descendants. In the Lakota world view, as expressed by Black Elk, Wounded Knee meant the breaking of the hoop of the world and the loss of control of their destiny[105]. In 1973, Wounded Knee once again gained national attention when several hundred Lakota and their supporters occupied the area in a violent expression of Indian rights. Wounded Knee has ultimately become a powerful symbol of the long history of the tragic conflict between the U.S. government and the Indians.

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[101] Omaha World Herald, June 7, 1903.

[102] Robert M. Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 253-261.

[103] "South Dakota Won't Urge Revoking 18 Wounded Knee Medals," Omaha World Herald, April 21, 1990. A recent controversy has developed regarding the Medals of Honor awarded after Wounded Knee. Tribal members have lobbied public officials to have the medals taken away from the recipients.

[104] Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890, 257. Utley considerably modified his views in this later study. Wounded Knee was not the last Indian war but a bloody reaction to the reservation system. In his earlier book, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation, viii, 5, 267, Utley presented Wounded Knee as the last battle in the last Indian war. Notwithstanding this change, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation is considered a classic and remains the standard work on Wounded Knee.

[105] John G. Neihardt, Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Ogalala Sioux (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1932), 276. Raymond J. DeMaillie, editor, The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).

V. Descendant Interviews

Between July and August of 1990 the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted four oral interviews with Lakota elders who are descendants of survivors. The scope and richness of detail in the following interviews with Celane Not Help Him, Leonard Little Finger, Leona Broken Nose, and Birgil Kills Straight led to the decision to include each interview in a transcribed form rather than attempting to integrate sections of the interviews into the body of the history. The transcripts have been edited to focus on the events and issues surrounding Wounded Knee.

The original unedited tapes of the interviews are housed at Badlands National Park in South Dakota. The interviews contain kinship terminology such as "mother," "father," "grandmother," and "grandfather." Although Lakota kinship is based upon a principle of bilateral descent, as is Euro-American kinship, the Lakota interpret kinship categories in a broader context in which some relatives are called by the same term as others. For example, the term "mother" may be used to designate one's own mother and all of her "sisters." The term "sister" includes one's female siblings and one's mother's sister's daughters. "Grandfather" and "grandmother" may include the parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and the siblings of these forebears.[106]

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: CELANE NOT HELP HIM
AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Celane Not Help Him (CNHH) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside of Manderson, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. Celane Not Help Him is the granddaughter of Dewey Beard, who survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Dewey Beard was the brother of Joseph Horn Cloud and Daniel White Lance, both of whom also survived the massacre. Although other people were present at the time of the interview, none participated. Mrs. Not Help Him often used different inflections to represent voices of speakers other than herself. Quotation marks ["] are used to capture this. In some cases, she indicated that someone said something without changing her inflection. In these cases, quotation marks are not used. This transcript reflects Mrs. Not Help Him's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
( ) uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[ ] Jennifer Chapman's comments

JC: So, what I'm interested in finding out are just the details that Dewey Beard told you about what happened to him at Wounded Knee, including what happened on the events leading up to Wounded Knee and also what happened afterwards.

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[106] Lawrence F. Van Horn, Ethnographer, Western Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service; personal observations of Marie Not Help Him's speeches; Wounded Knee Alternatives Study team member, June 17, 1991, at the Wounded Knee site, Wounded Knee, South Dakota; and, June 18, 1991, at Wounded Knee Public Meeting, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Celane Not Help Him Interview, Continued

CNHH: Well, I'm going to tell something about my grandfather told me. See, I've been raised by them. When I was 14 months old, my father, Webster Beard, died of a heart attack. We lived north of Kyle.

But ever since then/ I stayed with my mom for a while, and when I was 8 years old, I remember when Grandpa (Dewey Beard) used to talk about/ When I was 8 years old, that's when I fully remember what happened, and what he told me, what we talk about. When he talk about these, he got tears in his eyes. He'd cry a little bit, and when get through talk about it, he always goes outside and sings for them, the people that got killed in Wounded Knee.

He said that they use to camp out along the Cheyenne River, this Big Foot band. They got relatives with Sitting Bull. They used to visit over there, or sometimes some people come to visit. Then, one time, they told them that they were trying to arrest Sitting Bull, and they tried to arrest Sitting Bull, but they moved around so fast, they were not able to. The spies, the security that takes care of the ___, they told them, some soldiers are all over. And some are not soldiers, but they hang in there, and some Indian police. So Sitting Bull, they told him to watch out, be careful and alert. I think that's what he did, and here, all of a sudden, two horseback came over told Big Foot that they killed Sitting Bull that early morning. They said that it was early morning while it was still dark. They said that was in the winter when days are short, and nights are long. During that morning, early morning, but it's still dark, and here, I guess, he said that some of the Sitting Bull's band was going to where Big Foot was camped, somewhere scattered all over somewhere into further north, and, next, they said they tried to get Big Foot. They're going to capture Sitting Bull, and they're going to capture Big Foot.

So, I guess, some wants to go to north and some wants to come, but if you know how it is, if they're going to kill you or something, if they're going to do something to hurt you, you wouldn't want to stay. Just like you can't even think. You want to get away from them. You go where it's safe. So they came over here, and they use to make a camp along the Cheyenne River called Pedro. I think it's southwest along the Cheyenne River. When they're coming this way, they said they left some stuff there until they come over here, and if everything turned out, they were going to go after their stuff, so they left some stuff there. So, I guess, they just grab what they can and head out this way. Before then, Red Cloud told them to come over here and register, and they might even get team and wagon or things like that. So they were coming, but they said that they told them to be careful. But they were just coming anyway. And they said they don't have much food. They don't have too much, just a little bit. They're tired, and they're cold, and they're starving. They're starving for part of it. They came through Red Water, and that's where they stopped, and get ready to eat a little bit and drink water and then head out this way. They stopped at Red Owl Springs overnight, and, from there, in the morning, they head out to Wounded Knee up Pine Ridge. I guess when they get up on that flat, the ___, they said the spy, the security said they saw some horsebacks going towards them, and so told them to get ready or be alert or something. So they did, and when they came closer, they knew it's soldier, Seventh Cavalry. Some were not soldiers, but they were hanging in there, and, I guess, that commander or whatever, he said he's looking for Big Foot, so they said, "He's in the wagon, really sick."

Celane Not Help Him Interview, Continued

He went over there, and he said, "I came to see you. I want to talk to you. Can you talk?" he said.

So, but you can barely hear you because he's been having hemorrhage, and when they passed the Big Foot Pass, that's when he started having that nosebleed. But he's really weak, but he said, "Yes, I can talk."

He ask him, ask 25 guns when he get to Pine Ridge.

So I guess that what they all think they'll do. And when they get to Wounded Knee, they told them to put up their tipi, and they're going to give him rest, and soon they put up their tipi, and I guess they were all happy because they'll rest. Tipi and fire and rest, (so they were happy). When they got done put up their tipi, they were cooking, so they ate, and Grandpa said, "When you're going to go to bed, you always put long, white dresses on and pillow and everything, and you get ready and go to sleep." He said, "But, in those days, we didn't do that." He said, "Because, instead, when we're going to go to bed, we have to tie our moccasins, and we've got legging, and we got ___, and they fix themselves up and put their coats on, and then they sleep by the fire. They didn't have cover. They had buffalo robes, that's what they sleep on. Back in those days, it's rough." He said, "You have to be alert in the night. Security, let them know something so they can grab everything and just take off."

So he was fixing his moccasins and next thing, there was a tap on the tipi door, so he told them to go in, and they said, "They want you at where Big Foot tent is, and they want you to sit with him over there, because he's really sick."

So, Grandpa Horn Cloud--that's Grandpa Horn Cloud that I'm talking about-- he said, "Yeah, I'll do that."

He came out, and he told Grandpa, he said, "When I walk between them, the Indian soldier and the white soldier, I'm going to Big Foot's camp. They go so far, and he really he treat me mean. They push me," push him around, and say something in white, but he said, "I can't hear, I can't understand so I told this Indian soldier, 'What is he saying? I'm supposed to do something.'"

"And he said, 'Well, never mind. Just go to Big Foot tent.'"

He went over there, but he said, "Everyone's tired from walking." Some of them were walking and some didn't have much food to eat, and they were tired and half starved and really cold. I guess that they were all tired, and I guess six men were called over there to sit with Big Foot. All that time, they want us to tell him who all's in the/ when they killed Custer, the Battle of Little Big Horn.

But they said, "We're not going to tell. We're not going to tell. We don't know something for sure, we're not going to tell."

Celane Not Help Him Interview, Continued

And what Big Foot told them is, "Don't start the trouble. Don't start the trouble but do what you're told."

