

Volume One
SITE LOCATION STUDY



Sand Creek Massacre Project



Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 1: Site Location Study was prepared by the National Park Service, Intermountain Region, as a result of Public Law 105-243 (*The Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act*). For additional information, see the second volume of this study: *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2: Special Resource Study (SRS) and Environmental Assessment (EA)*.

2000: Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region

The Sand Creek Massacre Project was partially funded by grants from the American Battlefield Protection Program.

Prepared by the National Park Service in consultation with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the State of Colorado.

COVER PHOTOGRAPHS: Small photographs: Indian Chiefs arriving in Denver for peace negotiations, 1864, *Western History Department, Denver Public Library*; group photograph of participants in the Camp Weld peace negotiations, 1864, *Western History Department, Denver Public Library*; and detail of *The Sand Creek Massacre*, elk hide painting by Eugene J. Ridgley Sr. (Eagle Robe), Northern Arapaho Tribe. Large photograph: Sand Creek Massacre historical marker, located in Section 25, Township 17S, Range 46W, overlooking a portion of the massacre site, *Colorado Historical Society*.

Cover design by Kristin Cypher and Lori Kinser.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
<hr/>	
CHAPTER 1: PROJECT BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH DESIGN	7
<hr/>	
Legislation Mandate: Public Law 105-243	7
Historical Background	8
Local Designation Of The Sand Creek Massacre Site	8
Previous Efforts To Locate The Sand Creek Massacre Site	12
CHAPTER 2: THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE LOCATION STUDY METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN	13
<hr/>	
Historical Research	13
Oral Histories	14
Traditional Tribal Methods	14
Archeological Survey	15
Identification Of Possible Locations Of The Sand Creek Massacre	16
Dawson South Bend	17
Northern Edge of Dawson South Bend	20
Bowen South Bend	20
Bowen Middle Bend	21
Dewitt/Ballentine Bend	21
Rhoades/Bowen Bend: Considered But Rejected As Possible Location Of Massacre	23
Site Location Study Reports	26
CHAPTER 3: REPORT ON THE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF THE LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE by Jerome A. Greene	31
<hr/>	
Introduction	31
Methodology	34

Findings Regarding The Location Of The Sand Creek Massacre	35
Sand Creek	35
Distance From Fort Lyon	36
Trail From Fort Lyon To The Village	37
Post-Massacre Camp Of Chivington’s Command	40
Maps	43
Findings Regarding The Extent Of The Sand Creek Massacre	53
The Village Site	53
The Sandpits	57
Other Factors Of Extent	59
Conclusion	63
Post Archeology Addendum Regarding The Location Of Sand Creek Massacre Site	63
The George Bent Village Maps	64
Topographical Considerations	66
Reexamination Of Local Sources	67
Smaller Indian Camp Downstream From The Main Village	68
Conclusion	69
CHAPTER 4: IDENTIFYING THE 1864 SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE THROUGH ARCHEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE by Douglas D. Scott	71
Introduction	71
Review Of Documented Previous Relic Collection Efforts	72
Previous Archeological Investigations	75
1999 Archeological Project Methods	76
Field Methods	78
General Procedures	78
Inventory	78
Survey	79
Recovery	79
Recording	79

Area Inventoried	81
Remote Sensing	83
Analytical Procedures	83
Artifact Description And Analysis	833
Firearms And Munitions	83
Military Equipment	94
Personal Items	96
Camp Equipage And Utensils	99
Tools	104
Horse Tack, Harness, And Related Horse Equipage	107
Fasteners	109
Miscellaneous Artifacts	110
Discussion	126
Conclusions	133
CHAPTER 5: THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE LOCATION STUDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT by Alexa Roberts	137
<hr/>	
Introduction	138
Methods	139
Background Preparation	144
Northern Arapaho Oral History Project	149
Southern Cheyenne Oral History Project	151
Northern Cheyenne Oral Histories	1544
Stories Of The Sand Creek Massacre	160
Northern Arapaho Stories	1600
Discussion Of The Northern Arapaho Stories	186
Southern Cheyenne Stories	189
Prepared Statements Or Positions	222
The Oklahoma Historical Society Interviews	233
Northern Cheyenne Stories	235
Discussion Of The Cheyenne Stories	276

Geographic Elements Of The Cheyenne And Arapaho Stories	278
Traditional Methods Of Site Location	2811
Recommendations And Conclusions	283
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	2867
<hr/>	
REFERENCES	293
<hr/>	
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE SITE LOCATION STUDY TEAM MEMBERS	311
<hr/>	
CONSULTATION STUDY TEAM MEMBERS	313
<hr/>	
APPENDICES	315
<hr/>	
Appendix 1	316
Lists Of Annuity Goods, Claims, And Gifts For The Cheyenne And Arapaho	
Appendix 2	326
Lists Of Abandoned Goods In The Camps On Pawnee Fork, Kansas (1867), Washita River, Oklahoma (1868), And Summit Springs, Colorado (1869)	
Appendix 3	329
Lists Of Known Arms And Ammunition Used By The Colorado Volunteer Cavalry	
Appendix 4	333
Oral History Materials	
Appendix 5	347
Public Comment Brochure On Site Location Study	
Appendix 6	351
Abstracts Of Additional Sand Creek Massacre Reports	
Gary L. Roberts, "The Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Report on Washington Sources"	
Arthur K. Ireland, "Sand Creek Massacre Special Study: Analysis of Aerial Photography from 1936-37, 1954, and 1975."	
Steven L. DeVore, "Geophysical Investigations at the Sand Creek Massacre Site, Colorado."	
William F. Dawson, "Ordnance Artifacts at the Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Technical and Historical Report."	
Charles M. Haecker, "Artifact Categories Potentially Represented at Sand Creek"	

Amy M. Holmes and Michael McFaul, “Geomorphological and Geoaerchological Assessment: Possible Sand Creek Massacre Site, Dawson Property, Kiowa County, Colorado”

Douglas D. Scott, Anne Wainstein Bond, Richard Ellis, and William B. Lees, “Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 (Draft)”

Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, “Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site, Interim Report No. 1, September 11, 1998, Interim Report No. 2, January 29, 1999, and Interim Report No. 3, April 27, 1999”

Chuck and Sheri Bowen, “The Search for the Sand Creek Massacre”

INTRODUCTION

In May 1999, the Sand Creek Massacre Project Team completed its successful search for the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. On the banks of Sand Creek in Kiowa County, Colorado, an archeological team that included tribal members, National Park Service staff and volunteers, and local landowners, found evidence of the Indian village that was attacked by the U.S. Army on November 29, 1864. On that day, approximately 700 soldiers led by Colonel John Chivington had struck at dawn, following an all-night ride from Fort Lyon 40 miles to the south. By day's end, almost 150 Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, many of them women, children, and the elderly, lay dead. One hundred thirty-five years later, as the archeological team swept the area with metal detectors, they found evidence of that horrific struggle. Here, among the shattered plates, utensils, hide scrapers, awls, and trade items that were once part of the daily lives of almost 500 Indian people, the survey team also found fragments of the weapons used to attack and kill them.

Although the archeological team discovered the physical evidence of the Sand Creek Massacre, their efforts capped months of intensive research into the site's location. The National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre project team – comprised of National Park Service staff, Colorado Historical Society staff, and representatives of the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe – had taken a multi-disciplinary approach to finding the massacre site. As part of the site location effort, Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre told stories that had been handed down to them through the generations, including traditional tribal knowledge about the location of the site. Historians researched maps, diaries, reminiscences, and congressional and military investigative reports for information that might shed light on where the Sand Creek Massacre occurred. The National Park Service also held public open houses, encouraging local residents to come forward with information, including possible evidence of the massacre that had been found on their land. Historic aerial photographs, the earliest dating to the 1930s, were examined for evidence of historic trails that led to and from the massacre site. The site location efforts also included a geomorphological assessment of Sand Creek that identified, through an analysis of soil samples, those specific landforms where 1864-era artifacts could potentially be recovered.

As a result of all these efforts, the Sand Creek Massacre project team was able to conclusively identify the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre. This report includes a map of the “Boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site,” which is in several sections of Township 17 South, Ranges 45 and 46 West, Kiowa County, Colorado. Encircling a running engagement, this boundary extends approximately 5 ½ miles in length and 2 miles in width. Included are key features of the massacre, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site, the “sandpits” area where the fiercest fighting took place, the area of Indian flight, and the point from which Colonel John Chivington and his troops launched their attack upon the Indian encampment.

INTRODUCTION



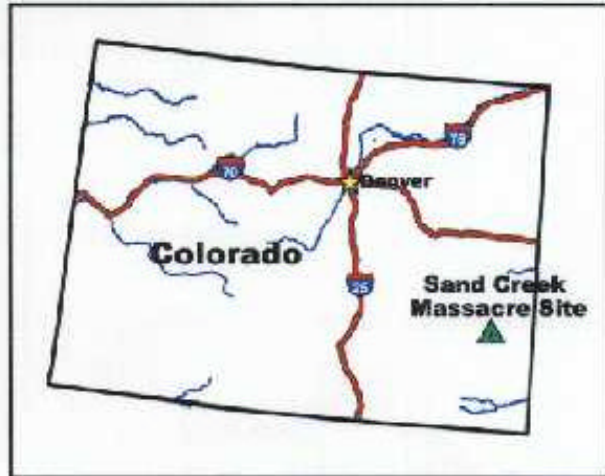
©1990 MapQuest.com, Inc.

Vicinity Map

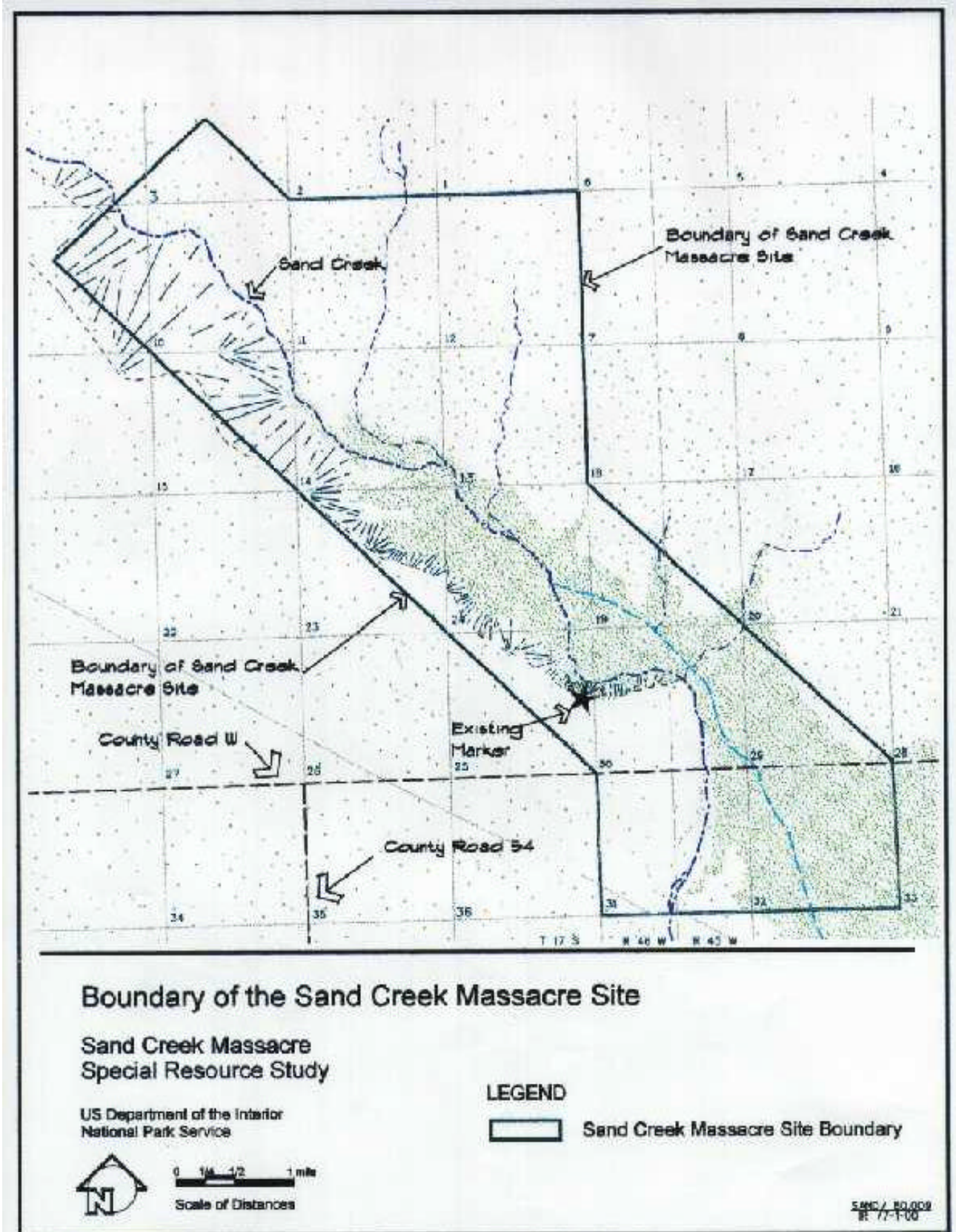
Sand Creek Massacre Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Intermountain Region GIS Program - Denver March 2010



SME / 80,900
R / 7-1-00



INTRODUCTION

Included within this report are a summary of the methodology, research efforts, and conclusions of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. Herein are reports by lead historian Jerome A. Greene, archeologist Douglas D. Scott, and ethnographer Alexa Roberts, who summarizes the oral history interviews contributed by the tribal members. Additional reports, included as abstracts, summarize the results of the other numerous efforts that contributed towards the identification of the massacre site. These include a geomorphological study by Michael McFaul and Amy Holmes of LaRamie Soils Service, an aerial photograph analysis report by Arthur Ireland of the National Park Service, and ordnance and site location reports by property owners Bill Dawson and Chuck and Sheri Bowen.

Many people share in the success of this project. The Colorado Historical Society, represented by historian David Halaas and archeologist Susan Collins, had initiated previous site location efforts that helped lay the groundwork for this project, particularly in terms of Indian consultation. The cooperation of property owners – including Lee Ballentine, Frances and Charles B. Bowen Sr., Chuck and Sheri Bowen, Scott and Melody Bowen, Roy and Marki Bowen Laughlin, Bill and Jredia “Tootie” Dawson, Terry and Janet Dewitt, Marc Goodrich, Judson Goodrich, Martha Goodrich Coate, August “Pete” Kern, and Suzanne Tresko – was of paramount importance. Without their permission, the National Park Service would not have been able to conduct geomorphological tests and archeological surveys on their lands. In addition, we would like to thank Bill Dawson for allowing the National Park Service access to his research collection on the Sand Creek Massacre, as well as contributing his expertise on the ordnance used during the massacre. Chuck and Sheri Bowen also deserve special recognition for contacting the National Park Service regarding their discovery of massacre-related artifacts on their family’s property, and for sharing their historical research and analysis into the Sand Creek Massacre site. We are also extremely grateful to Pete Kern for donating to the National Park Service the approximately 200 Sand Creek Massacre artifacts that were found on his property during the archeological survey.

Special recognition must also be given to the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Park Service, which provided partial funding for the project. Other National Park Service staff who contributed to this project were archeologists Steven DeVore and Charles Haecker, historian Lysa Wegman-French, geographic information specialists Dave Hammond, Christopher Theriault, and Brian Carlstrom, curator Matthew Wilson, archivist Christine Landrum, and program assistant Theresa Burwell. In 1998, National Park Service archeologist Cathy Spude helped prepare the research design for the project, and began initial planning efforts for study. Also during that time, National Park Service ethnographers Dave Ruppert and Rosemary Sucec helped lay the foundation for the oral history project. Also contributing to the oral history effort, and the overall success of the project, were National Park Service staff members Ed Natay, Robert Spude, Jim Bradford, Victoria Barela, Rhonda Romero, and Catherine Colby. Many thanks also to John Cook, former director of the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, Mike Snyder, deputy regional director of the Intermountain Regional Office, and William Patrick O’Brien, Denver-based program manager of Cultural Resources and National Register Program

Services of the Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, for helping provide the leadership needed to keep this project on track.

Numerous others also contributed towards this project, including volunteer archeological crewmembers William Lees, Dick Harmon, Tom Frew, Larry Gibson, Chris Adams, Richard Fike, Julie Coleman-Fike, Bob Rea, Larry Ludwig, and Douglas and Mary McChristian. Glenn Scott, Randy Nelson, Todd Nelson, Christine Landrum, Tom Meier, David Halaas, Jack McDermott, Andy Senti, Bill Dawson, and Chuck Bowen contributed historical and archival research. We would also like to thank Gary Roberts of the Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in Tipton, Georgia, for his scholarship on the subject, and his assistance in researching the Sand Creek Massacre. Melinda Ellswick and Norman Hughes, both of Denver, also assisted in the historical research. Scott Forsythe of the National Archives, Great Lakes Region, Chicago, deserves special recognition for locating the 1868 map drawn by Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall, the earliest known map of the Sand Creek Massacre site.

A number of individuals also provided technical assistance to the project. Rocky Mountain Aerial Surveys, Inc. was contracted to take aerial photographs of the Sand Creek Massacre study area. Don Walker of Durango Air Service was contracted to provide aerial reconnaissance flights for the project team. Arnie Thallheimer was contracted to take photographs of the archeological survey work. Tom Baker of Baker Aerial Archeology and Aerial Photography gave a slide presentation to the project team at its initial meeting on the work he had done for the Colorado Historical Society's earlier Sand Creek project, provided copies of the report he did for the Colorado Historical Society to the project team, and agreed to sell the project copies of some of his aerial photographs of the Sand Creek area for display purposes.

Most of all, this project could not have been completed without the support, cooperation and dedication of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the Northern Cheyenne Tribe. Most of the tribal representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre project are descendants of the Cheyenne and Arapaho who were at the massacre, for whom the project had a powerful and personal meaning. Many of the following tribal representatives also participated in the archeological field survey. Per tribal resolution, the official Northern Arapaho representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre project were Anthony A. Addison Sr., Eugene J. Ridgely Sr., Gail J. Ridgely, Ben S. Ridgely, Nelson P. White Sr., Hubert N. Friday, Burton Hutchinson, Joseph Oldman, and William J. C'Hair. Also authorized by the tribe to participate in the project on behalf of the Northern Arapaho were Tom Meier of Boulder, Colorado, and Dr. Phil Roberts of the University of Wyoming. Other Northern Arapaho tribe members involved in the project were Eugene Ridgely Jr., Hubert Warren Sr., Edward Willow, Joe Waterman, and Jerry Sage. The Southern Arapaho representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre project have included Robert Tabor, Franklin Harrison, Donna Sandoval, William "Lee" Pedro, and Alonzo Sankey. Also participating in Sand Creek meetings and the archeological field work were Southern Arapaho members June Black, Stanley Sleeper, Mary Kay Sweezy, and Ida Mahaffie. Per tribal resolution, the official Northern Cheyenne representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre project were Joe Walks Along, Norma Gourneau, Steve Brady, Lee Lonebear, Reginald Killsnight Sr., Mildred Red Cherries, Holda Roundstone, Otto

INTRODUCTION

Braided Hair, Conrad Fisher, and Steve Chestnut. Luke Brady of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe also participated in the project. The official Southern Cheyenne representatives to the project were Laird Cometsevah and Joe Big Medicine. Edward Starr Jr. (now deceased) and Edward White Skunk also served as representatives for the Southern Cheyenne Tribe on matters pertaining to the Sand Creek Massacre project. Other Southern Cheyenne members who participated in the project were Colleen Cometsevah and Linda DeCarlo.

Special recognition also goes to the many people who worked hard to organize the oral history project in each community. Laird and Colleen Cometsevah, Joe Big Medicine, Arleigh Rhodes, Marybelle Lonebear Curtis, Gus Wilson and the staff at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center ensured that a seamless project was conducted with Southern Cheyenne descendants in and around Clinton, Oklahoma. Thanks for this portion of the project also go to Carolyn Sandlin, daughter of Laird and Colleen Cometsevah, for her willingness to take time from her duties at Zion National Park to conduct interviews with family members and neighbors. In Wyoming, thanks go to Eugene Ridgely Sr., Eugene Ridgely Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Gail Ridgely, Ben Ridgely, Hubert Warren Sr., and Tom Meier for their work on the oral history project. We are also grateful to Tom Meier and Sara Wiles for excellent photographs throughout the project, and to Ken Englestrom for use of the facilities at the Arapaho School District 35 Cultural Center. With the Northern Cheyenne tribe, appreciation and thanks go to Steve Brady, Arbutus Red Woman, and especially Otto and Barbara Braided Hair and Luke Brady and Patsy Riddle. We are also grateful to Sarah Craighead, Washita Battlefield National Historic Site, and Mary Jane Warde, Oklahoma Historical Society, for contributing a portion of the Washita Oral History Project to the oral histories of Sand Creek. Many thanks also go to Craig Moore at Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site.

All of these people share in the success of this project and we are grateful for their help in identifying the Sand Creek Massacre site – a vital first step in properly protecting and interpreting this sacred ground.

Rick Frost
Project Manager

Christine Whitacre
Team Captain

Barbara Sutteer
Indian Liaison

CHAPTER 1

PROJECT BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH DESIGN



ILLUSTRATION 1-1: Sand Creek, Kiowa County, Colorado. *Arnie Thallheimer*

Legislative Mandate: PUBLIC LAW 105-243

The National Park Service efforts to find the Sand Creek Massacre site were initiated by congressional action. In 1998, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (CO-R) introduced Senate Bill 1695. The bill passed the Senate on July 21, 1998; passed the House of Representatives on September 18, 1998; and was signed by President Bill Clinton on October 6, 1998, as Public Law 105-243. Known as the *Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act of 1998*, the legislation directed the National Park Service – in consultation with the State of Colorado, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe – to complete two tasks. First, the act directed the National Park Service to “identify the location and extent of the massacre area and the suitability and feasibility of designating the site as a unit of the National Park Service system.” Secondly, the Act directed the National Park Service to prepare “cost estimates for any

necessary acquisition, development, operation and maintenance, and identification of alternatives for the management, administration, and protection of the area.” All of these tasks were to be completed within an 18-month timeline. This publication, *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 1: Site Location Study*, fulfills the first directive to identify the location and extent of the massacre area. A second volume, *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2: Special Resource Study (SRS) and Environmental Assessment (EA)*, includes an assessment of the suitability and feasibility of making the site a National Park Service unit, costs estimates, alternatives for management, and the impacts of those alternatives.

Historical Background

The Sand Creek Massacre is one of the most significant and tragic events in American history. On November 29, 1864, Colonel John M. Chivington led a group of approximately 700 soldiers of the Colorado First and Third Volunteers from old Fort Lyon (near present-day Lamar, Colorado) to an Indian village of more than 100 lodges on Sand Creek, also known as the “Big Sandy.”⁷ Approximately 500 Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians were camped at this village, believing they were under U.S. Army protection. As instructed by Colorado Governor John Evans, the Indians had earlier presented themselves to the U.S. Army at Fort Lyon, at which time they were told to remain at their Sand Creek camp. The Indian camp was at the edge of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation that had been established by the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise. Nevertheless, U.S. Army troops led by Colonel John Chivington launched a surprise attack upon the village. The strike began at dawn, when the soldiers fired upon the Cheyenne and Arapaho encampment. Many of the villagers who survived this initial attack fled to the north, upstream. Several hundred yards above the village, according to most accounts of the massacre, the Indians sheltered themselves in hastily dug trenches along the banks of the creek. This area, known as the “sandpits,” was one of the areas of fiercest fighting. The army troops brought at least two 12-pounder mountain howitzers to the sandpits area. By day’s end, at least 150 Indians – mainly women, children, and elderly people – had been killed. On the Army’s side, 10 soldiers died and 38 were wounded. Although Chivington’s troops returned to a heroes’ welcome in Denver, the Sand Creek Massacre was soon recognized for what it was – a national disgrace – and investigated and condemned by two congressional committees and a military commission.

Local Designation Of The Sand Creek Massacre Site

Although most accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre placed it at the “Big South Bend” of Sand Creek, its exact location was obscured through time. As Mildred Red Cherries of the Northern Cheyenne noted at project meetings, the Sand Creek

⁷Sand Creek’s official name is “Big Sandy Creek,” which is how it appears on USGS maps. However, the creek is commonly known as “Sand Creek,” and is referred to by that name in both Volumes 1 and 2 of the Sand Creek Massacre Project report.



ILLUSTRATION 1-2: In 1950, the Colorado Historical Society placed a Sand Creek Massacre historical marker along Colorado Highway 96 near Chivington, Colorado. The historical marker is no longer extant.
Colorado Historical Society.

Massacre became “lost,” even to the descendants of those who had survived the attack. Following the massacre, the Indian survivors could not even return to the site – which bordered on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation – to bury their dead. Located in what is still one of the most rural areas of Colorado, the massacre site was left untended and unmarked. By the turn of the century, there was little evidence of the terrible events of November 29, 1864. In 1908, Army veterans who participated in the massacre planned a reunion at the site. However, upon reaching the banks of Sand Creek, even they could not agree as to its location.

On August 6, 1950, the Colorado Historical Society erected a Sand Creek Massacre historical marker on State Highway 96 near the town of Chivington, Colorado. On that same day, the Colorado Historical Society participated in a second dedication ceremony in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, on property now owned by Bill and Jredia “Tootie” Dawson. Here, overlooking a bend of Sand Creek, local residents, the Colorado Arkansas Valley Inc. (CAVI), and the Eads and Lamar Chambers of Commerce placed a second marker, designating it as the site of the massacre. By the 1970s, tribal members were also returning to the area, evaluating it as the massacre site through their traditional tribal knowledge and oral histories. In



ILLUSTRATION 1-3: Also in 1950, members of the local community placed a Sand Creek Massacre commemorative marker in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, on property now owned by the Dawson family. *Colorado Historical Society.*

1978, the Arrow Keeper of the Cheyenne Tribe recognized what is now referred to as the “Dawson South Bend” as the Sand Creek Massacre site when he blessed it as “Cheyenne earth.”

Still, there were those who disagreed that the site had been found. In particular, many observers were troubled by the lack of physical evidence of either the village site or the military’s ammunition. Over the years, numerous people had collected artifacts in the vicinity. During the “dust bowl” years of the 1930s, when the wind blew off layers of soil to reveal previously hidden artifacts, arrowhead collecting was a popular activity in southeastern Colorado. Similar “blows” in the 1950s encouraged a second wave of artifact collecting. But the

reminiscences of those collecting activities were vague and conflicting, and it was unclear if the collected artifacts were associated with the Sand Creek Massacre. In particular, critics questioned why no evidence of Civil War-era ammunition, including 12-pounder mountain howitzer ordnance, had ever been found.

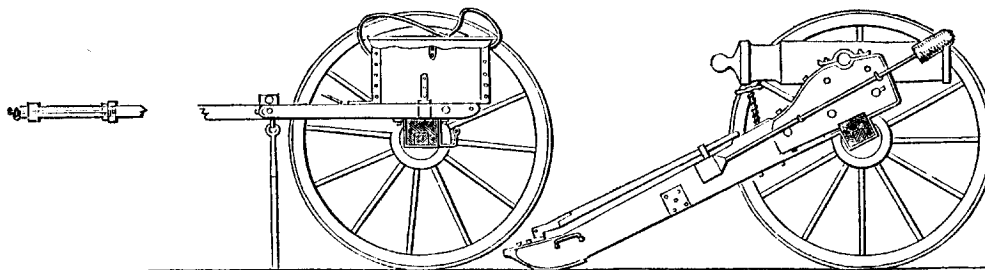


ILLUSTRATION 1-4: Twelve -pounder mountain howitzer. The Sand Creek Massacre was the only engagement in Colorado in which the U.S. Army used 12-pounder mountain howitzers. *Military Dictionary Comprising Technical Definitions* by Colonel H.L. Scott (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864)

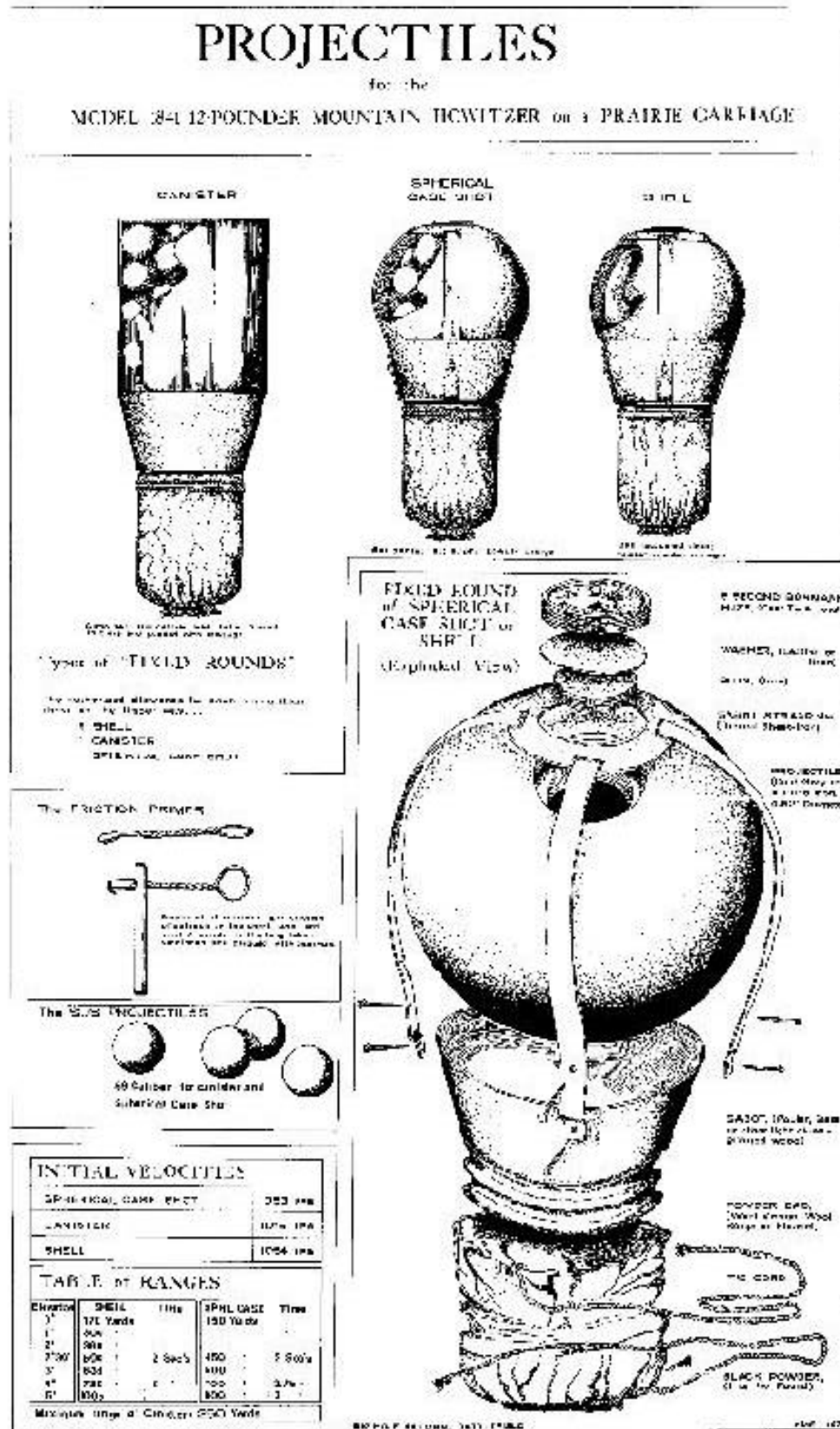


ILLUSTRATION 1-5: Projectiles of the 12-pound mountain howitzer. Prior to the archeological survey, landowner Chuck Bowen contacted the National Park Service regarding archeological artifacts found on his family's property. National Park Service archeologists identified one of the artifacts as a segment of spherical case shot from a 12-pound mountain howitzer. Additional pieces of case shot would be found on the Dawson property during the archeological investigations of May 1999. *Big Hole National Battlefield.*

The Sand Creek Massacre was the only Civil War-era event in Colorado in which the Army used such guns, and many believed that the discovery of 12-pounder mountain howitzer-related artifacts would offer significant “proof” of the site location.

Previous Efforts To Locate The Sand Creek Massacre Site

In the early 1990s, amateur archeologists and metal detector hobbyists who had surveyed the Dawson South Bend but had not found artifacts associated with the Sand Creek Massacre approached the Colorado Historical Society with their findings. In response, the Colorado Historical Society initiated a project to identify the location of the massacre site. In 1994, the Colorado Historical Society asked Professor Richard Ellis of Fort Lewis College in Durango, Colorado, to develop a project to verify the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. The project was funded by the State of Colorado and directed by Professor Ellis. As a first step, Ellis and the Colorado Historical Society began consulting with descendants of Cheyenne victims of the Sand Creek Massacre, gaining their support and endorsement for the project. In 1997, Ellis asked archeologists Douglas Scott of the National Park Service, William Lees of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and Anne Bond of the Colorado Historical Society, in cooperation with other volunteers and metal-detector organizations, to conduct reconnaissance-level archeological surveys of two possible Sand Creek Massacre sites. The team surveyed the Dawson South Bend, as well as another large bend of Sand Creek, referred to variously as the “Rhoades/Bowen Bend” or the “North Bend,” which was in Cheyenne County approximately ten miles to the north of the Dawson South Bend.

The State of Colorado-funded Fort Lewis College project was unable to identify the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site. No 1864-era artifacts were found in the Rhoades/Bowen bend; and only 12 1864-era items were found in the Dawson South Bend, either through the 1997 survey or later by Bill Dawson. As a result, although there was now growing interest in designating the Sand Creek Massacre as a National Historic Site, there was still no conclusive physical evidence – nor consensus – regarding its location.

CHAPTER 2

THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE LOCATION STUDY METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Following the passage of the *Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act* on October 6, 1998, the National Park Service, Intermountain Region, initiated its search for the Sand Creek Massacre site. A project agreement that established the overall direction of the project and named key staff members was approved by John Cook, director of the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office, on October 23, 1998. Following a meeting with tribal representatives in November 1998, a Memorandum of Agreement was signed by the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the National Park Service. After consultation with the Colorado Historical Society and the tribes, a project research design was approved in April 1999. The research design laid out the goals and methodology for the project.

The major goal of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study was to map the probable location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre. As discussed in the project research design, the means by which this was to be accomplished were historical research, oral histories, traditional tribal methods, and archeological survey.

Historical Research

The historical research, which followed lines of investigation at archival repositories across the nation, would include an examination and analysis of all available information regarding the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. The historical documentation fell into four categories, ranging from first-hand accounts to some that were not created until many years after the event:

- 1) Sources from people who were at the Sand Creek Massacre .** These sources include testimony presented at congressional hearings, military records, and the accounts, diaries, journals, and letters of people who were at the massacre.
- 2) Sources from people who were at the site within five years after the Sand Creek Massacre .** These sources include the reports of congressional and military personnel who visited the area, including the Doolittle Commission, which toured the site in 1865, and Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall, who visited the site with General William Sherman in 1868.

3) Sources from people who were at the site before the massacre, or 5 to 35 years after the massacre (up to the year 1900). These sources include maps, including those of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Reservation, the General Land Office (GLO) maps, the U.S. Geological Survey, and various Colorado territorial, state, and county maps.

4) Post-1900 sources about the massacre site and/or general background information. These sources include records at the Kiowa and Cheyenne County courthouses, irrigation records, county histories, and interviews with local residents and artifact collectors.

Prior to the completion of the final report on the historical documentation regarding the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site, a series of interim reports were to be produced and distributed to team members, summarizing the results of the ongoing research.

Oral Histories

The oral histories of descendants of the Cheyenne and Arapaho survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre are a direct link to the events of November 29, 1864. From the beginning of the project, the National Park Service has been committed to the collection of oral historical data as one of the primary lines of evidence in locating the Sand Creek Massacre site. The importance of including oral histories in the project was also presented in testimony before Congress regarding the passage of the *Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act*, a request by Congressional Representative Bob Schaffer, previous oral history efforts by the Oklahoma and Colorado historical societies, and in consultation with tribal representatives. Oral history, as employed in this project, is the documentation of family stories passed from generation to generation of descendants or other individuals knowledgeable of the events of the Sand Creek Massacre.

As outlined in the “Memorandum of Understanding Among National Park Service, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Northern Arapaho Tribe for Government-to-Government Relations in the Implementation of P.L. 105-243,” the methods and protocols regarding the collection of the oral histories were developed jointly by the National Park Service and the tribes. The National Park Service entered into cooperative agreements with the Northern Arapaho Tribe, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Southern Arapaho Tribe to conduct their own oral history projects and employ traditional methods for locating the massacre site. The Southern Cheyenne chose not to enter into a cooperate agreement, and worked directly with the National Park Service in the preparation of their oral histories.

Traditional Tribal Methods

As part of the Site Location Study, Cheyenne and Arapaho spiritual leaders and elders agreed to employ traditional tribal methods to help determine the location of the massacre. Some of this work had already been completed prior to the National Park Service Site Location Study, but some individuals felt that they could contribute additional information. The National Park Service understood that these methods

were often private in nature and could not be used effectively in the presence of non-Indians. However, the National Park Service agreed to assist in these investigations to whatever extent possible. The results of these methods would be incorporated into the overall research, pending the permission of the tribal members using the traditional methods.

Archeological Survey

An underlying assumption of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study was that the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site, and possibly the sandpits area, might contain enough intact archeological remains through which the massacre site could be identified. Indeed, historical archeology has been very successful in verifying the location of various battle sites throughout the Trans-Mississippi West. As outlined in the research design, the archeological field investigations would utilize metal detecting and other remote sensing applications to maximize the potential for the identification of cultural material associated with the Indian village and the military. Such remote sensing equipment would minimize disturbance to the landowners' pastures and fields, as well as the potential for disturbing human remains.

The archeological investigations would also include a geomorphological survey of the Sand Creek area, which was to be completed prior to the archeological survey. By analyzing soil samples, geomorphologists could determine whether or not there was any possibility of finding physical evidence of the 1864 massacre. Basically, geomorphological tests would indicate whether any particular site contained a layer of soil that dated to the 1864-era. This was particularly important along Sand Creek, as many people speculated that the layer of soil that contained the Sand Creek Massacre artifacts might have been lost as a result of flooding and wind erosion.

In addition, the archeological investigation of Sand Creek would be preceded by an analysis of historic aerial photographs of the area. Southeastern Colorado includes some of the most rural and undeveloped land in the state. As such, the project team hoped that historic aerial photographs of the area – the earliest of which date to 1936-1937 – would show evidence of trails into the area. Numerous military and tribal accounts indicated that the Sand Creek Massacre took place approximately 40 miles north of Fort Lyon. These accounts also indicated that Chivington may have used an Indian lodge pole trail to reach the massacre site. It was possible that evidence of these trails might be seen on historic aerial photographs.

As noted in the research design for the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study, these four lines of evidence – historical documentation, oral histories, traditional tribal methods, and archeological survey – would be used to determine the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre. No one method was to be used to the exclusion of the others.

Identification Of Possible Locations Of The Sand Creek Massacre

One of the first tasks of the Site Location Study Team was to identify *all* potential locations of the Sand Creek Massacre. A basic premise of the National Park Service project team was that there would be no presumption as to the “right” location of the massacre site. All probable sites were explored. And all lines of evidence, even if they were contradictory, were researched, analyzed, and evaluated.

The archeological survey was scheduled for May 1999. As outlined in the research design, the oral histories, traditional tribal methods, aerial photographic analysis, historical research, and geomorphology were to be completed prior to the archeological fieldwork. With this information in place, the archeological survey work could then focus on those areas that were the most likely locations of the Sand Creek Massacre and which were most likely to have physical evidence of the massacre.

By the time the archeological survey began in May 1999, a number of draft reports – including the geomorphological report, the historical documentation report by National Park Service historian Jerome Greene, a video documentation report by landowners Chuck and Sheri Bowen, and aerial photographic analysis – had been completed. The results of these efforts, as well as preliminary information from the as yet incomplete oral history interviews and traditional tribal methods, indicated that five areas were potential sites of the Sand Creek Massacre. It is important to note that the preliminary research also indicated that the massacre did not take place in a small isolated area. According to numerous accounts, the Sand Creek Massacre was a running engagement that occurred along a stretch of Sand Creek approximately five to six miles in length. Encompassed within this area were an Indian village site, the sandpits, and areas of Indian and troop movements.

The five possible Sand Creek Massacre-related locations were in two general areas of Kiowa County. Four of the areas were approximately 15 miles north of the town of Chivington, Colorado, encompassing a five-mile stretch of Sand Creek in Township 17 South, Ranges 45 and 46 West. This large land area is owned by several people, including Frances and Charles Bowen Sr., Bill and Tootie Dawson, Marc Goodrich, Judson Goodrich, Martha Goodrich Coate, A.S. “Pete” Kern, and Suzanne Tresko. The fifth area was approximately 10 miles south of Chivington, Colorado, in Township 20 South, Ranges 45 and 46 West. The property owners of this area included the Dewitt family and Lee Ballentine.

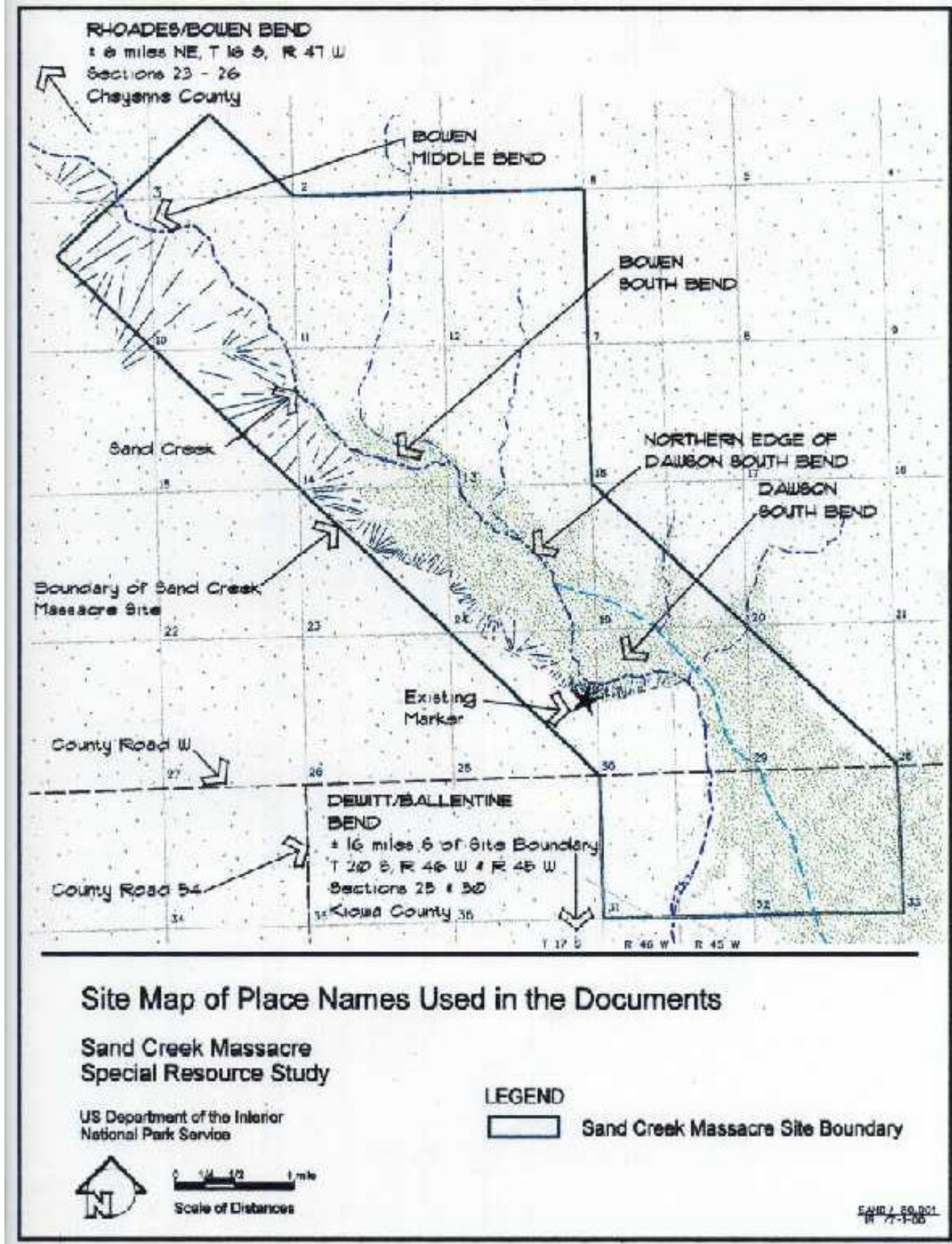
Following is a brief description of these five areas and a summary of the evidence that indicated their possible association with the Sand Creek Massacre *prior to the archeological fieldwork*. The supporting evidence is discussed in more depth in the following history, archeology, and oral history reports.

Dawson South Bend (Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West)

Oral Histories/Traditional Tribal Methods: Among the most important lines of evidence indicating that the Dawson South Bend was the site of the Sand Creek Massacre were Indian oral histories and traditional tribal knowledge. Cheyenne tribal leaders had long recognized the Dawson South Bend as the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. Indeed, as noted earlier in this report, the Cheyenne Arrow Keeper recognized the Dawson South Bend as “Cheyenne earth” in 1978, thereby designating it as the massacre site. According to some Cheyenne oral histories, the village attacked by Chivington’s troops was close to a large natural spring. Although the encampment was on the banks of Sand Creek, Cheyenne tradition held that only animals would drink from the stagnant pools that formed in the bed of the intermittent creek. The Cheyenne people only drank water from a clear running source, such as a spring. An extant spring in Section 20 of Township 17 South, Range 45 West, is approximately two miles from the Dawson South Bend. The proximity of this spring supported the Cheyenne belief that the Dawson South Bend was the area of the Indian encampment. Tribal members also believed that two maps drawn by Sand Creek Massacre survivor George Bent – one at the Oklahoma Historical Society and one in Folder 1 of the Bent-Hyde Collection at the University of Colorado Library – were proof that the village was in the Dawson South Bend. The tribes believed that the 90-degree angle of Sand Creek at the Dawson South Bend matched the creek alignment shown on these two maps drawn by Bent.

Historical Documentation: As discussed later in this volume, historical documentation also indicated that at least a portion of the Sand Creek Massacre occurred in the Dawson South Bend. However, as outlined in his report, historian Jerome Greene concluded that the Dawson South Bend was the area of Chivington’s initial attack on the village. Greene believed that the Indian encampment was actually about one mile north in Section 24, at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend. As detailed in Greene’s report, Indian and military participants of the massacre stated that, just prior to the attack, Chivington’s troops stood on a hill overlooking the village. From that vantage point, Chivington’s troops saw the village approximately one mile in the distance. Greene concluded that the troops were standing on the high bluff on the west side of the Dawson South Bend (near the Sand Creek Massacre marker), which would place the village in Section 24, at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend. Another source of primary documentation that Greene used was a map drawn by Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall, who accompanied General William Sherman to the Sand Creek Massacre site in 1868. The Bonsall map shows the location of “Chivington’s Massacre” in terms of its mileage relationships to other landmarks in the area, including the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks and a road feature known as “Three Forks.” According to Greene, the Bonsall map was important evidence that Chivington began his approach in the Dawson South Bend.

Historic Trail Segments seen on Aerial Photographs: As part of its research into the Sand Creek Massacre site, the National Park Service analyzed numerous aerial photographs, including some dating to 1936-1937 and 1954. Arthur Ireland, a



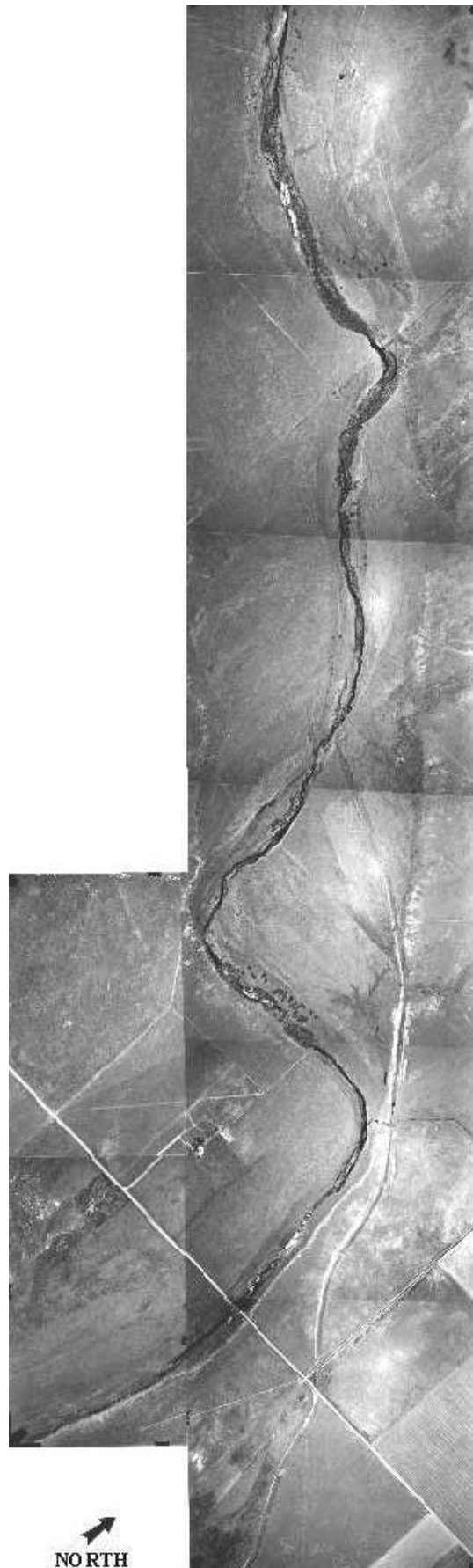


ILLUSTRATION 2-1: Aerial photograph of the Sand Creek Massacre area. This photograph shows two large bends in Sand Creek. From south to north, these bends are the Dawson South Bend and the Bowen South Bend. County Road W is visible at the bottom left of this photograph. *Rocky Mountain Aerial Surveys, Inc.*

National Park Service archeologist specializing in photographic analysis, examined these photographs for evidence of historic trails. Specifically, Ireland looked for evidence of the Indian lodgepole trail between Fort Lyon and Sand Creek; Chivington may have used this trail to reach the massacre site. Ireland's analysis uncovered a series of "linear anomalies" – or possible trail segments – between Fort Lyon and Sand Creek in the area of the Dawson South Bend, thus providing more evidence that at least a portion of the Sand Creek Massacre took place in the vicinity of the Dawson South Bend.

