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Oníya Ošóka: The Interpretation of Oglála Lakǵóta
Continuing and Historical Relational Connections
at Wind Cave National Park

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in American Indian Studies

by

Sina Rose Bear Eagle

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Oníya Ošóka: The Interpretation of Oglála Lakhóta
Continuing and Historical Relational Connections
at Wind Cave National Park

by

Sina Rose Bear Eagle

Master of Arts in American Indian Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Teresa L. McCarty, Co-Chair

Professor Paul V. Kroskrity, Co-Chair

Within the National Park Service, interpretation is utilized to create emotional connections between the visitor and the site, to convey to the public the value of National Park resources, and to impart a need for their protection. This research project seeks to explore this topic by analyzing the ways in which Oglála Lakhóta continuing and historical relational connections are represented through interpretation at Wind Cave National Park, a site chosen for its status as a site of relational significance and associations with Lakhóta oral history, its location within the contested Black Hills area of South Dakota, and its proximity to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Employees from Wind Cave National Park and the Oglala Sioux Tribe were interviewed for this study, which combines both storytelling and analytical emphases.

The thesis of Sina Rose Bear Eagle is approved.

Ananda Maria Marin

Teresa L. McCarty, Committee Chair

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University of California, Los Angeles

2018

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Abstract.....	ii
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Prologue.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Interpretation.....	4
Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow.....	8
Terminology.....	11
The Wakǵán and Sites of Relational Significance.....	13
X-Marks.....	15
Organization of Thesis.....	18
Chapter 2: Background.....	20
Wagmúnka Ógnaka Iǵhánǵe – The Heart of Everything That Is.....	20
Maká Oníye – Breathing Earth.....	23
The Dispossession of Pahá Sápa.....	24
Names and Agency Myths.....	27
Wind Cave National Park.....	29
Policy and Consultation.....	31
Chapter 3: Methods.....	35
History and Outsider Literature.....	35

Researcher Positionality.....	37
Interviews.....	45
Summary of Methods.....	53
Chapter 4: Findings.....	54
A Winter Camp.....	54
The Visitors Center.....	55
American Indians in the Parks.....	61
The Tribal Historic Preservation Office.....	64
Oglala Lakota College.....	66
Research Questions.....	68
Research Question #1: How are Oglála Lakǰóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?..	68
Research Question #2: What are the needs of the Oglála Lakǰóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park?	75
Research Question #3: What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakǰóta Nation.....	93
Summary.....	99
Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations.....	100
Findings.....	100
Recommendations.....	103
Epilogue.....	111
References.....	116

List of Figures

Figure 1. Wind Cave National Park’s Visitor Center Sign.	11
Figure 2. Sacred Sites recognized by the National Park Service in and Around the Black Hills.....	22
Figure 3. Oglála Lakǎóta Ranger Sina Bear Eagle releases a Black-Footed Ferret into a den.....	43
Figure 4. Bison on the road near the Wind Cave NP’s entrance.....	56
Figure 5. Trail shelter view of the Wind Cave NP Visitors Center.....	57
Figure 6. National Park Service emblem representing vegetation, wildlife, scenic and recreational values, and historical and archeological values.....	63
Figure 7. Sign outside Oglala Sioux Tribe Natural Resources Department.....	65
Figure 8. Winter Count Exhibit portraying the Lakǎóta Emergence Oral History.....	71
Figure 9. Long-Range Interpretive Plan cover.....	82
Figure 10. Sign next to the Cave’s Natural Entrance worded by the affiliated Native nations.....	85
Figure 11. Breathing Earth Interpretive Panel.....	92
Figure 12. Early Exploration Interpretive Panel.....	93
Figure 13. Honoring the Spirit event at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.....	113
Figure 14. Honoring the Spirit event poster.....	117

List of Tables

Table 1. Freeman Tilden’s Six Principles of Interpretation.....	5
Table 2. Oglala Sioux Tribe Employee Question List.....	47
Table 3. National Park Service Employee Question List.....	48
Table 4. Interpretive Exhibit Question.....	49
Table 5. Background Questions.....	51
Table 6. Research Question 1 and Associated Question Sets.....	51
Table 7. Research Question 2 and Associated Question Sets.....	52
Table 8. Research Question 3 and Associated Question Sets.....	53

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Prologue

It was December 2013 when I saw a high school friend's social media post, something along the lines of, "Wind Cave National Park is hiring. Someone should apply because we need more Lakḥóta people working there." I wholeheartedly agreed and set about submitting the application immediately. Several months went by before I thought about the application again. Wind Cave National Park was well over an hour away from my then home near Porcupine, South Dakota, and not on any route I frequented. In the meantime, I'd taken a job with The Heritage Center at Red Cloud Indian School on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, which gave me the opportunity to work surrounded by art, but also meant I spent a lot of my work day answering tourist questions about the meaning of colors. I think it takes a certain type of patience to dig through a dozen sets of porcupine quill earrings to find a pair in the Four Directions colors (red, black, white, yellow) because a patron insists they only want "traditional colors." Authenticity for non-Lakḥóta people usually meant pre-Rit dye tones. The Lakḥóta employees of The Heritage Center usually just matched their own earring colors to their outfits. The store manager was personally fond of lime green and violet.

I received the call while I was at work. There was almost no cell reception in The Heritage Center, so I took a 15-minute break to climb a nearby hill. The Assistant Chief of Interpretation at that time was Ted Firkins, who was both friendly and eager to offer me an Intermittent Park Guide position, which was not a job guarantee but a "maybe" if some of their hires didn't work out. I told him I would be willing, but I'd need two weeks to end my current employment. I left the conversation excited, but not truly thinking it would amount to anything. It turned out I was spectacularly wrong.

Like many people I knew, I'd driven through Wind Cave National Park on visits through the Black Hills. The bison were numerous, and it was no small thrill to pull over one's car to watch the giants meander across the road. To see them was both powerful and terrifying, like watching a thunderstorm and wondering if lightning would strike. It didn't often occur to me to stop into the Visitors Center and actually go inside the cave. I'd done it just twice before—once as an adult on a small tour of about half a dozen (a child peed in the Cave during that trip, to which the guide said, "That's okay. It happens sometimes,") and before that as a child on a school trip. I only remember glimpses of that first trip. There was a moment standing on steep, grassy hill with a ranger as he talked about ecology, and I remember thinking this was the most beautiful place I'd ever been. The other was the descent into the Cave, and the combination of terror and awe I felt in my chest. I remembered my parents saying that you could feel the power of the Cave and thinking this must be what they meant. This is what wak'hánj felt like. In both memories, I plucked hair from my head and left it behind—in the grass and in the Cave. I'd been taught for as long as I could remember to protect my hair, because my spirit was connected to it. I didn't know what the ramifications of this act could mean. I just knew I wanted to ensure I would one day return to Wind Cave.

It was only a month after the original contact that I received another call from Ted Firkins. A seasonal position as an Interpretative Guide had opened up, and he asked me to fill it. I told him "yes," but that I couldn't do it until after my family's Sundance ceremony which took place in late June. He agreed and set my start date in July.

When I hung up from the call that day, I knew I was about to engage in an experience different from any I'd known, but at the time there was no fathoming the decision's impact on my personal being or my life's direction. When I accepted the position, I accepted kinship

obligations with the Cave and the responsibilities that came with the relationship. These are commitments I have taken on willingly and added to existing kinship obligations to my people, the Oglála Lakǰóta. The thesis I have written is an extension of those commitments and an acknowledgement of relationships that have always existed and continue to do so.

Chapter I: Introduction

INTRODUCTION

In the southwestern corner of South Dakota, a misty slate-colored island mountain seems to rise out of a sea of prairie grass. The Lakḥóta call this place Wagmúnka Ógnaka Ičhán̄te—the heart of the hunt, or the heart of everything that is.¹ The name more commonly known to today's residents is Pahá Sápa, or Black Hills. Since time immemorial, American Indigenous peoples have used the Black Hills as a home, hunting and foraging grounds, a trading post, and as a site of relational significance.² In 1903, the U.S. Federal government established Wind Cave National Park (NP) in the southern hills to protect³ the Cave of the same name, as well as its surrounding landscape. While these new occupants to the area placed its primary value on the complexity, length, and unique boxwork formations of the Cave, it had long been significant to many Native nations, notably the Lakḥóta as the setting of their Emergence oral history. Though Wind Cave NP is far from the only National Park to occupy a site of relational significance, it is the only known NP whose namesake and key feature is also the site of a creation oral history.

In the United States, National Parks occupy an eminent place within the American psyche. For Americans, National Parks are more than just conservation areas set aside to preserve natural and cultural features. National Parks tell the story of the United States and showcase the “best” of American idealism. They are seen as landscapes without people that

¹ Mark David Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds: Historic Resource Study of Wind Cave National Park* (Omaha: US Department of the Interior, 2011), 17.

² “site of relational significance” is used in place of “sacred site,” a choice that will be explained later in the text.

³ “Protect” by the agency’s definition of the term, which may differ from or coincide with an American Indigenous definition.

“speak to eternity, not to current events.”⁴ To their backcountry visitors, NPs present an untouched reality—a secret retreat into solitude and wild whose value can only be recognized by those positioning themselves outside of modern Western society. Within its National Parks, the United States places its own identity, culture, and even develops myths about the nation’s origin stories. They are places where politics and spirituality collide. They are also largely conceived of as White American spaces, reflected in their visitation demographics (as of 2008, white non-Hispanic people made up 78% of NPS visitors).⁵

Historic and current relationships between National Parks and Indigenous peoples have often been contentious, the former usually birthed through direct dispossession of the land from the latter. National Park status alters the ways in which its Indigenous stewards can legally interact with the land, creating situations where relationships with the land that have endured for millennia presently require permissions from the National Park Service (NPS), an agency barely a century old. For every “crown jewel” in the National Park Service system, there are accompanying Native nations with continuing and historical relationships to the land. For every mythos of a park’s founding in the late nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries there are oral histories passed down by members of these nations from time immemorial. Every square inch of land now administered by the NPS is a square inch of land taken from a Native nation. In the National Park Service’s efforts at stewardship, it has at times exiled the original stewards of

⁴ Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 236.

⁵ “Racial and Ethnic Diversity of National Park System Visitors and Non-visitors.” *National Park Service*. https://www.nature.nps.gov/socialscience/docs/CompSurvey2008_2009RaceEthnicity.pdf (accessed May 20, 2018).

the land. Conversely, there are also instances where the original stewards have worked in conjunction with the National Park Service and other Federal land agencies.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the ways in which the Oglála Lakḥóta, one of the 21 Native nations affiliated with Wind Cave National Park, are represented at the site through interpretation, to determine the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation's needs regarding interpretation, and to investigate the challenges the National Park Service faces in representing Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections (CHRC) to the site. Within this text "continuing and historical relational connections" or CHRC, refers to the relationships which occur between the Oglála Lakḥóta, or other Indigenous peoples, and another party. "Historical" acknowledges those relational occurrences that have taken place in the past. "Continuing" refers to those relational occurrences in the present and with the potential to occur in the future. I approached this study with three guiding research questions: 1. "How are Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?" 2. "What are the needs of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park?" and 3. "What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation?" In the Methods section, I detail how I organized my interview data to address these questions.

In 1872, the first National Park was established at Yellowstone National Park. This time period coincided with increasing Federal efforts to restrict Native peoples to reservations, a policy carried out under the direction of the Department of Interior, the agency responsible for managing both Public Lands and American Indian policy.⁶ Since this beginning, the United

⁶ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

States Federal government's policies towards both the National Park Service and Native nations have continually shifted in ways that have reflected national attitudes towards ideas of conservation and Native peoples.⁷ At a site like Wind Cave National Park, which lies within the contested land base of the Black Hills, and whose relational significance has earned it a Federally-recognized "Sacred Site" status, these attitudes and relationships are particularly meaningful. For these reasons, amongst others, Wind Cave NP is a site of profound importance.

INTERPRETATION

Much of the National Park Service's modern approach to interpretation stems from the six principles defined by Freeman Tilden's 1957 work entitled, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, a publication developed specifically for use by the agency.⁸ Tilden was a mid-20th century author, who in the 1940s switched from writing narrative fiction to informational texts on National Parks. His work is widely considered foundational by interpreters for the National Park Service, and Tilden himself eventually served as consultant for no less than four NPS directors. On their "Best Idea People" webpage, the NPS writes: "All of us have heroes — people who, through their words or actions, have enriched our lives; people whom we strive to emulate. To countless National Park Service interpreters, Freeman was such a person."⁹ Tilden's impact on the field of interpretation is irrefutable.

⁷ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*, 7-8.

⁸ Beck, Larry and Ted T. Cable. *The Gifts of Interpretation: Fifteen Guiding Principles for Interpreting Nature and Culture*. Sagamore Publishing. Urbana: 2001. Xx

⁹ "The First 75 Years." *National Park Service*.
http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/sontag/tilden.htm. (accessed May 14, 2018).

Tilden describes interpretation as, “an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, firsthand experience, and illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.”¹⁰ His six principles, shown in Table 1, intend to guide the interpreter in crafting an educational program that elicits an emotional connection from the visitor, encouraging them to take a personal stake in the information at hand. Tilden further states that, “... the purpose of Interpretation is to stimulate the reader or hearer toward a desire to widen his horizon of interests and knowledge, and to gain an understanding of the greater truths that lie behind any statements of fact...to search out meanings for himself.”¹¹ The job of the interpreter is therefore not simply to communicate information but inspire the visitors to search out personal meanings.

Table 1. Freeman Tilden’s Six Principles of Interpretation. ¹²

Freeman Tilden’s Six Principles of Interpretation
1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile. 2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information. 3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.

¹⁰ Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 3rd ed. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 8.

¹¹ Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 32-36.

¹² Beck, *Gifts of Interpretation*, xxii-xxiii.

4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.
5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
6. Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of 12) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.

Freeman Tilden particularly advocated physical participation within interpretation, a method designed to allow visitors opportunity to engage in the type of distinctive physical movements which might have occurred/continue to occur at the sites.¹³ While this is an effective method in forging emotional connections with a topic, it unfortunately lacks considerations of cultural appropriateness, particularly at sites where American Indian connections are an interpretive focus. Pipestone National Monument, for instance, is a site of relational significance where catlinite or “pipestone” for millennia has been and continues to be obtained by northern plains nations for the crafting of pipe bowls.¹⁴ Amongst Tilden’s examples of participatory interpretation, he proposed, “... it would be possible to obtain a pipe of the identical catlinite from which for centuries the Indians made their calumets. The pipe could be filled with the ‘kinnikinnick’ or inner bark of the dogwood that still grows abundantly, thus affording anyone, with the curiosity to do it, the identical material for true participation.”¹⁵ What Tilden fails to recognize is that desire to participate in a relationally significant act by “anyone, with the curiosity to do it” is not itself a qualification to participate in the act. To do so would have been

¹³ Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 126-128.

¹⁴ “Pipestone: The Rock.” *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/pipestone/rock.htm> (accessed May 08, 2018).

¹⁵ Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 129.

highly inappropriate, the least of its problematic nature being in the appropriation (theft) of culture without first consulting Native nations, and the reduction of a relationally significant act to movement with meaning. That this suggestion is present in a foundational document for designing NPS interpretive programs speaks to a core issue in interpretative practices, and begs the question “For whom is interpretation?”

Vital in a discussion of interpretive programming at these sites is deliberation of the relationship between National Park and national identity, a subject which has been written on by historian Mark David Spence. Spence refers to National Parks as, “America’s holiest shrines.”¹⁶ He asserts that national parks “reflect a whole spectrum of ideas about nation, culture, and even natural origins,”¹⁷ and that they “serve as a microcosm for the history of conflict and misunderstanding that has long characterized the relations between the United States and native peoples.”¹⁸ Anthropologist Peter Nabokov argues that Yellowstone National Park, the nation’s first National Park, is “a mirror for self-reflection on how the nation keeps reconstituting its cultural roots and public image.”¹⁹ He argues that national parks constitute “Key Symbols,” defined by anthropologist Sherry Ortner as “‘key’ to the system insofar as it extensively and systematically formulates relationships—parallels, isomorphisms, complementarities, and so forth—between a wide range of diverse cultural elements.”²⁰ Ortner further defines these symbols as summarizing, which are “primarily objects of attention and cultural respect; they

¹⁶ Spence, *Dispossessing Wilderness*, 7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 7

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁹ Nabokov, Peter and Lawrence Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

synthesize or ‘collapse’ complex experience, and relate the respondent to the grounds of the system as a whole.”²¹ As a Federal agency, the National Park Service is charged with interpreting the historical value and stories of National Parks, which these authors characterize as key symbols of national identity. National Parks are therefore spaces where the United States imagines and creates its own identity and history.

The mimicry suggested by Tilden, or act of “playing Indian,” is particularly intriguing as a suggestion within an NPS-use document when one considers the National Park’s role as an approximate for national identity. As Philip J. Deloria argues in his work on the subject, “The indeterminacy of American identities stems, in part, from the nation’s inability to deal with Indian people. Americans wanted to feel a natural affinity with the continent, and it was Indians who could teach them such aboriginal closeness. Yet, in order to control the landscape they had to destroy the original inhabitants.”²²

Settler colonialism takes not only the land of the Indigenous inhabitants; it demands the very identity of Native peoples. When past histories could not be erased, they were appropriated towards the emerging national identity of the colonizer. In one pivotal example of this play at Indianness, colonists donned Native dress in a revolutionary display known as the Boston Tea Party. In wearing the dress of the Indigenous peoples to the Americas in this act of rebellion, they separated themselves from Britain and created the foundations of American identity. “As England became a them for colonists, Indians became an us.”²³ The linkage between American identity and Native identity, and the ways in which these connections play out in a National Park

²¹ Ortner, Sherry. “On Key Symbols.” *American Anthropologist* 75 (1973): 1338-1346.

²² Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 5.

²³ *Ibid*, 22.

space—as spaces of relational significance, symbolic spaces, constructions of “American wilderness,” conservation spaces, interpretive spaces—is a profound subject of discussion.

YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

In 1980, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Act of 1877 violated Article 12 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, and that the Black Hills had been illegally dispossessed from the Lakḥóta Nation. Over \$100 million was allocated in compensation for the loss and placed into a trust account for the Lakḥóta Nation. The Lakḥóta never collected the money.²⁴

To this day, the Lakḥóta Nation is waiting for the return of the Black Hills Federally-managed land, which encompasses 1.3 million acres, including Wind Cave National Park. While employees of the National Park Service at Wind Cave don’t explicitly deny the reality that the park exists on contested land, efforts to return the land to date haven’t come from within the National Park Service. Since 2014, the park has employed one Lakḥóta ranger seasonally²⁵, but no employees of any Native descent work in the park year-round. The park has recently increased attempts to include Native perspectives in its history, but these changes are slow, bogged down by bureaucracy and hesitancy to do the “wrong” thing. Unfortunately, this avoidance of the topic has also meant avoidance of millennia of history. Two years ago, the first consultation meeting in several years took place between the Oglala Sioux Tribe and Wind Cave

²⁴ “Why the Sioux Are Refusing \$1.3 Billion.” PBS News Hour. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/north_america-july-dec11-blackhills_08-23 (accessed November 3, 2017.)

²⁵ This is me.

National Park. It's possible the first ever official meeting between the government entities took place in 2003.²⁶

Sites like Wind Cave National Park tell a history perhaps even broader than those memories carried by this land in particular. In addition to its own stories, it tells the stories of colonialism, of policy aimed at systematic land dispossession, and disregard of previously existing connections in favor of newer, non-reciprocal uses of the land. It tells the story of an agency once described by writer Walter Stegner as "the best idea we ever had...they reflect us at our best rather than our worst."²⁷ This agency also happens to function as a microcosm of the history of dispossession carried out against the Indigenous peoples of the United States. It tells of the peoples who maintain relationships with these lands and continue to keep alive the histories that were, in the past and many times presently, overlooked by an agency dedicated to telling the stories of these places. In short, it is the history of American Indian relationships with the land, severed and not severed by U.S. settler colonialism. It is unique story and a common one.

²⁶ Farrell, Tom. Interview with Tom Farrell. Personal interview. Wind Cave National Park, March 19, 2018.

²⁷ "America's Best Idea." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/americasbestidea/> (accessed March 28, 2018).



Figure 1. Wind Cave National Park's Visitor Center Sign

Wind Cave National Park lies upon a land characterized by significant events and relationality. It is part of a borderland and a convergence point in a vast network of relations, from human to human, human to other-than-human, and other-than-human to other-than-human. Human relationships to this land are as old as the first people to walk it, and the recounting of these occurrences has never ceased. Though stewardship has changed, and legal definitions of these interactions have skewed them to reflect only a specific and narrow worldview, this relation was never lost. Many Native nations maintain connections to the land in spite of histories of systematic dispossession and severing of rights to its usage. The Lakḥóta have never stopped fighting to be rejoined with the land by legal definition, though they have arguably never truly been separated from it. Sites of relational significance transcend the temporariness of these

structures, for these relationships are not defined by paper titles. After all, these are lands that birthed nations—they are a mother to its peoples. They are the heart of everything that is.

TERMINOLOGY

Within this text, I made a conscientious decision not to italicize Lakhóta words. The topics discussed in this text deal directly with Lakhóta homelands, and because this language is neither new nor foreign to these places it will not be given treatment implying as much. For this reason, only English translations will be italicized, as it is the newer language to the land. This choice follows the example set by Noenoe K. Silva in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*.²⁸

I will also switch between Lakhóta and English terminologies depending on to which relationship I am referring. The Lakhóta term Pahá Sápa will be utilized when discussing Lakhóta relationships with the site, but I will refer to the site as Black Hills when including relationships between it and other Native nations or entities. This is to avoid tacit implication that because this essay centers on the Lakhóta relationship to the site it is therefore either the only relationship or the only significant one. Place names carry both memories and markers of identity. To favor a colonial name means to favor the history that name carries. To this I refer to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s words on colonial place names and memory in *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance*.²⁹

The African landscape is blanketed with European memory of place ... But all these places had names before—names that pointed to other memories, older memories. To the Luo people of Kenya, Lake East Africa was known as

²⁸ Silva, Noenoe K., *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004)

²⁹ Thiong’o, Ngũgĩ wa., *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance* (New York: Basic, 2009)

Namlolwe. A European memory becomes the new marker of geographical identity, covering up an older memory or, more strictly speaking, burying the native memory of place. Now and then, as in the case of New Zealand and even American, one can see the older and newer memories in contention with place names; but generally after the planting of European memory, the identity of place becomes that of Europe.³⁰

In her work, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West*, Rebecca Solnit refers to the act of renaming as an “Adamic Act.”³¹ Erasing the name of a land, and thus making it “new,” she argues is a means of coping with dislocation. Naming a place turns colonizers into original inhabitants, and invaders into “discoverers”. New land comes without burden or history. In order to combat this continued erasure of Lakǵóta history, whenever possible I will refer to the Lakǵóta memory of the land using the name Pahá Sápa. I also acknowledge this is not the only memory of the land and is simply the memory I’ve chosen to write about here. There are several dozen Federally-recognized Native nations with names for this site, and countless more unrecognized, so the use of the terminology “Black Hills” is a compromise made out of feasibility.