So. I guess that's what they do. He said he was getting sicker. He's really getting sick, so he told them not to start the trouble but listen to what they're told.

In the morning/ Oh, during that time, they were about 44 years old. Grandpa said all this six men were 44 years, about that age, and he said when they were sitting with him, with gun point, he said, "Son, I'm going to tell you something. They torture us. All night, they don't want us to sleep, and they're trying to make us tell who was in that Little Big Horn, in that fight there with Custer. But we don't know everything for sure, so we didn't tell them anything, but they really force us to tell something."

And one of those six men was almost going to sleep. He was doing like that in there. One of those soldiers came (up after) him with a gun and he was really poke him on the side, hard, and it scared him, so he got up right away and said, "It's my fault." He said, "1 almost went to sleep. I know that we're not supposed to sleep. You did want us to sleep but I shouldn't do that. It's my fault." And he got up, and he sat up.

Until that morning, daybreak came, and the soldiers came in and took Grandpa Horn Cloud and that man Iron Eyes and Spotted Thunder and told them to go back and eat and come back and sit with Big Foot again until the meeting starts.

So he went back to eat, and here that lady, Blue Whirlwind Woman, that's Spotted Thunder's wife I think. Grandpa Horn Cloud came back and ate and was heading back to Big Foot's camp, and that woman came in and talked to Grandma Horn Cloud. She said, "Did you know that soldier followed your husband, and they was standing in back of the tipi? And that same thing." She said, "They do the same thing to my husband. I fed him, and I take out, and these two soldiers were standing in the back of the tipi. And I looked this way and there's two more standing over here in back of your tipi."

"What are they doing over there?"

She said, "I don't know. They told them to stay with Big Foot and come back this morning." And she said, "My husband came back this morning, too. He said that he was tired and feel like go to sleep, but was going to, but they told him not to go to sleep, so they stay up."

But I guess, when they were going back to the Big Foot tent, they followed them so far, and then they just go the other way so they went back in the tipi, the tent, and those six men set with Big Foot, Chief Big Foot.

He said if they didn't do anything or say anything, this man could have put his gun out in the center like they're supposed to, but when the men came, he told them, "I want all of you to see this." He said, "I have this gun. This gun is mine. I never shoot two-legged." He said, "I always

Celane Not Help Him Interview, Continued

shoot for my family. I shoot food or meat for my family so I never/ I didn't have this gun for to shoot two-legged." He said, "But today they told me to put in out in the center."

I guess he showed, he showed like this [gesture gun over head] was going to go out in the center here. Soldier here, one on this side and the other side, and then they grabbed the gun. And when all of them put their head down and when they stood up, the gun discharged by itself. He didn't shoot them. That's when that fire starts. You can't hear nothing, and you can't see nothing with the smoke. He said you could see the exchange fire. That's what happened, that's what Grandpa told me.

JC: How did he escape?

CNHH: Well, the chance they get, they just run away. He got shot in the back and on his hip and on his leg, in the leg muscle so he can't normally walk like this, 'cause this was shot, so he drag his foot. In the meantime, he's really short on breath, because they shot him in the lung. Up 'til he was 99 years old, he/ that's when he died of pneumonia.

He lost his first wife and son, and his father, Grandpa Horn Cloud, and his brother were killed there, and his step-mother. Grandpa's real mother is buried in Canada, the oldest one. They're two sisters, the older and the younger one, but they're both married to Grandpa Horn Cloud. So the oldest one died in Canada, and that younger one, they killed her in that Wounded Knee Massacre.

And ever since then, it's a hundred years now, and it will be a hundred years pretty soon and nothing ever been done about it. It looks like they had to kill them. I think they feel bad for Custer, and when we ask for something/ Right now, we are working on a compensation deal, but I don't know if we are going to get it or not, but Grandpa said he went to Washington, D.C. several times before he died. We got a lot of horses, so when we go to Washington, D.C., he sold the horses, and he raised funds, and then they go to Washington. They never go to tribal or any place to ask for help. They are always on their own. But he said, "If nothing, if they don't apologize," he said, "something is going to happen to the white people."

Grandma said, "Not all the white people," she said, "just those Seventh Cavalry, their relatives should be punished by." Nothing has been done, and if that was the white people that happened to them like that, they'll get help. They'll get paid or something. They'll get something, but looks like they don't care for what they did. They owe apology to us, the descendants, and we want something big for them, not little monument.

JC: Did your grandfather ever take you out to the site and show you around?

CNHH: [interrupts JC] Always, yeah, every year when we go to Decoration Day. We have Decoration in June, and we always camp there, gather over there. And they put flowers, they decorate the mass grave. And then after that, they eat and have a little meeting. And he always showed me the places.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONARD LITTLE FINGER
JULY 14, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on July 24, 1990 with Leonard Little Finger (LLF) at his home outside Oglala, South Dakota. Leonard Little Finger is a direct descendent of Joseph Horn Cloud (maternal grandfather) and of John Little Finger (paternal grandfather), both of whom survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were Mr. Little Finger, Dave Vasarhelyi, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park, and Jennifer Chapman, also a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park who conducted the interview. The transcript reflects Mr. Little Finger's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
( ) uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[ ] Jennifer Chapman's comments

LLF: Okay, well my name is Leonard Little Finger, and my ancestry involves, as far as Wounded Knee massacre is concerned, both my maternal and paternal sides. On my maternal side, Joseph Horn Cloud was a young boy, approximately 12 years old at the time of the massacre; and on my paternal side, John Little Finger, who was approximately 15 years old at the time of the massacre. And I guess the impact that I have from that is that I'm a second generation person from the original massacre, and my father being the first generation, and my mother being the first generation on the other side.

And I guess, I know this is on tape, but approximately about two miles from here, due east at the top of those pine hills, there's a deep canyon in there. And my grandfather on my dad's side, along with four other men, escaped the slaughter and came to Red Cloud School. In his statement, my grandfather, John Little Finger, he indicated that they had escaped through the ravine and had ended up near the top, and they were being pursued by cavalry soldiers. And at that time apparently some people living nearby had heard the shooting and had grabbed weapons, and they were coming to see what was going on, and as they came over the rise, the cavalry that was pursing the four men saw the people on horse back, and they turned, and they fled back to the main contingent. So consequently, in the course of that flight there, my grandfather was shot twice, one in the calf and then the other in the heel, which I would like to note that they shot him from the back, they didn't shoot him face forward. He was shot (in the back), and that's something that's very upsetting to me.

But nevertheless, these--the group of people that were there--took them to the Red Cloud, or then what was known as the Holy Rosary Mission and later Red Cloud Mission, but they treated with sulfa to the wounds of my grandfather and were asked to leave, and the Jesuits that were there, fearing that there might be further outbreaks of violence and not wishing to a be part of it, apparently had asked them to leave. And this was in the midst of a blizzard that was going on, so they left. And from Red Cloud we live approximately 7 miles. And they followed this ravine or valley down to the point that where, as I mentioned, approximately two miles from here there's

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

the outcropping of (deep) canyons and the pine trees that rim it. Well, there's a big, deep canyon in there that's probably maybe a 150 foot, and it's almost of a horseshoe shape, and that is where they ended up, and they dug a trench, and that's where they hid out from December--well that would have been December 29--all the way through what he called spring when it started to get green.

So, I imagine they were there maybe three to four months during which time they subsisted on whatever they could find. And of course the activity that they saw coming down this valley included people that lived in this area. They had no idea where they were because they had come from around an area called Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River Reservation and were totally unaware of the people here or the landmarks. And they also were fearing for their lives, and occasionally they would see soldiers coming through here. I don't have too much detail as to the day-to-day activities, but the grandfather had mentioned to me that on several occasions they had seen some cavalry troops coming in line, and at the end of the period of time they did come back down into the valley and subsequently married some people here. All four were brothers.

I would like to note also that my grandfather, John Little Finger, is a direct descendent from Chief Big Foot (Big Foot's son Yellow Horse was the father of John Little Finger]. Chief Big Foot had, I believe, around seven wives, and it was a custom at that time that if you married one sister, you took the whole group if there were other sisters. So Chief Big Foot was under those conditions, and out of that the indication I've been given is that my grandfather was one of the/ and it must have been so that they were all together, and those family members included the Little Fingers, the Blue Legs family, the He Crow family, and the Pipe on Head family, and so that's a point that I'd like to mention.

