

CONDITION	(Check One)					
	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Excellent	<input type="checkbox"/> Good	<input type="checkbox"/> Fair	<input type="checkbox"/> Deteriorated	<input type="checkbox"/> Ruins	<input type="checkbox"/> Unexposed
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	<input type="checkbox"/> Altered	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Unaltered	<input type="checkbox"/> Moved <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Original Site			

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (if known) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Inyan Kara Mountain cannot be described alone and apart from the setting in which it finds itself. It is a part of the Black Hills region in the Western United States and should be described as such. Perhaps then, a general description is necessary of the larger setting within which Inyan Kara is located.

The High Plains Indians called the mountains which lie in northeastern Wyoming and western, southwestern South Dakota, Paha Sapa or Mess Sapa. Paha means hill or hills, Mess is mountain and Sapa is Black. Paha Sapa, or the Black Hills according to the White Man, are included in the area bounded by the Belle Fourche River on the north and the Cheyenne River on the south, both of whose headwaters are found in northeastern Wyoming and both of which meet and empty into the Missouri River near the middle of South Dakota. The Black Hills extend in a north to northwest direction for about 120 miles with a breadth of from 40 to 60 miles, and cover an area of nearly 6,000 square miles, an area equal to the size of the state of Connecticut. Two thirds of the Hills lay in South Dakota and the remainder in Wyoming.

The term Black Hills is today restricted to the mass of mountains enclosed by the boundaries described and whose highest peak is Harney's Peak, but in earlier days it had a far broader application. In the mid-nineteenth century the Laramie Range, located to the south and some fifty miles west of Fort Laramie, was often referred to as the Black Hills. However, this area will be excluded from the following description.

The Black Hills are surrounded on every side by level or rolling plains, and separated from the main chain of the Rocky Mountains. They have been described by a member of the Jenney-Newton Expedition to the Hills in 1875 as having a geologic system perfect and complete in itself, with the records beautifully preserved in the rocks, because each successive rock formation is exposed, due to uplift and erosion, to scientific investigation.

The name Black Hills probably is derived from the dark appearance which the Hills own when seen from a distance. Contributing to that appearance is the preponderance of pine and spruce trees which grow there, although there are also many other types of trees such as white elm, cedar, hackberry, ash, burr oak, box elder, aspen, white birch, ironwood, and cottonwood. The trees which grow in the Hills and along streams which drain the area are the only considerable body of timber between the Missouri River and the Rockies, north of the thirty-seventh parallel and south of the Canadian border. Some two thousand square miles of the Hills have been designated as the Black Hills National Forest and Inyan Kara, although on the fringe of the main body of the Hills, is included within that National Forest.

Surrounding the hills is an ocean of grass which once served as a pasture for many buffalo herds which were at one time so vital to the Indians. The importance of an abundance of wood, grass, and water in and around the Black Hills was observed by a member of the Jenney-Newton Expedition who stated that there was enough gold in the region to thoroughly settle and develop the

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region but that when the placers were exhausted, stock-raising would be the mainstay of the economy due to the splendid grazing available in the region. These natural resources of the Black Hills region were also, of course, recognized by the Indian long before the White Man entered the area.

That part of the Black Hills which will be under consideration in this essay is located in Northeastern Wyoming, in Crook and Weston counties. In the heart of Crook County lay the Bear Lodge Mountains, a part of the Black Hills but separated from the main range by a distance of from five to ten miles variously, and by the Redwater River and its two branches, Redwater Creek and Sundance Creek. Warren's Peak is the highest peak in the Bear Lodge Range at 7000 feet, although the average elevation of Northeast Wyoming is only approximately 3500 feet. The Bear Lodge country, covering an area of nearly 1000 sq. miles, is similar to the main range of the Black Hills in its topography and geologic system but it is also a distinct uplift, produced by an intrusion of igneous rocks which form Warren's Peak. From that peak one may look into three states and see hills and valleys extending for many miles on every side. If one looks to the northwest, he is able to see Mato Tipi or Devil's Tower, the nation's first national monument. To the south one may see the county seat of Crook county, the city of Sundance, six miles away.

Looking in the same direction, eleven miles south of Sundance, one can see Inyan Kara Mountain. The meaning of the name Inyan Kara has in the past been confused and misunderstood. N. H. Winchell, geologist with the Custer Expedition to the Black Hills in 1874, wrote that his Indian guide, Cold Hand, told Winchell that the name of the mountain was Heeng-ya Ka-ga. Winchell supposed that the name Inyan Kara was then a corruption by earlier explorers --- G. K. Warren and W. F. Reynolds --- of what he thought was the correct term. However, the meaning of the name Inyan Kara may be obtained from A Dictionary of the Teton Dakota Sioux Language by Rev. Eugene Buechel, S. J. According to the Dictionary "inyan" means stone and "kara" is the incorrect enunciation of "kaga", the latter meaning to make, form, or cause to be. Therefore the meaning of Inyan Kaga would be "stone-made". Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy, who was for a number of years an Indian agent at Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and who had an intimate knowledge of the Teton Sioux, claimed that the term should have been Inyan Kaga Paha. Paha, meaning hill or peak, added to the first two terms results in "stone-made peak", so named because of the exposed hard rock center of the mountain.

Richard I Dodge, who accompanied the Jenney-Newton Expedition of 1875 was impressed by the mountain, which stands uniquely apart from the main body of the Black Hills to the east and from the Bear Lodge Range to the north.

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"Looked at from Cape Transfer," he said, "across the waters of the Red Valley, Inyan Kara seemed to loom almost to the skies, yet its top was only six hundred feet above us." Dodge saw Inyan Kara as the culminating peak of the Bear Lodge Range which extends almost to the Belle Fourche River, the natural northern boundary of the Black Hills. He saw great possibilities for agriculture in the vicinity of Inyan Kara, despite his statement that Inyan Kara Creek, which is located about three miles north of Inyan Kara Mountain, and runs northwest to empty itself into the Belle Fourche River, was a "miserable little alkaline stream". He describes the area thus:

The vicinity of Inyan Kara, in spite of the alkaline streams and red clay soil, is second, as a grazing ground, to no place in the Hills. Here, too, we found the creek bottom filled with hops, as fine as I ever saw cultivated. Plums, gooseberries, and some few other wild fruits grow in great profusion.