Finally, for most of the text I will use the term “Oglála Lakǵóta Nation” (OLN) when referring to the collective of Oglála Lakǵóta people in order to acknowledge their status as a nation, which has existed and continues to exist regardless of its recognition by the United States Federal government. The term “tribe” alone is undesirable as it implies neither the size nor collective power of a nation, so it has been substituted with the word “Native” when possible, or otherwise paired with the term nation as “tribal nation.” I also avoid the term “Sioux” when possible, as it is a colonial imposition that erases the identity we have created for ourselves and

³⁰ Thiong’o, *Something Torn and New*, 8-9

³¹ Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 311.

stamps over it with a garbled mishearing of an enemy nation's language.³² I do use the term when referring to the Oglala Sioux Tribe (OST) as a governmental entity crafted and imposed by the Indian Reorganizational Act.

THE WAKHÁŃ AND SITES OF RELATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

The Lakhóta term “WakháŃ Thánka” has been translated as “God,” or commonly, “Great Spirit.” However, the wakháŃ in WakháŃ Thánka is not, as implied by term “Great Spirit,” an equivalent of “spirit” (the term for this “naǵi”) nor does it precisely translate to “sacred.” While “thánka” acceptably translates to denote enormity or significance, the term “wakháŃ” merits more discussion. Two parts make up the term wakháŃ: “wa-,” is a prefix that can be utilized in variety of ways. In the creation of nouns, wa- is the marker that indicates the noun status. For example, when wa- is applied before the noun referring to the earth, mákha, and the verb referring to movement, škaŋ, it creates the term wamákhaškaŋ, referring to something that moves on the earth, or in short “animal.” Wa- is also used in the formation of agent nouns, for example when applied to yátke s’a (“drinks habitually”), it becomes wayátke s’a, meaning an alcoholic. “Wa-“ can additionally used to approximate the following word. For instance, when applied to henákeča (“it is enough”), the word wahrenákeča is translated to “it is about enough.” The other part of the word, “kháŃ,” is a noun which translates to “vein” or “artery.” So wakháŃ might literally translate as Vein (capitalized to denote significance), a Vein, or approximately a vein.

Unlike “sacred,” which carries with it connotations of reverence, wakháŃ is not an opposing concept to that of the “profane.” As a term free of moral alignments, wakháŃ can in

³² “Pipestone: The Rock.” *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/pipestone/rock.htm> (accessed May 08, 2018).

fact at times encompass the profane. The defining characteristic of wakǵáŋ is that it is an incomprehensible power. The power to create beings, both human and non-human, is considered wakǵáŋ, as well as the power to destroy. Spaces that engage intensely with the wakǵáŋ (called “sacred sites” by that National Park Service) are liminal spaces where intersubjective engagement occurs. The oral histories detailed in Lakǵóta ontology describe events of profound relational engagement with the wakǵáŋ. While it is entirely appropriate and recommended to refer to these sites with terminology defined by the Native nations in continuing and historical conversation with the land, when discussing Indigenous land on a broad scale, it is necessary to utilize less specific terminology which simultaneously avoids homogenizing said nations (no easy task.)

To its many residents and visitors, Pahá Sápa (Black Hills) and the places it encompasses constitute a *site of relational significance*³³, a term developed in discussion with and coined by Lakǵóta scholar Clementine Bordeaux to replace that which is also somewhat vaguely referred to as a “ritual” or “sacred landscape,”³⁴ terminology that I will avoid throughout this essay. In his essay problematizing the use of the terms “sacred” and “spirit,” David Shorter advocates for the use of the terms “related” or “relation” for use when discussing indigenous intersubjective epistemologies between human persons and other-than-human persons (terminology that may include beings not considered animate by outsiders to Indigenous worldviews.) Terms like “spiritual,” he states, “at best avoids clarity about and at worse sustains colonial authority over

³³ Clementine Bordeaux, personal communication, March 28, 2018.

³⁴ Robb, John G. “The ‘Ritual Landscape’ Concept in Archaeology: A Heritage Construction,” *Landscape Research* 23, no. 2 (1998), 159-174.

indigenous people.”³⁵ Applying the government-sanctioned term “sacred” to sites of profound Indigenous intersubjectivity reinforces ambiguity, continued colonial authoritative relationships, Western interpretations of Indigenous worldviews, fetishization of Indigenous spiritual thought, false hierarchical binaries, and the release of moral tension held by colonizers. *Sites of relational significance* refer to sites of profound impact of relationships with the land. This terminology avoids several pitfalls of the “Sacred Sites” designation while more accurately describing relationality with the land.

X-MARKS

What is to be gained by advocating for a reexamination of interpretation strategies at Wind Cave National Park, or the National Park Service as a whole? After all, consultation does not change the past, nor does it return stolen lands. Why should one seek to change the language utilized by Federal agencies? Whether the National Park Service refers to places as a *Site of Relational Significance* or a *Sacred Site*, the overarching colonial governmental structure remains intact and relatively unchallenged. Do these “gains” in recognition maintain and even, to use the words of Glen Sean Coulthard, “reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demand for recognition have historically sought to transcend”?³⁶

The answer may unfortunately be “yes,” stressing why work like Coulthard’s is so vital to consider when writing a piece like this. At all times, one’s positionality much be considered,

³⁵ Shorter, David Delgado. "Spirituality." *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2016.

³⁶ Coulthard, Glen Sean. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 3.

and potential impacts weighed. Fanon's notion of "psycho-affective attachment," within this context referring to attachments to the colonizer-colonized (master-slave) structure wherein the colonizer sanctions acceptable terms of recognizing the colonized, needs to underscore all recommendations that maintain state structures.³⁷ One must constantly ask what damage is done by their work.

While this work is written with these considerations in mind, the task of transitioning decolonization and absolute rejection of colonial recognition from theory to praxis is one I must leave to other scholars, though they have my deepest support. This piece is written with the intent to affect that which I conceivably and immediately can through my current position. I consider this work to be an "x-mark," terminology coined by Scott Richard Lyons wherein the x-mark is conceptualized as a metaphorical signpost, challenging one to reevaluate discourse and notions of identity essentialism, traditionalism and purism, and to question that which falls under the category of "assimilated" or "acculturated." The term "x-marks" originates from the x-marks made by Native signers of treaties and other agreements. These x-marks, Lyons asserts, stem not solely from a lack of power or agency (though these were both present), but an acknowledgement and reaction to a situation not of one's own making. By signing with an x, the signatory is doing what is in their power to make the best of conditions that are not ideal and are often than not violent and coercive. Lyons acknowledges that although the results of an x-mark are unforeseen, they are not necessarily negative, and there is always the possibility that something positive could result from it. I apply this to my own work in that it is an admitted concession which stops well short of true decolonization efforts but, with my current abilities and resources, is what I can offer.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

Undoubtedly, I will look back on this in a few years with a drastically different opinion, as is the result of relentless reevaluation of thought. However, at this moment in time, I am concerned with the U.S. Federal government's working albeit unwritten policies regarding consent. On July 25, 2016, when the Army Corps of Engineers, another Federal agency which deals in public land and waterway management, approved the section of the Dakota Access Pipeline route that would cross just north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, it did not require the consent of the people who would be affected by this decision, or, to put it another way, consent was not required in the form of a vocalized "yes."³⁸

This expectation that consent is the assumed state-of-being until those affected are able to vocalize a "no," has deep roots in U.S. Federal dealings with Native peoples. In 1934, after the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the implementation of the IRA structure onto the governments of Native nations was compulsory unless voted against by members of said Native nation. The Oglála Lakȝóta Nation at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation were amongst the many subjected to this new form of government.³⁹ It is an unjust act to assume consent until consent is revoked. This structure is inherently posed to violate even those who refuse participation.

When wrestling with my ever-fluctuating anxieties on working within a Western governmental agency rather than maintaining a position of absolute rejectionism, I find

³⁸ "Key Moments in The Dakota Access Pipeline Fight." *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2017/02/22/514988040/key-moments-in-the-dakota-access-pipeline-fight> (accessed May 21, 2018).

³⁹ Biolsi, Thomas. *Organizing the Lakota: The Political Economy of the New Deal on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations*. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1992.) 82.

momentary conviction in an anecdote relayed to me by another Lakǰóta person, and written from approximate memory as follows:

I once told an elder that I never voted, because I didn't want to have any part in a government I hated. He told me that a lot of our people felt the same way, and that's why they refused to go to U.S. negotiations. Which is why we lost as much as we did—the people who would've said "no" weren't there.⁴⁰

In this moment, I am present because I have seen what happens when Indigenous peoples are not. While it is only a bandage on an inherently ill system, I choose to take action in the ways I know how, in ways that don't let my absence make decisions on my behalf. And, so, I am here to say "no" in the moments "no" needs to be said.

ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

There are five chapters to this paper: Introduction, Background, Methods, Findings, and Conclusion. The Introduction provides a general summary of the issue to provide the reader with understanding as to why these types of study are necessary. It highlights the problems surrounding the existence of the Park, both for the Oglála Lakǰóta people and the National Park Service.

The Background provides a history of the site which includes other Native nations' relations with the site. It summarizes multiple Lakǰóta Emergence oral histories of Oníya Ošóka / Wind Cave. The history section then incorporates settler histories of the cave, beginning with its re-finding by colonists and eventual management by the National Park Service. Policy dictating National Park Service relations with Native nations is also discussed.

⁴⁰ Name unremembered in discussion with the author on a night long, long ago.

In the Methods chapter, I outline the varying methodological approaches to the data and provide a list of the research questions which motivated this study. Additionally, I briefly list some of the literature utilized in the study in a manner that is not meant to act as a literature review, as a decision was made to provide the overview to Lakḥóta oral literature instead. Another subsection provides personal placement within the study.

The Findings chapter engages with the data from several interviews with Oglala Sioux Tribe employees and National Park Service employees about interpretation at Wind Cave National Park. It is narrative in nature and serves to create a portraiture of the participants and their roles within their respective organizations.

The Conclusion delves into the interview data as related to the thesis research questions. This chapter summarizes the issues covered over the course of the text, as well as makes recommendations for creating constructive lines of communication between the National Park Service and the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation.

Chapter II: Background

WAGMÚŇKA ÓGNAKA IČHÁŇTE—The Heart of Everything That Is

Use of Pahá Sápa is by no means exclusive to the Lakǵóta, though it is unknown precisely how many Native nations historically utilized the area. Two Clovis sites located near the southern hills at Agate Basin and the White River Badlands dating back nearly 11,000 years contain the first known archaeological evidence of human use of the hills.⁴¹ Oral histories date use of the site back to the time of creation. Throughout the site’s history, interactions with the area changed tremendously with weather patterns, changing technology such as the use of the bow and arrow and access to guns, the introduction of the European fur trade, and the adoption of the horse as an integral aspect of plains life.⁴² The Black Hills have never long remained the static territory of a single nation, but played host to many, particularly in the period starting from 850 C.E. on, during which it served as an critical intersection of borderlands.⁴³ Due to its geographical and political location, the Black Hills were as a nodal point in a vast pan-continental exchange network and existed as a significant site in regard to international trading. “This intertribal trade system,” states Mark David Spence, an environmental historian who authored *Passages Through many Worlds: Historic Resource Study of Wind Cave National Park*, “also fostered a communication network enabling the exchange of information over hundreds of miles.”⁴⁴

⁴¹ Albanese, John. “Resume of Geoarchaeological Research on the Northwestern Plains,” *Geoarchaeology in the Great Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 230.

⁴² Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds*, 57.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 55.

Places of relational significance are plentiful within Pahá Sápa, and the encompassed area as a whole has been referred to as and can be considered a *site of relational significance*.⁴⁵ In a map published by the National Park Service in *The Black Hills as Sacred Ground: The Chronology and Controversy*, at least twenty designated relational sites are identified spanning almost the entire area of the Black Hills.⁴⁶

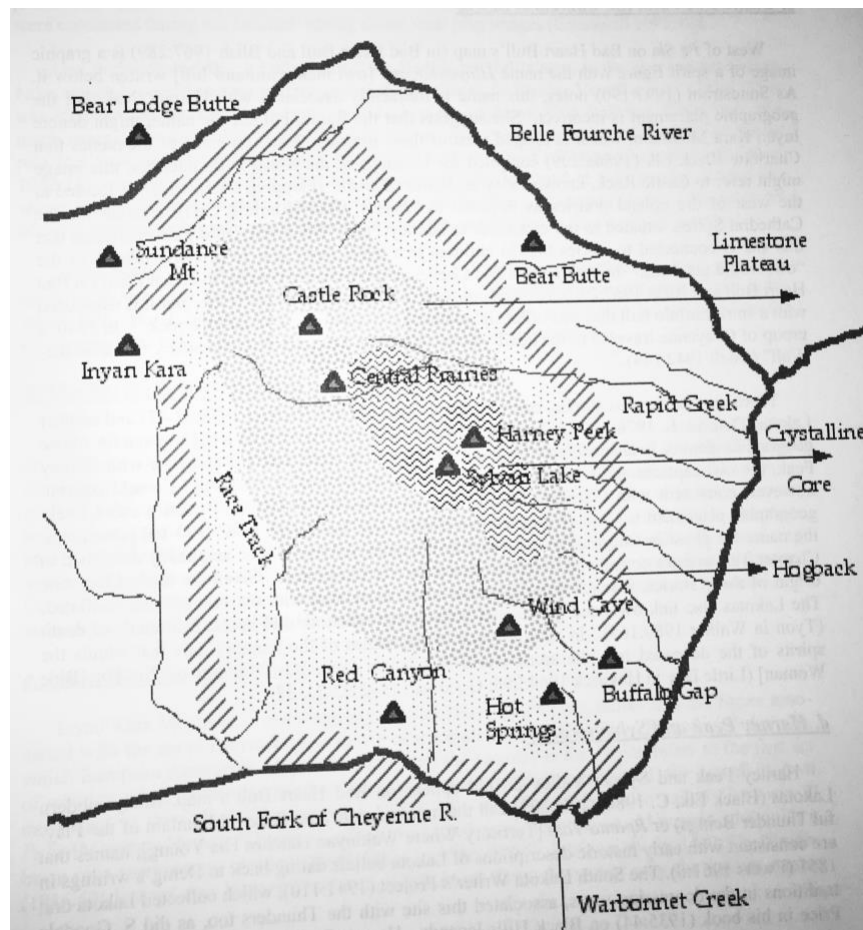


Figure 2: Sacred Sites recognized by the National Park Service in and Around the Black Hills

⁴⁵ Patricia Albers, *The Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (National Park Service, 2003), 482-499.

⁴⁶ National Park Service, *The Black Hills as Sacred Ground: The Chronology and Controversy*, (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 15.

Multiple Native nations identify these points as sites of relational significance, including the Lakǰóta, Cheyenne, Arikara, Crow, Hidatsa, Kiowa, Arapaho, Mandan, Ponca, and Plains Apache.⁴⁷ The Cheyenne identify Nowah’wus, Bear Butte, as the source site of their Four Sacred Arrows, as well as the Oxhehoem (Sundance) and Massaum (Contrary Dance) ceremonies. The Arapaho, Mandan, Kiowa, Plains Apache, and Lakǰóta are also among Native nations who identify this site as an originator of relational events and objects.⁴⁸ At sites like Bear Lodge—designated Devils Tower National Monument by the National Park Service—different names refer to the same site (Tso ai, or Tree Rock, in Kiowa; Nakoeve in Cheyenne; Mathó Thípila, or Bear Lodge, in Lakǰóta), and multiple Native nations share similar oral histories describing an event of relational significance wherein a giant bear carved the rising tower with its claws.⁴⁹ The Race Track, Black Elk Peak, Buffalo Gap, Castle Rock, Hot Springs, Bear Butte, and Devil’s Tower are just some of many sites for which multiple Native nations possess (sometimes overlapping) oral histories involving events of relational significance.

Pahá Sápa and its bordering lands also play host to an immense catalogue of Lakǰóta oral histories dealing with a wakǰán creation and shaping of the land. While there are no known texts documenting Lakǰóta peoples explicitly referring to the site as wakǰán before the 1900s (perhaps because these means of describing land quality didn’t become common until exposure to Christian notions of “hallowed ground” after the boarding school era), recorded accounts of Lakǰóta speak of wakǰán events that took place in Pahá Sápa, as well as the potential for more to occur. To quote Luther Standing Bear’s account:

⁴⁷ National Park Service, *Black Hills as Sacred Ground*, 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 19-20.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 19.

How long the Lakḥóta people lived in these mid-west plains bordering the Black Hills before the coming of the white man is not known in tribal records. But our legends tell us that it was hundreds and perhaps thousands of years ago since the first man sprang from the soil in the midst of these great plains...So this land of the great plains is claimed by the Lakḥótas as their very own. We are of the soil and the soil is of us.⁵⁰

In this account, it is the land itself that carries the potential for relational events. The Lakḥóta relationality to the land and origin from these wakḥáŋ events are inextricably connected. Though the Lakḥóta are by no means the only nation to consider this land makḥóche—homeland—they are the only known Native nation to credit the site as their emergence point onto the earth.

MAKÁ ONÍYE – Breathing Earth

Located in the southern Black Hills, where the ponderosa forest recedes and the prairie grass proliferates is another region known by many names to the Lakḥóta: Oníya Ošóka⁵¹ (heavy breath), Maká Oníye (breathing earth), Oníya Oḥlóka (cave breathing), Makḥóche Oḥlóka (cave homeland), and more. Most of these names refer to the same phenomenon: a place where the earth is breathing. It is at this place, nestled within one of the Park's gully areas, that the only known naturally occurring entrance to a massive karst cave network is found. The notion of a breathing earth is quite literal, for the Cave entrance “inhales” and “exhales” air with the rise and fall of the local barometric pressure.⁵²

For every name the site possesses, it has a dozen more variations of the same history. The setting for this history is the Cave, which acts a passageway or a liminal space—a place of

⁵⁰ National Park Service, Black Hills as Sacred Ground, 22.

⁵¹ Described as the “oldest” term for the site. Marcus Bear Eagle, personal communication, (n.d.).

⁵² Ronald A. Terry, *Wind Cave: The Story Behind the Scenery* (Las Vegas: KC Publications Inc., 1998).

possibilities and of doorways. Somewhere within the Cave is a doorway, sometimes described as a portal, to the T̥h̥ŋkán̄ Thípi—the rock spirit lodge. Wilmer Mesteth, an Oglála elder from the Cheyenne Creek community on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, describes the T̥h̥ŋkán̄ Thípi as the place where the Lak̥hóta lived as they waited until the earth was ready for them and until they were ready for life on the earth.⁵³

In each telling of the history, the principle characters are always present: Tákuškaŋškaŋ⁵⁴, Iktómi the Trickster, Anúŋg-Ité the Double-Face Woman, T̥h̥okáhe the First One, the bison, and the wolf. In the account of Wilmer Mesteth, T̥h̥okáhe was the leader of the Lak̥hóta people. Iktómi and Anúŋg-Ité used the wolf to lure the first humans out of the Tunkan Tipi earlier than Tákuškaŋškaŋ had intended. Once on the surface, the humans were unprepared for the harshness of winter and attempted to return to the cave, only to be impeded by Iktómi. Tákuškaŋškaŋ transformed these people into the first bison. The second wave of people, led by T̥h̥okáhe, emerged and were instructed to follow the bison in order to survive.

In the account told by Albert White Hat, a Sičhán̄gu elder from the Rosebud Indian Reservation, T̥h̥okáhe is a bison who met the first people who emerged from the cave.⁵⁵ In the oral history conveyed to Raymond Bucko, the emergence of the Lak̥hóta and bison is described as a concurrent event. In this version, both the Lak̥hóta and bison lived within the earth. When the entrance to the surface plane was found, it was the bison that charged out foremost and did so

⁵³ “Lakota Oral Literature,” Oglala Lakota College, http://k.olc.edu/Channels/academic/Lakota_oral_lit.htm (accessed May 17, 2017)

⁵⁴ “Tákuškaŋškaŋ” translates to “that which moves,” referring to a mysterious energy source present and moving in all living things. Wilmer Mesteth describes Tákuškaŋškaŋ as a “blue energy.” This is also referred to as “Wakhán̄ Thán̄ka.

⁵⁵ Albert White Hat Sr. and John Cunningham, *Life's Journey—Zuya: Oral Teachings from Rosebud* (Tuscon: University of Utah Press, 2012).

quickly. As a result of their charge, they were partially blinded by the bright light. The Lakǰóta were given fire by Tákuškaŋškaŋ and gradually emerged.⁵⁶

Though details and roles played by each character change with each oral historian, the same overall ideas emerge: It is from this place that the Lakǰóta people emerged onto the earth, and with that emergence a relationship between the Lakǰóta, the land, and the bison was forged.

THE DISPOSSESSION OF PAHÁ SÁPA

In 1851, the Lakǰóta Nation entered into a legal relationship with the United States government through the Treaty of Fort Laramie. This U.S. Federal recognition of the nation's ancient relationship with Pahá Sápa came to fruition at the exclusion of other Native nations, when the treaty defined boundaries for where these territories began and ended.⁵⁷ In 1868, another treaty was passed at Fort Laramie, again, redefining borders and greatly reducing the land base of the Lakǰóta Nation. Chiefly important amongst the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie's articles was Article 12, which allowed a Native nation to cede land if three-fourths of its adult male members agreed to the cession.⁵⁸ This article created a means through which future land loss could occur.

In 1874, citing Article 2 of the 1868 Treaty which allowed for the building of U.S. forts within Lakǰóta land, General George A. Custer led a party of over nine-hundred into the Black Hills ostensibly to scout a fort location. This official motive, however, is subject to interrogation,

⁵⁶ Bucko, Raymond. *The Lakota Ritual of the Sweat Lodge: History and Contemporary Practice* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press 1999), 204-205.

