

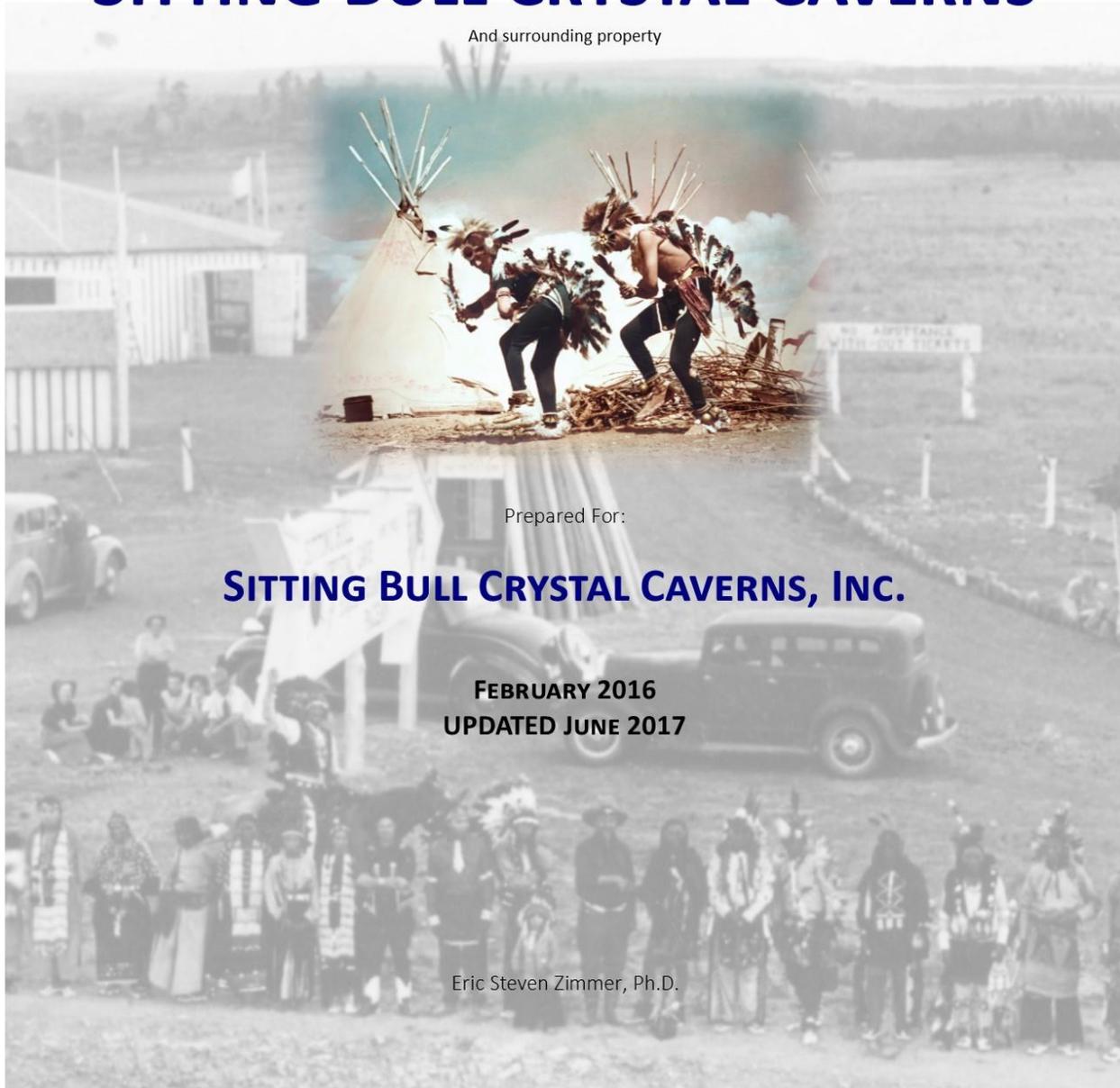


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Historical and Cultural Significance Report:

# SITTING BULL CRYSTAL CAVERNS

And surrounding property



Prepared For:

**SITTING BULL CRYSTAL CAVERNS, INC.**

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## **I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

**1. The 730-acre property at Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns (SBCC) is of great significance to the geological history of the Black Hills, as well as the histories of South Dakota tourism and, most importantly, of the *Oceti Sakowin* (“Great Sioux Nation”).**

Located about ten miles south of downtown Rapid City on Highway 16, the property sits in the heart of the sacred Black Hills (*Paha Sapa*), which are the creation place of the Lakota people. The Sitting Bull Cave system—named after the famed Hunkpapa leader, who is said to have camped on the property in the late 1800s—is located in the “Pahasapa limestone,” a ring of sedimentary rock on the inner edges of the “Racetrack” described in Lakota oral traditions. There are three caves in the system. The deepest, “Sitting Bull Cave,” boasts some of the largest pyramid-shaped “dog tooth spar” calcite crystals anywhere in the world.

The cave opened to tourists after significant excavation in 1934 and operated almost continuously until 2015. It was among the most successful early tourist attractions in the Black Hills, due to the cave’s stunning beauty and the property’s prime location on the highway that connects Rapid City to Mount Rushmore.

**2. The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant was created by Oglala Holy Man Nicholas Black Elk and held on the SBCC grounds from 1934 to 1957.**

Black Elk was a well-known Oglala Lakota whose prolific life extended from his experience at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876 to the publication of *Black Elk Speaks* in 1932 and beyond. In 1927, he crafted the world’s first Native-authored Indian pageant in collaboration with Alex Duhamel, the owner of SBCC. For thirty years, Black Elk and dozens of Lakota performers reenacted sacred songs and ceremonies. The pageant provided an important source of income for Native participants and helped to educate tourists about Lakota culture and history.

**3. The white barn at SBCC is on the National Register of Historic Places, was the site of the Duhamel Pageant, and features murals by the celebrated Sicangu artist Godfrey Broken Rope.**

The barn is one of only six historical round barns still standing in Western South Dakota. From 1934 to 1957, it housed the Duhamel Pageant. Broken Rope also painted four murals on the barn’s interior walls, which depict landscapes across the Black Hills and are a significant contribution to art history in South Dakota.

**4. The rich history and prime location of SBCC offer an opportunity for the *Oceti Sakowin* to reclaim the narrative of their history and culture.**

History and heritage tourism are integral parts of the Black Hills economy. From Mount Rushmore to Deadwood, history brings visitors to the region and entertains and educates them while they are here. Given the myriad contributions of SBCC to the geological, cultural, and Indigenous histories of South Dakota, any economic development plan for the SBCC property could benefit from engaging with the site’s fascinating past. From rehabilitating the barn to curating the lobby of a hotel, opportunities to deploy SBCC’s history, earn a profit, and educate Black Hills visitors abound.

## II. INTRODUCTION



The entrance to Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns as it appears today. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

**THREE MILES SOUTH OF RAPID CITY**, on the bustling road to Mount Rushmore National Memorial, three massive wooden beams soar sixty feet into the air. Some say the figure is a memorial to six cheerleaders from a local high school who perished in a plane crash in 1968. Others claim the structure remembers the scores of truckers who have died in accidents while transporting goods to residents across the Black Hills. While the arches point to the heavens, their purpose may be more simplistic than symbolic: they—like the hundreds of billboards across the Black Hills—function simply to attract the attention and dollars of the millions of travelers who pass by the property of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns (SBCC) each year.