Northern Edge of Dawson South Bend (Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and Section 19, Township 17 South, Range 45 West)

Identification of "Three Forks" on Aerial Photographs: As noted above, an analysis of historic aerial photographs uncovered a series of possible trail segments between Fort Lyon and Sand Creek in the area of the Dawson South Bend. In addition, the aerial photographs indicated that, after the trail crossed Sand Creek at the Dawson South Bend, it continued along the east side of the creek as far north as Cheyenne County. Notably, in the area of the Rhoades/Bowen bend, the trail divided into a three-pronged fork that matched a trail feature indicated on the 1868 Bonsall map. Bonsall noted that "Three Forks" was approximately six miles north of the lower edge of the massacre, which was presumably the Indian village. Historian Jerome Greene compared the mileage relationship between "Three Forks" and the massacre site on the Bonsall map and found it further evidence that the village was located at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend.

Historical Documentation: Prior to the archeological survey, an analysis of historical documentation indicated a strong likelihood that evidence of the Indian village would be found in Section 24, at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend. As noted above and discussed in depth later in this volume, historian Jerome Greene came to this conclusion after analyzing the 1868 Bonsall map, the aerial photographic analysis of historic trail segments in the area, first-hand accounts of the massacre by both Indian and military participants, and other historical documentation.

Oral Histories/Traditional Tribal Methods: Some Cheyenne oral histories state that their Indian encampment was in proximity to a natural spring. As noted above, the Dawson South Bend is approximately two miles from an extant natural spring in Section 20 of Township 17 South, Range 45 West. Although the Cheyenne believe that the Dawson South Bend is the area of the Indian encampment, Section 24 – which is at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend – is also approximately two miles from that same spring.

Bowen South Bend (Section 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West)

Historical Documentation: As noted above, historian Jerome Greene believed the Indian encampment was in Section 24, at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend. If this was the village site, further concluded Greene, a likely location for the sandpits area was in the vicinity of the Bowen South Bend. Numerous historical accounts state that the sandpits, which was the area of greatest fighting and killing,

were several hundred yards north of the village site. As such, it was believed that the archeological survey might uncover physical evidence of the sandpits siege area in the vicinity of the Bowen South Bend.

Independently from Jerome Greene's research, local landowner Chuck Bowen also had concluded that Chivington's troops stood on the Dawson South Bend bluffs as they overlooked the Indian village to the north. Standing on his family's property at the Bowen South Bend and looking to the south, Bowen believed that the Dawson South Bend bluffs matched descriptions of the high point described by participants in the Sand Creek Massacre. Bowen, however, reached a different conclusion as to the location of the village. He believed the village was located on the Bowen South Bend. (Chuck Bowen documented his research in a video and report that he submitted to the National Park Service; an abstract of the report is included in this volume.)

In addition, Chuck Bowen had made a significant archeological discovery on the Bowen South Bend, which is owned by his parents Frances and Charles B. Bowen Sr. Several months prior to the National Park Service archeological survey, Bowen contacted the National Park Service regarding possible Sand Creek Massacre-related artifacts that he had found in the Bowen South Bend. National Park Service archeologists identified one of the artifacts as a spherical case fragment from a 12-pounder mountain howitzer. This was an important discovery, as the Sand Creek Massacre was the only event in Colorado in which the U.S. Army used 12-pounder mountain howitzers. The discovery of the spherical case fragment was a strong indication that at least a portion of the massacre had occurred in the Bowen South Bend.

Bowen Middle Bend (Sections 9 and 10, Township 20 South, Range 46 West)

Historical Documentation: Numerous accounts indicated that the Sand Creek Massacre extended across Sand Creek for approximately five to six miles in length. As such, the Bowen Middle Bend area was considered a likely area to find artifacts associated with the Indians' flight and military pursuit upstream following the attack on their village. Chuck Bowen, in particular, believed the sandpits were located in Section 10 of the Bowen Middle Bend.

Dewitt/Ballentine Bend (Section 25, Township 20 South, Range 46 West, and Section 30, Township 20 South, Range 45 West)

Historical Documentation: George Bent, a mixed-blood Cheyenne survivor of the massacre, had drawn and/or annotated four maps that indicated the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. In addition to the two sketch maps noted above, there are two other maps that show the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. Both of these maps were drawn by George Hyde and annotated by George Bent. One map places the Sand Creek Massacre in the Rhoades/Bowen Bend (Folder 10, Bent-Hyde Collection, University of Colorado Library); the 1997 archeological survey of this area uncovered no massacre-related artifacts. (See following discussion of the Rhoades/Bowen Bend.) The other map places the Sand Creek Massacre below the confluence of Rush and Sand Creeks (Folder 3, Bent-Hyde Collection, University of Colorado Library),

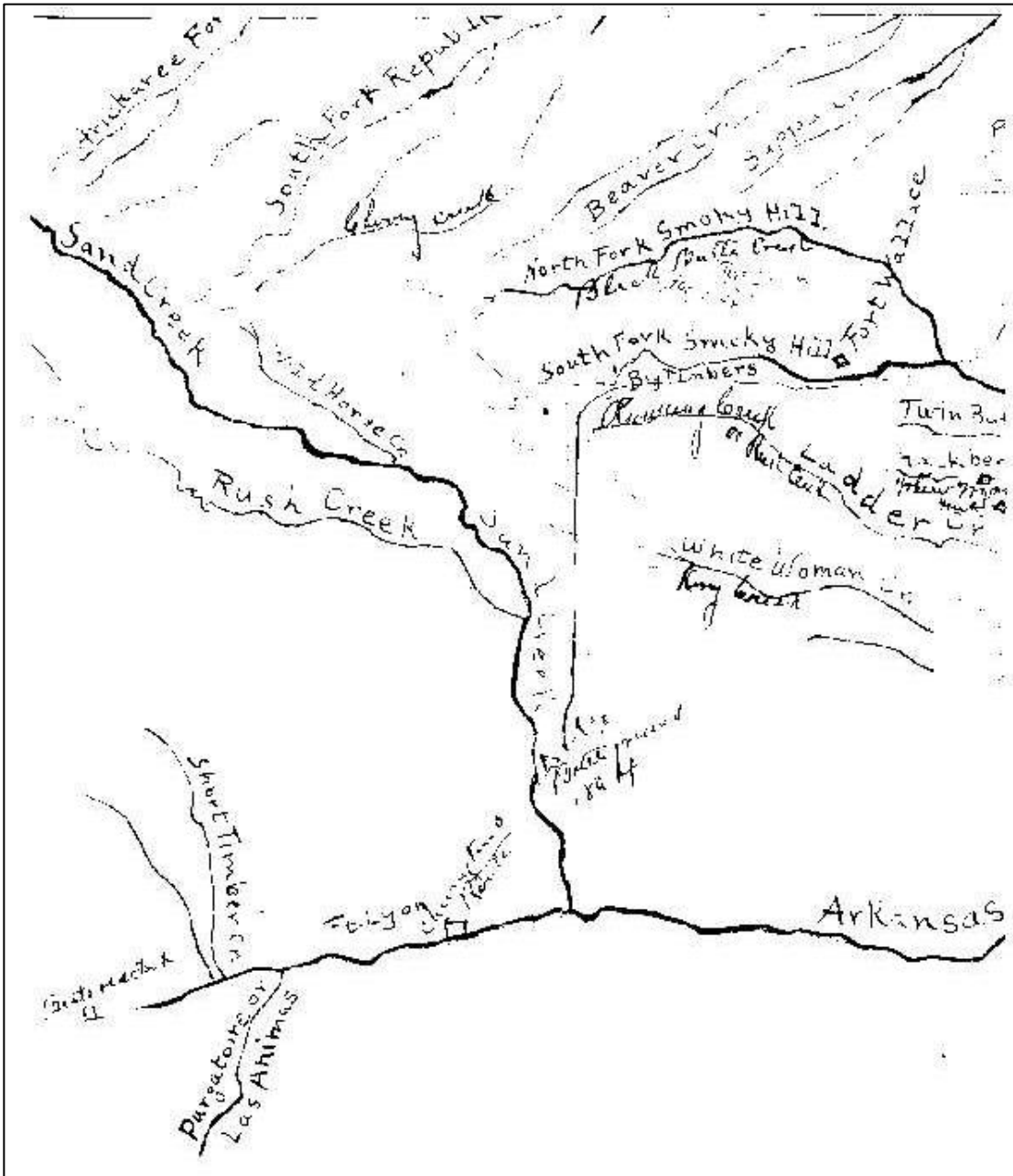


ILLUSTRATION 2-2: Bent-Hyde map showing the Sand Creek Massacre south of the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks. At the request of George Hyde, George Bent annotated this map to show the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. George Bent, who was present at the massacre, placed the massacre site at a point south of the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks in Kiowa County, Colorado. The massacre site is shown as “Battleground 1864;” also shown is Chivington’s route from Fort Lyon. *Folder 3, Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder*



ILLUSTRATION 2-3: Photograph of the Dewitt/Ballentine Bend area. This site, which is south of the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks, was surveyed during the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. This investigation was prompted by the Bent-Hyde map shown in Illustration 2-2, as well as by oral history accounts by Northern Arapaho descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre that described landforms that matched the topography of this area. *Arnie Thallheimer*

approximately 20 miles south of the Dawson South Bend. Other nineteenth-century maps indicate that this general area, south of the intersection of Rush and Sand Creeks, included a trail that led to and from Fort Lyon. In addition, a local arrowhead collector indicated that this area was a long-time Indian encampment.

Oral Histories/Traditional Tribal Methods: Oral history accounts by Northern Arapaho descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre described landforms that matched the topography of this “southern site.” Specifically, this bend of Sand Creek has limestone outcroppings such as those described in oral history accounts of Sand Creek Massacre survivors. According to these accounts, Arapaho survivors of the massacre fled to limestone outcroppings that provided a hiding place from the attacking soldiers.

Rhoades/Bowen Bend: Considered But Rejected As A Possible Location Of The Sand Creek Massacre

As noted above, five sites were considered possible locations of the Sand Creek Massacre and were, therefore, included in the archeological survey. In addition, the National Park Service project team initially considered one other site as a possible candidate but, prior to the archeological survey, dismissed it for lack of evidence. This site, known variously as the “North Bend” or the Rhoades/Bowen Bend, had also

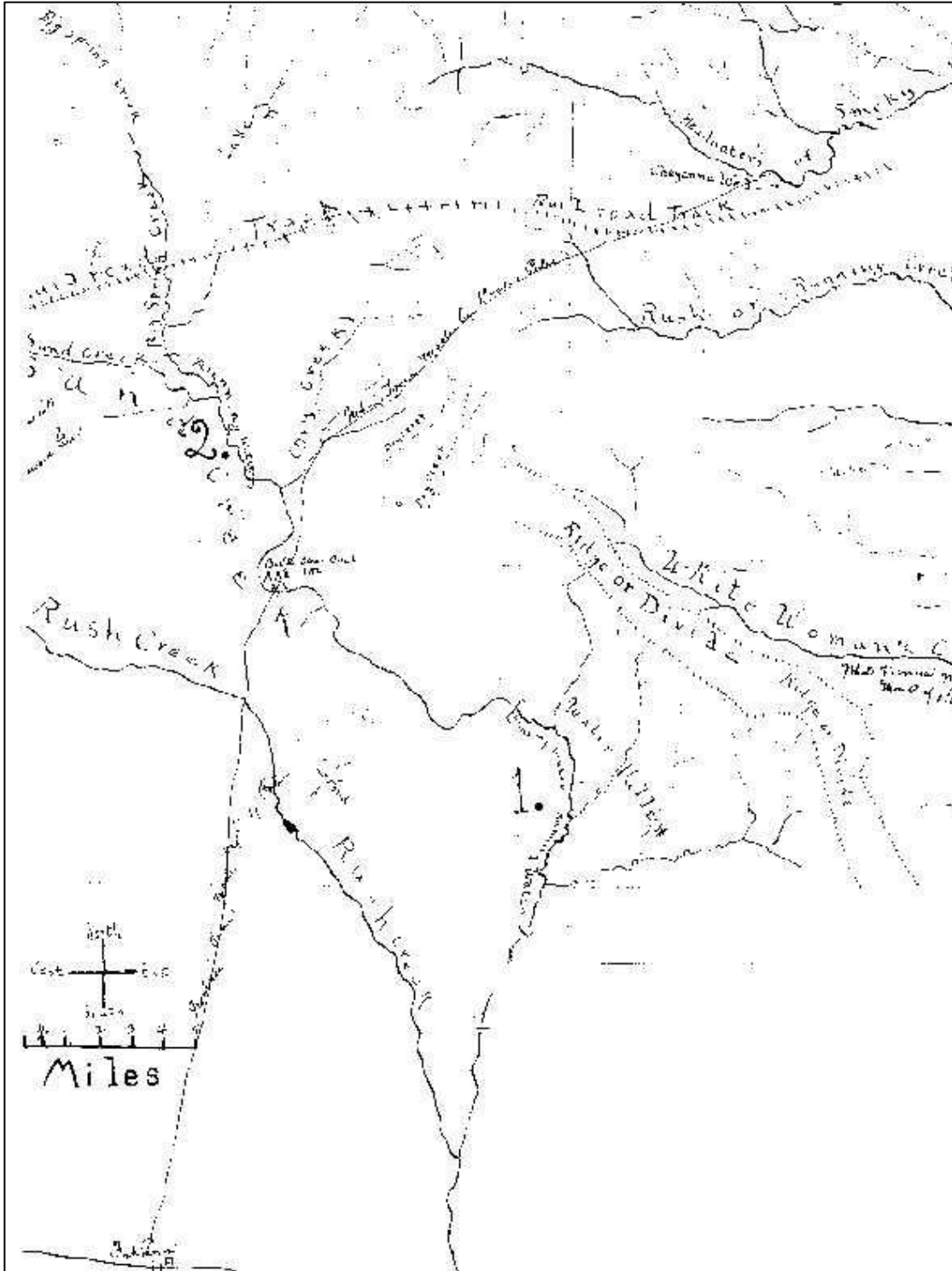


ILLUSTRATION 2-4: Bent-Hyde Map showing the Sand Creek Massacre in the vicinity of the Rhoades/Bowen Bend. At the request of George Hyde, George Bent annotated this map, which was traced from the 1890-91 USGS map, to show the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. George Bent placed the massacre in the vicinity of the “Rhoades/Bowen” bend in what is now Cheyenne County, Colorado. This bend is between points “1” and “2” on the map (near the second “e” in “Sand Creek”). “1” marked the location of the Dawson South Bend; “2” marked a spot near the intersection of Sand Creek (Big Sandy Creek) and Big Spring Creek, about six miles upstream from the Rhoades/Bowen Bend. *Folder 10, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder*

been investigated during the Colorado Historical Society-Fort Lewis College Sand Creek Massacre site location effort.

The primary evidence pointing to the Rhoades-Bowen Bend was a map drawn by George Hyde and annotated by George Bent (Folder 10, Bent-Hyde Collection, University of Colorado Library). This map, shown in illustration 2-4, was well known to researchers, but often regarded as a rough sketch that was not valuable as a geographically accurate tool. However, during the course of the Site Location Study, National Park Service historian Lysa Wegman-French discovered that George Hyde traced his base map from 1890-91 USGS maps. Wegman-French determined this by overlaying the Bent-Hyde map onto the 1890-91 USGS maps (Kit Carson, Cheyenne Wells, Lamar, and Granada) and finding that the majority of the geographical features are exact matches. In addition, specific distinctive drafting marks are repeated on the Bent-Hyde map, thus providing more evidence that the base map is as accurate as the 1890-91 USGS maps.[?]

Once having determined that the 1890-91 USGS maps were the basis for the Bent-Hyde map, it became clear that George Bent placed the Sand Creek Massacre in the Rhoades-Bowen Bend. However, as the Site Location Study proceeded, it also became evident that there was no other supporting evidence – in terms of historical documentation, tribal oral histories, or traditional tribal knowledge – that placed the Sand Creek Massacre in the Rhoades/Bowen Bend. Moreover, there was substantial evidence that placed the massacre site to the south, in the general vicinity of the Bowen and Dawson Bends.

Also taken into consideration was the inaccuracy of the 1890-91 USGS maps. An overlay of the most current USGS map onto the 1890-91 USGS maps revealed that the earlier map showed Sand Creek in a very different configuration than today. This raised the question: “Was this a true representation of the 1890s stream configuration or was the USGS map inaccurate?” The National Park Service consulted with USGS staff who confirmed that 1890s-era maps were generally unreliable due to the mapping technology at the time. The National Park Service also consulted with geomorphologists who determined that, based on topographical constraints, it was impossible that Sand Creek was in the configuration shown on the 1890-91 maps. As such, it appears that George Bent was presented with a very inaccurate base map on which to make his notations as to the location of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Lack of archeological evidence was also a primary factor in rejecting the Rhoades/Bowen Bend as a likely location of the Sand Creek Massacre. As noted above, the Rhoades/Bowen Bend had been surveyed in 1997 as part of the Colorado Historical Society-Fort Lewis College site location effort. That archeological survey uncovered no 1864-era artifacts within the Rhoades/Bowen Bend.

[?]Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 1)," September 11, 1998, and "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 2)," January 29, 1999, National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver.

Site Location Study Reports

Thus, at the onset of the archeological study in May 1999, there was conflicting information as to exact location of the Sand Creek Massacre. The Site Location Study team hoped that the archeological survey would provide conclusive physical evidence regarding the Sand Creek Massacre site. That possibility seemed more likely following the preliminary results of the geomorphological study of the area. After taking soil samples from the area, geomorphologists concluded that the alignment of Sand Creek had not changed substantially over time, eliminating that as a factor in locating the site. In addition, the geomorphologists concluded that the area in the vicinity of the Dawson South Bend, including its northern edge that extends into Section 24, had not been substantially disturbed by erosion or agricultural practices, at least not to the extent that such activities would have destroyed all archeological



ILLUSTRATION 2-5: Geomorphological fieldwork at the Sand Creek Massacre site. Amy Holmes and Michael McFaul of LaRamie Soils next to a core sample that was drilled at the Sand Creek Massacre site. *Arnie Thallheimer*

evidence of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Basically, the geomorphological study indicated that there was a good probability of finding Sand Creek Massacre-related artifacts, if one were looking in the right place.

Following are the three primary reports, presented in chronological order, that were prepared as part of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study and which summarize the results of the historical, archeological, oral history, and traditional tribal methods employed to locate the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. The first report is the “Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site” by National Park Service historian Jerome A.

Greene. Prepared prior to the archeological investigations, the purpose of this report was to focus

the archeological survey efforts on those areas that, according to archival sources, were the most likely locations of the massacre. The Greene report is followed by “Identifying the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre Site Through Archeological Reconnaissance” by National Park Service archeologist Douglas D. Scott, which summarizes the May 1999 archeological investigations of Sand Creek. The final report is the “The Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study Oral History Project” by Alexa Roberts, in cooperation with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe. This report summarizes the oral histories and traditional tribal methods completed as part of the project, and the information they provide regarding the location of the Sand Creek Massacre.



ILLUSTRATION 2-6: Left to Right: Luke Brady (Northern Cheyenne Tribe), and Joe Big Medicine and Laird Cometsevah (Southern Cheyenne Tribe), during the archeological survey, May 1999. *Arnie Thallheimer*



ILLUSTRATION 2-7: Northern Arapaho tribal members, landowners, and National ParkService staff prior to the archeological survey of the Bowen property, May 1999. Left to right: Chuck and Sheri Bowen (landowners); Nelson White, Hubert Friday, William C'Hair, Gail Ridgely, and Ida Mahaffie (Northern Arapaho Tribe); Alexa Roberts (NPS); Eugene Ridgely Jr. (Northern Arapaho Tribe); Barbara Sutteer (NPS); and Hubert Warren and Ben Ridgely (Northern Arapaho Tribe). *Arnie Thallheimer*

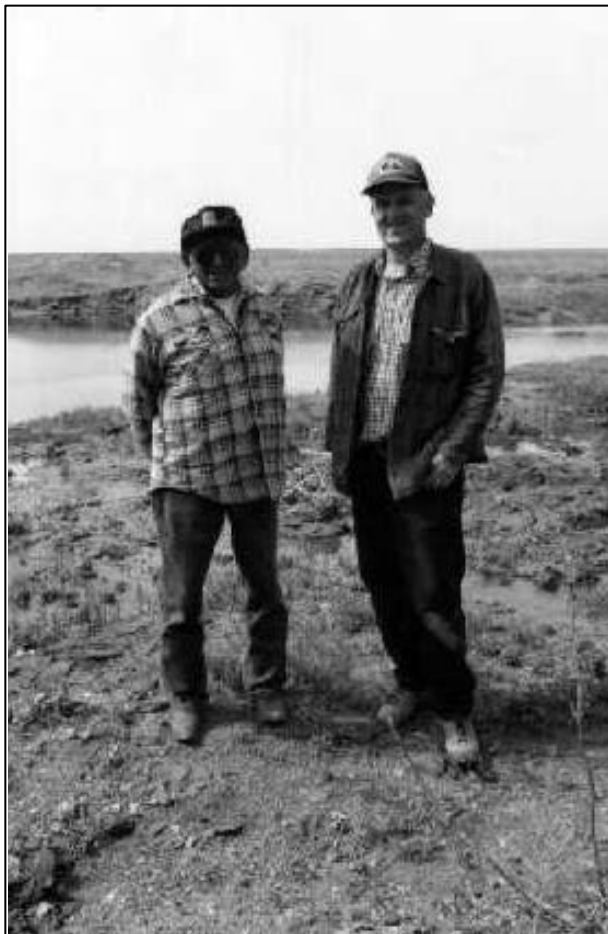


ILLUSTRATION 2-8: Left to Right: Eugene Ridgely Sr. (Northern Arapaho Tribe) and Tom Meier, archeological survey of the Bowen property, May 1999. *Arnie Thallheimer*



ILLUSTRATION 2-9: Archeological fieldwork on the Dawson property, May 1999. Archeological crew members swept the site with metal detectors. *Arnie Thallheimer*



ILLUSTRATION 2-10: Archeological fieldwork, May 1999. The archeological crew, including members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes, uncovered artifacts found through metal detection. Mildred Red Cherries of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe is in the center of the photograph; Donna Sandoval of the Southern Arapaho Tribe is at the right. *Arnie Thallheimer*



ILLUSTRATION 2-11: Landowner Bill Dawson uncovering artifacts during the archeological survey of his property, May 1999. Arnie Thallheimer



ILLUSTRATION 2-12: Group photograph of participants in the Sand Creek Massacre archeological survey, May 1999. Crew members included NPS employees and volunteers (many from other federal agencies), landowners, and tribal representatives. Left to right: William Lees (volunteer); Bill Dawson (landowner); Joe Big Medicine (Southern Cheyenne); Steven DeVore (NPS); Chris Adams (volunteer); Douglas Scott (NPS); Charles Haecker (NPS); Rick Frost (NPS); Mildred Red Cherries (Northern Cheyenne); Linda DeCarlo (Southern Cheyenne); Laird Cometsevah (Southern Cheyenne); Richard Fike (volunteer); Julie Coleman-Fike (volunteer); Luke Brady (foreground) (Northern Cheyenne); Tom Frew (volunteer); Larry Gibson (volunteer); and Dick Harmon (volunteer). The group is standing by the Sand Creek Massacre marker that was placed overlooking the site in 1950. Arnie Thallheimer

CHAPTER 3

REPORT ON THE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION OF THE LOCATION AND EXTENT OF THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE

By Jerome A. Greene

Jerome Greene, a historian with the National Park Service, Harper's Ferry Center, has written extensively on Indian wars sites in the West. The following report was completed in May 1999, just prior to the National Park Service archeological survey of Sand Creek. Based on an analysis of historical documentation, Greene concluded that the Indian encampment was in Section 24 of Township 17S, Range 46W, at the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend. A few weeks later, the archeological survey team uncovered approximately 400 Sand Creek Massacre-related artifacts in this area. The addendum to Greene's report was completed after the archeological survey, and includes a re-evaluation of some of the historical documentation in light of the archeological discoveries.

The site of that historic [Sand Creek] affair has not been marked. If it were possible, we, as a nation, doubtless had rather the event could be forgotten.

Walter M. Camp, in Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States, held January Seventeenth, Nineteen Hundred and Twenty.

Introduction

This report responds in part to P.L. 105-243, the *Sand Creek Massacre Site Study Act of 1998*, which requires the National Park Service, in consultation with the State of Colorado, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe, to undertake “to identify the location and extent of the massacre area” prior to initiating a special resource study to determine the suitability and feasibility of making the site a unit of the National Park system. The project encompasses an integrated, multi disciplinary approach, to include archival research conducted by historians, the collection of oral histories by

ethnographers, traditional tribal investigations by Sand Creek Massacre survivor descendants and tribal leaders, and examination by geomorphologists and remote imagery specialists, followed by on-site archeological exploration by archeologists. This document presents the methodology, results, and conclusions of the archival component in determining the location and extent of the massacre site.

Certain facts pertaining to the specific event of the Sand Creek Massacre are essential to this presentation. While the multiple forces bearing on its occurrence are beyond the immediate scope of this paper, suffice it to say that by the summer of 1864 a combination of issues and circumstances involving trespass by white intruders on Indian lands in Colorado and the Indians' retaliation, the attempts by Confederate agents to propagandize among the Cheyennes and Arapahos, coupled with the withdrawal east of federal troops for the Civil War, created conditions ripe for conflict. A treaty concluded at Fort Wise in 1861 between the United States and some, but not all, of the Cheyennes later fostered confusion and distrust among them, feelings that were further aggravated after Colorado volunteer troops attacked some of them in the spring of 1864. Infuriated by the enclosing conditions around them, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota warriors raided stage stations and ranches in the Platte River Valley, far beyond their prescribed reservations. Some even advanced within 20 miles of Denver to kill one white family in an incident that further inflamed passions and provoked calls for revenge. In response, the territorial governor raised troops to go after the tribesmen.¹

In early November, one village of Southern Cheyennes numbering at least 100 lodges, including several of Arapahos, totaling as many as 500 people, professing peace and headed by Chief Black Kettle, came to Fort Lyon on the Arkansas River. On direction from the post commander, they located some 30 or 40 miles away on Sand Creek, northeast of the fort. There, at dawn on November 29, 1864, a large force of soldiers – some 725 men composed of the Third Regiment of Colorado Cavalry (100-day U.S. Volunteers) plus five companies of the First Regiment of Colorado Cavalry, accompanied by four 12-pounder mountain howitzer guns, all under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington of the First Colorado – struck Black Kettle's village on Sand Creek. The assault came essentially from the south and east, with soldiers and howitzer fire driving most of the occupants out of the lodges to scramble up the creek bottom away from the attackers, although many others fled in other directions across the prairie in making their escape. The troops followed, units of the cavalry advancing along each side of Sand Creek firing their weapons indiscriminately at the fleeing people, many of whom were women and children. Other troops fanned out to chase after the people trying to get away over the undulating scape bordering the stream.

¹For recitations of the events leading to the Sand Creek Massacre, see Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 152-215; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), pp. 125-64; Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 18-128; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 281-93; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 295-307; and Peter John Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879, with an Epilogue, 1969-1974* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981), pp. 278-98.

Somewhere, perhaps at several places in the low-bluffed recesses of the creek bottom that stretched northwest of the village, the troops cornered and fired at pockets of the terrified people as they entrenched themselves for protection in hastily dug sandpits and attempted to fight back. Presently, the troops brought up at least two and perhaps more of the howitzers, directed them at the sandpits, and unleashed several rounds of spherical case ordnance that exploded among the Indians, bringing injury and death to scores of them, including largely noncombatant women, children, and the elderly. By all accounts, the slaughter that ensued from dawn until the afternoon caused the deaths of at least 125 (and likely many more) Indian people, while Chivington's casualties totaled but 10 men killed and 38 wounded. Following the massacre, many of the dead were mutilated by the soldiers. After the encounter, Chivington ordered his men to burn the village and destroy its property and two days later led his troops down Sand Creek to the Arkansas River to resume campaigning. Cheyenne and Arapaho survivors made their way northeast over ensuing days to camps of their kinsmen along the forks of the Smoky Hill River.²

Accounts of the massacre by participants are generally quite specific in describing various elements of the action; they are quite less specific in describing the precise location and extent along Sand Creek where the massacre took place. (Although local residents and community and regional organizations placed a marker along Sand Creek in Kiowa County in 1950 [NE ¼, Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, Sixth Principal Meridian], the designation of the massacre site seems to have been based largely upon the beliefs of then-local citizens; the designation has since become clouded by time, disparate opinions by a variety of informed and uninformed people, and the lack of scientifically retrieved significant artifactual evidence to validate it. A State of Colorado-funded project administered by Fort Lewis State College to find the site in 1995-98 was inconclusive.³) Participant testimony seems most important for aiding the archival search regarding the potential extent of the massacre site, especially in the knowledge that the massacre included at least two major contributing sites that, although interrelated, occurred on separate and distinct ground areas composing the site. They are the village area, embracing a logically open, flat, or somewhat terraced tract on the north (east) side of Sand Creek sufficient to accommodate as many as 100 lodges, and an area to the west, where the stream bed of the creek turns northwest and becomes confined by slightly rising bluffs on either side, constituting the place or places where the fleeing tribesmen sought cover in sandpits or trenches and (along with the intervening length of stream bed running from the village to the pit area) where a major part of the massacre occurred. Because of the nature of their respective uses, the first as village and conflict site and the other as a principal conflict site or massacre site adjoining the stream bed, these separate yet interconnected focus areas when found might yield significant archeological data.

²This synopsis is based upon material presented in the aforementioned books, but see particularly, Hoig, *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 145-62; and Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, pp. 299-310.

³See Douglas D. Scott, Anne Wainstein Bond, Richard Ellis, and William B. Lees, "Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864," unpublished report dated April, 1998, Department of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis State College, Durango, Colorado.

Methodology

Research into archival sources for information about the location and extent of the massacre site began during the summer of 1998 and continued into the spring of 1999. Three National Park Service historians and one contract historian conducted the research, aided, as necessary, by representatives of the Colorado Historical Society, the various Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, the tribally recognized Sand Creek Descendants organizations, the Boulder History Museum, and appropriate landowners. Methodology consisted of an initial review of the published literature about Sand Creek, including primary material published in assorted government documents. This was followed by extensive research into archival resources existing within and outside of the State of Colorado, notably historical maps, manuscript and published diaries, soldier testimonies, contemporary and later newspaper accounts, General Land Office surveys, homesteading records, U.S. Geological Survey maps, army officers' scouting reports, post records, and veterans' tabloids. Every attempt was made to locate and consider Cheyenne and Arapaho participant accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre. In all instances, the inquiry focused on references to the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre site or upon data from which some aspect of the desired information might be interpreted. Pertinent data that were considered to be of use in locating the site and its extent were then extracted from the source material for evaluation for accuracy and comparison with other data, such as aerial photographs and U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) maps of the Sand Creek area. Three interim reports on the status of the archival research, incorporating discussions and compilations of data bearing on the objective, were produced in September, 1998, and in January and April, 1999. It is important to note that the following presentation is based upon those materials deemed to bear most significantly on the subject of the location and extent of the massacre site and selected from among the many archival sources assembled since the project began.

Colorado repositories that contributed to the effort consisted of the Denver Public Library (Western History Department); Colorado Historical Society, Denver; University of Colorado Library, Boulder; National Park Service Library, Lakewood; University of Denver Library; Colorado College Library, Colorado Springs; Pioneer Museum, Colorado Springs; Kiowa County Museum, Eads; Big Timbers Museum, Lamar; Kit Carson Museum, Kit Carson; and the Denver Branch, National Archives, Denver Federal Center. Other repositories visited or otherwise consulted during the course of the research were the National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana; Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois; National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California; Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Beineke Library, Yale University, Hartford, Connecticut; Dr. John Woodenlegs Memorial Library, Dull Knife College, Lame Deer, Montana; Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; New York Public Library, New York, New York; Washita Battlefield National Historic Site, Cheyenne, Oklahoma; National Archives Great Lakes Branch, Chicago, Illinois;

and National Museum of Medicine and Health, Bethesda, Maryland. In addition, a number of individuals with knowledge bearing upon the location of the site were interviewed by the historians. All sources consulted, manuscript and published, along with identification of the conducted interviews, are included in the bibliography.

Findings Regarding The Location Of The Site Of The Sand Creek Massacre

The archival search for information to identify the site of the Sand Creek Massacre resulted in an accumulation and examination of written reports, diaries, and reminiscences of individuals who were present at the event; historical maps, particularly those contemporary with the period of the massacre as well as those based upon reminiscence; historical aerial photographic documentation; and the compilation and examination of various land records relating to the course of Sand Creek and possible changes in its configuration through the years. Employing these assorted documents, the search for the massacre site concentrated on the evaluation of evidence relating directly to: (A) the location and configuration of Sand Creek proper, together with certain of its affluents; (B) the distance traveled by Chivington's troops in advancing for their attack; (C) the trail, or route of approach of the troops from Fort Lyon; (D) the post-massacre bivouac site of Chivington's command; and (E) historical maps bearing directly on the place and event.

Sand Creek

Sand Creek, also known as the Big Sandy, takes its head in east central Colorado, near the community of Peyton, and runs northeast approximately 50 miles to near the town of Limon, where it abruptly turns southeast and continues southeast and south for approximately 125 miles until it joins the Arkansas River a few miles east of present Lamar. In the course of its southeastwardly progression, Sand Creek makes a number of notable bends, two of which, because of their relative distance from Fort Lyon, were considered important geographic indicators as to the possible location of the massacre site. The bends lie approximately 8 miles apart and, for purposes of this report, are designated the North Bend and the South Bend. [Elsewhere in this volume, these bends are also referred to, respectively, as the Rhoades-Bowen Bend and the Dawson South Bend.] The South Bend corresponds to the location of the historical site marker placed in 1950. A major tributary that factors significantly in the determination of the location of the site is Rush Creek, which enters Sand Creek from the northwest approximately 20 miles above the latter stream's confluence with the Arkansas and about five miles south of the present community of Chivington. (Research into General Land Office records of the Sand Creek area and comparisons to modern USGS maps led to concerns that the course of the stream had possibly changed during the years since 1864, particularly in the area of the South Bend. Results of geomorphological testing conducted in December 1998, however, suggest that there is little evidence to indicate past major channel shifting on this part of Sand

Creek.⁴ Moreover, computerized comparisons of 1890-91 USGS maps with modern USGS maps indicate numerous and gross errors in topography and stream alignment as registered on the early maps, doubtless caused by faulty surveying practices.)

Distance from Fort Lyon

Contemporary accounts of the massacre generally describe the site as being between 25 and 45 miles north or northeast of Fort Lyon on the Arkansas River, the departure point of Chivington's force on the night of November 28, 1864, and situated about 38 miles west of the mouth of Sand Creek.⁵ The preponderance of the accounts states that the site where Chivington attacked the Indians was 40 miles from Fort Lyon. Several specify the site as being on or near the "South Bend Big Sandy," the "Big Bend of Sandy Creek," and the "South Bend of Big Sandy," an area consistent with one or another of the aforementioned bends.⁶ Straight line distance from Fort Lyon to the North Bend is 37.7 miles, while that to the South Bend is 34.7 miles,⁷ both short of the preponderant 40-mile distance given in the historical records; the course over the military trail from the post to the Indian village would likely have been several miles longer considering normal meanderings of the route over the existing landscape.⁸

⁴Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 1)," September 11, 1998, National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver, pp. 3-4; and E-mail, Douglas D. Scott, December 21, 1998, subject, "Sand Creek geomorp."

⁵This was "Old Fort Lyon," originally named Fort Wise, established in 1860 and abandoned by the army in 1867 because of flooding of the Arkansas. A "New Fort Lyon" was raised that year 20 miles to the west, not far from the modern community of Las Animas. A brief overview of the early post is in LeRoy Boyd, *Fort Lyon, Colorado: One Hundred Years of Service* (Fort Lyon, Colo.: VA Medical Center, 1967), pp. 3-6. See also, Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), pp. 41-42.

⁶The first two locational references were given by Chivington in correspondence following the massacre. See Chivington to Major General Samuel R. Curtis, November 29, 1864, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (73 vols., 128 parts; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, vol. 41, part I, p. 948; and Chivington to Charles Wheeler, November 29, 1864, in U.S. Senate, 39 Cong., 2 sess., *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating . . . a Copy of the Evidence Taken at Denver and Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory by a Military Commission Ordered to Inquire into the Sand Creek Massacre, November 29, 1864*, Executive Document No. 26 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), p. 48 (hereafter referred to as *Sand Creek Massacre*). The last appears in First Lieutenant Clark Dunn, Company E, First Colorado Cavalry, to Chivington, November 30, 1864, in *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, vol. 41, part I, p. 955, and in Second Lieutenant J.J. Kennedy, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, to Chivington, November 30, 1864, in *ibid.*, pp. 954-55. See also the "Record of Events" section, Muster Rolls for Company C and E, First Colorado Cavalry for November-December, 1864, National (NA) Archives and Record Center, Denver, Record Group (RG) 94, "Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations," Microfilm Publication M594, Roll 4.

⁷These figures are from Thomas Baker, *Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek: An Attempt to Locate the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 in Southeastern Colorado from the Air* (Tijeras, New Mexico: Aerial Archaeology Press, 1998), p. 32.

⁸The distance figures of between 25 and 45 miles from Fort Lyon to the village have been excerpted from a variety of original sources and are presented in Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 2)," January 29, 1999, National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver, pp. 3-6; and Lysa

Trail from Fort Lyon to the Village

George Bent (1843-1918), a mixed-blood Cheyenne who was in the village at the time of Chivington's attack and who survived it, indicated that the village stood on the north bank of Sand Creek at the point where an "Indian trail made by lodge poles" crossed the stream. Bent later recalled that "a lodge trail ran from near Fort Lyon in a northeasterly direction to the head of the Smoky Hill [River], and we were encamped where this trail crossed Sand Creek."⁹ Bent made two maps of the village area, both of which clearly show lines indicating Chivington's approach, possibly along or near the Indian trail, which is not otherwise indicated on either map (see accompanying Illustrations 3-1 and 3-2). Despite the fact that Bent, aided by other Cheyenne participants, sketched his schematic maps of the village layout more than 40 years later, they contain a remarkably high level of detail, doubtless because of his and his assistants' direct knowledge.¹⁰ However, Bent's maps show "Chivingtons [sic] Trail" proceeding from the south, intersecting the stream bed at a right angle, and entering the village, a configuration at variance with the immediate and reminiscent accounts of soldier participants who maintained that they entered the dry Sand Creek bottom and marched along it for a considerable distance before opening their attack from the northeast and southeast.

The lodge pole trail running from near Fort Lyon was probably the same route passed over by Black Kettle and his delegation when they moved back to Sand Creek following their visit with Major Scott Anthony just days before the massacre, reportedly crossed that stream, possibly bisecting the village area, and continued northeast to the Smoky Hill River. Examination of 1930s Soil Conservation Service photographs of the area composing Sections 24 and 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West indicates the presence of several trail remnants crossing Sand Creek both east and west of the present historical site marker that might indicate the location of the lodge pole trail.¹¹ (See accompanying Illustration 3-4.) At least two soldiers reported that they followed along an Indian trail during the advance to the village site.¹² One man recalled that on leaving the post on the evening of November 28, Chivington's column followed "well worn trails that marked the line of Indian travel."¹³

Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 3)," April 27, 1999, National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver, pp. 2-3.

⁹George E. Hyde, *A Life of George Bent Written from His Letters*, ed. by Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 151.

¹⁰One of Bent's two maps of the village site, both prepared in ca. 1905-14, is in the George Bent-George E. Hyde Collection, Folder 1, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder. The other is in the Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, "Warfare," 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

¹¹National Archives, Record Group 114, Records of the Soil Conservation Service, Aerial photos AC298-31, 32, 48, 49.

¹²John Lewis Daily, Diary, Denver Public Library, Western History Department, Microfilm; Letter from George Wells in *The Miner's Register*, Central City, Colorado, December 27, 1864.

¹³Unidentified correspondent's (George A. Wells?) letter, *The Miner's Register*, January 4, 1865.

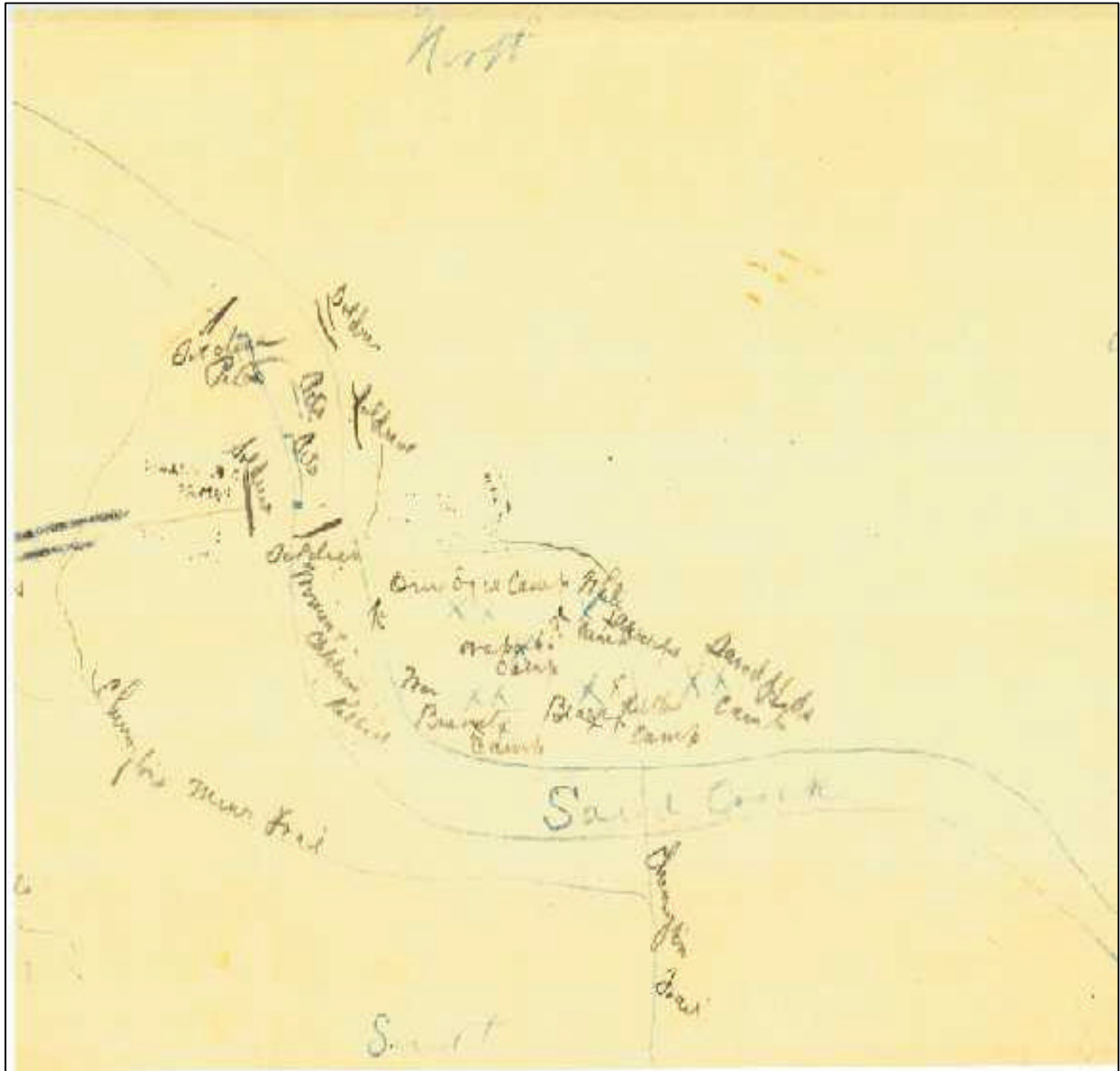


ILLUSTRATION 3-1: George Bent map of village site (Folder 1, Bent-Hyde Collection, University of Colorado). This map, prepared ca. 1905-14 by George Bent, shows the Cheyenne and Arapaho village attacked by the Army troops. Depicted within the village are “One Eye’s Camp,” “White Antelopes Band,” “Arapaho Camp,” “Sand Hills Camp,” “Black Kettles Camp,” and “War Bonnet’s Camp.” Also depicted are the sandpits, the Indian horse herds, “Chivington’s trail,” troop placements, and the area in the streambed where women and children were killed. *Folder 1, Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder.*

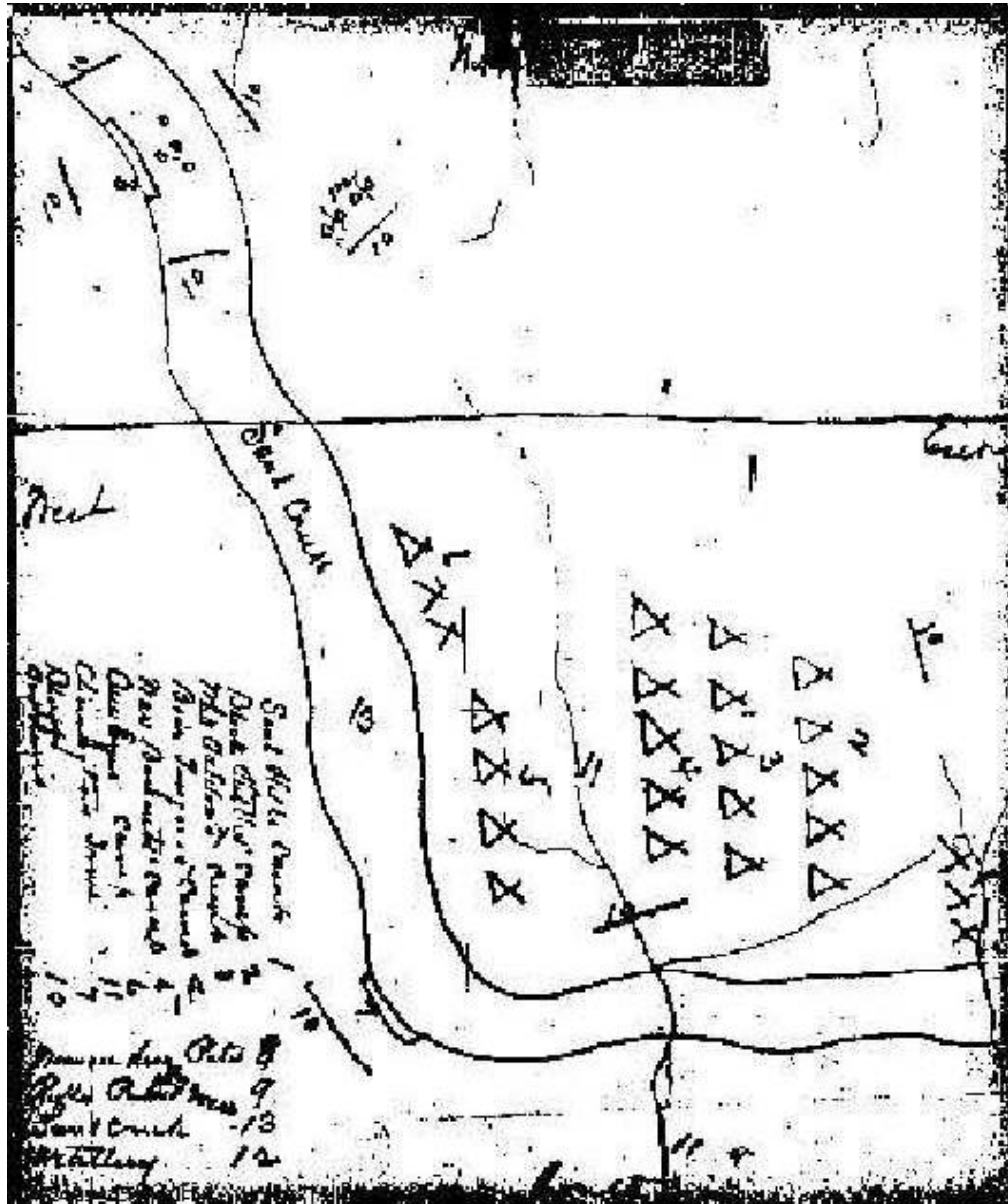


ILLUSTRATION 3-2: George Bent map of village site (Oklahoma Historical Society). One of two maps drawn by George Bent that shows the Indian village attacked during the Sand Creek Massacre. The numbers on the map correspond to the legend. Numbers 1-6 depict the camps within the village, including that of Black Kettle (Number 2). Number 7 shows the “bluff.” Number 8 shows the sandpits dug by women. Number 9 depicts the pits dug by men. Number 10 shows the placement of soldiers. Number 11 is Chivington’s Trail. Number 12 depicts artillery placement. Number 13 is Sand Creek. *Oklahoma Historical Society*.

The military trail from Fort Lyon seems thus to have paralleled, and perhaps at times overlaid, the lodge pole trail for most of its distance to the village and then might have guided Chivington’s direct approach to the camp. A few veteran soldier accounts mention that the troops rode through a pond of water en route north on the trail.¹⁴

¹⁴Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879, typed copies in the Carey Collection, University of Denver, Box 4; C.B. Horton, “Survivor Tells of the ‘Chivington Massacre,’” *The Denver [?] Times*, July 24, 1903, p. 8 (reprinted from the *Chicago-Herald*

Several shallow rain basins or ponds are present today at a distance of approximately 11 miles north of the site of Fort Lyon. Aerial photographs taken in 1997 confirm the presence of these ponds, as well as of a remnant trail consistent with the military route leading north from the area of Bent's New Fort, which adjoined Fort Lyon on the east, and which passed directly through a natural water-filled basin.¹⁵

Post-Massacre Camp of Chivington's Command

Several participant accounts indicate that after spending two days and two nights at the scene of the massacre Chivington moved his command south and bivouacked along Sand Creek. Sergeant Lucian Palmer of Company C, First Colorado, testified specifically that "we camped in Sand Creek, 12 miles from the battle-ground, the night of the 1st of December." Diarist Henry Blake, of Company D, Third Colorado Cavalry, reported that on December 1 the command "camped 13 miles below on Sand Creek." And Private Hal Sayre noted in his diary that the troops "took the back track and camped tonight [December 1] on dry creek [Sand Creek] 15 miles south of battle field." Yet another diarist, John Lewis Dailey, reported camping that night 15 miles from the massacre site "on a watery tributary," while Morse Coffin, of Company D, Third Colorado, stated that the command moved "about fifteen miles toward Fort Lyon, where we camped for the night."¹⁶ These figures align well with the approximate distance north from the confluence of Rush and Sand creeks, and would place the massacre site in the area of the South Bend of Sand Creek. On December 2, Chivington sent his dead and wounded back to Fort Lyon, undoubtedly over the trail his troops had used during their march out the night of November 28-29. The colonel accompanied the remainder of his men down Sand Creek in a southeasterly direction to the Arkansas River as they resumed campaigning.