⁵⁷ Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Penguin Group, 2010), 38-46.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

as geologists, engineers, and miners were also included in the party.⁵⁹ Though the group's geologist, Newton H. Winchell, reported no gold in any significant account, the miniscule quantities found by the miners were sufficient for Custer to dispatch a report to Fort Laramie that gold would likely "be found in paying quantities."⁶⁰ Within a month of this dispatch, newspapers across the nation were reporting the presence of gold in the Black Hills.

Though Pahá Sápa was still officially Lakǵóta land, and through the 1868 Treaty banned the incursion of settlers, by the next year over fifteen-hundred miners had invaded the hills.⁶¹ The U.S. army made little attempt to legally punish these offenses, and, as Brigadier General Crook had made habit by this point, simply requested miners to leave, assuring them that their claims would be protected when the Black Hills had been officially opened to settlement. By 1875, public discourse had turned towards non-usage claims, where it was asserted the Lakǵóta title to the land was invalid because they weren't developing the site and therefore "wasting" it. By the next year, it had become common to assert that the Lakǵóta had simply never used the land at all.⁶²

In the wake of the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, the Black Hills were taken into U.S. Federal ownership through the Act of 1877, colloquially known as the Sell or Starve Act in reference to the threat of food insecurity which accompanied its signing.⁶³ Though only about 10% of the nation's adult male population are recorded to have signed this act (Article 12 of the

⁵⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁶⁰ Ostler, *Lakotas and Black Hills*, 84.

⁶¹ Ibid., 87.

⁶² Ibid., 89.

⁶³ Ibid., 99.

1868 Treaty required three-fourths of the adult male population to sign in order for land cession to be considered valid), the act was passed by Congress on February 28, 1877. The remaining Lakḥóta land base was subject to further fractioning with the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887.⁶⁴ This opened the land to new settlers and the burgeoning idea of National Parks.

NAMES AND AGENCY MYTHS

On March 1, 1872, the world's first National Park was established in the home of the Tukudika Nation, or *Sheep Eaters*, and planted onto the land a new name: Yellowstone National Park.⁶⁵ The name "Yellowstone" didn't come from the land's stewards, the Tukudika. "Yellowstone" came from a Hidatsa term later translated to French, before its next form in English.⁶⁶

The act of renaming can be likened to the supplanting of a memory, as stated by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o: "A European memory becomes the new marker of geographical identity, covering up an older memory or, more strictly speaking, burying the native memory of place...Names have everything to do with how we identify objects, classify them, and remember them."⁶⁷ If a past history is no longer remembered, the first story to be planted onto this site becomes a creation story. To return to Rebecca Solnit's conceptualization of renaming as "Adamic," a new

⁶⁴ Ibid., 115.

⁶⁵ Murphy, Robert F., and Yolanda Murphy. "Northern Shoshone and Bannock." *Handbook of North American Indians*. Vol. 11 (1986), 306.

⁶⁶ "Yellowstone National Park Frequently Asked Questions." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/yell/faqs.htm> (accessed April 12, 2018).

⁶⁷ Thiong'o, *Something Torn and New*, 8-9.

name creates a claim to the land and helps its new inhabitants cope with dislocation.⁶⁸ To be an originator of a name turns colonizers into original inhabitants, and invaders into discoverers.

This Adamic Act is particularly relevant to the NPS tendency to mythologize its origins.⁶⁹

The creation myth fashioned by the National Park Service to explain its origin is set in 1870, when an expedition of conservation-minded colonists known as the Langford Expedition gathered around a campfire to discuss the fate of the land.⁷⁰ According to the story, a lawyer named Cornelius Hedges proposed, “there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of this region, but that the whole of it ought to be set apart as a great National Park.”⁷¹ Within two years, the goal had been achieved.

This version of the Langford Expedition is more akin to a Disney retelling of history in its lack of critical detail. There is no discussion of westward expansion or its impacts on the Native nations who interacted with spaces such as Yellowstone. So completely erased from the Yellowstone founding narrative were Native peoples that early Superintendents made habit of telling visitors that Natives never entered the park due to superstitious fear of the geysers. This was, of course, in spite of reports the Nez Perce Nation used the geysers and hot springs for cooking.⁷² The site that is Yellowstone is now firmly intertwined with the story of Yellowstone National Park as the origin site of National Park Service.

⁶⁸ Solnit, *Savage Dreams*, 311.

⁶⁹ Thiong’o, *Something Torn and New*, 12.

⁷⁰ “Birth of a National Park.” *National Park Service*. Accessed November 18, 2017.
<https://www.nps.gov/yell/learn/historyculture/yellowstoneestablishment.htm>

⁷¹ Duncan, Dayton, *The National Parks: America's Best Idea: An Illustrated History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 36.

⁷² Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000), 23.

Yellowstone National Park is significant to NPS American Indian policy because as the world's first National Park, it established the policies mirrored by later Parks. Even within the Park's enabling legislation, wording about the purpose of the Park and who could live within its boundaries set residency and interaction rules to the detriment of its Native stewards thereafter:

Yellowstone Act, 1872

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the tract of land in the Territories of Montana and Wyoming [...] is hereby reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people; and all persons who shall locate or settle upon or occupy the same, or any part thereof, except as hereinafter provided, shall be considered trespassers and removed therefrom.*⁷³

When Yellowstone National Park was created, without exception all residents within its boundaries became “trespassers” and subject to removal. If this weren't pointed enough, in 1879 Yellowstone National Park's second superintendent, Philetus Norris, made a very specific decree that no Native Nation could reside within the park. The Tukudika Nation were subsequently evicted to reservations at Wind River and Fort Hall.⁷⁴ My own efforts to find the Tukudika Nation's names for the site proved fruitless, but this is not necessarily because their language has become dormant. Yellowstone National Park does not currently list original Indigenous place names on its website.

⁷³ U.S.C., title 16, sec. 21.

⁷⁴ Robert Keller and Michael Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 23.

WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

In 1889, the South Dakota Mining Company hired J.D. McDonald to oversee its mining claim in the southern Black Hills. Accompanied by his three children, J.D. took up residence 14-miles north of Hot Springs, South Dakota, at the very cave from which the Lakǵóta had located their emergence. The limestone karst system offered little in the way of mineable minerals, and the McDonald's quickly found themselves shifting towards a tourist enterprise, developing miles of passageway into tour routes.⁷⁵ In 1891, a neighboring family, led by John Stabler, bought a half interest in the Cave, and together the McDonalds and Stablers established the Wonderful Wind Cave Improvement Company.

This relationship was not to last. By 1894, both families were suing for primary ownership of the site. When the case was taken to the General Land Office in 1899, the agent reported that neither party had fulfilled the terms of their mining and homestead claims. In 1901, the site was withdrawn into U.S. possession, and all private claims on the site were canceled. In 1903, then president Theodore Roosevelt signed legislation creating the 10,522.17-acre Wind Cave National Park, the world's first park established to protect a cave.⁷⁶

Today, Wind Cave National Park (Wind Cave NP) is a Federally-designated unit managed by the National Park Service. The overall Park surface area measures 33,851 acres of mixed-grass prairie and ponderosa forest, while the currently mapped length of the Cave systems is 147.1 miles.⁷⁷ It is estimated only 5% of the Cave system has been mapped, potentially

⁷⁵ "Alvin McDonald." *National Park Service*. https://www.nps.gov/wica/learn/historyculture/alvin_mcdonald.htm (accessed December 27, 2017).

⁷⁶ "Wind Cave National Park Time Line." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/wica/learn/historyculture/wica-time-line.htm> (accessed April 10, 2017).

⁷⁷ "Cave/Karst Systems." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/wica/learn/nature/cave.htm> (accessed April 10, 2015).

making the site one of the world's longest, and certainly most complex, cave systems. It is presently also considered one of the oldest cave systems in the world, lying within a limestone layer over 300 million years old.⁷⁸

Though Wind Cave National Park has undergone numerous relationships with humans and other-than-human beings since these entities first walked the land, one constant is the relationships and connection its Indigenous peoples maintain with the site. Throughout this flux of stewardship, the Lakǵóta have maintained oral histories in connection with the relational significance of the site and continue to make regular relational visits to Oníya Ošóka and other sites within Pahá Sápa.

POLICY AND CONSULTATION

Currently, twenty-one Federally-recognized Native nations possess affiliation status with the southerly located Wind Cave National Park,⁷⁹ as well as at least twenty-four⁸⁰ in the northern hills.⁸¹ This affiliation status subjects the National Park Service to Federally-mandated consultation procedures, as established by Executive Order (E.O.) 13175 Consultation and Coordination with Indian Tribal Governments, dated April 29, 1994. In accordance with E.O. 13175, all activities with the potential to affect cultural resources in the park require consultation

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ "The Affiliated Tribes of Wind Cave National Park." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/wica/learn/historyculture/the-affiliated-tribes-of-wind-cave-national-park.htm> (accessed April 10, 2017).

⁸⁰ "A Sacred Site to American Indians." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/deto/learn/historyculture/sacredsited.htm> (accessed April 10, 2017).

⁸¹ Note that there are more tribal nations than recognized by the United States government. Countless more have historic and current relations that are either unrecognized or have transformed in a way not identified by the United States Federal government.

with affiliated Native nations.⁸² However, these mandated consultation efforts do not legally require Federal agencies like the National Park Service to fulfill the requests of Native nations. The mandate is to listen, not to follow, and thus it is the National Park Service, not the Native nations, that maintains authority over the land sites.

Legal terminology that attempts to encapsulate Indigenous relational ideas with the land further complicate the issue, and at times even enforces colonial relationships. Wind Cave National Park carries an official “Sacred Site” designation, a status defined for government agency usage by Executive Order 13007 Indian Sacred Sites. The purpose of this Executive Order was to create basis for the development of policy regarding the protection and ceremonial usage of “Indian sacred sites.” The order defined the term as follows:

[...] any specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land that is identified by an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion, as sacred by virtue of its established religious significance to, or ceremonial use by, an Indian religion; provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site.⁸³

Foremost is to unpack is the terminology “specific, discrete, narrowly delineated location on Federal land.” By this, the E.O. is attempting to establish clearly defined borders within the boundaries it has already established as U.S. Federal land (such as a National Park site.) A sacred site, by the U.S. Federal government’s definition, exists in a fixed location both physically and temporally, without movement. Much like the “islands” National Parks are frequently likened to,⁸⁴ there is a clear delineation between the land (the Park itself) and the water (the surrounding

⁸² Exec. Order No. 13175 (1994)

⁸³ Exec. Order No. 13007, 3 C.F.R. 2 (1996).

⁸⁴ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

border.) The boundary is a permanent, confined site and therefore a controllable space. The failure of this comparative device is, of course, that with the ebb and flow of the tide, the boundaries of islands are in a constant state of flux. Additionally, it must be considered that, by this definition, a “sacred site” may only exist within the space of Federal land sites. Sacred sites existing on private or state land elicit no official acknowledgement.

Next, the ability to establish a “sacred site” is apportioned to “an Indian tribe, or Indian individual determined to be an appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion.” At first glance, this might be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the expertise and agency of the Native nation. This notion, however, dissipates when one examines the term “Indian” as defined by the same executive order: “(ii) ‘Indian tribe’ means an Indian or Alaska Native tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, or community that the Secretary of the Interior acknowledges to exist as an Indian tribe pursuant to Public Law No. 103-454, 108 Stat. 4791, and ‘Indian’ refers to a member of such an Indian tribe.” Thus, while E.O. 13007 seems to acknowledge the knowledge and agency of Native peoples, those defined as “Indian” are still subject to determination and are therefore legitimized by the Federal government itself. An “Indian” whose identity is not Federally-approved does not warrant the same standing as those with Federally-recognized status.

The section’s concluding statement further serves as an extension of the notion of legitimacy by U.S. Federal recognition: “provided that the tribe or appropriately authoritative representative of an Indian religion has informed the agency of the existence of such a site.”⁸⁵ Simply summarized, a site is not sacred until the Federal government is aware of its existence. The containment of cultural knowledge is not an option if Federally-defined “protection” of a

⁸⁵ Exec. Order No. 13007, 3 C.F.R. 2 (1996).

sacred site is sought. The underlying implication of this is by definition, all land exists in a state of potential for modification and will be modified unless a reason not to is presented by a Federally-recognized party and is considered legitimate by Federally-defined standards. “Protected” sites like National Parks, whose purpose is rooted in Western notions of conservation, are a direct outcome of this mentality.

E.O. 13007 poses competing calls for clarity and vagueness. It demands marked boundaries for sacred sites, while simultaneously lending itself to ambiguity in defining the sacred. The National Park Service’s strict adherence to vague policy regarding Indians thus becomes a point of tension on these Federally-designated sacred sites. When policy is steeped in ambiguity, those it affects are made vulnerable by nature of its malleability. Their interests are subject not to predictable outcomes but to the interpretations of temporarily-located individuals who make administrative decisions. The National Park Service as an agency that promotes by transfer often does not have a stable staff with whom Native Nations can build lasting and trusting relationships.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter will discuss the rationale and methods employed throughout the course of this study. The study's purpose was to investigate the extent to which Oglála Lakḥóta interests—political, cultural, ideological, and historical—are represented through interpretation at the case study site Wind Cave National Park in an attempt to determine how Wind Cave NP is meeting the needs of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, one of the site's 21 affiliated Native nations. Wind Cave NP was chosen for its associations with Lakḥóta oral history, its location within the contested Black Hills area of South Dakota, its proximity to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, and the researcher's personal employment and cultural relationship with the site. The goal of this research is to answer the following questions:

Research Questions:

1. How are Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?
2. What are the needs of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park?
3. What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation?

HISTORY AND OUTSIDER LITERATURE

Foremost, it was necessary to place Wind Cave National Park within the historical context of the Oglála Lakḥóta, the Black Hills, National Parks, and American settler colonialism.

To accomplish this, accounts were drawn together from a combination of Lakǰóta oral literature both heard in person and transcribed in text, as well as the author's personal cultural understandings known through intergenerational conveyance. Multiple literature sources were consulted for colonial histories of the area, but particular emphasis was placed on those found in archival and library resources available to employees of Wind Cave National Park. Two NPS-commissioned ethnographic and ethnohistorical texts on Wind Cave NP's cultural and historical resources—Patricia Albers' *The Home of the Bison*⁸⁶, and Mark David Spence's *Passages Through Many Worlds*⁸⁷—were heavily utilized for their extensive research and use by Wind Cave NP employees as reference pieces for the development of interpretive programs.

In addition to examining literature dealing specifically with Wind Cave NP, historical literature dealing broadly with American Indian relationships with the National Park Service was consulted. From the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, a wave of literature examining these relationships within the context of Federal policy emerged. Several of these books, such as Keller and Turek's succinctly-named *American Indians and National Parks*⁸⁸, Mark David Spence's *Dispossessing the Wilderness*⁸⁹, and Philip Burnham's *Indian Country, God's Country*⁹⁰, make the case that National Park Service policies towards American Indians closely

⁸⁶ Patricia Albers, *The Home of the Bison: An Ethnographic and Ethnohistorical Study of Traditional Cultural Affiliations to Wind Cave National Park* (National Park Service, 2003).

⁸⁷ Mark David Spence, *Passages Through Many Worlds: Historic Resource Study of Wind Cave National Park* (Omaha: US Department of the Interior, 2011).

⁸⁸ Robert Keller and Michael Turek, *American Indians & National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998).

⁸⁹ Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁹⁰ Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans and the National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000).

mirror broader Federal policies on the same subject. For this reason, an examination of the National Park Service's guiding Executive Order on American Indian Sacred Sites, as well as the terminology employed in this order was included in this study. Furthermore, while these texts provided useful historically-based models for writing on related topics, the research presented in this thesis differs in that it is neither strictly historic nor is it the work of an outside non-Native historian or anthropologist.

RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY

When I initially crafted a proposal for this project in 2017, I imagined it as the starting point for a multi-year comparative study of interpretive museum spaces between several Black Hills area National Park Service units, which would also entail Lakǰóta oral history collection. I narrowed the study to four NPS sites, each chosen for particular characteristics: Devils Tower NM (name controversy and the voluntary climbing closure in June to account for spiritual ceremonies⁹¹), Badlands NP (1976 Memorandum of Understanding with the Oglala Sioux Tribe⁹²), Mount Rushmore N MEM (National identity symbol), and Wind Cave NP (beginning of Lakǰóta relationship with land.)

By this point, I'd been employed with the National Park Service for three summer seasons and had developed some comfort working with the NPS as an agency, an association I'd extended outward from my experience with Wind Cave NP. I submitted research applications at

⁹¹ "Devils Tower Climbing Information." *National Park Service*.
<https://www.nps.gov/deto/planyourvisit/climbing.htm> (accessed May 20, 2018).

⁹² "1976 Memorandum of Agreement." *National Park Service*.
<https://parkplanning.nps.gov/showFile.cfm?projectID=17543&MIMEType=application%252Fpdf&filename=BADL%2DDraftGMP%5F8%2D15%2D10%5Fappendixes%2Epdf&sfid=89443> (accessed May 20, 2018).

all four sites, ultimately unnecessary because I'd only planned to research spaces designed for public use, but important to me as an NPS employee who would likely maintain professional relationships with employees of these sites. The Wind Cave NP contact approved my application immediately and expressed that it would be a valuable study. The Badlands NP contact needed some revisions but was very helpful on the phone. I had unlucky timing with my calls to the Devils Tower NM contact for a while but ultimately had a very positive interaction.

At first, Mount Rushmore NMEM left my request ignored. After a follow-up email, Mount Rushmore NMEM's Chief of Interpretation and Education responded with a list of 23 questions compressed into seven bullet points, several of which interrogated my intentions with the study. Question followed one another within the same paragraph, some assuming the answer to the previous and building upon that. I understood the need for methodological clarity and was certainly willing to do the necessary revisions once I'd known the site's technical requirements but was taken aback by the overall tone of the response, a far cry from the pleasant, open (and in the case of Wind Cave encouraging) responses I'd encountered from others with the NPS. It left me with the impression that this response was not meant to seek clarity but to overwhelm. The contact expressed doubt I would have enough time to accomplish the study and questioned its wide focus, concerns seemingly more appropriate for an academic advisor than a representative of an agency with no financial or professional stake in the time management of a graduate school thesis paper. I was struck most by the following question:

4. What voice is the researcher utilizing; that of a tribal member, a member of the general public or an employee of the National Park Service?⁹³

⁹³ E-mail communication. May 14, 2017 at 7:20 AM.

There were several reasons why this perturbed me. I hadn't included my status as a "tribal member" on the application. While my name might be a tipoff to Lakȥóta ancestry, assuming that anyone with a Native-sounding name is a tribally-enrolled member is something of a leap. I didn't mention either that I had been employed with the National Park Service, and this would have been even stranger to assume. In my application I described myself as a UCLA graduate student doing research for a thesis paper, but nothing further was revealed. These questions implied I'd been researched before they were asked and subsequently tailored with my identity in mind.

What bothered me most about this particular question was its overall irrelevancy to the NPS research approval process. If I answered "yes, I am utilizing the voice of a tribal member," it would not determine whether or not the National Park Service would approve the study. Racial identification of the researcher is not a legally pertinent factor in determining whether or not to allow research to occur. This is not to say that racial identification is irrelevant to research, but that it is irrelevant to the approval process of a Federal agency. If I cannot be denied a research permit based on my racial identity, why pose the question at all? That I was ever asked this by a person considering approval of my research application was astounding.

I chose not to respond to this communication. Truthfully, it shocked and pushed me out of the "NPS comfort zone" I'd developed. I gave myself a day, then a week, then a month, then several months. Over a year later, I still feel disquiet at the implication of her question. It is by no means the most overt act of Othering I've experienced, but it certainly felt pointed. The severing of my identities from one another—"a tribal member, a member of the general public **or** an employee of the National Park Service" (emphasis is mine)—carried another unspoken question: Are you one of them or one of us?

In contrast to this outside and presumed fracturing of identities in this early research encounter, my experience with this topic draws from multiple, albeit unequal, intersections of identity: as an enrolled Oglála Lakḥóta wíŋyaŋ, as a frontline interpreter for Wind Cave National Park, as a representative for the National Park Service at events with high attendance of tribal nation members and representatives, as a practitioner of Lakḥóta oral literature, as a person with kinship obligations, and as a consultant who has provided professional training in interpretation. Though some of these identities impact me deeper than others, they are all present in some form.

As discussed in the Prologue, I was employed as a seasonal park guide with Wind Cave National Park from 2014 to 2017. At the time I applied I had no familiarity with the National Park Service nor was I aware of its role as the managing Federal agency at Wind Cave NP. While I had driven through Wind Cave NP incidentally on commutes, I'd seldom visited the site as the focal point of a trip and never as the outcome an intentional visit to a National Park system unit. I didn't "grow up" with National Parks, despite living within a three-hour drive of eight or nine units, including Wind Cave NP.

This is not by any means the same as being unfamiliar with the sites. I don't recall a time I didn't know that Oníya Ošóka (Wind Cave NP) was the emergence site of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ, that a giant bear had carved Mathó Thípila (Devils Tower National Monument), or that giant spiders and ghosts roamed Makḥó Šíča (Badlands NP). My familiarity with these places was not framed within or around the National Park Service. Long before I ever knew what the National Park Service was, I knew these sites as places of power and potential for the wakḥáŋ. More than anything, this understanding drives my relationship with these sites.

The beginning of my employment with Wind Cave National Park coincided with the beginning of my participation in my family's Sun Dance ceremony as a dancer.⁹⁴ This proved pivotal in my continuing employment with Wind Cave NP, in that from the beginning I was plagued by doubt of my employment's potential impacts. Sun Dance provided me a space for dialectal engagement with the wak'háŋ, one where I could work through my questions on protocol and morality in working for an agency whose existence was predicated on U.S. Federal claiming of Indigenous lands. When I decided to engage with Wind Cave NP as a researcher, it was again a place where I engaged in this type of dialogue. As a critical part of my approach to research and writing, it felt necessary to include Sun Dance as part of my methodology section.

My employment with Wind Cave NP and with the National Park Service broadly has also impacted my approach to the topic. I draw from personal memories of how I felt the first time I stepped through the doors of the Visitors Center as an employee, the nuanced emotions that emerged while introducing myself as Lak'hóta to a group of 40 who didn't know Native peoples still existed, the joy of teaching my nation's Emergence Story to a group of school children from my reservation, the exhilaration of releasing an endangered animal from its cage back onto the Earth, the weight of realizing I was the only Native person who lived at the site, the steadiness in my voice as I reminded visitors they were safe in the earth after I'd cut the lights and plunged them into the most absolute darkness they'd ever know, the frustration of having to work at one U.S. Federal land agency while members of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ engaged in direct protective action at a site controlled by another U.S. Federal land agency near the Standing Rock Indian

⁹⁴ I will not go into further explanation of this ceremony for the simple reason that if the reader isn't already familiar with it, it's likely not "for" the reader to know.