Unlike the arches above it—whose history is shrouded in rumor and local lore—the story of the white octagonal barn at the entrance to SBCC has been carefully documented. The small building was home to an important cultural and historic event: the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant, which ran for three decades in the middle of the twentieth century. Far more than “just another tourist trap,” SBCC and the surrounding property is a site of great historical significance to the entire Black Hills region. Its history is especially significant for the American Indian communities who hold this land sacred.

This report details the historical and cultural significance of the 730-acre SBCC property, especially as it relates to the history of the *Oceti Sakowin* (“People of the Seven Council Fires,” often called the “Great Sioux Nation”). It first explores the geological, historical, and cultural significance of Sitting Bull Cave and the surrounding property, situating the land within the broader context of Lakota creation stories about the Black Hills and the *Oceti Sakowin*’s ultimate dispossession from their land. It also describes the geological and speleological features of the Sitting Bull Cave system. It then turns to the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant, a performance designed by the famed Oglala Holy Man Nicholas Black Elk (*Hehaka Sapa*) in partnership with Rapid City businessman Alex Duhamel. The Duhamel Pageant provided an opportunity for Lakota performers to earn money, preserve songs and ceremonies, and educate tourists about their culture and history. Finally, this report uses recent data on Black Hills tourism to make some preliminary suggestions about the site’s potential as a heritage tourism site. SBCC presents an opportunity to reclaim the narrative and educate Black Hills visitors on the history and culture of the *Oceti Sakowin*.

### III. GEOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

**DRIVING SOUTH FROM RAPID CITY ON HIGHWAY 16**, it is easy to forget that the well-trodden corridor from Rapid City to Mount Rushmore was once an open landscape, free from the billboards, tourist attractions, and convenience stores of today. The SBCC property sits three miles from the southern border of Rapid City and about halfway to Rockerville, a small boomtown named after the wooden “rockers” that gold miners once used to separate gold dust from loose sediment. Standing under the arches at the entrance to SBCC, one can envision how the land looked more than a century ago. To the west towers Black Elk Peak, a sacred place to which many Lakota



*Hinhan Kaga, or Harney Peak, as seen from the SBCC property. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.*

return each year to pray. To the east, dark ponderosas obstruct a view that extends down to the valley that is now home to Reptile Gardens and some seventy miles out on the plains, to the Badlands. To the north lies the open meadow where hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of Native people once camped. And to the south, where there is now a chip-sealed road, there was once only a mess of pine trees. These trees obscured the steep cliff that drops to the bottom of Rockerville Gulch. Even deeper, beneath the surface and hinted at only by a few holes in the limestone canyon walls, lies a cavern filled with stunning, white crystals. All of this is Lakota land.

The Black Hills, or *Paha Sapa*, are the creation place of the Lakota people. According to oral traditions, a trickster coaxed a man named Tokahe out of *Washun Niya*, or Wind Cave. After exploring the world above, Tokahe returned and, like the trickster, convinced his people to follow him outside. A wise man named Pte (or Buffalo) saw that his people would need food and shelter and transformed himself into a bison. For thousands of years, the people who would come to call themselves Lakota chased the animal across the northern plains, relying on its flesh to fuel and equip their nations.<sup>1</sup> Another story points to the significance of the oblong ring of limestone that encircles the granite core of the Black Hills, which contains SBCC and many other caves. Geologists call this the “Pahasapa limestone,” and its outer edges are known to the Lakota as “the Racetrack.” One traditional story describes a long race between birds and mammals during which “the weight of the animals caused the track to sink while the area in the middle [the Black Hills] rose, finally bursting open in flames and surrounding the Black Hills with a red circle indented in the earth.”<sup>2</sup>

The documentary record picks up the *Oceti Sakowin* on the western edges of the Great Lakes in the seventeenth century. Over the years, other Native peoples moved into the Black Hills. But the region continued to be of great importance to the Lakota. Following the arrival of Europeans in North America in 1492, diseases and armed conflicts fundamentally reshaped the entire continent. In the 1700s, the Lakota had returned to what is now western South Dakota, and in the process, pushed out other Native residents. Within a century, the young United States would set its sights on the western expanses of North America.<sup>3</sup>

In 1851, the U.S. government signed a treaty that designated a massive swath of land as the “Great Sioux Reservation.” The reservation included all of today’s western South Dakota and

portions of Wyoming, Montana, and Nebraska. Over the next fifty years, the federal government repeatedly and illegally reduced the Great Sioux Reservation. In 1868, a new treaty reduced the tribes' territory to only the bounds of western South Dakota. Following the Black Hills gold rush that began in 1874, the United States relegated the Lakota to small agencies far from the Black Hills. There, Indian agents starved Native communities until some tribal leaders assented—under severe duress—to the 1877 Manypenny Agreement, which removed the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Reservation. In coming years, the government would continue its assault on Lakota lands, ultimately reducing the five West River reservations to their present size.<sup>4</sup>

The SBCC property represents only a small portion of what was once the Great Sioux Reservation. It encompasses a system of three caves that spiral beneath Rockerville Gulch. The smallest of them, “Two Bear Cave,” extends roughly 130 feet into the canyon walls and is accessible by foot, without the assistance of stairs or special gear. An old Lakota story suggests that two large bears had once lived inside. “Packrat Cave” extends a short distance into the canyon walls and is named for the large rodents who nest on the stone floors. Finally, “Sitting Bull Cave” plunges more than two thousand feet into the gulch floor.<sup>5</sup> It was named after the Hunkpapa leader Sitting Bull. Two Lakota elders recalled camping with his band near the caves, most likely in the large meadow near Highway 16 or near the cave entrance, where they could be shielded from bitter winter winds, in the latter half of the 1800s.<sup>6</sup>



Tourists sit on a bench at the entrance to Two Bear Cave in the 1930s. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

By 1880, Rockerville Gulch was “the scene of feverish placer mining,” which lasted until about 1890.<sup>7</sup> Although gold does not form in limestone, water running through the gulch often carried fragments of the precious element in runoff from the granite peaks of the central Black Hills. At the height of Rockerville’s gold boom, two brothers named Steven and Ben Rush—miners who lived in Rockerville—happened upon the Sitting Bull Cave system. Steven explored the caves, and is likely the first non-Native person to have seen inside the largest one. Ten years later, two more brothers, miners whose last name was Zink, found a small amount of gold in dark sediment that had been deposited in the cave by running water.<sup>8</sup>



Alex Duhamel purchased the SBCC property around 1930. He ran the cave and the Duhamel Pageant every summer until his death in 1941. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