A photograph of Inyan Kara may be seen in this folder. Written descriptions of the mountain may be found in official reports of at least three members of the Custer Expedition to the Black Hills in 1874. The most lengthy and descriptive of them is that written by Professor A. B. Donaldson. In 1874 Donaldson wrote:

At an early hour in the morning, Gen. Custer and staff, the scientific corps, and one reporter, escorted by two companies of cavalry, left the upper camp on the Red Water, to visit Mt. Inyan Kara, in Wyoming, latitude of 44 degrees 13 minutes, and distant from our line of march about five miles. Captain Warren visited it in 1859. He estimated its height at 6,600 feet, which is about 1,500 feet higher than any land in the United States east of the Mississippi.

It covers about twelve square miles. Its shape is that of a horseshoe. The shoe is a sharp-backed ridge, several miles in length, and very steep on both its sides. In the centre of the shoe is the mountain peak, rising several hundred feet higher than any part of the ridge, and separated from it by a horseshoe-shaped, rocky canon, from 500 to 700 feet deep.

There is no granite or other primary rock in the mountain, neither basalt nor trap. The whole is an immense upheaval or non-fossiliferous, sedimentary, metamorphic rock. The strata are very much broken and are inclined at almost every angle.

## Physical Appearance - 4

On the west side of the mountain and about 300 feet down its rugged side, is a perpendicular, columnar wall, 250 feet high and a half mile long. Except in its composition, it resembles the palisades of the Hudson. At its foot is a talus of immense masses, extending two or three hundred feet down to the bottom of the canon. The view of the mountain from the side of the canon opposite this wall can hardly be surpassed.

The encircling, horse-shoe ridge is mostly covered with Norway pine. The inner mountain is almost bare of vegetation. As difficult and even dangerous as the ascent, Gen. Forsythe led his horse to the very top, and brought him down again in safety. In the hard flinty album of the summit, engraven with a cold chisel and hammer, in large and distinct characters, Arabic and Roman, is a date and an autograph, thus,

'74.

Custer.'

If the archaeologist is puzzled over this inscription, let him consult the commandant of this expedition.

The Topographical Engineer, Col. Ludlow, measured the height of the mountain above its base, and found it to be 1,100 feet. He had no means of estimating the elevation of the base above the sea-level; but there is no reason to doubt the correctness of Captain Warren, in fixing the height at 6,600 feet.

The temperature of the summit is sensibly lower than that in the plain below, and we found it pleasant to sit on the leeward side of the crest and in the sunshine.

# SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD (Check One or More as Appropriate)

☒ Pre-Columbian

☒ 16th Century

☒ 18th Century

☐ 20th Century

☒ 15th Century

☒ 17th Century

☒ 19th Century

SPECIFIC DATE(S) (If Applicable and Known)

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

Aboriginal

☐ Education

☐ Political

☐ Urban Planning

☒ Prehistoric

☐ Engineering

☒ Religion/Phi-

☐ Other (Specify)

☒ Historic

☐ Industry

losophy

Historic Site

☒ Agriculture

☐ Invention

☐ Science

Prehistory -

☐ Architecture

☐ Landscape

☐ Sculpture

Legendary

☐ Art

Architecture

☐ Social/Human-

☐ Commerce

☐ Literature

itarian

☒ Communications

☒ Military

☐ Theater

☐ Conservation

☐ Music

☐ Transportation

## STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The historian is concerned with the observation, analyzation, and representation of the actions of man. With this task before him, it is sometimes useful for the historian to employ physical landmarks as points of orientation in order to describe human history. Inyan Kara Mountain (6368 feet) may serve as such a landmark. Although no history has been written of Inyan Kara Mountain, and it perhaps is unusual that such a work should ever be written, Inyan Kara deserves recognition as a historic site for reasons described in the following paragraphs. However, a few observations should first be made. First, it is necessary to realize that it is difficult, if not impossible, to trace the earliest significance of the mountain to man since such significance is all but lost to man except by oral traditions transmitted by Plains Indians to certain White men who recorded such traditions. Therefore, perhaps the greatest actual significance to man of such a site as Inyan Kara may never be understood adequately. Second, Inyan Kara Mountain, although a distinctive landmark, is part of a larger physical reference for the historian of the American Far West---the Black Hills. It is the place of Inyan Kara in the history of the White man's experiences in the Black Hills which endows Inyan Kara with its special significance in the development of the Far West. Third, it is necessary to maintain a wider perspective, also, by realizing that Inyan Kara is one of many distinctive landmarks in the Black Hills. And yet the distinctive historic characteristics of Inyan Kara need to be remembered, also. As the centennial celebration of the Custer Expedition to the Black Hills in 1874 draws closer, it would be interesting and useful to note that Inyan Kara Mountain itself serves as a monument to that expedition, and the subsequent Black Hills Gold Rush. Although such an event is not the only important one with which Inyan Kara maintains its association, it is nevertheless significant enough.

Aside from the great natural potential for man of the area in the vicinity of Inyan Kara, the mountain has special historic significance in its relation to many aspects of Far West American History. Its significance is none too obvious at first glance but may be determined by investigation of the written records of the past which have been left to us. However, what is difficult to determine, almost impossible to determine, is the exact significance of a mountain to a people who have not left many written records, a people who depended, rather, upon oral or personal transmission

Statement of Significance - 2

of cultural institutions. What significance Inyan Kara Mountain had, therefore, to the aborigines of the Black Hills prior to the penetration of that region by whites is mainly conjecture. Although we may not be sure of the facts concerning its significance to the Indians, the possibility that it may have been of importance to them is worthy of mention.