Reservation⁹⁵, the way my hips ached from the weight of three or four flashlights on my belt, the complete emotional exhaustion after leading over a hundred people a day through the cave, and the suppression of a grin at being asked “Do Native people ever come into the cave?” after I’d just spent an hour inside with the asker.



Figure 3. Oglála Lakhóta Ranger Sina Bear Eagle releases a Black-Footed Ferret into a den.

Being in that place allowed me to forge a relationship with the Cave, one which I actively worked at maintaining. I regularly spoke with Oníya Ošóka (the Cave), left offerings to it and the

⁹⁵ This reference is to water protection action that took place from April 2016 to February 2017 at the Cannonball River just north of the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North Dakota, wherein an oil pipeline was approved by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to cross the Missouri River, a prime water source for Standing Rock and other American Indian reservations.

surrounding land, thanked it for allowing my presence inside, and asked humbly for the safe passage of each and every person I led through. I'd heard from coworkers that some employees in the past left because the Cave stopped feeling like a welcome place. I've since wondered if that was the result of repeatedly entering the Cave in such a disruptive way without first asking the Cave if they could—Oníya Ošóka showing displeasure at having its consent taken for granted.

My coworkers came from a wide variety of backgrounds, but I was the only Native person in the entirety of my employment with the site. My supervisors were without exception supportive and caring, and I loved going to work each day. I often thought about the differences in our backgrounds. Did my coworkers think about the fact this land was seized illegally? Did they think about what a return of the land to the Očhéthi Šakówinj would mean for the Park? How it would affect our relationship if my people finally received a justice in a history of injustices committed against us? How much of their support was dependent on my people's status of continued subjugation?

A well-meaning coworker once gifted me with a book by Edward Abbey, a former Park Ranger and an NPS folk hero. This was an incredibly thoughtful gift marred by the fact that Edward Abbey had once written an essay entitled "Immigration and Liberal Taboos" wherein he decried the use of politically correct terminology to describe Mexican immigrants while advocating for border and population control. To further his point, he compared the impending "threat" posed by these immigrants to those posed by white settlers against Native peoples: "Yes, I know, if the American Indians had enforced such a policy none of us pale-faced honkies would be here. But the Indians were foolish, and divided, and failed to keep our WASP ancestors out.

They've regretted it ever since.”⁹⁶ His thematic predecessor in environmental advocacy, John Muir, was also recommended to me by several NPS employees. John Muir’s vocalizations on the presence of non-white peoples from the Americas were in keeping with Abbey’s. On encountering the Native peoples of Yosemite during one hike, he wrote: “mostly ugly, and some of them altogether hideous ... somehow they seemed to have no right place in the landscape, and I was glad to see them fading out of sight down the pass.”⁹⁷ If, to Muir, the Indigenous peoples of that area appeared out of place in the landscape, one wonders how critically he thought about his own appearance and presence in said landscape.

These unfortunate recommendations steeped in good intentions served as a powerful reminder that, though we held the same employment position, we came to this place with distinctive understandings of history and a different set of heroes (which itself is not an inherently negative attribute when understood and accommodated for). I didn’t always focus in on or pay attention to experiences like these, but it wasn’t necessarily uncommon in my interactions with other NPS employees. There is no lack of well-meaning people in the National Park Service, but certainly an underrepresentation of diverse epistemologies and for certain a lack of critical investigation into the agency’s role in settler colonial theft of Indigenous lands. To not knowingly engage in harmful structures is one thing, though unfortunately engagement often occurs whether one is aware they are participating or not; it is another thing to critically realize one’s unintended engagement in harmful structures and act based on that awareness. It might not always be possible to completely disengage from harmful structures, but action based on critical awareness is always preferable to resigning oneself to the situation.

⁹⁶ Abbey, Edward. “Immigration and Liberal Taboos.” Unpublished article for the *New York Times*. 1988.

⁹⁷ Muir, John. *The Mountains of California* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1894).

It would be misleading to assert I possess an objective understanding of the site, primarily because I find the idea of objectivity to be itself absurd. At best, I offer a specialized and particularly informed understanding through my position as a member of the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ, specifically the Oglála Lakȝóta Nation, who has had the privilege of growing up with and learning amongst my people, and as an Interpretive Guide who has conducted hundreds of interpretive programs at Wind Cave National Park and led thousands of visitors through the Cave. The viewpoints I present are in no way completely representative of all Lakȝóta peoples, Natives peoples, NPS employees, female interpreters, or the varying intersection of these identities.

INTERVIEWS

For the interview portion of this study, five participants were selected, all of whom were either employees of the Oglala Sioux Tribe's education and historic preservation sectors or employees of the National Park Service. Participants were selected for their professional involvement as a representative of either party in Federally-mandated consultation meetings. Each interview ranged from 40 minutes to 1.5 hours in length. Though given the option, none of the participants opted to remain anonymous, and will be referred to by name and professional titles in keeping with the study's approved IRB consent procedures.

Participants were contacted previously and provided with the question lists in Tables 2 and 3, as well as a copy of the informed consent a month prior to the interview. Table 4 shows an additional question list designed for the Chief or Assistant Chief of Interpretation regarding interpretive exhibits.

Table 2. Oglala Sioux Tribe Employee Question List

Oglala Sioux Tribe Employee Question List
Background Information • Are you an enrolled member of the Oglála Lakhóta tribe? • Can you describe your employment position as it relates to the Oglala Sioux Tribe?
Principal Interview • The last time you visited Wind Cave, how did you perceive the way Oglála Lakhóta continuing and historical relational connections are currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park? ○ Did it differ from previous visits? • What needs have been expressed by members of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park? • What are the challenges faced by the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in attempting to find representation of Lakhóta continuing and historical relational connections at Wind Cave National Park? ○ Are there legal obstacles? ○ How much say does the Oglála Lakhóta Nation have in making decisions regarding cultural resources at Wind Cave NP? ○ Are any goals of Oglála Lakhóta Nation perceivably at tension with the goals of the Wind Cave NP? ▪ Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in a perceivable way? ○ In what ways do the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation align with the goals of the Wind Cave NP? • In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakhóta through interpretation?

Table 3. National Park Service Employee Question List

National Park Service Employee Question List
Background Information • Are you an enrolled member of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe? • Can you describe your employment position as it relates to the National Park Service?
Principal Interview • How are Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park? ○ What opportunities do employees have to learn about these continuing and historical relational connections? • What needs have been expressed by the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park? • What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation? ○ Are there legal obstacles? ○ How much autonomy does the park have in making decisions regarding cultural resources? ○ Are any goals of Wind Cave NP perceivably at tension with the goals of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation? ▪ Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation in a perceivable way? ○ In what ways do the goals of Wind Cave National Park align with the goals of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation? • In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakḥóta through interpretation?

Table 4. Interpretive Exhibit Question List

Questions for Wind Cave NP Chief or Assistant Chief of Interpretation regarding specific Interpretive exhibits: Natural Entrance Sign • When was the decision made to put up the Natural Entrance sign? • Who was involved in the consultation and wording? • Was there anything indicating the Emergence oral history before the sign? Breathing Earth Panel • Who designed and worded the original Breathing Earth panel? • When was the original panel put up? Park Video • When was the park video filmed? • Who was the person chosen to talk about the Lakḥóta connection to the land? • How was she chosen? Timeline • When did the original timeline go up? • When was it removed? • Why was it removed? • Are there plans to replace the timeline? Museum Space • Before the aforementioned exhibits/interpretive items, were there any exhibits regarding American Indian or Lakḥóta peoples?
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Tables 2 and 3 were designed to mirror one another so that emerging themes could be examined across categories. With both the question list design and the interview selection, the guiding idea was to select participants who might be present during a consultation meeting regarding cultural interpretation between the National Park Service and Oglala Sioux Tribe, such as the ones conducted for Wind Cave National Park’s museum redesign. The task then was to analyze the different understandings, goals, and objections these parties might bring to consultation events, and to utilize this knowledge in order to ameliorate communication between parties. The unfortunate potential side effect to this practice is that it might imply equivalencies,

whether they be within systems of power, politics, finances, organizational structures, etc., that do not actually exist between the National Park Service and the Oglala Sioux Tribe. These entities are inherently very different in nature.

The participants were classified and chosen by employment status rather than Native enrollment status, though enrollment status is considered. Two participants are permanent employees in the Interpretation division of Wind Cave National Park, and neither is an enrolled or affiliated with a Native nation. One participant is a permanent employee of the National Park Service at the regional level and an enrolled member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe. The remaining two participants are employees of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and both enrolled members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. I had preexisting professional relationships with all of the participants. Each in-person interview occurred in the offices of the interviewee. Interviews were transcribed from a handheld recorder.

During the analytical process, questions from the Oglala Sioux Tribe interviews were matched with questions from the National Park Service interviews. For example, the question for an Oglala Sioux Tribal employee, “What are the challenges faced by the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in attempting to find representation of Lakhóta connections at Wind Cave National Park?” was considered matched to the question posed to a National Park Service employee, “What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation?”. These matches were placed together as Question Sets and umbrellaed under a less specific question in the same vein (in this case, the Question Set is, “What are the challenges in finding representation/representing?”). From there, Question Sets were clustered under corresponding Research Questions, and answers were analyzed for reoccurring codes. The clustering was organized in Tables 5 to 8.

Table 5. Background Questions

	BACKGROUND QUESTIONS (BQ)
BQ SET 1 (BQS1)	Are you an enrolled member of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe?
OST Employee Question (OSTQ)	Are you an enrolled member of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe?
NPS Employee Question (NPSQ)	Are you an enrolled member of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe?
BQS2	Can you describe your employment position?
OSTQ	Can you describe your employment position as it relates to OST?
NPSQ	Can you describe your employment position as it relates to the NPS?

Table 6. Research Question 1 and Associated Question Sets.

RESEARCH QUESTION 1 (RQ1)	HOW ARE OGLÁLA LAKḤÓTA CONTINUING AND HISTORICAL RELATIONAL CONNECTIONS CURRENTLY INTERPRETED AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK?
INTERVIEW QUESTION SET 1 (IQS1)	How are Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections interpreted at Wind Cave NP?
OSTQ	The last time you visited Wind Cave, how did you perceive the way Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections are currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?
NPSQ	How are Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?
IQS2	What are the opportunities for change and have they been taken?
OSTQ	Did [your last visit to Wind Cave NP] differ from previous visits?
NPSQ	What opportunities do employees have to learn about Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections?

Table 7. Research Question 2 and Associated Question Sets.

RQ2	WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF THE OGLÁLA LAKHÓTA NATION REGARDING INTERPRETATION AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND HOW ARE THEY MET?
IQS3	What needs have been expressed by the Oglala Sioux Tribe?
OSTQ	What needs have been expressed by members of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park?
NPSQ	What needs have been expressed by the Oglála Lakhóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park?
IQS4 (/11)	How much say does the Oglala Sioux Tribe have/how much autonomy does Wind Cave NP have in decision-making?
OSTQ	How much say does the Oglála Lakhóta Nation have in making decisions regarding cultural resources at Wind Cave NP?
NPSQ	How much autonomy does the park have in making decisions regarding cultural resources?
IQS5	In what way do the goals of both entities align?
OSTQ	In what ways do the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation align with the goals of the Wind Cave NP?
NPSQ	In what ways do the goals of Wind Cave NP align with the goals of OST?
IQS6	How can Wind Cave NP best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakhóta?
OSTQ	In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakhóta through interpretation?
NPSQ	In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakhóta through interpretation?

Table 8. Research Question 3 and Associated Question Sets.

RQ3	WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE NPS IN ATTEMPTING TO INTERPRET THE CONTINUING AND HISTORICAL RELATIONAL CONNECTIONS OF THE OGLÁLA LAKHÓTA NATION?
IQS7	What are the challenges in finding representation/representing?
OSTQ	What are the challenges faced by the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in attempting to find representation of Lakhóta continuing and historical relational connections at Wind Cave National Park?
NPSQ	What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation?
IQS8	Are there legal obstacles?
OSTQ	Are there legal obstacles?
NPSQ	Are there legal obstacles?
IQS9	Are any goals at tension?
OSTQ	Are any goals of Oglála Lakhóta Nation perceivably at tension with the goals of the Wind Cave NP?
NPSQ	Are any goals of Wind Cave NP perceivably at tension with the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation?
IQS10	Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships?
OSTQ	Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in a perceivable way?
NPSQ	Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in a perceivable way?
IQS11 (/4)	How much say does the Oglala Sioux Tribe have/how much autonomy does Wind Cave NP have in decision-making?
OSTQ	How much say does the Oglála Lakhóta Nation have in making decisions regarding cultural resources at Wind Cave NP?
NPSQ	How much autonomy does the park have in making decisions regarding cultural resources?

SUMMARY OF METHODS

A danger in approaching a topic wherein two parties (the National Park Service and the Oglala Sioux Tribe) are discussed is the potential tendency to draw sharp lines between them or makes comparisons between the two. Because the Oglala Sioux Tribe and the National Park Service are inherently different entities, they simply cannot be located as equivalents or oppositional. Instead, my focus is on the existing relational networks within these entities with constant consideration to historical and ongoing power dynamics.

A variety of methods were employed in pursuit of answering the research questions. Written and oral histories of both the National Park Service and Oníya Ošóka/Wind Cave were drawn from to create the backdrop for the events and experiences discussed; policy and terminology were examined; a thematic analysis of interviews with members of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation and the National Park Service was utilized to identify alignments and misalignments; and the researcher's personal experiences were drawn from. Reflecting these multiple methods, the reporting of findings in the next chapters moves between a storytelling emphasis and an analytical emphasis, a choice based in the NPS practice of Interpretation, which is my professional background. At times, this text is an autobiography/autoethnography of an Oglála Lakḥóta Park Ranger at Wind Cave National Park. At others it is the biography of a cave, and the relationships between human and other-than-human beings. More often than not it is about an attempt to learn from experience, turn practice into theory and into more practice, minimize harm, and work through what that might entail.

Part IV: Findings

This chapter utilizes both storytelling and analytical emphases. The beginning of the chapter is narrative-based with analytic elements used for some conversational pieces. This is intended to establish the setting for interpretive practices at Wind Cave National Park, introduce readers to the employees of the Oglala Sioux Tribe and National Park Service that are involved in the interviews, and provide background to the varying relationships with the topic and site. Later, as the data are introduced, the chapter transitions to an analytical emphasis that delves into more thoroughly into the interview data. The three research questions are introduced, and specific interview questions are clustered and subdivided into each.

A WINTER CAMP

There was still snow on the ground when I arrived back to Wind Cave National Park in late March 2018. Even if you didn't notice the white that blanketed most of the dull yellow prairie grass, you could tell the season by the bison who greeted you on the road when you crossed the cattle guards (in this case bison guards). It was always the bulls who parked themselves at this spot, too hulking and accustomed to a life blissfully free from natural predators to be bothered to move for anything that didn't seem like an immediate threat. Cars were apparently not amongst the dangers they worried about; to the contrary, automobiles were welcomed in the winters for their tires left a particularly palatable trail of salt which the bison craved. I slowed to a crawl, letting them dictate my path rather than the other way around. They held the power in this space, and I wasn't about to let them think I felt otherwise.



Figure 4. Bison on the road near the Wind Cave NP's entrance

When I pulled into the Visitors Center (VC) parking lot, I felt a pang of nostalgia radiate through me. This place had been my home for four summer seasons and, even though I came back often, I never failed to feel I'd been away far too long. As is typical for the winter season in South Dakota Parks, the VC was relatively empty of visitors. In spite of this, it still took nearly ten minutes to make the 50-foot walk from the VC doors to the office of my first interviewee due to the number of employees stopping to say 'hello' and briefly catch up. This behavior was by no means unique to my particular arrival. It's just that kind of place.

THE VISITORS CENTER

On this day, I conducted two interviews with National Park Service employees, one with Chief of Interpretation Tom Farrell (TF) and the next with Assistant Chief of Interpretation Lenard Ramacher (LR). The interviews occurred a month after I'd accepted a new summer

position at Mathó Thípila, or Devils Tower National Monument, and these were the first interactions in the time I'd known the two in which I couldn't call them my supervisors. The future absence was mentioned several times throughout the interviews, never allowing it to venture far from my thoughts.

Before I asked about practices at Wind Cave National Park regarding interpretation of Oglála Lak'hóta continuing and historical relational connections (CHRC), I wanted to get a sense of their overall career with the NPS, as well as their experiences regarding American Indian interpretation at other Parks. I want to note here that neither Farrell nor Ramacher are enrolled members of the Oglála Lak'hóta Nation, nor do they claim belonging to any Federally-recognized or unrecognized tribes.



Figure 5. Trail shelter view of the Wind Cave NP Visitors Center.

I interviewed Tom Farrell first in his corner office in the Visitors Center lower level. As of 2018, Tom had been employed with the National Park Service for about thirty-four years, with ten of those years at Grand Canyon National Park, five at Yellowstone National Park and the rest spent at Wind Cave NP itself. In 2001, he became Wind Cave NP's Chief of Interpretation, whose primary duties include directing and managing interpretive staff, acting as the Park's Public Information Officer, and overseeing the Park's interpretive museum spaces. His roles additionally include Cultural Resource Coordinator and Compliance officer, which puts him in charge of Section 106 issues and Tribal Consultation. I asked him about his experience interpreting American Indian CHRC at Grand Canyon NP and Yellowstone NP.

TF: When I was at the Canyon I was working at the South Rim Visitor Center, and our main focus there was geology, human history. The focus at that Park for American Indian stories was more out of Tucson. I spent one summer working out there, that's 20 minutes out on the East Rim drive. You can see the outlines of some structures that were there. So that's where we talked about the Anasazi.

But inside the Park we had some people that talked about it. I gave more like a general hike out of the rim, gave a talk about a major pile float in the river, and gave a kid's programs. So, there was some interpretation going on, but it wasn't by me.

We had some people from both the Hopi and the Navajo reservations on the staff. They probably talked about it more than I.

SBE: Okay. So, yours was more geology-based?

TF: Yeah, geology and like human history in terms of the development of the Canyon.

When I got to Yellowstone, they were very rigid. They wanted to make sure the visitor didn't hear the same thing at every stop...they designed it so that, you're a geology, you're a geology stop, you're a wildlife stop. And at Old Faithful obviously we talked geology.

Farrell's experiences at both Grand Canyon NP and Yellowstone NP involved strategic fragmenting of topics. Geology, a common interpretive theme at National Parks including Wind

Cave, is categorized as a separate topic from “wildlife” or “human history.” This strict division, which Tom refers to as “rigid,” means that if Park visitors don’t visit certain spots, they might never hear about topics such as American Indian connections to the site. The unintended consequence to this fragmentation is that interpretive guides might only be expected to have knowledge of whichever topic their “stop” specializes in. The lack of flexibility in programming offers little incentive to engage in other types of knowledge.

I interviewed Lenard Ramacher, whose office shares a wall with Farrell’s, later that afternoon. Lennie has been with the National Park Service since 2001, initially as a volunteer interpreter at Craters of the Moon National Monument, and in various roles after. In late 2014, he began a position with Wind Cave National Park as an Interpretive Park Ranger, and in 2016 moved into the position of Assistant Chief of Interpretation. His work puts him primarily on the operational side of Interpretation. Ramacher manages the division’s budget, fee program, and hiring, as well as supervises a staff of about 30 interpretive employees. He occasionally is able to do some frontline interpretation, though those duties usually fall to the seasonal staff. In the winter season, he and another lead interpretive ranger provide the bulk of training for new employees. In the spring, other employees take the lead on training.

Lenard Ramacher also spoke about his experience with interpretation of American Indian continuing and historical relational connections at Craters of the Moon NP. He had previously mentioned that he “specifically had the opportunity to talk a bit about Shoshone Bannock interactions with the Park in the area,” and that “our knowledge” (that of the Craters of the Moon workforce) was limited due to irregular contact with members of the nation. I asked him more specifically about the Park’s professional support of this interpretive topic.

SBE: So as far as interpreting the American Indian cultural resources, did the Park encourage that? Was it something they went over in training, or is that something that you did on your own?

LR: I remember there was an effort during some of my time there—that was the reason the Chief of Interpretation reached out to a couple members of the tribe to come out and speak at the all-employee orientation. I don't know that there had been anything prior to my time there, and I certainly don't remember anything during my time there to indicate that it was off-limits or quote-unquote “we don't do that.”

It might have just partly reflected the staff that we had. We had people on staff, interpreters and those in the resource division who were geologists by training. Or, you know, they were biologists and so that's where most of the emphasis went. That's where we got most of our training from, and so that's what people I think became most comfortable talking about.

Ramacher simultaneously notes that he is unaware of Native outreach regarding employee training previous to his time at the site, and that employees weren't discouraged from pursuing the topic of American Indian cultural interpretation. He points to academic training in geology and biology as a reason that certain subject areas become focal points, and he uses the term “comfortable” to describe the emphasis of these subject matters, implying that these topics are easiest to discuss or even that other topics possess the potential for discomfort. When Farrell earlier asserted that the Hopi and Navajo members on staff probably talked “more” about American Indian CHRC, he suggested an underlying assumption that American Indians NPS employees are inherently more likely to focus on interpreting American Indian topics.

Comfort in discussing American Indian CHRC is a reoccurring theme, and interpretation efforts at Wind Cave NP certainly speak to this. Both Farrell and Ramacher identify a shift in the site's incorporation of Oglála Lakhóta CHRC into interpretive programs over the last five years, which they attribute to the hiring of an Oglála Lakhóta employee to the interpretive staff—a reference to the author. Ramacher states, “In the years that I've been here, Sina, you've been the

one who's covered the Lakǰóta Emergence Story with them, so they have a chance to hear it from a member of the Oglála Lakǰóta tribe, ask questions, and form a better understanding of that." Farrell discussed the other benefits that arrived with the hiring of a Lakǰóta interpretive staff member who possessed knowledge of Lakǰóta continuing and historical relational connections to the site:

TF: And like having you on the staff was critical in terms of getting us what to say. We've never had anybody come and say, 'I can help you.' And that, you know, there was a lot of years it would have been really nice to have.

SBE: So, there was a desire there?