As the gold boom began to settle down, homesteaders set their sights on the Rockerville area. In fact, it appears that the first non-Indian owners of the SBCC property were a series of five homesteaders who laid claim to the area. With the exception of one 120-acre parcel, all were standard 160-acre sections which were, under the Homestead Act of 1862, given to settlers at no cost by the federal government in exchange for a promise to make agricultural improvements on the property. Three of the homesteads were assigned to men, while the remaining two belonged to women. Alfred B. King claimed the first section in 1889. The last patent was issued to Mary N. Fervings in 1916.<sup>9</sup> While it is unclear exactly how—or how many times—portions of the SBCC property changed hands in the decades straddling the turn of the twentieth century, most of the property came to be owned by the Warren-Lamb Lumber Company. For the first several years of the 1900s, the bottom of Rockerville Gulch was seen only by the occasional hiker, miner, or lumberjack, and most of the property was used for timber production.<sup>10</sup>

In 1929, a young man named Francis A. “Bud” Duhamel set the SBCC property on a path that would alter its place in history. Aided by a handful of friends, the twenty-seven-year-old explored the Sitting Bull Cave system “for the purpose of determining its value as a commercial enterprise.”<sup>11</sup> Bud’s father, Alex Duhamel, was the son of a French/Canadian immigrant who had homesteaded in Colorado before resettling in Rapid City. Alex, along with his wife, Mary or “Mamie,” owned a successful mercantile store in downtown Rapid City, which they called the Duhamel Trading Post.<sup>12</sup> After hearing Bud’s descriptions of the deep, spiraling cave and its large, milky-white calcite crystals, Alex and Mamie purchased the first portion of the SBCC property, which included the cave, from Warren-Lamb. The company had harvested most of the available lumber on the property and “felt that [they] had no further use for the land.”<sup>13</sup>

Shortly thereafter, the Duhamels developed a plan to widen Sitting Bull Cave’s entrance and fit the cavern with a wooden staircase so tourists could access the crystals that lay hundreds of feet below the surface. Work crews used an air compressor to carve through “alternat[ing] layers of crystal and sediment” and hauled tons of dense mud up the cave’s main shaft in huge buckets.<sup>14</sup> Once the project was complete, the Duhamels opened the Black Hills’ newest tourist attraction, Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns, in the summer of 1934. The family would do so every year—with the exception of a brief closure needed to repair damage following a major 1972 flood—until 2015.<sup>15</sup>

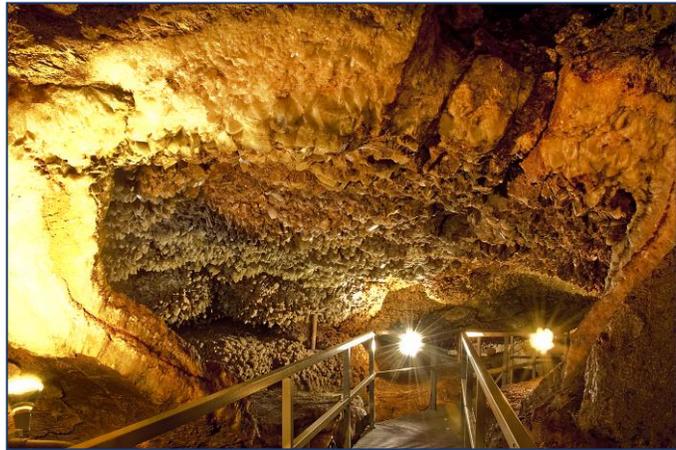
From a geological perspective, Sitting Bull Cave is “a most extraordinary specimen.”<sup>16</sup> Huge calcite crystals—called “dog tooth spars” for their pyramid-like shape and sharp edges—coat the floors and ceiling of most of the cave. Although short by Black Hills standards (at more

than one hundred miles each, Wind Cave and Jewel Cave are among the longest in the world), Sitting Bull boasts spars that, according to one group of speleologists, “may or may not be the very largest calcite crystals ever found in a cave.” Even though a few caverns in the American Southwest claim to have larger specimens, the authors continue, “Sitting Bull is the most extensive display of these oversized crystals, and certainly the greatest presentation of such available for public view!”<sup>17</sup>

The cave formed in the Pahasapa Limestone, which runs along the general path of the Racetrack described in traditional Lakota stories. The crystals inside Sitting Bull formed slowly while the cave was filled with water during a long period that extended from about thirty million to two million years ago. Then, geological uplifts drained the water from the deep, subterranean chasm, allowing other cave formations to begin to grow.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to its dog tooth spars, Sitting Bull Cave also holds a variety of other notable geological features. Both natural processes and the human presence inside the cave have exposed crystalline “bullseye” formations in areas where once-protruding portions of the cave walls have been broken off. They appear as concentric rings of black, white, and rust-colored stone and crystal. A long, limestone crevasse in the center of the tour route contains several fossilized species of sea life. “Popcorn” formation—another form of calcite characterized by small, rounded protrusions—began to grow on top of the spar after the cave’s water drained. Finally, seepage of surface water and condensation in the cave allow a few small stalactites and stalagmites to continue forming in its most remote corners.<sup>19</sup>

This impressive array of cave formations combined with its prime location to make SBCC one of the Black Hills’ most popular early tourist attractions. In 1926, South Dakota had begun building Highway 16 to connect Rapid City to Mount Rushmore, where a team of sculptors began work on the monument in October 1927.<sup>20</sup> When the Duhamels opened the cave in 1934, they were at the forefront of a movement by dozens of entrepreneurs seeking to grow the nascent Black Hills tourism industry.<sup>21</sup> For the next eighty years, tourists paid good money to peer inside the depths of Sitting Bull Cave. What the family did with the rest of its property over the next few decades, however, helped solidify SBCC’s place in regional history.



Sitting Bull Cave boasts a world-renowned collection of calcite crystals. Photo courtesy Jason Rowe.

#### IV. SBCC AND THE DUHAMEL SIOUX INDIAN PAGEANT

IN ADDITION TO ITS PLACE in the cultural, geological, and mining histories of the Black Hills, the SBCC property was the site of an important, reoccurring experiment in cross-cultural dialogue and an early attempt by a few Lakota to make their way in the bustling business climate of twentieth-century South Dakota. The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant was a unique and colorful attempt by the famous Oglala Holy Man Nicholas Black Elk (*Hehaka Sapa*) and his white allies to make money during a period when employment opportunities for Native peoples were scarce. The pageant also offered a way to preserve important aspects of Lakota culture by performing dances, songs, and ceremonies, many of which were illegal under federal law for the first several years of the pageant's existence. Indeed, the story of the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant is one of Lakota cultural, economic, political, and spiritual perseverance and resilience.<sup>22</sup>

The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant was born from a partnership between Alex Duhamel and Black Elk. Duhamel's Rapid City store frequently supplied goods and food to reservations across the region. The Duhamel family also ran a cattle ranching enterprise on leased reservation land. Recognizing that his Lakota customers often lacked enough cash to buy their wares outright, Alex (who learned Lakota in the process of doing business with Native communities) often bartered goods in exchange for Indian arts and crafts, which he sold in his store.<sup>23</sup> In later years, the Duhamels would hire Lakota craftsmen and women who produced beadwork and other items for sale to tourists.<sup>24</sup>