Richard I. Dodge, upon conversation with the Indian, Robe Raiser, decided that the Black Hills were not the permanent home for any Indians. He saw no evidence of lodges having been set up in the area, and Robe Raiser listed for him a number of reasons why the Indians did not want the Black Hills. First, it was "bad medicine" to go to the Hills since it was the abode of spirits. Second, there was nothing for the Indian in the Hills except for a few lodge poles, because game was scarce there and more plentiful on the Plains surrounding the Hills. Third, the thickets were so dense in the Hills that ponies which were turned loose were soon lost, and if they were tied to something they became tormented by the numerous flies to be found there. Fourth, the Hills received rain frequently which the Indian did not like. And finally, the Indian feared the terrible thunder, and the lightning which tore apart trees and started fires.

The credibility of Robe Raiser's lament to Dodge may be questioned for a number of reasons, but the basic reason is that in 1876 the Indians of the Black Hills region fought the White Man to retain the possession of their last prime hunting area. The importance of the Hills and the surrounding area to the Indian is substantiated by Indian resistance to White encroachment upon the area. Such resistance punctuates the history of the exploration and settlement of the Black Hills area by Whites in the last half of the nineteenth century, culminating in the very well-known Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876.

Pictographs, tipi rings, spear points, and arrowheads demonstrate the existence of Indians in the Black Hills at an early date. Emerging into the light of more recent times, it is said by an authority on the Indians of the High Plains, George E. Hyde, that by 1776 small parties of Sioux or Dakota had penetrated to the Black Hills and had begun to war on tribes in the area such as that of the Cheyenne. The general area over which the Sioux could be found by the middle of the nineteenth century stretched from the Missouri River to the east, the Yellowstone River to the north, the Tetons to the west, and the Platte River to the south. The Black Hills were the center of the domain of the Teton Sioux people, the main body of the Sioux. By the 1830's two of the seven branches of the Teton Sioux, the Oglala and the Brule, had moved to eastern Wyoming from South Dakota. These people, along with other High Plains tribes such as the Arapahoe and Cheyenne were to cause

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many problems for the Whites in the area of the Black Hills from 1853 to 1877.

According to one Sioux legend the Black Hills region was the dwelling place of the "Great Spirit" who had set aside the area as a temporary resting place for the spirits of the departed braves so that they would not become blinded by the splendors of the final happy hunting ground upon arriving there. The outlying mountains of Devil's Tower, Inyan Kara and Bear Buttes were also considered sacred places and were often visited, not only by the Sioux, but by other tribes as well such as the Cheyenne. It is also said that when Indians entered the vicinity of Inyan Kara, they would hang offerings on the rocks and trees to appease the thunder gods who were responsible for the mysterious rumblings heard during the calmest days and nights. When Whites first discovered Inyan Kara they also mentioned the rumblings, which have been attributed to the escape of hydrogen from underground beds of burning coal. After about 1833 no mention was made of the rumblings by explorers in the area.

Inyan Kara, along with Sundance Mountain, and Bear Buttes in South Dakota, may also have been important to the Indian in that they served as important links in the Indian chain of communication. Through the use of smoke signals or reflecting mirrors the mountains served to connect the western and eastern portions of the Black Hills. Aside from this possibility, and that concerning the religious significance of the Hills, it is probable that Indians entered the Hills to procure lodge poles for their teepees and to hunt game.

The inner recesses of the Black Hills, until the Custer Expedition of 1874, had remained almost as mysterious to the White Man as Central Africa prior to an age of imperialism in the late nineteenth century. The first record of the White Man's contact with the Hills is that of the French expedition of the Verendrye brothers, Francois and Louis Joseph, in 1743. It was not until the discovery of the Verendrye plate at Fort Pierre in 1913 that the Black Hills portion of their route could be established even in the most general way. However, according to historian Hiram Chittenden "Les Cotes Noires", or the Black Hills, were well-known to the Creole trader and voyageur long before the Americans saw them.

The earliest definite mention of the Black Hills is in the journals of Lewis and Clark. It was their party which first traveled over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean in 1805. Although they did not explore the Black Hills Lewis and Clark talked with people who had been there, and in their journals they referred to the Hills as the "Black Mountains". In 1811 William Price Hunt and other Astorians came to Wyoming, entering the Black Hills area from the northeast, and followed the Belle Fourche River until turning west near the Devil's Tower, thus actually only skirting the Hills.

## Statement of Significance - 4

The credit given to the first party to enter the Black Hills generally is reserved for a group of about a dozen men headed by the noted trapper and scout, Jedediah Smith. This group of men who journeyed through the Hills in October, 1823, was probably representative of the many fur trappers who were in the area in the 1820's, and by 1828 two fur trading posts had been established in the area. James Clyman, also a trapper and the secretary of the Smith party, gave an account of their trip in which he related a story told by a certain mountaineer named Moses Harris. Harris told his tale to a newspaper reporter one day in St. Louis, some years after his trip to the Hills, and the following morning his exaggerated statement appeared in the press describing a petrified forest "where the tree branches leaves and all were perfect and the small birds sitting on them with their mouths open singing at the time of their transformation to stone". Clyman went on to describe the Hills, saying that "This is a fine country for game Buffaloe Elk Bare deer antelope likewise it produces some Hazel nuts Plumbs white thorn Berries wild currant large and of fine flavour and abundance of nutritious grass and some land that would bear cultivation". Reports such as that of Clyman's along with fossils and other articles from the Hills began slowly to filter back to civilization in the East causing, imperceptibly at first, some interest in the region.