I was with him until he passed away in 1954, and at the time that he passed away, I was 15 years old, and I grew up with him. Both he and his wife, my grandmother, essentially raised me during the summer time. In fact, my first words were in Lakota, so they must have had a tremendous influence on me at the time of my growing up. I did not realize the impact of what he had sustained until much later. And I guess that's part of the indoctrination--if I can use that term--that they had with the Indian people; indoctrination from the standpoint of trying to, rather than acculturate the Indian people to the white ways including religion and the way of life, rather than acculturating them, trying to assimilate them. And so, consequently my indoctrination was to really look down on the Indian aspects. This is just what they ingrained into us, but as I grew older I began to realize the impact that it had on him. And he did show me his scars. They were scars that were not adequately sewn, you know, so they were jagged, jagged scars that he had. He walked with somewhat of a slight limp, never really altering, I guess, his lifestyle because he was able to do all of the manual labor that was required to maintain life. As I mentioned, I live approximately two miles from where they were holed up for three months, and he liked this place, and, as the allotments came, he took this land, so we're actually living at the place he came to in order to carry on a life afterwards.

I think that the most specific things that I recall are several things: one is the actual battle itself. He indicated to me that he had no intention of coming to Pine Ridge. He was out riding

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

horseback one afternoon, and he seen a large group of people that were coming south. And so he rode horseback over to them and decided to find out what was going on. And he met his cousins there, and he rode horseback with them and pretty soon it was dark. They invited him to stay, and during the course of the evening they talked him into coming along with them to Pine Ridge. The story that I have been told is that Big Foot, Chief Big Foot, was coming down at the request of Red Cloud, and that there was a discussion of giving Chief Big Foot a hundred head of horses and a hundred head of cattle, and that in the subsequent spring that Chief Red Cloud was going to assist him to go to Washington, D.C. and seek additional funds for being able to survive on the Cheyenne River Reservation. And Chief Big Foot, having a large clan and band of people, he found it necessary to do that because of the very essence of survival--being able to obtain sufficient food and so on. But, nevertheless, my grandfather started to travel with them, and by the time that they entered the Wounded Knee area, it dawned on him that he was in a terrible situation.

I think that one of the points that has always been shown from the military perspective as well as the Indian agents' perspective has been that they were coming down to Ghost Dance, and that this was, I think, a very difference of opinion from the standpoint of the Indian people. There was indications that there was going to be an uprising and so on. I imagine if you're hungry, without any food, you may call it an uprising, but you're going to all call it a necessity to find adequate food for your children.

I think maybe I'll divert a little bit and cover the aspect of the Ghost Dance because the Ghost Dance is a direct translation Wagni Wacipi and wagni being ghost, but the proper term for it is the spiritual connection with the spirit world. That needs to be corrected. It's not a Ghost Dance. Ghosts are in comics and in movies, but they are not in the spirituality aspect as identified by the Sioux Indians. The Ghost Dance was an act that was performed in the sense of spirituality and that through the prayers and through the ability to establish communications with the spirit world, that this was the rite, the ritual that was performed. So that needs to be clarified.

As they approached Wounded Knee, it's unclear because my grandfather never really talked about the evening that they settled there. Where he picks up, and what he had told me was when the gunfire started that he immediately ran. He apparently was close to the ravine, and he immediately started running for the ravine. And before he made it to the ravine, he said that there was scuffling; there was a tremendous amount of gunfire, a tremendous amount of smoke from the gun barrels. That's probably maybe because impending blizzard, there's probably an inversion of air so nothing was dissipating, it just kind of hung to the ground.

And as he ran, he said he felt like somebody hit him in the back with an axe. It was just a sharp pain and it was strong enough to bowl him over. He laid there for a while, realizing that he had been shot, but he also realized that he needed to get away so he jumped back up, and he started to run again. And again he felt like someone hit him with an axe, and this time they shot part of his heel away, and it was both on the same side of his same leg, and again he went down, but this time he was able to crawl into the ravine. And he said he laid there for a while but, you know, the sounds of the gunfire and the crying of the people/ The sounds that he mentioned were very

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

awful sounds of people being slaughtered, and he knew that was going on, so he proceeded to run up that ravine.

And there were several of them that, as they ran along, that were hiding. And it just so happened that the four cousins got together, and they continued to run. But by the time they had reached about half way up the ravine, the soldiers, realizing that some of them were escaping--and this apparently must have been after the immediate shooting had occurred and they were in and around--they began to fire at them, and they were running towards them. Fortunately, the ravine twists and turns and there's curves, and so consequently, they were able to make those turns. They stayed very close to the ground, and as they were nearing the top is when there was a group of Indians, local people, that had guns, and, of course, when the cavalry had apparently gone up that far, and if you look at the site itself, it's maybe a mile and a half from the site itself. So they were able to escape because of that. Had not that happened, I'm sure that he would have been killed, and I guess I wouldn't be here talking. As they got to the top, the other thing that he mentioned was that down a little bit further there was a woman that was sitting on the ground, and she had a baby in her hands, and she was rocking the baby. And what he had saw was a soldier had come over and took the bundle from the woman. And he flung the bundle to the ground a ways, far enough that the mother couldn't reach. And he had a rifle, and he fired three or four shots into that bundle. And the mother, he saw her stand up and start running with her arms outreached. She totally ignored the cavalry soldier, and the calvary soldiers side-stepped her, and as she came by, he hit her in the back of the head with that rifle, and he knocked her to the ground. And he took his heel of his boot, and he put it over her throat. And then he leveled that rifle on her, and he probably fired maybe five or six shots into her head. And he said that has always been in his mind. He could never really ever get that away from his mind. I think that's probably the most traumatic thing that stayed with him despite being wounded and despite being displaced.

I think the thing that I want to mention here is that had I been in that position I probably would have had very mixed feelings. I guess my feeling would be hatred, my feelings would be revenge, but I never did detect them from my grandfather. And instead of the hatred and the revenge, it was more towards: we are all people and we must live together; this thing has happened; there is nothing I can do about it, but I must forgive whoever has done whatever to us; I bear no grudge; I bear no hatred towards the federal government. And I think that has given me a lesson. It has probably helped me in my ability to cope with the world, knowing that to have something so awful happen to my grandfather. Yet it gives me the strength to know that those things happen, they come to pass and that to forgive and to be able to carry on is a much stronger way for a man to live. And I teach my children the same thing. I tell them when they are old enough, they will hear my story, and they will carry that on.

Within my grandfather's side, we go back to seven generations of people whose name is a name by the name of Yellow Horse, and every succeeding son in the following generation receives the Indian name of Yellow Horse. My grandfather had it. My dad had the name, and I did not get it, and now my son carries that name on, and that name probably goes back to maybe early 1600s or mid 1600s.

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

This household that I have is Takini Oyate, and these are survivor people, so as my generations carry on forward, they will forever be known as Takini 0yate. We are survivors, and with each generation, we've come a long ways, from my grandfather to me to be able to be a hospital administrator, to have educational and experienced background. Putting those together and carrying it on to the next generation, moving on forward--that gives us a chance for greater survival.

That's one side of the story. On my other side, Joseph Horn Cloud. Joseph's father was Horned Cloud. His name was Horned Cloud with No Name was killed there, along with two sons, Sherman and William Horn Cloud. Also there was a cousin, who at that time was considered as a sister, was also killed there. Along with that, his brother Dewey Beard whose wife and ten day old daughter were killed also. I've got about five or six of my immediate family that were killed there, and there were probably around four or five that sustained wounds and were able to survive, the largest loss of life being from my mother's side.

Joseph Horn Cloud is also the person who, in later years/ Well in his early years went on to school at an all-black college in Virginia--Hampton Institute--and had a good command of the English language. And he took my two uncles and my mother along on trips back east, and the purpose of the trips was to raise funds. And the funds that he raised erected that monument there. And that's the only monument that has ever been established there. He felt very strong about it. I unfortunately never knew my grandfather because he died around 1929, and he had left his three children as orphans: my mother and my uncle both were raised at Red Cloud Mission, and then the other uncle was raised by some ranchers up at Potato Creek.

But, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, was part of the band that was involved at the Custer's battle. And, I guess it's interesting to note that--again from the white man perspective--that Custer's was a massacre and Wounded Knee was a battle, and it probably should be recognized both ways. If you look at it from the Indian perspective, it's exactly the opposite. There's no need to mention much of Custer because much has been written, and those that are aware that Custer's tactics led (to) a loss of life that, you know, was largely his responsibility. But anyway, I just wanted to mention that part.