The tours that ran through Sitting Bull Cave were only one part of SBCC's lively business. As early as 1927, Nicholas Black Elk approached Alex Duhamel with a concept for establishing an Indian pageant that could earn his people money while educating white audiences about Lakota history and culture. The pair had become acquainted during Alex Duhamel's many transactions with the Pine Ridge community.<sup>25</sup> Black Elk was well known as a survivor of the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. He had traveled to Europe with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in the 1880s and witnessed the carnage immediately following the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. He was a widely-respected leader in both the Lakota and Catholic spiritual communities.<sup>26</sup>

Indian Pageants were an extremely popular form of entertainment in the United States in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The most famous was the Wild West Show orchestrated by William "Buffalo Bill" Cody. At the height of his career, Cody was "the world's highest paid performer and best-loved American."<sup>27</sup> Historians have long debated Indian pageantry. Was it a fundamentally exploitative project that took advantage of



Nicholas Black Elk wrote and participated in the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant from 1927 until his death in 1957. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

desperate Native peoples and treated their sacred songs and rites as the curios of a dying and “savage” race? Or were the performances economic and political opportunities that Indians everywhere understood, harnessed, and used to earn a living while preserving the stories, dances, and songs that were so fundamentally important to their cultures and communities?<sup>28</sup>



Lakota performers reenact a ceremonial burial at the Duhamel Pageant in the 1930s or 1940s. Black Elk is pictured second from the left. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

In either case, the performances were extremely lucrative, and like members of Native communities across the United States, many Lakota—including famous leaders like Sitting Bull and Black Elk—participated in them. In the 1880s, Black Elk performed in New York’s Madison Square Garden and before England’s Queen Victoria. He also traveled France, Italy, and Germany with Buffalo Bill’s troupe.<sup>29</sup> Like many Native people of his generation, Black Elk had elected to participate in cultural performances as a way to transition into the cash economy once bison—and with them, the customary lifestyle of tribes across the Northern Plains—were eradicated.

Through these experiences, Black Elk and many members of his community became skilled performers. They understood how to sell everything from their physical presence to hand-made crafts to eager whites. Most important for Black Elk, perhaps, were the lessons in how to navigate the business side of the pageant industry. After convincing Duhamel to sponsor his show and imbue the Lakota elder with the power to make decisions about the content of the pageant and to oversee the hiring of Native performers, Black Elk set about writing the script.<sup>30</sup>

Black Elk carefully designed a series of performances that would “highlight Lakota perspectives, culture, and tradition” and educate white tourists about his people and their history.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, one scholar has called the Duhamel Pageant “educational rather than sensational,” and another asserts that Black Elk saw the creation of the pageant as a single endeavor that could achieve four fundamentally important tasks. First, the pageant could make money for a significant number of Lakota people. Second, it could “educate white tourists.” It “was also a clear manifestation of Black Elk’s attempt to preserve some of his [people’s] traditional ways” at a time when Indigenous spirituality was under constant assault from the federal government and Indian reformers everywhere.<sup>32</sup>



By the early 1940s, the SBCC complex had a trading post, the pageant barn (visible at left, behind the arrow) and a tipi-shaped admissions office. Today, only the barn remains. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

Finally, displaying Lakota rituals was, at least in part, an act of political defiance. It was a way of rejecting oppressive federal regulations that outlawed the performance of most Native ceremonies. One radio advertisement from the period claimed that the pageant was allowed “by special permission of the United States government.”<sup>33</sup> But, as the historian Elaine Marie Nelson writes, “nearly every ceremony the Lakota performed in the Duhamel Pageant between 1927 and 1934 violated the laws restricting the practice of Native American religions as outlined in the Indian Religious Crimes Code.”<sup>34</sup> Indeed, it was only in 1924—when all American Indians became citizens of the United States under a law signed by President Calvin Coolidge—that Native peoples could leave their reservations without advanced approval from the local Indian agent.<sup>35</sup>

The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant was first performed in Baken Park on the west side of Rapid City—which is today a shopping center but once featured a large dance hall—possibly as early as 1927 or 1928. The pageant moved to the cave property in 1934.<sup>36</sup> There, the Duhamels created a small complex on the flat, open land near Highway 16. In addition to the road leading down to the cave, a large wooden tipi that served as the admissions office sat adjacent to the white barn that still exists at SBCC. The Duhamels also promoted the “Sioux Indian Village,” a re-created Lakota camp that was visible and open to tourists who wanted to speak with the performers. During the day, tourists could walk through this “show village” and purchase wares from tribal members in between pageant performances. By 1941, SBCC also had a trading post, complete with a lunch counter and gift shop, which was located near the highway, across from the barn and admissions office.<sup>37</sup>



Sicangu artist Godfrey Broken Rope painted several murals inside the SBCC barn. This scene depicts Sylvan Lake. Red paint has been spilled on the wall. Photo courtesy Jason Rowe.

The pageant itself took place inside the barn, which had been fitted with bleachers when it was built in 1934.<sup>38</sup> One of only about thirty historic round barns still standing in South Dakota—only six of which are west of the Missouri River—the barn is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. In addition to housing the pageant, the barn also contains several historic murals painted by the Sicangu artist Godfrey Broken Rope.<sup>39</sup> These colorful murals depict several landscape scenes across western South Dakota, and were most likely used as the backdrop for the Sioux Indian Pageant. In all likelihood, the Duhamels commissioned Broken Rope to paint the murals after being referred to him by Black Elk or another Lakota performer. One former cave employee also remembered that Broken Rope produced large murals that were featured on the interior walls of the Duhamel Trading Post on cave property, which no longer exists. The artist would also participate in the pageant, the employee remembered, by setting up an easel, asking a guest for a subject to paint, and then creating a personalized, original painting on the spot.<sup>40</sup>

Broken Rope is a well-known Lakota artist, and his murals are a significant—if little known—contribution to South Dakota art history. Born in Okreek on the Rosebud Reservation in

1906, Broken Rope studied at the Indian schools in Rapid City and Flandreau as a young man. He also took courses at the Oglala Community School on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Broken Rope reportedly considered his artistic abilities a “gift from God,” and regularly painted and gave public lectures about his work. He spent several decades working as a minister in Pine Ridge and in Billings, Montana.<sup>41</sup> Broken Rope is known to art historians for his landscape paintings—like those contained within the SBCC barn—which were often “done in a muted palette of neutral tones, executed in simple house paints.” Most of his paintings, moreover, were “devoted to nostalgic scenes reflecting life on the Rosebud Reservation.”<sup>42</sup> He continued painting, and completed a number of major projects like a large mural on Native history for an exhibit at the Bonanzaville Indian Museum in West Fargo, North Dakota, before his death in 1989.<sup>43</sup>

The Duhamel Pageant was more than an artistic contribution to regional history. It offered steady employment to dozens of Lakota during its thirty-year history, especially during the period from 1934 to about 1944. In addition to the Black Elks—Nicholas Black Elk’s son, Ben Black Elk, was also a key part of the operation, especially as his father aged—members of the Red Bear and Roan Horse families frequently participated in the pageant. At least one of Sitting Bull’s sons, John Sitting Bull—who was deaf—also performed at SBCC. Many more families were

also involved, as small groups of Lakota workers would often perform for several weeks before moving on. While it is unclear exactly how many Lakota worked at SBCC over the years, one historian argues that “at least twenty-five Native Americans” were on staff at a given time each summer, “although it was common for there to be as many as fifty or more.” It is likely that Lakota from a variety of bands participated in the pageant, but available evidence confirms that, at the very least, members of the Oglala, Hunkpapa, and Sicangu communities all participated at one time or another.<sup>44</sup> The Lakota workers shared twenty-five percent of each day’s ticket sales, as well as one-hundred percent of the sales from any arts or crafts