TF: Oh yeah. In the past, sometimes we'd be criticized for not saying anything, and sometimes we'd be criticized for saying things. So, you're kind of frozen in terms of what to do.

When you came here you brought not only your knowledge, but like on the Emergence Story, you told us where the story came from. And that gave us a solid background like 'we can tell the story. This is, 'we didn't make this up. This is where the story came from.' That was very critical for us. At least I felt it was.

At Wind Cave NP, the presence of a Native employee on staff to provide guidance has been perceived as "critical" to interpretation of Oglála Lakǰóta CHRC. Within training contexts, the presence of a Native employee allowed opportunities for non-Native employees to learn about the subject material, thus gaining "comfort" with it. The presence of an Oglála Lakǰóta employee had a direct impact on the resulting increase in interpretation of Oglála Lakǰóta cultural connections and histories.

While it seems an obvious remedy to hire American Indians in NPS positions, as the primary solution, this still seems lacking. If Wind Cave NP had not hired an Oglála Lakǰóta Park Guide some five years previous, would interpretation of Oglála Lakǰóta cultural connections and

histories have remained in a state of stagnation? Furthermore, is it necessarily fair to make assumptions about the willingness or personal expertise of members of Native nations regarding these topics? Often it seems the responsibility of interpreting American Indian CHRC is shifted almost exclusively to American Indian NPS interpreters. If there are no Native employees in the Park, do these cultural connections and histories simply go unremembered?

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE PARKS

“The onus is upon us to do the outreach, because one of our principal roles is charged with telling the story of this country,” crackles Reed Robinson’s voice from the speakerphone, “The whole story.” Robinson is an enrolled member of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe and a second-generation employee of the National Park Service. He was attracted to the NPS because of his father’s experience working for the agency, and due to the imagery on the agency’s arrowhead badge: “I looked at that badge, initially, and it had an arrowhead and a buffalo on it. And thought, you know, those are things, as an Indian person, that I identify with naturally. So, I naturally assumed that this was an organization had some of the same intrinsic values as Indian people do, or Native people do” (see Figure 6).

Beginning from a position in maintenance at Timpanogos Cave National Monument, Robinson worked through positions at various NPS sites, until he came to his position as the Tribal Relations Indian Affairs Manager of the Midwest Region. His thoughts on the arrowhead badge eventually shifted: “You know, that isn’t the case. I realized that those symbols were appropriated symbols--they meant different things to the rank and file of the Park Service employees than they would to an Indian employee. Now, I didn’t say they were culturally misappropriated. Now, if we go another 50 years like this, I will say that, if I’m still around.”



Figure 6. National Park Service emblem representing vegetation, wildlife, scenic and recreational values, and historical and archeological values.⁹⁸

Robinson's style of matter-of-fact delivery feels out of place in an agency whose spiritual icons wax poetic about the solemn calm of mountains by trade but seems fitting for his regional level position. As a representative of the Regional Director's office, Robinson provides a regional presence in consultation meetings between NPS officials and Native nation governmental representatives. Much of his work in these settings involves providing expertise on NPS relations with Native nations, whether that be in the form of policy or cultural competency. Robinson believes it is the obligation of the National Park Service to take the charge on interpreting American Indian cultural connections and histories at NPS sites. He states:

⁹⁸ "History of the NPS Arrowhead." *National Park Service*. <https://www.nps.gov/glac/learn/news/history-of-the-nps-arrowhead.htm> (accessed May 14, 2018).

The Park Service needs to put much more energy into doing the tribal outreach, as opposed to the tribes putting energy into the Park. What we're supposed to be doing as the Park Service, we have the disciplines and the resources to do the outreach. We have much more capacity in doing that outreach and developing those relationships because it's the federal government, it's the largest organization in the country. It has exponentially more, proportionately more resources than any tribe.

Robinson's assertion that the NPS needs to take the lead on outreach with Native nations isn't unfounded. On the topic of consultation, Tom Farrell stated he wasn't aware of any consultation meetings that occurred before he became Chief of Interpretation in 2001, and that few have occurred since. Farrell cites the reasons for this as budgetary. When the Park organizes a consultation event, it provides food and hotel per diems for governmental representatives of Native nations, as well as honorariums for elders. With twenty-one Native nations affiliated with Wind Cave NP, consultation presents budgetary issues. In 2003, when the decision was made to replace the Cave's Natural Entrance sign, over a hundred people were involved in the effort.

While budgetary concerns are a pressing issue within NPS sites, some alleviation might come from shifting how the Park approaches its relationships with Native nations. If Parks view consultation events as the sole means of communication with Native nations, they are only able to develop these relationships when they have the financial means to do so, thus contributing to the estrangement that seems to occur so frequently between these entities. Robinson feels the responsibility of relationship building falls to the Park's Superintendent, adding:

How many tribes are within a day's drive that consider Wind Cave sacred? And what better way to spend your time than to developing that trust relationship with tribes? I mean, that develops you as a person and a leader. So that's what I try to explain to the superintendents in our region is you'll evolve into a better, more well-rounded dynamic individual and leader by your experiences with tribal people.

Developing relationships with Native nations on smaller scale than a consultation event, of course, is by no means a replacement for the event. In addition to fulfilling a legal obligation,

consultation events assure that multiple Native nations are provided a platform to voice their varying subjects of expertise, needs, and concerns on projects.

THE TRIBAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

I found Trina Lone Hill's desk nestled in the corner of the Natural Resources Department board room in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. She informed me it was a temporary arrangement and that her office was in the process of being transferred to a new department. Inconsistency itself seems to be the dependable issue in the Oglala Sioux Tribe's Cultural Affairs and Historic Preservation Office. "I was reassured I am in this position permanently, because, you know, tribal politics," she states with a laugh. Laughing is almost a trademark for Trina. Her friendly manner, even when discussing complex matters, makes it easy to see why she's chosen an employment position such this one.



Figure 7. Sign outside Oglala Sioux Tribe Natural Resources Department

For the past two years, Lone Hill has served as OST's Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO). "A difficult two years," she says with another laugh, "but it's something I have a passion for." She describes her position as an advocate for her ancestors, and works primarily with issues surrounding treaties, NAGPRA, history, and artifacts. The position has only officially existed for the Oglala Sioux Tribe she believes since 2009, making it a relatively new outreach point for the NPS. As a representative of the Oglala Sioux Tribe in consultation meetings, she's put in direct contact with representatives from the National Park Service, a rare event until recently. Trina described her surprise at learning this information:

You know, I had gone to the consultation, I think it was last summer, May or June or something last summer, but Vidal, the Superintendent, said I was the first representative from Oglála in his tenure. And I think that's upsetting, because we are the closest tribe to this particular park, Wind Cave. And Wind Cave, of course, is part of our creation story. And it just, it makes me question...we've had people in this position previously. I believe since 2009, it's been in existence for Oglála. But nobody has gone to this particular park, and you know it amazes me that a lot of them haven't had any representation from our tribe. We should be one of the first people, and we should have a say. We should have that voice there, and, you know, it does upset me. A lot of things, I'm sitting here like whoa what did they do previously? Why wasn't someone there?

Voice, dialogue, and open conversation are themes that come up frequently when Lone Hill discusses her hopes for relationships with the Park. After being ignored for most of the Park's history since establishment, it makes a certain amount of sense that listening would be an ongoing theme in an idealized relationship. She likens her own position within OST to that of a voice: "Some tribes don't have THPOs, and you know their voices are unheard. You know, we're trying hard to protect and preserve what we have."

That last sentence catches my attention because it sounds like the type of thing that might be printed in an NPS handbook. The enabling legislation for the National Park Service, the Organic Act, states: "[...] to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the

wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”⁹⁹ Over time these words have been shortened to a sort of agency motto: “To protect, unimpaired, for the enjoyment of future generations.”

OGLALA LAKOTA COLLEGE

In 2014, I received an AA from Oglala Lakota College (OLC) in Lakḥóta Studies, a department chaired by Karen Lone Hill since 1989. In my final year at the college, I’d taken a Practicum-style course with Karen wherein I spent a semester attending Lakḥóta ceremonies and other relational events, something I only recognized later as a profound lesson in decolonial educational praxis. Karen has a commanding voice, which I imagine comes off as stern to those unfamiliar with her distinctive reservation accent. If you listen closely, you can hear her words laced with warmth and oftentimes amusement. As we talked, she asked generally about my family and specifically my brother, another department graduate, and commented that our mother must be very proud of us. It was exactly the kind of interaction I’d grown accustomed to from the instructors at Oglala Lakota College.

Karen Lone Hill told me that Oglala Lakota College has just added a new emphasis area to its Lakḥóta Studies degree: Tourism and Cultural Interpretation. She read the new list of classes just added to the 2018-19 College Catalogue: Lakḥóta Cultural Resource Management, Intro to Interpretation, Travel and Tourism, Interpretive Program Design, and Advanced Interpretive Techniques. The classes aren’t offered just yet, but the basics of the program have been laid out.

⁹⁹ 39 Stat. 535, 16 U.S.C. 1

It sounded like a degree readymade for National Park Service employment, and I commented as much. Lone Hill confirmed that the group OLC worked with in developing the degree involved the NPS in part of the process: “They contacted the National Park Service and brought them all together. We did have a workshop in October of 2016, I think.” By “they,” she is referring to Wind Cave NP, Devils Tower NM, Jewel Cave NM, and Badlands NP, all Black Hills-area NPS sites. She continued, “It’s pretty much collaborating with one another. They said they would like to hire tribal members. I think some of the courses, we would probably need to them teach as adjuncts, so that’s how we work it out.” OLC is still in the initial stages of recruiting students into the program.

As the Lakḥóta Studies department chair at an educational institution chartered by the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Lone Hill has served as a consultant and cultural expert for several National Park Service units. “Some things the Tribe just refers on to us,” she stated of the practice. Though she’s not yet worked in a consultant capacity with Wind Cave National Park, she has been part of consultation processes for Agate Fossils Beds NM in Nebraska and Fort Laramie NHS in Wyoming. As a published author of several books on Lakḥóta language and culture, Lone Hill is exactly the type of expert the NPS needs in consultation processes.

The next section will delve into the interview data in relation to the research questions. Each of the interviews took 40 minutes to an hour and a half. Interview participants were provided with the list of questions and the informed consent form at least two weeks prior to the interview. When possible, interviews were done in person with a handheld recorder. The interview with Karen Lone Hill and Reed Robinson took place over the phone. A more formal analytic approach to the interview data is utilized for the following section.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Research Question #1: **HOW ARE OGLÁLA LAKĤÓTA CONTINUING AND HISTORICAL RELATIONAL CONNECTIONS CURRENTLY INTERPRETED AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK?**

Two interview Question Sets were matched with RQ1: “How are Oglála Lakĥóta continuing and historical relational connections interpreted at Wind Cave NP?” (IQS1) and “What are the opportunities for change and have they been taken?” (IQS2). Here, I will break down the Question Sets, compare and analyze the answers.

IQS1. How are Oglála Lakĥóta continuing and historical relational connections interpreted at Wind Cave NP?

OSTQ The last time you visited Wind Cave, how did you perceive the way Oglála Lakĥóta continuing and historical relational connections are currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?

NPSQ How are Oglála Lakĥóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?

Amongst the Oglala Sioux Tribal employees, visits to Wind Cave were few and limited to impressions gathered from about two-hour visits spent at the site per 20-year periods. Neither Trina Lone Hill nor Karen Lone Hill identified much Oglála Lakĥóta representation within museum spaces, instead pointing to tours as the primary, albeit limited, sources of Oglála Lakĥóta continuing and historical relational connections. Tribal Historic Preservation Officer Trina Lone Hill recalls two visits to the site: once in 2017, and once 20 years previous. Within the representation identified, Trina specifically mentioned the Park film which is shown every half hour in the site’s theater. The film is intended to summarize the overall value of the site and includes a Lakĥóta speaker discussing connections to the site. Of the video, Trina states, “...to me, it just really didn’t represent us very well. Or it didn’t really have too much of our point of view or anything like that represented.”

Karen Lone Hill, the Oglala Lakota College Department Chair, visited the site once 20 years previous with an Oglala Lakota College class group. She states regarding representation within the museum exhibits, “There might have been a little bit,” but identified the primary source of representation as having occurred during a guided tour. She explained that interpretation of Lakḥóta CHRC to the site occurred only when the guide responded to direct questions on the subject. She further stated, “I don’t think he would have explained anything like that if the students didn’t ask the question,” speculating the NPS guide would have ignored the subject if not prompted by the OLC students. Trina Lone Hill’s 2017 tour did include Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC, but she describes it as mentioned “briefly” and “[not] really in-depth.”

The National Park Service employees at Wind Cave National Park have a more lenient view of current interpretation and pointed to several museum exhibits and interpretive tools. The site’s Chief of Interpretation Tom Farrell states, “they’re being interpreted quite a bit, I believe.” Of the instances where Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections are interpreted at the site, Farrell listed a Winter Count exhibit, the Emergence Site Bulletin, the Emergence podcast, the sign at the cave’s Natural Entrance, the video (which he states is half Lakḥóta-based), the Breathing Earth panel in a park history exhibit, books in the bookstore, and social media posts. Assistant Chief of Interpretation Lenard Ramacher further adds that there is a panel on bison usage in the upstairs exhibit room, and a Park Junior Ranger book that utilizes the Winter Count for an activity.



Figure 8. Winter Count Exhibit portraying the Lakḥóta Emergence Oral History. To the right is a symbol key, and underneath a written version of the Emergence history available to take.

There is a noted disconnect between OST employees and NPS employees on the amount of Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC represented within interpretive museum spaces. One possibility is that parties hold differing interpretations of what constitutes “quite a bit,” in Farrell’s terms, or “a little bit,” in Karen Lone Hill’s. Farrell and Ramacher both work onsite and experience frequent exposure to these exhibits, thus possessing a stronger familiarity with them. However, it is certainly arguable that because Karen and Trina have had similar length visitations to other visitors, their experiences with interpretive exhibits are much more reflective of those of an average visitor.

Date of visitation to the site also plays a role in these differing interpretations. Ramacher notes that much of these exhibits are fairly new— “I don’t get the sense that there’s a lot that’s here that was here anymore than five years ago,” he states. This change he attributes to the presence of an enrolled Oglála Lakḥóta interpreter on the interpretive staff. It’s also possible that Farrell’s descriptor “quite a bit” is used in comparison to the site’s past exhibit content or even to the interpretive approaches utilized by other NPS sites.

IQS2. What are the opportunities for change and have they been taken?

OSTQ Did [your last visit to Wind Cave NP] differ from previous visits?

NPSQ What opportunities do employees have to learn about Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections?

For Trina Lone Hill, not much has changed at Wind Cave NP from her initial visit 20-years ago to her latest in 2017. “It wasn’t much different actually,” she states. Trina Lone Hill’s most recent visit to site took place as part of an input meeting for updating the site’s exhibit spaces. She hasn’t found reason to visit the site otherwise, and adds, “I just never go. I drive through and that’s about it.” After her most recent visit, Trina desired to return to the site to camp, and states, “So now it’s my thing. I wanted to take my kids there. I’m just like we’re going to go back. When it gets nice we will plan and we’ll go camp or something. ‘Cause I said you have to come with me to some of my consultations, because it’s cool. (laughs)”

Trina visited the site when she had a reason to do so but has not without prompting by her employer or as part of a school trip. She does not give a reason for why she has not visited, nor does she explicitly discourage Lakḥóta visitation to the site. After her recent consultation visit, she expresses a desire to return to the site to camp, but again as part of a trip required by her employer. Trina categorizes her lack of visitation to the site as normal amongst the Oglála

Lak'hóta the reason, she says, being “Families don’t have cars. Families don’t have disposable income, or any income to even venture to the Black Hills... most people don’t have that, you know, they they’ve never even left the community.” Without explicit purpose or financial means, trips to the site tend to be limited to educational or employment-required visits.

Reed Robinson, Tribal Relations Indian Affairs Manager of the Midwest Region and Rosebud Sioux Tribal member, agrees with the assessment that recreational visits to the site aren’t common amongst affiliated Native peoples. He states, “Tribal people come to Wind Cave for a lot of different reasons. It’s mostly non-official. They’re mostly conduct ceremony or something. There’s not a lot of recreational travel by Indian people compared to non-Indian people.”

Karen Lone Hill also hasn’t returned to the site since her initial visit, citing a lack of reason to do so. She states:

Well, I think after hearing the story, and I knew that...we go back to our Ohúnkakaŋ stories, the beginning of the creation of earth and the universe, and that we as a people, we emerged from the Earth, and pretty much that was there at Wind Cave where we emerged from. And so after, knowing that and just out of curiosity some of the students wanted to go to Wind Cave, after we talked about the creation story.

So, we went, and then after we went down into the cave, then I got to thinking why do I want to go back in there? You know, this is where we came out of, and we shouldn’t be (laughs). So, I never went back, and I don’t know if any of those other students did, because they had questions too.

Karen’s initial visit to the site was prompted by her students’ curiosity after learning the Emergence oral history. While inside the cave, she reasons that because Wind Cave is the site of Lak'hóta emergence, there isn’t, for her, a purpose to return to the site. Karen appears to find a contradiction in attempting a return to a place from which one emerged and further states she doesn’t know if any of her students returned to the site later.

At Wind Cave NP, the seasonal nature of employment paired with the majority of positions leveled at GS-04 “Park Guide” creates an environment for the bulk of the park’s interpretive workforce to be new employees to the NPS each year. Trainings for new employees have in the past been largely led by GS-05 Park Rangers, each with their own topic of specialization. Beginning in 2016, a two-hour training on Lakǰóta continuing and historical relational connections led by myself was included in the program as an addition to a separate session led by Oglála Lakǰóta elder Basil Brave Heart. Tom Farrell states of the training, “It’s a component we want involved with our program, which is why we brought you in for training, why we bring Basil in to training. We want our new [people] to understand how important this site is.” According to Farrell, these training efforts have impacted visitor experience:

Every NPS area does a visitor survey card survey every summer. And one of the questions is, the money question is, why is this park significant? Why did it become a National Park? And we’ve seen the percent of people who answer because of its cultural heritage or because of its ties to the American Indians...we’ve seen it rise in the past several years because of all these efforts. You can definitely see that people are starting to take that home.

Tom Farrell links the park’s ties to American Indians as a factor in its significance, noting the rise in visitors who also make this connection. He then goes on to mark this shift in perception as to the site’s significance as something the park desires:

So, it’s one thing we want. We want the employee to be comfortable telling this story and we want them to tell the story. It’s something we audit for. If you don’t, it’s something we talk to you about. We had a gentleman a few years ago on our Friends group that went on a tour of the Garden of Eden and it got, granted, it’s a little harder to talk about the Emergence Story there because you’re not going by the blowhole, but the ranger didn’t talk about it. He sent a scathing letter to us.

During the auditing process, a GS-05 Lead Ranger will observe a GS-04 Park Guide on a self-designed interpretive program in order to provide feedback. By auditing for topics related to American Indian CHRC, Wind Cave NP ensures that interpretation of these topics is considered

standard procedure. That Farrell immediately mentions a “scathing letter” from a member of the Friends of Wind Cave group is also significant, in that negative feedback is identified as a potential impact of not addressing the topic. In this capacity, visitors with previous knowledge of the site’s American Indian CHRC therefore hold the park accountable for lapses in interpretation.

GS-04 Park Guides at Wind Cave NP are usually new employees to the National Park Service and, if pursuing a career in the agency, will likely move on to higher level positions in other parks. Interpretive techniques and practices learned at the site are therefore foundational to creating program development standards likely to spread to other NPS sites. Lenard Ramacher tells of one such incident:

We had an interpreter here who worked here a couple seasons ago, and she made a point to always include the Emergence Story in her program, and it was actually a fairly important part. When she went to a different park, she found that the Native peoples from that area had a lot of history there, but it just really wasn’t being interpreted. She actually went to the trouble of you know reaching out and coming into contact with, and attending events at, some of the local reservations. Getting to know people who were members of the tribe and getting some of that first-hand perspective, and then being able to include that in her programs at that park.

I think it really just spoke to her experience here and her comfort here being able to...gain that first-hand knowledge and insight from talking with her coworkers and her peers and people who were familiar with the Lakḥóta culture here. And so that’s something that I want to make sure is a tradition that we can continue to have here. Maintaining a diverse work force and one that represents the diversity of America, but also certainly knowledge and affiliation here locally. People who have a vested interest in preserving this area.

The interpreter in the account began her NPS career at Wind Cave NP, experienced multiple training sessions related to the American Indian CHRC in association with the site and was later audited for her inclusion of American Indian CHRC in her interpretive programs. This standardization of practice created conditions wherein when the interpreter moved to another Park, the lack of Native interpretation and resources at the site was a notable absence that

prompted corrective action where the interpreter took it upon herself to seek out American Indian CHRC resources for inclusion in her program. Ramacher states the event “spoke” to her experience at Wind Cave NP, and expresses a desire to replicate the conditions of this experience as a continuing tradition.

Research Question #2: WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF THE OGLÁLA LAKĤÓTA NATION REGARDING INTERPRETATION AT WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK AND HOW ARE THEY MET?

Four Question Sets were matched with RQ2: “What needs have been expressed by the Oglala Sioux Tribe?” (IQS3), “How much say does the Oglala Sioux Tribe have/how much autonomy does Wind Cave NP have in decision-making?” (ISQ4/11), “In what way do the goals of both entities align?” (ISQ5), and “How can Wind Cave CP best represent the needs of the Oglála Lakĥóta?” (ISQ6).

IQS3. What needs have been expressed by the Oglala Sioux Tribe?

- | | |
|------|---|
| OSTQ | What needs have been expressed by members of the Oglála Lakĥóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park? |
| NPSQ | What needs have been expressed by the Oglála Lakĥóta Nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park? |

Trina Lone Hill states that “preservation issues” are important to the Oglála Lakĥóta Nation, which she defines as “what we need to do here as a people to keep things going.” This is a notable comparison to the NPS usage of “preservation” wherein the NPS preserves *resources*. For Trina the concept of preservation broadly entails that which is necessary “as a people *to keep things going*,” and can include resources as well as extend to other realms, such as the body, mental, and spiritual health. Her usage of the words “as a people” speak to a collective identity

and obligation to preservation. Lone Hill also sees the potential future ceremonial usage of the site:

Maybe we can go back there and start performing our ceremonies there, doing different things with our star alignments and star knowledge in these parks. I know a group in December where, they were trying to do it, but they had told them the dust, there was contamination in that area and they wouldn't be able to camp there at that particular time, so they were a little upset.