Following the battle at Little Big Horn, Horned Cloud, who would be my great grandfather, along with his family, went with Sitting Bull into Canada. And they stayed there for a period of time, maybe at least three years. And they decided to return back to the Cherry Creek area. They were from the Cheyenne River Reservation. Both sides of my family are Minicojou Lakotas, and so on their way back to the area that they originally had left, for some reason, they stopped at Fort Lincoln. And during that period of time that they were at Fort Lincoln, my grandfather, Joseph Horn Cloud, who was probably at that time somewhere between five to nine years old, was permitted to attend school with the fort children there. Subsequently, he learned the English language. The family did not use the English language, but that was his start in learning the language. And when the Wounded Knee Massacre occurred, the evening that they were taken to Wounded Knee, my grandfather took it upon his own to visit the campfires of the cavalry. And he has indicated to me that at that time there was some drinking that was going on,

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

and that he had heard mention that this group of Indians that we have right now are members of the band that killed Custer. And he also heard that we should kill these people also, we should avenge what they did to Custer. And they did not know that he understood the English language, and so he immediately went to his father, and he told his father, who was Horned Cloud, that there was going to be something to happen, and he told him that they were drinking, and that these men were talking about this group killing Custer, and that they wanted to do something about it. Of course, there was not much they could do because they were under guard at the time, but it was decided that Horned Cloud, my great grandfather, would stay with Chief Big Foot, and that he would try to protect him in whatever way he could, and, of course, he was probably one of the first to die because when the shooting started, he was with Big Foot, and both he and Big Foot are in that grave, that mass grave.

Joseph was able to escape. He escaped along with Dewey Beard, who was his brother, and White Lance, who was also his brother, and what they did was they went down into the creek area, and somewheres they found a hiding place, and they hid there. They did not know exactly where they were either. So, the following morning, what they did was somewheres early in the morning, the horses had/ They had a considerably large amount of property with them, but what they did was they caught some of the horses that they recognized which were theirs and immediately left the scene. Of course, Dewey Beard was my, in Indian ways, also my grandfather. He left knowing that he was leaving his wife and his ten day old child, and he's well documented. I think he's given his story as to what had happened there. That's how they were able to survive.

Their family was completely decimated, and as a result, they essentially all took/ They kept their names, their Indian names, and when in later years when allotment took place Horn Cloud, Beard and White Lance all took that as their English name but they were (direct) brothers. I think from the perspective of my uncle Joe, well I have an uncle that's Joseph Horn Cloud also. It's his son. But I think from the perspective of my grandfather, he had written and had to try to find some form of compensation. He did as much as within his power, political power which was almost absent up until Senator Francis Case was involved in it. He wrote a lot of correspondence, and on record, which I have access to, are statements that he has given regarding the loss of property that occurred. And I started to calculate that. If you take a human life--of course, there is really no measure for that, and I did not include those figures for loss of human life, but I took into consideration the listing that he had given to/ I'm not sure, I have to refer to my notes that I have, but I'm thinking that it's a commanding officer. Well, the name is not important, but, what he had done was he had made a list of everything that he had lost. He initiated that because he felt that, at some point in time, there would be an opportunity to seek compensation for that, and there's something like 37 head of horses, approximately 11 tipis, utensils, bedding, beadwork, knives, guns, wagons, teams.

One of the things that both grandfathers essentially had hoped, but were not in the position to do, was some form of compensation. They both provided testimony which was documented, and I find it somewhat in a sense personally offensive from the standpoint that the retired Indian agent, by the name of Valentine McGillycuddy I believe, took that testimony, and upon his retirement,

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

went back to Boston and had that information published, took the direct testimony of the people. And I do not know what he did with that money, whether or not he turned it back over to the Indian people or not, but from my understanding that was for personal compensation for himself, and I find that offensive, extremely offensive. I'm grateful that he was able to document it, but if he were able to document that, he should have also been able to turn that money back over to the people, at least the survivors that at that point in time had not received anything.

But also they come across saying that this is a place of death. This was something that they died in such a way without the ability to defend themselves except with their hands. Women, men and children. No regard for women and children, all were killed. And that this type of action should be left as it is, that there should not be any form of recognition for them. These people tried for those survivors while they were alive, tried to get something but were unsuccessful. And I guess that some people can interpret it as such to leave it as it is without any further development or without any further recognition. My feelings are that to interpret it that way, I feel that this is a very sacred place, as is any cemetery where it is essentially a consecrated ground, and its largely probably because of the respect that you have for the people that have gone on.

My specific recommendations are that it's very appropriate for us to take that theme and to establish through the Federal Government a continuum of care. There should be a place so that the things--for example for what I have said and for what other people will say--should go down as documented history, not only for the people that are aware of Wounded Knee and have read it in books and have come to see the site, but most importantly for the children who will be coming up in future generations. I have had direct contact with my grandfather and I knew him. I walked with him; I ate with him; he cared for me. But, after I'm gone, my son will not know that, except through what I have said. And I personally would like to see a permanent record that shows the documentation of the people that are able to relate the story from the Indian standpoint. I would like to see permanent documentation in a memorial very similar to the, as called, the Battlefield of Custer, to have the National Park Service to establish a memorial. It doesn't have to be anything elaborate, but it should at least at a minimum contain things that are mementos or that to document what has happened there, and I'm very much in favor, and I support strongly any effort that the Federal Government can do. I probably am speaking out of place from the standpoint of many people as they look at it, but I feel that the Federal Government, at this point, is probably in a better position than any group people to establish a memorial that is very befitting of a site like that, and is in much better position than any group of people to maintain that ongoing. I would not favor any exploitation such as setting up hot dog stands within, you know, a two mile radius. It's all right if they set up the hot dog stand, you know, away from that area, but that whole area is a death ground, and I would not favor anything like that. Beyond a established limit, (whatever) boundaries are established, beyond that I could see whatever needs to be done.

JC: Okay, Can I ask you a couple of questions?

JC: I'm interested in/ in that report the dates for the landmark goes until 1903 when your

Leonard Little Finger Interview, Continued

grandfather Horn Cloud put up that memorial but not much is known about what happened there between 1890 and 1903. How was the site revered or memorialized by the people who had survived? Like, how did your grandfathers/

LLF: My grandfather Horn Cloud, he felt a very strong connection, a very strong bond. On occasion, he became what they called a catechist. This is an earlier version of a lay person in the Catholic Church. They assisted the priest; they worked directly with him. And what he did was on occasion that he came to Red Cloud over on Pine Ridge, he made it a point to camp there, and he actually slept on the grave. And some of the cousins that were with him, his cousins, said that they used to be afraid. They were, you know, spooked or whatever. My grandfather Horn Cloud felt that he was at home because of the brother and his father were buried there, were laying there. He said that it's just like/ I mean, he looked at it as much as another home because that's where the remains of his family was, and so he held that in very, very high reverence, and that must be enough of a reverence that he felt that it was necessary for him to put something up. And, you know, if he didn't put that there at that time, maybe nobody else would have.

But, my other grandfather, John Little Finger, he always referred to it as the killing place, and it was something that he looked at it, I guess, as an atrocity . He had respect for it, but nevertheless it was a place that (held) very strong, terrible memories, too.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: LEONA BROKEN NOSE
AUGUST 1, 1990

This is an edited transcript of an interview conducted on August 1, 1990 with Leona Broken Nose (LBN) at the home of Oglala Sioux Tribal Council member Alex White Plume, outside Manderson, South Dakota, by the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). Leona Broken Nose is the granddaughter of James Pipe on Head who survived the Wounded Knee massacre. Present at the interview were members of the BBC crew, Alex White Plume, and Jennifer Chapman, a Park Ranger from the Badlands National Park. The transcript reflects Ms. Broken Nose's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
( ) uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[ ] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BBC: Leona, we'll ask you to start and tell the story you told me about your grandfather and the feelings that you have about the people that died there

LBN: The way my grandfather, James Pipe On Head, explained to us while he was/ He told us all these stories when he was on his death bed. Really, I didn't really pay attention to what he was talking about in the first place about the Wounded Knee business until he started telling us. He told us to sit down and listen and talk. He said it was really important to him that he said that he was the ___ of that Wounded Knee Association, and then he never got to it, and then he passed away.

So, when he told us this, he said he was coming from the north with the band. His grandfather's name was Chief Big Foot, and he said he was about/ I don't know about how old he said. And his sister was about 15 year and a two year old. Okay, and they were coming and camping, and his grandfather was sick, so they come so far, and they camped, and they keep going until they got to Wounded Knee, and they camped there. All of a sudden, these cavalry start going on, and he said that his grandfather was so sick that his mother or grandmother made some Indian medicine to take it to his grandfather, Chief Big Foot, to give him his medicine throughout the night, and he went over to the tent, and he said he was laying there, and all these generals or whatever were in that tent, and that cavalry were around the tent. They wouldn't even let him in, but he said he opened the back of the tent and crawled in to give the Indian medicine to his grandfather, and he left.

He said he went back to the other tent to where his mother was, and the next morning, he said they were going to leave, and he said he didn't know what happened at that time. He said all of a sudden, there was a big bang and that's it. He said everything was shooting guns and they're running all over, and he said my grandpa was with his mother running. His mother had his little sister on her back, and they were running over the hill, and, all of a sudden, his mother stopped and said, "Your little sister's dead."