In 1835 the Black Hills were visited by two men, Kiplin and Sabille, who were sent there by the American Fur Company. The men travelled from Fort Laramie to Bear Butte and the northern Black Hills to persuade Indians to come and hunt and live in the country on the North fork of the Platte River. They were successful and returned with more than one hundred lodges of Oglala Sioux under Chief Bull Bear. Another shred of evidence concerning early activities in the Black Hills, although of questionable authenticity, is that of the Thoen Stone. In March, 1887, in a small gulley near the fort of Looking Mountain near the city of Spearfish, South Dakota, Louis Thoen was hauling rock for the foundation of a building and while prying up a large flat rock noticed that beneath it lay a smaller flat rock covered with markings. He picked up the rock, brushed the dirt from it, and could then distinguish words which had been apparently inscribed by pen knife. Thoen carried the rock home and upon cleaning it the following inscription could be read on one side:

Came to these hills in 1833, seven of us De Lacompt Ezra Kind  
G. W. Wood T. Brown R. Kent Wm. King Indian Crow. all ded  
but me Ezra Kind. Killed by Inds beyond the high hill got  
our gold June, 1834.

On the reverse side of the stone was written: "Got all of the gold we could carry our pony all got by the Indians. I have lost my gun and nothing to eat and Indians hunting me." The account written on the rock was supported

by old hunters and Indian tradition but the authenticity of the stone as an early document of the Black Hills has not yet been definitely established. However, bits and pieces of mining equipment found in the Hills by the miners of the gold rush of the 1870's make it clear that some miners did venture into the Hills at an early date.

The period of the 1840's remains sketchy but it is believed that Father Pierre de Smet sometime in that decade spent four months in the Black Hills with a band of Indians. In 1852 the eastern foothills of the region were mapped out, however inaccurately, by Dr. John Evans, a member of the David Dale Geological Survey. The significance of the survey is mainly that it demonstrated the continuing interest in the region.

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century relations between the Whites and the Sioux Indians had been rather peaceful. But by mid-century these relations had experienced a change. Whereas the Sioux had once welcomed the White traders who supplied Indian needs, and did not mind an occasional trapper, the emigrant traffic through Indian country disturbed this relationship. Large numbers of emigrants bound for the West Coast caused game herds to dwindle. Military posts were established which threatened the security of the Indian, and the Whites also spread cholera among them. All of these factors, but especially the impending permanency of many White settlers caused the Indian to fear for his security. In an effort to placate the Indians, the United States Government made a treaty with several Plains tribes at Horse Creek near Ft. Laramie in 1851. By the treaty, boundaries of Indian land were defined and those boundaries were to be a guarantee against White aggression.

Just prior to an era of official government expeditions to the Black Hills an Irish nobleman from Sligo, Ireland, Sir George Gore, spent a large part of the summer of 1854 in and around the Hills. During the nineteenth century such hunting expeditions were fashionable. Gore's expedition in particular was probably the largest and best equipped pleasure expedition ever to travel in Western America. It began at St. Louis in 1854, went up the Missouri and then overland to the Black Hills. Gore had with him 40 retainers, 112 horses, 12 yoke of oxen, 6 wagons, 21 carts, and 14 dogs. The group traveled through the Black Hills in 1856 from north to south, camping one to three days at different points until reaching the western fringe of the Hills, where at Inyan Kara Mountain Gore and his English huntsman killed so many buffalo that they were held up by Red Cloud and his band of Sioux. Gore luckily had with him a guide who understood the Sioux tongue and who explained to Red Cloud that the Gore party was not a permanent one but rather only looking for sport and scenery. Gore's losses in the encounter were several horses, some supplies, and one of his party who, having been wounded, died two days later and was buried north of Inyan Kara Mountain near the banks of Beaver Creek.

As the Sioux began to resist the continuing White advance into their country, the United States Government began campaigns against them which were not to be concluded until the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890. In 1855 General William Selby Harney was placed in command of a punitive military expedition, known as the "Sioux Expedition of 1855, and directed his men toward the Sioux living near the Black Hills. The expedition proceeded from Fort Laramie and headed for Fort Pierre in South Dakota, exploring the headwaters of the White River and Bad River. The scientific observers who accompanied the expedition, such as geologist Ferdinand V. Hayden, acquired valuable knowledge of the eastern side of the Black Hills. G. K. Warren, chief topographical engineer of the Harney Expedition, became the leader of the next major government expedition to the hills in 1857.

In that year Gouverneur Kemble Warren was assigned to make maps and a reconnaissance of Dakota Territory and Nebraska Territory. Later, during the American Civil War, Warren became a major general and fought at the Battle of Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863) where he led the defense of Little Round Top for the Union forces. His performance there was instrumental in turning back the Confederate assault upon Union lines, and was a key event in that battle of the Civil War. However, on May 7, 1857 Warren, then a First Lieutenant, received his orders from Secretary of War John B. Floyd to locate a link with the Fort Snelling-Big Sioux Military Road that would connect that road, via the North Fork of the Platte, with Fort Laramie and South Pass. He was then to explore the North Fork of the Platte and the Niobrara River, and in the time remaining to ascend the Black Hills and examine them in detail "ascertaining everything relating to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the country, its climatology, its topographical features, and the facilities or obstacles which these latter offer to the construction of rail or common roads". The Warren party included geologist F. V. Hayden, together with assistants, and a military escort of thirty men. The Main party set out from Fort Laramie on September 4, 1857, and proceeded north to the Black Hills, entering them via the Cheyenne River. Traveling by way of Beaver Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne, the expedition camped at a point later to be known as Jenney Stockade, and then made its way toward Inyan Kara Mountain.

At this point in the narrative, attention is once again drawn to Inyan Kara Mountain, which assumes historic importance. "We continued north," explained Warren in his report, "to the vicinity of Inyan Kara, (or the peak which makes the mountain,) a remarkable high basaltic peak, one of the highest of these mountains and so far north that we had a full view of the prairie beyond." At Inyan Kara, and almost within view of the place where the same Indians had encountered the Gore Party in 1854, Warren and his group were confronted by a large force of Miniconjou and Hunkpapa Sioux under the leadership of Bear's Rib. The Warren Party contained twice as many men as that

of Sir George Gore, but a number of his own men could not be relied upon, said Warren, thus creating a tense situation. The Sioux explained to Warren that the intention of the Indians was to detain the buffalo in the neighborhood until their hair was sufficiently grown to provide robes, and then to butcher the necessary animals. For Warren and his party to enter further into the area would have caused the whole range of buffalo to be deflected fifty or one hundred miles west, thus preventing the Indians from securing their winter stock of provisions and skins, upon which the lives of the Indians depended.