But we can start working towards it. This is opening a conference up with those National Parks to allow us to go in there in these certain times. We're not going to look at it as a defeat, we're going to continue. Keep that dialogue open with them. Don't look at it as "no you can't do this." It's starting a conversation and it'll evolve, and it's something that we have to keep working towards. It's not a dead issue.

Lone Hill uses this anecdote as an example of an incident where Native peoples were not allowed to perform a ceremony within the Park. Though the request to perform a ceremony in this case was unsuccessful, she maintains commitment to the act as a future goal and categorizes this as the start of a conversation. She repeats terminology referencing the act of talking ("dialogue," "conversation") and relates discussion between the parties to forward motion ("working towards," "continue," "evolve") in contrast to a ceased motion, which she relates to defeat and death.

Lone Hill's acknowledgement that ceremony within the Park must be *allowed* by the Parks is also significant. Earlier in the interview, Trina expressed discontent that ceremonies are limited by National Park entities:

We had to adapt to being on reservations and practicing our ways here rather than where they should be—star alignments, solstice, all these different things. We're not allowed to do those anymore, especially now that they're in the Parks. And even gathering things, the plants, everything has to be quantified and you have to explain its use and why you're picking it in this particular spot. It gets me upset. All these things come to mind like why, it's like WHY (raised voice). We don't question you. Why are you questioning our traditional medicines and the plants that we utilize? Why do we have to quantify? It's like with water. Eventually they're going to make us quantify that, and that's not right.

Trina Lone Hill's statement that the NPS' compulsory "quantification" or justification of Native resource usage is "not right" may speak to deeper frustrations about bureaucratization of American Indian cultures, wherein aspects of culture (such as those defined by E.O. 13007 Sacred Sites) must meet certain requirements for recognition by the U.S. Federal government. The Black Hills Land Claim and notions regarding ownership/stewardship of the sites at which these NPS units are located might also be relevant here. Her statement, "We don't question you" signals the imbalances and inherent differences in relationships between American Indian tribal nationals and the U.S. Federal government.

Karen Lone Hill believes that training on both sides is necessary, stating, "We definitely need training, and I think they need to know how to present from our perspective." When asked to speak more on the term "our perspective," she elaborated:

To tell our stories the way we know it. Not from somebody else who just read about it and is explaining it. And I think we need to be able to explain it, like our Creation Stories, and be able to include all of that rather than just maybe what somebody's read about and explained... It's already here. They need to hear our version of it, and that's important.

Karen Lone Hill prioritizes the hearing of a story "the way we know it" rather than reading about a story. Lakhóta oral histories, such as creation stories, must be taught from a firsthand Lakhóta source, rather than be learned through reading. Later in the interview, Lone Hill states that hiring Lakhóta employees would make a difference in interpretation.

Reed Robinson echoes Karen Lone Hill's position on telling stories the ways they are known to the Lakhóta:

... it's been expressed to me that there's needs for a stronger synapse between the individual parks with regard to tribal relations in...storytelling, whether it's storytelling about the original people that inhabited the land, or the history of Euro-American influence upon that relationship. The other side of the story, if everybody's telling their truth, the truth that controverts what is being told, so the

full story, the full truth. I think there's an opportunity for parks to collaborate on those stories. It's a general theme that I hear from elected officials or appointed officials, like THPOs.

Robinson uses the term “full” to refer to storytelling that is not limited to a single perspective. He states there is an opportunity to *collaborate*, implying both entities are sources of expertise in their respective areas. Though Robinson is himself Lakǰóta, he cites elected and appointed tribal officials as sources of authority. Earlier in the interview, Reed stated that one such authority, former OST president John Steele, expressed his feeling that Wind Cave NP is a place where Native peoples “don’t feel welcome.”

Tom Farrell’s answer to the question adds dimension to the statement: “For many years, I won’t say we didn’t have a good relationship. We just didn’t have a relationship.” This he partially attributes to the high turnover rate in OST’s Tribal Historic Preservation Office, the position currently held by Trina Lone Hill. Of the three dozen affiliated nations associated with Wind Cave NP, only the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, and Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe maintain active government-level relationships with the site. The outcome of this is that these Native nations have more input with the site than others, and consequently more representation. Farrell states:

They’re the people that come to our meetings, and they’re the ones that respond to our requests for assistance. That’s in the back of your mind. You’ve got to be careful. It’s like are we telling all the stories? Or are we just telling the stories of the people that show up at the meetings? And it’s something we want to be really careful about with these new exhibits. Obviously, Pine Ridge is nearby, but the Ponca and a lot of other people have ties to this place too. And how do we tell their story?

Attempts tell the story of a Native nation without input from said nation are discouraged by all parties. The consequence of this hesitancy towards misrepresentation is that these American Indian continuing and historical relational connections might be altogether left out of NPS

interpretation, a result just as damaging. Recent Exhibit Planning meetings done in collaboration with affiliated Native nations revealed a desire that the Park avoid the tendency to isolate or erase Native stories. In reference to these meetings, Lenard Ramacher says:

It's certainly a sense that I've got, that I recall from those meetings and from a larger discussion that was led or instigated by tribal members, but also influenced by everyone else that was in the room as well, is making sure that Lakḥóta culture and Lakḥóta ties to Wind Cave are included throughout the exhibit space and in the exhibits, and they not be confined to one area or one exhibit that covers the quote unquote 'cultural history.'

It's something that's included, whether it be a discussion of the cave or surface resources, the bison, that people have many opportunities to learn about what this place means to the Lakḥóta culture and Lakḥóta people... that's the sense that I've gotten is that we need to make sure that that takes place. That it's throughout the exhibits.

The desire to tell a full story, one that is not limited to the view of a single entity or isolated in one section of interpretation, is a theme repeated by most parties. Representational voice at the site also emerges as a recurring theme. Representational storytelling was identified as a primary focus by both NPS and OST employees, but OST employees further emphasized the need for practical usage of the site, such as for ceremony use and as a place to train Native peoples.

*IQS4/11. How much say does the Oglala Sioux Tribe have/how much autonomy does Wind Cave NP have in decision-making?*¹⁰⁰

OSTQ How much say does the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation have in making decisions regarding cultural resources at Wind Cave NP?

NPSQ How much autonomy does the park have in making decisions regarding cultural resources?

¹⁰⁰ I've identified IQS4/11 as being relevant to both RQ2 and RQ3. However, I will only discuss my findings regarding the question in this section.

Trina Lone Hill believes that OST has much potential for influence on Wind Cave NP's cultural resource decisions, which she attributes to a collaborative and open relationship with the site. She states:

I believe if we exerted our authority, basically even making contact with the park itself, going there, you know setting up visits, we could have a lot of input on cultural resources, on the land, you know, different aspects of it. We could have a very big voice there. A very good collaboration with Wind Cave itself. And, you know, in the talks that I've had with Vidal and Tom, they're receptive to us coming there. One good thing I like is we can call them up and have an open conversation with them, and they're receptive to that, and any kind of suggestions you have. I think they would be open to those.

Trina Lone Hills's assertion that "if we exerted our authority" that OST could have a lot of input implies an unutilized power dynamic. Within the same sentence she elaborates that exerting authority involves setting up visits and making contact with the park. She again returns to "voice," "talk," and "conversation" as identifiers of positive means of communication. She describes Wind Cave NP officials as "receptive" and "open." Collaboration is again utilized in a way that implies a comparable power relationship, tied to Trina's assertion that OST has the ability to "exert authority" in the relationship.

When asked if her experience with Wind Cave NP is similar her experiences working with other Federal agencies, Lone Hill replied, "I actually think they're unique. I think they're more receptive, more willing to work with the tribe itself. I know some of the other National Parks are kind of at the initial stage of it." Here, Trina is contrasting OST's relationship with Wind Cave NP to relationships with other National Park Service entities. By stating that other National Parks are at an initial stage in developing relationships with OST, she is implying that Wind Cave NP occupies a further stage, though she doesn't state to the extent.

On this question, Tom Farrell and Lenard Ramacher both deferred to the Long-Range Interpretive Plan, a document developed in 2012 by Harpers Ferry Center Interpretive Planning

with input from various stakeholders, as the key reference point for interpretive services in the Park. The “stakeholders” in its development consisted of Park staff, affiliated Native nations, The Friends of Wind Cave group, local area community members, and the Black Hills Parks & Forest Association. The plan outlines the significance of the site as understood by Wind Cave NP and its stakeholders for the development of interpretive themes, which are defined in the document as, “the most important stories and represent core concepts and ideas that every visitor should have the opportunity to experience.”¹⁰¹

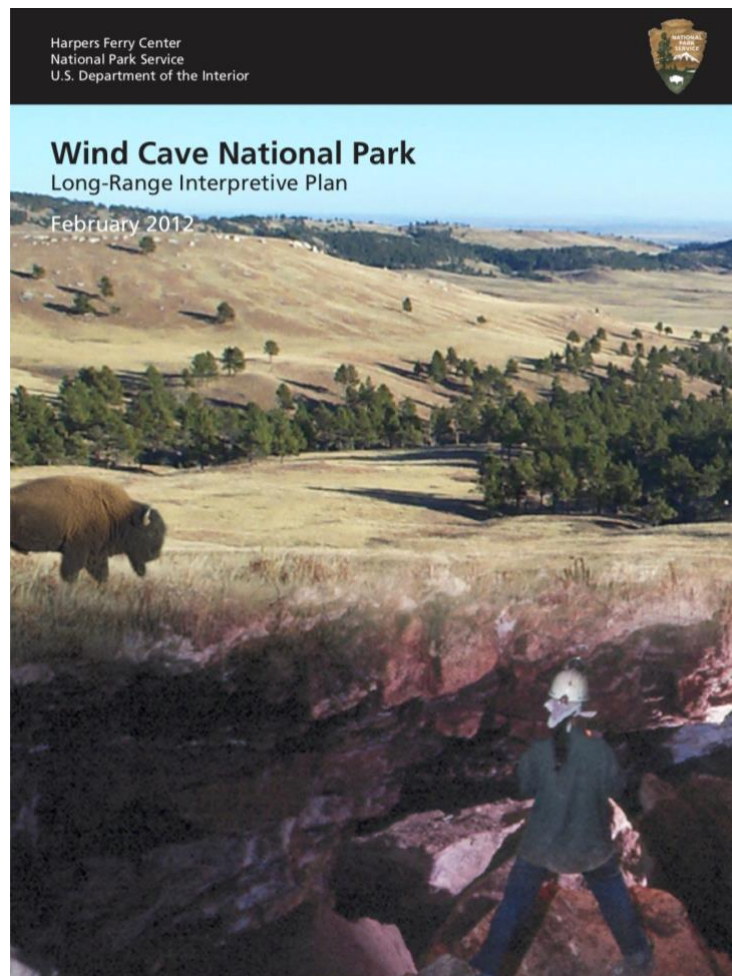


Figure 9. Long-Range Interpretive Plan cover

¹⁰¹ Harpers Ferry Interpretive Planning Center. “*Wind Cave National Park Long-Range Interpretive Plan*,” (National Park Service, 2012.) 9

Farrell describes the Long-Range Interpretive Plan as a “highway that’s like, ‘here’s your interpretive themes, this is what you should be talking about, and here are the means to do it.’”

Of the ten interpretive themes outlined in the document, two directly mention American Indian CHRC. Farrell read the interpretive theme regarding Sacred Sites aloud:

Sacred Site: The entrance to Wind Cave and its unique winds, a sacred site to many American Indian tribes, offers a sense of life and spirituality that fosters respect, cultural understanding, and an appreciation for the diverse cultures that have cared for and about this special place.

Wind Cave is identified as significant in part because of its connections to American Indian peoples. The designation of “Sacred Site” is amongst the key interpretive themes outlined for use in interpretive program development. When asked about tribal consultation, Farrell stated that it is compelled in compliance of the Section 106 portion of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which requires Federal agencies to “consult THPOs, Tribes, and NHOs about undertakings when they may affect historic properties to which a Tribe or NHO attaches religious or cultural significance.”¹⁰²

Once consultation occurs and “reasonable” opportunity to comment has been allowed, Section 106’s requirements are considered fulfilled. There is nothing in Section 106 or NHPA that requires Federal agencies to follow the recommendations made by Native nations. Because the mandate is to listen but not necessarily follow, Section 106 maintains U.S. Federal plenary power relations over Native nations. Though this structural power over Native nations is not necessarily disrupted by the act of listening, Farrell maintains that it is better for NPS sites such as Wind Cave do what is feasible to fulfill input gained in consultation.

¹⁰² “National Historic Preservation Act, Section 106.” *National Park Service*.
<https://www.nps.gov/history/tribes/Documents/106.pdf> (accessed June 1, 2018).

SBE: Alright, so legally you have to consult. Legally, you don't have to do what the tribes ask.

TF: You're smart if you can. You work very hard to make sure you do everything you can.

SBE: Can you elaborate on that?

TF: Yeah, like the [Natural Entrance] sign. We wanted to have it basically be hands off. There's probably a few grammar things I would have corrected, but no, it helps our relationship with the tribes. To say this is what we did with the sign, and you know we're trying to involve the tribes with the exhibits that we're putting in now, and we're going to get some good feedback.

Farrell's assertion that, "you're smart if you can" in reference to fulfilling tribal feedback from consultation is linked to relationship-building with the site's affiliated Native nations. A "hands off" approach to fulfilling requests from Native nations, as in the Park does precisely what the Native nation requests when possible, is seen as preferable even to making minor changes on an interpretive sign. Though actions such as these can never equalize inherent power imbalances between the NPS and Native nations so long as said nations remain locked into trustee relations under the overarching power structure of the U.S. Federal government, they do make some shifts in the general direction of cooperative relationships.



Figure 10. Sign next to the Cave's Natural Entrance worded by the affiliated Native nations.

IQS5. In what way do the goals of both entities align?

OSTQ In what ways do the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation align with the goals of the Wind Cave NP?

NPSQ In what ways do the goals of Wind Cave NP align with the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation?

In response to this question, Karen Lone Hill states that she is "hoping that it is promoting the Lakhóta cultural interpretation of those sites." The term "hoping" implies a gap in knowledge about Wind Cave NP's interpretive goals. Tom Farrell mirrored this in his statement, "I don't know what the goals of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation [are]." Both answers showed a hesitancy to assume knowledge of the other party's intent.

Reed Robertson believes the priorities of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation are “nowhere even close to what the Park Service priorities are.” He elaborates that there are higher priorities, such as housing and water quality. Robinson is asserting that because Oglála Lakḥóta Nation members are concerned with survival level priorities, they aren’t presently concerned with the type of interpretation that occurs at Wind Cave NP. While Trina Lone Hill’s earlier statements that OST members don’t visit Wind Cave NP due to a lack of financial means support this assertion, her answer to this question takes a more optimistic tone:

I think we have about the same mission. We want our voices heard there. We want our cultural resources protected. I think they’re receptive to our suggestions, and I think it could actually be one of the models for the rest of the parks near, I guess nationwide. It’d be something ideal to work towards. So far, I’m happy with Wind Cave.

Lone Hill believes the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation and Wind Cave NP share a common mission which entails representation of Lakḥóta voices, protection of cultural resources, and a receptive attitude to the requests of the Oglala Sioux Tribe. She further states that Wind Cave NP could be a model for other National Parks in terms of relationships with and representation of Native nations, and that it would be ideal to work towards. Lenard Ramacher, like Trina Lone Hill, seemed more willing to discussing the alignments he’s observed in recent Museum Planning meetings:

The fact that we’re here to preserve—unimpaired—for future generations, and for the enjoyment of current generations. The fact that we want to preserve the landscape and the cave, and protect the natural opening and the cultural resources that are here. In that way, if nothing else, make the Park Service a steward here during this period of time. So, I really see it aligning with the long-term goals of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe in that way.

Ramacher cites the National Park Service mission statement— “to preserve—unimpaired”—and relates it to what he perceives as the goals of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation. Ramacher’s use of the

term “steward” is significant here in that the term’s usage has been recently affiliated with Indigenous relationality with land.¹⁰³ The mirroring of this term generates a direct alignment between goals of the parties. Notable as well is the phrase “during this period of time,” implying that the National Park Service may not permanently be the entity charged with the stewardship of the land. This may additionally reference the Black Hills Land Claim. He further elaborates on other potential opportunities for alignment:

The interest in telling the—helping to tell the story about Lakḥóta culture and history here, but also framing it in a way so it’s not seen as the past. Just as an example, we tend to look at, whether it’s interpreting cave exploration, or you know the McDonald-Stabler feud, or whatever the case, it’s like, ‘well, that’s what happened back then, and this is how we are now.’ But, of course, the relationship between the Oglála Lakḥóta people and the Black Hills and Wind Cave didn’t stop in 1903 or in 1876.

So, there’s making sure that we’ve, particularly with respect to say new exhibits, we frame it in a way that, ‘this is how the land is still used today,’ or ‘this is how the resource is interpreted,’ or ‘this is the role that it plays with people today,’ and ‘how the Lakḥóta people see it in the future as well.’ I think there’s making sure that it’s not just a, ‘this was in the past.’

Ramacher’s corrective switch from, “The interest in telling the” to, “*helping to tell the*” Lakḥóta cultural and historical story implies an acknowledgement of multiple parties in storytelling. His description of the McDonald-Stabler feud highlights an approach to interpretation emphasizing temporal separation of events: “that’s what happened back then, and this is how we are now.” This approach does not acknowledge continuing Oglála Lakḥóta relationships to the land, which Ramacher states, “didn’t stop in 1903,” (the year Wind Cave NP was established), “or in 1876,” (the year before the Black Hills were taken into Federal custody; also, the year of the Battle of

¹⁰³ Carpenter, Kristen A., Sonia K. Katyal, and Angela R. Riley. “In Defense of Property’ (2009).” *Yale LJ* 118: 1022-1084.

the Little Bighorn). Ramacher believes there is a goal alignment in both parties' desire that new interpretive exhibits acknowledge continuing cultural relationships in addition to past.

IQS6. How can Wind Cave NP best represent the needs of the Oglála Lak'hóta?

OSTQ In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lak'hóta through interpretation?

NPSQ In your perception, how can Wind Cave National Park best represent the needs of the Oglála Lak'hóta through interpretation?

Karen Lone Hill emphasizes a need for basic collaborative relationships: "Work with us because I think most tribal members are willing to work with them. If we have suggestions, to be open to suggestions as to whatever they are. If they have exhibits, just to listen to comments and maybe make little changes." Her statement that "most tribal members are willing to work with them" reflects the heterogenous nature of Oglála Lak'hóta opinions which are not categorically unified, as well as an inclination towards cooperative relationship-building amongst OST members. Collaborative relationships, openness, and receptiveness to Native voices ("listening") are again referenced. Like Trina, Karen Lone Hill also takes issue with the practice of asking Native peoples to provide validation (in Trina's case "quantification") of tribal histories and traditions:

To me, having that openness and acceptance that we as a people believe in our oral traditions, and there's up to a point in history, it wasn't written. And they expect that. If you say something, 'has it been validated?' There's always that question. Just accept what we tell you, because our people have been here for a long time. We didn't write, so everything was always passed down orally.

I think it was maybe around 1900, or maybe shortly before then, when they finally started putting it in writing. They started recording and transcribing our stories. So, from that point on it's in writing now, but beyond that in the past it was never written. But we know our stories, so we just continue to tell our stories.

Since then they put them in writing, but then they don't say that it's history. It's more like it's 'mythology' is what they call it...but we just call it oral history, oral traditions.

Here, issue is taken with the U.S. Federal practice of asking that Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections be evaluated within a non-Oglála Lakḥóta framework in order to receive validation from the National Park Service. The implication that follows is that non-Indigenous agencies are cognizant only of their own standards for legitimacy, or validity, and disregard those upheld by Indigenous peoples unless an alignment is already present.

In creating criteria where Indigenous knowledges must be validated within non-Indigenous structures, power is shifted asymmetrically to said non-Indigenous structures. Because the U.S. Federal government maintains plenary political power within its own structural system over American Indian tribal nations, the continued demand that American Indigenous peoples "justify" their knowledges, values, and at times very existence on U.S. Federal terms is inherently dangerous to American Indigenous peoples. The National Park Service as an agency of the U.S. government is a site where microcosmic versions of this imbalanced relationship occur. NPS demands for justification of Indigenous action, along with the usage of demeaning and devaluing terminology like "mythology," is complicit in maintaining this asymmetrical power structure.

Like Karen Lone Hill, the theme of openness is also discussed by Trina Lone Hill:

I think being more open with us. You know, that open dialogue. Like I said, the group trying to perform a ceremony there in December with the solstice, I think being open with our membership's requests like this and building more on those. I know when I went, I talked with Tom. We talked about having an offering area set up before we go into the cave, bringing food and some prayers there.

Before we went in, this was last year, last May, when I went with my son and his group, I thought about it you know I'm like maybe we should take something with us. But I know you can't leave things in there, there's you know, they have their rules, you can't do this, you can't leave anything back, imprint, touching the

walls, all these things. I said, “Is there a way we can make a food offering out here before we go in or when we come out?” And they were receptive to that, and they talked about how big it should be or where, where it should be placed.

I liked that, because I said you know when we’re down in the cave and they shut the lights off and there, there were all the sparks. My son’s teacher didn’t see it, and she’s non-Native. She didn’t see it! (laughs) But there was three of us, we looked at each other and said, “Did you see that?” They’re here. We need to acknowledge that, and we need to at least leave them an offering.

In this account, a non-Native teacher does not see sparks during a tour of Wind Cave NP which were simultaneously witnessed by three Native group members. Lone Hill does not assert that the non-Native teacher needed to see the sparks, but that because the Native peoples present on the tour did, that it must be acknowledged and an option available for them to interact with the site in accordance with the event. Trina Lone Hill’s statement that, “They have their rules, you can’t do this...” again speaks to an imbalance of power maintained by the NPS’ ability to create rules for Lakǰóta interactions with the site. The openness Lone Hill refers to in this case may not strictly speak to the Park’s willingness to engage in dialogue, but also that the Park refrain from engaging in practices that exacerbate the gap in power relations between it and tribal nations.

Lone Hill’s discussion of the potential for a summer solstice ceremony further supports the conception of openness and dialogue as engagement in practices that halt increasing power gaps: “I said we’d like to come too, if we can, say in June for the summer solstice, and they said ‘yeah, we can set something up.’ They were receptive to that and respected that. That’s good. You know it’s keeping that connection with the tribes, and our connection to the Wind Cave itself open.” Openness here refers to unlocking restrictions on the ability of Native peoples to engage relationally with the site.