The Duhamel Pageant took place inside the barn that still stands on the SBCC property. In this photo from the 1940s, performers dance before an audience of tourists, who can be seen seated on bleachers. Photo courtesy Bill Groethe.

they sold directly to pageant visitors. The Duhamels also provided their Native employees with a “secluded campground, water, and food” in an area separate from the “show village” that tourists could visit.<sup>45</sup>

By the middle of the 1930s, the pageant was being performed three times daily, but the number of shows had been reduced to two by the end of the decade. Each performance included between twelve and seventeen acts, which commenced when an SBCC employee—often Alex or Peter Duhamel—led a parade of Lakota performers, who walked on foot, before the eager crowd. Under the direction of Peter, who acted as master of ceremonies, the performers then reenacted a variety of ceremonies and customary dances, including the “Medicine Dance,” an “Indian Burial,” and an event described as “The Offering and Smoking of

the Holy Pipe.” Most surprising, perhaps, was the reenactment of portions of the sacred “Sun Dance,” during which a Lakota man wore a special, leather harness that simulated the piercing of a dancer’s skin.<sup>46</sup> SBCC staff and audience members were also welcome to participate with the Lakota dancers during the “Rabbit Dance.”<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the performances on the SBCC property, the Duhamels also orchestrated a parade of Native performers—dressed in full traditional regalia—who traveled via truck down to Rapid City each day during the summer.



There were two “Indian villages” on the SBCC property in the 1930s and 1940s. One, shown above, was open to guests who wanted to speak with pageant performers. The other, where the Lakota actually lived, was situated in a secluded space deeper in the property’s forest. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.



Many Lakota families, like the unidentified one shown here, lived and worked on the SBCC property in the 1930s and 1940s. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

The performers would march along Sixth Street, just outside the Duhamel store. They played drums, sang traditional songs, and interacted with Rapid City’s residents and guests alike. For a time, the Duhamels also sponsored two evening shows at the same time in different locations. One began at seven-thirty in the evening outside the Duhamel store in downtown Rapid City, while the other began at eight o’clock on the SBCC property. Eventually, however, the parades and downtown shows were cancelled—probably in the late 1930s—when traffic grew too congested to accommodate the event.<sup>48</sup> Peter Duhamel also took groups of performers, which ranged from as few as forty to as many as seventy-five dancers, on tour. In 1938, for example, the troupe performed their pageant in Midwestern cities like Omaha, Nebraska, and Cedar Falls, Iowa.<sup>49</sup>

According to Margaret Putnam, a Rapid City resident who worked at SBCC in the summer of 1941, an average workday started at seven o’clock in the morning. Putnam lived in a small apartment on the cave’s property and worked at the lunch counter housed inside the two-story Duhamel Trading Post. Each morning, visitors would begin to arrive for the day’s inaugural pageant performance, which Putnam never saw because she was busy preparing hamburgers for the daily

lunch sale. Following the morning performance, tourists would mill around the village where Lakota performers lived, chatting with them and buying Native merchandise before making their way to the trading post, the lunch counter, or the cave.<sup>50</sup>

The evening performances, Putnam remembered, were “full probably every night because the people were really interested in it.” When asked about her perceptions of the relationship between the Lakota performers, their audience, and their employers, Putnam did not recall ever seeing a member of the audience or the staff mistreat a Native person. Quite the opposite, she said, “Mr. Alex Duhamel and Peter Duhamel . . . had taken care of the [American Indian] people for years. And I think that they were treated fairly.” Putnam, usually off work by early evening, would attend the evening dances and especially enjoyed the “Rabbit Dance,” because she often danced along with the Lakota who, she reported, always seemed to enjoy their time with the pageant.<sup>51</sup>

Even as Putnam described the generally fair treatment Lakota performers received from the Duhamels and pageant guests, the pageant also had a darker side. Despite Black Elk’s attempts to ensure that the pageant would be an educational event that could help bridge the



Like his father, Peter Duhamel died suddenly in 1941. Their deaths left Mamie and Bud Duhamel to run Sitting Bull Cave, which Bud did until 1998. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

cultural gap between Natives and whites, it was by no means free of the racist language and ethnocentric stereotypes of the mid-twentieth century. In some ways the performances reinforced white conceptions of Native peoples as “savage,” “uncivilized,” and frozen in a romantic and simplistic past. They also insulted Lakota ceremonies. Pageant advertisements offer a glimpse of the racist language that was used to characterize many Lakota performers and the ceremonies they re-enacted for the Duhamels’ guests. One pamphlet enticed potential visitors by telling them that hearing “the war cry of the last savage meeting with the soft beat of the

tom-tom will make your blood tingle.”<sup>52</sup> A radio advertisement from the 1940s similarly called the sun dance “the most weird act you have ever witnessed.” It promised that viewers “will not see another Indian on your whole trip,” claiming that the pageant was “positively authentic” and that the “Duhamels are reproducing history as near as it can be reproduced.”<sup>53</sup>

The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant continued to reproduce history in this way each summer until 1957, when interest declined and the Duhamel family decided to eliminate the performances altogether. From that point forward, the SBCC’s business focused on its cave tours. The deaths of the pageant’s three most important players—Alex and Peter Duhamel and Nicholas Black Elk—as well as the onset of World War II, almost certainly contributed to the show’s diminished popularity. Sixty-nine-year-old Alex Duhamel suffered a stroke at around one o’clock on a hot summer afternoon in 1941, while observing tourists from the trading post’s porch. In an unfortunate coincidence, Peter Duhamel also suffered a fatal heart attack that December, leaving his mother Mamie, and later, his brother Bud, in charge. Well into his eighties by the mid-1940s, Black Elk remained active in the pageant for several years, but retired prior to

his death in 1950. Although the pageant continued for almost a decade after Black Elk's passing, as one historian writes, "Lakota interest in participating seems to have [already begun to] decline" following his retirement.<sup>54</sup> Although the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant ended in 1957, the cave remained open for tours until 2015. Bud Duhamel ran the cave for another forty years. Throughout that period, he bought several parcels of land on the edge of the cave's property, thereby increasing the SBCC land base to its present size.<sup>55</sup> He finally retired after injuring his hip in 1998. At that point his grandson Peter Heffron, who had returned to the cave to work as a tour guide in 1995, took over as manager.<sup>56</sup>

## V. PRELIMINARY POSSIBILITIES FOR HERITAGE-BASED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT SBCC



The 730-acre property at SBCC could host a variety of activities, including cattle or bison grazing. Photo courtesy Peter Heffron.

**GIVEN ITS MYRIAD CONTRIBUTIONS** to the cultural, geological, economic, and Native histories of the Black Hills, the SBCC property harbors incredible potential for integrating the site's rich past into future development plans. The property is large enough to host an array of facilities and activities. The Black Hills' beautiful scenery is the number-one reason people come to the area.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly, reopening the cave for tours and investing in additional adventure activities that showcase the cave and Rockerville Gulch are promising avenues. The property's open land, furthermore, could be used for sustainable timber production and cattle or bison grazing.