Record, unknown date); Interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebook X, 11, Starsmore Research Center, Pioneer Museum of Colorado Springs, Colorado; Irving Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pikes Peak Region* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), p. 122.

¹⁵Baker, Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek, pp. 30-31.

¹⁶Palmer's testimony is in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 144; Henry Blake Diary, Boulder Historical Society Collections, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History (published in the *Boulder Daily Camera*, August 2, 1941); Hal Sayre Diary, entry for December 1, 1864, Sayre Papers, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder; John Lewis Daily, Diary, entry for December 1, 1864, Western History Department, Denver Public Library; Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879, typed copies in the Carey Collection, University of Denver, Box 4. Interpreter John Smith stated that he returned with Chivington "on his trail towards Fort Lyon from the camp where he made this raid. I went down with him to what is called the forks of the Sandy." Testimony of John S. Smith, March 14, 1865, in U.S. Senate, 38 Cong., 2nd sess., *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, Report No. 142 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), pp. 5-6 (hereafter cited as *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*).

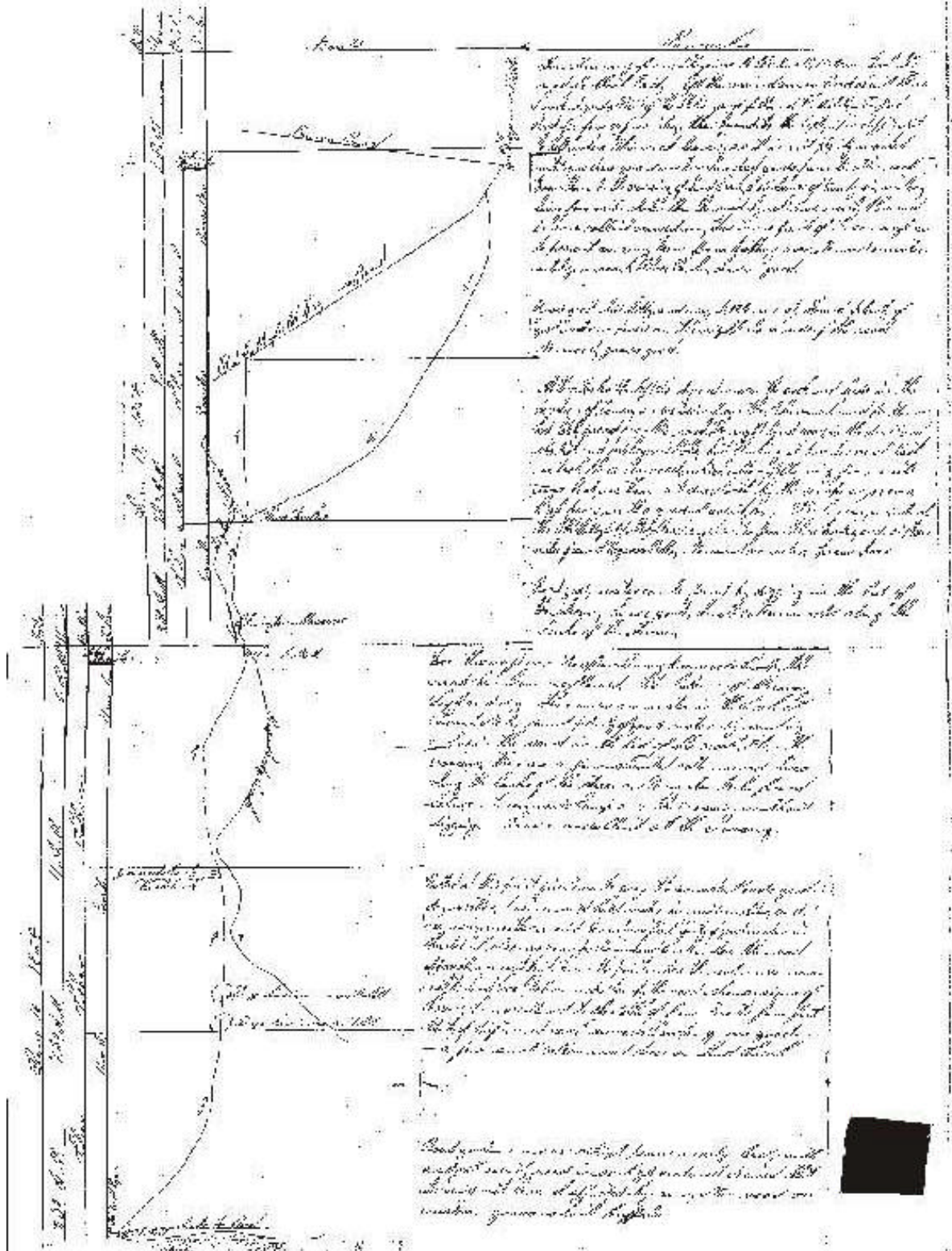


ILLUSTRATION 3-3: 1868 Samuel Bonsall Map. Drawn four years after the Sand Creek Massacre, the Bonsall map is the most contemporary map of the event found to date. "Chivingtons Massacre" is depicted by a line adjacent to "Big Sandy Creek" near the center of the map. "Three Forks" is the next identified landmark north of the massacre site. The directional arrows depict the route traveled by Lieutenant Bonsall and his men. *National Archives, Great Lakes Region (Chicago).*

Maps

A large number of published and manuscript historical maps were consulted for geographical information about streams, trails, roads, land use, ownership, and other data that might help locate the massacre site. While most of these contained limited useful information for the specific purposes of this project, they were cumulatively valuable for the regional knowledge that they imparted. However, only one manuscript map contained significant information that pertained directly to the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site, as discussed below.

1. The George Bent Maps

Besides the two valuable maps he provided in circa 1905-14 representing the configuration of the Cheyenne-Arapaho village along Sand Creek at the time of the massacre (see accompanying Illustrations 3-1 and 3-2), George Bent helped render two others showing the broader region of eastern Colorado Territory on which he designated the location of Black Kettle's village (see Illustrations 2-2 and 2-4). The maps were initially prepared by historian George E. Hyde, who was gathering narrative material for a biography of Bent. Hyde evidently traced the maps from existing 1890-91 USGS topographical maps and then mailed them to Bent with instructions to mark place names on them. Although his grasp of the geography and topography of the land traversed by the Cheyennes and Arapahos in their peregrinations was generally superb, Bent, possibly because of gross inaccuracies in the available topographic maps that Hyde sent him, was apparently unsure of the precise location of the Sand Creek Massacre site. On one map (Illustration 2-4), he indicated that Black Kettle's camp stood along the stream at its big north bend, some 8 or 9 miles above the present historical marker; on the other map (Illustration 2-2) he placed the scene of the massacre well below the confluence of Rush Creek with Sand Creek, approximately 30 miles from his other projection and some 20 miles below the present marker. The lack of certainty evident in Bent's two regional maps thus discounted their value in discerning the exact location of the massacre.¹⁷

2. The Bonsall Map and Aerial Confirmation

The signal manuscript map found to date that definitively establishes a site for the Sand Creek Massacre is that drawn by Second Lieutenant Samuel W. Bonsall, Third Infantry, stationed at Fort Lyon (see accompanying Illustration 3-3). The map, discovered in 1996 in the Chicago branch center of the National Archives, is closely contemporary with the action, in that Bonsall prepared it in June 1868, at or near the time of his march and within four years of the massacre. Prepared in accordance with *United States Army Regulations* in the form of a strip map and journal¹⁸ documenting

¹⁷Bent maps in Folders 3 and 10 of the Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder (see "Interim Report No. 2," Maps B and C).

¹⁸Army regulations directed that "commanding officers of troops marching through a country little known, will keep journals of their marches according to the form and directions hereto annexed. At the end of the march a copy of the journal will be retained at the station where the troops arrive, and the original will be forwarded to the head-quarters of the Department, or *corps d'armee*. Thence, after a copy has been taken, it will be transmitted, through the head-quarters of the army, to the Adjutant-General, for the information of the War Department. . . . The object of the journal is to furnish data for

the route of his detachment of eleven infantry soldiers from Fort Lyon to Cheyenne Wells as they escorted Lieutenant General William T. Sherman east following a tour of frontier sites, Bonsall's map is graphically detailed with regard to landmarks and place names, and includes time and mileage readings between marches. Without question, it is the most important document yet located to convincingly posit the site, which is designated thereon as "Chivingtons [sic] Massacre."¹⁹

Discovery of the Bonsall map has led to a corresponding pursuit of information about Bonsall himself as well as that of some circumstances of the purpose and activities of his detachment's trek between Fort Lyon and Cheyenne Wells. Bonsall was from Bloomington, Indiana, and four months after the outbreak of the Civil War, at age 22, he enlisted in the Eighteenth Indiana Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Commissioned a second lieutenant within five months, he won promotion to first lieutenant in July 1863. Bonsall resigned from his regiment in September 1864, but within three months joined the Sixth U.S. Veteran Volunteers as a captain. He was known during the war as "a brave and competent officer and gentleman" and a veteran of "a half dozen pitched battles." Mustered out in April 1866, in May he joined the Third Infantry regulars as a second lieutenant. He served as regimental adjutant from February to October 1867, and advanced to first lieutenant in July 1868. Like many officers on frontier duty, Bonsall fought a drinking problem. In August 1872, on the advice of his commanding officer, he resigned from the army and returned to Indiana. Efforts to regain his commission, which included direct appeals to General Sherman and President Ulysses S. Grant, proved unsuccessful and Bonsall never returned to the army.²⁰

maps, and information which may serve for future operations. Every point of practical importance should therefore be noted. . . ." The journal was to be kept in a pocket notebook. "The horizontal divisions in the column headed 'Route' represent portions of a day's march. The distance, in miles, between each of the horizontal divisions, will be noted in the column headed 'Distance,'" "The notes within each horizontal division are to show the general direction of the march, and every object of interest observed in its course. All remarkable features of the country, therefore, such as hills, streams, fords, springs, houses, villages, forests, marshes, &c., and the places of encampment, will be sketched in their relative positions, as well as noted by name. . . ." "The 'Remarks' corresponding to each division will be upon the soil, productions, quantity and quality of timber, grass, water, fords, nature of the roads, &c., and important incidents. They should show where provisions, forage, fuel, and water can be obtained; whether the streams to be crossed are fordable, miry, have quicksands or steep banks, and whether they overflow their banks in wet seasons; also the quality of the water; and, in brief, every thing of practical importance." *Revised United States Army Regulations, of 1861, With an Appendix containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863* (Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1864), pp. 99-104. Pages 100-103 contain the precise format of the journal exactly as followed by Lieutenant Bonsall. (Although his product strictly complied with army regulations, its large format suggests that it might have been prepared from notes after completion of his march.)

¹⁹"Journal of the march of the men belonging to the Garrison of Fort Lyon, C.T., under the command of Lieut. S.W. Bonsall 3rd Infantry, from Old Fort Lyon C.T., to Cheyenne Wells, pursuant to S.O. No 66 Hdqrs Fort Lyon C.T. June 12, 1868," NA, RG 77, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers.

²⁰Francis B. Heitman (comp.), *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (2 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), I, 230; Appointment, Commission, and Personal File of Samuel W. Bonsall (B530 CB 1865, Microfilm Publication M1064, Roll 144), NA, RG 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office.

Direct evidence of the purpose of Bonsall's movement appears in Fort Lyon Special Order No. 66, which directed that:

1st Lieut. S. W. Bonsall 3^d U.S. Infantry will take one Non commissioned Officer and ten (10) men . . . and report to Lieut Genl W. T. Sherman, Commanding Military Division of the Missouri, as escort to Fort Wallace, Kas. After performing this duty he will return to this Post without delay. The detachment will take eight (8) days rations. The Quartermasters Department will furnish the necessary transportation, two (2) wagons and four extra mules.²¹

Sherman had been at Fort Union, New Mexico Territory, on June 11 and had proceeded from there to Trinidad, Colorado, and Fort Lyon. Although Bonsall was authorized to accompany the general to Fort Wallace, in fact the escort lasted only until they reached the stage line at Cheyenne Wells. Sherman described his journey thus: "At Fort Lyon, I crossed over to the Smoky Hill Line reaching it at Cheyenne Wells, whence I came by stage to Fort Wallace, and the end of the Kansas Branch of the Pacific Railroad."²² From there Sherman entrained east to Fort Leavenworth to meet Major General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Military Department of the Missouri at Fort Leavenworth, and in whose department Sherman's tour took place, then proceeded to his own headquarters in St. Louis.²³

A reminiscent account by Luke Cahill, a noncommissioned officer who served in the Third Infantry between 1866 and 1869 and was posted at Fort Lyon in 1868, discussed the mission, which included a tour by Sherman of the scene of the Sand Creek carnage. According to Cahill, Bonsall commanded the detachment, which reached the battleground "about two p.m." Furthermore, wrote Cahill:

After dinner, General Sherman requested that all the escort hunt all over the battleground and pick up everything of value. He wanted to take the relics back to Washington. We found many things, such as Indian baby skulls; many skulls of men and women; arrows, some perfect, many broken; spears, scalps, knives, cooking utensils and many other things too numerous to mention. We laid over one day and collected nearly a wagon load.²⁴

Further information indicates that Bonsall developed a continuing knowledge of the massacre site and that his visit there with Sherman was not but a fleeting occurrence. In 1866, an officer of the Army Medical Museum asked that skeletal specimens of tribesmen killed in the course of army-Indian encounters in the West be shipped to the

²¹Special Order No. 66, Headquarters, Fort Lyon, C.T., June 15, 1868, NA, RG 393, Pt. I, Entry 2634, Post Orders, 1868-1908.

²²Sherman to the Adjutant General, Edward D. Townsend, June 24, 1868, NA, RG 94, 793M1868, Letters Received, NA Microfilm Publication M619, Roll 639.

²³Sheridan to Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Sully, Third Infantry, June 16, 1868, NA, RG 393, Records of United States Army Commands, Letters Received, District of the Upper Arkansas, May, 1867-1869, Part 3, 799, Box 2.

²⁴Luke Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," unpublished manuscript ca. 1915, MSS 99 in the Manuscripts Division, Colorado Historical Society, Denver. Cahill's service is referenced in Virgil D. White (comp., ed.), *Index to Indian Wars Pension Files, 1892-1926*, 2 vols. (Waynesboro, Tenn.: National Historical Publishing Company, 1987), I, 224.

museum for examination and use in ballistics studies. The request resulted in the collection and forwarding of numerous remains, including some from Sand Creek that were picked up at the site between 1867 and 1870. According to records in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, at least two skulls (one identified for unknown reasons as that of a Kiowa Indian) were collected by Lieutenant Bonsall at the massacre site, probably in 1870.²⁵ Together with the Cahill manuscript, these references are important benchmarks for placing Bonsall at the massacre site on at least two known occasions, thus establishing for him credibility for his presumed knowledge of the location of “Chivingtons Massacre” as reflected on his map of June 1868.

In the discussion about the map that follows, distances in parentheses reflect modern straight-line measurements²⁶ and are provided as comparisons for Bonsall’s own mileage figures, which were derived either from army odometer readings or reasoned estimates of distance traversed. Because Bonsall’s figures are rounded off, it is assumed that the distances reflected on his map represent the latter, i.e., judgments of the approximate distance marked than of precise odometer-registered figures. Internal evidence indicates that although this route to Cheyenne Wells had not been extensively used before, by June 1868, it was becoming increasingly used as a military road. Bonsall’s map shows that his detachment left Fort Lyon at 5:30 a.m. on June 16, and moved generally northeast and north from Fort Lyon probably along the same route used by Colonel Chivington less than 3 ½ years earlier. About two hours later, at a point 11 miles out, Bonsall’s detachment encountered a “Large basin [with] no outlet,” shortly followed by another of identical description. In his accompanying journal, the lieutenant noted that the “basins would hold water in wet weather, and in very rainy weather would be impassible.” Analysis of aerial photos taken of the area in 1954 confirms the course of the trail through these features exactly as depicted on Bonsall’s map.²⁷ Bonsall’s party continued on the trail through both basins (one of which was possibly the lake, or pond, encountered by Chivington’s men on the night of November 28-29, 1864) for another 8 miles before making a temporary camp just above the junction of Rush Creek with Sand Creek, and called “Greenwoods Camp”

²⁵*United States Army Medical Museum Anatomical Section: Records Relating to Specimens Transferred to the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1990), p. 28 and appended documentation; Lenore Barbian, Anatomical Collections Manager to Gary L. Roberts, November 20, 1998, forwarding copies of accession files in the National Museum of Health and Medicine, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington, D.C.; and Memorandum, Museum Technician Scott Brown to Tom Killiam, Case Officer, Repatriation Office, October 21, 1991, re: Sand Creek Skeletal Remains. All of the above is presented in Gary L. Roberts, “The Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Report on Washington Sources,” prepared for the National Park Service in January 1999. An engraving of one of the Sand Creek skulls collected by Bonsall appears in *Circular No. 3*, War Department, Surgeon-General’s Office, August 17, 1871, *A Report of Surgical Cases Treated in the Army of the United States from 1865 to 1871*, by George A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), pp. 15-16.

²⁶Based on LORAN (Long Range Aid to Navigation) used in aerial readings that compute distance from latitude/longitude fixes on landmarks. Baker, *Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek*, p. 6.

²⁷Army Map Service aerial photos, 1954, Western United States Project No. 133, Lot AU, Roll 29, frames 3978-80; Roll 30, frames 4253-63; Roll 34, frames 4585-96; and Roll 35, frames 4658-62, U.S. Geological Survey, Earth Science Information Center, Denver, Colorado.

on the map but referenced in the journal as “Camp No. 1.” Here, at 11 a.m., they halted for “five hours to graze the animals.”²⁸ Apparently at around 4 p.m., the detachment proceeded north for another two hours, covering a distance of 11 miles, but perhaps more like 12 miles (13.1 miles), from the Rush Creek confluence to the point where the trail crossed Sand Creek.²⁹ Bonsall related that en route his men “found plenty of good water by sinking a box in the sand in the bed of the creek.” Bonsall made his bivouac, designated “Camp No. 2” on his map, on the east side of the road and on the west (south) side of Sand Creek. By his estimate, he had traveled about 30 or 31 miles (34.7 miles) from Fort Lyon.

At a point on his map just beyond the ford of Sand Creek the lieutenant drew a bold line representing a distance of about two miles in length along the north (east) side of the stream and denoted it as the site of “Chivingtons Massacre.” It is obvious from the site’s delineation that it was already a well-known landscape feature. Furthermore, its pronounced representation on Bonsall’s map without doubt signifies its importance along the route because of General Sherman’s presence and indicated interest in it, resulting in the collection there of human remains and artifactual specimens. The detachment camped at the ford from 6 p.m. of June 16 until 5:30 a.m. of June 17, when it moved on. Importantly, the Bonsall map indicates the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site by placing it in relative position to the river bend, the road from Fort Lyon, and the road’s crossing of Sand Creek. Bonsall’s distances conform within tolerance of modern calculations to place the massacre site near yet above the south bend of Sand Creek and probably within parts of modern Sections 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, and 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and Sections 19 and 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West (see accompanying “Archivally Projected Site of the Sand Creek Massacre” map). The historical site marker placed in 1950 stands in the northeast quarter of Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West.³⁰

²⁸It is not clear from the documents whether Bonsall’s party was mounted or traveled riding in the wagons. The rate of march appears to have been more or less consistent with period regulations governing the use of infantry, i.e., roughly 3.3 miles per hour. See Edward S. Farrow (comp.), *Farrow’s Military Encyclopedia* (3 vols.; New York: Military-Naval Publishing Company, 1895), II, 270; and *Field Service Regulations, United States Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 86. “Greenwood’s Camp” was likely named for either Commissioner of Indian Affairs Alfred B. Greenwood, who negotiated the Treaty of Fort Wise with the Cheyennes and Arapahos in 1860, or Colonel William H. Greenwood, chief engineer of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, who supervised the line’s surveys (which included a prospective route through the area north and east of Sand Creek), maintained headquarters at Sheridan, Kansas, and laid out the town of Kit Carson in November 1869. Colonel Greenwood later became chief engineer of the narrow gauge Denver and Rio Grande Railway. For Alfred B. Greenwood, see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 973; and Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 148-49. For William H. Greenwood, see George L. Anderson, *Kansas West* (San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1963), pp. 32, 69; and *Poor’s Manual of Railroads*, annual issues 1868-75.

²⁹There might be a slight discrepancy in Bonsall’s distance-traveled column, in that although the two areas representing the 11-mile segments of the march are identical in measurement, that addressing the 11 a.m. -to 6 p.m. portion ends perhaps a mile below the crossing of Sand Creek, making the actual estimated distance from “Greenwood’s Camp” to “Camp No. 2” more like 12 miles.

³⁰Kiowa County, Colorado, Plats 17-45 and 17-46, Kiowa County Courthouse, Eads, Colorado.

On June 17, Bonsall's detachment moved on past the massacre site. Six or seven miles north of their previous night's camp they reached a point designated on the map as "Three Forks," where the route split into three roads. Bonsall's journal entry suggests that neither he nor his command were familiar with this part of the route. He wrote:

At Three Forks the left hand road crosses the creek and leads in the direction of Denver. An ox train from the Arkansas bound for Denver had lately passed over this road. The right hand road is the direct and shortest road to Cheyenne Wells, but thinking it bore too much East we took the center road, which after following for a mile was lost. We then went due North by the compass, over a high prairie [sic], with a gradual ascent, very little broken, and struck the Old Butterfield Stage Road eight miles from Three Forks, and sixteen miles from Cheyenne Wells.

The importance of identifying the Three Forks point, where the trail branched in three directions, lay in its relative distance, approximately 6+ miles, from the trail crossing at Sand Creek where Bonsall's detachment spent the night of June 16-17 just below (south) of the designated massacre site, and its distance of approximately 4+ miles north of the designated massacre site itself. Soil Conservation Service aerial photographs taken in the 1930s – some 70 years after the massacre – precisely confirm the Three Forks point as delineated on Bonsall's map (see accompanying Illustration 3-4); moreover, what appears to be the road along the north (east) side of Sand Creek over which the Bonsall party traveled in 1868 is clearly shown. By following southeast along the road from Three Forks for the distance of 6+ miles that Bonsall showed, the likely site of the Sand Creek ford is reached about 6 1/3 actual miles away. Bonsall's map indicates that the area of the massacre began approximately one-quarter to one-third mile above the ford and stretched along the stream for a distance of about two miles.³¹

The Bonsall party returned from Cheyenne Wells on June 19, having sent General Sherman east by stage to the railhead of the Kansas Pacific line. The infantrymen returned to Three Forks by an alternate route that saved them a few miles. From there they followed their earlier trail past the scene of "Chivingtons Massacre," probably camping at the same places, and on back to Fort Lyon, which they likely reached late on June 20. Bonsall's map did not reflect for the return trip the same information about distances marched and times of arrival at particular places. In comparing information on the map with that contained in the Luke Cahill account, there appear to be discrepancies regarding the time of arrival at the massacre site on June 16 (Cahill said "around two o'clock p.m.," Bonsall 6 p.m.) and the amount of time spent there (Cahill stated that the men "laid over one day," whereas Bonsall indicated that they spent only one night there. Cahill was correct in stating that "it took one day from the battleground to the railroad," although he should have said "stage line" rather than "railroad."

³¹Soil Conservation Service aerial photos, Kiowa County, Colorado, Roll AG 298, frames 31, 32, 33, 46, 47, 48, and Roll AG 299, frames 05, 06, 07, 08, all taken October 17, 1936, NA, RG 114, Records of the Soil Conservation Service, Cartographic Archives Division.

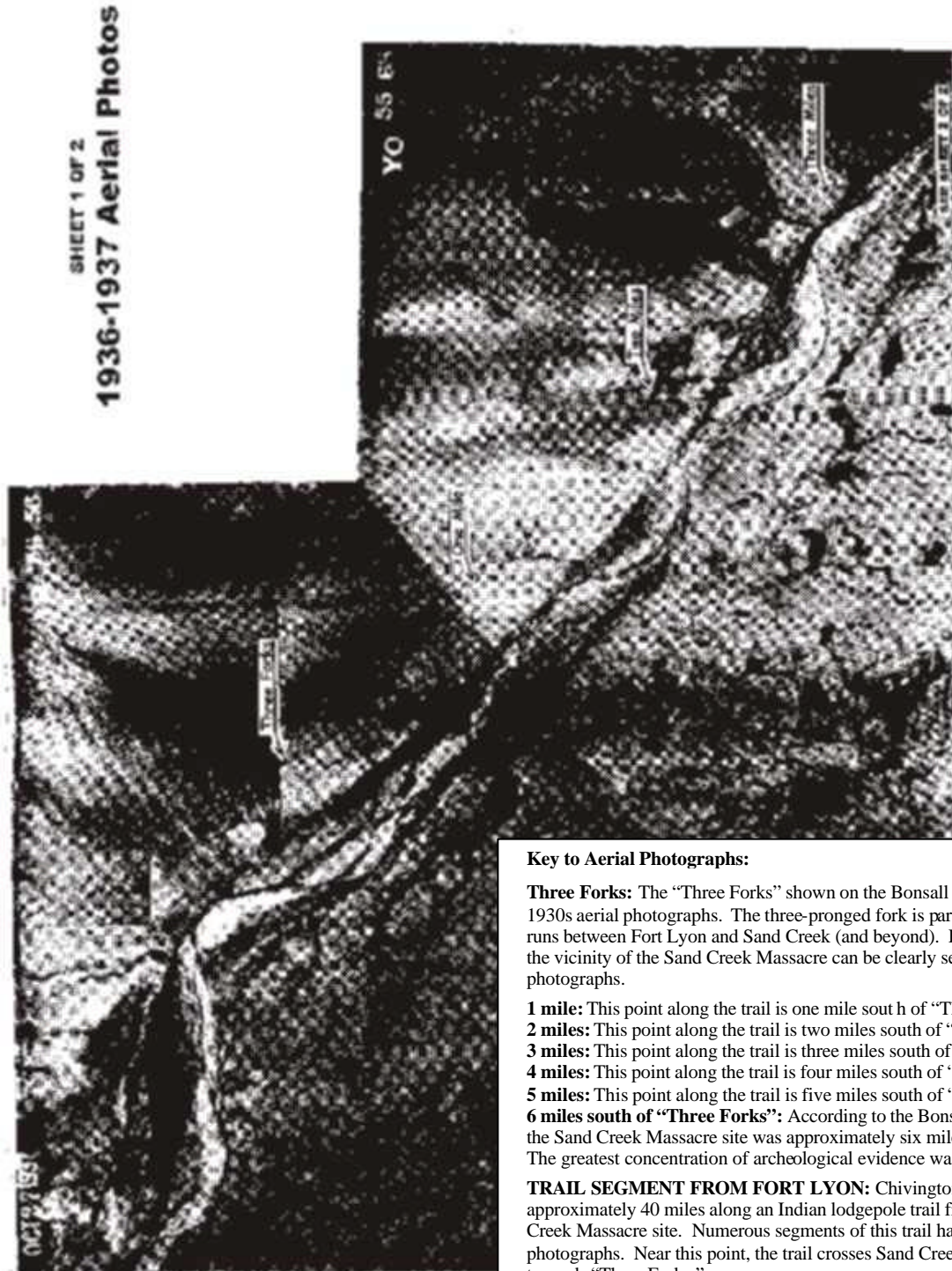
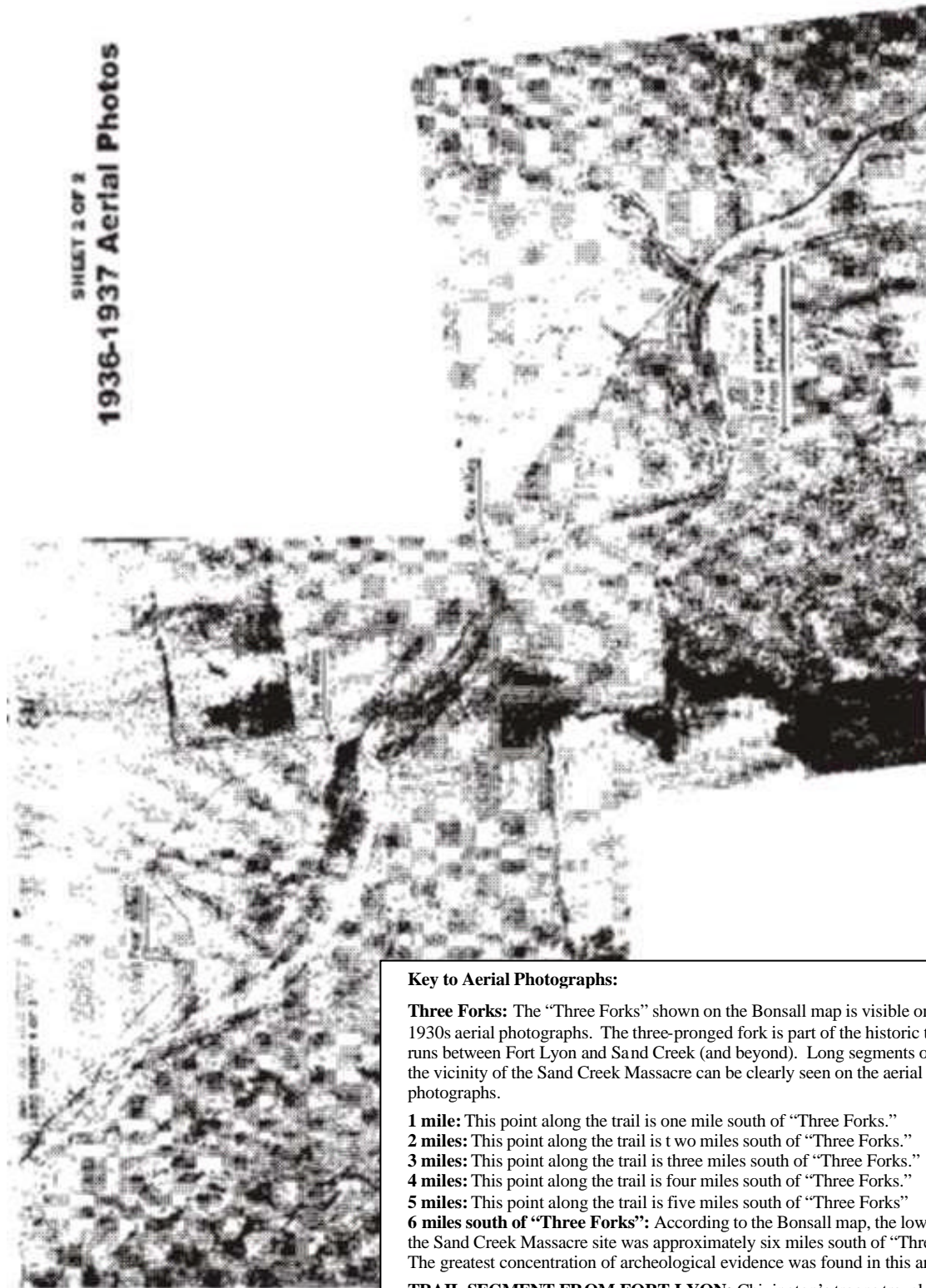


ILLUSTRATION 3-4 (two sheets): Aerial photographs from 1936-37 showing “Three Forks” and other historic trail segments. One of the primary means by which the Sand Creek Massacre site was located was through a comparison of the 1868 map of “Chivington’s Massacre” drawn by Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall with 1930s aerial photographs of Sand Creek. Taken approximately 70 years after the massacre, the aerial photographs were examined for evidence of historic trails. In 1864, Chivington’s troops traveled along a long-used Indian lodgepole trail to the massacre site, and it is believed that Lieutenant Bonsall used this same road four years later. According to the Bonsall map, the lower end of the Sand Creek Massacre was approximately six miles south of a three-pronged fork in the trail known as “Three Forks.”



SHEET 2 OF 2
1936-1937 Aerial Photos

Key to Aerial Photographs:

Three Forks: The “Three Forks” shown on the Bonsall map is visible on these 1930s aerial photographs. The three-pronged fork is part of the historic trail that runs between Fort Lyon and Sand Creek (and beyond). Long segments of the trail in the vicinity of the Sand Creek Massacre can be clearly seen on the aerial photographs.

1 mile: This point along the trail is one mile south of “Three Forks.”

2 miles: This point along the trail is two miles south of “Three Forks.”

3 miles: This point along the trail is three miles south of “Three Forks.”

4 miles: This point along the trail is four miles south of “Three Forks.”

5 miles: This point along the trail is five miles south of “Three Forks.”

6 miles south of “Three Forks”: According to the Bonsall map, the lower edge of the Sand Creek Massacre site was approximately six miles south of “Three Forks.” The greatest concentration of archeological evidence was found in this area.

TRAIL SEGMENT FROM FORT LYON: Chivington’s troops traveled approximately 40 miles along an Indian lodgepole trail from Fort Lyon to the Sand Creek Massacre site. Numerous segments of this trail have been identified on aerial photographs. Near this point, the trail crosses Sand Creek, and continues northward towards “Three Forks.”

Yet Cahill's was a reminiscent account prepared as many as 50 years later, while Bonsall's journal and map constituted a documentary record officially rendered at the time. Regardless, in its content and simplicity of presentation, the Bonsall map embraces the most directly compelling contemporary information yet found about the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site.

Findings Regarding The Extent Of The Site Of The Sand Creek Massacre

Extent as used here defines spatial limits that are inclusive of the broad sweep of an entire immediate historical event. As regards the Sand Creek Massacre, extent refers to the areal expanse of terrain, or range, over which occurred Chivington's attack on the village, the subsequent slaughter in the stream bed and in the sandpits of the stream bed above the village, and all related troop and Indian movements and actions, to include the general area of approach of the troops when in closing proximity to the village and the general areas of rising terrain bordering either side of the creek where the Indian pony herds grazed and over which many of the tribesmen fled to escape the onslaught or were pursued by soldiers. Most documentary material located in the course of the research concerning the extent of the massacre site appears in the testimony and recollections of people, both Indian and white, who were there on November 29, 1864. Information contained in these sources offers clues to the extent of the site, most commonly in the form of precise or approximate distances registered between points. The major component properties defining the extent of the Sand Creek Massacre site consist of (A) the area where Black Kettle's village stood; and (B) the area or areas where major killing took place in defensive sandpits excavated upstream from the village; together with (C) the intervening and immediately adjoining terrain where associated actions took place.

The Village Site

Virtually all sources that consider the position of the village mention that it stood on the north (east) side of Sand Creek, and one soldier testified that its edge was within 50 yards of the creek.³² George Bent's two sketch maps of Black Kettle's village (see accompanying Illustrations 3-1 and 3-2) show its relative position on the north (east) side of Sand Creek at the time of the massacre, but the maps lack scale.³³ The

³²See testimony of John S. Smith, March 14, 1865, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*; Testimony of Captain Silas S. Soule, February 20, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 23; Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph Cramer, February 28, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 63; Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879, typed copies in the Carey Collection, University of Denver, Box 4; Testimony of Private Alexander F. Safely, May 19, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 221-22.

³³A variant of the Bent village map in Folder 1, Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, now circulating is a second-generation tracing that shows the presence of a spring north of the village site. Yet the notation of "spring" and a designating "x" on this map is incorrect and were added by a scholar studying the site to his personal research photocopy of Bent's map along with annotations respecting area soil valences, etc. In the circulating copy, however, all annotations but the word "spring" and the "x" have been removed, making it appear that

Cheyenne Little Bear noted that the village lay within 100 hundred yards of a bend to the north in Sand Creek.³⁴ Bent allowed that the site had been used by the tribes for many years previous, and that in the village “each band was camped by itself with its lodges grouped together and separated by a little open space from the camps of the other bands.”³⁵ Estimates on the linear extent of the principal village, which contained approximately 100 lodges of the various bands, indicate only that it occupied an area of about one-quarter mile to one-half mile or more in length.³⁶ There is no known corresponding figure reflecting the approximate width of the camp. Separated by one-half to three-fourths of a mile downstream from the main camp stood a small group of perhaps as many as eight lodges said to belong to the Arapahos.³⁷ The presence of a spring near the village was essential because of the Indians’ need to access a steady and reliable fresh water source; at this location at this particular time of year Sand Creek itself yielded some, but relatively little, water, and much of this was likely used for watering the horses and for other camp-related purposes. The area lies in what is termed a perennial stretch, a length of somewhat consistent groundwater percolation as opposed to flows generated otherwise by storms. This was undoubtedly the primary reason for the site’s traditional use,³⁸ yet according to participant testimony at the time of the massacre the streambed was practically dry. Cheyenne oral history has indicated the presence of a spring near the village site, and a 1997 overflight confirmed the presence of one in the area that could have been accessed by the people. Moreover, the most current topographic quadrangle map indicates this as well as other intermittent streams entering Sand Creek from the north in the area.³⁹ Given the limit imposed in Lieutenant Bonsall’s map, which placed his trail ford of Sand Creek immediately below, or south of, the massacre site, and the description of Little Bear, who was in the village and who remembered that the stream turned north within 100 yards of the northernmost lodges of the village (together with other cumulative knowledge regarding area land use during and after the massacre, as discussed in appropriate sections below), the site of the village is postulated to be in the NW ¼ of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and possibly extending onto the SW

the spring notation might be George Bent’s, which it is not. Jerome A. Greene, telephone communication with John H. Moore, March 11 and 30, 1999. The original tracing of the Bent map is in John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 160. The subsequent tracing appears in Baker, *Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek*, p. 36, and in the second printing of same, pp. 36, 48.

³⁴Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 153-54.

³⁵Ibid., p. 151.

³⁶Testimony of Private Alexander F. Safely, May 19, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 222; Testimony of Sergeant Lucian Palmer, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 1, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 143.

³⁷Testimony of Private David H. Louderback, First Colorado Cavalry, March 31, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 138; Interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebook X, 11.

³⁸Donald L. Coffin, *Geology and Ground-Water Resources of the Big Sandy Creek Valley, Lincoln, Cheyenne, and Kiowa Counties, Colorado*, Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper 1843 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 30, 32.

³⁹Baker, *Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek*, pp. 47-48; USGS 7.5 Quadrangle, “North of Chivington, CO,” 1982.

¼ of Section 13, Township 17 South, Range 46 West (see “Archivally Projected Site of the Sand Creek Massacre” map). Furthermore, either of Bent’s village maps corresponds well with this area in terms of directional alignments, the stream’s approximate contours relative to that on the modern USGS map, and the comparable distance between the village and the area of the sandpits, as presented below.⁴⁰

The Sandpits

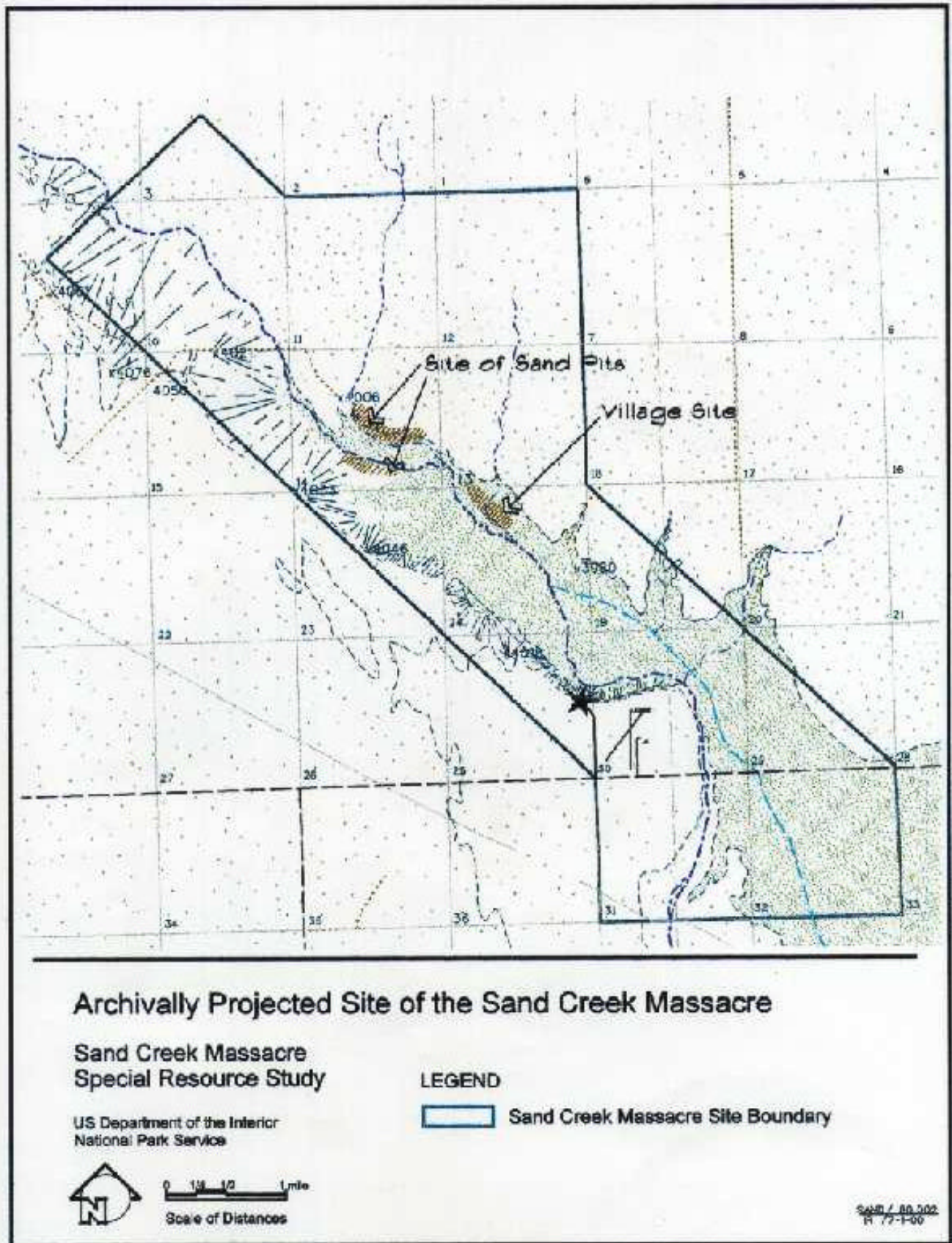
Estimates of the distance between the village and the area of the sandpit defenses (including, from the records, the area to which the howitzers were drawn and emplaced) to the northwest differ widely in the various participant accounts of the encounter, ranging from a low of 300 yards to a high of 2+ miles, but with most coalescing at around one-quarter mile to one mile.⁴¹ Chivington reported that the pits, or trenches as he called them, “were found at various points extending along the banks of the creek for several miles from the camp.”⁴² It is important to note that some participants who registered greater distances described them from the point of inception of the attack below the village, or perhaps from the lower part of the village, and sometimes included movements upstream beyond the point where the howitzers fired into the people in the sandpits to places where lesser action occurred.⁴³

⁴⁰See “Interim Report No. 2,” Map A [Folder 1, Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder]; and Bent Map in the Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, “Warfare,” 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24, Oklahoma Historical Society.

⁴¹“Interim Report No. 2,” pp. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15-16, 18-21. The 300 yards figure was advanced by John S. Smith, an interpreter who had been in the village when attacked. Testimony of John S. Smith, March 8, 1865, U.S. Senate, 39 Cong., 2 sess., *Report of the Joint Special Committee, Condition of the Indian Tribes with Appendix (The Chivington Massacre)*, Report No. 156 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867.), p. 41. Within a week, Smith had revised his figure to “about a mile above the village.” Testimony of John S. Smith, March 14, 1865 in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 6. Participant Cornelius J. Ballou stated that the Indians “broke and ran for their fortifications 200 or 300 yards further up the creek [from the village].” *National Tribune*, November 23, 1905. The 1/4-mile to 1-mile distance estimates are in the Testimony of Corporal James J. Adams, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 4, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 149; Report of Colonel John M. Chivington, December 16, 1864, in *Massacre of Cheyenne Indians*, p. 49; Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879; and Testimony of Stephen Decatur, Company C, Third Colorado, May 8, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 199. The 2 or 2+ mile figure was given by George Bent and Little Bear, both of whom were in the village and ran upstream to the sandpit area. See Bent to George Hyde, March 15, 1905, George Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale University Library; Bent to Hyde, April 14, 1906 (containing Little Bear’s account according to Bent), in *ibid.*; Bent to Hyde, April 30, 1913, in *ibid.*; and Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 152-54.

⁴²*Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 102.

⁴³See, for example, the testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, who, to the question, “How far did you move from the position first assumed by you during the fight, and in what direction?”, responded, “Up the creek perhaps three or four miles” (italics added), *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 64. Also, Chivington’s statement that “the Indians . . . fell back from one position to another for five miles, and finally abandoned resistance and dispersed in all directions and were pursued by my troops until nightfall. . . .”, *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 49.



Considering the fact that many of the people fleeing the village led or carried children and elderly noncombatants through the sandy stream bed and besides had to throw up hurried defenses below the banks, the distance between the camp and the sandpits area would appear to have been smaller than greater. The majority of accounts describe the stream bed at the point where the sandpits were dug as measuring about 200 yards or more in width, although at least one placed the width at one-quarter mile.⁴⁴ Despite some variances, the preponderance of statements indicates that the banks of Sand Creek in this area measured anywhere from 6 to 15 feet high.⁴⁵ While most of the accounts agree that the Indians took refuge in the pits along both banks, some specify that the major defensive activity occurred along the west (south) bank.⁴⁶ And George Bent's two diagram maps of the village and massacre site (accompanying Illustrations 3-1 and 3-2) show a length of women-dug pits along the base of the west bank, while three or more rifle pits occupied by warriors appear in the center of the stream bed.

Based on the above factors, coupled with knowledge of the existence of sand banks of varying height in the area, it is conjectured that the site of the sandpits lies in the SW ¼ Section 13 and in Section 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, approximately one-half mile or less above the suggested village site (see "Archivally Projected Site of the Sand Creek Massacre" map).⁴⁷ Two sections of howitzers took part in the action at the sandpits. After a few salvos discharged during the opening of the attack, the howitzers, two of which belonged to the First Colorado and two to the Third, were brought up the creek and from positions on opposite sides fired into the areas of the occupied sandpits, apparently from several different vantages and at alternate times.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike's Peak Region*, p. 124; Quote of Cornelius J. Ballou in "The Sand Creek Affair," *National Tribune*, November 23, 1905. Major Anthony recalled that the bed of the creek was "from 200 to 500 yards wide." Testimony of Major Scott Anthony, First Colorado Cavalry, March 14, 1865, *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 22. A reminiscent account by C.B. Horton stated that "the creek at that point was nearly a quarter of a mile wide. . . ." "Survivor Tells of Chivington Massacre," *Denver Times*, July 24, 1903.

⁴⁵See Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879; Cornelius J. Ballou in *National Tribune*, November 23, 1905; C. B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" *Denver Times*, July 24, 1903; Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike's Peak Region*, p. 124. Anthony stated that "the banks upon the side of the creek were two or three feet high, in some places as high as ten feet. . . ." Testimony of Major Scott Anthony, First Colorado Cavalry, March 14, 1865, *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 22.

⁴⁶Coffin wrote that "it was along the banks of the creek, but more especially the west bank, that most of the fighting took place." "There was a general scattering . . . up the creek and to the banks, especially to the west bank. . . ." See Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879. Participant Charles E. Clark described the features as "lines of rifle pits in the bed of Sand Creek, along the base of the bank. . . ." *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 15, 1876. For references to the action occurring along both banks, see "Interim Report No. 2," pp. 19-22.

⁴⁷In 1887, the community of New Chicago, or Upper Water Valley, a prospective railroad boomtown, stood briefly in this area. Land Records, Kiowa County Abstract Company, Eads, Colorado; *Kiowa County Press*, January 26, 1917.

⁴⁸For references regarding the dispersal and use of the artillery pieces, which is somewhat murky as to how many of the four were actually employed, see the statements compiled in "Interim Report No. 2," pp. 12-15.

On one of his schematic maps, Bent placed two of the guns on the north (east) side of Sand Creek, a short distance from the bank and opposite of, yet slightly below (south), the location of the pits.⁴⁹ Although unspecified, the angles of fire of the pieces had to have been such as to prevent direct firing into the troops on the banks who were leveling small arms fire into the pits.⁵⁰ As for the construction of the sandpits, one soldier participant described them as being “deep enough for men to lie down and conceal themselves, and load their guns in; some of them I should think were deeper than three feet.”⁵¹ Chivington said that the “excavated trenches” measured “two or three feet deep.”⁵² And a veteran soldier recalled that “along the base of the bank they had dug a trench four feet deep, throwing the dirt forward, which made a formidable breastwork. . . . Along the top of the bank they had dug rifle pits about 50 feet apart,

⁴⁹Bent map, ca. 1905-14, Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, “Warfare,” 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

⁵⁰For this concern, see Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 49-50. One of Bent’s maps indicated that the troops effectually formed a total cordon around the area, to include the streambed above and below the pits, as they directed small arms fire against the tribesmen refuged there. Bent map, ca. 1905-14, Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, “Warfare,” 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. The small arms used by the troops at Sand Creek reflected a wide range of weapons. Ordnance issues to the Third Colorado Cavalry in the weeks preceding the massacre consisted of the following types: Austrian rifles, Harper’s Ferry muskets, Harper’s Ferry rifles (Model 1841 Mississippi?), Model 1840 U.S. rifles (?), Whitney revolvers, and Springfield rifles. Among weapons of the First Colorado Cavalry were Harper’s Ferry muskets, Austrian rifles, and “citizen rifles.” Ammunition consisted of cartridges for these weapons as well as for Navy pistols and Sharps rifles, with ball and conical bullet calibers of .36, .44, .52, .54, .58, and .69. Data provided by Melinda Ellswick as compiled from various special orders, Headquarters, District of Colorado, August-October, 1864, Records of the Colorado Adjutant General’s Office, Denver. On November 9 it was directed that the Third Colorado receive 74,000 rounds of ammunition for carbines, muskets, and Army pistols. Assistant Adjutant General Joseph S. Maynard to First Lieutenant Charles H. Hawley, November 9, 1864, NA, RG 393, Part 3, Entry 3254, vol. 2. In addition, on the day before the massacre troops of the First Colorado Cavalry received issues of “Three thousand Carbine Cartridges, One thousand ball Army Pistol Cartridges, [and] One Remingtons Army Pistol . . . [as well as] One thousand Carbine (Starr) Cartridges.” Special Orders No. 252, Headquarters, Fort Lyon, November 28, 1864, NA, RG 393, Part I, Entry 2632, Vol. 459 (Fort Lyon Special Orders). The spherical case was discharged by the 12-pounder howitzer using a friction primer. Each round contained a pewter 5-second-limit Bormann fuse. The wall of the shell measured .475 of an inch thick, and each shell contained about eighty .69-inch caliber lead balls. Farrow, *Farrow’s Military Encyclopedia*, III, 155; Warren Ripley, *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War* (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Company, 1970), pp. 268-69. Some of the howitzer ammunition likely used at Sand Creek had been transferred from Fort Garland to Fort Lyon apparently in July, 1864. Special Orders No. 11, Headquarters, District of Colorado, June 29, 1864, NA, RG 393, Part 3, Entry 3254, Vol. 2.