When asked about best representation strategies, Farrell points to the importance of tribal representation amongst employees. “It helps to have Lakǰóta interpreters on the staff,” he states,

“That’s a huge step.” The presence of Lakǰóta peoples familiar with historical and continuing relational connections also ensures Lakǰóta voices are, for the NPS, renormalized¹⁰⁴ at the site in a non-consultation setting.

Reed Robinson feels the Park should engage in combinations of formalized outreach through consultation and less formal relationship building and maintenance. He believes the NPS should, “Get to the point where we have a less formal relationship, while never disrespecting a formal relationship, but at the point where we don’t need a liaison to talk to tribes, that we have those relationships and they pass on from generation to generation.” In addition to relationship building and maintenance with tribal nations, keeping those relationships active “from generation to generation” is emphasized. In this case, “generation” can be seen as both long term passing of relationships and in acknowledgement of changing staff in the NPS and OST.

In addition to what he calls a “good start” to representation of the Lakǰóta Emergence oral history, Lenard Ramacher believes the history of Black Hills dispossession would be a relevant inclusion to new interpretive exhibits in the museum:

Another thing that I’d like to see in these exhibits, and I think would be a relevant thing, is to include in there this ongoing story of the Land Claim. The claim on the Black Hills. I can’t really remember the particulars of it, but I remember reading some years ago about this. That, as I understand it, the Supreme Court has found in favor of the Oglála Lakǰóta Tribe that the Black Hills were taken inappropriately and belonged to them, and that there’s the story of this settlement money that’s just sitting in a bank account accruing because it’s not been accepted.

It’s a very powerful story that I think a lot more people need to know about. I can’t think of a better way to frame that story of this place as still, it wasn’t just important to the Lakǰóta. It’s still an essential place now, and to bring that home by just pointing that out, telling that story somewhere in our exhibits.

¹⁰⁴ Choice of the phrasing “for the NPS, renormalized” to acknowledge that Lakǰóta voices at the site have never been abnormal, but that for the majority of the NPS’ history these voices were unheard by the NPS.

I feel like that would be new knowledge for a lot of visitors that come through our doors every year. And I feel like just the inclusion of that would be another step to make sure that people from, that are Oglála Lakḥóta that come from the reservation, Pine Ridge or wherever, feel at home here as well, and feel like their story's being represented.

While Wind Cave NP does have some interpretive exhibits detailing the sequence of events that lead to the establishment of the site as a National Park, the illegal appropriation of the Black Hills into U.S. possession and the history of the Black Hills Land Claim are not currently represented in these exhibits. Current exhibit panels in the upstairs walkway feature a Breathing Earth panel on the Lakḥóta Emergence oral history, but then skips abruptly to 1881 with the finding of the cave by early white settlers.

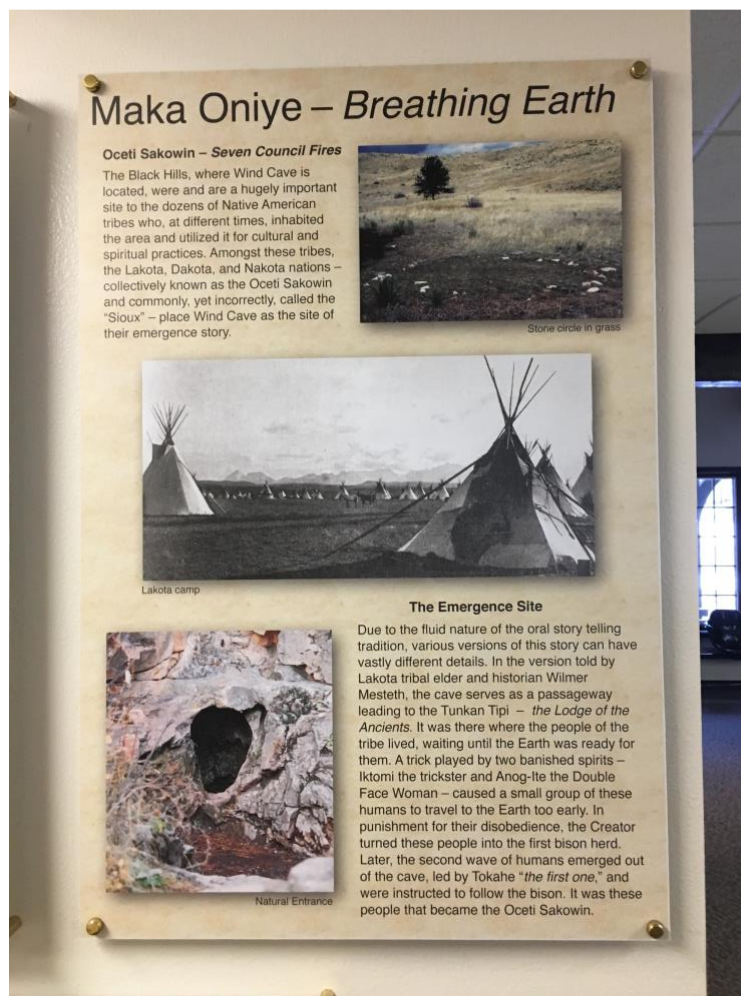


Figure 11. Breathing Earth Interpretive Panel

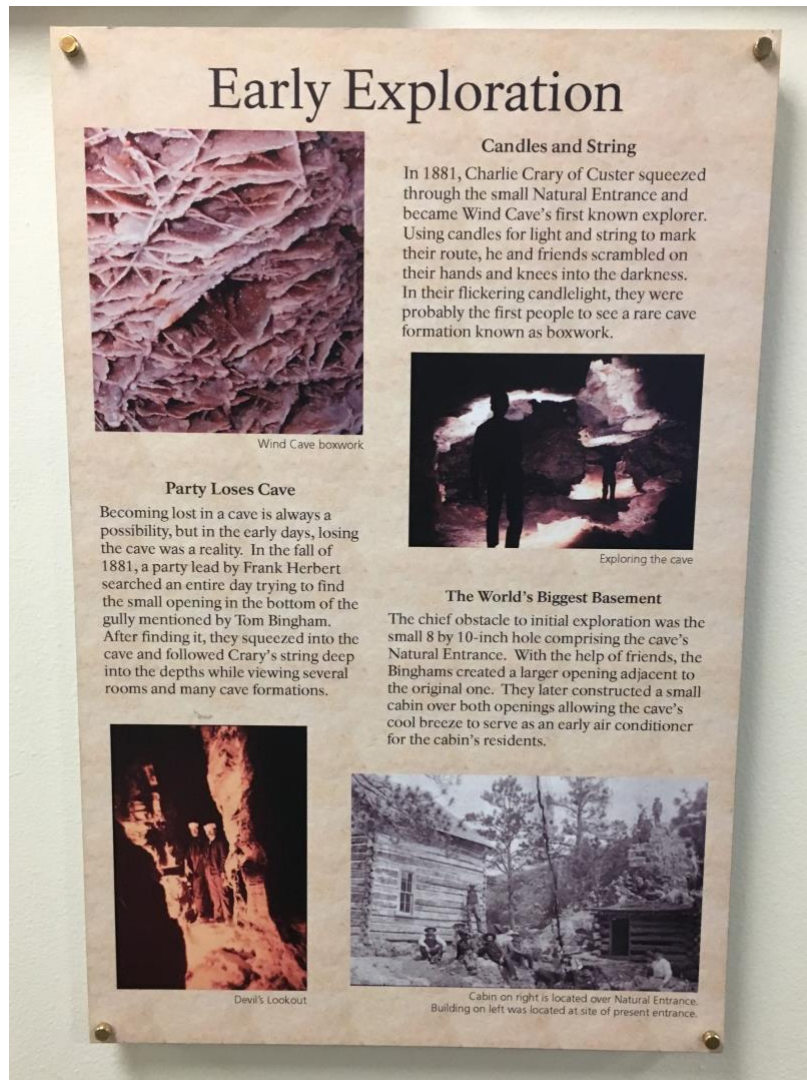


Figure 12. Early Exploration Interpretive Panel

Visitors receive no information on the conditions which allowed white settlement of the Black Hills, an omission that seems glaring to those familiar with the history. Ramacher's assessment that inclusion of this history would be another step towards helping Oglála Lakȝóta people "feel like their story's being represented" and "feel at home here as well," suggests that Ramacher believes neither of these conditions are currently being met, and that at least part of the issue is the erasure of the Black Hills Land Claim case.

Research Question #3: WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES FACED BY THE NPS IN ATTEMPTING TO INTERPRET THE CONTINUING AND HISTORICAL RELATIONAL CONNECTIONS OF THE OGLÁLA LAKHÓTA NATION?

Five Question Sets were matched with RQ3: “What are the challenges in finding representation/representing?” (IQS7), “Are there legal obstacles?” (IQS8), “Are any goals at tension?” (IQS9), “Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships? (IQS9), and “How much say does the Oglala Sioux Tribe have/how much autonomy does Wind Cave NP have in decision-making?” (IQS4/11). Note that IQS4/11 was discussed in the RQ2 section.

IQS7. What are the challenges in finding representation/representing?

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|------|---|
| OSTQ | What are the challenges faced by the Oglála Lakhóta Nation in attempting to find representation of Lakhóta continuing and historical relational connections at Wind Cave National Park? |
| NPSQ | What are the challenges faced by the National Park Service in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakhóta Nation? |

Trina Lone Hill points to tribal opposition to the National Park Service on an individual level as influential to developing relationships with the site:

- | | |
|------|--|
| TLH: | <p>I think there’s challenges with our tribal membership because some of them are very radical and they won’t take ‘no.’ Then if they do get ‘no,’ then they get ‘oh we’re going to protest, we’re going to do this.’</p> <p>I say you’ve got to take time. There’s a time and place for certain things, and just bear with us (laughs). Please, just work with us, because it is a dialogue, and it’s something that is the groundwork. We’re just building that foundation and eventually I think we will get back in there where we can perform ceremonies there, we can have different things happening throughout the year, and not just in the summer when it’s convenient.</p> <p>You’ve got to be patient, and that’s one thing I was trying to teach them. That patience.</p> |
|------|--|

- | | |
|------|--|
| SBE: | What do you mean when you say “radical”? |
|------|--|

TLH: I want to say they're very immediate.

Lone Hill characterizes OST members who seek immediate action as “radical” and “immediate.” She assesses the situation as building a foundation where OST will eventually have the ability to “get back in there where we can perform ceremonies,” amongst other relational events. Taken in consideration of the infrequent occurrence of formal consultation meetings, the necessity for the Park to prioritize relationship-building with OST seems apparent. If the Park is not developing relationships with the government entity of OST, the bulk of its experiences with the Oglála Lakhóta Nation might come from informal interactions with OST members who, as unelected individuals/individuals not employed by OST, cannot provide representation on behalf of the Oglala Sioux Tribe.

Reed Robinson says of the Park’s obligation toward relationship-building: “It's just a matter of going outside the park boundaries and developing those partnerships informally and formally, cooperating and collaborating with tribes, not just when you need something to accommodate a policy or a law. That's what we're supposed to be doing as leaders.” Infrequent contact with Native nations is a detriment to relationship-building and endangers the Park to measuring their relationship with tribal nations through interactions with individual OST members.

Doubts as to the Park’s commitment to interpretational representation of Lakhóta historical and continuing relational connections are an obstacle to relationship building between the entities. In attempting to gauge the NPS’ commitment to partnering with Oglala Lakota College on a new Lakhóta Tourism and Cultural Interpretation degree offering, Karen Lone Hill expressed uncertainty:

I was thinking, well, we can get people trained and then they would—would that be a threat to them? How much will they support our program knowing that if we graduate some of our people with this degree? Would their jobs be threatened? Because that's what I would like to see, you know, our own tribal members in charge of these places.

The current lack of Lakḥóta employees at the site does nothing to ameliorate this distrust of the Park's commitment. On the Park's end, recruiting and hiring Native peoples is a multilevel process with multiple opportunities for barriers. In Lenard Ramacher's words:

One of the difficulties with hiring is I realize now I don't have as free a hand as I thought hiring officials had. For any of our gray and green positions, our GS-04 or GS-05 positions, a person has to apply, they have to be rated as 'qualified' by a panel of Human Resources staff. Only then are their materials then forwarded on to a hiring official, in this case me.

So while I can go out and try to recruit candidates or try to make contacts, I've been out to the Oglála Lakḥóta campus, Oglala Lakota College campus in Pine Ridge and in Rapid City, I usually make it to each one of those once a year, outreach at other events that are highly attended by tribal members like the [Lakḥóta Nation Invitational] basketball tournament in Rapid City in December, reaching out to alumni coordinators for local schools, just to try to get the word out for these things and it's hard to know.

We can make all these contacts, but it's hard to know how often people apply, and if so what is, where is the barrier at? Are they applying, and if so why aren't they getting referred? Because from the candidates I go through, and we've gone through the last two seasons about 130 candidates each year, to my knowledge none of them has been a member of the Oglála Lakḥóta tribe or any of the other tribes here...so, I'm not sure if there's things that I need to be doing differently to recruit, or if there's some other institutional issues with why we're not getting candidates despite our efforts at outreach.

Outreach attempts to hire more Lakḥóta staff have been unsuccessful, and the hiring process intermediated by a third-party entity obfuscates the barriers encountered by Oglála Lakḥóta applicants. Whether Oglála Lakḥóta members are disqualified from the position during the application process or if they are simply not applying (and if so for what reason) is unknown which makes corrective measures difficult to implement.

IQS8. Are there legal obstacles?

OSTQ Are there legal obstacles?

NPSQ Are there legal obstacles?

None of the NPS or OST interview participants identified any legal obstacles to interpreting Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections. Like Ramacher, Reed Robinson points to the Federal hiring process as a policy obstacle to hiring American Indian peoples. “The Federal hiring process I don’t believe allows for the challenges of diversity that we face fully,” he states.

Karen Lone Hill identifies the lack of Native peoples pursuing employment in these fields as an issue even outside the Federal hiring process. “They don’t go because they have to leave their homes,” she states of her own students’ hesitations to apply for internships outside the reservation, “And even if they’re told, ‘you’ll have a place to live and you’ll get paid,’ I think it’s having to leave their families.”

“Families” in a Lakḥóta kinship structure spread well beyond the nuclear family, and cousins are commonly claimed without designating a degree of relation (2nd cousin, 3rd cousin, etc.) An Oglála Lakḥóta member’s family might make up most of their local community, which makes transition to a place where they would have no family relations and could likely be the only Native person present, a difficult ask.

IQS9. Are any goals at tension?

OSTQ Are any goals of Oglála Lakḥóta Nation perceivably at tension with the goals of the Wind Cave NP?

NPSQ Are any goals of Wind Cave NP perceivably at tension with the goals of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation?

None of the interviewees identified any goals at tension between the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation and Wind Cave National Park. Trina Lone Hill again points to incidents between individual members OST and the National Park Service:

Just from the group I worked with in December, they were just upset that they could not be at this particular site um at the winter solstice. And, I actually worked with Reed at the Omaha office. It was Vidal, Reed, we all were in conference calls with each other because the group wanted to be there, but I know it was something with contaminated particles in the air. I'm trying to remember what exactly it was, but it was just, it was harmful, and they weren't going to allow them to camp there at that particular time. They just said no, it's unsafe right now.

They just kind of let it go after that, so I'm like okay, but you know we're starting something here. This is, it is something, it is a foundation, and we will revisit this because it is the starting block of something there. So, I said we'll work towards it, maybe we can have different things happening, different ceremonies happening there.

In the incident Lone Hill describes, a group of non-government affiliated OST members requested to set up a winter solstice camp within the boundaries of Wind Cave NP but were denied due to particle contamination in the Park. Access to the site for individual ceremony use was in this case restricted based on the Park's inability to accommodate to group. Despite the fact that this group was not composed of tribal government officials, nor did they have representational power for the OST, the group's collective status as OST members requesting to access the site for ceremonial purpose turned the issue from one that only involved Park Law Enforcement and members of the visiting public into a government-to-government incident. For non-Native members of the visiting public, requests for site usage permits do not prompt a government-to-government negotiation.

No interviewees identified tensions between the Oglala Sioux Tribe and Wind Cave National Park as specific entities, however this does not mean that these tensions do not exist, nor does it make the individual attitudes of OST members irrelevant. As in the incident cited by

Lone Hill, the Oglala Sioux Tribe has demonstrated willingness to intervene on behalf of its membership in situations involving Wind Cave NP.

IQS10. Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships?

OSTQ Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakǵóta Nation in a perceivable way?

NPSQ Does the Black Hills Land Claim affect relationships between Wind Cave NP and the Oglála Lakǵóta Nation in a perceivable way?

Both Trina Lone Hill and Karen asserted generally that Pahá Sápa belongs to the Lakǵóta Nation, but neither stated that the Black Hills Land Claim affected relationships with Wind Cave National Park specifically. Reed Robinson supported this view, specifying, “The Oglála [Sioux Tribe] maybe not so much. Maybe the Oglála oyate.” Reed makes a distinction between the Oglala Sioux Tribe as a governmental organization from the Oglála oyate (“people”). He further states, “Maybe it’s just an overall thing like the Treaty of 1868 and the Land Claim.” The emerging theme is that the Oglála Lakǵóta Nation are concerned with the claim status of the Black Hills as a whole, rather than Wind Cave NP as a specific entity. This supports earlier statements that survival concerns take a primary place for Lakǵóta peoples at this time. This does not mean the Black Hills Land Claim is unimportant to OST members, however. While the Black Hills Land Claim is an issue that is unresolved in its current state, OST members may not have the resources to address the claim directly.

Lenard Ramacher supports the idea that tensions are related to the Land Claim and not Wind Cave specifically:

I’m aware of the ongoing, for lack of a better term, land claim, legal claim of the Oglála Lakǵóta tribe for the Black Hills. So, I see generally there’s a tension there, but if the land can be preserved and the resources can be reserved *until* the resolution of that issue, I don’t see that as being necessarily a tension with it.

Ramacher's use of the term "until," like earlier statements, acknowledges the Parks potentially temporally located position. Until the Black Hills Land Claim case is resolved, Wind Cave NP will continue to preserve the land according to the NPS definition of the word and manage the Park's resources and interpretive programming according to the Long-Range Interpretive Plan.

SUMMARY

Numerous themes influenced by varying experiences emerged through the course of the interviews. Factors that influenced the themes included relational conceptions of the site and differing obligational understandings regarding Oglála Lak'hóta continuing and historical relational connections. These themes were grouped under associated research questions. These themes will be summarized and expanded upon in the concluding chapter, and recommendations will be made based upon them.

Chapter V: Conclusions and Recommendations

FINDINGS

In compiling data for Research Question #1: “How are Oglála Lakǰóta continuing and historical relational connections currently interpreted at Wind Cave National Park?” multiple themes occurred. The first was diverging attitudes on how much Oglála Lakǰóta CHRC are represented through interpretation at the site. The Oglala Sioux Tribal representatives tend to generally believe that Oglála Lakǰóta continuing and historical relational connections are not well-represented at the site. National Park Service employees have a more favorable evaluation of Oglála Lakǰóta CHRC interpretive representation and support this view by referencing several Park exhibits and opportunities for visitors to experience Oglála Lakǰóta CHRC interpretation. These exhibits include a Winter Count exhibit, the Emergence Site Bulletin, the Emergence podcast, the sign at the cave’s Natural Entrance, a section in the Park video, a panel on bison usage in the prairie exhibit room, the Breathing Earth panel in a park history exhibit, books in the bookstore, social media posts, and a Junior Ranger book activity that utilizes the Winter Count. Most of the output in Oglála Lakǰóta CHRC representation at the site has occurred within the last five years. Possible reasons for this divergence of attitudes include time spent on site, wherein the experience of the OST employees reflect the experience of the average site visitor, differing opinions on the importance of certain histories, and the overall ratio of settler story representation versus Indigenous representation.

Of the Oglala Sioux Tribal employees interviewed, on average employees only visit Wind Cave National Park once every 20 years and have only visited for non-recreational purposes. These levels of visitation were characterized by OST employees as normal for Oglála Lakǰóta visitation habits. Possible reasons for lack of regular visitation include financial and

survival priorities, lack of reasons to visit, and, in the case of the OST president, feeling unwelcome at the site.

Regarding Wind Cave NP's interpretive staff, opportunities for employee education in Oglála Lakǵóta CHRC are available in the form of trainings led by Oglála Lakǵóta people, one of whom is the researcher. Because most of Wind Cave NP's interpretive employees are entry-level GS-04 positions, interpretative training and auditing practices create standards for new employees that have the potential to carry to other NPS sites.

For Research Question #2: "What are the needs of the Oglála Lakǵóta nation regarding interpretation at Wind Cave National Park and how are they met?" OST employees identified preservation issues as significant, though the definition of "preservation" is distinctive from that used by the NPS. Dialogue and collaboration were expressed repeatedly as important by OST employees, frequently combined with the terminology "open." The overall themes of "voice," "talking," "dialogue," "listening," "collaboration," and "conversation," were referred to repeatedly. Interviewees from each category felt it ideal for tribal nations to tell stories in their "own voices" and guide the NPS in interpretive representation. Both OST and NPS employees express desire to tell the stories of affiliated Native nations, but that assuring representation of affiliated nations who don't attend consultation meetings complicates interpretation. As a result, the NPS may outright avoid interpreting American Indian continuing and historical relational connections.

OST employees expressed desire to engage in relational practices at the site and simultaneous frustration at the questioning of relational practices by the National Park Service. That practices needed to "quantified" or "validated" to NPS satisfaction signals underlying imbalances in the relationships and values between the entities, and measures of value based on

non- Oglála Lakḥóta standards. OST employees also expressed desire for Oglála Lakḥóta voices to tell their stories and agreed that the hiring of more Oglála Lakḥóta interpretive employees is a positive effort.

Wind Cave National Park's interpretive programming is guided by interpretive themes outlined in the Park's Long-Range Interpretive Plan, one of which highlights Wind Cave NP as a Sacred Site. In regard to consultation, Section 106 requirements regarding tribal consultation are considered fulfilled when consultation occurs, with no penalty for failure to follow tribal input. However, when possible, NPS employees from Wind Cave NP take a "hands off" approach to crafting interpretive exhibits, preferring to fulfill tribal as close to the original request as practically possible.