Leona Broken Nose Interview, Continued

So they're going to bury her right here, and he said there was a big tree beside the big hill, so they dug under this tree. And his mother got his little sister off and wrapped it on his blanket. And they put her under there, and they covered with a lot of weeds and twigs. And then they took off again. He said they were still running when they met up with a little boy, so he had it by the hand. They were running and running. He said that all they time, they were kept pointing towards the west. That was the direction they were running until some people found them, and they helped them get back, (he always tells me), and he gave us some papers, which I can't find last night, the story and all the list of the names he had with him, those people that were there with him that time I but I can't find the papers last night.

That's all he keeps telling us. That's as far as he remembers. (They went) back to Pine Ridge. He said they took him to a church. He said there was a church that/ and there was like a hospital. It was a church, but they made it into a hospital, and now, that church is way out in the country, seven miles from Oglala towards Red Shirt Table. That church is still out there. It's called St. Johns Episcopal Church. So that church is about a hundred years old, (at least) a hundred years old. That's all.

(she continues her response with more feelings on the significance of the site. This appears below.]

LBN: So they always talks about this Wounded Knee. Why would this happen? Why did the government never even pay them? They didn't even pay attention to them. They say that there's a lot that keeps going to meetings, meetings, meetings, and they never accomplished anything (until the day he died.) So I don't know why the government didn't turn around and apologize to them or what, why they didn't do it. They just let it go.

WOUNDED KNEE INTERVIEW: BIRGIL KILLS STRAIGHT
JULY 14, 1990

This transcript is a shortened version of a full interview conducted on July 14, 1990, with Birgil Kills Straight at his home in Kyle, South Dakota, by Jennifer Chapman, Park Ranger from Badlands National Park. Birgil Kill Straight is a direct descendent (grandson) of Daniel White Lance, a survivor of the Wounded Knee massacre. Daniel White Lance was the brother of Dewey Beard and Joseph Horn Cloud, both of whom also survived the massacre of December 29, 1890. At Mr. Kills Straight's request the original interview was edited to obtain a shortened version. The transcript reflects Mr. Kills Straight's word selection. As is standard practice, repeated words and false starts have been deleted to preserve text readability. Beyond normal punctuation, the following notation is used in this transcript:

___ missed word or words
( ) uncertain transcription
/ break in speech when thought is incomplete
[ ] Jennifer Chapman's comments

BKS: If you don't know, stories and legends all come from actual events, so it's not anything that's made up for children like most (myths and legends) are. It has a beginning and that's part of oral history. Creation; the language; our understanding of the natural world, we call spiritual, now, other people call it religion. It's separate. We don't really have a religion per say. We talk about the spiritual. In the well established culture everything is separate. It wasn't. It began in a time when we lived in the spirit world at the time of creation of this earth, this particular spirit world. There were several before this one. And how the sun spun off of this earth, called the rock. We call it inyan. And the sun came from earth and it was the first being inside the inyan. The first being in the wi. Wi or the sun is wi, w-I. And inyan is the rock. So probably the first word, at least from the time of that creation, understanding is winyan, which is the woman. And that's what we call the earth. The language is very important here because everything was built on the way the whole universe is.

The second life I suppose was really the root, the hutkan, because we are talking about the time when we were part of the vegetation, the things that grow. Then the third life: the buffalo, pte, the four-legged. We didn't say (when), but you can imagine the first sign of buffalo that appeared in the world was a four-legged creature. It must have been during prehistoric times. And then the forth life, we became two-legged. We originated out of the Black Hills from the hole called Wind Cave. But that is probably where the buffaloes came out, from (Wind Cave) which is the surface. [They] came from underneath from part of a root (from a plant) and we are here now.

The relations were very important, understanding who our relations are. And I don't know how much you know about Indian history and culture, but there is a very simple prayer called Mitakuye Oyasin which means "All My Relations." It sorts of leaves it at that. It didn't specify. It wasn't very specific. It just says "All My Relations." So everything that moves, everything that grows and everything that is (is) our brother.

Birgil Kills Straight Interview, Continued

Translating that into the modern (or) the contemporary history of 100 years ago, I started to say that families are important. White Lance is (in fact) my grandfather, my mother's father. He was part of the incident at Wounded Knee. He survived. His other brother was Iron Hail. Iron Hail is also known as Putinhinla. The translation of that name, Putinhinla means "beard". Actually, what would have probably been more appropriate was "moustache" but that Putinhinla is what they called "beard" and the name stuck. And from him I've heard of the events that took place, perhaps not in sequence. In my older, later years, I was able to piece that back together into some sort of sequential order.

There was another one of the Horn Clouds. There were several Horn Clouds. For some reason or another they adopted their father's name. It must have been during the time that most everyone, the youngsters took on their father's name. So there were several, and I can't remember/ And then there was Iron Deer and then there were several others. One was named Surrounds. His body was never found. And then another one was named Her Horses and another one was called Elk Nation Woman. There was a total of eleven of them. There were twelve but one stayed up in Canada with Sitting Bull so eleven brothers and sisters came back down. They lived from around Bridger up to near perhaps ___ or some place around ___.

When Sitting Bull was killed, some of the relatives came into Cherry Creek and Bridger. In fact, they came to Bridger, and Big Foot was coming here to negotiate sort of a truce. There was a build up of an army here and then the idea was to totally, at one point, was to totally wipe out the Oglalas, and Red Cloud probably realized this. He sent for Big Foot. (He Was) a negotiator, an arbitrator, and the community knew him that way, sort of a holy man. He understood what was going on.

Of course, he never arrived at Pine Ridge. And in a way, the white people that lived here and the government panicked as well after what had happened. So the final assault on the Oglalas never took place. Instead, their ways would develop to more fit the government's ideas about a (nation) ___. And after that stopped, everything went underground. The religion aspects, the spiritual aspects, the rituals went underground, and the people had accepted their way of life ___ until a time of (resistance).

There's still some anger. There's still some sadness. There's still all of this. There's still a lot of hate. And to lead into what happened in 1890, it's really not a case of, as the saying goes, that there was a battle and that they lost the battle. It wasn't that at all. It's just the fact that after 1890, the government of the United States had much more influence, not as quite as influential today as most people like to think. We have a treaty with the U.S. government in 1868 which was bounded with a pipe. Anytime you do it with a pipe, you can't break it. And so for us, that still exists. On the other hand, the U.S., it was just a game, a game of words, and what they take is okay. They feel that they're the conquerors and they can take whatever they can. They're not the conquerors. They haven't conquered us. But until the day that I die, until the day that feeling of nationalism dies, we're still a separate nation.

Around Cherry Creek, Eagle Butte area, Pierre, what seemed to be the case was, in the late

Birgil Kills Straight Interview, Continued

1800s, the movement into the Black Hills and across this land probably really had accelerated and the treaty was signed. The U.S. government couldn't control the masses according to that treaty. I mean, I don't think they tried. They were part of it. Custer was the main person. Some of the generals and commissioners, they'd already made investments all over the country. It's greed and (it made them) want more gold and more land, and we just happened to be in the way. So the final assault was supposed to happen. I don't know when that was, but the years that led up to it until 1890/ And some of the ones that you probably heard about more were like Sitting Bull and Big Foot, but there were several other, many other spiritual leaders. I think somebody might have at about that time discovered that when you believe in something and will die for it, the only way to remove them or to put them out of the way is to kill them, and that's what they tried. The medicine men, the holy men, we call them Holy Interpreters, in Lakota we call them wakani ieska, were being killed.

The Ghost Dance wasn't all (the ancient way) either. The formal Ghost Dance was Christian, but there was already ceremonies like the Keeping of the Spirit, which is one of the seven rituals that were very strong, and because we lived spiritually, the physical and the metaphysical were everyday. They must have discovered that we were on the way, and if they wanted to stop us, they had to kill the spiritual leaders. In a way that was partially successful, at least that's the feeling that we got. And I can't remember the exact words Iron Hail used, but I suspect this is what he was talking about. I was about 14, 15 years old when he died, so the stories that he told me were told to me before I was 14, 15. It was like I said, (it was) years before I'd begin to occasionally, some of what he said, I'd think about it and tried to figure out what he means.

1890, 1 guess is when, at least as Black Elk says it, that Sacred Hoop, the way we understood it, was broken, and, from that point on, that our life would be different. And it turned out that way. But also, [the] holy men--it wasn't just Black Elk--the current wakani ieska, the people who have this understanding a lot more, in fact, much more than I do, tell me the Sacred Hoop is still here. All what we must do is mend it, put it together.

That goes back to ceremonies that we must have before undertaking a major event; purification; going up on the hill vision questing for four days and four nights. We prepare ourselves, wash in that bed of sage which is still plentiful now. Our spiritual understanding begins upon a vision quest.