With its extensive highway frontage, the property could also host a hotel, restaurant, gas station and convenience store, or any number of other businesses.

But history is big business in South Dakota, and the next owner of SBCC should consider harnessing the site's cultural and historical potential. According to a recent report by the South Dakota State Historical Society, nearly one fourth of all hotel stays in the state tie in some way to history and heritage tourism (that is, visitors who come to an area to explore museums, parks, and other historical sites), and historically-interested visitors spent \$237 million in 2011 alone. The state has more than 6,700 properties on the National Register of Historic Places in all but one of its 66 counties. Historic preservation projects, moreover, have spurred \$330 million in private spending over the last thirty years.<sup>58</sup> An economic development plan that includes a vision for rehabilitating and using the historic Duhamel Pageant barn—which is on the National Register of Historic Places and is therefore eligible for a variety of grants and tax incentives—could help spur investment and tap into the lucrative historical preservation industry.

Recent data offers several insights into the ways in which SBCC's history could attract visitors, create profit, and—in the spirit of Black Elk's original vision for the Duhamel Pageant—educate visitors about the history of the Black Hills and the *Oceti Sakowin* who hold them sacred.

With approximately three million annual guests, Mount Rushmore is the most visited attraction in the Black Hills. Area visitors spend roughly one-half of their time in or around Rapid City. Situated between these hubs, around ten thousand vehicles pass by SBCC every day.<sup>59</sup> Ten percent of the Black Hills' guests, moreover, claim that visiting historic sites is the primary reason for their trip to the area. Nearly four-fifths are return visitors. Finally, most Black Hills visitors are families. Sixty-one percent bring children to the region, forty percent of whom are under age seven. The remainder are between the ages eight and eighteen.<sup>60</sup>

These statistics suggest two key things. First, history is important to Black Hills visitors. From the emphasis on presidential history at Mount Rushmore and in downtown Rapid City to Deadwood's "Wild West" image, history creates a foundation that attracts visitors to the region and then entertains and educates them while they are here. Second, the high number of families with young children and teenagers suggests that any new business endeavor on the SBCC property should include kid-friendly components—whether through hands-on adventure activities or tactile experiences in an interpretive center or museum constructed on the land.

Weaving the vivid history of the SBCC property into any economic development plan would offer an opportunity for SBCC's new owners to take back the narrative of Native history in the Black Hills. Sites like Crazy Horse Memorial, the Journey Museum, and Tatanka: Story of the Bison already explore American Indian history in the Black Hills. These places tend to examine the pre-contact lifeways of Plains Indians or emphasize the violence and dispossession of the "Indian Wars" period in the nineteenth century. No tourist attraction or historical site in the Black Hills brings the area's Native history into the twentieth century. Today, the SBCC barn is a physical reminder of the stories of economic, political, and cultural perseverance that helped keep the songs, ceremonies, and communities of the *Oceti Sakowin* alive during the difficult economic transitions of the twentieth century.

As he started the last decade of his life, Godfrey Broken Rope, the Sicangu artist, told a reporter what inspired his paintings: "I try to leave a legacy. And maybe after I'm gone some of the young might see something in it for themselves."<sup>61</sup> In many ways, the SBCC property today reflects not only Broken Rope's legacy but also an important part of the heritage of all Lakota people.



The interior of the SBCC barn in 2011. Photo courtesy Jason Rowe.

## Appendix A: Timeline of Events

- ~65 million BCE (Before Common Era)—The Black Hills are created by geological uplift and/or the “Great Race” of Lakota origin.
- ??? BCE—Lakota Emergence/Creation in the Black Hills.
- ~30 million–2 million BCE—SBCC is completely submerged and full of water, allowing its huge calcite crystals to form, undisturbed, in the cave’s depths.
- ~2 million BCE—Geological uplifts drain SBCC, allowing other formations (popcorn, stalactites and stalagmites, etc. to begin forming).
- 1492—European contact with Indigenous Americans begins.
- 1851—The 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie reserves all of western South Dakota and portions of Nebraska, Montana, and Wyoming for the *Oceti Sakowin*, calling the land the “Great Sioux Reservation.”
- 1862—The Homestead Act begins a decades-long flood of American settlers into the western expanses of the United States.
- 1863—*Hehaka Sapa*, or Black Elk (and later, Nicholas Black Elk), is born.
- 1868—The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty shrinks the original size of the Great Sioux Reservation but nonetheless declares it *Oceti Sakowin* land forever.
- 1872—Alex Duhamel is born.
- 1873—Mamie Duhamel is born.
- 1874—A U.S. Army expedition led by Colonel George Armstrong Custer finds gold along French Creek in the southern Black Hills. The announcement spurs a gold rush.
- 1876—Battle of the Little Bighorn.
- 1877—The Manypenny Agreement forcibly and illegally removes the Black Hills from the Great Sioux Reservation.
- 1889—Alfred B. King files a homestead patent for the “East half of the North-East quarter of Section Eighteen, the South east quarter of the South-east quarter of Section Seven, and the South-west quarter of the South-west quarter of Section eight in Township One South of Range Seven East of Black Hills Meridian in Dakota Territory containing one hundred and sixty acres,” which is part of what is now the SBCC property.

1886–1889—Black Elk tours North America and Europe with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show.

1880s—The gold rush begins in Rockerville Gulch and Steven and Ben Rush explore SBCC. Black Elk travels with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show.

1890—The U.S. Army massacres hundreds of Lakota at Wounded Knee Creek on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

1890s—The Zink brothers mine for gold in and around SBCC.

1894—Daniel P. Jackson files a homestead patent for the “North half of the North west quarter and the South west quarter of the north-west quarter of section seventeen and the South East quarter of section eight in Township one South of Range Seven East of the Black Hills Meridian, in South Dakota, containing one hundred and sixty acres,” which is part of what is now the SBCC property.

1901—Peter Duhamel is born.

1902—Francis A. “Bud” Duhamel is born.

1906—Godrey Broken Rope is born.

1909—Samuel J. Clites files a homestead patent for the “west half of the south west quarter of Section seventeen and the east half of the southeast quarter of Section eighteen in Township one South of Range Seven East of the Black Hills Meridian, South Dakota, containing one hundred and sixty acres,” which is part of what is now the SBCC property.

1910—Mary C. Wheelock files a homestead patent for “the north half of the northeast quarter, the southwest quarter of the northeast quarter, and the southeast quarter of the northwest quarter of Section seventeen in Township one south and Range seven east of the Black Hills Meridian, South Dakota, containing one hundred sixty acres,” which is part of what is now the SBCC property.

1916—Mary N. Fervings files a homestead patent for the “Southeast quarter of the Northeast quarter and the North half of the Southeast quarter of Section seventeen in Township one South of Range seven east of the Black Hills Meridian, South Dakota, containing one hundred twenty acres,” which is part of what is now the SBCC property.

1926—Construction begins on Highway 16.

1927—Carving begins on Mount Rushmore National Memorial.