Warren understood and appreciated that particular situation in which the Sioux found themselves. He later wrote:

Their feelings toward us, under the circumstances, were not unlike what we should feel towards a person who should insist upon setting fire to our barns.... I felt, that, aside from its being an unnecessary risk to subject my party and the interests of the expedition to, it was almost cruelty to the Indians to drive them to commit any desperate act which would call for chastisement from the government."

But there were probably other reasons which figured in Warren's decision to not proceed beyond Inyan Kara Mountain. The Indians told him that the treaty made by them with General Harney guaranteed the Indian that no White Man should travel in Indian country, except for the privilege of traveling on the Platte, and along the White River, between Fort Laramie and Fort Pierre. The Indians felt that the Warren party was there to examine the country to ascertain if it was of value to the Whites. Also, they felt the Whites were there to reconnoiter the country for the purpose of establishing roads and military posts, and with a view toward initiating a military campaign against the Indian. They felt they had given to the Whites all the country they could spare and that the Black Hills must be left solely to the Indian. Concerning such reasoning, Lieutenant Warren was forced to admit to himself, as he put it, "the truth and force of these objections".

For three unpleasant days, due to anxiety and the inclement weather, Warren and party remained at Inyan Kara, waiting for the appearance of Bear's Rib and for further parley, but after that time the group broke camp and traveled back on their original route about forty miles and then struck to the east, traveling through the southern portion of the Black Hills.

The expedition ultimately gave the White Man his first real knowledge of the topography and drainage of the region, including some geologic information,

and until the Custer Expedition in 1874, all subsequent maps of the region were based upon the Warren survey. Inyan Kara Mountain serves well as a marker designating the place where the Warren Expedition was forced to retrace its steps. But the feeling has been expressed, that the encounter at Inyan Kara deserves further recognition. Hugh F. Scott, in his book, Some Memories of a Soldier, lauds Warren's judgment in his encounter with the Sioux. Scott says that "If all white men had been as considerate of the Indian as Lieutenant Warren, we would never have had such bloody clashes". Yet Warren was not a sentimentalist, either. In the biography of Warren written by E. G. Taylor, Warren is quoted as saying:

There are so many inevitable causes at work to produce a war with the Dakotas before many years, that I regard the greatest fruit of the explorations I have conducted to be the knowledge of the proper routes by which to invade their country and conquer them.

In the final analysis, however, it is probable that Warren's major interest was in aiding national development and thus accomplishing that end by the most efficient and fair manner as he could envision.

The last major exploration conducted in the American West by the Topographical Engineers was the Yellowstone Expedition of 1859-60. Lieutenant Warren, in his reports on Dakota Territory, recommended further reconnaissance of the area beyond the Big Horn Mountains and into the Upper Yellowstone and Powder River region. Subsequently, a \$60,000 appropriation was passed by Congress to effect such an exploration, which was begun in the summer of 1859. The man appointed to the task was Captain William F. Reynolds, accompanied by F. V. Hayden. Reynolds was thus assigned to the large and then - almost unknown country drained by the Upper Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

The Reynolds Expedition, enroute to its assigned area, approached the Black Hills from the east, crossed the Belle Fourche River near the mouth of Bear Butte Creek in Western South Dakota, and moved westward along the divide north of Bear Butte Valley to a point due north of Bear Butte northeast of present-day Sturgis, South Dakota. Begun on June 28, 1859 and ending at Omaha City on October 3, 1860, the expedition did not touch at Inyan Kara which was to the south of their route by twenty miles. Nor did the expedition penetrate very far into the Black Hills as the route taken was somewhat north of the main body of the Hills. However, the Reynolds Expedition fits into the history of the Black Hills region, and thus is related to later events at Inyan Kara, in that gold was found. Although it was not the first time gold had been found, reports of gold in the Black Hills began to increasingly find their way to the American public. In a report published in

1869 by Dr. Hayden, the geologic structure of the Black Hills was summarized. Speaking before groups of people, Hayden told of having found flecks of gold, and expressed his cautious opinion that there were possibilities of finding more. However, rumors spread quickly and for about two years previous to the Custer Expedition, rumors of gold were advertised as fact, even by such a prominent figure as the territorial governor of Dakota. Although the area belonged to the Indians by the Treaty of 1851, a treaty later bolstered by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, Whites had planned to enter the Black Hills in order to mine gold in spite of the treaties. Even as early as 1861, the Black Hills Exploring and Mining Association was organized at Yankton, South Dakota.

From 1860 to 1865, however, the nation turned its attention toward the internecine conflict known as the Civil War, and no major government expeditions entered the Hills until 1865. In that year the Powder River Expedition was formed under the leadership of Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor. The motive behind this military expedition was to punish the Indians who were marauding along the Laramie-Bozeman Trail, or the Montana Road, which had been laid out in the 1860's, and paralleled the Black Hills to the west. The road was meant to provide travelers with a route to the gold fields of Montana but the Sioux under Chief Red Cloud made the way difficult for travelers.

The Powder River Expedition was composed of three columns. The right wing, led by Colonel Nelson Cole, Second Missouri Artillery, was to move along the east side of the Black Hills. The left column, led by Colonel James Kidd of the Sixth Michigan Cavalry, and accompanied by General Connor himself, moved from Fort Laramie along the western edge of the Black Hills enroute to the Panther Mountains on Tongue River. The center column, led by Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Walker of the Sixteenth Kansas Cavalry, was to proceed from Fort Laramie through the Black Hills, cross the headwaters of the Little Missouri to Powder River, and eventually travel from the Powder River to a rendezvous with the other two columns on the Rosebud River. On August 5, 1865 Colonel Walker left Fort Laramie and headed northwest toward the Black Hills where he was to rendezvous with General Cole, who was coming from the east.