And the medicine men, the holy men or the wakani ieska who interpreted some of the (stuff) that took place then and even now tell us that it's become much more urgent to create this attention. That in the seventh generation after Wounded Knee, 1890, that we will resurface. These were some of the prophecies. After all of this, people will get at least full conscious throughout the world. (It's time we take) a very serious look at the way we're living now. From the year August 15, 1987, to the year 2012 is when the period of adjustment (starts to take place.) This is according to [Edgar] Cayce and to the Mayan Calendar. It's more like, I said this before, it's like Doomsday prophecies. But in a way, the understanding here is at least what had happened back then (as I learned) runs parallel to what is happening now. And when the life of a nation is threatened ___ many of the people of that nation died. It's happening again. Wounded Knee

Birgil Kills Straight Interview, Continued

symbolizes that. For some reason or another, nothing throughout the world more symbolizes this than Wounded Knee, the 21st century.

White Lance undoubtedly knew some of this. I never knew him. He was shot. His stomach intestines were coming out. He wrapped it up in a blanket. [His] heel was shot off so he crawled for about 2 miles, maybe a little more, along the ravines, and climbed up on the side of the/ way to near the top of where Wounded Knee is visible from. A blizzard came in. He stayed in a snow drift in the bank for four days and four nights. When the blizzard lifted, someone came to him and talked to him and told him that he was going to fix him. (To the left of the) bank, the snow bank, was a coyote. The coyote came in, licked his wounds and he was okay. So he communicates with the coyotes, the spirits that reside within the coyote body.

The stories that he told were pretty much similar to the ones that were talked about. I couldn't set the sequence or use his language. I can paraphrase a lot of it.

An hour is up.

JC: Can I ask one more question?

BKS: Yes.

JC: One thing that we wanted to know/ Right now in the report, the time frame is up to 1903, and we were wondering what happened between 1890 and 1903. What did people do to memorialize or revere the site of Wounded Knee?

BKS: Every place where there's a dead/ Okay there's a word in Lakota, wamakaskan, WA-ma-ka-skan. Four syllables. Each has a meaning. Wa means, its interpretation is snow. Snow comes from the direction north. That's what purifies; that has a power from the north; that's what's called holy, sacred. The word wakan, it's wa-kan. Kan is the blood vessel, and because it purifies, the wind and snow purify it and filters out the air and the water, it prepares it for new growth, and it becomes drinkable again. Wa, the snow, means purity. And maka is earth, the world or dirt, just any common dirt that you step on if you want. You probably don't think about what you step on as you walk, but that dirt, it's just that one portion that you step on becomes dust. The dirt or the dust is called maka. It depends on how you use it: maka can also mean the world or the earth. Skanskan is movement, something that moves, something that has life that moves. So the word, wamakaskan, which in today's language is considered as an animal/ Animals are called wamakaskan, but it has more of a deeper meaning than that. So what comes to the center, the spirit from the spirit world, what comes to us through the metaphysical world in our ritual is a wamakaskan. We call them wamakaskan ___, which literally translated, again, like I said it would be/ Well not literally, but the understanding that we have now of what the words mean, it would be the animal people, the animal nation. That's what comes to us. This is why the coyotes and all that is important; the deer; eagle; the birds themselves are important, but what is more important is the spirit that resides within those animals. The word wamakaskan is its truest form, is the sacred dirt or the sacred parcel of dirt that is (moving). That is the word

Birgil Kills Straight Interview, Continued

wamakaskan.

Our understanding, that spirits that come from us still reside within us, is the one that we see as we see ourself, because other spirits occupy our body. Several spirits at different times or at one time, use our bodies for their work. The medicine men have up to 400 and some spirits that work in them. These are representatives of the animal. Like I say, it's not always the animal that's important, but the spirit that resides within the animal or within the fruit or within the insect or whatever. Any time a person is buried--if I were to look at this as an archangel, where I have a higher level of understanding of life that the archangel is supposed to have and some of the spirits who we work with are supposed to have, then I would look at the wamakaskan that is buried wherever a person is buried. [It] is sacred for that person returns to find dust, fine powder, but the spirits that resides there go in the (air), so wherever a person is buried is sacred. You come back to wamakaskan.

Wounded Knee, in that sense, is sacred. Wounded Knee should be left the way it is. Take out the foundation, that church foundation. Maybe move that church. Remove that road. Just close it off. You don't even have to put anything. Perhaps sitting away from it there might be a museum or a cultural center to help explain some of the things that I'm talking about. The U.S. Congress bestowed 28 Congressional Medal of Honors to men who killed unarmed men and children. They threw the babies up in the air and shot them. They cut the outer parts of the vaginal area and put them over the/ into the women. They took out the heart. They took the babies out of the wombs, and for that, they received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Now that is what I think some of the people object to. Why was the fact the U.S. Government should be ___? We may be small in numbers, but we have an understanding of life that is much more important. Those stories, those kinds of stories are never heard. Some of the stories I'm telling you third and fourth hand now. I wasn't there. I've heard it talked about from people who were there before, who talked to the peoples who were there. The Sand Creek (Massacre), the Sand Creek was the same way. That's the thing that I think should be done. I mean, I don't really care what is done. The only thing that should be done is to clear out that whole area to return it back to its natural state. In its natural way, the people where who had died there will be ___ rest in peace.

There's an old ceremony we have called "Wiping the Tears of the Mourners." The ceremony is conducted when a person dies within a family. And after that ceremony is concluded the family continues to live without the deceased family member. That ceremony was never done to the whole nation, and that's what we're trying to do. Four times, we purified ourselves in preparation for this ceremony. We should be prepared to tell the people: "We can never forget what happened at Wounded Knee, but we must live for the future. Thinking about what happened there a 100 years ago that is what keeps us in a state of uncertainty. Let's look towards that future ___. Let's look towards the future together."

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Eli S. Ricker Collection. Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, NE.

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Omaha Bee

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Rushville Standard

Washington Evening Star

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

___ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
___ Previously Listed in the National Register.
___ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
_X_ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
___ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #_____
___ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #_____

Primary Location of Additional Data:

___ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State Agency
_X_ Federal Agency
___ Local Government
___ University
_X_ Other: Nebraska State Historical Society

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 870 acres

UTM References

A.	Zone	13	713850	easting	4779980	northing
B.	Zone	13	715050	easting	4780000	northing
C.	Zone	13	714700	easting	4778720	northing
D.	Zone	13	714080	easting	4778720	northing
E.	Zone	13	714080	easting	4778060	northing
F.	Zone	13	713600	easting	4778060	northing
G.	Zone	13	713420	easting	4776615	northing
H.	Zone	13	713850	easting	4779440	northing

Verbal Boundary Description

Beginning at UTM Point A (located on the NE corner of the NE quarter of the NW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 35, T.37N, R.43W) on the Wounded Knee South, South Dakota Quadrangle, then proceeding east along the northern section lines of Sections 35 and 36 (outside the southern fence line of a local community cemetery) to an intersection with the east bank of Wounded Knee Creek (contour line elevation 3200); then proceeding in a southerly direction along the east bank of Wounded Knee Creek to UTM Point C (located in the south half of the SW quarter of Section 36, T.37N, R.43W); then proceeding in a westerly direction for approximately 1000 feet to UTM Point D (located in the SE quarter of the SE quarter of Section 35, T.37N, R.43W); then proceeding due south approximately 1000 feet to UTM Point E (located in the NE quarter of the NE quarter of Section 3, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding due west approximately 750 feet to the intersection with the Big Foot Trail Road or UTM Point F (located in the NW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 3, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding in a southerly direction along the west edge of the Big Foot Trail Road to its intersection with an unimproved dirt road or UTM Point G (located in the SE quarter of the NW quarter of Section 9, T.36N, R.43W); then proceeding in a northerly direction along the eastern edge of the unimproved dirt road, which follows a ridge line above the dry ravine to the east, to UTM Point H (located in the SW quarter of the NE quarter of Section 35, T.37n, R.43W); then proceeding due north approximately 900 feet to UTM Point A.

Boundary Justification

The Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark boundaries are defined on the basis of eyewitness descriptions of the area and maps drawn by observers. As would be expected, some sources are detailed while others provide a single item relative to the boundary issue. The map drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer of the Division of the Missouri, is one of the most detailed sources. Although Cloman was not at Wounded Knee on December 29, he accompanied the burial party on January 3-4, 1891. At this time Major Whitside pointed out the locations of the Seventh Cavalry Troops prior to the massacre[107]. During the

[107] War Department, U.S. Army, Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle of Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-1891. "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside,

investigations in early January concerning the events at Wounded Knee, officers who participated testified that the Cloman map was accurate[108]. Cloman's map is also helpful in that it provides the reference points necessary to clarify and support much of the information in the written reports and on the less professionally drawn maps. Some of the maps are extremely crude sketches, yet one of the more conspicuous aspects of the collection is consistency.