⁵¹Testimony of Stephen Decatur, Company C, Third Colorado, May 8, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 199. Decatur believed that the Indians had dug the pits previously. “They were dug under the banks, and in the bed of the creek, and, in fact, all over, where there was a little mound or bunch of grass or weeds favorable for concealment. They were dug . . . from three to four feet wide, some six feet long and longer.” *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁵²Chivington in *ibid.*, p. 102.

which would shield four or five men each.”⁵³ At least two other statements support the notion of the Indians entrenching along the tops of the bluffs.⁵⁴

Other Factors of Extent

Besides the unquestionable core areas of the village site and the major concentration of sandpits, other elements contributing to determine the extent of the massacre site would include the location of the detached, presumably Arapaho, camp; the pony herd areas; the area of the approach of the army columns, together with the expanse they occupied while ascending Sand Creek to the area of the sandpits; the points of the initial howitzer emplacements; the area of other offensive and defensive actions farther upstream along the creek as well as over the surrounding countryside; the hospital area; and the bivouac area of Chivington’s troops over the two nights following the massacre. At least one official report and two participant accounts (one a reminiscent statement rendered some 43 years later) specify the location of a lesser camp of as many as eight lodges apparently detached and from one-half to three-quarter of a mile below the main village and presumably on the north side of the stream.⁵⁵ One of George Bent’s site maps locates the major Indian pony herds on land away from the south (west) bank of Sand Creek opposite the village (accompanying Illustration 3-1). According to Bent, some of these animals had been driven off during the night by Chivington’s Mexican scouts. Those remaining apparently ranged some distance south and east of the camp, for First Colorado troops encountered them during their approach that morning at least one mile east. Estimates of the number of ponies and mules captured range from 450 to 600. The animals were corralled by the herders, apparently in the area of the south bend of Sand Creek “a mile or so south of the village” and likely on the tract north of the present marker.⁵⁶

⁵³Quote of Cornelius J. Ballou in “The Sand Creek Affair,” *National Tribune*, November 23, 1905.

⁵⁴See Testimony of Captain Preston Talbot, Company M, Third Colorado, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 207; and Testimony of First Lieutenant James Dean Cannon, Company K, First Colorado, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 111.

⁵⁵Record of Events of Company K, First Colorado Cavalry, Muster Roll, November-December, 1864, NA, RG 94, Microfilm Publication M594, Roll 4; Testimony of Private David H. Louderback, First Colorado Cavalry, March 31, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 138; Interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebook X, 11. Weston identified the camp as belonging to the Arapahos. However, George Bent wrote George Hyde 51 years later that One Eye’s Arapaho camp stood *up* the creek and *north* of the main village, Bent to Hyde, January 20, 1915, George Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale University Library.

⁵⁶Bent map, ca. 1905-14 (Map A in “Interim Report No. 2”), Folder 1, Bent-Hyde Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library, Boulder; Report of Major Scott Anthony, First Colorado Cavalry, December 1, 1864, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, pp. 53-54; Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 48; Testimony of Corporal James J. Adams, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 4, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 149; Bent to Hyde, January 20, 1915, George Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale University Library; Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike’s Peak Region*, pp. 122-24; Report of Colonel Chivington, November 29, 1864, in *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, vol. 41, part I, p. 948. A group of 20 ponies was apparently sighted about 4 miles “to the right,” or north, of the village. Captain T.G. Cree to Colonel George L. Shoup, Third Colorado Cavalry, December 6, 1864, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 53. Bent recalled that some of the escaping Indians managed to get to herds 3 or 4 miles upstream. Bent to Hyde, January 20, 1915, George Bent letters, Coe Collection, Yale University

As for the area of the army's approach to the village, the documents agree that Chivington's command marched into the area from the south and reached the proximity of the camp coming generally from the southwest. The troops possibly first viewed the Indian encampment from an eminence some five miles away,⁵⁷ then continued rapidly forward until they reached a hill from which the village could be seen from one to two miles distant.⁵⁸ The command descended to the broad creek bottom and proceeded to a point perhaps one-half mile from the village when the soldiers halted to dispense with unwieldy luggage and prepare for the attack.⁵⁹ Following that, they struck out through the deep sand toward the village. At a point approaching the village, the command split, with First Lieutenant Luther Wilson's battalion moving across to the north (east) side of the creek to a point northeast of the village, while Major Anthony advanced to a point on the south (west) bank southeast of the camp. Colonel George L. Shoup's Third Colorado Cavalry followed and gravitated to the right and ultimately came in on the rear of Wilson's troops on the north bank. Both Wilson's and Anthony's units were approximately 100 yards from the lodges when they opened fire with small arms on the village and its occupants.⁶⁰ As the action unfolded and the villagers fled upstream, the troops pursued them generally in their relative positions, but "in no regular order," on either side of Sand Creek as they shot in a cross-fire pattern at the running people. It was reported that the pursuing bodies of soldiers were "two or three hundred yards apart" during this advance.⁶¹

During the opening attack, at least some of the four howitzers discharged rounds toward the village that dispersed the tribesmen and perhaps sparked their initial flight upstream and away from the soldiers. Although the precise location of the guns when they fired is not yet known, the recollections of officers and soldiers indicate that they remained some distance behind, yet in the general proximity of their respective units, as the troops closed on the encampment. Some contemporary statements allowed that "the artillery [was] in the bed of the creek." Accounts of members of the First

Library. The quote is from Morse J. Coffin, *The Battle of Sand Creek*, ed. by Alan W. Farley (Waco, Tex.: W.M. Morrison, Publisher, 1965), p. 29.

⁵⁷Unidentified correspondent's (George A. Wells?) letter, *The Miner's Register*, January 4, 1865.

⁵⁸Testimony of Second Lieutenant Clark Dunn, Company E, First Colorado Cavalry, in *Massacre of Cheyenne Indians*, p. 55; Howbert, *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike's Peak Region*, p. 122-24. Howbert noted that from the point at which the soldiers marched "northward down the slope to Sand Creek" the Indian village stood "a mile or more to the westward." Ibid.

⁵⁹Testimony of Stephen Decatur, Company C, Third Colorado, May 8, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 194-95; Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879 (see also, Coffin, *Battle of Sand Creek*, p. 19. This book is composed of Coffin's letters to the *Sun.*); Interview, Theo. Chubbuck, August 30, 1886, Hubert H. Bancroft Collection, Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library; C. B. Horton, "Survivor Tells of the 'Chivington Massacre,'" *Denver Times*, July 24, 1903.

⁶⁰Testimony of Captain Silas S. Soule, February 20, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 11, 13; Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *ibid.*, pp. 48, 64.

⁶¹Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 64; Testimony of First Lieutenant James Dean Cannon, Company K, First Colorado, in *ibid.*, p. 114; Testimony of John S. Smith, March 14, 1865 in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, pp. 5-6

Colorado Cavalry related that Chivington ordered their battery to fire from a high point slightly left (south) of the “Fort Lyon battalion” on the south bank of the creek.⁶² Meantime, the guns of the Third Colorado Cavalry battery advanced so far on the north bank, though still well below the village, that Major Anthony’s troops pulled themselves to their left as a precautionary measure. Both batteries evidently discharged ordnance, but only the rounds delivered from the Third battery seemingly took effect in or near the village.⁶³ Given the effective range of 800 yards and the maximum range of 1,200 yards for mountain howitzers firing spherical case at 5 degrees of elevation, a zone of expectancy where artillery-related artifactual evidence (e.g., friction primers, etc.) could logically appear might reasonably be established within a radius of 500-1,500 yards as scaled from points within the suspected area of the village.⁶⁴

While the attack and massacre ensued for a duration of seven or eight hours, collateral action occurred throughout a wide swath of the surrounding country as some of the tribesmen attempted to flee the scene of the killing and scrambled for safety in all directions. Some headed southwest across Sand Creek in their flight and were pursued by soldiers; others fled northeast of the village where detachments of cavalrymen ran them down until dark.⁶⁵ Following the initial attack and the confrontation in the sandpits, squads of cavalry scoured the countryside seeking escapees, and Major Anthony reported that “the dead Indians are strewn over about six miles.”⁶⁶ Nonetheless, many of the men, women, and children who had been in the village and the sandpits managed somehow to elude the pursuit, especially after night fell, and

⁶²Testimony of Sergeant Lucian Palmer, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 1, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 143; Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *ibid.*, pp. 40-50. Quote is from the testimony of John W. Prowers, March 27, 1865, in *ibid.*, pp. 194-95. Jacob Downing recalled years later that “a Howitzer was planted on the side of the hill to shell the camp. . . .” *The Denver Post*, December 31, 1903.

⁶³Testimony of Stephen Decatur, Company C, Third Colorado, May 8, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 194-95; Testimony of Second Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, First Colorado Cavalry, February 28, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 63; Interview, Theo. Chubbuck, August 30, 1886, Hubert H. Bancroft Collection. Western History Collections, University of Colorado Library; David C. Mansell, Company A, Third Colorado Cavalry, in *Winners of the West*, December 15, 1925. One account stated that Chivington “ordered us to go to a high hill and turn our artillery fire loose on the village. We went to the place ordered, but . . . we refused to unlimber our guns, and so we sat there and watched the massacre.” Isaac Clarke, First Colorado Cavalry, in *American Pioneer*, pp. 39, 41.

⁶⁴These howitzer ranges appear in the “Table of Fire,” ca. 1860, glued on the inside of the lids of period limber chests that accompanied the pieces. Information provided by Norman Hughes, Denver, Colorado. The 800-yards effective range, but at elevation of 4 degrees 30 seconds, appears in *The Ordnance Manual for the Use of Officers of the United States Army* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1862), p. 386.

⁶⁵Captain T.G. Cree to Colonel George L. Shoup, Third Colorado Cavalry, December 6, 1864, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 53; Report of Colonel George L. Shoup, Third Colorado Cavalry, December 7, 1864, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 51; Testimony of Corporal James J. Adams, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 4, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 149; Testimony of John S. Smith, March 14, 1865 in *ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 8; Report of Colonel John M. Chivington, December 16, 1864, in *ibid.*, p. 49; account of Little Bear in Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 153-54.

⁶⁶Report of Major Anthony, December 2, 1864, in *War of the Rebellion*, Series I, vol. 41, part I, p. 952.

ultimately journeyed northeast some 50 miles to find succor among friends and relatives camped in the Smoky Hill River country.

According to at least one reminiscent account, during the action at the pits Chivington sent word back to troops at the village to save several of the largest tipis for sheltering his wounded men who were being transported there by ambulance wagon. The tipis were cleared out to accommodate these men, and the field hospital was thus established close in the vicinity of the abandoned Indian camp at the approximate time that some of the troops began destroying its contents.⁶⁷ Regarding the area where the troops bivouacked following the massacre, it seems that most of the command likewise occupied a tract immediately adjacent to the village. Chivington reported that he “encamped within sight of the field,” and other soldiers noted that the camp was “in the upper end of the Indian village” and that it took “the form of a hollow square.” A place in the vicinity of the camp possessing fairly level terrain and available water would likely have proved attractive for Chivington’s 700-plus-man force.⁶⁸

Taking into account the above factors relating to the extent of the massacre site, the area incorporating the village and the principal concentration of sandpits upstream from it comprises a linear area of perhaps 1½ miles, an estimate that conforms closely with the circa two-mile length registered by Lieutenant Bonsall. Adding to this the area of immediate approach and initiating action by the troops below the village would extend the linear area southeast by approximately two miles, while action along the stream above and northwest of the sandpits likely took place for another couple of miles or so, presenting a possible overall length of extent of 5½ miles. More difficult to ascertain because of the even greater lack of clarity of events there is the corresponding breadth of the area of action on either side of Sand Creek, an expanse that would encompass the area of the herds, the gun emplacement positions, and the auxiliary movements of Indians and soldiers over the landscape away from the central massacre site. Knowledge that the stream bed measured as many as 200 yards across in places and that the troops ascending either side from the village to the sandpits were perhaps as many as 300 yards apart suggests a width for the linear corridor of at least one-half mile, although 1½ miles might more appropriately incorporate areas where some of the associated actions and sites addressed above occurred. (Viewshed considerations, which would conceivably expand the resource boundary, are not addressed in this report.) Of course, in its broadest sense the wide-ranging activities of the troops and Indians away from the village and streambed took place at

⁶⁷William M. Breakenridge, *Hellodoro: Bringing the Law to the Mesquite* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), pp. 32-33. Morse Coffin also reported that tipis were used to house the wounded. *Battle of Sand Creek*, pp. 31, 32.

⁶⁸Report of Colonel John M. Chivington, December 16, 1864, in *Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians*, p. 49; Testimony of Corporal James J. Adams, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, April 4, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 150; Morse H. Coffin, letters to the *Colorado Sun* (Greeley), December, 1878-February, 1879. One official document stated that the troops “returned to the battlefield & encamped.” Record of Events of Company E, First Colorado Cavalry, Muster Roll, November-December, 1864, NA, RG 94, Microfilm Publication M594, Roll 4. Sergeant Lucian Palmer, Company C, First Colorado Cavalry, testified on April 1, 1865, that the bivouac stood “on the ground that the Indians had their lodges on.” *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 144. See also the testimony of Stephen Decatur, May 8, 1865, in *ibid.*, p. 195.

undetermined distances away from the primary action. When asked in formal inquiry his judgment of the full extent of the Sand Creek site, Captain Soule of the First Colorado Cavalry succinctly replied, “about four or five miles up the creek, and one or two each side.”⁶⁹ From all appearances, he was close on the mark.

Conclusion

The archival record leaves little doubt that the Sand Creek Massacre took place in the area of the South Bend of Sand Creek, though not precisely at the bend. Rather, the evidence gleaned from the Bonsall map, the two Bent site maps, and a host of participant testimony and other documents leads to the conclusion that the major resource property of the village likely is upstream, probably in present Sections 24 and 13. As well, while the exact site of the sandpits, the other major resource property where so many people were killed, is presently not conclusively known, a projection based on archival materials tentatively indicates that this encounter occurred in Sections 13 and 14.⁷⁰ Confirmation of these locations will be determined archeologically. To recapitulate, based on available records and literature, the area of the location and extent of the immediate massacre site, to include the likely sites of all associated features and actions, measures approximately 5½ miles long by 1½ miles wide in a swath running diagonally northwest-to-southeast and enclosing throughout that distance the linear course of Sand Creek. Included within this boundary are parts of Sections 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and parts of Sections 19 and 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West (see “Archivally Projected Site of the Sand Creek Massacre” map).

Post-Archeology Addendum Regarding the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site

Knowledge of the location of Black Kettle’s village at Sand Creek gained during the archeological reconnaissance of May 1999 invites a reevaluation of certain elements

⁶⁹Testimony of Captain Silas S. Soule, February 20, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 22.

⁷⁰During the research phase of this study the historians sought information regarding relic-collecting activities that have taken place in the area evidently since shortly after the turn of the century. Also, interviews conducted with area residents or past residents acquainted with such activity determined that many people used to hunt arrowheads and other artifacts there. *Kiowa County Press*, September 21, 1906; *Pueblo Chieftain*, March 22, 1998; Lillie A. Herzog, “History of Kiowa County,” in Thomas S. Chamblin (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado* (Denver: Colorado Historical Association, 1957), pp. 186-88. While most references to relic collecting at the site are nonspecific as to its location, at least one by a long-time collector included the notation that “the battle field [sic] is located some two miles north of where the stone marker would indicate.” *The Lamar-Tri-State Daily News*, February 23, 1963. (For other information about artifact collecting in the vicinity, see “Interim Report No. 3,” pp. 9-10.) Another indicator from local sources consisted of references to the location of the headgates of the Chivington Canal, an irrigation facility built in ca. 1910, as being on the massacre site. The headgates of the structure stood in the SE 1/4 of Section 24. Roleta Teal Papers, ca. 1960s-1970s (M76-1387), Western History Department, Denver Public Library; Colorado State Engineer’s Office, Division of Water Resources, various records, notably Water Filing No. 4101 (Chivington Canal).

of the documentation that initially helped define the area likely to hold material evidence of the village site. The major concentration of village-related artifact discoveries lies about one-quarter mile southeast of the area that historic documentation indicated to be the site (see “Archivally Projected Site and Archeological Findings Overlay” map). The projected site was based primarily on Lieutenant Bonsall’s 1868 map, but also on collateral information contained in the immediate testimony of officers and men who were present at the massacre, as well as in reminiscent Cheyenne statements given during ensuing years. Taken together with the documentary materials, the archeological findings also help to refine the scenario about how the events of the Sand Creek Massacre unfolded. The following observations are offered for the purpose of augmenting and solidifying the knowledge gleaned from the documentary record in light of the archeological findings and, thus, of providing further definition for the designated location of the massacre site.⁷¹

The George Bent Village Maps

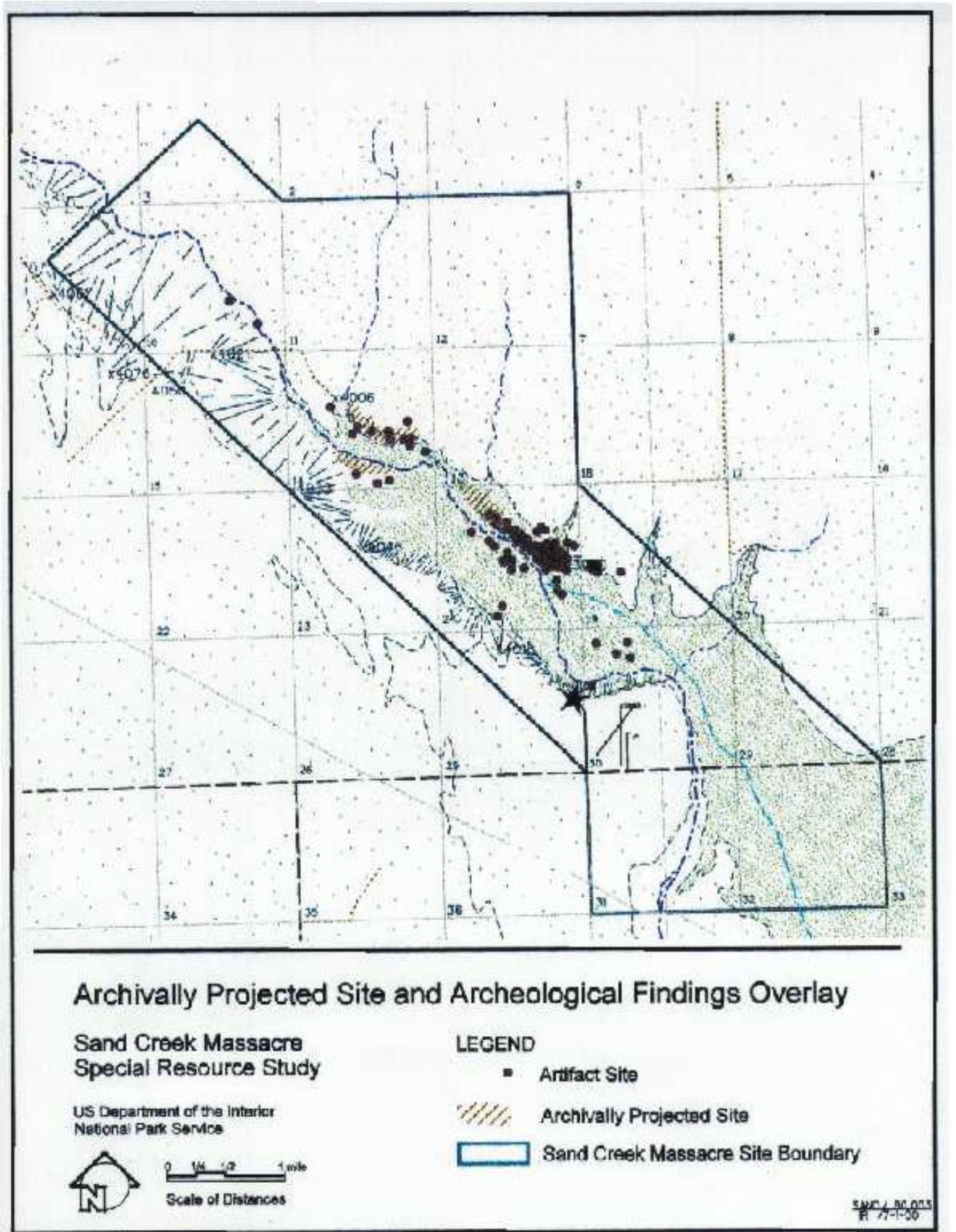
These two diagram maps, which closely approximate each other (but which also contain some significant differences), were seemingly prepared between 1905 and 1914, from 40 to 50 years after the massacre.⁷² The maps are diagrammatic representations based upon the recall of Bent himself and other Cheyenne survivors of Sand Creek that were recorded several decades later. Although they contain invaluable information about who was there and the relative positioning of camp groups and features, the maps are not exact guides rendered on the site immediately after the event. It is because of the diagrammatic nature of the maps that the creek, village, and sandpit areas appear to be contiguous or closely so throughout.

It is important to note, however, that the recollections of Bent and his associates placed the village at the bend, and archeology has confirmed that it indeed stood in the proximity of the bend as Bent had remembered. But if the maps represent the village as being directly in the Dawson South Bend “vee” as depicted, they erroneously portray Chivington’s trail as entering the village immediately from the south, a representation that could not physically have happened according to the testimony of soldiers and officers who were present, much of it taken within weeks or months of the event and which indicates considerable activity and movement by the troops *after* having reached the creek bottom and *before* opening their attack.⁷³

⁷¹See Jerome A. Greene, “Final Report on the Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site,” Denver: National Park Service, September 1999.

⁷²One of Bent’s two maps is in the George Bent-George E. Hyde Collection, Folder 1, Western History Collections, University of Colorado, Boulder. The other is in the Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, “Warfare,” 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

⁷³See pertinent testimony of participants as excerpted from appropriate historical documents in Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, “Interim Report No. 2, Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site” (Denver: National Park Service, January 29, 1999), pp. 8, 9-10, 11, 14.



However, if Bent's maps are considered to be not precise renderings, but rather unscaled drawings with disproportionate features meant only to show the basic layout of the village and events at Sand Creek, then their variances with other information are accountable and explain why the creek, village, and sandpit areas appear to be contiguous or closely so throughout. Thus, if Bent's portrayal is intended rather to symbolize that the village stood *in the area* of the South Bend, the archeologically discovered village site can be said to line up well with Bent's drawings. Under such an interpretation, the troops indeed approached the camp from the south following the Fort Lyon-Smoky Hill Trail and crested the hill where the present marker stands, from which point they viewed the village a mile or more away to the north before descending into the Sand Creek bottom and following the stream due north.⁷⁴ Again, because of the spatial limitations imposed in Bent's diagrams, the site of the sandpits appears to adjoin the west end of the village. However, George Bent himself stated that the sandpits were "about two miles up the creek" above the village, thus showing that Bent's map did not have an accurate scale even in his own mind. Most likely, considering the approximately two-mile extent of the massacre site as indicated on the Bonsall map, as well as the testimony of participants, the area of the sandpits appears to begin approximately three-quarters of a mile above the area of the archeologically discovered village and extends for perhaps one-quarter mile to one-half mile along the creek in present Sections 13 and 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, Sixth Principal Meridian. In addition to the archeological findings in that area, the width of the creek bottom in Section 14 conforms with the estimates of 200-500 yards given by participants.⁷⁵

Topographical Considerations

There are landform constraints, particularly in the extent of available space and in the closing presence of the low bluffs adjoining the south side of the creek bottom that would also seem to reduce the likelihood that the village stood in the immediate area of the South Bend. Formal testimony by military participants indicates that after moving up the Sand Creek bottom perhaps as much as one-half mile, the troops deployed by battalions in columns of fours in ascending Sand Creek. Those on the north (east) bank moved into a position to approach the village from the northeast, while those on the south (west) side of the village prepared to fire into the lodges from the southeast.⁷⁶ Considering the topography of the immediate South Bend area, in particular the rising ground and bluffs on the south side of Sand Creek at the bend, the presence there of a large number of lodges would have inhibited a column of several hundred cavalymen from maneuvering in the manner described. In fact, only in the northeast quarter of Section 25, on approach to the area of the archeologically discovered village site, would an expanse of terrain sufficient to accommodate these

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 9-10; Arthur K. Ireland, "Analysis of Aerial Photography from 1936-37, 1954, and 1975" (Draft report, Santa Fe: National Park Service, 1999), figure 6, p. 11.

⁷⁵Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, p. 152; and Wegman-French and Whitacre, "Interim Report No. 2," p. 22.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 7, 13, 14, 15, 16.

tactical maneuvers begin to appear. (See National Park Service site map based on historical and archeological reports in the conclusion section of this report.)⁷⁷

Furthermore, if the village stood directly in the “vee” of the south bend, the action (based upon the testimony of military participants) ostensibly would have to have been initiated downstream yet presumably above the radical southward bend of Sand Creek one-half mile east of the marker site, an extremely constricted expanse for the known operations to have actually occurred there. Moreover, considering the hour of the attack, the troops would have to have been off the trail operating over uncertain terrain in the darkness. Existing testimony provides no support for this theory of the attack, nor is there documentary reference to the troops coming around a sharp bend to initiate the attack.

Beyond the fact that the trail from Fort Lyon intersected Sand Creek in the immediate area of the present marker, the hill where the marker reposes is additionally significant as being the highest point adjoining Sand Creek on its south (west) side. There is no similar prominent landform throughout the one-half mile distance east to the abrupt southward bend.⁷⁸ If the troops following Sand Creek had deviated from the Fort Lyon Trail and approached via a route east of the site of the present marker, it would have to have been within that one-half mile stretch, an area devoid of particularly high ground. Given the location of the archeologically discovered village site, where else beyond the area of the present marker could the troops, in the manner specified in the testimony, have reached a prominent hill or ridge from which they could view the distant village, then drop into the stream bottom and advance to within one-half mile of it, discard their dunnage, and deploy for their attack? The configuration of landforms thus does not support an alternative approach to the village when considered in conjunction with the immediate testimony of massacre participants.

Reexamination of Local Sources

In view of the archeology establishing the village site on the north (east) side of Sand Creek near the center of Section 24, several local sources appear to have assumed more significance to the project. They regard the location of the village and its relationship to the location of the headgates of the Chivington Irrigation Canal, which stood in the southeast quarter of Section 24. For example, a 1940 account by one who accompanied Colonel Chivington’s visit to the site in 1887 stated that the massacre took place “at a point where the creek broadens out . . . and near which the Chivington irrigation canal has been taken out.”⁷⁹ In 1910-12, a settler named A.J. Ingram filed on land adjoining Sand Creek. He wrote: “This is the same place that Col. Chivington attacked the Indians and the Sand Creek Massacre took place in 1864. I was there when the Chivington Irrigation Company was organized, and the headgates for the

⁷⁷See USGS Map, “North of Chivington, Colorado,” 1982.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹C. Frost Liggett, “Pioneers,” in *Kiowa County Press*, April 5, 1940 (typescript copy in “Sand Creek, Copies of Various Papers Relating to the Incident,” in Big Timbers Museum, Lamar, Colorado).

canal was partly on my place [in Section 24].”⁸⁰ Furthermore, a plat of the area drawn in 1938, though based upon a crude drawing made earlier by a settler named John Baumbach, nonetheless shows what is designated “Chivington’s Battle Field” located above, or north of, the headgates of the irrigation ditch.⁸¹ What all of this suggests is that the village site with all its debris was located immediately adjacent to where the headgates of the Chivington canal were later erected. In addition, at least three references (one of them hearsay) to artifact collecting activities in this area indicated that the major collecting spot was located one to two miles north of the present marker, a position that correlates well with the archeologically determined village site.⁸²

Smaller Indian Camp Downstream from the Main Village

Following the completion of the archeological survey, there has also been further consideration of the smaller Indian camp, comprised of as many as eight lodges, that sources indicate was one-half to three-fourths of a mile downstream from the main Indian encampment. As noted earlier, there is evidence that this camp may have belonged to the Arapahos. One official report and two soldier participant accounts noted the presence of a distinct and smaller Indian camp; and one of these soldier accounts (a reminiscence rendered 43 years later) indicated that it was the Arapaho camp.⁸³

However, one of George Bent’s two maps depicting the relative position of Indian camps at the Sand Creek Massacre (Illustration 3-1), as well as subsequent statements made by Bent, indicate that the Arapahos were camped either within the large encampment or at its northern edge, and that the smaller downstream camp may have been Cheyenne. Bent’s map shows the “Arapaho Camp” as being part of the larger encampment and situated between “One Eye’s Camp” and “Black Kettle’s Camp.” Bent offered additional explanation of this map in a 1913 letter in which he stated: “I have made a map . . . I mark camps of One Eye, White Antelope, War Bonnet, Black Kettle, Sand Hill, Left Hand, Arapaho camp of 7 lodges.” In a 1914 letter, Bent further attested to the accuracy of this map by stating: “I did not change the map because it is correct. Several Cheyennes helped me to mark the different camps as they stood when Chivington attacked it.” As stated earlier in this report, Bent offered further information on the placement of the Arapaho lodges in a 1915 letter in which

⁸⁰Roleta Teal Papers, M76-1387, Manuscripts Division, Western History Department, Denver Public Library, which contain further mention of the juxtaposition of the headgates of the canal with the immediately adjacent place where at least part of the massacre took place (for which event the canal received its name).

⁸¹“Sand Creek Battlefield area map. Copy of blue print from old drawing made by John Baumbach, early settler of the area. From office of Co. Surveyor, Cheyenne Co., Colo., September 12, 1938,” Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

⁸²*Lamar Tri-State Daily News*, February 23, 1963; Interviews as cited in “Interim Report No. 3, Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site,” April 27, 1999, p. 9.

⁸³Testimony of Private David H. Louderback, First Colorado Cavalry, March 31, 1865, in *Sand Creek Massacre*, p. 138; Interview with Eugene Weston, November 14, 1907, Cragin Notebook X, 11; and Record of Events of Company K, First Colorado Cavalry, Muster Roll, November-December, 1864, NA, RG 94, Microfilm Publication M594, Roll 4.

he reported: “Left Hand, Arapaho chief, had only a few lodges at Sand Creek and were camped with One Eye or Lone Bear up the creek and north of main village . . .” This description corresponds with Bent’s map, which shows the “Arapaho Camp” adjacent to “One Eye’s Camp.” Moreover, Bent’s 1915 correspondence indicates that it may have been Sand Hill’s Cheyenne camp that was “camped further down Sand Creek, away from other bands.”⁸⁴

No archeological evidence of this separate, downstream camp was found during the May 1999 survey. As such, the exact location of this camp is debatable, as well as whether it was an Arapaho or Cheyenne encampment.

Conclusion

The disposition of the site of the archeologically defined village site, together with its immediate environs, suggests a scenario in which the attacking soldiers initially approached the camp from the south, but began their enveloping maneuvers probably within one-fourth mile to one-half mile of descending the hill and fording the creek. Lieutenant Wilson’s battalion seems to have crossed the creek first; part of it then struck out after the Indians’ herd located from one-half mile to one mile east of the village while part approached the lodges from the northeast and/or east. Major Anthony’s battalion, part of which had previously rounded up horses, evidently followed Wilson’s initial approach and descent from the bluff and continued north and slightly west to assume a position on the southeast of the camp by the time Wilson had completed his own movement. Once in position, both units opened fire on the village, which evidently by that time was partly deserted. Colonel Shoup and the Third Colorado (with Colonel Chivington in attendance) approached after these units had taken position. In a subsequent maneuver, Anthony’s troops forded the creek (probably in the vicinity of the stock pond in the southeast quarter of Section 24) to its south (west) side to begin their movement against the tribesmen fleeing upstream in the bed of Sand Creek.⁸⁵ Simultaneously, Wilson, Shoup, and the remaining troops likewise pursued the Indians on the north (east) side of the stream.

⁸⁴Coe Collection, Yale University Library, Letters of George Bent to George Hyde, April 30, 1913, October 23, 1914, and January 20, 1915, and Oklahoma Historical Society, Thoburn Collection, Ms. 86.12, Box 1, Bent to Thoburn, March 13, 1914, as cited in Tom Meier, “Memorandum” to Eugene Ridgely Sr. and Gail Ridgely, March 2, 2000.

⁸⁵Interviews as cited in Interim Report No. 3, Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site, April 27, 1999, pp. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

CHAPTER 4

IDENTIFYING THE 1864 SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE THROUGH ARCHEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE

By Douglas D. Scott

Dr. Douglas D. Scott, a National Park Service archeologist with the Midwest Archeological Center in Lincoln, Nebraska, oversaw the field archeology for the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. Scott, an expert on the use of metal detectors in archeological investigations, has directed archeological surveys at Little Bighorn and Washita, and participated in the 1997 State of Colorado-funded survey of Sand Creek. In this report, Scott summarizes the results of the May 1999 archeological survey. Included here is a list of the items found during the archeological investigation, and an analysis of how those artifacts indicate that Black Kettle's camp is located in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West.

Introduction

This report documents the results of the 1999 archeological field investigations conducted between May 17-27, 1999, as part of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. It was expected that archeology could help identify the location and boundary of the massacre site, and that it could provide information not available in the sometimes conflicting and often culturally biased historical record. Historical archeology has been dramatically successful in defining and verifying the location of various battle sites in the Trans-Mississippi West.⁸⁶

The five areas to be investigated are situated along the Sand Creek drainage of southeastern Colorado. One 4.5-mile-long area was broken down into target areas for

⁸⁶Douglas D. Scott, Richard A. Fox Jr., Melissa A. Connor, and Dick Harmon, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Douglas D. Scott, "A Sharp Little Affair: The Archeology of the Big Hole Battlefield," *Reprints in Anthropology*, Volume 45 (Lincoln, NE: J and L Reprint Company, 1994); William B. Lees, "When the Shooting Stopped, the War Began," in *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*, edited by Clarence R. Geier Jr., and Susan E. Winter (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 39-59; and Charles M. Haecker and Jeffery G. Mauch, *On The Prairie of Palo Alto* (College Station, TX: A&M University Press, 1997).

archeological investigation. Two target areas are on lands owned by Bill and Tootie Dawson. The Dawson target areas are the South Bend of Sand Creek (also known as the Dawson South Bend), which is traditionally held to be the location of Black Kettle's village that was attacked by the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. A second area, on the northern edge of the Dawson South Bend, is partially owned by Bill and Tootie Dawson and an adjacent property owner, August "Pete" Kern. This second area was identified by historian Jerome Greene (this volume) as the area most likely to contain remains of the village and evidence of the attack.

Two other priority areas are on lands owned by the Bowen family. The two target areas were identified by Chuck and Sheri Bowen during their personal research into the Sand Creek tragedy, and subsequently by Jerome Greene's research as areas that could contain evidence of either the village, the flight for survival by the survivors of the attack, or the location of the sandpits where survivors dug in during the attack. One area is located at the southeastern edge of the Bowen property and is identified as the Bowen South Bend. The second target area is identified as the Bowen Middle Bend of Sand Creek.

The fifth target area is along Sand Creek but several miles south of Chivington, Colorado and several miles north of Lamar, Colorado. This site, identified as the Dewitt/Ballentine Bend, was believed, by some traditional Arapahos, to be a location where the Arapaho may have camped during the attack.

Review Of Documented Previous Relic Collection Efforts

Local tradition and historical documentation indicate the Sand Creek site was subject to relic collecting over many years. The extent to which these collecting efforts affected the site cannot be fully assessed given the current state of knowledge. However, there are several known collecting episodes that have affected the archeological record. It appears that some collecting took place immediately after the massacre. In 1932, the Colorado Historical Society accepted a collection purportedly from the site, noting that: "The Society has received a gift from Mrs. Blanche Squires Lester (Mrs. Barton G. Lester), comprising a number of valuable Indian relics which were gathered at the Sand Creek battlefield in December 1864 by her father, George C. Squires, formerly of Boulder, Colorado." George Squires was a member of Company D, Third Volunteer Cavalry, which remained at the massacre site until the morning of December 1, 1864.⁸⁷

As noted in Jerome Greene's report, Lieutenant General William Sherman visited the Sand Creek Massacre site in June 1868 during his tour of frontier military sites. The party is reported to have collected relics and human remains from the site. The relics

⁸⁷ *Colorado Magazine* 9(2):120; and Tom Meier, FAX to Christine Whitacre, October 15, 1999, on file at the National Park Service, Denver.

and human remains collected were supposedly sent to Washington, D.C. Former infantryman Luke Cahill recorded that:

After dinner General Sherman requested that all the escort hunt all over the battleground and pick up everything of value. He wanted to take the relics back to Washington. We found many things, such as Indian baby skulls; many skulls of men and women; arrows, some perfect, many broken, spears, scalps, knives, cooking utensils, and many other things too numerous to mention.⁸⁸

Early Kiowa County homesteader Henry Fluke, who lived about 3.5 miles south of the Dawson property, is reported by Colorado historian Wilbur Stone as having collected cannonballs, arrows, and other evidence of the fight in the early 1900s.⁸⁹

As part of the 1997 and 1999 archeological surveys, archeologists Richard Fike and Julie Costello along with historian Gary Roberts, and later National Park Service historians Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, visited the family of a well-known local collector, the late Preston “Dick” Root. Root apparently visited and collected the Sand Creek site many times during the 1930s and 1950s. He visited and collected the site each time there was a significant dust storm that caused various portions of the site to be exposed. Root was the owner of a small store in Chivington, and is reported to have closed the store to go artifact hunting after any dust bowl era windstorm. He is reported to have collected many items from the battlefield including bags of balls and arrowheads. The family reported that the Sand Creek collection was sold about 20 years ago to a man in Nebraska who intended to establish a private museum. Before the museum could be established, the man died and the collection was subsequently dispersed. Root family members were interviewed as to the location where Root collected. They identified the general area of the finds as about one to two miles northwest of the Sand Creek commemorative marker on the Dawson property.⁹⁰

National Park Service archeologist Cathy Spude and historian Christine Whitacre interviewed Loren Rehyer, the son of another well-known local collector.⁹¹ Rehyer recalled that he and his father collected artifacts about one mile north of the historical marker during the 1930s. Interviews with local residents also indicated that a collection of material gathered at the site may have been on display in the Prowers County Courthouse in Lamar, Colorado. The relics were reportedly transferred to the Big Timber Museum in Lamar; however, they have not been located in that museum’s collections.

⁸⁸Luke Cahill, “Recollections of a Plainsman,” unpublished and undated manuscript, Collection 99, ff30, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, p. 16.

⁸⁹Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, “Interim Report No. 2, Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site,” p. 35; and Wilbur Fisk Stone, ed., *History of Colorado*, Volume IV (Chicago, IL: S.J. Clarke Publishing, 1918), pp. 239-240.

⁹⁰Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre, “Interim Report No. 3, Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site,” pp. 8-9.

⁹¹*Ibid*, p. 9.

George Crow of Eads has collected historic and prehistoric artifacts in Kiowa County since the 1920s. In an interview on March 10, 1999, Crow showed the author his remaining collection, which is predominately prehistoric projectile points, bifaces, scrapers, and drills. He indicated he has some prehistoric materials that were found on the Bowens' property and/or on adjacent lands. Among these are several hand-grinding stones and two large metates that Crow said came from the Sand Creek Massacre site. Among the stone materials are some metal arrowheads found while surface collecting. Crow could not recall if any had come from the Sand Creek locale, although he did indicate that he had picked up a "bucket full" of prehistoric materials in blowouts in that area.

Crow also showed the author an ashtray full of mixed provenience items, which were mostly of historic age. Among the pieces in the ashtray were two Spencer cartridge cases in .56-56 caliber. Crow said he found these and other similar cartridge cases on Bowens' land about three miles north of the Sand Creek monument (approximately Sections 10 and/or 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West). These were the only historic items that can be remotely associated with or date to the time of the Sand Creek Massacre. Crow did indicate that he previously had more of the Spencer cartridge cases (although he did not know the weapon type they were for), but had traded or given them away. The two cartridge cases are well preserved and have a patina consistent with having been exposed on the ground surface for some time. The firing pin imprints were unique enough to determine by eye alone that they were fired in two separate guns.

Between July 1989 and October 1993, metal detector hobbyist Fred Werner made five trips to the Sand Creek locale for the purpose of relic collecting the site. Werner detected, in a non-systematic way, portions of the bluffs and creek bottom on the Dawson property. Werner reported that neither he nor his traveling companions found any battle-related relics during their wandering up and down Sand Creek.⁹²

In 1992, William Schneider metal detected and conducted some geophysical scans of portions of the Dawson and Bowen properties.⁹³ Schneider found four items on the bluffs located on the west side of Sand Creek in Sections 25 and 26, Township 16 South, Range 47 West. He recovered two fired musket size percussion caps, two dropped (unfired) .58-caliber minie balls, and a segment of the threaded fuse hole of a 12-pounder mountain howitzer shell.

Chuck and Sheri Bowen, son and daughter-in-law of landowner Frances and Charles B. Bowen Sr., began metal detecting on Bowen land along Sand Creek in March 1998 in an attempt to find the Sand Creek Massacre village and sandpits area. The author viewed their collection on March 10, 1999, and again on May 23, 1999. The Bowens have collected several hundred artifacts from their lands, principally in Sections 14 and 10, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. The majority of their collection is late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century in origin. Post-1880 tin cans, mass-

⁹²Fred Werner, *The Sand Creek Fight: November 29, 1864* (Greeley, CO: Werner Publications, 1993), pp. 159-185.

⁹³William Schneider, personal communication to author, April 10, 1999.

produced cut nails, farm machinery, and bullets and cartridge cases that post-date the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre dominate the collection. These artifacts are quite likely associated with the short-lived settlement of Upper Water Valley or New Chicago that once existed in Section 14. I observed .45, .44, .38, and other later cartridge cases and bullets, as well as blacksmithing tools and farm machinery parts indicating later site occupation.

However, the Bowens have found some period bullets and a 12-pounder mountain howitzer shell fragment in Section 14 along a higher terrace edge. Some of the find locations were identified by surveyors' pin flags placed by the Bowens' at the time of discovery when we conducted our field investigations in May 1999. The location of an 1868 dime and the howitzer shell fragment were mapped during the 1999 field investigations. The 1864-era artifacts noted in the Bowen collection include at least six iron arrowheads, one iron cone tinkler, a 12-pounder mountain howitzer shell fragment with fuse threads, two percussion caps, an iron chain consistent with a Civil War canteen stopper chain, sprue from casting lead bullets, some melted and burned metal of undetermined origin, and ammunition components.

The potentially period munitions observed included at least 20 .56-56 Spencer cartridge cases. All but one was fired in Spencers, the others may have been fired in a Joslyn. The Bowen collection also includes .50 caliber conical bullets probably fired in Spencers, three .54 Starr bullets, one .44 Henry case, at least 6 .44-45 caliber round balls (most appeared to be mold cast and not too high quality), a .40 caliber Plant cartridge case, three .58 minie balls, four .52 Sharps bullets in both the two-ring and tie-base varieties, two .50-caliber bullets that may be from a Maynard, and the spherical case fragment from a 12-pounder mountain howitzer. The spherical case fragment is a portion of the threaded fuse hole for the zinc-based Bormann time fuse. The projectile fragment is relatively thick and the interior surface is nearly flat, conforming to the 1858 Hubbell patent improvement that aided the projectile in achieving greater stability and accuracy during its flight.⁹⁴

The author also looked at what was described as possible chain ornament, but is more likely a nineteenth-century bridle ornament. I also saw twisted wires that were thought to be friction primer wires, but which are much too heavy to be friction primer wires.

Previous Archeological Investigations

In 1995, as noted earlier in this volume, Fort Lewis College (Durango, Colorado) was awarded a grant from the State of Colorado to study and locate the Sand Creek Massacre site. Dr. Richard Ellis developed the research design, which called for the skills of archeologists, historians, geologists, map experts, aerial photographers, and Cheyenne and Arapaho representatives to be combined to establish the location of the site.

⁹⁴Jack W. Melton Jr., and Lawrence E. Prawl, *Introduction to Field Artillery Ordnance, 1861-1865* (Kennesaw, GA: Kennesaw Mountain Press, 1994), p. 15.

Archeological fieldwork was conducted in late September and early October 1997 on properties owned by William Rhoades and Bill and Tootie Dawson.⁹⁵ Project personnel included Douglas Scott, William Lees, Anne Bond, Richard Ellis, Gary Roberts, Richard Fike, Julie Coleman-Fike, members of the Pikes Peak Adventure League led by Bob Dewitt, Brooks Bond, Larry Gibson, Tom Frew, Tom Baker, Norma Irwin, and Bill Dawson. Tribal representatives from the Northern Cheyenne, Southern Cheyenne, and Arapaho consulted and participated in the onsite investigations. The tribal representatives were Steve Brady and Mildred Red Cherries of the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendants, Laird and Colleen Cometsevah and Joe Big Medicine of the Southern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendants, and Eugene and Gail Ridgely of the Northern Arapaho Tribe.

The 1997 metal detector survey located a relatively small quantity of artifacts. Locational control or artifact provenance was accomplished through the use of a Precision Lightweight Global Positioning System Receiver (PLGR). This unit contains the so-called P-chip that eliminates the selective availability of the current satellite system. The PLGR was placed at each artifact find spot to be recorded, and the resulting readout in UTM coordinates was recorded in a field notebook along with a short descriptor and field catalog number. The PLGR was also used to plot the perimeter of the 1997 inventory area.

1999 Archeological Project Methods

A primary research goal of the 1999 National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study was to ascertain the presence or absence of massacre-related artifacts on five areas of private lands covering a linear area of about 4.5 miles. The area is comprised of one contiguous area along Sand Creek about 3.5 miles long and a separate area is about one mile long. Faced with examining such a large area – and assuming that most artifacts of war are either metallic or associated with metal – metal detectors were employed as an inventory tool. The use of metal detectors was based on the previous success of the technique at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument,⁹⁶ Big Hole National Battlefield,⁹⁷ Palo Alto Battlefield National Historic Site,⁹⁸ and Camp Lewis at Pecos National Historic Park.⁹⁹ The research goals did not

⁹⁵Douglas D. Scott, Anne Wainstein Bond; Richard Ellis, and William B. Lees, “Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864,” unpublished report dated April 1998, Department of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis State College, Durango, CO.

⁹⁶Douglas d. Scott and Richard Fox Jr., *Archeological Insights into the Custer Battle: A Preliminary Assessment* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press); and Scott et al, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*.

⁹⁷Scott, “A Sharp Little Affair: The Archeology of the Big Hole Battlefield.”

⁹⁸Charles Haecker, “A Thunder of Cannon: Archeology of the Mexican-American War Battlefield of Palo Alto,” *Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers No. 52* (Santa Fe, NM: Division of Anthropology and History, Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1994).

⁹⁹Charles Haecker, “Archeological Remote Sensing Survey of the Civil War Site of Camp Lewis, Pecos National Historical Park, San Miguel County, New Mexico,” Cultural Anthropology Projects, PECO-01 (Santa Fe, NM: Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, National Park Service, 1998).



Illustration 4-1: Michael McFaul of LaRamie Soils Inc. explains the geomorphological core-drilling operations to tribal representatives. *Douglas Scott*

require, nor was it desirable, to find and recover all metallic evidence. Thus, the field approach taken was one of reconnaissance, where the goal was to find evidence of the site, define its boundary, and collect a judgmental sample of the site's artifacts.

The 1999 inventory personnel were Chris Adams, Steve DeVore (conducting geophysical remote sensing research), Tom Frew, Julie Coleman-Fike, Rich Fike, Dennis Gahagen, Larry Gibson, Dick Harmon (logistics and recovery operations), Charles Haecker (directing the metal detector inventory), William Lees (assisting in field operations), Mary and Douglas McChristian, and Robert Rea. The team was ably assisted from time to time by Bill Dawson, Chuck and Sheri Bowen, Karen Breslin, Christine Whitacre, Lysa and Mort Wegman-French, Rick Frost, Jerome Greene, Art Hutchinson, Gary Roberts, Tom Meier, and the tribal representatives from the Northern and Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne, especially Luke Brady, Joe Big Medicine, Laird Cometsevah, Linda DeCarlo, Mildred Red Cherries, Gail Ridgely, Donna Sandoval, and Robert Tabor.