It is not necessary here to relate the details, however exciting they may be, of the tortuous trek which the Walker's column had to endure. However, they did pass to the east and north of Inyan Kara Mountain and finally found General Cole on the Belle Fourche River about forty miles north of Devil's Tower. After suffering almost unbelievable hardships, the two columns straggled west to eventually be met by the column led by Kidd. The ultimate accomplishments of the military expedition were negligible and also, very little information concerning the Black Hills was published.

The place of Inyan Kara Mountain in the history of early exploration and military activities in the Black Hills is noteworthy for reasons already described but its prominence as a distinguishing geographical and historical landmark of the Black Hills is not complete without discussion of its identification with one of the most colorful and controversial figures in American History - George Armstrong Custer. Inyan Kara is a symbol of one of the most flamboyant episodes in the career of Custer, that of the Black Hills Expedition of 1874.

As was mentioned previously, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 guaranteed boundaries defining Indian territory. Indian territory was described as, generally, from the mouth of the Niobrara River west to the Big Horn Mountains, north to the Yellowstone River, east by way of the Cannonball to the Missouri River, and south down the Missouri to the Niobrara. Despite efforts by both the Indians and the United States Army to keep Whites out of the Indian territory, White penetration could not be stopped, especially those seeking gold. By 1873 the Sioux had pretty much been aroused to the possibility that they would lose the Black Hills to the Whites. The Northern Pacific Railroad survey parties were probing Yellowstone country, also, at this time and were protected by the Seventh Cavalry led by Custer, or "Long Hair the Squaw Killer" as the Indians called him. Several skirmishes occurred in 1873 between the Seventh Cavalry and the warriors of Chief Crazy Horse, and in 1874 Custer was at Fort Abraham Lincoln, near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota, with a larger force.

General Philip Sheridan, Commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, stated that generally, in 1874, the Department of the Dakota or northern portion of the Division of the Missouri had enjoyed comparative quiet. And in that Department were located the majority of the hostile bands of Sioux who occasionally made raids around Fort Abraham Lincoln (near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota), into Montana, or to the south in the Military Department of the Platte. These raids, and the growing tension between Indians and Whites resulting from increasing numbers of trespassers in the Black Hills region caused Sheridan to prepare for future hostilities. In order to better control the Indians, wrote Sheridan, it had been recommended that a large military post in the Black Hills be established, so that by holding an interior position in the heart of Indian country, the troops could threaten the villages and stock of the Indians, if the latter were insistent in their raids. A preliminary step to effect this objective was the organization of an expedition to survey the Black Hills. General Sheridan assigned the task to General Alfred H. Terry, in command of the Department of the Dakota. With the consent of the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, the

General of the Army, and the Secretary of the Interior, General Terry was authorized to make a military reconnaissance of the legendary Black Hills. The expedition was then in direct violation of the Treaty of 1868, but General Sheridan found justification for the reconnaissance in light of sporadic Indian raids in the military division over which he held command.

General Terry assigned Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer to lead the expedition. According to Special Orders 117 issued on June 8, 1874 from Saint Paul, Minnesota, Headquarters of the Department of the Dakota:

an expedition will be organized at Fort Abraham Lincoln, D. T., Dakota Territory for the purpose of reconnoitering the route from that post to Bear Butte, in the Black Hills, and exploring the country south, southeast, and southwest of that point.... Lieut. Col. G. A. Custer, of the Seventh Cavalry is assigned to the command.... Lieutenant-Colonel Custer will proceed by such route as he may find to be most desirable, to Bear Butte or some other point on or near the Belle Fourche, and thence will push his explorations in such direction or directions as in his judgment will enable him to obtain the most information in regard to the character of the country and the possible routes of communication through it.

Fort Laramie was, at first, selected as the point of departure for the expedition but due to the temper of resistance found among Indians in that area attention was turned to Fort Lincoln, which was then the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The entire expedition was to begin about June 20 and return to Fort Abraham Lincoln within sixty days of its departure.

The Black Hills Expedition of 1874 was probably the largest and best-equipped exploratory detachment to ever traverse the Western Plains. It consisted of 10 companies of the Seventh Cavalry, one company each of the Twentieth Infantry and Seventeenth Infantry, 61 Indian scouts who were mainly Rees and Santees, a few Sioux Indians, together with scientists, guides, interpreters, and teamsters---in all a total of about 1000 men. The wagon train contained 110 wagons, each drawn by 6 mules, 1000 cavalry horses, and 300 head of cattle. The artillery was represented by 3 Gatling guns capable of firing 250 shots a minute with accuracy up to 300 yards, and a three-inch rifle. Other than the military contingent there were numerous civilian teamsters with wagons, herders, blacksmiths, and saddlers. The large size of the expedition, it was said, was not to cause trouble with the Indians, but rather to prevent it.

The commander of the expedition, Custer, was considered to be especially fitted for the task of leadership. Other than Custer, one of the most prominent members of the expedition was William Ludlow, captain of engineers, assisted by one civilian and 6 enlisted men of the Engineer Battalion. The geologists were Professor N. H. Winchell and his assistant, Professor A. B. Donaldson. Another famous member of the party was George Bird Grinnell, a zoologist, paleontologist, and later famous historian of the Indians. Grinnell's assistant was Luther North, a scout whose purpose it was to guide Grinnell through terrain while Grinnell collected specimens. Dr. J. W. Williams was chief medical officer and botanist and J. W. Illingworth was the expedition's official photographer. William Elroy Curtis, correspondent for the Chicago Inter-Ocean, provided newspaper coverage for the trip. Other individuals of interest who accompanied the expedition were: Charley Reynolds, a well-known scout who later was killed with Custer at the Little Big Horn; Bloody Knife, leader of the Indian scouts and chief of the Unkpapa Sioux; Horatio Nelson Ross and William T. McKay; two miners who are usually given credit for the discovery of gold on the trip; George A. Forsythe and Colonel Fred Grant were two aides to Commander of the Army, General W. T. Sherman. Fred Grant was the oldest son of President U. S. Grant. Mention should also be made of the sixteen-piece military band which accompanied the expedition, an innovation to Plains travel.