Like the maps, written descriptions range from general to specific accounts. Written accounts are quite specific when describing events which occurred in the immediate vicinity of the historic site. These accounts become increasingly vague, however, as the distance from the Army and Indian camps increases. No doubt adding to the ambiguous nature of some accounts was the fact that nearly all of the writers were unfamiliar with the area. By combining all available source material with exhaustive on-site inspections it is possible to accurately delimit those areas where the most significant events occurred.

The Landmark encompasses the area occupied from late afternoon on December 26, 1890, when Major Whitside's units of the Seventh Cavalry set up camp,[109] until the burial party left Wounded Knee on January 4, 1891, after interring the dead.[110] Most of the events took place near the NW 1/4 of Section 36, T.37N, R.43W, of the Landmark area in the vicinity of the Army and Indian camps (see attached Sketch Map A). The massacre started in this central area, but as the Indians retreated and were followed by Army units other locations outside the central area became significant to the event. The sites where other significant incidents occurred have been identified to the extent that it was possible to determine their locations.

The Landmark is bounded on the east by the east bank of Wounded Knee Creek. On the morning of December 29, the closest unit to the stream, Troop G, was positioned a short distance west of the creek.[111] There is no evidence that suggests that any events took place east of the Creek, thus it seems to have been a natural barrier in 1890 and is the logical east boundary of the Landmark.

The northeast corner of the Landmark is anchored by building sites. Major Whitside commandeered the home of Louis Mousseau for use by his officers. Mousseau's general store was nearby.[112] Newspaper reporters Charles Allen, William Kelley and William Cressey wrote the first accounts of the massacre in a "windowless cabin behind the store."[113] Wounded Indians found refuge in these buildings after the Army left Wounded Knee

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January 11, 1891," National Archives microfilm publication M983, Washington, D.C., 708; hereafter referred to as Reports and Correspondence.

[108] Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 668. Nicholson posted the Seventh Cavalry guards. Other witnesses agreed that the map was accurate.

[109] Ibid., "Testimony of Major Samuel M. Whitside," 822.

[110] Omaha Bee, January 4, 1891.

[111] Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 669.

[112] Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981), 228.

[113] Ibid., 228-229; Manuscript autobiography of Charles W. Allen, "In The West That Was: Memoirs, Sketches and Legends (1938)," MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Lincoln, 284.

late on the afternoon of December 29.[114] Cloman's map indicates four buildings at this location but only the Wounded Knee Post Office is labeled. A map drawn many years later by Charles Allen also shows four buildings. Three structures are labeled on Allen's map, including a store and the houses (presumably) of Plenty Bear and of Six Feathers.[115]

During an on-site survey of the area during the week of October 16, 1989, salt-glazed pottery shards and square nails which could date from the 1890s were found in this vicinity. Also in the area was a circular depression approximately 30 feet in diameter and two feet deep. The measurements are suggestive of the remains of a basement. When Mousseau recalled the massacre in 1906, he said that Army officers "put goods into his cellar."[116]

Near the northwest corner of the Landmark was a refuge for some of the civilians and Army officers during the fighting. They ran from the camp area to the northwest where they found a safe retreat behind the hill where the cannon were located.[117]

A section of the western boundary is defined by a barbed wire enclosure on the right flank of Troop E's initial position. Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson described the troop location as being "in a little depression of ground" which would be the low saddle between the hill where the Hotchkiss guns were placed and the one immediately to the west.[118] The Fast Horse Road was immediately west of Troop E and east of the barbed wire enclosure. The road served as an escape route for some of the Indian women during the fighting. Once past the corner of the enclosure, at approximately the west boundary of the Landmark, the escapees could fan out to the west and north. This group was not pursued by the Army and no record exists concerning their route beyond the fence.[119]

The southeast boundary is defined to include troop and Lakota movements that occurred early in the fighting. On the morning of the 29th parts of Troop C and Troop D were ordered to form a line south of the ravine. When the fighting started, shells began falling in their midst and the troops retreated. Lieutenant T.Q. Donaldson and the men of Troop C went behind a barbed wire fence and secured their horses in a shallow ravine to the south.[120] Vestiges of this ravine remain visible and are probably an old channel of Wounded Knee Creek. This position marks the southeast corner of the Landmark. Captain Edward S. Godfrey and his men of

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[114] Omaha Bee, January 2, 1891.

[115] Allen, "In The West That Was," 261; "Battlefield of Wounded Knee Reproduced from Sketch by Allen," Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-A15n. It is most probable that the store and the post office were in one building.

[116] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 229.

[117] Reports and Correspondence," Testimony of Lieutenant W.W. Robinson," 694. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant W.J. Nicholson," 670.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant Sedgwick Rice," 680. He mentions the fence on the Cloman map.

[120] Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant T.Q. Donaldson," 696.

Troop D retreated to the southwest behind a ridge.[121] This position is inside the southwest corner of the Landmark. These positions are the southeastern limit of the troop movements. Later, Troops C and D would again move north.

The western boundary of the landmark has been drawn to include all major branches of the dry ravine, noted by both military and Lakota eyewitnesses as the major escape route for Big Foot's followers. Captain Henry Jackson's command fought with and captured many of the Indians who attempted to flee at "the head of the ravine." A second group of Indians who had ridden out from Pine Ridge arrived from the west about this time. Jackson encountered some of them but fearing an attack by these reinforcements retreated down the ravine, thus ending the engagement. Unfortunately, descriptions of the events are extremely vague. Jackson merely said he captured Big Foot's people at "the head of the ravine."[122] Other accounts refer to the upper reaches of the ravine in the plural indicating that it had several branches.[123]

In October 1989, the survey team examined this ravine and discovered several major branches that Jackson could have followed and appropriately labeled as the ravine's head.[124] As a consequence, all of the main branches of the dry ravine which could have served as an escape route have been included within the boundary of the Landmark. Future archaeological studies may shed more light upon the exact branches of the ravine used by Chief Big Foot's followers.

The location of a significant event which occurred outside the Landmark could not be located. After the Indians began to retreat, Captain Godfrey, with personnel from Troop D, went up the ravine (see Sketch Map A) and continued westward over a ridge top and then across a creek. Godfrey then went down the creek "some distance" where Indians were discovered hiding in brush. Fearing an attack, the soldiers fired on the partially hidden Indians killing a woman, two children, and an adolescent male. Godfrey then returned by another route, which is also not clearly described, until he saw Captain Jackson at the head of the ravine and turned to join him.[125] Joseph Horn Cloud saw cavalrymen on Fast Horse Creek which may have been Godfrey; if it was, no clues are given to suggest where the sighting occurred along the length of the stream.[126] On January 31, Captain Baldwin found the bodies left by Godfrey on a creek described as eleven miles east of Pine Ridge and three

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[121] Ibid., "Testimony of Captain Edwin S. Godfrey," 676. Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant S.R.H. Tompkins," 697.

[122] Ibid., "Testimony of Captain Henry Jackson," 687-689.

[123] Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews," 175. Major L.S. McCormick, "Wounded Knee and the Drexel Mission Fight," By Valor and Arms: The Journal of American Military History, 1:2 (January 1975): 11. John M. Carroll, editor, A Seventh Cavalry Scrap Book, "Letter from Brigader General E.A. Garlington (Ret.) to Chief, Historical Section, Army War College, Washington, D.C., April 4, 1931," (Bryan, Texas: privately published, n.d.), 4.

[124] The 7.5 minute United States Geological Survey topographical map, Wounded Knee, South Dakota, depicts a system of ravines that appear on paper to be much less complex than those present to the west of the nomination boundary.

[125] Reports and Correspondence, "Testimony of Captain Edward S. Godfrey," 676-677. Godfrey does not name the creek nor does he give the distance from Wounded Knee.

[126] Danker, "Wounded Knee Interviews," 175.

west of Wounded Knee. These distances do place Baldwin on Fast Horse Creek, but he refers to it as White Horse Creek which further complicates the matter.[127] With the evidence presently available it is impossible to determine the location of this event.

Another, less significant, incident which cannot be precisely located occurred outside of the Landmark boundaries. Captain Taylor with some of his Indian Scouts was ordered by Colonel Forsyth to search for a group of escapees in a northwesterly direction from the hill where the Hotchkiss guns were placed. Taylor went about one mile where he found part of the horse herd belonging to Big Foot's people. He left a guard and continued on one to one-and-one-half miles until he joined Captain Jackson at the ravine and then returned to Forsyth's position. Except for the starting and ending points there is insufficient documentation to trace Taylor's route.[128]

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[127] Frank D. Baldwin Collection, Diary of Frank D. Baldwin, January 20, 1891, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Reports and Correspondence, "Baldwin to the Assistant Adjutant General, January 21, 1891," 732.