Prior to engaging in the archeological field investigations, the National Park Service contracted with LaRamie Soils Service to conduct geomorphological and geoarcheological studies of the Dawson and Bowen properties (Illustration 4-1). Amy Holmes and Michael McFaul concluded from their core drilling efforts that there appears to be little or no soil buildup on the terraces, and some of the valley floor may have only minimal aggradation due to flooding or wind-blown deposits.¹⁰⁰ The

¹⁰⁰Amy Holmes and Michael McFaul, "Geomorphological and Geoarcheological Assessment of the Possible Sand Creek Massacre Site, Kiowa County, Colorado," 1999, manuscript on file, Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Lakewood, CO.

sediment cores also revealed less subsurface disturbance than expected, with less sediment aggradation than previously thought. Some areas immediately adjacent to the streambed, and within the flood plain, may have deposits that are deep enough to prevent the effective use of metal detectors. However, the geomorphology indicated that the general lack of appreciable sediment aggradation in the last 125 years made the choice of metal detectors as a nearly ideal inventory tool, despite concerns expressed in the 1997 report.¹⁰¹

The 1999 inventory employed essentially the same field methods as were used in 1997 but used a Sokkia Total Station Transit to map artifact finds and other relevant data. The UTM coordinate (WG84) for the Sand Creek Massacre Monument (located in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West) was used as the base datum point. Data was collected in a SDR 33 electronic data collector and downloaded to a laptop computer each evening. The data was processed through the Sokkia Map program, then transferred to AutoCad Light 98 for final editing and display. The 1997 inventory data was imported into the 1999 files to create a comprehensive data set for analysis.

Field Methods

The fieldwork was conducted May 17-27, 1999, and focused on metal detecting. The inventory phase employed electronic metal detectors, visual survey methods, and piece-plot recording techniques as described below. Geophysical remote sensing techniques were also employed.

General Procedures

Standard archeological data-recording methods were used in each operation. Individual artifacts received unique Field Specimen (FS) numbers depending on the property on which they were found. Those artifacts found on the Bill and Tootie Dawson property were assigned field numbers in the 1000 series, those found on the August Kern property were assigned the 2000 series, and finally those on the Frances and Charles B. Bowen Sr. property were assigned numbers in the 3000 series. Selected in-place artifact specimens, as well as topography, were photographed and recorded in black-and-white print and color slide film.

Inventory

The inventory phase included three sequential operations: 1) Survey, 2) Recovery, and 3) Recording. During survey, artifact finds were located and marked. The recovery crew followed and carefully uncovered subsurface finds, leaving them in place. The recording team then plotted individual artifact locations, assigned field specimen numbers, and collected the specimens. In one area of the Kern property, metal density was great enough that pin flag locations were mapped but only a judgmental artifact sample was taken. The pin flag distribution provides some data on metal target density in this area of the site and aided in defining site boundaries.

¹⁰¹Scott et al. "Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864."

Survey

Survey operations were designed primarily to locate subsurface metallic items with the use of electronic metal detectors. Visual inspection of the surface was carried out concurrently with the metal detector survey. We used various brands of metal detectors during the survey. Metal detector operators furnished their own machines, and this contributed to the variety. The standardization of machines (i.e., all one brand), though perhaps methodologically desirable, was highly impractical. Like models operate on the same frequency, causing interference at close intervals. We, therefore, needed to alternate different brands of machines on the line to ensure adequate survey coverage. Metal-detector operators were aligned at approximately 10-meter intervals. The operators walked transects oriented to cardinal directions or, upon occasion, route orientations were dictated by topographic feature orientation, particularly along bluff edges, slopes, and bases, where straight transects lines were impossible to maintain. The daily composition of the detector crew ranged from four to six operators.

Detector operators proceeded in line, using a sweeping motion to examine the ground. We estimate that each operator covered a sweep of 1.5 to 2 meters depending on individual height and technique. A pin flag was placed at each target located by an operator. As soon as the location was pinned, the operator continued along the transect.

Recovery

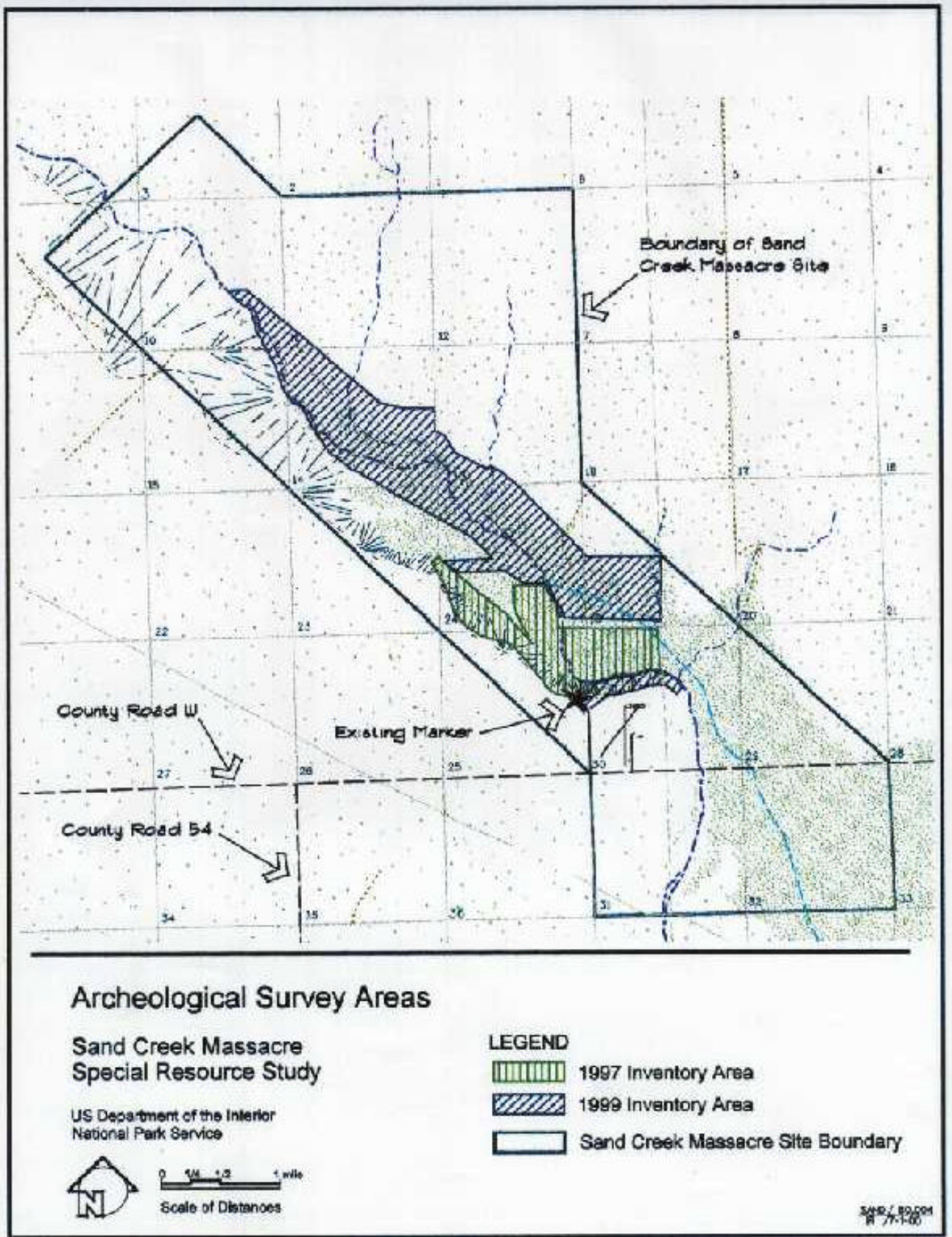
The recovery crew excavated artifact locations marked by pin flags and left the artifacts in place for recording. This team consisted of excavators and metal-detector operators who pinpointed targets. The number of operators and excavators varied from day to day depending on the workload.

Excavation procedure was based on the concept of artifact patterning, a central tenet in the research strategy. Provenience data, the location in space and the position in the ground of each artifact, were considered of primary importance.

Hand tools, such as spades and trowels, were used to expose subsurface artifacts. Excavators were assisted by metal detector operators to ensure in-place exposure. In some instances, accidental disturbance of the artifact occurred. Artifacts were found at depths between surface and 12 inches. After exposure, the pin flag was left upright at the location to signal the recording crew.

Recording

The recording crew assigned field specimen numbers, recorded artifact provenience, and collected the specimens. Recorders backfilled artifact-location holes upon completion. Artifacts were assigned sequential field specimen numbers. During the 1999 inventory, artifacts found on the Dawson property were assigned field specimen numbers in the 1000 series beginning with 1001. Artifacts found on the Kern and Bowen properties were assigned field specimen numbers in the 2000 and 3000 series respectively, beginning with 2001 and 3001 respectively.



Area Inventoried

The 1997 metal detecting inventory took place on the William Rhoades property in portions of Sections 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 23 and 24 in Township 16 South, Range 47 West, Cheyenne County, Colorado. This portion of the inventory effort encompassed approximately 550 acres. The Dawson property inventory work took place on Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West, and portions of Sections 24 and 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West in Kiowa County, Colorado. This encompassed approximately 390 acres. The 1997 metal detecting inventory covered a total of approximately 940 acres.

The 1999 inventory effort concentrated on landforms along and adjacent to Sand Creek, specifically the lands owned by Bill and Tootie Dawson in Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West and portions of Sections 24 and 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West in Kiowa County (Illustration 4-2). Lands owned by A. S. Kern (Illustration 4-3) also in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and Section 19, Township 17 South, Range 45 West were inventoried, as were lands owned by Frances and Charles B. Bowen Sr. in Sections 10 and 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West (Illustration 4-4). This approximately 3.5 mile long area encompasses about 600 acres.

A discontinuous portion of Sand Creek in Section 30, Township 20 South, Range 45 West, and Section 25, Township 20 South, Range 46 West was also inventoried. This area, which is characterized by high limestone bluffs adjacent to the creek, was identified by the Arapaho as a possible 1864 campsite. The limestone bluffs had been subject to extensive quarrying, and the area along the creek is used as a trash dump.



Illustration 4-2: National Park Service archeologist Steven DeVore conducted geophysical remote-sensing work on that portion of the village site located on the Dawson property. *Douglas Scott*

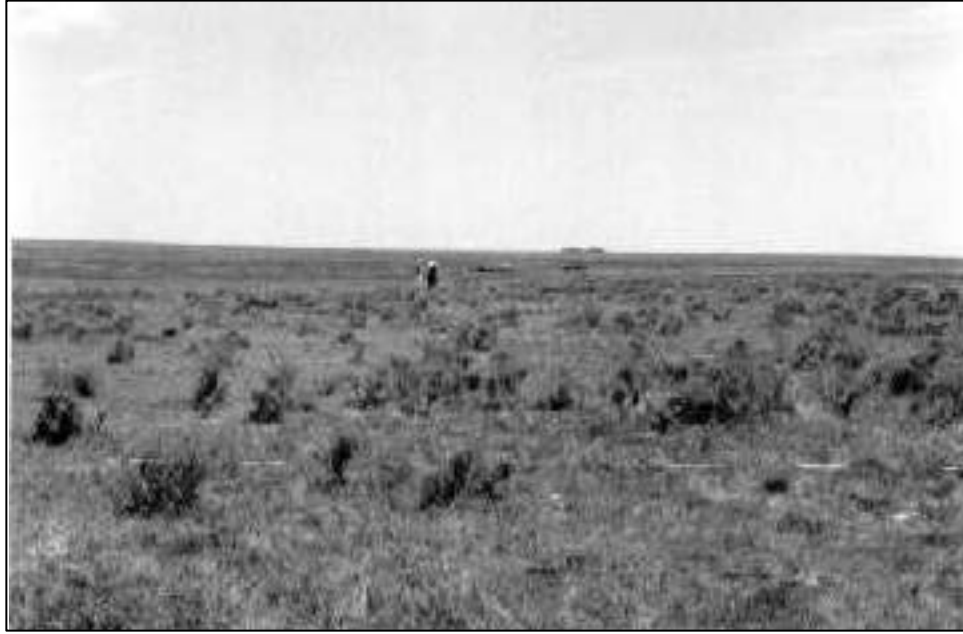


Illustration 4-3: Archeological evidence of the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site extended onto the Kern property. *Douglas Scott*



Illustration 4-4: The Bowen property yielded a 12-pounder mountain howitzer spherical case fragment near the tree in the center of this photograph, as well as a variety of bullets indicating at least the line of the villagers' flight for survival. *Douglas Scott*

A series of metal detector sweeps along the creek and over the tops of the bluffs, in an area covering approximately 80 acres, failed to reveal any evidence of Native American occupation in the historic period.

Remote Sensing

Steven DeVore conducted geophysical remote sensing inventory (Illustration 4-2) on four contiguous 20 meter square blocks on the Dawson land in Section 24. He used an EM 38, an EM 61, and a Fluxgate gradiometer to test the potential for finding buried features and artifacts. An abstract of his report is included in this volume.

Analytical Procedures

The methods employed in cleaning and analyzing the artifacts are the standard laboratory procedures of the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center. Essentially, they consist of dry brushing or washing the accumulated dirt and mud from each artifact, and then determining the condition of the artifact to see whether it requires further cleaning or conservation. After it was cleaned, each artifact was rebagged in a self-sealing clear plastic bag with its appropriate Field Specimen (FS) number and other relevant information on the bag. The artifacts were then identified, sorted, described, and analyzed. Sorting and identification of the artifacts were undertaken by personnel experienced with artifacts of this period, who compared the artifacts with type collections and with standard reference materials.

Artifact Description And Analysis

A total of 15 artifacts were collected during the 1997 field investigations and 386 field numbers were assigned during the 1999 fieldwork. The 1999 investigation approach required a judgmental artifact collection. There were a great many finds of baling wire, barbed wire, farm machine parts, nuts, bolts, and screws found during the metal detector sweeps. The obviously recent and clearly post-battle artifacts were not recorded. For the most part the non-period artifacts were removed and discarded at the request of the landowners. Artifacts of questionable identification or temporal span were collected for further identification and analysis. The artifacts are described and identified, where possible. The emphasis of the analysis is to identify the artifact and determine its datable range for the purpose of determining if the materials recovered could be associated with the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.

Firearms and Munitions

.30-Caliber

Three .30-caliber balls or lead shot were found during the field investigations. Field specimen 1106 was intermixed with a cache or cluster of larger balls (see .58-Caliber). Field specimens 2036b and c were recovered with a .36-caliber unfired conical bullet. These balls or shot are consistent with the 1864 event.

.32-Caliber

Three .32 caliber conical bullets were recovered in 1999. Field specimen 1002 is very deformed and has teeth marks on the bullet body indicating someone held the bullet in their mouth and chewed on it before it was placed in a weapon and fired. This bullet is probably period. The other two .32 caliber bullets (FS1061 and 3009) both have knurled cannelures (lubricating grooves). Knurling was patented in the 1870s; thus, these bullets post-date the 1864 timeframe.

A broken and oxidized .32 Long unfired cartridge (FS1075) was also recovered. The .32 Long was introduced in 1861 for the Smith and Wesson Model No. 2 revolver.¹⁰² Thus, the cartridge could date to the 1864 event.

.36-Caliber

Three unfired .36-caliber conical bullets (FS1068, 2036, and 2193) were found during the inventory. The .36-caliber bullets (Illustration 4-5b) are of the type used in various Civil War era revolvers¹⁰³ such as Colt, Remington, and Whitney, and possibly manufactured at one of the Federal arsenals. Field specimen 2193 exhibits teeth marks around its base.

.38-Caliber

A single .38-caliber conical bullet (FS3014) was recovered.

It is deformed, making land and groove identification impossible. The .38-caliber was developed in the 1860s and was definitely commercially available by 1865-1866 for several different firearms.¹⁰⁴ Although it is possible this bullet dates to 1864, it is more likely that its deposition post-dates 1864.



Illustration 4-5: Percussion caps, a cartridge, and bullets found during the archeological investigations: (a) patent variety percussion caps; (b) .36-caliber bullet; (c) .44-caliber bullet fired in a Colt revolver; (d) .44-caliber Sharps bullet; (e) .50-caliber Maynard carbine cartridge; (f) .52-caliber Sharps two-ring variety bullet; (g) .50-caliber possible Maynard bullet; (h) .52-caliber tie-base variety Sharps bullet; (i) .54-caliber bullet; (j) .54-caliber Starr bullet; (k) .58-caliber mushroomed minie style bullet.
Douglas Scott

¹⁰²Herschel Logan, *Cartridges* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1959), pp. 65-66; and Frank C. Barnes, *Cartridges of the World*, 6th Edition (Northbrook, IL: DBI Publishing, 1989), p. 364.

¹⁰³James E. Thomas, and Dean S. Thomas, *A Handbook of Civil War Bullets and Cartridges* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1996) p. 2.

¹⁰⁴Barnes, p. 365.

.44-Caliber

Five .44-caliber bullets were recovered. Three (FS1025, 3018, and 3020) were fired in Colt revolvers (Illustration 4-5c), probably the Model 1860 Army, and the other two (FS1013 and 1076) in Sharps firearms (Illustration 4-5d). The Colt Model 1860 Army revolver was a standard issue pistol for Civil War officers and cavalrymen.

The Sharps firearm was patented in 1852 and was a very popular military and commercial firearm for the next 50 years. It was produced in both percussion and cartridge styles. Its popularity was due to its accuracy and its reputation for having effective stopping power. Particularly in the larger calibers it was the favored gun of big game hunters on the plains and in the West in general.¹⁰⁵

A single .44 or .45-caliber distinctive Sharps bullet (DFS8), which was originally round-nosed, smooth-bodied, and paper-patched, was found on the Dawson property during the 1997 investigations. A similar smooth-bodied paper-patched type bullet (FS1013), which was deformed on impact, was found in 1999. It is either a .44-caliber or a .45-caliber. In either case, this bullet type was not introduced by Sharps until 1874 with the advent of their self-contained metallic cartridges,¹⁰⁶ thus post-dating the 1864 event.

The second Sharps .44-caliber bullet is a tie-base type, which was for the .44-caliber Sharps.¹⁰⁷ This bullet is consistent with an 1864 date.

Henry .44-Caliber

The .44-caliber Henry rimfire cartridge was developed in the late 1850s by B. Tyler Henry, the plant superintendent for Oliver Winchester at the New Haven Arms Company. The company's name was changed to Winchester Repeating Arms Company in the mid-1860s. Henry also developed the first successful repeating rifle that would fire this cartridge by improving Smith & Wesson's Volcanic repeating arms. Henry's conception of a flexible, claw-shaped extractor was probably the most important single improvement leading to the success of the Henry Repeating Rifle and its .44-caliber rimfire cartridge.¹⁰⁸ This extractor principle is still in use today, being used in the Ingram submachine gun.¹⁰⁹

Henry designed a double firing pin for his repeating rifle that would strike the rim of the cartridge at two points on opposite sides. The firing pins were wedge-shaped, each being located on one side of the breech pin collar. The collar was threaded into the breech pin that was designed to move a fraction of an inch forward and rearward during firing. Both the Henry Rifle and its improved version, the Model 1866 Winchester, had firing pins that were exactly alike in shape and dimensions.¹¹⁰ The

¹⁰⁵Arcadi Gluckman, *Identifying Old U.S. Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1965) p. 230 and 268; and Barnes, p. 139.

¹⁰⁶Frank Sellers, *Sharps Firearms* (North Hollywood, CA: Beinfeld Publishing, 1982).

¹⁰⁷Thomas and Thomas, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁸Dick Harmon, "Henry .44-Caliber" in *Archaeological Insights into the Custer Battle: A Preliminary Assessment* by Scott et al.

¹⁰⁹James B. Kinzer, "The Invention of the Extractor: The Successful Winchester Repeating Rifle," *Gun Report* 28(8): 34-38.

¹¹⁰George Madis, *The Winchester Book* (Brownsboro, TX: Art and Reference House, 1979), p. 97.

firing pins were less pointed on some Model 1866s between serial numbers 24,000 and 26,000, but were changed back to their original shape due to misfire problems.¹¹¹

A cartridge case (RFS4) was recovered on the Rhoades property in 1997, one (FS1112) on the Dawson property in 1999, and one (FS3022) on the Bowen property in 1999. All three are the long case variety, two (RFS4 and FS1112) with a raised **H** headstamp in a recessed depression. This headstamp was used from about 1860 until the late 1880s.¹¹² The Dawson Henry case has two sets of firing pin impressions indicating the round did not fire the first time it was chambered. The Bowen case has a **US** (United States Cartridge Company) raised. The **US** headstamp was used from 1869 to 1875 by the company¹¹³ and thus post-dates the 1864 event.

.44-Caliber Cartridge Case and Bullet

A single .44-caliber center-fire cartridge case (DFS1) in .44-40 caliber and a .44-caliber bullet (DFS2) were collected on the Dawson property in 1997. The lead bullet bears the rifling marks clear enough to identify it as having been fired from either the Henry rifle or Winchester Models 1866 and 1873. The rifling in these weapons is five-groove, right-hand twist. The brass case is centerfire and is primed with a Boxer-type primer. The .44-40 cartridge was first introduced in 1873 along with the lever action Model 1873 Winchester Repeating Rifle;¹¹⁴ thus, this cartridge post-dates the battle by at least nine years.

.50-Caliber Bullets and Cartridge Case

One .50-caliber round ball (FS1176), a .50-caliber conical bullet (FS1179), and a .50-caliber brass cartridge case (FS2069) (Illustration 4-5e) were collected in 1999. The .50-caliber round ball is deformed from impact. The round ball is consistent with calibers of muzzle-loading firearms, including trade guns known to have been used by various Native Americans during the mid-nineteenth century.

The .50-caliber brass cartridge case (FS2069) is for a Maynard carbine. Dr. Edward Maynard patented a tipping barrel breech-loading carbine in 1851. During the Civil War, Dr. Maynard applied himself to developing a brass cartridge for use in his carbines. He produced several types, but patented one in 1859 that used a brass tube soldered to a large steel flange or base plate. The flange had a hole in the center to allow the flame from a percussion cap ignition to fire the cartridge.¹¹⁵ The steel flange was later replaced by brass, as in the specimen recovered.

A single 3-ring flat-nosed bullet (FS1179) (Illustration 4-5g) recovered as a surface find in a cow path may be a Maynard variant type bullet. It, too, is consistent with a Civil War use date.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 79.

¹¹²John L. Barber, *The Rimfire Cartridge in the United States and Canada 1857-1984* (Tacoma, WA: Armory Press, 1987).

¹¹³Ibid., 40.

¹¹⁴Madis, pp. 132 and 214.

¹¹⁵Logan, p. 31; and Ronald R. Switzer, "Maynard Cartridges and Primers from the Steamboat *Bertrand*," *Military Collector and Historian*, 24(3):85-87.

.52-Caliber Bullets

As noted previously, the Sharps firearm was patented in 1852 and was a very popular military and commercial firearm. The .52-caliber rifle and carbine were very popular arms with soldiers during the Civil War. Three .52-caliber Sharps bullets (FS1004, 1009, and 1145) were collected in 1999. They represent two Sharps bullet styles of the two-ring (Illustration 4-5f) and tie-base types (Illustration 4-5h). Both are Civil War-era production items.¹¹⁶

.54-Caliber Bullets

A single .54-caliber conical hollow-base minie-type lead bullet (DFS10) was recovered on the Dawson property in 1997. Two additional bullets (FS2134 and 3032) were collected in 1999. All are standard U.S. arsenal type hollow-based bullets; one (FS2134) has visible rifling marks (Illustration 4-5i), while the other (FS3032) was severely deformed on impact. The bullet diameter is consistent with the .54-caliber bullet used in the Model 1841 Mississippi Rifle.¹¹⁷

Fifteen other .54-caliber bullets were also found. These have a single raised ring around the base and are for the Starr carbine (Illustration 4-5j). The Starr was patented in 1858, and approximately 20,000 were purchased by the U.S. Government for use in the Civil War.¹¹⁸ The bullets recovered are of two types, one with a .205 inch hole in the base (FS1001, 2127, 2128, and 2134) and a solid base (FS1008, 1023, 1071, 1072, 1080, 1090, 1171, 2008a, 2998b, 2035, and 2039). Only field specimens 1001, 1008, 1071, and 1090 exhibit rifling marks indicating they were fired. The others were not fired and were probably inadvertently lost.

.56-56-Caliber Spencer Cartridge Case

A single Spencer .56-56-caliber cartridge case (FS1178) is present in the collection. The Spencer seven-shot repeater was a military firearm used during the Civil War and the early Indian Wars. It was also produced in civilian models, was widely available, and was a popular weapon. There were several calibers produced for both the military and the commercial market during its production years.¹¹⁹ The Spencer carbine was introduced in 1863 for use by Union cavalry. The earlier rifled musket had proven very popular with Michigan cavalry units, although the length was unwieldy for cavalrymen. Nearly 95,000 Spencer carbines were purchased by the U.S. government prior to the end of the war, and they proved very popular with mounted troops.¹²⁰ The Spencer repeating rifle and carbine were originally chambered for the reliable Spencer .56-56-caliber rimfire cartridge.

Unlike most cartridge designations, where caliber is listed first and black powder load second (e.g. .45-70), the Spencer designation is based on other nomenclature. The 56 in the .56-56 cartridge refers to a designation for the ammunition of **No. 56 Spencer**.

¹¹⁶Thomas and Thomas, pp. 26-28.

¹¹⁷Logan, *Cartridges*; and Thomas and Thomas.

¹¹⁸Norm Flayderman, *Flayderman's Guide to Antique Firearms and Their Values* (Northfield, MN: DBI Books, 1990).

¹¹⁹Barnes, P. 281; and Gluckman, p. 388.

¹²⁰Earl J. Coates and Dean S Thomas, *An Introduction to Civil War Small Arms* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1990), p. 48.

The recovered specimen (FS1178) has no headstamp or other markings. This is consistent with U.S. Frankford Arsenal-produced Spencer ammunition. The cartridge case was fired in a Spencer manufactured gun.

The only person known to have used a Spencer during the Sand Creek Massacre was Colonel John Chivington.¹²¹ However, since other Spencer cartridge cases were found by the Bowens on their family's property, and at least two different gun types are represented by those cases, it is inappropriate to place too much emphasis on the presence of this cartridge case in the 1999 archeological collection. It is sufficient to say a Spencer was present at the massacre, but the gun was a popular one with soldiers and western inhabitants for some years afterward.

.58-Caliber Bullets and Centerfire Cartridge Case

The Rhoades property revealed six .58-caliber centerfire cartridge cases. Two (RFS1 and 3) were collected as samples in 1997. The .58-caliber cartridge was introduced about 1869 for use in the Berdan breech-loading conversion of the standard Civil War .58-caliber musket.¹²² This cartridge was never manufactured or adopted by the U.S. Army, but was used experimentally for a very short period. The guns and their cartridges were readily available on the civilian market during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These cartridge cases post-date 1864 by at least five years.



Illustration 46: The .58-caliber round ball bullet cache as it was excavated. Douglas Scott

¹²¹[George A. Wells?], correspondence, *Miner's Register*, Central City, CO, January 4, 1865; and William F. Dawson, "Ordnance Artifacts at the Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Technical and Historical Report," September 1999, on file at the Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Denver, CO.

One lead .58-caliber conical bullet (RFS2) was recovered on the Rhoades property in 1997, and three other conical bullets during the 1999 field investigations on the Kern and Bowen properties. The bullets are standard U.S. compressed 3-ring hollow base .58-caliber conical bullet.¹²³ The Rhoades bullet is flattened from impact. It is probably associated with the .58-caliber cartridge cases found on the property. Although a Civil War style bullet, the probable association with the cartridge case suggests the likely deposition was post-battle.

The other three bullets (FS2184, 3019, and 3033) are more likely associated with the massacre. Field specimen 2184 is mushroomed by impact (Illustration 4-5k) and FS3019 is deformed by impact, while FS3033 is undeformed.

Also found during the 1999 field investigations was a cache or cluster group of .58-caliber round balls (FS1106). The cluster (Illustration 4-6) was found buried about eight inches below ground surface. They were clustered in a group of about four inches in diameter. The balls were tightly clustered and touching one another. They lay on an old soil horizon and were overlain by wind and water laid sand and soil deposits. The balls were probably in a bag at one time, which has since disintegrated.

There are 174 balls of .58 caliber in the group, and one of .30 caliber. The .58-caliber balls are all hand cast, probably in the same mold, with clear evidence of the mold seam and cut sprue on the majority of the balls. The balls show random surface dimpling where they have been in contact with one another during movement at some time in the past. The presence of dimpling further supports the idea that they were in some type of bag or pouch before their deposition on the site.

12-Pounder Mountain Howitzer-Related Ammunition Fragments

A variety of historical accounts¹²⁴ document the use of four 12-pounder mountain howitzers during the attack. The Model 1835 Mountain Howitzer was a light field piece intended for use in rough terrain.¹²⁵ The bronze barrel of 4.62-inch bore diameter was just short of 33 inches long and weighed about 220 pounds. It was mounted on a lightweight two-wheeled mountain or prairie carriage. The gun could be towed by a single horse with additional horses packing two ammunition chests each, or it could be dismounted and packed on horses or mules.

According to Ripley,¹²⁶ federal ordnance tables allowed a six-gun battery 36 ammunition chests with each chest containing eight rounds of fixed ammunition (six shell, one spherical case, and one canister), 12 friction primers, 18 inches of slow match, and a single portfire (a paper tube to be used as an alternative ignition system in case the friction primers failed). The mountain howitzer was not intended to fire solid shot, and none were included in the ordnance table allocations for the guns.

¹²²Barnes, p. 142.

¹²³Thomas and Thomas, pp. 39-40.

¹²⁴Jerome Greene, this volume; and Dawson.

¹²⁵Ripley, *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War*, pp. 198-201.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 199.

The mountain howitzer shell is a 4.52-inch diameter wrought-iron hollow sphere. The shell was filled with a bursting charge of black powder, which was activated by a tin alloy time-delay Bormann fuse, screwed into an opening in the shell. Spherical case is also a hollow wrought-iron shell, but it was filled with about 78 lead balls of approximately .65- to .69-caliber set in sulfur matrix, and with a bursting charge of powder in the center. The spherical case was also activated by a Bormann time fuse.

Shell and spherical case fragments can readily be determined by the thickness of the sphere wall. Shell had a nominal thickness of 0.7 inch and spherical case a thickness of 0.36 inch. A mountain howitzer shell fired by a charge of one-half pound of black powder had a maximum range of 1,005 yards, while spherical case had a maximum range of 800 yards¹²⁷ before bursting and scattering their lethal fragments.

The Dawson property yielded four spherical case fragments (FS1003, 1007, 1011, and 1111). The four fragments are body fragments (Illustration 4-7) of the sphere and are .4-inch thick. As this thickness is larger than that prescribed in army regulations, measurements were made on another archeological specimen for comparative purposes.

The Missouri River Steamboat *Bertrand* sank near DeSoto Bend in April 1865, was salvaged in the late 1960s, and the cargo is now on display at the U.S. Fish and



Illustration 4-7: Fragments of 12-pound mountain howitzer spherical case fragments found during the archeological survey. Douglas Scott

¹²⁷John Gibbon, *The Artillerist Manual, Compiled from Various Sources and Adapted to the Service of the United States* (Glendale, NY: Benchmark Publishing, 1970, reprint of 1860 edition), p. 42.



Illustration 48: A 12-pounder spherical case with Bormann fuse recovered from the steamboat *Bertrand* sunk on the Missouri River in 1865. *Douglas Scott*



Illustration 49: A cross-section of the 12-pounder spherical case showing the fuse, powder chamber, and .69-caliber round balls in a matrix. *Douglas Scott*

Wildlife Service's museum at DeSoto Wildlife Refuge, near Missouri Valley, Iowa.¹²⁸ Among the cargo, bound for Deer Lodge, Montana, were several dozen 12-pounder mountain howitzer spherical case (Illustration 4-8).¹²⁹ One example (catalog number 4115) has been sectioned for display purposes and was made available for study. This spherical case ranges in wall thickness from .43 to .53 inch. The case shot balls, visible in the sectioned example (Illustration 4-9), range in diameter from .68 to .69 inch. The fragments found on the Dawson property are .4-inch thick. This thickness appears to be close to the range of variance for Civil War-era spherical case.

The Bowen property has yielded two fragments of 12-pounder mountain howitzer case fragments, both of which were privately collected and both of which are partial fuse seats as noted in the "Previous Collection" section. The Bowen property also yielded a single .69-caliber ball (FS3031). It is impact deformed, but enough surface remained to determine it was not fired in a rifled weapon, and there are random dimples in the lead that is consistent with the ball touching other balls for some time. This is consistent with being carried in a sack or pouch, or being a shrapnel ball in a case shot.

Lead

Four lumps of melted lead (FS2010, 2018, 3016, and 3017) were found during the 1999 field investigations. The first three lumps are fairly soft lead and may be spills of lead from bullet casting. The last lump (FS3017) is very hard and is an alloyed lead. This piece may be twentieth century in origin and may be spill from the pouring of babbit metal to replace a bearing in an early motor vehicle.

Percussion Caps and Cap Tins

Percussion caps were the most common form of firearm ignition during the mid-nineteenth century, although they were rapidly supplanted by self-contained metallic cartridges beginning with the Civil War. Three brass percussion caps of unusual style were found in 1999. The caps (FS2012a and b, and 2200) are known as patent caps, and are about 3/16 inch in diameter and ¼ inch long.¹³⁰ They have a butterfly-like design on the top of the cap, which is probably a manufacturer's trademark, as yet unidentified. Two caps (FS2012a and b) are unfired (Illustration 4-5a). The third cap (FS2200) is fired and the body has split due to the ignition process.

Two tinned iron pieces (FS2001 and 2139) are probably ends to percussion cap tins or containers. Each is about 1 ¼ inches in diameter. Stylistically, they compare favorably with other examples.¹³¹

¹²⁸Jerome E. Petsche, *The Steamboat Bertrand: History, Excavation, and Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1974).

¹²⁹Switzer, "Maynard Cartridges and Primers from the Steamboat *Bertrand*."

¹³⁰William J. Hunt Jr., "Firearms and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade Frontier: Weapons and Related Materials from Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (23WI17), North Dakota," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 1989, pp. 329-333.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 359-361.

Gun Part

A single gun part, a lock bridle (FS1085), was recovered. The bridle held the tumbler and sear in place on a gun lock. The bridle is a large size for either a musket or trade gunlock¹³² and is of the type that would have been issued as an annuity item or was readily available at a trading post. Similar bridles were found during the archeological investigations of Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site.¹³³



Illustration 4-10: Iron arrowheads: (a) and (d-e) unfinished arrowheads; note the unfinished cut edges on (d) and (e); (b) a base of a camp-made arrowhead; (c) a commercially-made arrowhead. Douglas Scott

Arrowheads

A brass arrowhead (DFS3) was found on the Dawson property. Metal arrowheads, primarily iron, were common trade items from the early 1600s to the early twentieth century, and had almost completely supplanted chipped stone projectiles by the mid-nineteenth century.¹³⁴ The brass arrowhead appears to be hand-made and is a stemmed or tanged point made from brass stock. It is 1.12 inches long and its maximum width is .42 inch. The tang is about .5 inch long. One side is flat and clean while the other side bears a single scratch mark roughly along its center axis, which may have originated with the maker, as it appears to be a guide line for determining the center of the point's axis.

¹³²Ibid., pp. 238-239.

¹³³Jackson W. Moore Jr., *Bent's Old Fort: An Archeological Study* (Boulder, CO: State Historical Society of Colorado and Pruett Publishing, 1973), pp. 87-99.

¹³⁴James Hanson, "Upper Missouri Arrow Points," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (1972) 8(4):2-8; and Carl P. Russell, *Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967).

The 1999 investigations recovered six iron arrowheads. One (FS1012) is broken and only the base remains (Illustration 4-10b). It is a tanged variety and is 11/16 inch across the base; the tang is serrated with three notches and is 5/16 inch long and 1/4 inch wide. One complete arrowhead (FS2055) is also tanged and is 2 1/2 inches long, 5/8 inch across the base; the tang is also serrated with three notches and is 1/4 inch long and wide (Illustration 4-10c). This point appears to be commercially made, and probably a stamped variety. The remaining arrowheads (FS2067, 2068a and b, and 2084) are all in an unfinished state (Illustrations 4-10a, d, and e). Each is in a different state of preparation with tangs incomplete and edges blunt. Each appears to be cut from a piece of heavy strap iron or barrel hoop. One edge is smooth and blunt, while the other edge is ragged from the cutting out process. Also, the tip of each is flat. As a group, the arrow points represent the various manufacturing steps undertaken by one or more arrow makers in the village. Specimen 2068a is 3 3/8 inches long with a blunt tip, and 3/4 inch wide, with the asymmetrical tang 5/16 inch long and wide. Specimen 2068b is 3 9/16 inches long, blunt tipped, and 3/4 inch wide at the base, with the tang 5/16 inch long and 3/8 inch wide. Specimen 2084 is 3 7/8 inch long with a blunt tip and 3/4 inch wide across the base. The unfinished tang is 5/16 inch long and 3/4 inch wide. As noted earlier in the report, Chuck and Sheri Bowen also have collected several iron arrowheads on their property.

The arrowhead styles found are typical of those available to Indians during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Metal arrowheads were neither endemic to the Plains, nor to the Cheyenne. Use of these arrowhead types is documented by the Surgeon General.¹³⁵ The types are reported to have been found in wounds of soldiers and civilians from Texas and Arizona to the Northern Plains.

Military Equipment

Military Shoulder Scale

The crescent end (Illustration 4-11b) of an enlisted man's brass shoulder scale (FS1079) was found in 1999. A mounting tongue for a



Illustration 4-11: Brass photograph preserver and a fragment of an enlisted man's brass dress shoulder scale. *Douglas Scott*

¹³⁵War Department, A Report of Surgical Cases Treated in the Army of the United States from 1865 to 1871 (Washington, D.C.: Surgeon General's Office, Circular 3, 1871).

similar shoulder scale was found by Bill Dawson in the Dawson South Bend in 1997. The brass shoulder scale was introduced as a dress item for enlisted men in 1854 and went out of general use in 1872.¹³⁶

Canteen Stopper Ring

A Model 1858 canteen stopper ring (FS1051) was found in 1999. The ring and shaft are complete, including a tin washer for the now missing cork and iron retaining chain (Illustration 4-12c). It conforms to the Models 1858 stopper type used on the oblate spheroid canteen of the Civil War and early Indian Wars.¹³⁷ A canteen stopper chain was collected by the Bowens on their property.



Illustration 4-12: Miscellaneous items: (a) military canteen stopper ring and chain; (b) bowl of stamped iron spoon; (c) iron tailors thimble. *Douglas Scott*

Picket Pin

A Model 1859 army issue picket pin (DFS4) was recovered on the Dawson property in 1997. The picket pin is typical of those commonly issued to cavalry units during the Civil War and well into the 1870s.¹³⁸ This specimen retains its figure-eight loop for attaching a snaphook. The head is battered and the tip is bent and slightly deformed, demonstrating use in hard or rocky ground prior to its deposition on the Dawson property.

¹³⁶Frederick P. Todd, *American Military Equipage, 1851-1872*, Volume I (Providence, RI: Company of Military Historians, 1974), pp. 100-102.

¹³⁷Stephen W. Sylvia, and Michael O'Donnell, *Civil War Canteens* (Orange, VA: Moss Publications, 1983); and Todd, p. 216.

¹³⁸Steffen, *The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943*.

Personal Items

Suspender Grip

A fragment of a stamped brass suspender grip (FS1139) was recovered. The grip is a private purchase style and could have been used by anyone during the period. The military did not have a standard issue suspender during the Civil War, and did not adopt issue suspenders until 1883.¹³⁹

Buttons

Twelve buttons were found during the 1999 investigations. The most distinctive buttons are the three military general service buttons. These brass line eagle buttons (FS1168, 2100, and 2195) are approximately ½ inch in diameter (Illustration 4-13b), and were commonly used on military blouse cuffs and on forage cap chinstraps. One (FS1168) is backmarked **Extra Quality**. In addition to the 1999 finds, Bill Dawson discovered two other military buttons along Sand Creek at the Dawson South Bend in 1997. Both are the small size. One is a General Service type and the second is a Staff Eagle type. Another military type button (FS2007) was found on the August Kern property. It is the front only of a New York State militia button (Illustration 4-13c). The front carries the New York State seal and motto “Excelsior.” According to



Illustration 4-13: Buttons: (a) brass ball button with chain links; (b) U.S. General Service brass cuff or forage cap button; (c) face of a brass New York State militia button; (d) brass flat loop shank button. *Douglas Scott*

¹³⁹Robert M. Herskovitz, “Ft. Bowie Material Culture,” *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 31* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1978).

Warren Tice, this New York button variety was authorized for the State Militia in 1855.¹⁴⁰ These three military button types date to the Civil War era.¹⁴¹

There are three buttons (FS1093, 1094, and 2034) that can be associated with trousers, and are commonly found on soldiers' trousers. They are iron two-piece four hole buttons in three diameters (5/8 inch, 11/16 inch, and 1/2 inch respectively). The larger was used to support suspenders and to close the trouser fly. The smaller buttons were commonly used to close the trouser fly. The three buttons are also common Civil War era buttons.

Five other buttons are civilian types. One (FS2078) is a 3/4-inch diameter flat brass button with a loop shank (Illustration 4-13d). This is a common clothing button of the early nineteenth century and was popular in the Indian trade for many years. This button type is known to have a manufacturing date range from 1800 to 1865.¹⁴² The other four buttons (FS1084, 2054, 2078, and 2198) are 1/4-inch diameter brass ball or "bullet" shaped buttons with a loop shank.¹⁴³ Two (FS1084 and 2198) have links of a lightweight brass chain attached (Illustration 4-13a) to the shank. The buttons were commonly used on ladies clothing in the mid-nineteenth century, but may have been an Indian trade item as well.

Boot Nails

Three boot nails (FS1086) about 3/4-inch long are of the type used to nail leather boot soles to the upper.¹⁴⁴ This boot nail type was commonly used throughout the nineteenth century.

Photograph Preserver

A three-inch-long ornate brass fragment (FS1046) represents one side of a photograph preserver or frame. The sheet brass preserver (Illustration 4-11a) is of the type commonly found on daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and early ferrotypes (tintypes) photographs. The preserver was used to hold the mat, glass, and photograph together for placement in a frame and dates to the mid-nineteenth century.

Trade Silver Fragment and Ornament

A fragment of sheet silver (DFS6) found in 1997 is roughly square with rounded corners. It is .94 inch wide and .96 inch long. Under magnification there are inscribed linear marks on one side. The marks may have formed part of a design element of a large piece from which this was cut. It appears to be a scrap of sheet silver cut from another item.

¹⁴⁰Warren K. Tice, *Uniform Buttons of the United States, 1776-1865* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1997), pp. 380-384.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²William J. Hunt Jr., "Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, 32WI17, Material Culture Reports, Part V: Buttons as Closures, Buttons as Decorations: A Nineteenth Century Example from Fort Union" (Lincoln, NE: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1986), pp. 17-20.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁴⁴Adrienne Anderson, "The Archeology of Mass-produced Footwear," *Historical Archeology* (1968) 2:56.

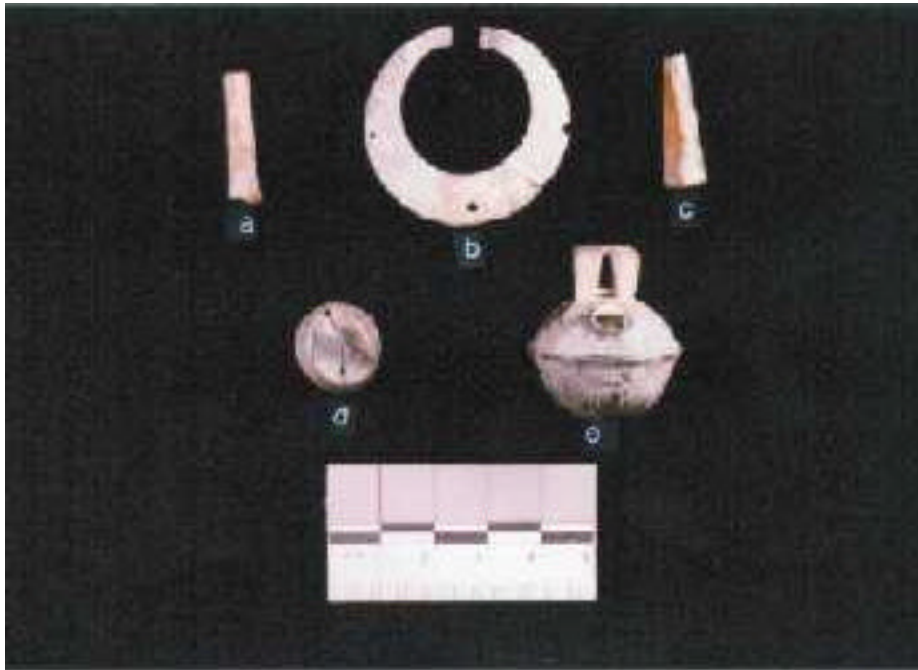


Illustration 4-14: Ornaments: (a) and (c) iron tinkling cones; (b) silver naja or Cheyenne man's ornament; (c) brass "hawk" bell; (d) cast brass Circarch bell. *Douglas Scott*

A second sheet silver ornament (FS1039) is a surface find. It is in the shape of a naja, a nearly closed crescent shape that originated with the Spanish entrada in the Southwest (Illustration 4-14b). The ornament form found wide acceptance among various Native American groups.¹⁴⁵ It is commonly seen as an appendage on crosses and pectoral ornaments.¹⁴⁶ When discovered, Luke Brady identified the item as a Cheyenne man's breast ornament.¹⁴⁷

Bells

Three bells were recovered during the 1999 field investigations. Two (FS1037 and 2047) are so-called "hawk bells" (Illustration 4-14d), which are also known as Saturn bells.¹⁴⁸ These approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch diameter sheet brass bells were common trade items throughout North America from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century. The third bell (Illustration 4-14e) is a heavy cast brass bell (FS1182). It is approximately 1.5 inches in diameter and is of the style known as the Circarch bell.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Arthur Woodward, *The Denominators of the Fur Trade* (Pasadena, CA: Westernlore Press, 1970) pp. 66-68.

¹⁴⁶ James Hanson, *Metal Weapons, Tools, and Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), pp. 90-93; Jean Afton, David Fridtjof Halaas, Andrew W. Masich, with Richard N. Ellis, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat* (Niwot, CO: Colorado State Historical Society and University of Colorado Press, 1997), pp. xiv and 133.

¹⁴⁷ Luke Brady, personal communication to author, May 21, 1999.

¹⁴⁸ Ian Brown, "Historic Trade Bells," *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1975*, Part I, Volume 10 (1977), pp. 75-76.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-76.

The Circarch bell was produced in England for the North American trade as early as the late seventeenth century and was still a popular trade item well into the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁰

Thimble

A sewing thimble (FS2003a) is present in the collection. The thimble has an open top (Illustration 4-12a) and is identified as a nineteenth century tailor's sewing thimble.¹⁵¹ It was found in association with a 1-inch lightweight brass D-shaped buckle (FS2003b).

Tinkling Cones

Tinkling cones or tinklers were common ornamental items on Native American dress throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some were manufactured for distribution, and others were camp-made from tin cans or waste sheet metal. Both brass and iron are common finds. Three iron tinkling cones (Illustration 4-14a and c) were found relatively close to one another during the field investigations. Two (FS2129 and 2136) are 1-inch long and one (FS2072) is ¾-inch long.

Camp Equipage and Utensils

Tin Cups, Pans, Plates, Bowls, Boilers, and Buckets

A number of tinned iron items were recovered. Among the artifacts are five tin cups, fragments of a coffee boiler, part of a tin plate, a tin bowl, several strap tin handles, a possible grater, and a number of fragments of sheet iron pans or boilers. Two crushed and flattened tin cups (FS1014 and 1077) are identifiable as Civil War-era army style tin cups.¹⁵² The cups appear to be standard issue tin cups with the rolled wire reinforced rim. The body and bottom are soldered and the handle is riveted and soldered in place. Another group of tin cup fragments and the wire rim reinforce (FS2088) may also represent a deteriorated Army style tin cup. Tinned iron strap handle fragments (FS1036 and 2009) are probably parts of cup handles. A fourth, but smaller crushed and flattened tin cup (FS2186), is 3 inches tall and 2 ½ inches in diameter. The strap handle is missing. This cup style was also common during the Civil War era.¹⁵³ The fifth cup (FS1006), intact except for its handle, is much more modern in construction, with lapped side seams and machine soldering that date it to post-1876 and, more likely, very late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

A crushed and mangled tin plate (FS1174) and three other fragments of a second plate (FS2049) are comparable with Civil War era mess plates.¹⁵⁴ The plate is dished and has a wide rim; plates of this type were common in the second and third quarters of the

¹⁵⁰Ibid., Hanson, *Metal Weapons*, pp. 80-82; and G. Hubert Smith, "Like -A-Fishhook Village and Fort Berthold, Garrison Reservoir, North Dakota," *Anthropological Papers 2* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1972).

¹⁵¹Smith, p. 76.

¹⁵²Paul L. Hedren, "Army Tincups on the Western Frontier," *Military Collector and Historian* 44 (1992)(2):57-63.

¹⁵³Francis A. Lord, *Civil War Collectors Encyclopedia*, Volumes I and II (Edison, NJ: Blue and Grey Press, 1995), p. 169.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 167-171.

nineteenth century. A crushed and deteriorated tin bowl is represented by FS2052. Again, this style was common in the nineteenth century.

A number of tinned iron and sheet iron fragments may be the remains of tin kettles, pans, and pots (usually called boilers in the nineteenth century). A coffee boiler or pot is represented by a crushed lid (FS1043) and the bottom (FS1042). The coffee boiler bottom has a ½-inch by 3/8-inch hole in its center. The hole size and configuration is consistent with it being struck with a pointed instrument, such as a pickaxe. A second coffee boiler may be represented by a long tinned iron strap handle. Such handles are found on Civil War era camp coffee boilers.¹⁵⁵ Other sheet iron pots and pans are represented by various fragments: FS1113, a piece of sheet iron that has a later cut along one edge; FS1138 is a wire reinforce from a rim and some attached sheet iron fragment that probably were part of a large kettle;¹⁵⁶ FS1160, FS2075 and FS2194 are bits of sheet iron that appear to have been part of larger pan or kettle-like objects; and FS2114 is part of a large baking pan or possibly a kettle with a 3-inch-long wire loop handle. The fragmented nature of these items prevents their positive identification and dating, although they appear consistent in form and manufacturing technique to known nineteenth-century vessel types.

There are four other sheet iron fragments (FS1050a and b, 1156, and 1159) that may represent parts of food graters. The fragments are all container body pieces and each are perforated with numerous small holes. The edges of the holes are raised to give a sharp edge. The fragments are probably parts of one or more small “radish” graters that could be found in many kitchens in the nineteenth century.