1927—The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant begins in Baken Park, Rapid City.

- 1929—Bud Duhamel and his friends explore SBCC.
- 1930—Alex Duhamel purchases the original portion of the SBCC property from Warren-Lamb Lumber Company.
- 1932—The Excavation of SBCC and its transition into a tour cave begins.
- 1932—*Black Elk Speaks* is published.
- 1934—Sitting Bull Cave and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant open on the SBCC property. The pageant is located in the octagonal barn that was constructed on the property that same year.
- 1938—Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns, Inc. purchases the “Southeast Quarter of the Northeast Quarter and the North Half of the Southeast Quarter of Section Seventeen, Township 2, South of Range Seven, East of the Black Hills Meridian” from the Warren-Lamb Lumber Company.”
- 1940—Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns, Inc. purchases the “Southeast Quarter of the Southwest Quarter of Section Eight and the North Half of the Northeast Quarter, the Southwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter and the Northwest Quarter of Section Seventeen, all in Township One South of Range Seven East of the Black Hills Meridian, and containing 320 acres more or less according to the Government Survey,” from local landowners John D. Perli and Vittoria Perli.
- 1941—Alex Duhamel dies of a stroke in August and Peter of a heart attack the following December. Mamie Duhamel takes over the management of SBCC, assisted by her son Bud.
- 1949—Edward Pallansch completes his B.S. thesis on the formation of SBCC at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology.
- 1950—Black Elk dies. Around this time, Bud Duhamel takes over as the full-time manager of SBCC.
- 1957—The Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant closes.
- 1964—Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns, Inc. sells “Lot H-1 in the S ½ SW ¼ of Section 8, Township 1 South, Range 7 East of the B.H.M., Pennington County, South Dakota, as shown by plat made by S.W. Gentle, Registered Land Surveyor, under date of June 22, 1964, said plat to be filed in the office of the Register of Deeds, Pennington County, South Dakota. Said Lot H-1 contains 13.45 acres, more or less.” The corporation also sells “Lot H-2 in the SE ¼ SE ¼ of Section 7, Township 1 South, Range 7 East of the B.H.M., Pennington County, South

Dakota.” The lot “contains 6.54 acres, more or less.” Both sales were made to the State of South Dakota so the state could widen Highway 16.

1972—A massive flood fills Rockerville Gulch with water, depositing tons of mud and debris in SBCC and destroying the cave’s stairwell. The cave closes for just over a year for repairs.

1974—Bud Duhamel files an affidavit describing the property holdings of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns, Inc., as follows: “The West Half of the Southwest Quarter of Section Seventeen and the East Half of the Southeast Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section Seven, the Southwest Quarter of the Southwest Quarter of Section Eight, and the East Half of the Northeast Quarter of Section Eighteen, the Southeast Quarter of the Southwest Quarter less Highway Right-of-Way and Lot A, Section Eight; the North Half of the Southeast Quarter, Section Seventeen, all in Township One South, Range Seven East of the Black Hills Meridian, Pennington County, South Dakota.”

1971—Mamie Duhamel dies.

1975—The Paha Sapa Grotto (a local caving club) begins exploring and mapping SBCC.

1989—Godfrey Broken Rope dies.

1995—Peter Heffron returns to work as a tour guide at SBCC.

1998—Bud Duhamel injures his hip in a fall. Peter Heffron takes over management of SBCC.

2000—Bud Duhamel dies.

2015—SBCC closes to the public and the property is offered for sale.

## Appendix B: Sources

\*\*\*The centered, color photograph on the cover page of this report is from the personal collections of Peter Heffron. The black-and-white background photo is from folder “General Correspondence, 1983,” Reptile Gardens Archive.

1. The version of the Lakota emergence story presented here derives from an online article quoting Lakota elder Leonard Little Finger, whose grandfather—a survivor of the Wounded Knee Massacre—shared it with him. It is entitled “The Story of Wind Cave,” and is published on Trailtribes.org, accessed January 26, 2016, <http://www.trailtribes.org/pierre/homeland-of-the-lakota.htm>. For another iteration, see James R. Walker, “How the Lakota Came Upon the World,” in *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1917): 181–82.

2. Jeffrey Ostler, *The Lakotas and the Black Hills: The Struggle for Sacred Ground* (New York: Viking, 2010), 4. See also Jack A. Redden and Ed DeWitt, et al, “Maps Showing Geology, Structure, and Geophysics of the Central Black Hills, South Dakota” (Reston, VA: U.S. Geological Survey, 2008), 11.

3. Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, 4–9.

4. For a map of the Great Sioux Reservation and the ways in which it changed over time, see Ostler, *Lakotas and the Black Hills*, xi–xii. On process by which the U.S. government usurped Lakota lands, see Ostler’s entire work.

5. See also “Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns with Packrat and Two Bear Caves, Pennington County, Black Hills, South Dakota,” map created by John Andrew Armstrong, 2009, in the author’s possession.

6. Writers Program of the Works Progress Administration, *South Dakota Place Names, Part IV* (Vermillion: University of South Dakota, 1940), 21. Peter Duhamel interviewed by Peter Heffron [hereafter “Peter Duhamel interview”], August 21, 2011, Rapid City, SD, DVD in the personal collections of Peter Heffron.

7. Edward Pallansch, “The Theory of Formation and Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns” (B.S. thesis, South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, 1949), 11. It is unknown whether any Native people ever explored Sitting Bull Cave.

8. “Obituary—Franklin Jacoby Blair,” *Rapid City Journal*, October 1947; Pallansch, “Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns,” 11.

9. See "Certificate No. 1252, Alfred B. King," homestead patent dated August 16, 1889; "Homestead Patent, Certificate No. 1460, Daniel P. Jackson," dated October 22, 1894; "Patent Record, Samuel J. Clites," dated May 20, 1909; "Patent Record J, Mary J. Wheelock," dated April 18, 1910;" "Patent Record M, no. 236415, Mary N. Fervings," dated November 8, 1916, all held in the private collections of Peter Heffron. Several of the land patents declare that the holder made "full payment . . . according to the provisions of the Act of Congress of the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, 1820, entitled, 'An act Making Further Provision for the Sale of Public Lands.'" It is likely, however, that this paperwork was also used to make homestead patents, and that the landowners listed above used the 1862 Homestead Act to gain property. In the case of Mary Wheelock, the phrase noted above is actually crossed out and replaced with language clarifying that her patent was issued under the authority of the Homestead Act.
10. Bud and Helen Duhamel to "Family," Christmas 1989. Other portions of the property belonged to John D. Perli and his wife, Vittoria. See "Warranty Deed Record, No. 63," all in the personal collections of Peter Heffron.
11. Pallansch, "Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," 11.
12. Dale Lewis, *Duhamel: From Ox Cart to Television* (Rapid City, SD: Francis A. Duhamel, 1993), 6, 34–41.
13. Bud and Helen Duhamel to "Family," Christmas 1989.
14. "Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," in *National Speleological Society Convention Guide Book 1988*, ed. G. Schillberg and D. Springheti (Huntsville, AL: National Speleological Society, 1988), 99.
15. Pallansch, "Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," 12. The exception came in 1972, when a massive flood destroyed much of Rapid City and washed out the bottom of Rockerville Gulch. The Duhamels also expanded the SBCC land base significantly in 1940, purchasing more than 300 acres from local land owners John D. and Vittoria Perli. See "Warranty Deed Record, No. 63."
16. "Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," *National Speleological Society*, 100.
17. "Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," *National Speleological Society*, 100.
18. Pallansch, "Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," 29.
19. Pallansch, "Description of Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," 26–30.
20. David O. Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," *North Dakota History* 61, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 24.