High turnover rates in both the OST and NPS, as well as a lack of NPS relationship development outside of consultation meetings impede relationships between the entities. Development of formal and other types of relationship building are seen as helpful to maintaining relationships between the entities. The lack of interpretation regarding the Black Hills Land Claim is acknowledged by an NPS interviewee as a potential source of tension with OST. Ideas of "stewardship" in relationship with the land are a potential source of alignment.

For Research Question #3: "What are the challenges faced by the NPS in attempting to interpret the continuing and historical relational connections of the Oglála Lakḥóta Nation?" Individual members of the Oglála Lakḥóta seeking immediate action are characterized by one OST employee as a challenge to relationship building, because these actions are not in line with foundation building for long-term plans. Infrequent relationship-building occurrences and general distrust between OST and the NPS exacerbate potential effects of individual interactions with Wind Cave NP. Hiring processes intermediated by third parties obfuscate reasons for a lack

of Oglála Lakǰóta applicants received at the site, which might stem from a range of issues including, but not limited to, disqualification during the application review process and unwillingness of Native peoples to leave communities and families in favor of unfamiliar settings.

None of the interviewees identified direct tensions between OST and the NPS, attributing tensions to broader events, such as the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie and the Black Hills Land Claim. In keeping with earlier statements, these issues are potentially secondary to basic survival issues encountered by the Oglála Lakǰóta, though this does not mean the Black Hills Land Claim is unimportant to OST members. The potential temporary status of Black Hills stewardship was alluded to by members of both the NPS and OST.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Relationship-building is a key area where the Park would benefit from development. Due to budgetary concerns, consultation meetings occur rarely, and as a result only a handful have occurred in the entire history of the Park. However, consultation meetings are still a vital commitment which must take place. It is important that Park administration view these meetings not just as obligations but also as investments in relationship-building and opportunities to develop interpretative methods.

Additionally, important is Wind Cave NP's engagement with OST outside of consultation events. Relationships are maintained and built through contact, so infrequent contact exclusively in the form of consultation meetings is an impediment to maintaining relationships with OST. In order to improve relationships, Parks need to approach relationship-building with the knowledge that relationships need attention and maintenance in order to thrive. This outreach must come

from the Park, as the agency in current occupation of the site. Relationship building with Native nations on a smaller scale sets the stage for productive and respectful environments within consultation meetings that will better serve all parties involved.

For the past few years, the Park has made attempts to maintain single-day booths at the Oglala Lakota Nation Wacipi Rodeo Fair and the Lakota Nation Invitational Basketball Tournament. While these outreach attempts have been useful to some degree, they don't provide much opportunity for relationship development or mentorship for potential applicants. Two options are to maintain booths for the full-course of a powwow (which might span several days), and to establish a presence at events highly attended by tribal nation citizens. The former provides opportunities for potential applicants to form questions and discuss employment over a several day period. If the Park does not have staff available to maintain a multi-day booth, it might investigate potential partnerships with other Federal agencies which are also invested in developing relationships with Native nations, such as the U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and other NPS units. These partnerships are beneficial in alleviating financial costs and staffing concerns, in addition to laying the groundwork for future collaborative efforts. The latter option is useful to a broader definition of relationship development. By supporting these events, the Park is seen as investing in and valuing the local tribal community, and not just sporadically so.

While it's clear the Park is making efforts to include Oglála Lakǵóta continuing and historical relational connections in its interpretive exhibits, there are still diverging ideas on how much interpretation is occurring. The employees from Wind Cave NP believe "quite a bit" of interpretation on these topics is occurring, while the Oglála Lakǵóta employees characterize it as "a little bit" and "not really in-depth." It would therefore be useful to the Park to engage in

discussion with representatives from tribal governments in order to align these definitions: At what point does the Oglala Sioux Tribe agree that “quite a bit” of interpretation is occurring?

Further investment in interpretation of Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC in exhibit spaces is key to helping OST members to ensure their stories and voices are heard throughout the space.

Currently, the bulk of interpretive exhibits dealing with human history of the Cave focus on the last 137 years of relationships with the site. Millennia of human history is neglected in favor of the comparatively small percentage of non-Native settler history. Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC must be treated at least equally important to these histories and not as a side-note to non-Native settler histories. Stories regarding intersubjective engagement with a site of relational significance (or “sacred stories”) should only be told as deemed appropriate by official representatives of the tribal nation and following the protocols they outline, keeping in mind these are not the only significant stories. Stories of U.S. colonial impact, policy and land dispossession are essential to tell and do not require the same type of protocol or permissions. Furthermore, in future exhibit development, Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC should not be partitioned to an “American Indian section” of the exhibits. Oglála Lakḥóta histories, as well as other human histories, are intersectional with the histories and character of the land. It is entirely possible to include discussions of Indigenous ecological relations with the land in exhibits that deal with geology, botany, zoology, hydrology, settler history, and NPS history. For example, interpretive programs on water can easily include relationality: for instance, how it was found in areas lacking above-ground streams, the values and stories associated with it, and how these relationships continue today (i.e. protection actions associated with water). There are few thematic topics located at Wind Cave NP where Indigenous relationalities do not intersect.

In the development of interpretative exhibits, language choices must be examined as not to contribute to erasure or devaluation of Indigenous histories and relational connections. Words like “discovery” should be avoided in favor of “finding,” exact dates describing when Indigenous peoples “first arrived” to the site eschewed for the phrase “since time immemorial,” and diminishing terms like “myths” avoided for the terminology “oral history.” It’s also important to avoid homogenizing tribal nations with phrases such as, “The American Indians believed...” Additionally, Indigenous languages can be utilized to support interpretation of specific relational connections to the land. The use of original Indigenous place names aids in the remembrance and acknowledgement of Indigenous relations connections to the site.

Currently, Wind Cave NP’s most effective tool for interpreting Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections are formal interpretive programs designed and guided by seasonal GS-04 Park Guides. Interpretive programs led by Park Guides are audited twice over the course of the summer season, and inclusion of Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC is considered as part of the feedback provided by GS-05 Park Rangers. The process of auditing standardizes expectations of CHRC inclusion, a practice that GS-04 Park Guides are primed to continue as they advance in their careers at other Parks.

Park Guides initially undergo two training sessions in Oglála Lakḥóta CHRC during initial summer training, but opportunities to engage with these topics after are limited to self-directed learning, access to books in the interpretive library, and interactions with an Oglála Lakḥóta employee. The effectiveness of opportunities for continued education is therefore dictated by the availability of updated library materials on relevant subject matter and by the presence of at least one Oglála Lakḥóta employee on staff who also possesses familiarity with Oglála Lakḥóta continuing and historical relational connections and is willing to act in an

additional, non-formalized capacity as an educator of their coworkers while likely continuing at the same paygrade. Providing access to updated educational materials is a matter of prioritized budgeting. To hire and maintain American Indian, or specifically Oglála Lakḥóta, employees has historically been difficult for Wind Cave NP and requires multiple approaches.

Due to the mediated hiring process, it's unknown whether Oglála Lakḥóta applicants are either not making it through the qualification process or simply not applying, so approaches should be taken in response to each possibility. Due to the seasonal nature of GS-04 Park Guide positions, applicants will be expected to either acquire housing in nearby townships for a six-month lease period, or to take up temporary residency in Park housing. While Wind Cave NP offers single housing options, there is no family housing option offered. In small towns, such as the nearby Hot Springs, South Dakota, short term leases are a rare option, thus making it difficult for potential applicants with children or other family members to feasibly apply. Without family housing options, Wind Cave NP creates conditions where Oglála Lakḥóta employees must live separately from family members in an environment where they will likely be the only Oglála Lakḥóta or American Indian employee onsite. In order to avoid these isolating conditions, the Park should open housing options for families, create partnerships with landlords in nearby communities to offer short term lease optioned housing, offer multiple internships to Oglála Lakḥóta students providing the option to work at the Park in at least pairs, and continue outreach efforts in hiring Oglála Lakḥóta employees.

In order to apply for a position at Wind Cave NP, an applicant must apply through USAjobs.gov during a specific window of time in which the application is open. Applicants are unable to see upcoming positions before they are open, and, until the date approaches, the Park can only generally surmise when the application will be open. Additionally, if an applicant has

never applied to an NPS position previously, the application requirements aren't particularly intuitive. Whereas non-Federal hiring agencies might discourage applications over two pages in length, the NPS application process requires that all information reported in the applicant's survey is also reflected on the application, making ten-page applications common. This is not information that is necessarily made clear on the USAjobs website—it is information learned in conversation between NPS employees, potentially limiting the ability of new applicants to “interpose” into NPS circles without the benefit of previously existing relationships.

Interactions with potential applicants must therefore not be limited to a one-time exchange at a booth. If the NPS is committed to hiring a diverse workforce, it must not continue engaging in the type of hiring practices that have perpetuated its current workforce makeup for so long. This entails either a change in the hiring system, or dedication to fostering new relationships—to the mentorship of potential employees and to ensuring that people outside its current workforce are aware of exactly what they need to be in order to be hired (a combination of all these factors is ideal).

One option is for Wind Cave NP to invest in relationships with the colleges of local Native nations. By developing partnerships with departments and instructors, Park representatives may have the option to make multiple classroom visits and offer themselves as a direct resource for potential applicants. Wind Cave NP could further set up application workshops at the college in order to prepare potential applicants for the expectations and length of the Federal hiring process. If visits are well-timed, this might also have the effect of alleviating some of the issues encountered with the brief application windows the Park can't specifically pinpoint. Reminders could be issued several weeks before the application is

predicted to be available, for instance, as well as the days leading up to it. This way applicants are not taken by surprise when the application period begins or ends.

The development of Oglala Lakota College's Tourism and Cultural Interpretation degree offers another intriguing option for partnerships. Park representatives might offer their services as guest lecturers and help with the development of curriculum. In addition, this offers multiple pathway options for employees: A Wind Cave NP employee might, for example, take on Spring employment as an instructor in this program. Course practicums, independent studies, and internships for class credit could also take place onsite at Wind Cave NP or other nearby NPS units. After graduation, having been mentored by and developed relationships with Wind Cave NP, recent graduates will have the knowledge and experience to successfully apply for employment positions at the site.

While the presence of Oglála Lakǵóta and other American Indian employees at Wind Cave NP is seen as a positive step by all the interviewees, it is still worth addressing that Oglála Lakǵóta employees will not necessarily possess knowledge of Lakǵóta continuing and historical relational connections just by very nature of being Lakǵóta. It is therefore important that when Wind Cave NP hires these individuals, it is not done under the assumption that they will inherently possess CHRC familiarity or, if they do, are willing to share said familiarity in an NPS setting. Oglala Lakota College, for example, offers a variety of degrees, including a Bachelor of Science with emphasis options in Conservation Biology and Earth Science. The hiring of an Oglála Lakǵóta employee with an interest in Hydrology, for example, would be an important asset to the workforce. If the Park additionally desires to hire employees with knowledge in Oglála Lakǵóta continuing and historical relational connections to the site, it should do so seeking out those qualifications in addition to tribal nation membership status.

Understanding that knowledge in Oglála Lakḥóta and other American Indian continuing and historical relational connections to the site is markedly less common than, say, geology or biology, I further recommend that Wind Cave NP formalize a position for an expert in the field. Since 2014, Wind Cave NP has relied on a seasonal GS-04 Park Guide to fulfill this need. Given the significance of this topic, the lack of forward movement before five years previous, the overall scarcity of Oglála Lakḥóta and other American Indian applications to fill positions at the site, and the nature of promotion in the NPS which usually requires movement to different Parks to reach new paygrades, a formalized commitment on the part of the Park is necessary.

FINAL THOUGHTS

When I arrived at Wind Cave NP in 2014, none of the interpretive staff were familiar with the Emergence oral history. Rather than take a corrective approach to this gap, the common justification I heard for this was, “It’s not my story to tell.” While intellectual ownership of the Emergence history does firmly lie with the Lakḥóta Nation, it seemed a strange sort of logic: “This isn’t my history, so I will not tell it.” The same logic apparently did not apply to the histories of Black Hills gold rush miners, the history of the limestone in which the cave was embedded, or the histories of the Park’s once extirpated animal life. These weren’t the histories of the interpreters, but they did not show the same hesitation in their approach.

An idealized understanding of this explanation leads me to believe this avoidance is steeped in fear: fear of telling the histories incorrectly, fear of offending a citizen of a tribal nation, fear of telling private stories that these nations do not want shared, and, most of all, fear of contributing to an already long list of indefensible oppressions that have been executed against the Native peoples of the United States. This makes the avoidance understandable but still not

excusable. If there are protocols to storytelling, which do vary from nation to nation, they can be learned by asking. Even in the absence of detailed storytelling, affiliated nations should never go unmentioned entirely. There are always stories that can be told, such as the stories of the impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous peoples to the land, and the policies which removed the peoples from the land.

The National Park Service is charged with telling the stories of the land, and to protect and preserve those spaces which this country has recognized as important. The history of American Indian relations with these lands has spanned from time immemorial to futures of which we can't yet conceive. People have formed relationships with the land on which National Parks are located for millennia upon millennia. The U.S. is but a chapter in the Indigenous story of the land--they have existed much longer than the country that is the United States, and the formation of this country is inextricable from its relationships with the land's Indigenous peoples. To neglect Indigenous histories is to neglect American history. These histories aren't always easy to know how to tell, and they aren't always favorable to the agencies to telling them, but they are a part of story. For an agency committed to storytelling, to tell a full story is the most basic of mission fulfillments.

Epilogue



Figure 13. Honoring the Spirit event at Fort Laramie National Historic Site

The bright white sun did little to alleviate the bitter chill of the wind that morning. I wrapped my arms tightly around myself and made my way across one of grassy fields of the Fort Laramie National Historic Site. It was April 28, 2018, and there were tipis sprawled across the landscape.

That morning kicked off a four-day event commemorating the 150th anniversary of the signing of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. The NPS hosted the event and had conducted two years of consultation meetings in preparation. Among the schedule activities were programs on tribal sovereignty and today's legal impacts of the treaty signing, land loss due to settler encroachment, modern day reservation life, the impact of assimilation policy, the history of treaty making, and a full day of tribal-led educational demonstrations. A meet-and-greet event

for tribal nation leaders and Federal/state/local representatives also took place. A mile from the site's main permanent structures, a camp site was sectioned off for tribal nation representatives, and NPS law enforcement turned away any visitors who did not have documentation from an affiliated tribal nation. A large tent for the public stood in the middle of site. It was here the opening programs took place.

Site superintendent Tom Baker took the stage after an opening prayer ceremony from one of the OST members. He wore the distinctive wide-rim straw ranger hat and had forgone the standard service jacket in favor of the longer formal uniform jacket. It was clear in the emotion lacing his welcoming remarks that the past two years of consultation had impacted him immensely. As he talked about the "litany of traumatic impacts" which resulted from the treaty signing, listing colonization, genocide, assimilation, acculturation, misappropriation, and PTSD on reservations, his voice trembled, then he added, "We need to work together to ensure that this never happens again... we need to work together to improve life for our Indigenous nations." As he discusses his experiences in consultation, he noted that he was "struck" by the overarching positive energy and desire "to look to the future together." He thanked the sovereign bands who worked collaboratively with the Park, and as he spoke the words, "It is an honor to work together with all of you," broke into a sob then paused. At this point, tremolos erupted from the northern plains nations women in the crowd, men hooped, loud applause came from others, and the drum groups hit their sticks against their drums. After a long moment, Baker was able to continue:

I thank you for the trust and respect and oft times humor that we share. And now we are at the culmination of those efforts commemorating the 150th anniversary of the signing of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie.

This is of course only the beginning. We are at the front end of an ongoing dialogue between the Park and the traditionally associated tribes to permanently bring Indigenous perspectives to the story we tell at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

The morning continued on with remarks from leadership of all represented affiliated nations. Some remarks expressed a desire for continued collaborative efforts. Some were entrenched in ire. A few thanked the NPS for the commitment they'd shown in the organization of this event. Many ordered the honoring of past treaties. Even more asserted that the taking of the land by the U.S. Federal government was illegal and demanded the return of Pahá Sápa. One leader asked why President Trump wasn't present. It was clear that, to the represented Native nations, the stakes of this event were much higher than their relationship with a single NPS unit. This was larger than Tom Baker or the Fort Laramie National Historic Site. This was a podium for the voices of tribal nation citizens to air grievances on centuries of historical and continuing oppression.

Perhaps this was the most important function that the event served. To provide a space for speaking and listening. Tom Baker as the superintendent of Fort Laramie NHS does not have the power to return the Black Hills, a fact of which these tribal nation representatives were well aware. When they utilized this platform to air their frustrations, they weren't asking the Park to engage in something beyond its abilities, but instead to do that which is within its abilities. The interpretive division of the National Park Service are the storytellers of the nation. A Park unit cannot return stolen land, but it can tell the stories of the land's theft and the stories of the people for whom relationships with the land never diminished. The more the citizens of the nation and their representatives know about these stories, the better equipped they are to make decisions that begin to address continuing oppressions.

The name of the event commemorating the 150th anniversary of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie was "Honoring the Spirit," with the subtitle, "We Are Still Here." The Park commissioned Lakota artist Jim Yellowhawk to design the event poster. In the center of the

poster is a stylized painting of horse riders set on a ledger background. Surrounding it are black and white photos of the 1868 treaty signers. Behind these images are the words “We Are Still Here” written in the languages of the affiliated Native nations who signed the treaty. On the side of the ledger image is the piece’s titled: “his X mark.”

Feelings on the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie vary, but it was clear from the remarks of speakers that the attitudes towards its signers were sympathetic. With each treaty signed, more human rights and land stewardship were chipped away from treaty signers in exchange for necessities of survival. An x-mark is a signature of assent made under conditions not of one’s making. When these treaty signers made their x-marks, it wasn’t out of belief that they were truly benefitting. Treaty provisions slow the tide of an impending wave, in hopes of providing the people a chance at survival. This thesis and my work with the National Park Service is my own x-mark. It is not an ideal situation, but this work is what I can do given the current circumstances. I do this in hopes of a better future for the Oglála Lakǰóta Nation.

I will end this thesis by quoting Arapaho Tribal Chairman Roy Brown from his remarks on the first day of the Honoring the Spirit event, for they summarize much of what I also felt in that space:

This morning I sat outside in the sun, kind of to warm up, but also, I wanted to help myself get a better understanding of what my ancestors went through--of what they were feeling 150 years ago. I sat there, the sun rays coming down on me, and I listened.

And I know they felt anguish. This wasn’t our first time. We had been here before. We had suffered through this before. I know they had distrust. They were frustrated. They were angry.

But I think through all of that, there was hope. They sat here with the other leaders from the other tribes hoping for a better future for our young ones, for their young ones. And it’s through that hope came resiliency and courage. And it is those things, those things, that’s how we can say “We Are Still Here.”

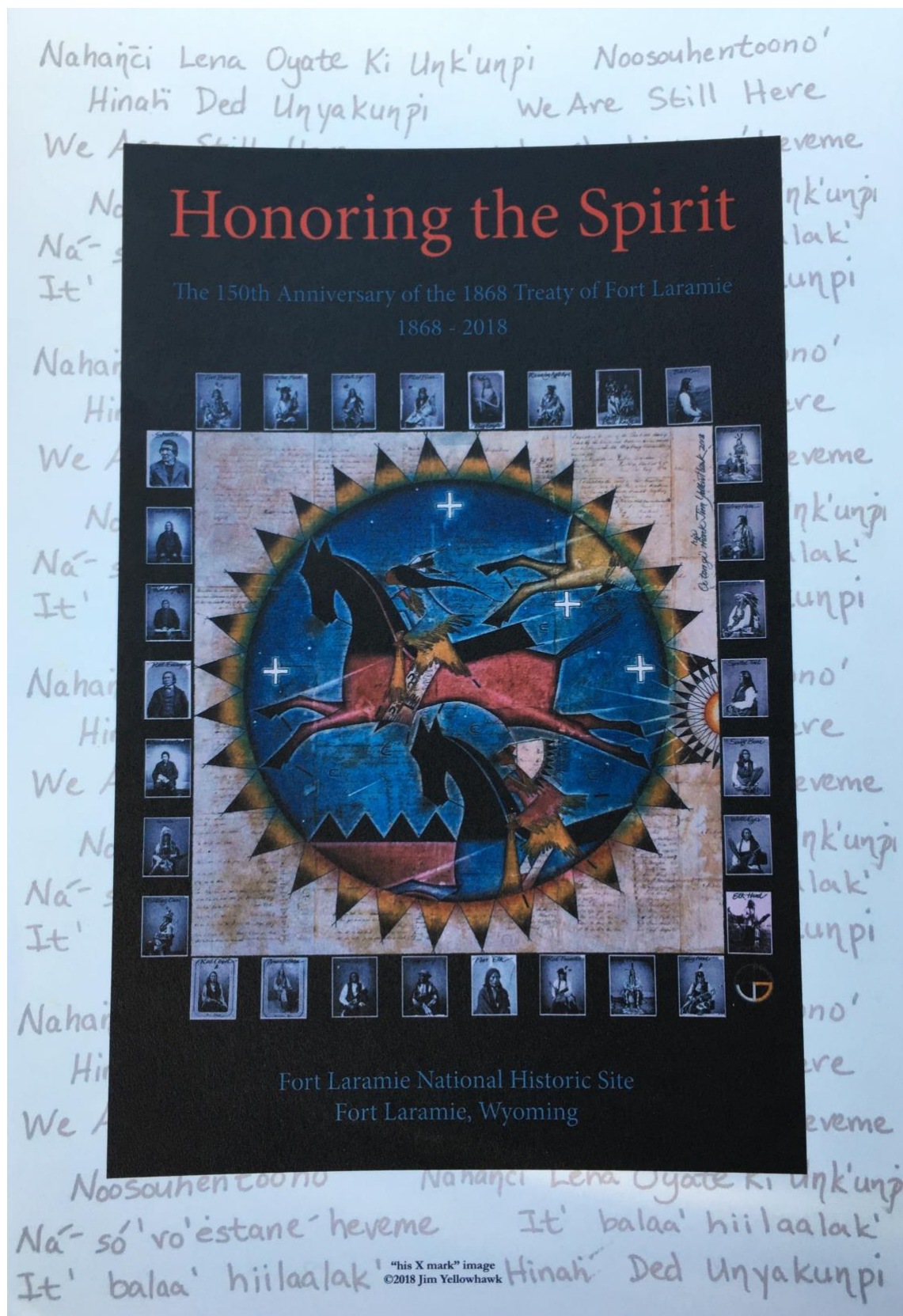


Figure 14. Honoring the Spirit event poster

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