Parts of three buckets were discovered during the 1999 field investigations. Field Specimen 1145 is a bucket bale with a brass attachment ear still present. The bale and ear are likely from an American-made mid-nineteenth century brass bucket.¹⁵⁷ Sheet iron buckets are represented by some body and wire reinforce fragments (FS2044), an 8-inch diameter iron bucket bottom (FS2085), and an iron bucket bale ear with attaching rivet (FS2113). All are consistent with nineteenth century bucket types.

Coffee Grinder/Mill

The handle and grinding gears (FS1177) of a nineteenth century style coffee grinder or mill (Illustration 4-15) were recovered. The handle, gears, and gear shaft are iron. The handle was detachable and is held in place with a fancy brass nut. Additional parts of this mill, or possibly a second, are represented by three iron fragments to a flange or collar that held the beans during grinding. Two fragments (FS2106a and b) cross-mend and are part of the collar’s upper rim. The third fragment (FS2107) is flared and probably represents the lower part of the collar where it joined with the box that held the ground coffee.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶James Hanson, “Upper Missouri Arrow Points.”

¹⁵⁷James Hanson, “Identifying Open Kettles of Copper and Brass,” *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 33(2):2-13 (1997).

Utensils

Everyday utensils, including knives, forks, spoons, and possible meat skewers are among the items collected in 1999. Common tablespoons (Illustration 4-12b) are represented by three spoon bowls (FS1053, 1107, and 1125) and two handle fragments (FS2081 and 2098). A larger, basting size, spoon bowl (FS2028) is also present. The spoons and handle fragments are all stamped tinned iron. The handles are spatulate or fiddle shaped. These spoons are common utensils on mid-nineteenth-century and Civil War-era sites.¹⁵⁸

There is one fork fragment (FS1144) consisting of the tine end and with three tines (two broken but present). A second fork may be represented by an iron handle (FS1044). The handle has two iron attaching pins present, indicating the handle once had bone or wood slabs to complete the item. Again, this is a common nineteenth-century style utensil.



Illustration 4-15: The handle and grinding gears for a coffee mill or grinder. *Douglas Scott*

A common round point table knife is represented by Field Specimen 1047. It is iron with integral iron bolsters and it once had bone or wooden slabs overlaying the handle. One butcher knife (FS2196) is iron and the blade is extensively worn. The handle retains two brass pins for holding wood or bone slabs in place. The knife is too worn to determine its original style, although the shape suggests a common butcher knife. No impressed manufacturer's name could be found on the blade. The butcher knife was a common Indian trade item and settlers' tool for generations.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸Lord, pp. 166-169.

¹⁵⁹James Hanson, "The Scalping Knife," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (1987) 23(1):8-12; and "Butcher Knives," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (1987) 23(3):1-5; and Ronald R. Switzer, "Butcher Knives as Historical Sources," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (1972) (8):1:5-7.

Field specimen 1117 is a nearly 12-inch long rod, probably a pitchfork tine that has been sharpened on both ends. The tine was made with a squared shank typical of pre-twentieth century pitchforks. Its function is unknown, but it is possible it was used as a meat skewer. Another possible meat skewer (FS2062) is an 18-inch-long iron rod sharpened on one end, with the other end turned over to make a small loop. These identifications are not considered conclusive.

The final utensil is a fragment of a scissors or cutting shears blade (FS2140). The blade is broken just above the screw hole used to join the two blades together. Scissors and shears are another common item of the nineteenth century frontier, on both Native American and White-related sites.¹⁶⁰

Cast Iron Kettles, Pots, and Pans

The 1999 collection contains 36 pieces of cast iron representing several container types. A Dutch oven is represented by Field Specimens 1038, 1136 and 1170. The three cross-mend and are the bottom and the three legs to an 8-inch diameter Dutch oven. A second Dutch oven may be represented by another cast iron fragment (FS2199). This piece may be a lid. It has four partial letters (**C C I** and a possible **I** or **H**) visible on one surface, probably representing a manufacturer's name or logo. The manufacturer is unidentified.

A frying pan, about 9 or 10 inches in diameter, is represented by eight pieces (FS2191 and 2192a, b, c, d, e, f, and g). Seven fragments cross-mend to give the shape and identification. A single bottom fragment (FS2094) may be to another frying pan. It is about the same thickness as the cross-mended pan, but its identification is not certain.

A cast iron tea-type kettle is represented by two cross-mended pieces of the rim and body (FS2188 and 2189). The two fragments have a straight rim and sharply angled body, typical of a nineteenth century teakettle shape.

The remaining fragments are from rounded body cast iron kettles. At least one kettle is represented by a series of cross-mended fragments (FS2045a, b, c, and d, and 2060). These fragments include portions of the rim and body. Field specimen 2045 actually includes three additional body fragments found with the two rims and two body fragments which cross-mended. Four other kettle rim and body fragments (FS2058, 2059a and b, and 2060) are the same type and thickness as the cross-mended pieces and may be part of this same kettle.

Three other kettles are represented by five other artifacts (FS1073a and b, 2017, and 2147a and b). Each has a rim that is a different configuration from the others, thus suggesting that they represent three more individual kettles. The last artifact (FS1129) is a kettle body fragment that cannot be associated with any other group.

The collection thus includes at least one Dutch oven, one frying pan, and four kettles among the 36 cast iron artifacts. The body styles of the containers is typical of nineteenth-century origin.

¹⁶⁰Smith.

Cast Iron Stove

Three cast iron fragments are parts to a stove. Two lids are present as fragments (FS2093 and FS2120). An ash shaker (FS2118) fragment still has clinkers adhering to its surface. The context of discovery and proximity of the pieces suggest they are part of one stove. The discovery context and adjacent artifacts, such as fence wire (FS2119) and a zinc press-on can lid (FS2121) which are post-1880 items, suggests this area of the site may have had a later occupation. It is possible that ranching activities or the construction of the Chivington Canal may be responsible for the presence of this later debris.

A highly ornamented cast brass decorative device (FS3028) was found near some concrete building foundations on the Bowen property. This piece is probably an ornament for a late nineteenth or early twentieth century heating stove. Similar examples can be found in the 1895 Montgomery Ward catalog, and the 1897 and 1902 Sears and Roebuck catalogs.

Tin Cans

Tin cans, like nails, have a tale to tell to the archeologist. Can manufacturing technology changed through time, and those changes are fairly well documented and dated. The various tin can manufacturing methods have established date ranges. This allows archeologists to date a can to the period of manufacture. The can and can fragments from the investigations were analyzed based on the criteria provided by Jim Rock.¹⁶¹

Cans manufactured during 1864 would be hole-in-cap types with stamped ends and simple side seam overlap. The side seams were hand soldered. Machine soldering was developed in 1876 and cans with machine-soldered seams would not have been present in 1864.

Among the collected artifacts are 11 crushed tin cans of the hole-in-cap type, one hole-in-cap top, one friction lid, and one sanitary can lid. In addition, 38 field specimen numbers were assigned to fragments of tin cans (the total number of fragments or cans is not possible to detail due to the fragile and oxidized nature of the fragments). Little can be said about the fragments other than they are consistent in thickness with can fragments (FS1018, 1026, 1031, 1040, 1041, 1060, 1063, 1074, 1095, 1096, 1104, 1114, 1120, 1123, 1137, 1149, 1151, 1161, 1162, 2013, 2015, 2023, 2024, 2026, 2027, 2031, 2064, 2090, 2092, 2095, 2097, 2104, 2105, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, and 2203). Many of the can fragments were found in proximity with one another suggesting they were once associated, but the natural process of oxidation has taken its toll, and all that remains are these fragments.

The friction lid (FS1032) may be a baking powder can lid. This type of lid can date to the 1864 period. The sanitary can lid (FS2204) definitely post-dates the 1864 period, and probably represents later use of the site by ranch hands, irrigation canal workers, or other late nineteenth or early twentieth century land users.

The hole-in-cap cans were all found crushed flat. The following can measurements are approximate given the condition of the cans. There are three large cans (FS1110,

¹⁶¹Jim Rock, *A Brief Commentary on Cans* (Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 1987).

1116, and 1131) which are about 5 inches tall and 3 inches in diameter. Another can (FS1083) is 3 ½ inches in diameter, but its height could not be determined due to oxidation and the effect of crushing. Field specimen 1172 is a 4 ½-inch tall and 3 ¼-inch-diameter can, and field specimen 2112 is a 3-inch tall and 2 ½-inch-diameter can. A single hole-in-cap top (FS1082) was also found.

A sardine can (FS2086) measuring 4 inches long (the width could not be determined) has the top panel removed for opening. This opening type is consistent with a mid-nineteenth-century sardine can type.

A rectangular can is so badly crushed that no reliable measurements could be obtained. The can (FS2089) may be a can for potted meats, but its diagnostic features are so distorted by crushing that the identification is uncertain.

Three small cans were also found. One (FS2102) is 2 ½ inches high and 2 ¼ inches in diameter. The can is crushed, but the top was cut open with crosscuts, suggesting that its contents were solid or semi-solid and not a liquid. The other two small cans (FS2109 and 2110) are 2 ¼ inches high and 2 ¼ inches in diameter condensed milk cans.

The majority of the cans recovered are consistent with a mid-nineteenth century date of manufacture, and could easily date to the 1864 event. The cans' contents could have ranged from fruits to vegetables, and they could have been used by either the Cheyenne and Arapaho people or by members of the Colorado Volunteer units, or both. It is also possible that some cans may have been deposited later in time by other land users.

Tools

Axe

A broken axe head (DFS5) was recovered on the Dawson property in 1997. The forged iron axe is missing its poll, apparently breaking due to its misuse as a wedge. The axe is wrought iron with a steel edge or bit insert. The axe form is a style from 1750 to 1850 or slightly later.¹⁶² A second axe of the same type was found by Dawson after the 1997 crew left the site. A third axe head (FS2201) was found during the 1999 field investigations. The axe head is of a slightly different form than the 1997 finds, but stylistically dates to the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶³ The poll is battered suggesting hard usage. At one time, before its deposition, the axe handle was wedged in place with cut nails. The handle may have been loose, as six cut nails of different sizes were inserted to secure the handle.

Awls

Three handmade awls were found during the investigations. Two (FS2071 and 2116) are made from wire. They are both about 3 inches long and about 3/16 inch in diameter. Both have sharpened ends. The other handmade awl (FS2099) was made from a worn out butcher knife. The knife handle with mounting holes is present. The

¹⁶²Harold Petersen, "American Indian Tomahawks," New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1965; and Russell.

¹⁶³Smith, p. 138.

blade was filed or cut to form an awl point about 3 inches long. Hanson illustrates a similar example from the Pine Ridge area.¹⁶⁴ All are consistent with other awls dating to the nineteenth century.

Files

Five files were recovered. Four of the files (FS1153, 2011, 2040, and 2050) are small triangular files with square shanks (Illustration 4-16f). They are 3 ¼ , 3 ½ , 4, and 4 inches long respectively. The fifth file (FS2180) is a 6-inch-long flat bastard file. The triangular file types are typical nineteenth century styles¹⁶⁵ while the flat file may date much later based on the hardness of the iron, which appears to be a low-carbon steel of more recent age.



Illustration 4-16: Native American tools: (a) iron scraper or flesher bit; (b) knife tip altered by filing a W-shaped cutting surface; (c) scissors blade fragment with the W-shaped notch; (d) strap iron with two W-shaped notches; (e) strap iron with a serrated edge, an awl tip, and a W-shaped notch; (f) a triangular file. *Douglas Scott*

Hammer

A heavily oxidized iron cross pie hammer (FS1165) was found during the investigations. Stylistically it is nearly impossible to narrow the date range for its manufacture to any more than mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Scrapers

Nine iron items can be categorized as scraping tools. Two artifacts (FS1140 and 1166) are fleshing irons (Illustrations 4-16a and 4-17d). These are curved iron bits that were meant to be mounted in a wood or bone handle and used to deflesh animal

¹⁶⁴Hanson, *Metal Weapons*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁵D.A. Lyle, and Samuel W. Porter, "Report on the Manufacture and Issue of Files and Rasps," *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives, 47th Congress, Appendix 35 to Ordnance Reports No. 1, Part 2, Volume 3* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882), pp. 320-385.

hides. Hanson illustrates an identical specimen that is mounted on a bone handle, and he attributes it to a Southern Cheyenne origin.¹⁶⁶ Field specimen 1078 is a wide piece of flat iron that has a curved cutting edge (Illustration 4-17b). It is too heavily oxidized to determine if it was meant to be handheld or mounted to a handle. There are similar specimens from other Native American villages of the mid-nineteenth century as comparable examples.¹⁶⁷

Two strap iron fragments (FS1045 and 2030) were modified by filing in a series of small notches, creating a serrated edge (Illustration 4-17b and c). These modified pieces could be used for cutting or scraping, and similar examples exist in other archeological contexts.¹⁶⁸

Four other artifacts have been modified with the addition of deeply filed W-shaped notches.

Field specimen 2063 is the broken tip of a butcher knife that has a W-shaped notch (Illustration 4-16b). Two pieces of strap iron (FS2074 and 2108) have one or more W-shaped filed notches. Field specimen 2074 has two notches (Illustration 4-16d). It is a heavy piece of strap iron, and several letters (Illustration 4-18) were stamped into the metal before it was modified. The lettering is nearly illegible. Field specimen 2108 did triple duty. This piece of strap iron (Illustration 4-16e) was modified by shaping one end into an awl, one edge had serrations created by filing shallow notches, and a W-shaped notch is present. Finally, a scissors blade fragment (FS2181) has a W-shaped notch filed into its cutting edge (Illustration 4-16c). The W-shaped notches are about $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep and across, varying from item to item. The outer edges of the W were not sharpened, but at least one inner angle is beveled by filing to create a cutting edge. The purposes of these W-shaped notches are not obvious. They may have been intended as a multipurpose

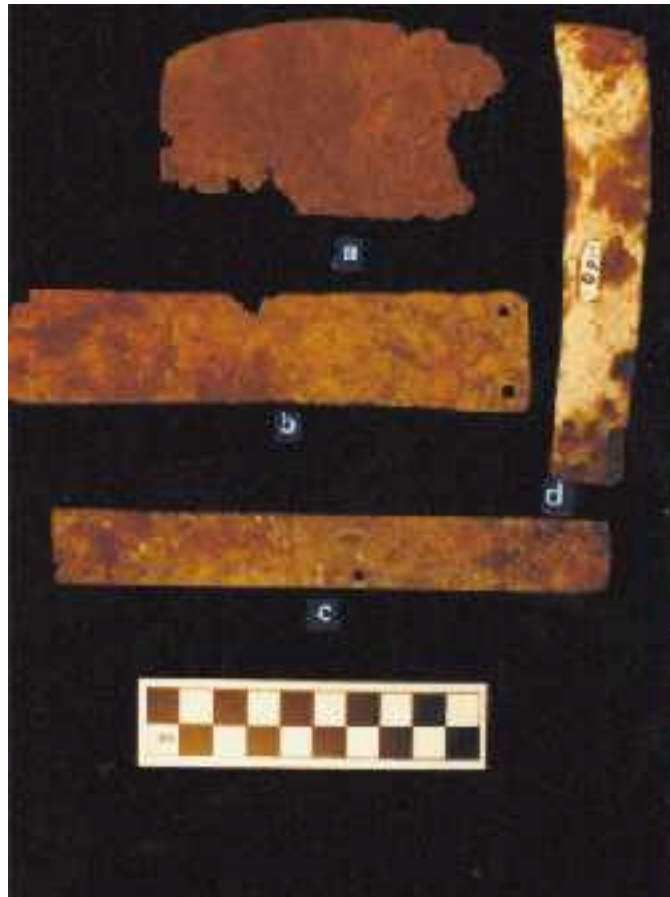


Illustration 4-17: Scrapers: (a) fragment of a flat iron scraper or flesher; (b) and (c) strap iron that have been altered to hide scrapers or cutting tools by filing serrations; (d) iron scraper or flesher bit. Douglas Scott

¹⁶⁶Hanson, *Metal Weapons*, p. 62.

¹⁶⁷Smith, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 75.



Illustration 4-18: Stamped letters on the surface of a piece of strap iron altered with two W-shaped notches (only one notch is visible in photograph). *Douglas Scott*

cutting tool, or for specific purposes. Among the several possible functions for the notch is cutting or splitting sinews, or as volunteer Dennis Gahagen demonstrated by replication, to groove an arrowshaft. The tool may also have been used to cut leather fringe.¹⁶⁹

Wedge

Field specimen 2022 is an iron tool wedge. It shows heavy use on its upper surface. Its date of use spans a very broad range.

Horse Tack, Harness, and Related Horse Equipage

Spur

A nineteenth-century style iron spur was recovered. The spur (FS1121) has the iron rowel and one arm with a strap attachment stud present. The other arm is broken and missing.

Saddle and Tack Parts

Several saddle and tack items are among the items collected. A fragment of a brass girth D-ring (DFS11) was found on the Dawson property in 1997. The remaining fragment is 1.77 inches long and 1.05 inches wide. The girth D-ring was used to attach various straps and the girth to a saddle. This style is consistent with the type used on the military saddles of the Civil War era, the McClellan saddle.¹⁷⁰ Seven iron rings of the type used in girthing were recovered in 1999. Two rings (FS1069 and

¹⁶⁹James Hanson, personal communication to author, July 1, 1999.

¹⁷⁰Randy Steffen, *United States Military Saddles, 1812-1943* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), and *The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943, Volume II, The Frontier, The Mexican War, The Civil War, The Indian Wars, 1851-1880* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

1088), 1½ inches in diameter, one ring (FS1035) 1¾ inches in diameter, and three rings (FS2020, 2145, and 3021), 2 inches in diameter, are non-military types that probably represent a civilian or Indian saddles. FS1056 is a 2½-inch-diameter girth ring, which could be either military or civilian in origin. The types are not readily amenable to dating, as they are ubiquitous to the horse transportation era. One military-type iron skirt ring (FS2004) was recovered, however. This item meets the specifications for the Civil War-era McClellan saddle.¹⁷¹

Three other tack-related artifacts (FS1141, 2079, and 2123) are bridle curb chains. Two chains (FS1141 and 2079) are Civil War-era style curb chains. The other chain fragment (FS2123) is a civilian style of undetermined age. A halter of undetermined affiliation is represented by a single halter square (FS2145). It is 1½ inches square and is probably a post-1864 loss. A large rivet (FS1119), 3/16 inch in diameter and 1½ inches long, is probably a halter rivet. One bridle item (FS3023) is a hand-forged iron decorative device commonly found on Spanish or Mexican style bridles of the nineteenth century.¹⁷²

Tack Buckles

Twenty-six tack buckles, another difficult to date item from the horse transportation era, were recovered in 1999. Sixteen are iron roller buckles (FS1049, 1105, 1126, 1135, 2032, 2033, 2037, 2043, 2046, 2053, 2056, 2077, 2096, 2125, 3027, and 3030), eight are D-buckles in both brass and iron (FS1143, 1158, 2002, 2003b, 2076, 2083, 2182, and 2185), and one is a center-bar brass buckle (FS2057). The buckles range in width from ¾ inch to 1¾ inches and have many potential uses. They may have been used on cinch straps, pack saddles, on the horse nose (feed) bag, or a number of other leather straps. Field specimen 3027 was found with remnants of the leather strap and two solid copper rivets. One additional buckle is a hand-forged iron specimen (FS1059). It measures 4 inches long and 2½ inches wide. Its function is unknown, but may be a large belt or strap slide buckle, perhaps used on a pack saddle.

Horseshoes and Horseshoe Nails

There were eight horseshoes or horseshoe fragments recovered during the archeological project. It is difficult to ascertain, except for one instance, if the shoes could have been made in or around 1864. Horses were used for many years in the area, and the method of construction and attachment of shoes varies little through time. Nevertheless, manufacturing techniques are clues to their origin. All shoe identification and nomenclature follow Rick Morris.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹Steffen, *The Horse Soldier*.

¹⁷²Douglas Scott, and Linda Scott, "Analysis of the Historic Artifacts and Evidence from Pollen: A 19th Century Ute Burial From Northeastern Utah" (Salt Lake City, UT: *Cultural Resource Series*, Number 16, Bureau of Land Management, 1984); and George Metcalf, "Notes on Two Paiute Burials and Associated Artifacts," *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (1974) 10(1-2):2-22.

¹⁷³Rick Morris, personal communication with author, January 8, 1987; Towana Spivey, ed., "A Historical Guide to Wagon Hardware and Blacksmith Supplies," *Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains*, No. 9 (Lawton, OK,: Museum of the Great Plains, 1979) ; and Dale Berge, "Simpson Springs Station Historical Archaeology in Western Utah," *Cultural Resource Series 6* (Salt Lake City, UT: Bureau of Land Management, 1980), pp. 237-249.

The shoes include two Burden pattern (FS1005 and 3001), a pony-sized horseshoe (FS1021), two draft weight shoes (FS1024 and 2101), one shoe with a toe caulk (FS1034), a possible mule shoe (FS1142), and one shoe fragment (FS1070). The only shoe type that can be reasonably dated is the Burden type shoe. The Burden shoe form was developed prior to the Civil War and used extensively through the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Horseshoe nails were a more common find during the investigations. Sixty-eight nails (FS1015, 1016[51 in one cache], 1017a, 1017b, 1057, 1058[8], 1087, 1127, 2051, 2073, and 2103), and five nail fragments (FS1020, 1025, 1033, 1048, and 1134) were recovered. Field specimen 1016 was a cache or group of horseshoe nails numbering 51 in total. Three other nails (FS1015, and 1017a and b) were found in the immediate vicinity of the FS1016 group, and are probably associated. The nails in this assemblage are both used and unused. The purpose of the cache or group is unknown, but it was purposely assembled. It may represent an intentional collection of nails from various sources that were contained in a now disintegrated bag or pouch, and may have been intended for any number of functions.

Wagon Hardware

A few pieces of horse-drawn wagon hardware were also recovered. One item (FS1019) is a wheel hub band, which is 3 ½ inches in diameter. Other artifacts include a wagon box staple (FS1028), a possible wagon bracket fragment (FS2080), an eye to an end rod (FS1122), and a single tree fitting (FS1109). These items are also difficult to date and can fall anywhere in the era of horse-drawn transportation.

Fasteners

Cut Nails, Wire Nails, and A Brass Tack

A single cut nail (DFS7) was collected from the Dawson property in 1997. It is a common cut nail of the 12d size. Sixteen other cut nails, six fragments, two wire nails, and a railroad spike were recovered in 1999. The cut nails are in nine sizes: 2d (FS2137), 3d (FS1016a, 1167, and 3002), 4d (1146), 6d (FS1016b, 1124, and 3005), 7d (FS1101 and 3010), 8d (FS1132 and 1169), 20d (FS1102 and 3003), a hand forged 8 inch spike (FS2075), and a 4 ½ inch spike (FS1163). Cut nail fragments include FS1130, 1133, 1150, 1157, and 3011. The wire nails are FS2115a and b; and the railroad spike is FS2117.

The cut nails are all common commercially manufactured types, with one exception noted above. These nail types were readily available from the second quarter of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. The railroad spike is also a common nineteenth century type, but the wire nails are definitely post-1890. The wire nails were found in association with some charred wood, suggesting that someone was burning construction materials in the area. The charcoal and wire nails were near the stock tank on the Kern property. Other materials, to be discussed later, suggest these items were deposited in the very late nineteenth or early twentieth century, thus post-dating the massacre.

A single brass upholstery tack (FS1155) was also recovered. The cast tack is about ½ inch long with a square shank and rounded head. This type is consistent with a nineteenth-century manufacturing date.¹⁷⁴

Bolts, Nuts, and Washers

Among the artifacts recovered are a variety of fasteners. These include a 3/8-inch washer (FS1089), a hand-forged 3/8-inch by 3-inch square shanked bolt (FS1128), and a rectangular shaped washer with a ¼-inch hole (FS2021).

Strap Iron

Twenty-five pieces of strap iron (FS1027, 1029, 1048, 1052, 1054, 1055, 1062, 1064, 1066, 1067, 1098, 1099, 1118, 1164, 1181, 2038, 2065, 2111, 2122, 2141, 2144, 2145, 2150, 2197, and 2202) were found during the investigations. These strap iron items vary in width from ½ inch to 1 ¾ inches. Most are about 5/8 inch to 1 inch wide.

Strap iron had many uses, such as strapping boxes to bundling lumber, and is a nearly ubiquitous artifact on any historic archeological site. Two pieces (FS2065 and 2197) have been modified by cold cutting. Some of the pieces may be remains of small barrel hoops as well. The strap iron is not datable to any specific period, and is still used today for similar purposes. Several of these pieces were found near one another, such as FS1062, 1064, and 1065. These pieces were refitted, indicating many of these straps were much longer than the small scraps they are today.

Barrel Hoops

Three easily recognizable barrel hoops were recovered. Field specimen 1115 is a 1-inch wide iron barrel hoop for a small keg or cask. It is flattened. Two other possible barrel hoop fragments are represented by a ¾-inch-wide piece (FS2016) and a 1 ½-inch-wide piece (FS2019).

Miscellaneous Artifacts

There are 25 artifacts that are either unidentifiable or do not fit into the above classes. These include a broken 1 ¾-inch-long and 1-inch-wide trunk lock (FS1030) and a brass gas jet and housing (FS1108), which was probably a wall-mounted fixture called a hall pendant.¹⁷⁵ The brass housing is cast with fancy leaves and tendrils. The piece appears to be stylistically high Victorian of the 1850-1860s era. Another nineteenth-century lighting device is represented by a stamped brass collar (FS2124) for a kerosene lamp. The origin of these items is uncertain. The trunk lock and kerosene lamp collar were found among the concentration of items attributed to the Indian village. The gas jet was an isolated find, well north of the village artifact concentration. It may be associated with the settlement of New Chicago, but could be an item carried from the village.

Other miscellaneous items for which no positive identification can be made nor a firm date range established include: a deteriorated iron bar (FS1081), a possible iron wagon staple (FS1091), an iron mounting plate about 4 inches long and 2 ½ inches wide with

¹⁷⁴Hanson, *Metal Weapons*, p. 90.

¹⁷⁵Denys Peter Myers, *Gaslighting in America: A Guide for Historic Preservation* (Washington, D.C.: Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1978), pp. 92-93.

four screw holes and a central shaft hole (FS1173), a square iron operating rod (FS1180) of unknown function which is about 10 inches long and 1/8 inch in cross section, a 3 1/2-inch-long and 1/2-inch diameter iron ferrule (FS2014), a 3-inch-long iron finger lever (FS2029) for operating some type of catch, a 3/4-inch diameter light weight iron ring (FS2041), a 2-inch-long by 1/4-inch diameter iron ferrule (FS2042), a 1-inch-wide crushed brass band (FS2048), a possible chain link fragment (FS2066), four pieces of flat sheet iron (FS2082), a riveted strap and 1/8-inch-diameter wire handle (FS2126), a 1/16-inch-diameter piece of wire (FS2135), a piece of iron (FS2183) with cold cuts on two sides, a fragment of sheet brass (FS3004), three iron fragments (FS3008, 3012, and 3015), and an iron shaft housing fragment (FS3026).

Automobile Parts

Three automobile parts were found among the nineteenth-century cluster denoting later use of the site. One is a hood latch (FS1097) for a Model T Ford. The other two items are a operating rod for the carburetor for a Model T (FS1103) and another unidentified operating rod (FS2070).

Lithic Items

Two lithic artifacts were recovered as surface finds. One (FS1010) is a two-hand grinding stone of granite. The ends are battered, suggesting it functioned not only as a grinding tool but as a hammer as well. The other lithic artifact (FS3029) is a work flake of Alibates flint. Whether the two items represent prehistoric occupation of the Sand Creek drainage or use by later Native American occupants is not known, although the Alibates flint flake is likely to be prehistoric in origin.

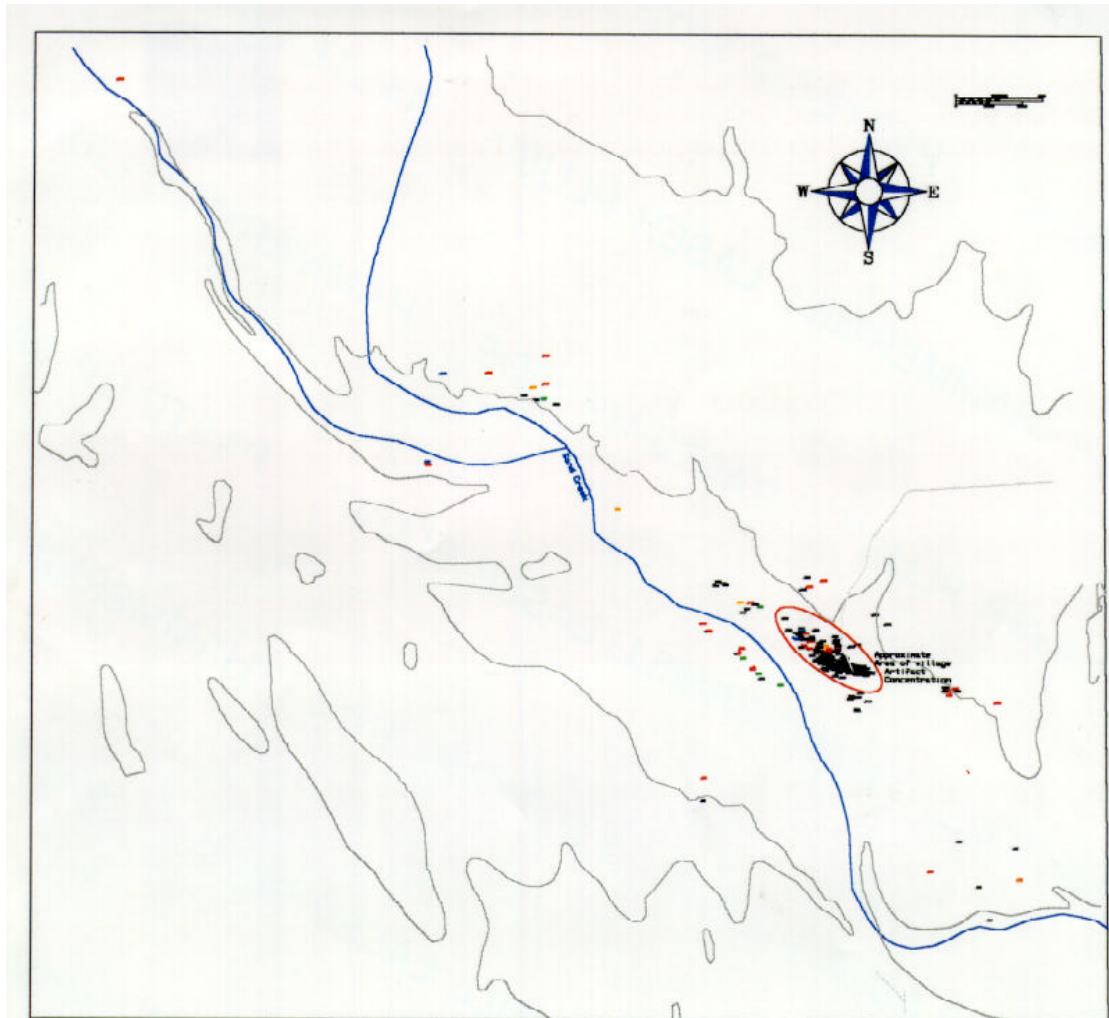


Illustration 4-19: Map of the distribution of all 1864-era artifacts found along Sand Creek.

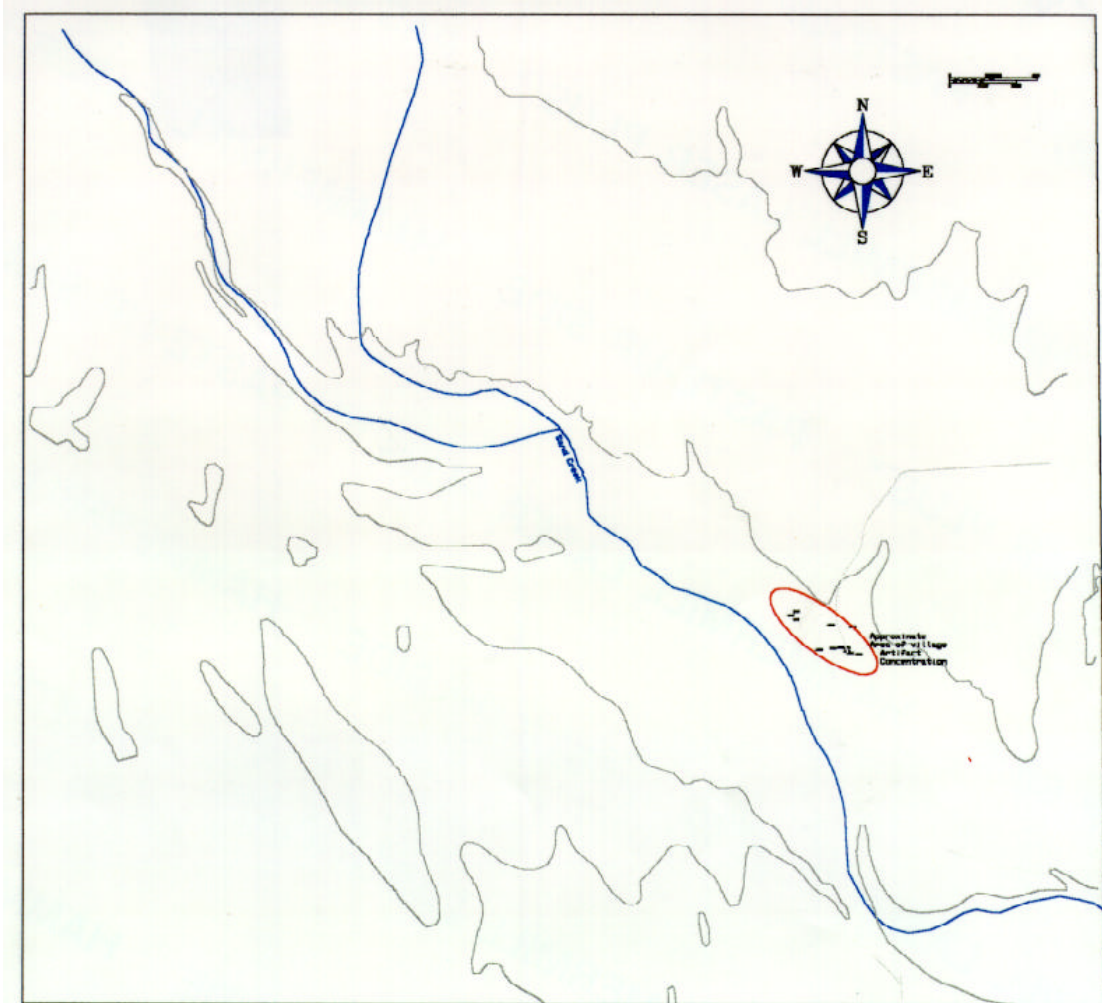


Illustration 4-20: Distribution of the 1864-era buttons found along Sand Creek.

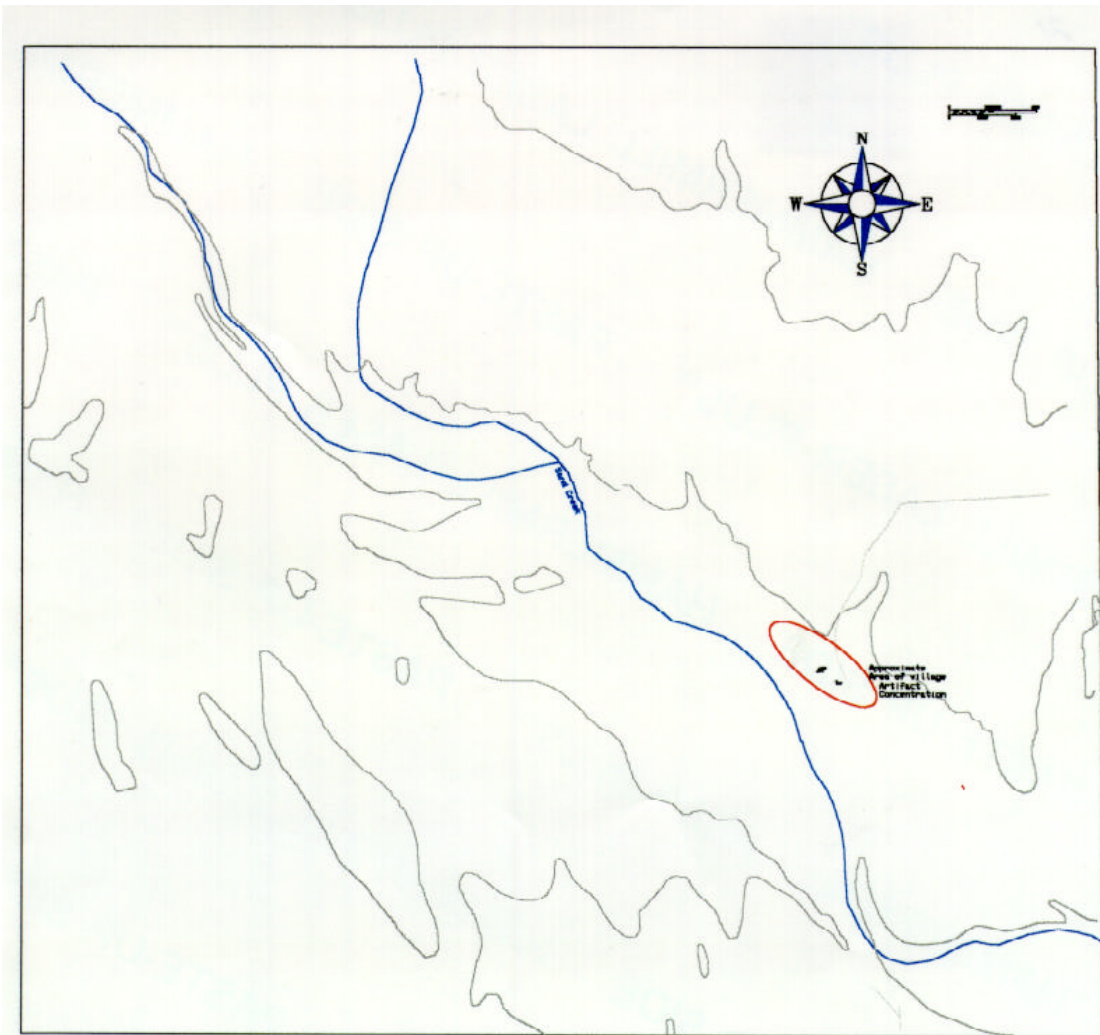


Illustration 4-21: Distribution of the 1864-era trade bells found along Sand Creek.

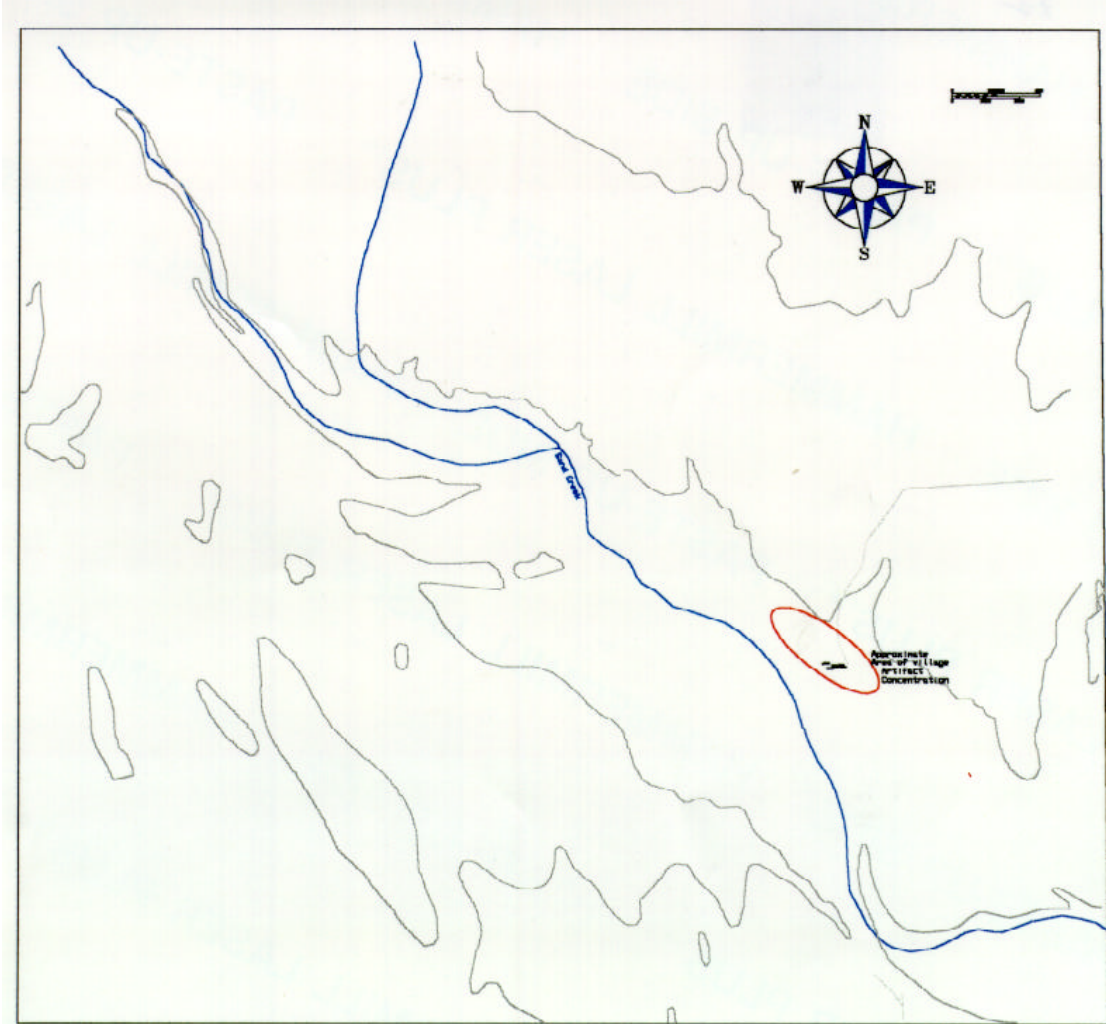


Illustration 4-22: Distribution of the 1864-era metal files found along Sand Creek.

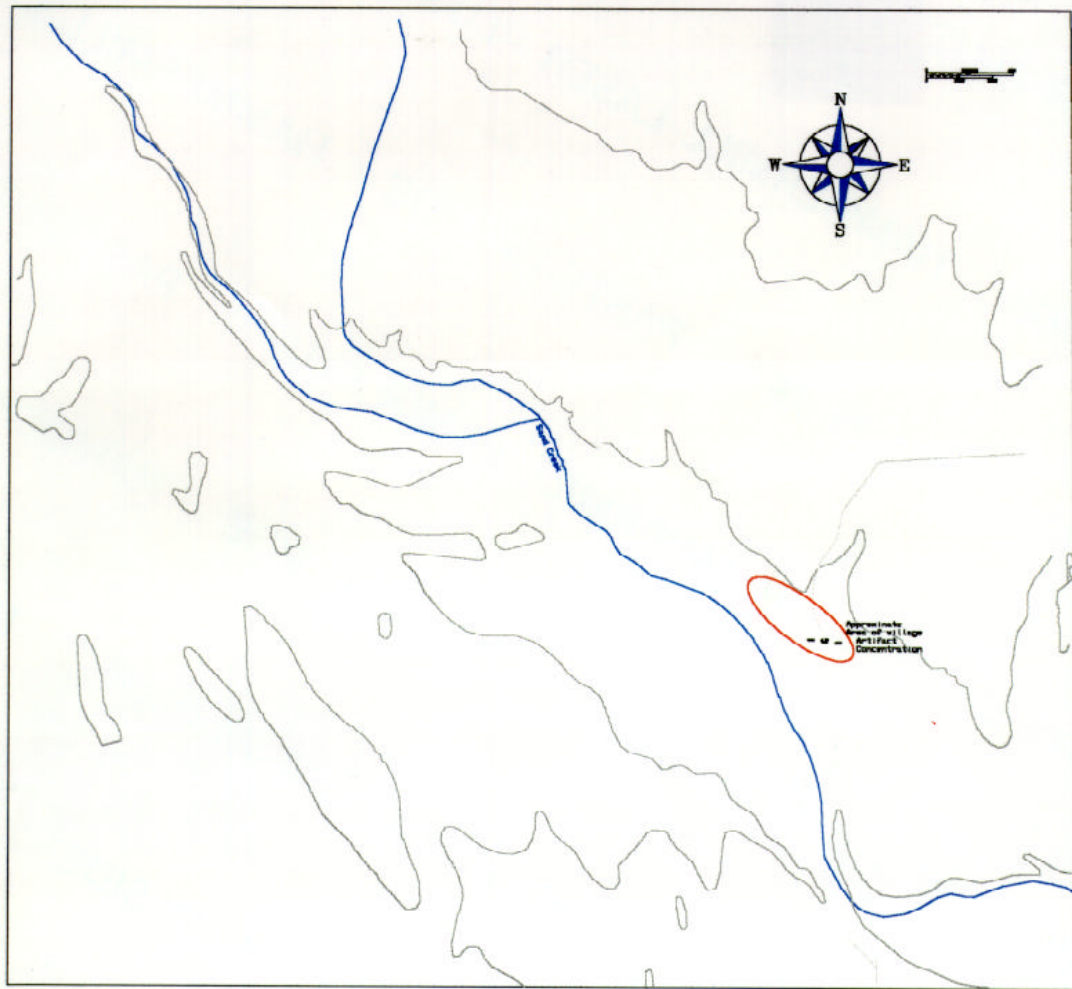


Illustration 4-23: Distribution of the W-shaped notched tools found along Sand Creek.

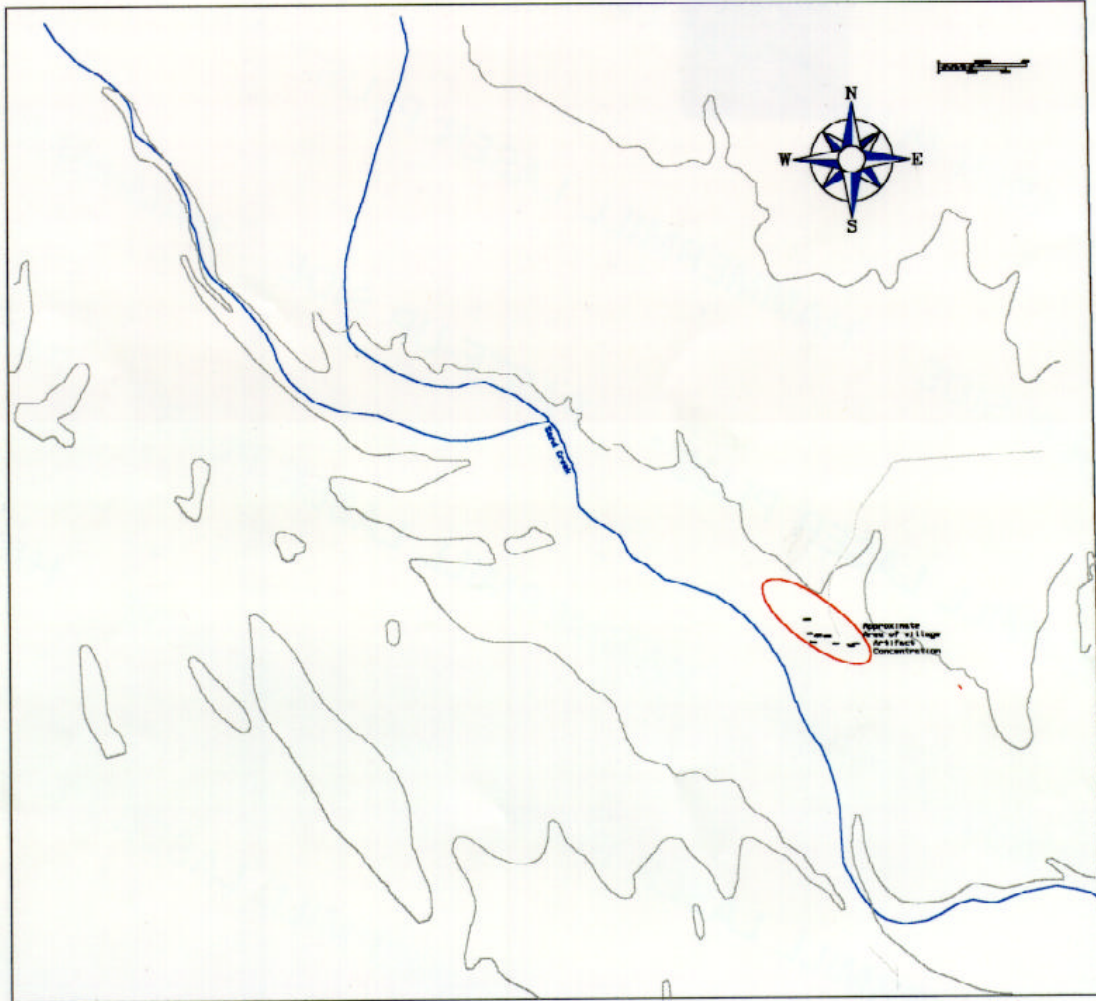


Illustration 4-24: Distribution of scrapers and awls found along Sand Creek.