The assemblage of men, material, and animals finally moved out of Fort Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1874, after several delays. The route was south-westerly, toward the Belle Fourche River and the northwest edge of the Black Hills. The Belle Fourche was reached by July 18. Two days later the expedition entered the Black Hills. Upon entering the Hills, Professor Donaldson demonstrated his interest in things non-geologic in character when he noted:

The sunset was of unusual splendor. The lines of stratus and each fleecy rock in the west, were tinged with orange, red and golden hues; while in the east, the purple twilight bow extended its broad arch of beauty, modest in its fainter glory; towards the south, dark mountains of cumulus were edged with brightest silver, a gorgeous pathway fit for steps of deity. But these short-lived splendors fade away. 'And comes still evening on till twilight gray, Hath in her sober livery all things clad.' The stars come out, one by one, and troop by troop, till all the constellations burn, the 'music of the spheres' begins and 'all the hosts of heaven rejoice.' The band plays, and thus with mingled earthly and heavenly music, terrestrial beauty and celestial glory, the first day ends and the first night is ushered in to the strangers among the Black Hills.

On July 21 the course led southward up the Redwater Valley where Inyan Kara Mountain was in sight all that day. On July 22 the command camped about four and one-half miles to the east of Inyan Kara where they remained for two days. On that morning two privates of Company M. Joseph Turner and William Roller, quarreled and fought with the result being the death of Turner by gunshot. Only the night before Private John Cunningham had died of dysentery and in the evening of July 22 both men were buried on a small knoll within the camp near Inyan Kara. Later, in 1935, their graves were marked by employees of the Black Hills National Forest.

On the morning of July 23, General Custer and staff, the scientific corps, and one reporter, escorted by two companies of cavalry left camp to visit the prominent landmark of Inyan Kara. Not wishing to attempt a passage into the interior recesses of the Black Hills before a better view of the area could be had, Custer had decided not to break camp until he had climbed the mountain.

At the foot of the mountain the cavalry was left behind, and the ascent was begun by the rest. Geologist Winchell described the climb.

Here we enter upon the Carboniferous limestone, which has a dip of about  $30^{\circ}$  from a horizontal, varying from  $20^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$ , sometimes presenting shoulders that have a confused dip or stand vertical. Over this we climb to a height of about 500 feet to the top of a circular ridge which encloses the main columnar center of the mountain. Passing along this ridge toward the south a short distance, one party turns to the right and ascends the mountain from the east or northeast, while I, with Professor Donaldson and Bear's Ears, an Indian guide, cross the gorge separating us from the central mass. Crossing a wooded glen, where we find a refreshing stream of cool water, we ascend the peak from the south and find ourselves the first on the summit.

On the summit Professor Donaldson gave an account of what was seen by the group.

The temperature of the summit is sensibly lower than that in the plain below, and we found it pleasant to sit on the leeward side of the crest in the sunshine. Of the extensive and magnificent views from the summit, we can only say nothing; for, unfortunately, on the day of our visit the air was so hazy that nothing could be seen beyond ten miles. A hazy air is unusual in this country.

On account of the obscurity of the air and the difficulty in approaching the mountain, Mr. Illingworth took but one view of it, and that from a distance of about two miles.

The difficulty which the climbers had in viewing the surrounding horizon from the summit was due to the fact that the Sioux had fired the prairie to the south and west of Inyan Kara. However, the comprehensive view which is available from the summit of Inyan Kara was attested on November 19, 1933 by thirty-two persons from the nearby town of Sundance who climbed the mountain. From the summit they could see such prominent landmarks as Devil's Tower, Missouri Buttes, Warren's Peak, Cement Ridge, Terry Peak, and even the Big Horn Mountains which are more than one hundred miles to the west.

While they were on the summit the Custer party, with hammer and chisel, inscribed in the hard rock of the mountain a monument to the Custer Expedition. The inscription, which remains today for the visitor to see, reads:

"'74

Custer."

After waiting two hours for the haze to lift, but finding it had only grown more dense, the party on Inyan Kara returned to camp.

On July 24 the expedition entered the main body of the Black Hills, climbing the steep banks of the Red Water Valley to the east. They were soon traveling over a handsome prairie which gradually rose to a pine forest. Traveling through alternating prairie and forest the expedition reached Floral Valley on July 25. Custer gave the valley its name because of the profusion of wild flowers there. Enthusiastic descriptions of the spot are provided us by Custer and Donaldson, but geologist Ludlow probably summed up the feeling common to all when he reported that "a more beautiful wild country could not be imagined."

Traveling further into the Black Hills, the expedition, including wagons, had by July 31 reached a point about seven miles south of Harney's Peak, from which point reconnaissance parties were sent in different directions. Within a few days the first reports of gold were recorded by members of the expedition and the first official news of the gold discoveries was soon made available to the public by the army.

The significance of this aspect of the expedition can hardly be underestimated because, whether or not the reports of gold were accurate, or even in agreement with one another, the result of the reports of the discovery of gold was a gradually swelling rush of people to the Black Hills in search of the precious metal.

It is not necessary to discuss further the events of the expedition, many accounts of which exist in official and unofficial form. In summary, the Custer Expedition penetrated the inner recesses of the Hills, and found its way out of the Hills at a point just west of Bear Butte. The expedition returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln on August 30, sixty days after its departure there, having experienced no major encounters with Indians. Custer's wife, Elizabeth, was overcome with joy upon the arrival of her husband, but remembered enough to describe the scene:

When we could take time to look every one over, they were all amusing enough. Some wives did not know their husbands, and looked indignant enough when caught in an embrace by an apparent stranger. Many, like the general, had grown heavy beards. All were sunburnt, their hair faded, and their clothes so patched that the original blue of the uniform was scarcely visible. Of course there had been nothing on the expedition save pieces of white canvas with which to reinforce the riding-breeches, put new elbows on sleeves, and replace the worn knees.