21. One the development of Black Hills tourism more broadly, see Suzanne Julin, *A Marvelous Hundred Square Miles: Black Hills Tourism, 1880–1941* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2009).
22. Elaine Marie Nelson, “Dreams and Dust in the Black Hills: Race, Place, and National Identity in America’s ‘Land of Promise’” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 2011), 34.
23. Nelson, “Dreams and Dust,” 166. See also Linea Sundstrom, “The ‘Pageant of Paha Sapa’: An Origin Myth of White Settlement in the American West,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 18; Lewis, *Duhamel*, 6, 34 – 41.
24. Born, “Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant,” 24. On the relationship between the Duhamel family and Nicholas Black Elk, respectively, see Lewis, *Duhamel*, 117–19; Raymond J. DeMallie, *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk’s Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). 63–65.
25. Born, “Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant,” 23–24
26. Sundstrom, “Pageant of Paha Sapa,” 18. I credit Sundstrom for the language “Indian authored historical pageant.” On Black Elk’s life more generally, see Born, “Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant,” 22–23, DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*; “Dakota Images: Black Elk,” *South Dakota History* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 156–57; Black Elk and John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).
27. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Random House, 2005), xi.
28. On Indian pageants more generally, see Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*; L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).
29. Born, “Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant,” 22.
30. Nelson, “Dreams and Dust,” 167.
31. Nelson, “Dreams and Dust,” 165.
32. DeMallie, *Sixth Grandfather*, 64; Born, “Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant,” 24–26. On Indian reformers more generally, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865–1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign the Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (New

York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, *Crooked Paths to Allotment: The Fight over Federal Indian Policy after the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

33. Radio advertisement for Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant, ca. 1940s [hereafter "Radio advertisement 1940s"]. Copy in the author's possession, shared from the personal collections of Peter Heffron.

34. Nelson, "Dreams and Dust," 168.

35. In his interview with Peter Heffron, Peter Duhamel claims that Native Americans still needed a sponsor to leave the reservation in the 1930s. While it is true that the U.S. Secretary of the Interior mandated that Native peoples could not leave their reservations "without a special permit in writing from the [local Indian] Agent," this requirement may have been abolished by the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. Whether or not Indian agents in South Dakota still practiced this in the 1930s and 1940s, as Peter Duhamel suggests, is unclear. See Paula Marks Mitchell, *In a Barren Land: American Indian Dispossession and Survival* (New York: William Morrow, 1998), 155.

36. Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," 24, n. 11. Peter Duhamel interview, 2011.

37. Margaret Putman interviewed by the author [hereafter "Putnam interview"], August 8, 2011, Rapid City, South Dakota; Peter Heffron in conversation with the author, January 28, 2016.

38. Steph Ahrendt, "Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns Dance Pavilion," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (December 14, 1995), sec. 7, pgs. 1–2.

39. Ahrendt, "SBCC Dance Pavilion," sec. 7, pg. 1. While Ahrendt, oral history, and a signature on one of the murals suggests that they were, indeed, painted by Broken Rope, a representative at the South Dakota Art Museum at South Dakota State University informed the author that a specialist familiar with Broken Rope's portfolio should evaluate the murals and certify that they were, indeed, done by him. See also Steph J. Ahrendt, "South Dakota's Round and Polygonal Barns and Pavilions," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, (November 7, 1995), sec. E, pg. 2.

40. Peter Duhamel interview.

41. "Paintings of Godfrey Broken Rope," *South Dakota Art Museum News* (Summer 1998): 1–2. See also "Godfrey W. Broken Rope," obituary from a Rapid City newspaper, dated July 1989, shared with the author by Lisa Scholten, South Dakota Art Museum.

42. Myles Libhart, *Contemporary Sioux Painting* (Rapid City, SD: Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the U.S. Department of the Interior, 1970), 20.
43. "Paintings of Godfrey Broken Rope," 1.
44. "Below—White Feather Praying for Rain," printed in "Visitor's Pictorial: Information and Pictures of Interest to Tourists," program ca. 1930s, in the personal collections of Peter Heffron.
45. Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," 25–27. An archaeological survey would be necessary to confirm the exact location of these villages.
46. "Tourist and Map Guide: Duhamel's Sitting Bull Crystal Cavern and Duhamel's Sioux Indian Pageant and Indian Village," advertisement ca. 1930s, personal collections of Peter Heffron. See also Nelson, "Dreams and Dust," 167; Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," 27. That the Duhamel Pageant performers reenacted the Sun Dance is surprising, given that outsiders are generally not allowed to view the ceremony. There are also strict taboos that prohibit the photography or filming of an actual sun dance. The ceremony, moreover, was illegal and heavily policed for decades in the United States. See James V. Fenelon, *Culturicide, Resistance, and Survival of the Lakota ("Sioux Nation")* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 290–91.
47. Putnam interview.
48. Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," 26; Putnam interview; "Sitting Bull Sioux Indian Show and Museum," advertisement in the author's possession, ca. 1930s.
49. Lewis, *Duhamel*, 135.
50. Putnam interview.
51. Putnam interview.
52. "Tourist and Map Guide." See also "Sitting Bull Sioux Indian Show and Museum."
53. Radio advertisement 1940s.
54. Putnam interview; Born, "Black Elk and the Duhamel Sioux Indian Pageant," 25; Peter Duhamel interview.
55. See "South Dakota Warranty Deed 145-651, Sitting Bull Crystal Caverns," dated December 9, 1964; "South Dakota Affidavit of Identity, 118-270," dated July 22, 1974, both in the personal collections of Peter Heffron.

56. Peter Heffron in conversation with the author, January 28, 2016.
57. South Dakota Department of Tourism, "Information Intercept Report," Summer 2011, 4, accessed February 2, 2016, [http://www.sdvisit.com/tools/research/\\_pdf/11interceptrpt.pdf](http://www.sdvisit.com/tools/research/_pdf/11interceptrpt.pdf).
58. Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey and South Dakota State Historical Society, "Economic Impacts of Historic Preservation in South Dakota: Snapshots of Major Findings," n.d., accessed February 2, 2016, <http://history.sd.gov/preservation/EconImpactSummary.pdf>.
59. I arrived at this number by taking the average of the traffic counts taken by the South Dakota Department of Transportation for Highway 16 four miles north of SBCC (11,500 vehicles per day) and four miles south of SBCC (7,670 vehicles per day). This data was shared via email by Jill VantHul, VIP Properties, February 4, 2016.
60. Lawrence and Schiller/Rapid City Convention and Visitor's Bureau, "Leisure Intercept Study," July, 2011, 5–13.
61. Godfrey Broken Rope, quoted in "Indian Revives Forgotten Lore," *West Fargo Pioneer*, July 20, 1979.