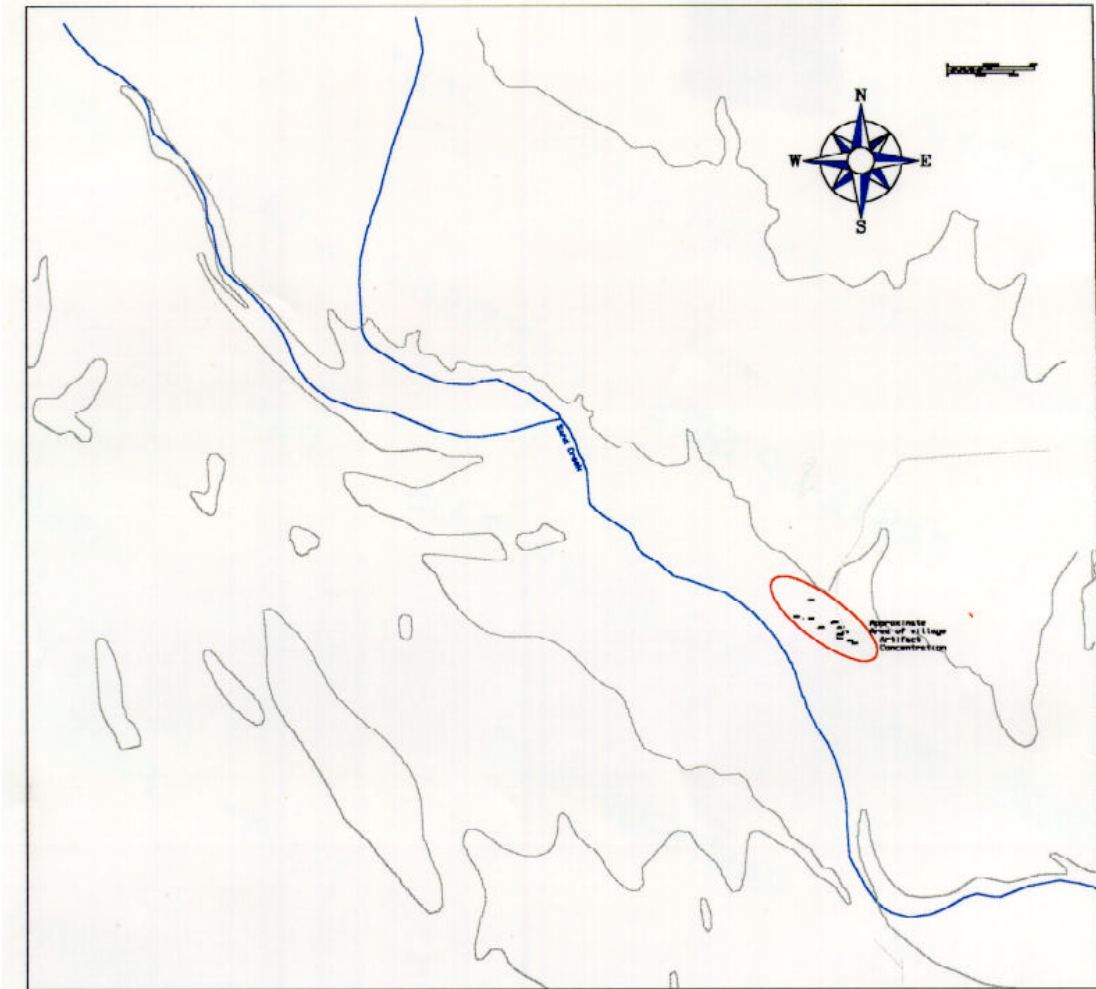


Illustration 4-25: Distribution of 1864-era tin cups, plates, and bowls found along Sand Creek.

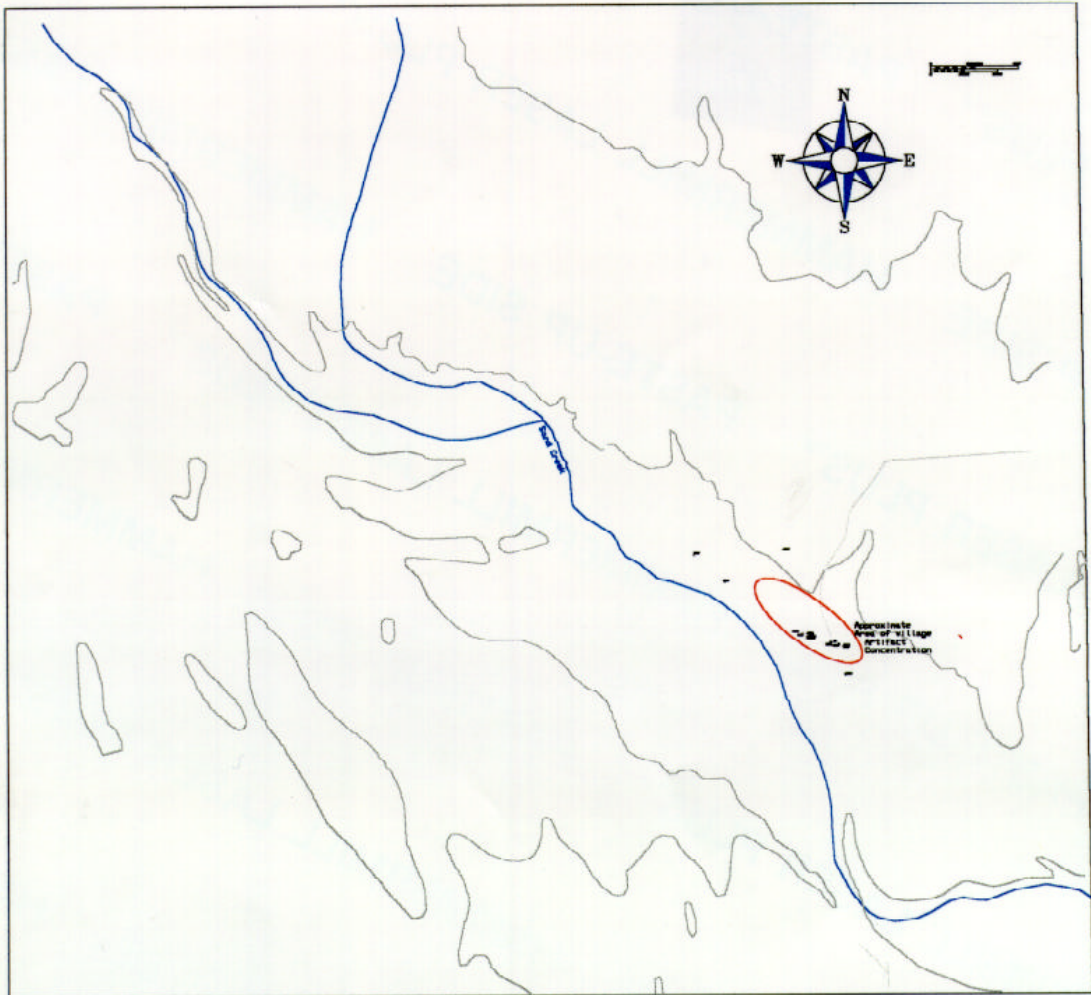


Illustration 4-26: Distribution of 1864-era utensils, knives, forks, spoons, and the coffee grinder found along Sand Creek.

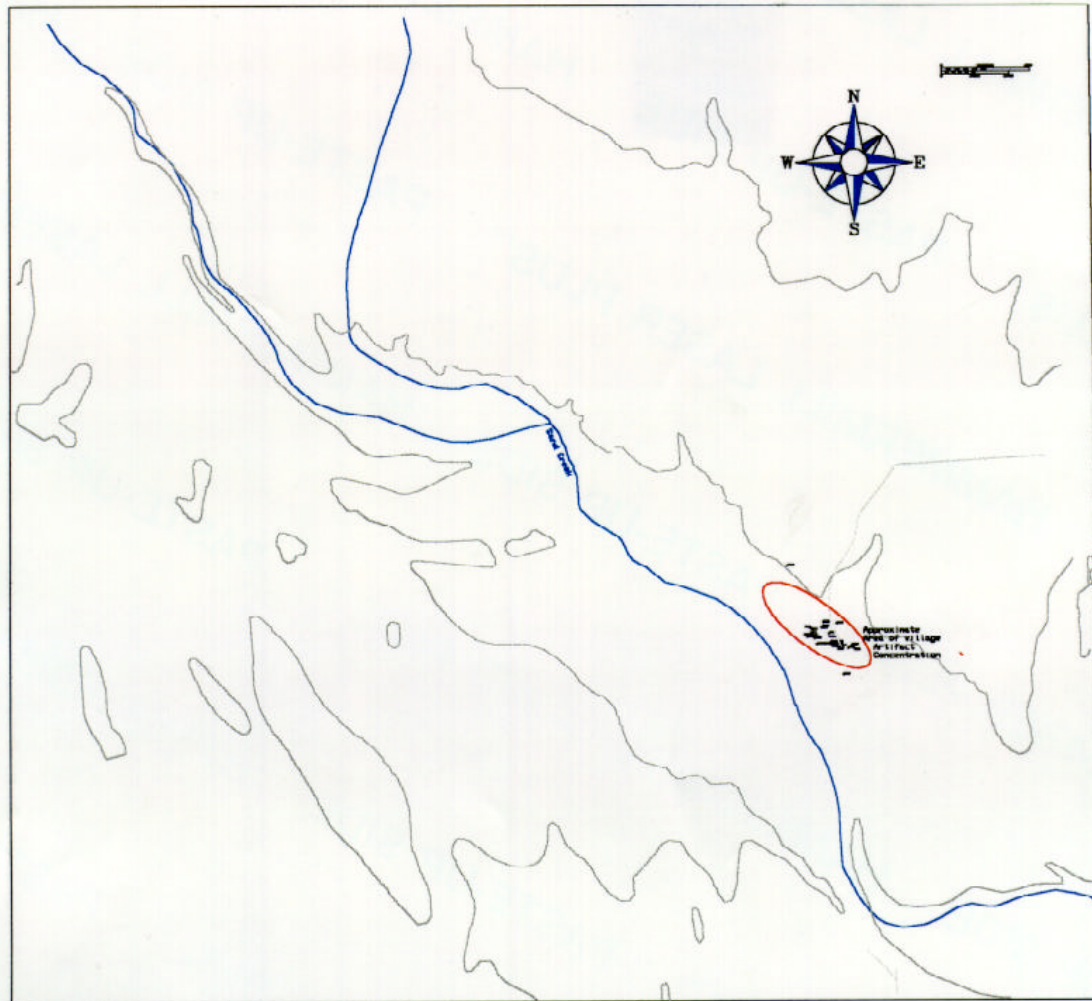


Illustration 4-27: Distribution of 1864-era cast iron and tin kettles, pots, skillets, and coffee boilers found along Sand Creek.

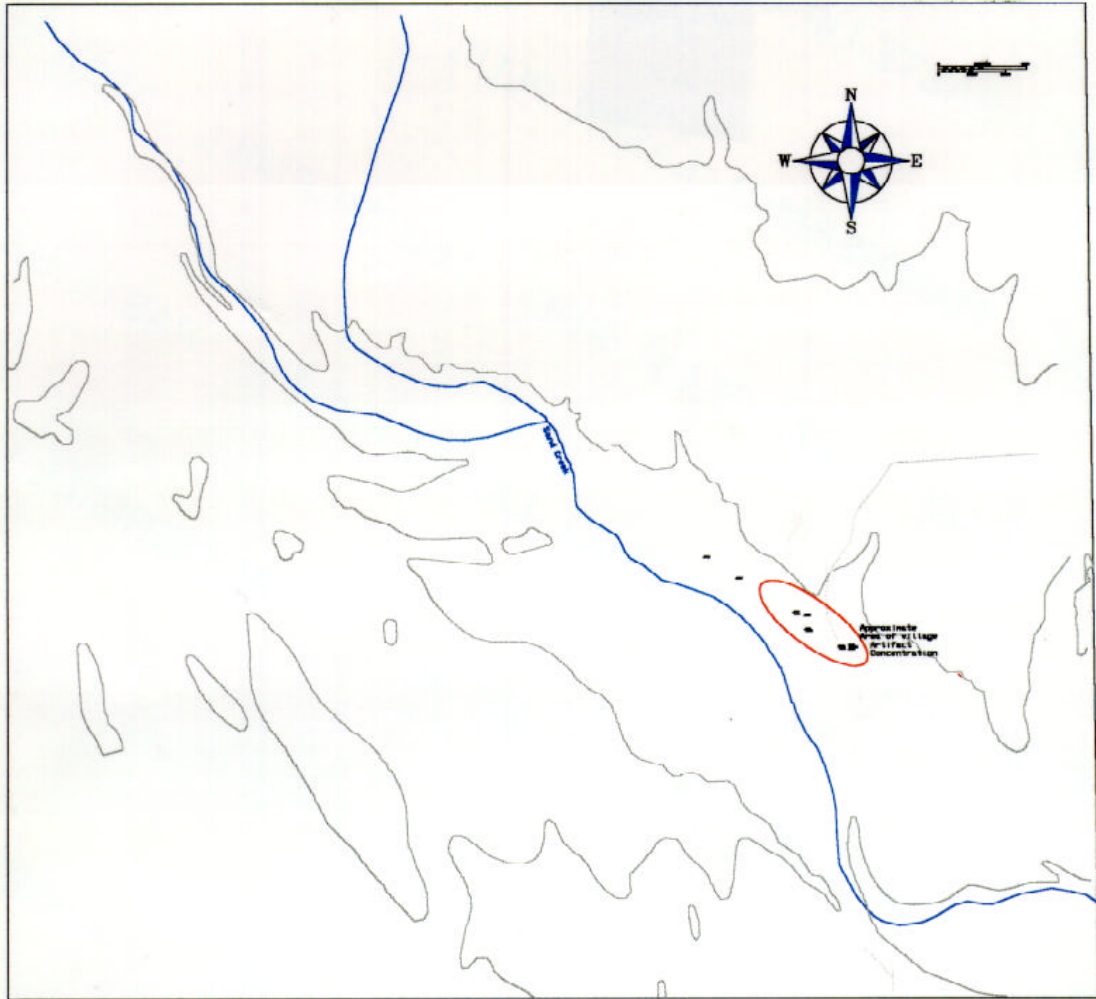


Illustration 4-28: Distribution of 1864-era tin cans found along Sand Creek.

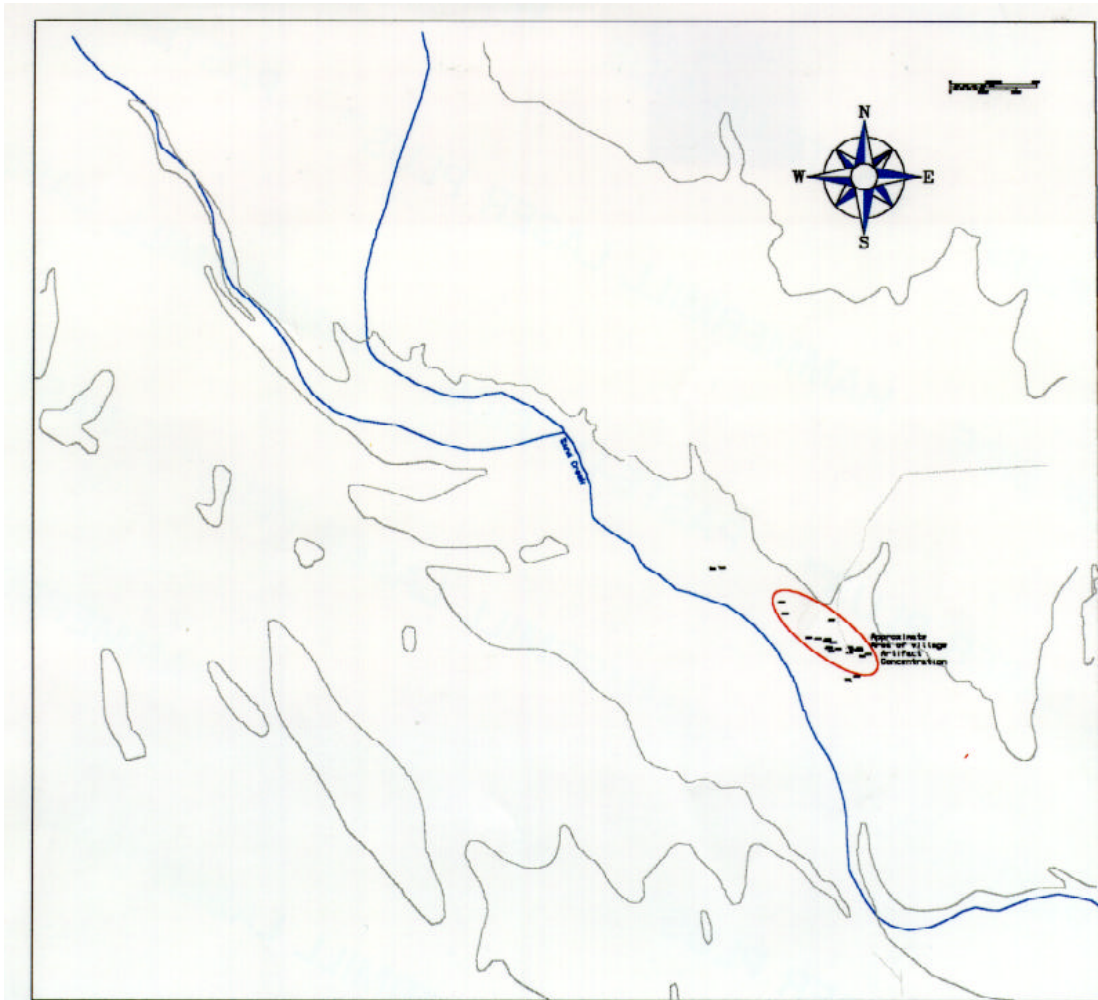


Illustration 4-29: Distribution of strap iron and barrel hoops found along Sand Creek.

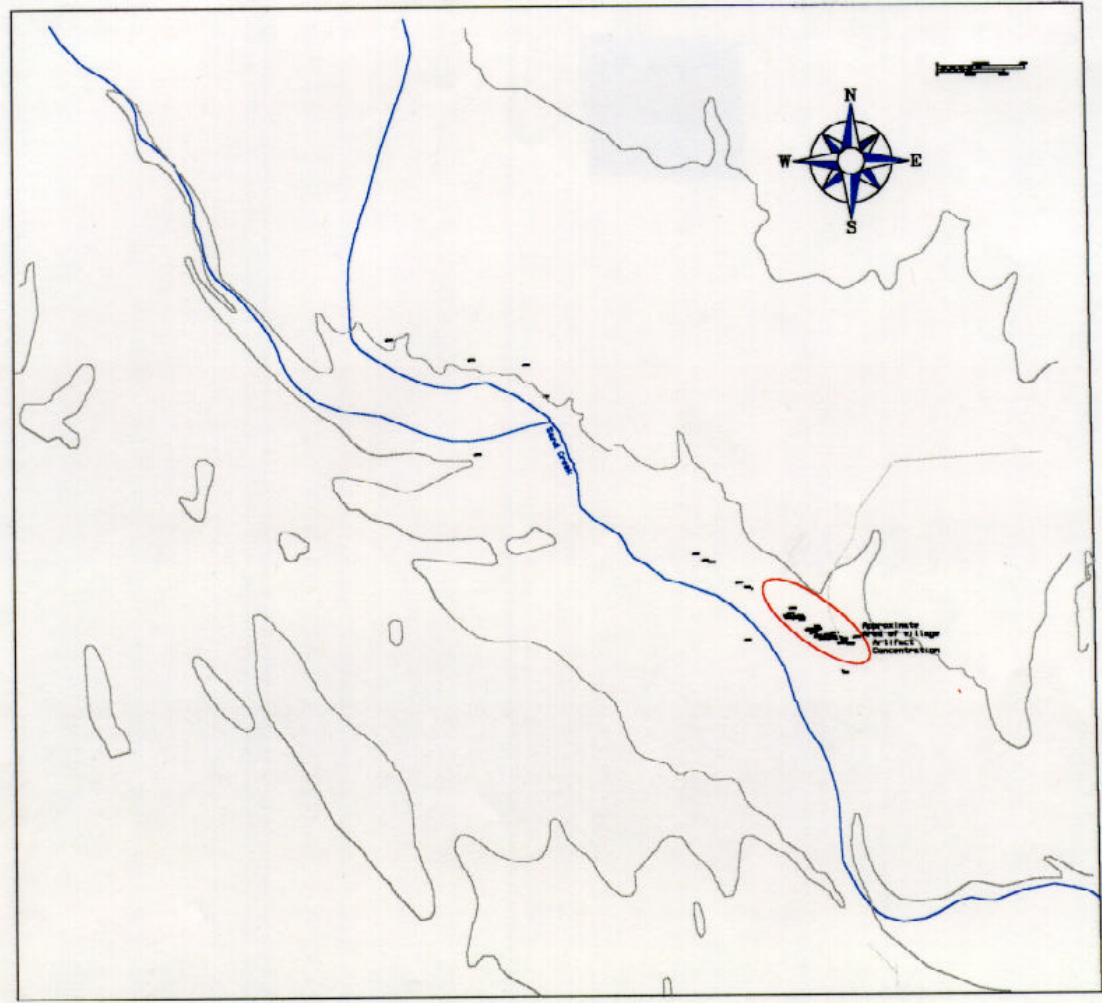


Illustration 4-30: Distribution of horseshoes, horse tack, horseshoe nails, and wagon parts found along Sand Creek.

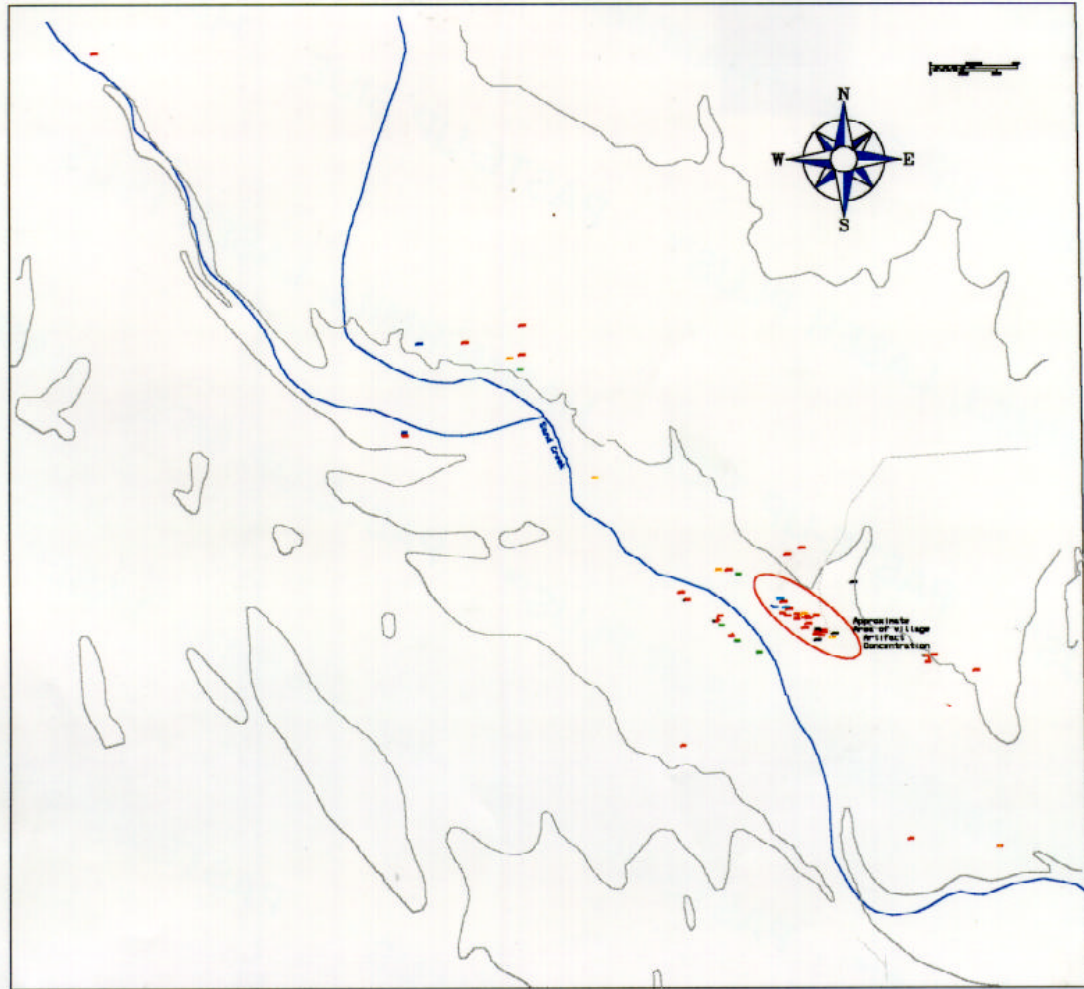


Illustration 4-31: Distribution of 1864-era bullets, 12-pounder mountain howitzer spherical case fragments, cartridge cases, and a gun part found along Sand Creek.

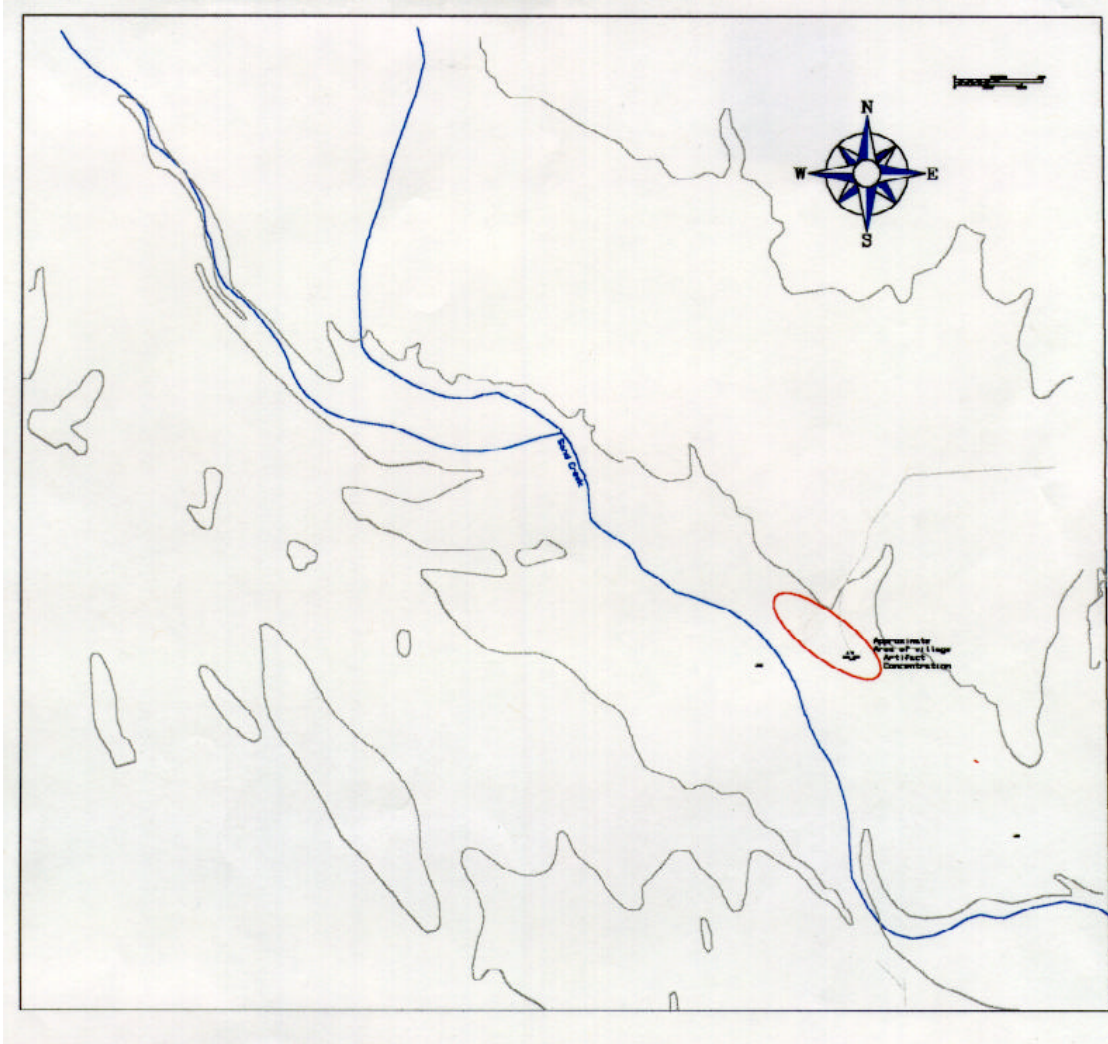


Illustration 4-32: Distribution of iron arrowheads found along Sand Creek. Of the six found, four are in an unfinished state.

Discussion

The primary research question to be answered with the archeological data is whether the artifacts recovered represent the remains of Black Kettle's village that was attacked by the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry on November 29, 1864. The artifacts, their distribution on the landscape, and the context in which they were recovered provide the answer. In order to answer the question, several lines of evidence will be discussed. The issues posed to answer the question are:

1. Does the artifact assemblage date to 1864?
2. Do the artifacts represent a Native American camp?
3. Is there physical evidence to support the proposition that this site was attacked?

Does the artifact assemblage found date to 1864? The artifact analysis and description clearly show the majority of artifacts do indeed date to the mid-nineteenth century for origin and use. While no individual artifact can be said to have been made and exclusively used in 1864, the composite assemblage is consistent with items manufactured and used at that time period. The majority of artifacts fall easily within the range of use for 1864.

There is also limited evidence that the general area of Sand Creek was used by the prehistoric inhabitants of southeast Colorado. The few prehistoric items found during the 1999 investigations are consistent with the relics recovered by the many collectors who have roamed the area for decades, clearly demonstrating a nearly 10,000-year occupation of the landscape.

At the other end of the spectrum are the camp debris and other evidence of Euro-American settlement of the area. This settlement began in the 1880s. There is physical evidence of that occupation and use of the land scattered over the area investigated. Tin cans from meals, fencing wire from the construction and mending of fences, and late nineteenth-century stove parts may reflect the remains of a camp associated with the construction of the Chivington Canal or simply a cattlemen's round-up camp. This post-1864 occupation evidence continues up to the present with bits and pieces of ranching and farming debris exemplified by the automobile parts and modern cans and nails.

Regardless of this continuum of occupation evidence from prehistoric to modern times, there is ample separation in the clusters of artifacts in a chronological sense. Though not abundant, the first evidence of human occupation of the Sand Creek drainage is prehistoric in age. Second, and clearly separated from the first by millennia, is the mid-nineteenth-century artifact assemblage that is consistent with an 1864-battle-related date. Finally, and again, clearly separated from the mid-nineteenth-century assemblage, but only by 20 or more years, is the late-nineteenth-century cluster. This late artifact group has a continuum that reaches to the modern era. Thus, the artifact collection contains a major assemblage that consistently dates to the 1864 event horizon.

Artifacts of the 1864 period were found scattered all along the Sand Creek drainage (Illustration 4-19), beginning with the Dawson South Bend and continuing northerly to

the Bowen Middle Bend. There is only one significant concentration of artifacts in that 3.5-mile length of the creek, and that is on the eastern side of the creek near the center of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West.

The Dawson South Bend (Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 45 West, and Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 46 West) was inventoried in 1997. That area yielded a few 1864-period artifacts (Illustration 4-19), and Bill Dawson subsequently recovered several others. The 1864-era artifacts found in the Dawson South Bend include two round rifle balls, a .69-caliber musket minie ball, a bullet fired in a .44-caliber Colt revolver, a military picket pin, a part of a military shoulder scale, two military buttons, two axes, a fragment of trade silver, and a brass arrowhead. A possible military saddle ring and a .54-caliber minie ball were also recovered in 1997, but they were over one-quarter mile north of the Dawson South Bend. The 1864-period artifacts indicate some activity or activities occurred in this bend of Sand Creek about 1864, but they do not constitute evidence of the campsite.

Several possible explanations can be advanced to explain the presence of these artifacts. One is that the Native American items were lost when other camps were abandoned at other dates, including the real possibility that this locale was once the site of a Black Kettle village, but that the camp was moved sometime prior to November 29, 1864, to improve grazing for the animals or other reasons, such as the available resources at that location were exhausted. It is also possible that the military items were lost as a result of Colonel Chivington's men stashing their extraneous equipment before the attack on the village, or even some of the command camping at this locale after the attack.

The Bowen South and Middle Bends of Sand Creek yielded only a few artifacts (Illustration 4-19) to the 1999 investigations. However, Chuck and Sheri Bowen have collected, literally, hundreds of artifacts from this area. Many date to the post-1880 era and probably represent the now non-extant community of New Chicago. This later, rather intense, occupation has obscured much of the earlier occupation evidence. Nevertheless, some artifacts dating to the 1864 era are present on their property. That evidence was found in the form of bullets and a spherical case fragment. These combat-related materials are scattered along either side of the creek in Sections 10, 14, and 15 of Township 17 South, Range 46 West. They are widely scattered and there is no definitive evidence of camp debris of the 1864 period. However, the scattered period artifacts do indicate that these lands played a role in the 1864 event.

The largest concentration of 1864-era artifacts was found on the eastern side of Sand Creek on the Dawson and Kern properties near the center of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. The artifact concentration, situated on an eastern terrace above Sand Creek, is about 1,350 feet long, trending southeasterly to northwesterly and about 500 feet wide. The artifacts (Illustrations 4-20 through 4-30) found in the concentration include tin cups, tin cans, horseshoes, horseshoe nails, plates, bowls, knives, fork, spoons, barrel hoops, a coffee grinder, a coffee pot, iron arrowheads, bullets, and case shot fragments.

The concentration includes artifacts that are usually considered unique to Native American sites of the nineteenth century. Besides the arrowheads, some of which are

in an unfinished state, are a variety of iron objects modified for Native American uses. These artifacts include knives altered to awls, iron wire altered to awls, fleshers or hide scrapers, strap iron altered by filed serrations as hide preparation devices, and several iron objects altered by filing to serve an as yet unidentified cutting or scraping purpose.

There is also an area on the eastern margin of the concentration that contains a number of more modern objects, such as sanitary tin cans, fencing wire, wire nails, and other twentieth-century artifacts. These are mingled with and obscure the 1864-era objects. This group of artifacts probably relates to ranching activities that occurred during the Euro-American settlement of the area. Round-ups are one reason stove parts and modern tin cans may be present, and the artifacts may be related to the construction of the nearby irrigation canal. The old adage that good camping spots are continually reused seems proven once again. However, despite the modern intrusive material, there is no doubt the majority of artifacts concentrated on this eastern terrace of Sand Creek are consistent with a Native American occupation in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

The presence of a Native American campsite with artifacts dating to about 1864 leads one to ask: Is this the Cheyenne and Arapaho village occupied by Black Kettle? Short of finding an item with a known 1864 camp resident name glyph scratched on it, other lines of evidence must be used to make the identification. There is a wealth of comparative data from Cheyenne and Arapaho annuity requests, annuity lists, and other correspondence that provides a set of comparative data. The Cheyenne and Arapaho were parties to several treaties with the U.S. government, which obligated the government to supply the tribes with a variety of goods. These annuity payments were made to the tribes beginning in the 1850s and continued until well after 1864. Some of those annuity lists and related correspondence survive in the National Archives and are available for research on microfilm.

The annuity lists, requests and correspondence were researched, compiled, and transcribed by Lysa Wegman-French (listed in Appendix 1) and clearly demonstrate that most of the artifact types found on the Dawson and Kern properties are the same types as listed for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Tin cups, bowls, plates, coffee grinders, coffee pots, kettles, pans, knives, forks, spoons, fleshers, axes, butcher knives, horse tack, guns, lead, and bullets are consistently listed. These are the durable goods, the ones that can be expected to survive in the archeological record, and indeed were found during the field investigations. There are many more items of a perishable nature, such as flour, sugar, salt, dresses, etc., that would leave only minor or no traces in the archeological record.

The lists for the Cheyenne and Arapaho are only the tip to a very large material culture “iceberg.” Similar annuity lists for the Kiowa and Comanche also exist.¹⁷⁶ A very extensive list of goods for sale or trade to Native Americans on the upper Missouri

¹⁷⁶John Albright, and Douglas D. Scott, “Historic Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas,” (Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1974, 179-188.

River at Fort Union, North Dakota in the 1855 period¹⁷⁷ has also been assembled and studied. These lists show that many of the same items of material culture were readily available and a part of the trade, gifts, and sales to many different tribes on the Great Plains during the middle of the nineteenth century and, in particular, for the years immediately before and after 1864.

Ideally, there should be a list of goods captured and destroyed by the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry at Sand Creek compiled after the attack on the village. But, given the units' laxity of military protocol on any number of fronts, perhaps it is not surprising that no such list has surfaced during the documentary research. The closest to a list is a brief statement by cavalryman Morse Coffin describing the aftermath of the attack:

. . . and the other [tepees], together with the many tons of Indian supplies which the village contained, were piled and burned . . . There must have been tons of dried buffalo meat, and large and numerous packages of coffee, sugar, dried cherries . . . saddles, bridles, and lariats, robes, and skins . . . numerous new axes . . . many well-filled medicine bags.¹⁷⁸

Without the ideal list from Sand Creek, other comparable sources must be consulted. Appendix 2 lists Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota camp goods captured and destroyed in three separate events. All three involved some of the same people who were in the village at Sand Creek on that cold November morning. The first list is from a Cheyenne and Lakota village destroyed in April 1867 near Fort Larned, Kansas. The village on the Pawnee Fork had tons of material goods left behind when the wary Indians fled an overwhelming force of soldiers led by General Winfield Scott Hancock and Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. The list represents the actual contents of a village where the material was broken up, piled, burned, and destroyed. The items destroyed are clearly comparable to those found in the 1999 archeological investigations.

Archeological investigations were conducted at the Pawnee Fork site some years ago. The artifacts are currently undergoing analysis and reporting. Those artifacts were compared to the items recovered from the Sand Creek site. There are arrowheads, kettles, tin cans, knives, gun parts, bullets, and many other objects that are of the same type and period as those recovered at Sand Creek.¹⁷⁹

The other two lists presented in Appendix 2 include camp items found after the Washita Battle of 1868 in which Black Kettle was killed, as well as camp debris recovered after the Battle of Summit Springs, Colorado, in 1869. Again, the lists of durable goods captured or destroyed mirrors, in many aspects, the artifacts found at Sand Creek.

¹⁷⁷ Andrew B. Chamberlain, "Historic Furnishings Report: Indian Trade House and Storage Room, Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Williston, North Dakota" (Harper's Ferry, WV: Division of Historic Furnishings, Harper's Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1993).

¹⁷⁸ Morse Coffin, letters to *The Colorado Sun*, Greeley, December 1878 to February 1879.

¹⁷⁹ Bruce Jones, Midwest Archeological Center, personal communication with author, June 3, 1999.

It is abundantly clear from comparisons with the available annuity lists, lists of captured and destroyed goods, as well as the one other archeologically studied Cheyenne camp on Pawnee Fork that the concentration of artifacts found at Sand Creek in Section 24 are consistent with a Native American camp of the 1860s era. The weight of comparable evidence shows very likely that the Sand Creek assemblage is an 1864-era Cheyenne camp.

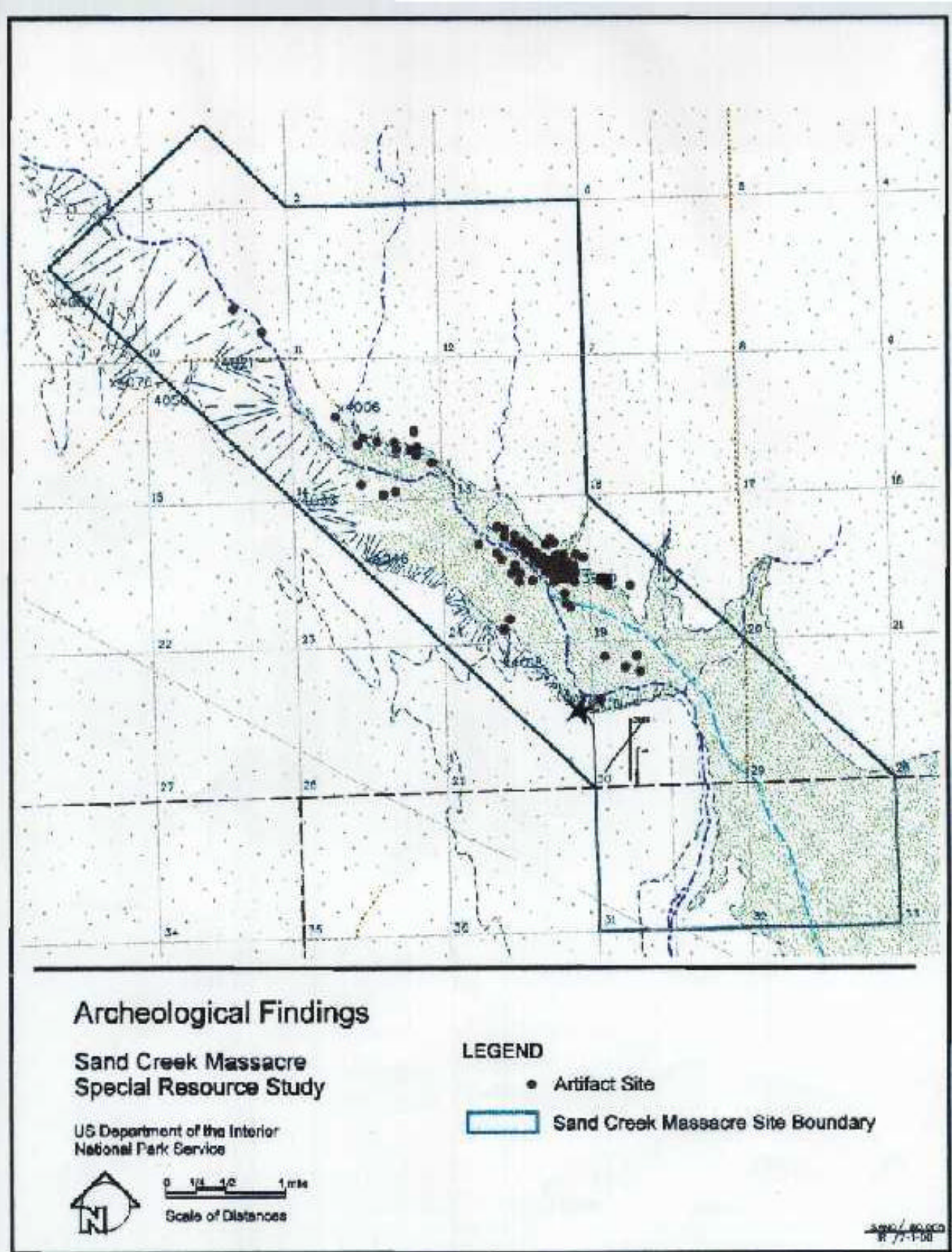
The final issue to be addressed is whether or not there is evidence in the archeological record that this is the village attacked by the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. The archeological record contains abundant lines of evidence to support the conclusion that this is Black Kettle's village attacked by Colonel Chivington's forces.

Present in the village are two lines of evidence that this village was attacked and destroyed. First is the evidence of arms and munitions. The village site yielded bullets for various calibers and types of firearms (Illustration 4-31). Among the ammunition components are bullets for the .52 Sharps rifle or carbine, .54 Starr carbine, .54-caliber musket, .58-caliber musket, .36-caliber revolver, and .44-caliber revolver. These weapon types and calibers were used during the American Civil War and can be readily dated and identified. Appendix 3 lists the known ordnance used by the First and Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry units during late 1864. The concordance of the archeological munitions finds and the lists of weapons in the volunteers' hands is quite remarkable. They match exceedingly well. In addition, there has been some limited archeological investigation of one of the Colorado Volunteer campsites in eastern Colorado at Russellville. Among the artifacts recovered at the site are numerous bullets of the types known to fit the handguns and shoulder arms of the First and Third Regiments.¹⁸⁰ The Russellville archeological collection and the Sand Creek collection also show a very high degree of concordance.

Perhaps the single most important artifact type that can definitively identify this village as being attacked are the spherical case fragments from 12-pounder mountain howitzers (Illustration 4-31). The Colorado Volunteers employed four 12-pounder mountain howitzers during their attack. The howitzer fired three types of ammunition: shell, spherical case, and canister. Ordnance tables of the Civil War period¹⁸¹ prescribe one shell, six case, and one canister round for each ammunition chest. Four fragments of ammunition from 12-pounder mountain howitzers were found during the archeological investigations, and they are all spherical case fragments. Chuck and Sheri Bowen have recovered another fragment on their lands, and one other is known in a private collection. These fragments are nearly unequivocal evidence in their own right that this is the site of the Sand Creek Massacre.

¹⁸⁰Andrew E. Masich, "Russellville Archaeology Project: A Preliminary Report on Ammunition and Ammunition Components," undated manuscript on file, Office of the State Archeologist, Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

¹⁸¹Ripley.



The firearms' artifact distribution also adds to the story. There are two concentrations of firearms' artifacts and several widely dispersed bullets. The first concentration consists of bullets found in the village site. These bullets are both fired and unfired items. Almost all calibers associated with the Colorado Volunteer units are present. The unfired rounds quite probably represent bullets dropped or lost by the soldiers as they moved around the camp. Some rounds were probably dropped in the heat of the attack; others may have simply fallen from open cartridge boxes as the soldiers moved about. Another possibility is that some of the rounds represent soldiers throwing away bullets after using the powder as fire starters either during the time they camped in the abandoned village or while trying to burn and destroy the camp contents.

A 12-pounder howitzer case fragment was also found in the village. It provides mute testimony to the fact the camp was shelled by the artillery.

The second concentration of firearms' artifacts was found on the west side of Sand Creek and about 1,000 feet directly opposite the village. The firearms' artifacts were found along a line about 1,000 feet long. Sharps and Starr bullets were found, as were three 12-pounder spherical case fragments. These bullets and case fragments probably represent rounds that overshot their intended targets in the camp or were simply ricochets from the firing on the camp. Another possibility is the bullets and spherical case fragments represent rounds fired at fleeing Cheyenne and Arapaho tribesmen. However, the narrow linear distribution more likely reflects overshot or ricochet rounds falling to earth once their maximum range was reached. This artifact distribution probably reflects firing along nearly the entire length of the camp and, as such, is another strong indicator that the camp was attacked and fired upon.

The other widely dispersed firearms artifacts (Illustration 4-31) are found east of the camp ranging from 900 to 1,800 feet, and north of the camp ranging from a few hundred feet to well over 2 ½ miles. Among the bullets closest to the camp are also mingled bits of village items, such as the coffee grinder, that may reflect attempts to salvage a treasured item at the time the Cheyenne and Arapaho fled the attack on the camp. The distribution of these fired bullets and two privately collected spherical case fragments clearly show the line of the flight for survival by the fleeing villagers and the pursuit by the Colorado troops.

Unfortunately, there is no concentration of firearms' artifacts north of the camp that would suggest a location for the site of the sandpits. The development of New Chicago, coupled with the roads and trails to the settlement and natural creek bank erosion, have, in all probability, affected our ability to find that element of the site.

The firearms' data is particularly striking in one respect, and that is the absence of bullets or other weaponry (Illustration 4-32) evidence of resistance in the camp itself. Bullets representing weapon types that can be reasonably associated with the Cheyenne and Arapaho are singularly absent from the artifact collection from the campsite. The absence of definitive artifacts of resistance supports the Native American oral tradition that the attack came as a complete surprise. Evidence of combat or armed resistance is not great, but more compelling, in the firearms artifacts found along the flight for survival route.

The final bit of evidence that identifies this site as Black Kettle's village is the condition of the artifacts found in the camp. Every spoon, the fork, all tin cups, plates, bowls, and containers – buckets, pots, and kettles – have all been crushed and flattened. Even the tin cans are crushed. The cast iron pieces – kettles, pots, and skillet – are broken. The patterns of crushing and breakage point to the intentional destruction of the camp equipage so as to make it unserviceable to its owners. This methodical and deliberate destruction is also duplicated in the Pawnee Fork, Kansas, Cheyenne and Lakota camp assemblage dating to 1867. The historical records of both Sand Creek and the Pawnee Fork camps demonstrate that the wealth of material in the camps was burned and destroyed. The archeological record sustains this record in a very clear and dramatic manner.

Conclusions

The archeological data, including the artifact distributions and the artifacts themselves, overwhelmingly point to the approximate center of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West as being Black Kettle's camp of 1864. There are three main lines of archeological evidence that lead to this conclusion. These are:

1. The majority of artifacts are types that were in use in 1864, and are comparable to goods given or acquired by the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the years immediately preceding and immediately after the massacre;
2. The internal evidence that the camp material was intentionally destroyed; and
3. The arms and ammunition evidence that combat occurred at this site and that the armament artifacts are consistent with those carried by the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry units that participated in the massacre.

The majority of the artifacts fall within a mid-nineteenth-century date range for manufacture and use. Some of the artifacts, particularly the recovered bullets and military equipment, clearly date to the American Civil War 1861-1865 era. Excluding the bullet and 12-pounder mountain howitzer case fragment evidence, the artifact assemblage is typical of a Native American camp of the mid-nineteenth century. Typical domestic items include brass, tin, and cast iron kettles, pots, and pans; utensils like knives, forks, spoons, plates, and bowls; ornaments; hide preparation tools; and many Euro-American items modified to meet the exigencies of Native American camp life. The artifact types, when compared to the lists of trade goods and annuity goods known or requested for distribution to the Cheyenne and Arapaho in southern Colorado, demonstrate a striking degree of concordance.

Of particular import are the camp items reported by the army as captured and destroyed at the burning of the Cheyenne and Sioux camp on Pawnee Fork in 1867 and after the Washita battle of 1868 in which Black Kettle's camp was again destroyed. These two examples list the actual items captured and destroyed, not just the goods issued in annuity distributions. In the case of the camp on Pawnee Fork, archeological investigations have recovered a large sample of those camp goods actually destroyed. In both cases the inventoried goods show excellent concordance with the Sand Creek archeological assemblage. The archeological assemblages also show excellent correlation as to types of goods present and the pattern of destruction

to those goods. The Pawnee Fork assemblage is well documented as having been broken up and destroyed by the occupying troops. The Sand Creek assemblage has a remarkably similar pattern of destruction and breakage to durable items, like the cast iron kettles or the pick-axing of the coffee boiler, deliberate crushing and flattening of tin items like cups and cans, breakage of spoons and small utensils, and other evidence to suggest the troops intentionally made the camp items unserviceable to their owners.

The firearms' identification analysis clearly supports the dating of the majority of the recovered ammunition components as circa 1864. The bullet calibers and types – Starr, Sharps, Colt, .54-caliber musket, and .58-caliber musket, as well as fragments of 12-pounder spherical case – are consistent with the known armament of the attacking force of the Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. The recovery of the 12-pounder mountain howitzer case fragments is nearly unequivocal proof in its own right that this is the Sand Creek Massacre site. One is particularly struck by the fact that the clear majority of weapon-related artifacts found in the village are associated with the attacking force. There is an almost complete absence of Native American weaponry artifacts that might have been fired at the Colorado attacking force. This line of evidence supports the documentary sources that the Cheyenne and Arapaho were caught unawares and failed to respond to the attack with any significant force. There is more evidence of fighting present in the distribution of the scattered bullets north and west of the village along the line of the flight for survival taken by the surprised village inhabitants.