The boots were worn out at the toes, and the clothing of some were so beyond repairing that the officers wanted to escape observation by slipping, with their tattered rags, into the kitchen door. The instruments of the band were jammed and tarnished, but they still produced enough music for us to recognize the old tune of 'Garryowen', to which the regiment always returned.

The first official news of the discovery of gold in the Black Hills by the Custer Expedition had been made public on August 12, 1874. Despite the uncertainty concerning the reports of gold, almost at once after the return of the expedition to Fort Lincoln there was a general stampede by the public in an effort to force entrance into the Indian country. General Sheridan issued orders to commanders of frontier posts for summary action against all White trespassers in the region but to no avail. By December, 1874, the first settlers had arrived in the Black Hills.

In 1875 the Government soon began negotiations with the Sioux in an attempt to purchase the Hills, in view of the surge of indefatigable gold prospectors to the Hills. While Indian Chiefs Spotted Tail and Red Cloud were discussing the possible sale of the Hills to the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, apparently confident of the government's ability to make the purchase, authorized another exploring expedition to the Black Hills, the Jenney Expedition. Walter P. Jenney, of the New York School of Mines, was to lead the expedition, assisted by geologist Henry A. Newton of Ohio. Among others

who accompanied the expedition were H. P. Little, astronomer; Dr. V. P. McGillicuddy, topographer; and D. Newberry and a corps of engineers. Jenney, in summarizing the findings of the expedition, concluded that the region held more than just gold. In his ebullient report, Jenney wrote:

Compared with some of the world-renowned districts in California and Australia, the placers at present discovered are not remarkably rich, yet there are claims already opened and worked which are yielding a very good return for the labor employed. At Cheyenne, the railroad is not more than two hundred and fifty miles from the gold-fields; the roads over which machinery and supplies are transported are excellent, the grades usually easy and the drives not long between water. The climate of the Black Hills is wonderfully healthy and invigorating; wood, water, and grass are everywhere abundant and of the best quality.

There is gold enough to thoroughly settle and develop the country, and, after the placers are exhausted, stock-raising will be the great business of the inhabitants, who have a world of wealth in the splendid grazing of this region.

During January, 1875, meetings were being held in Cheyenne, looking to the organization of a citizen's company for the purpose of exploring in the Big-horn Mountains and developing the Black Hills as a mining region. The committee appointed to devise plans for carrying out the purposes of the organization were, among others, such prominent Wyoming pioneers as Francis E. Warren, A. R. Converse, P. S. Wilson, and A. E. Swan.

The large Sioux detachment which had been taken to Washington in order to smooth the way toward an arrangement with the Indians of the Black Hills wanted \$600,000,000.00 for the Hills but the United States Government was prepared to offer only \$6,000,000.00. However, other events were leading to a different arrangement to be made in the Black Hills. In November, 1875, an Indian inspector filed a special complaint on the subject of bands of Sioux in the Bighorn and Powder River country who were attacking other Indians as well as Whites. Among those Indian tribes which refused to be subject to the authority of the United States Government, and who continued to commit acts of violence upon settlers in the Black Hills region were the Sioux under the leadership of Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Gall, and Rain-in-the-Face. According to the report of the Indian inspector only a few hundred warriors were involved, but already by November, President Grant had decided that the

Indians would have to give up their land in the Black Hills and in the area of the Powder River. A proclamation was issued that all Sioux Indians would have to report to their various agencies by January 31, 1876, or be subject to military action. Some Indians obeyed the order and others, for one reason or another, did not. Those who proved to be recalcitrant were to be punished, or herded to the agencies by three armies sent into the Indian country of Northern Wyoming and Southern Montana for such a purpose. General Custer with the Seventh Cavalry Regiment, was to accompany General Alfred H. Terry from the east, General George Crook was to approach the area from the south, and Lt. Colonel John Gibbon was to approach from the west. On July 25-26, 1876 in what is today Custer County, Montana, General Custer and over 200 men of the Seventh Cavalry were met at the Little Bighorn River by about 3000 Sioux warriors.

The fight and its result are well-known, but the significance of the fate of Custer and his men in respect to this essay, is that such a fate was partly the result of the penetration by the White Man of one of the last great hunting areas of the Indians of the Northern Plains. The Custer Expedition to the Black Hills in 1874 is thus significant in that it was a major step, not only toward the untimely end of Custer and his men---an event which has achieved such notoriety, but toward the eventual removal of the Indians from the area and its settlement by Whites. The Sioux Indians finally gave up the struggle for their land in and around the Black Hills in a treaty which was ratified by Congress on February 28, 1879, although the Indians were not to come under full control by the United States until the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890. After the Treaty of 1879 two principal Indian agencies were established---Pine Ridge and the Rosebud Agency---where the Oglala and Brule Sioux finally settled, although they did have permission to roam the Black Hills in search of game.

The place of Inyan Kara Mountain in the rich history of the Black Hills region is a prominent one. Although the mountain is not the highest peak in the Black Hills its association, first of all, with the culture of the Plains Indians is significant. Second, it stood as a landmark to early travelers and explorers whose work led to the development of a part of the American West. Third, the mountain is a historic site which, on several occasions, served as a host to dramatic events relative to Indian-White relations prior to the great White migration to the area after 1875.

The nature of the history surrounding Inyan Kara dictates the necessity of including the whole mountain within the definition of a historic district or site, since historic events occurred both on and near the mountain. Since the mountain is within the boundaries of the Black Hills National Forest, it

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is feasible to include the entire mountain on the National Register as a historic site and a historic district. Although the trails of the various expeditions to the Black Hills may never be adequately marked, Inyan Kara stands as a representative symbol, not only of the history associated with the Wyoming portion of the Black Hills, but that associated with the greater Black Hills.