[128] Ibid., "Testimony of Lieutenant Charles W. Taylor," 681-683.

Sketch Maps

Sketch Map A

Camps, troop positions, and other features at Wounded Knee, as they appeared on the morning of December 29, 1890, were mapped on January 3-4, 1891, by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer, Division of the Missouri. These locations are plotted here as nearly as possible on a 1967 United State Geological Service 7.5 minute map, Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

Locations of the contributing site, important features, the contributing object, and of noncontributing buildings and sites are also shown.

Sketch Map B

"The Breaking Up Of the Great Sioux Reservation," as found in Rex Alan Smith, Moon of Popping Trees (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

Sketch Map C

"Sioux Ghost Dance Disturbance," as found in Rex Alan Smith, Moon of Popping Trees (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).

Historic Maps

Cloman Map (A)

"Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band," drawn by Lieutenant Sidney A. Cloman, Acting Engineer Officer, Division of the Missouri, from information provided by Major Samuel M. Whitside on January 3-4, 1891, Report of the Secretary of War, First Session of the Fifty-second Congress, Vol. 1 (1892), 154.

Cloman Map (B)

"Scene of the Fight with Big Foot's Band". U.S. War Department. U.S. Army. Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91. National Archives microfilm publication, M983, Washington, 769. Note location of the "Pocket".

Forsyth Map

"Map Furnished by Col. Forsythe (sic) 7th Cav of action of 29 December 1890," Reports and Correspondence, 819.

Mooney Map

"Wounded Knee Battlefield" published in U.S. Department of Interior. Bureau of Ethnology. Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1892-93, Part 2. "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," by James Mooney. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), plate 97.

Allen Map

"Battlefield of 'Wounded Knee' December 29, 1890," from a sketch by Charles W. Allen, newspaper reporter, eyewitness, Nebraska State Historical Society Library, M78357-Al5n.

Horn Cloud Map

Sketch of the battle site by Joseph Horn Cloud, Minneconjou eyewitness, drawn about 1904, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS8.

Wells Map

Sketch of the battle site by Philip F. Wells, Army interpreter, eyewitness, drawn about 1904, Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker", Nebraska History, 62:2 (Summer 1981): 206.

Key to Photographs

Wounded Knee National Historic Landmark
Vicinity of Wounded Knee, Shannon County, South Dakota
Photographer, Richard E. Jensen, unless otherwise noted
October 17-19, 1989 (These photographs still reflect the appearance of the site in 2000)
Negatives located at the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Photograph 1 — From the highway to Porcupine looking northeast about 0.7 miles to the Wounded Knee Landmark. The Church on the burial hill can be seen immediately to the right of the highway and just beyond where the road disappears into Wounded Knee Creek Valley.

Photograph 1a — From the southwestern boundary of the landmark, at the head of the ravine, looking northeast to Wounded Knee Creek. The Church on the burial hill can be seen at the far left center of the photograph. The head of the ravine can be seen in the lower right hand corner of the print. (Photographer: Dave Hesker, National Park Service, June 17, 1991)

Photograph 2 — Looking west from the top south edge of the burial hill. Photographs 2-10 were taken at this location. The Hotchkiss cannons were placed approximately in this location. The mass grave of fatalities interred on January 3-4, 1891, and the monument erected in 1903 are located on this hill northwest of the camera location. Also located on this hilltop is the Catholic Church and cemetery.

Photograph 3 — Looking southwest from the burial hill. The ravine that was the escape route for many of the Indian survivors can be seen at the extreme left. Near the center of the photograph and to the right of the two vehicles, the ravine exits the Landmark boundary and begins to fan out into a maze of channels.

Photograph 4 — Looking south from the burial hill. The west end of the Indian camp was located approximately between the trail in the foreground and the highway at mid-distance.

Photograph 5 — Looking south-southeast from the burial hill. The Indian camp was between the highway and the base of the burial hill.

Photograph 6 — Looking south-southeast from the burial hill. The initial position of Troop K was near the extreme left and across the highway.

Photograph 7 — Looking southeast from the burial hill. The council circle was approximately at mid-distance just left of the sign.

Photograph 8 — Looking east-southeast from the burial hill. The cavalry camp was located approximately at center at the base of the hill. The concrete block Visitors Center is at left.

Photograph 9 — Looking northeast from the burial hill.

Photograph 10 Looking north-northeast from the burial hill. Steps of razed church (Sketch Map A, 18) at right. The frame building at center is Sketch Map A, 5. The white building at the left center distance is beyond the Landmark boundary.

Photograph 11 Looking southeast, remains of razed church (Sketch Map A, 18) on south edge of the burial hill.

Photograph 12 Looking north-northwest, entrance to Catholic Cemetery (Sketch Map A, 16) with the Wounded Knee Monument at left center.

Photograph 13 Mass grave (Sketch Map A, 1) of massacre fatalities bordered by concrete walk passing at the foot of the monument. Catholic Church at left. Similar to Photograph 41 taken at the dedication of the monument.

Photograph 14 Looking west, Wounded Knee Monument (contributing object, Sketch Map A, 3) and the Catholic Cemetery.

Photograph 15 Looking north, Wounded Knee Monument.

Photograph 16 Looking northwest, Catholic Church (Sketch Map A, 4) on burial hill.

Photograph 17 Looking north from the east edge of the burial hill to noncontributing building (Sketch Map A, 5).

Photograph 18 Looking east, Visitors Center (Sketch Map A, 6) on east side of the burial hill. Small white frame building at far left is just beyond the northeast corner of the Landmark boundary.

Photograph 19 Looking west-northwest across the highway to Porcupine. Catholic Church at center horizon and Visitors Center at right.

Photograph 20 Looking northwest, concrete foundation and rubble of metal building (Sketch Map A, 27).

Photograph 21 Looking southeast across the ravine toward the Church of God at center (Sketch Map A, 8) and cemetery at left (Sketch Map A, 17).

Photograph 22 Looking south toward an old channel of Wounded Knee Creek (mid-distance center) where Lieutenant Donalson and his men of Troop C took shelter when the fighting broke out.

Photograph 23 Looking north, concrete foundations and rubble of noncontributing site 19 and, at right, 20 (Sketch Map A).

Photograph 24 Looking north across the ravine. Visitors Center just left of center.

Photograph 25 Looking northwest from the ravine to the general vicinity of the "Pocket" on Cloman's map.

Photograph 26 Looking north across the ravine. Small white building at right is noncontributing building (Sketch Map A, 15).

Photograph 27 Looking northwest to where ravine begins to divide near the west edge of the Landmark.

Photograph 28 Looking east, shallow depression (Sketch Map A, 2) probably a result of the basement in Mousseau's house.

Photograph 29 Looking west, at the depression probably created by Mousseau's house. Catholic Church on left center horizon.

Photograph 30 Looking southwest, at the depression probably created by Mousseau's house. Catholic Church on right center horizon.

Photograph 31 Looking north-northeast across the highway to Porcupine. Burial hill at left horizon. Approximately the same view as the historic photograph 35, of the west edge of the Indian camp.

Photograph 32 Looking northeast down the highway to Porcupine. Approximately the same as the historic photograph 37, of Lieutenant Cloman on horseback.

Photograph 33 Looking south-southeast from the south slope of the burial hill. Similar to the historic photograph 34, with the second photographer at left center.

Historic Photographs*

Photograph 34 View to southeast. This scene from the burial hill shows the burial party in the Indian camp loading bodies into a wagon. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-119-19B.

Photograph 35 View to northwest. The west end of the Indian camp (center) reached to the bottom of the burial hill (left). Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-1022.

Photograph 36 View to the northwest. From the Indian camp women and children fled to the northwest past the fence shown in the background. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-64.

Photograph 37 View to the northeast. Lieutenant S.A. Cloman examines the council circle. The post office is at the extreme left. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-119.

Photograph 38 View to the northeast. The post office at Wounded Knee. Photographer, C.G. Mortledge; January 1891; Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, F-8843.

Photograph 39 View to the northwest. There were many fatalities in the ravine west of the Indian camp. This may be the "Pocket" located on Cloman Map B. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-46.

Photograph 40 View to the northwest. The mass grave on the burial hill. Photographer, George Trager; January 3 or 4, 1891; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W-938-47.

Photograph 41 View to north. Indian survivors erected a monument by the mass grave. On May 28, 1903 the monument was dedicated and offerings to the deceased placed around the grave. Photographer, J.A. Miller (Chadron, Nebraska); May 30,1903; Nebraska State Historical Society, negative W938-51.

*Many dates shown on the historic photographs show only copyright dates, which do not reflect the actual date the photograph was taken.