In summary, a number of reasonable conclusions can be drawn from the archeological record:

- ?? The inventory work found no evidence for an Indian camp or a battle on the southern (Township 20 South) site thought by some Arapaho to be the camp area.
- ?? As the historical documentation indicates, there is little doubt that the Dawson South Bend played a role in the fight. Chivington certainly crossed this area, perhaps having his command leave behind unnecessary or burdensome equipment. The picket pin, military buttons, and the bullets found there may account for that activity. The presence of Native American items in the Dawson South Bend suggests that Indians had camped on that site at one time during the mid-nineteenth century.
- ?? The Black Kettle camp that was attacked by Chivington's troops is located 1,200 to 1,500 yards north of the Dawson South Bend of Sand Creek. The village is situated on a terrace on the eastern side of Sand Creek. The camp debris distribution indicates the village was somewhat linear in alignment, following the contour of the terrace, which trends in a southeast to northwest fashion. The camp was about 1,350 feet long and perhaps 500 feet wide. The eastern margin of the camp is partially obscured by late nineteenth-century canal building (the Chivington Canal) and ranching activities. The terrace was apparently a good camping spot for at least two cultures.
- ?? There is archeological evidence for the flight from the camp, particularly to the north and west. Personal and camp items were apparently salvaged and carried away by the Indians in their headlong flight away from the attack. Some of the items were dropped and became the artifacts that were subsequently recovered during the archeological investigations and found by the landowners and others. The distribution of bullets and 12-pounder mountain howitzer case fragments on

the Bowen South and Middle Bends indicates that the flight and fight continued in a northerly direction for at least two miles and perhaps more. Unfortunately, the late nineteenth-century town site development of New Chicago significantly affected the archeological record on the Bowen property. No definitive evidence of the sandpits could be found archeologically but, based on historical documentation, they are likely there. It is suspected that bank slumping and sediment deposition along Sand Creek's floodplain has buried some of the archeological elements that could define the sandpits locale.

- ?? The preponderance of evidence, both historical and archeological, demonstrates that Black Kettle's camp is located in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. The presence of typical Native American camp items in the archeological record, the physical evidence of armaments pointing to a one-sided attack on the village, and the strong evidence of the intentional destruction of the camp debris all aid in validating the site as the location of the November 29, 1864, Sand Creek Massacre.

CHAPTER 5

THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE LOCATION STUDY ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

By Alexa Roberts

Dr. Alexa Roberts, an anthropologist with the National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office, Santa Fe, has spent much of the last year working with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe and the Northern Arapaho Tribe on oral histories of the Sand Creek Massacre. This report documents the results of oral history interviews with 32 Southern Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne, and Northern Arapaho descendants of Sand Creek Massacre victims and survivors. Also contributing to this oral history effort were Carolyn Sandlin, Laird and Colleen Cometsevah, Luke Brady, Otto Braided Hair, Patsy Riddle, Gail Ridgely, Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Tom Meier, John C’Hair, and Joe Waterman. In addition to providing important information regarding the location of the massacre site, the stories provide a rich and previously undocumented record of the events that took place on November 29, 1864 and the lasting legacy they have had for the Cheyenne and Arapaho people.

Some of us my age are real fortunate. We grew up in a time when Cheyenne was real fluent in our everyday living. Our folks talked Cheyenne daily and English was second. As young people we grew up with parents, grandparents, great grandparents that experienced some of these areas and that’s how we pass our information to our young people. Cheyennes never did have a book, pencil, typewriter; they kept it in their memories and it was handed down in that manner . . .

Today we do a lot of research and I’ve met a lot of authors, professors and anthropologists. Their method of teaching is what they see in a book. They’re afraid to go out of the boundary or out of the book cover to accept the truth of what actually happened to the Cheyenne in the past . . .

Laird Cometsevah, Southern Cheyenne, 1997

The following report is by necessity a technical report. It is produced for the United States Congress as part of the official record of the National Park Service's investigations of the Sand Creek Massacre site. At the same time, it is a record of the cultural patrimony of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people and the intellectual property of the individuals to whom the stories belong. There is an irony in committing to writing stories that were meant to be handed down by way of the spoken word, because by preserving the stories in writing, something is also taken away. While this report is prepared with due respect, it can not possibly convey the depth of meaning the stories have to the people who told them or to their descendants. It can not convey the significance the stories hold in tribal history, nor the importance to tribal members of telling them as part of the effort to gain overdue national recognition for the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. But it does attempt to provide a portion of the historical record that has been underrepresented in the past, and to contribute to the ongoing efforts to locate the site. In that attempt it is hoped that this report does its important job while also reflecting the sensitivity due the stories and the history they represent.

Introduction

On October 6, 1998 President William Clinton signed the *Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act*. The Act authorized the National Park Service to “identify the location and extent of the massacre area and the suitability and feasibility of designating the site as a unit of the National Park System.”¹⁸² Just before the President signed the Act into law, Colorado Congressman Bob Schaffer wrote to the National Park Service's Director to reiterate Congress' expectation that collection of Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories would be an important component of the National Park Service's efforts to locate the site. The Congressman stated:

Under the bill as it passed the House and Senate, the Secretary is directed to consult with the State of Colorado and the Tribes to conduct a resource study of the site. Such consultation should necessarily include efforts to record the oral histories of tribal elders. I urge you to see that every effort is made to do that. Besides providing valuable insight and historical information, those recollections may even establish the precise location of the massacre site.¹⁸³

In response to Congress' direction, agency policies, previous oral history research, and direction from tribal representatives at two 1998 consultation meetings, the National Park Service collected tribal oral histories as a primary line of evidence in the effort to locate the site of the Sand Creek Massacre.

The objectives of the site location research effort were to document specific geographic information provided through military and civil records, archeological, geomorphological, and aerial photographic surveys, tribal traditional methods of site location, and tribal oral histories “related to the location, geography, and setting in

¹⁸²P.L. 105-243.

¹⁸³Letter from Congressman Bob Schaffer to Robert Stanton, Director, National Park Service, September 22, 1998.

which the 1864 massacre occurred.”¹⁸⁴ The extremely narrow scope of the oral historical information to be collected for the site location phase of research and the specific purposes for which it is to be used provide a specific definition of “oral history” for the purposes of this project.

The definitions, methods, and theories of oral history in the context of historical, anthropological, and literary disciplines are much debated and discussed in academic literature.¹⁸⁵ Distinctions and comparisons among oral history, oral tradition, traditional history, life stories, ethnography, folklore, and so forth abound in the literature and do not bear repeating here. For the purposes of this project, oral history is approached in its broadest sense as the primary source material derived from recording oral tradition: the transmission of social group or family knowledge of its own history through repetition of stories from one generation to the next.¹⁸⁶ In a narrower sense, individual tribal members’ oral traditions regarding the Sand Creek Massacre represent family stories. According to Southern Cheyenne historian John Sipes, there is an important distinction between oral tradition – tribal knowledge passed from generation to generation about its collective history – and family stories – those that belong to individual families and are passed from generation to generation about the pasts of its specific members.¹⁸⁷

The oral history component of the Sand Creek Massacre site location study, therefore, is intended to record and document Cheyenne and Arapaho family stories about the Sand Creek Massacre, with an emphasis on traditional knowledge of the geography of the massacre site. The methods that were used to carry out the project purposes are described below. It should be reiterated here though that the project purposes were necessarily narrow in the context of the *Sand Creek Massacre Site Study Act of 1998*. The National Park Service recognizes the need for fuller efforts to document the stories of the massacre itself and the impact it had in shaping the history of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people and their cultural identities today.

Methods

Previous research efforts involving tribal oral history about Sand Creek:

The National Park Service initiated its involvement in the oral history component of the site location study late in 1998, but the efforts of other researchers to incorporate oral history into Sand Creek Massacre Site research prior to National Park Service involvement provided a foundation for the current study.

¹⁸⁴“Research Design to Locate the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre, Kiowa County, Colorado,” National Park Service, April 30, 1999.

¹⁸⁵See for example: *Oral History, An Interdisciplinary Anthology* edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1996).

¹⁸⁶Louis Starr, “Oral History;” Ibid.

¹⁸⁷John Sipes, personal communication, February 1999, Concho, Oklahoma. See also Barbara Allen and Lynwood Montell, *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research* (The American Association for State and Local History, 1981).

Although not an oral history project per se, the long-term genealogical research conducted by Mr. and Mrs. Laird Cometsevah and Ms. Ruby Bushyhead for the purposes of establishing descent from the Sand Creek Massacre victims involved considerable archival research as well recording descendants' stories and testimony to establish lineal descent.¹⁸⁸ The results of the genealogical research contributed significantly to the current oral history project, particularly through interviews with Mr. and Mrs. Cometsevah.

Northern Cheyenne interviewees also mentioned several earlier efforts to document oral histories and genealogies of Sand Creek descendants and other Northern Cheyenne individuals. One of these projects was a Sand Creek reparations effort 40 or more years ago by several Southern Cheyenne people conducted under the auspices of an Oklahoma City attorney named Paine or Payne. Oral histories were collected and recorded by Cheyenne tribal members Sam Buffalo and Sam Dicke, but no one knows what became of the collection of materials. The attorney is no longer living but several people believe his widow is still alive and may have knowledge of the tapes. Additional tapes are said to have been recorded by Ann Hanks Black, a white woman reported to have worked for the federal government collecting Cheyenne oral histories and material cultural items. These materials are believed to exist in the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, although several peoples' attempts to locate the collection have been unsuccessful. One person also reported that some Sand Creek historical materials, including photographs, are rumored to be locked in the vault of the Denver Art Museum, but the existence of this material is also unconfirmed.

Southern Cheyenne historian John Sipes has conducted extensive historical research including collection of oral historical documentation, some of which refers to the Sand Creek Massacre. A portion of Mr. Sipes's papers resides in the library collections of Dull Knife Community College, Lame Deer, Montana, and was reviewed for this project.

Oral history also formed the basis of Mr. Eugene Ridgely Sr.'s (Eagle Robe) 1994 elk hide painting recounting the Sand Creek Massacre (Illustration 5-1). The painting, which was produced as a poster by Boulder Creek Press, Colorado, represents customary Arapaho documentation of the massacre and is part of the overall oral historical record.

Another graphic rendering of an oral historical account of the massacre is a mixed media painting by Northern Cheyenne artist Donald Hollowbreast (Illustration 5-2). The painting, *Sand Creek Massacre Survivors*, is based on a story that Mr. Hollowbreast heard about a woman and her granddaughter who survived the massacre by hiding in the body of a dead horse and being miraculously guided by a wolf from their hiding place to the safety of a Cheyenne camp. The painting has been included

¹⁸⁸Presentation of Mrs. Colleen Cometsevah, Lamar, Colorado, 1997 during the beginning of the Colorado Historical Society/Fort Lewis College Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. Videotape on file, Colorado Historical Society. Denver, Colorado.

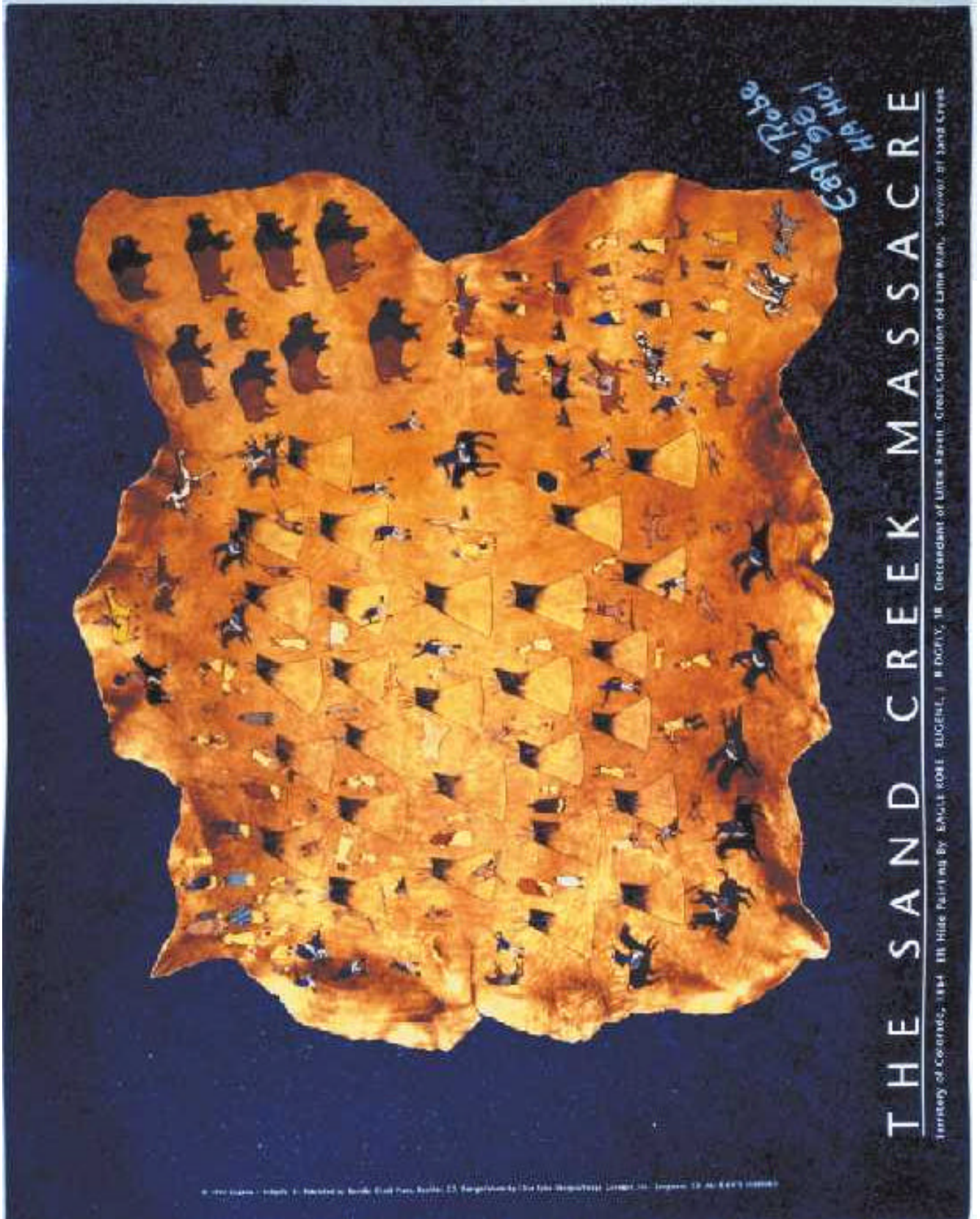


ILLUSTRATION 5-1: *The Sand Creek Massacre.* Elk hide painting by Eagle Robe, Eugene J. Ridgely Sr., Northern Arapaho Tribe. Eugene J. Ridgely.

in the National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre Site archival collections as an additional piece of the historical record.

Oral historical information was also elicited during the Colorado Historical Society/Fort Lewis College Sand Creek Massacre Site Study. The Colorado Historical Society began extensive consultation with Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of the massacre victims to gain endorsement of efforts to locate the massacre site. Several descendants participated in the 1997 aerial photography and archeological survey efforts and expressed convictions about the site location relative to their traditional knowledge of the subject.¹⁸⁹ While no formal transcriptions of this oral historical information are known to exist in project files,¹⁹⁰ Cheyenne descendants' presentations to an audience gathered in Lamar, Colorado on the eve of the Colorado Historical Society/Fort Lewis College Sand Creek Site Location Study archeological project were video taped.¹⁹¹

Oral histories of Sand Creek Massacre descendants were also videotaped in 1995 by the Colorado Historical Society as part of its preparation of the book *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat* and the accompanying compact disc (CD) containing the oral history accounts.¹⁹² These interviews included many of the same people interviewed during the current site location project, and constitute an important part of the oral history record of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Ms. Rebecca Rumsey, an independent producer working on a radio documentary about the Sand Creek Massacre for broadcast on public radio stations¹⁹³ interviewed ten or eleven Cheyenne tribal members in Oklahoma during 1998. Many of the people she interviewed were also interviewed during the current site location project. Ms. Rumsey's interviews also add to the oral history record of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Additional oral historical information about the Sand Creek Massacre was documented in the March 1998 testimonies of Cheyenne representatives to the Senate Subcommittee on National Parks, Historic Preservation and Recreation, Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, regarding S. 1695, the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Preservation Act of 1998.

¹⁸⁹“Research Design to Locate the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre, Kiowa County,” April 30, 1999.

¹⁹⁰Rosemary Sucec, National Park Service, personal communication, March 1998; and David Halaas, Colorado Historical Society, personal communication, January 1999.

¹⁹¹Videotape on file, Colorado Historical Society, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁹²Jean Afton, David Fridtjof Halaas and Andrew E. Masich, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat* (Colorado Historical Society and University Press of Colorado, 1997); and unedited videotape of interviews on file, Colorado Historical Society.

¹⁹³Cathy Spude, National Park Service, electronic mail communication July, 1998; David Halaas, Colorado Historical Society personal communication January 1999; Rebecca Rumsey, personal communication August 1999 and February 2000.

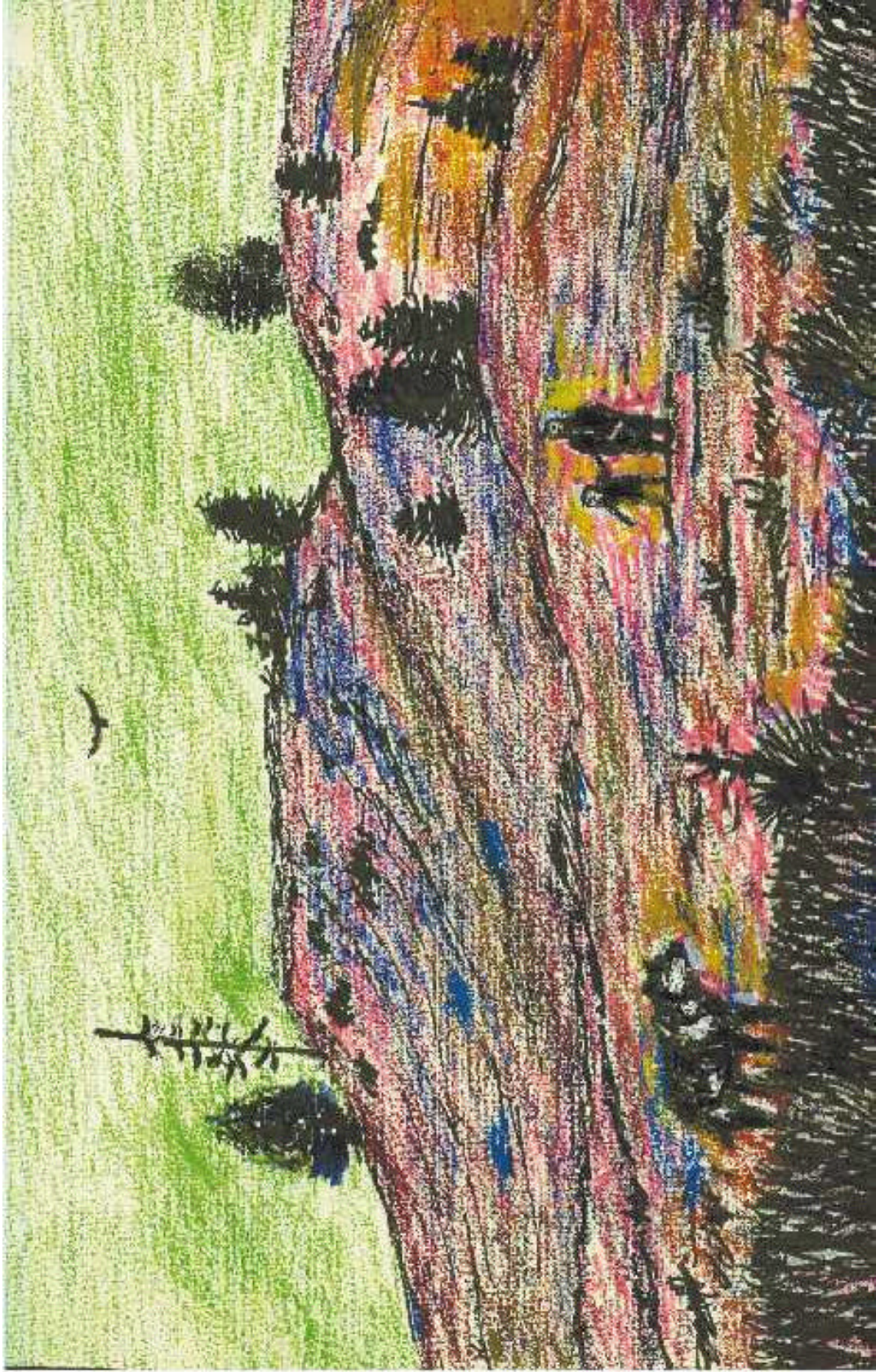


ILLUSTRATION 5-2: *Sand Creek Massacre Survivors*. Painting by Donald Hollowbreast, Northern Cheyenne Tribe. Donald Hollowbreast.

These sources, as well as numerous recent newspaper and magazine articles generated by the site location effort and some previously published accounts unrelated to site location efforts,¹⁹⁴ provided the foundation for preparation of the current Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Oral History Project, as discussed below.

Background Preparation

The need for conducting oral history documentation for the National Park Service's site location effort was first discussed at a meeting between National Park Service and Cheyenne and Arapaho representatives in July 1998 in Denver, Colorado. In November 1998, the National Park Service developed a Project Agreement specifying that oral histories would be collected as a component of the site location research effort.¹⁹⁵ National Park Service and tribal representatives then began discussion of specifics of the proposed oral history project at a November 1998 meeting in Denver, Colorado.

At the November meeting, tribal representatives expressed concern about the confidentiality of the information obtained as a result of oral history interviews, especially the potential for National Park Service appropriation and publication of tribal intellectual property. To address these and other concerns, the tribes drafted a "Memorandum of Understanding Among National Park Service, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Northern Arapaho Tribe for Government-to-Government Relations in the Implementation of P.L. 105-243," including language on the collection of oral histories:

Methods and protocols will be developed jointly by NPS and the involved Tribal Organization. In its discretion, the involved Tribal Organization may impose confidentiality restrictions to protect sacred or culturally sensitive matters. Subject to any such confidentiality conditions, each Tribal Organization and the [Colorado] Historical Society will be provided copies of all resulting recordings and written materials, descriptions and analyses (Section III, 11.).

In addition to the Memorandum of Understanding, the tribes also discussed with the National Park Service at a meeting in Lamar, Colorado in December 1998 the development of Cooperative Agreements between the tribes and the National Park Service. The Cooperative Agreements would allow funding directly to the tribes so that each tribe had the option to conduct its own oral history project and use culturally appropriate methods for locating the massacre site.

During January and February 1999, I began preparing background information to assist tribal representatives with oral history data collection as each tribe considered appropriate. I prepared a list of questions relative to site location that were generated

¹⁹⁴John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* (Yale University Press: 1967); and Bruce Cutler, *The Massacre at Sand Creek: Narrative Voices* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

¹⁹⁵Sand Creek Massacre Site Project Agreement for the development of a Special Resource Study. National Park Service, Denver Colorado. November 1998.

in part by project historians and archeologists based on their documentary research and partly on background information necessary to put interviewees' stories into an appropriate context (See Appendix 4). The questions were intended to be used as an interviewing guide to elicit information about site location rather than as a formal questionnaire, and were also intended to be modified as considered appropriate by each tribe if they decided to conduct their own oral history projects. The draft list of questions was circulated to project historians, archeologists, the project's American Indian Trust Responsibility Officer, and tribal representatives and was modified in accordance with their comments. In addition, a standard NPS interviewee consent form was modified slightly for the purposes of the project and provided to designated tribal representatives for use in their own oral history projects if they wished to use it (see Appendix 4).

I also spoke with knowledgeable people to develop a preliminary list of potential interviewees (Table 1) and obtained copies of as much of the previously recorded oral historical information as available. Table 2 lists those individuals who were interviewed during previous oral history projects, as well as those individuals who were interviewed for the current site location project by staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Independently but concurrent with the Sand Creek Massacre site location study, the Oklahoma Historical Society (OHS) conducted an oral history project for Washita Battlefield National Historical Site in Oklahoma. The OHS documented Cheyenne oral histories of the U.S. 7th Cavalry attack on the village of Chief Black Kettle in 1868; many of those killed at Washita were survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Between January and September 1999, Dr. Mary Jane Warde and Mr. Rodger Harris, OHS historians and field assistants Jim Anquoe and Larry Roman Nose conducted 27 interviews with 24 individuals knowledgeable about the Washita massacre. Because the OHS researchers interviewed some of the same individuals who are the most knowledgeable about Sand Creek and who the National Park Service may have otherwise asked for interviews, the National Park Service arranged with OHS to also ask interviewees about their knowledge of Sand Creek. When OHS found interviewees to be knowledgeable about Sand Creek, OHS asked further site-specific questions.

Of the 24 people interviewed by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 14 were descendants of Sand Creek Massacre victims or survivors, or were knowledgeable about oral histories of the Sand Creek Massacre (see Table 2). In addition, in its archival research of previously documented oral historical information for Washita Battlefield, OHS also collected information on Sand Creek. Documents were located in the Doris Duke and Huntington Library oral history archives. The final report of OHS's Cheyenne/Washita Oral History Project was provided to the National Park Service in October 1999 and the interviews were reviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Oral History Project.¹⁹⁶ The Oklahoma Historical Society obtained consent from the interviewees for use of the information for National Park

¹⁹⁶Mary Jane Warde, Final Report on Cooperative Agreement 1443CA125098002 Modification 1: Conduct Oral History Research for Washita Historical Site, Oklahoma Historical Society, 1999.

Service purposes. Consent for uses beyond the scope of this project must be obtained through OHS. Copies of the transcripts of interviews referring to Sand Creek will be housed in National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre project archives.

Together with other project team members, between November 1998 and June 1999 I also made four preliminary visits to discuss initiating the oral history project with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho Tribes. In November 1998, I traveled to Concho, Oklahoma, and met with Southern Arapaho representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre Site project. In February 1999, I joined Jerry Greene, National Park Service, and David Halaas, Colorado Historical Society, for an additional introductory meeting with Cheyenne and Arapaho Business Committee members and other tribal representatives in Concho, Oklahoma, and discussed approaches to the oral history project. Also in February 1999, National Park Service representatives Barbara Sutteer, Rick Frost, and I met with Northern Arapaho Sand Creek representatives and Business Council members in Ethete and Riverton, Wyoming, and discussed development of a cooperative agreement for tribal collection of oral histories. The three of us also met with Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek representatives, tribal officials, and members of the public in Lane Deer, Montana in June 1999 and discussed approaches to oral history studies, implementation of a cooperative agreement, and other matters.

With background preparations in place and various options available for appropriate methods of interviewing knowledgeable tribal members and documenting, archiving, and presenting their stories, the Northern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne tribes initiated their involvement in the oral history project and each chose different methods of implementing it. The methods used by each tribe are described next.

**Table 1:
Potential Interviewees Suggested at Beginning of Oral History Project**

Suggested By	Interviewee	Tribal Affiliation	Result
David Halaas	Laird Cometsevah	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Colleen Cometsevah	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Ruby Bushyhead	S. Cheyenne	Not contacted
	Tulane Wilson	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
	John Sipes	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
	Linda DeCarlo	S. Cheyenne	Not contacted
	C. Little Coyote	S. Cheyenne	Not contacted
	Ray Brady	N. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Reginald Kills Night	N. Cheyenne	Not contacted
	Joe Walks Along	N. Cheyenne	Declined interview
Craig Moore	William B. Fletcher	S. Arapaho	Interviewed by OHS
	Terry Wilson	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed by OHS
	Tulane Wilson	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview

	Joe Big Medicine	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Blanche White Shield	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Eveline White Crane	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
Bill Dawson	Laird Cometsevah	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Colleen Cometsevah	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Steve Brady	N. Cheyenne	Not interviewed
	Eugene Ridgely	N. Arapaho	Not interviewed
	Danny Tallbird	S. Cheyenne	Deceased
	Ann Shadlow	S. Cheyenne	Previously interviewed
June Black	Jennie Curtis	S. Arapaho	Not done yet
	Cleone Thunder	N. Arapaho	Interviewed
	Mary Weber	S. Arapaho	Not done yet
Steve Brady	Father Peter Powell	Anglo	Not done yet
J. Big Medicine	C. Little Coyote	S. Cheyenne	Not contacted
	Gilbert Curtis	S. Cheyenne	Not available
	John Sipes	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
	Joe Osage	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Emma Red Hat	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
C. Cometsevah	Blanche White Shield	S. Cheyenne	Interviewed
	Eveline White Crane	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
	Maude White Skunk	S. Cheyenne	Declined interview
	Bertha Little Coyote	S. Cheyenne	Not available

**Table 2:
People Interviewed During Other Projects Who Are Either Sand Creek Massacre Descendants or Spoke of Oral Histories About the Sand Creek Massacre**

Interviewer	Interviewee
Colorado Historical Society (1995)	Colleen Cometsevah
	Laird Cometsevah
	Charles Little Coyote
	Joe Big Medicine
	Marybelle Lone Bear Curtis
	Linda DeCarlo

	Sherman Goose
Rebecca Rumsey (1998) ¹⁹⁷	Colleen Cometsevah
	Laird Cometsevah
	Arleigh Rhodes
	Joe Big Medicine
	Blanche White Shield
	Marybelle Lone Bear Curtis
	Madison Davis
	Imogene Jones
	Juanita Heap of Birds
	Lucille Bent
	Leroy Goodblanket
Oklahoma Historical Society (1983) ¹⁹⁸	Ann Shadlow
<i>Pueblo Chieftain</i> (date unknown) ¹⁹⁹	Danny Tallbird
Oklahoma Historical Society (1999)	Eugene Black Bear, Sr.
	William Bent Fletcher
	Colleen Cometsevah
	Alfrich Heap of Birds
	Sam C. Hart
	Joe Osage
	Larry Roman Nose
	William Sage
	Grover Turtle
	Lucian Twins
	Melvin Whitebird

¹⁹⁷Transcripts of these interviews are in the possession of the interviewer and interviewees and were not reviewed for this project. Ms. Rumsey indicated that they do not contain information concerning site location.

¹⁹⁸William Dawson lent tapes of this interview to me.

¹⁹⁹William Dawson reported an interview several years ago with Mr. Tallbird in a *Pueblo Chieftain* article via electronic mail to Christine Whitacre, National Park Service, in January 1999. A search of the *Pueblo Chieftain* records could not locate the interview. Mrs. Colleen Cometsevah reported in 1999 that Mr. Tallbird, a Southern Cheyenne formerly living in Towoc, Colorado, is deceased.

	Carol White Skunk
	Terry Wilson
	Lucille Youngbull

Northern Arapaho Oral History Project

The Northern Arapaho tribe determined that tribal members would conduct their own oral history project and entered into a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service in January 1999. The Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project began on April 7-8, 1999. The tribe requested National Park Service assistance in conducting a brief oral history training workshop for tribal project representatives followed by interviews with two elderly tribal members who are knowledgeable about the Sand Creek Massacre, as well as briefing the Tribal Business Council on the project and obtaining their approval to proceed.

Members of the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project team are Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Mr. Gail Ridgely, Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Jr., Mr. Hubert Warren, Sr., and Mr. Tom Meier, Northern Arapaho Historian. Also present at the initial

training/interviewing session was Mr. William C’Hair, Ms. Debra Calling Thunder, granddaughter of one of the interviewees, Ms. Sara Wiles, project photographer, and me as National Park Service oral history project coordinator. Notices of the project meeting were posted and tribal members at large were invited via newspaper notices, posted notices and word of mouth to participate in the training and to provide oral history accounts (see Appendix 4).

The project began with team members explaining the extremely sensitive and sacred nature of the stories that were about to be elicited from Sand Creek Massacre descendants and the importance of the project to the Northern Arapaho people and to the future generations. Mr. Meier and I then facilitated a brief training on oral history methods for the project team members, and reviewed the use of the recording equipment that had been purchased specifically for the project. After a presentation to the Northern Arapaho Business Council at which the Council members expressed full and enthusiastic support for the oral history project, interviews were conducted with two tribal members.

Mr. Hubert Warren Sr., who is a direct descendant of a Sand Creek Massacre survivor was interviewed in the Arapaho language by Mr. William C’Hair, and Mrs. Cbone Thunder, who is among the oldest living tribal members, was interviewed in English by Mr. C’Hair and Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Sr. Both interviews were taped and the tapes retained by the Northern Arapaho tribe. Both interviews were conducted at the Arapaho School in Arapaho, Wyoming. Ms. Sara Wiles took photos of interviewees specifically for the purposes of the oral history project. Notes from the interviews were kept as the interviews were being taped. Both interviewees were compensated for their time by the tribe through the funds provided by the cooperative agreement.



ILLUSTRATION 5-3: Alexa Roberts, NPS ethnographer (right), and Eugene Ridgely Jr. during the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project. *Tom Meier*

In May 1999, during the National Park Service's archeological fieldwork project at Sand Creek, I accompanied Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project team members on a visit to potential massacre site locations. Team members compared the details of Mr. Warren's story with the landscape at the Dawson and Bowen properties and the Dewitt and Ballentine properties 20 miles south of the Dawson property. Northern Arapaho representatives prepared a report detailing the May 1999 archeological fieldwork and site visit for the Northern Arapaho Business Council.²⁰⁰

In July 1999, Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project team members interviewed two more tribal members, Ms. Lettie June Shakespeare and Ms. Josephine White. Again, both interviews were conducted at the Arapaho School and both

interviewees were compensated for their time by the Northern Arapaho tribe through the cooperative agreement. Project photographer Sara Wiles photographed the interviewees.

In September, I was asked to return to Wyoming to listen to the taped interviews with project team members present and to transcribe the tapes with interpretation and editorial assistance from the project team (see Appendix 4). Team members present during the September session were Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Jr.,

²⁰⁰Eugene Ridgely, Sr. and Gail Ridgely, National Park Service Site-Visit "Sand Creek" Lamar, Colorado May 18-28, 199, Meeting and Site Visit Report to the Northern Arapaho Business Council, on file, Northern Arapaho Business Council.

Mr. Gail Ridgely, Mr. Hubert Warren, and Mr. Tom Meier. Mr. Joe Waterman, a tribal ceremonial leader, was also present to assist with the transcription of the tapes.

Again, project team members initiated the session with a discussion of the sanctity of the stories told by the interviewees and a reminder that the most important underlying premise of the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History project is to protect the interviewees and their stories. Participants were reminded that the first people the stories belong to is the interviewees, and that their intellectual property rights must be guarded at all times. To help ensure this confidentiality, the project team asked Dr. Phil Roberts, historian with the University of Wyoming, to assist the tribe with applying copyrights to all interview tapes and transcripts. The interviewees and project team members felt that establishing copyright would allow the information from the interviews to be used by the National Park Service for the purposes of the site location and special resource studies, while still ensuring that the information belongs to the people who provided it.

With these confidentiality measures in place, project team members and I listened to the tapes. I transcribed the stories as closely to the original words as possible, although they are not verbatim transcriptions. Project team members clarified words or statements where necessary and provided editorial inserts to explain statements or thoughts.

This process was repeated one more time on February 28, 2000, when National Park Service representative Barbara Sutteer and I traveled to Arapaho, Wyoming, to assist with two additional interviews (see Appendix 4). These interviews were also conducted at the Arapaho School and were accompanied by Gail Ridgely, Eugene Ridgely, Sr., and Eugene Ridgely, Jr. Photos of each interviewee were taken by Sara Wiles.

Copies of photos of the interviewees were provided to the National Park Service for inclusion in the report. Copies of tapes, copyrighted to the Northern Arapaho Tribe, were provided for inclusion in National Park Service Sand Creek archives. In keeping with the provisions of the 1999 "Memorandum of Understanding Among National Park Service, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Northern Arapaho Tribe for Government-to-Government Relations in the Implementation of P.L. 105-243," Section III 11, copies of these tapes will also be provided to the Colorado Historical Society.

Southern Cheyenne Oral History Project

Collection of Southern Cheyenne oral histories was organized by Mr. and Mrs. Laird Cometsevah as the Chairman of the Traditional Southern Cheyenne Descendants and official representatives to the Sand Creek project. The Southern Cheyenne tribe elected not to enter into a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service for the collection of oral histories but asked instead for the National Park Service to collect the oral histories in collaboration with tribal representatives.

The Cometsevahs initiated the project in June 1999 by posting public notices of the oral history project and asking people to come and contribute their stories if they



ILLUSTRATION 5-4: Colleen Cometsevah (left) talking with Blanche White Shield during the Southern Cheyenne Oral History Project. *Alexa Roberts*

wished. In addition, specific individuals previously recommended by the Cometsevahs and other knowledgeable people as potentially knowing stories of Sand Creek were contacted (refer to Table 1) and asked to provide interviews. The home base for the project was the Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center in Clinton, Oklahoma. In addition to me, Dr. David Halaas, Colorado Historical Society, and Ms. Carolyn Sandlin, National Park Service employee and also the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Cometsevah were present for the interviews. Ms. Sandlin has assisted Mrs. Cometsevah in Sand Creek research and is very knowledgeable about Sand Creek lineal descent and Southern Cheyenne genealogies.

Nine interviews were conducted during the June session. Five of the interviewees, including the Cometsevahs, had been previously recommended and/or previously interviewed during other projects as described above. The remaining four interviewees came forward during the three-day interviewing period from June 1-4, 1999. All individuals who had been previously recommended and who were possible to locate were asked if they would consent to being interviewed and several declined.

All interviews were conducted using a Marantz PMD201 Professional tape recorder on 60-minute TDK professional cassette tapes. All but one interview took place at the Elderly Nutrition Center. The one exception took place at a nursing home in Clinton, Oklahoma. All interviews were open-ended, using the specific questions developed for the project as a guideline. The standard National Park Service interviewee consent form was not used, but each interviewee was asked if their interview could be used for the purposes of the project. Each interviewee was also asked whom else they would recommend to be interviewed. Each of their recommendations was either followed up on in subsequent sessions or is listed in the recommendation section of this report as

potential future interviewees. Interviewees were not financially compensated for the interviews but each interviewee was given a small gift based on customary practices, including cloth, fruit, tobacco, and other items.

A second session was convened from August 18-20, 1999. Ms. Carolyn Sandlin again accompanied me during the second session. The second session was set up similarly to the first (see Appendix 4). Community health representatives or Business Committee representatives in districts within the service area of the Nutrition Center were also asked to find out if people in their districts would like to be interviewed or if they would like to have project representatives provide presentations of the project to their communities. A special effort was also made to contact previously recommended individuals in the community of Hammon. Carolyn Sandlin, Sand Creek project representative Joe Big Medicine, and I attempted to locate people in Hammon on August 18 1999, but found few people at home or in town. We also traveled to Longdale the same day to speak with the Sacred Arrow Keeper and to interview his mother. Carolin Sandlin, Joe Big Medicine, Mr. and Mrs. Cometsevah and I also attended a community meeting in Hammon the evening of August 18, explaining the project and asking if participants would like to be interviewed or knew of people we should contact. Twenty people were present at the meeting, including some knowledgeable individuals who had been previously recommended, but they declined to be interviewed.

Three people were interviewed during the August session; those interviews followed the same format as the interviews conducted during the July session. In total, the following twelve Southern Cheyenne people were interviewed during the June and August sessions:

Colleen Cometsevah

Laird Cometsevah

Emma Red Hat

Joe Osage

Arleigh Rhodes

Marybelle Lonebear Curtis

Jesse Howling Water

Lyman Weasel Bear, Sr.

Robert Toahty

Gus Wilson

Blanche Whiteshield

Roger White Turtle

Bill Wilson and Bob Standing Water also provided names of additional people to interview but did not provide interviews themselves. The names of potential future interviewees are listed in the recommendation section of this report.

As of this writing, tapes of these interviews are in the process of formal transcription. Once completed, copies of the tapes and transcripts will be sent to each interviewee and to the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes for the tribal archives. Copies will also be retained in the National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre archives. In keeping with the provisions of the 1999 "Memorandum of Understanding Among National Park Service, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Northern Arapaho Tribe for Government-to-Government Relations in the Implementation of P.L. 105-243," Section III 11, copies will also be provided to the Colorado Historical Society.

Northern Cheyenne Oral Histories

In June 1999, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe entered into a Cooperative Agreement with the National Park Service for collecting oral histories and other purposes. At that time National Park Service representatives Barbara Sutteer, Rick Frost, Steve DeVore, and I traveled to Lame Deer to meet with Northern Cheyenne tribal officials, Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendants, and interested tribal members. The purpose of the meetings was to review the results of the May, 1999 Sand Creek archeology project, discuss initiating the oral history project, and review the status of the site location project in general.

Mr. Steve Brady, Sr., Chairman of the Northern Cheyenne Band of Sand Creek Descendants and Northern Cheyenne representative to the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Project, facilitated an introductory meeting between the National Park Service and tribal officials. The meeting was to give tribal officials an opportunity to learn more about the project and to view some of the artifacts found during the May, 1999 archeological investigations. Besides Mr. Brady and the National Park Service representatives, attending the meeting were Mr. Joe Walks Along, Northern Cheyenne Tribal President; Dr. Richard Little Bear, President, Dull Knife Memorial College; Mr. Lee Lone Bear and Mr. Hugh Clubfoot, Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council Members; Mr. John White, BIA Agency Superintendent; Mr. Ray Brady, Mr. Otto Braided Hair, and Mr. Luke Brady, Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendants. Mr. Ray Brady and Dr. Little Bear spoke of hearing stories of their relatives who were present at Sand Creek, and they and President Walks Along all addressed the importance of collecting the oral histories.

A briefing about the project and a showing of the artifacts was also presented to Vice President Norma Gourneau and her staff, during which she asked for an additional presentation for tribal council members and tribal employees. Two additional public meetings were held at Dull Knife Memorial College, each receiving more than 20 participants and considerable interest in the oral history component of the project. Finally, an impromptu visit was made to the Wendell Shoulderblade Senior Complex where several people identified themselves or other relatives as Sand Creek Massacre descendants. Collectively, the meetings attended by the National Park Service and Northern Cheyenne Band of Sand Creek Descendants' representatives in June 1999 confirmed that a Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek oral history project would be necessary and possible in the near future. On May 12, 1999, the National Park Service had sent a signed copy of the Cooperative Agreement to the Northern Cheyenne. The tribe returned the Cooperative Agreement with the signature of the tribal president on June 29, 1999 and submitted an invoice for payment of the Cooperative Agreement funds on August 20, 1999. Funds were transferred from the National Park Service to the tribe in early October 1999, but the funds could not be accessed from the tribal financial system until February 2000.

Independently of the Cooperative Agreement, the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendants formed the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office, with office space provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other office support from donations. The office was initially set up to organize the November 25-29 "Spiritual Healing



ILLUSTRATION 5-5: Otto Braided Hair in the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office. Alexa Roberts

Run” which originated at the Sand Creek Massacre Site and ended on the steps of the Capitol in Denver, Colorado. The run, which included possibly as many as 500 participants, commemorated the 135th anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre (see Appendix 4). This week-long spiritual event began with appropriate ceremonial customs and served the Cheyenne people who perished in the attack. It was the first time Cheyennes gathered in their ancestral homelands since the incident occurred more than a century ago, and connected the Cheyenne people with their ancestors, with their homelands, and with their history.

While not intentional, the run created a vital awareness of the Sand Creek Massacre and laid the foundation for the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Oral History Project that was initiated the following month. The project began with the Sand Creek Descendants Committee creating a list of 33 potential interviewees who may have stories of the Massacre (Table 3). This list was not intended to be comprehensive, but to serve as a baseline from which to begin. It was fully expected that each interviewee, even if not having stories themselves, would recommend other knowledgeable people and the list would grow.

**Table 3:
Potential Interviewees Recommended by the Northern Cheyenne Band Of Sand
Creek Descendants Committee**

Community	Recommended Interviewee
Ashland	Betty Rogers
Birney	Sylvia Elk Shoulder
	Charlie Wolf Black
	Clarence Medicine Top
Busby	Don Many Bad Horses
	Effie Wooden Legs
	Genevieve Bear Quiver
	Alfred Strange Owl
	Martha Wolf Name
	Victoria Roundstone
Muddy	Gertrude Fire Crow
	Bertha Freeman
	Gilbert and Nancy White Dirt
Lame Deer	Annie Brady
	Betty Jo Williams
	Charles Little Old Man
	Philip and Florence White Man
	Harriet Little Bird
	Hubert Seminole
	Inez Wilson
	Lee Lone Bear
	Nelson Tall Bull
	Don Hollowbreast
	Nellie Bear Tusk
	Willy Gardener
	Raymond Brady, Sr.
	Richard Little Bear
	Martin Kills Knight
	Flossie Rock Roads
	Victoria Walks Along
	Walter Black Wolf
	Perry Little Coyote
	Lillian Three Fingers

During the week of December 20, 1999, Ms. Karen Stone, assisted by Sand Creek Office staff members, initiated the project by video taping interviews about the Sand Creek Massacre and the Spiritual Healing Run with six knowledgeable tribal members. Three interviewees were on the Descendants Committee's original list and three were not.

At the invitation of the Sand Creek Office, I was in Lame Deer from January 17-27, 2000, to assist Sand Creek Office staff with the remaining 30 interviews. The project began with a day of background preparation, educating me about the appropriate protocols in consulting with highly respected, elderly tribal members. From the outset, one source of frustration to Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office staff was the need to rush the process of consultation and asking such respected tribal members for stories. According to staff members, if time allowed the use of appropriate traditional methods, a respected, knowledgeable, older, tribal member would have visited in advance and at length with each person from whom a story was being sought. A gift commensurate with the storyteller’s intellectual property would have been brought, and lengthy discussion would have taken place, giving the person as much time as they needed to think about whether or not he or she wished to give a story normally reserved only for family members. However, a lack of time and access to funding restricted the use of traditional protocols and, in turn, adversely affected the ability to gather oral histories.

Given the time and funding available, it made project staff extremely uncomfortable that two young people, one of whom represents the federal government, visited people quickly, asked for stories in what may have been interpreted as a disrespectful manner, and brought only token gifts of food, cloth, and tobacco. Nonetheless, with no alternative, Arbutus Red Woman and I visited one individual and Luke Brady and I visited an additional 31 people, mainly in their homes. Of the original 33 potential interviewees identified by the committee, thirteen gave stories, eight people we were unable to contact, one was unavailable due to illness, six did not have stories, and five declined to be interviewed. Seventeen additional people who were not on the original list were also recommended (Table 4). Of those additional seventeen, five gave stories, eight we were unable to contact, two did not have stories and two declined to be interviewed. Fourteen people also mentioned having family genealogical records and other documents related to Sand Creek, and most people agreed to provide copies to the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office for the tribe’s Sand Creek archives.

**Table 4:
Additional Interviewees Recommended During Initial
Northern Cheyenne Interviews.**

Melvin Wooden Thigh	Daniel Pine Rock
Xavier Crazy Mule	Red Cherries
Joe Fox	Helen Highwalker
Alva Firecrow	Marie Sanchez
Herbert Fighting Bear	Ruby Roubideaux
Irene Bear Quiver	Norma Gorneau
Joe Walks Along	Ruth Shoulderblade
Charles Littlefox	Elsie Standing Elk
Donna Limpy Gonzales	

Twelve stories were audio taped during the week. Five additional interviews were recorded on videotape during the week of December 20, and one written narrative along with a painting depicting the massacre had been received during the June visit by NPS representatives, for a total of 18 recorded stories, narratives, and interviews.

The majority of the audio taped stories were recorded in peoples' homes throughout the reservation, with two taking place at the peoples' workplaces, and one in the Sand Creek office in Lame Deer. Nearly all interviews were arranged in advance, visiting once to explain the project and ask if the person would like to give a story, and if so, returning at a later date to record it. Small gifts of food, cloth, and tobacco were given to each person asked, regardless of whether or not they had a story or wished to tell one.

All stories were recorded using a Marantz PMD201 Professional Tape recorder on TDK 60-minute professional cassette tapes. A portable Telex Replica Mono Tape Copier was brought along during the interviews so that at the completion of the interviews a copy of the tape could be immediately provided to the interviewee. Providing copies of tapes at the time of the interview helped establish some level of trust about the project, since many people mentioned that they had been interviewed in the past (primarily regarding Sand Creek reparations) and had no idea what became of the material. Copies of tapes were also made for the NPS, with the original tapes being housed at the Sand Creek Office. All interviewees were asked on tape for permission to use the stories in the NPS report to Congress and all interviewees gave approval. No particular question format was followed, showing respect to the storyteller by allowing the person to simply tell their story uninterrupted. At the conclusion of the story more specific questions were asked if appropriate. Four stories were told entirely in Cheyenne and the remaining eight in English, sometimes mixed with Cheyenne.

It is difficult but important to try to convey the depth of emotion attached to any discussion of the Sand Creek Massacre among descendants, and its presence in peoples' everyday lives. Many descendants identify themselves as being from not only a geographic place, but "from" Sand Creek, or Washita, or Little Bighorn, or Fort Robinson. As stated by one man "That's the way we know it. We are from the man that was from those people that were killed at Sand Creek. The people at Birney are from the people that were killed at Sand Creek."²⁰¹ Many of the people telling stories say that they only heard parts of the stories from their parents or grandparents because they could not get beyond their tears to tell them. Many of the people repeating the stories today cry as they do so. Many people stated that their grandparents or even parents would not speak of the massacre for fear of government retribution, and changed their family names so they would not be identifiable as Sand Creek survivors. One older woman even today would not consent to telling what she knew for the same inherent fear, and was visibly shaken when asked. Many people express outrage, bewilderment, and complete distrust of and disrespect for the United States government as a lasting legacy of the Sand Creek Massacre. Some say that conflicts in cultural identity as a result of repeated government efforts to exterminate and

²⁰¹See William Gardener interview.

assimilate the Cheyenne people has resulted in the extreme social challenges facing youth today, including diminished Cheyenne values, domestic abuse, poor health, poverty and substance abuse.

For most people who talked about Sand Creek, it is evident that the Sand Creek Massacre is not an event relegated to the past, but is a very real part of the Cheyenne peoples' contemporary identity, as individual descendants and as a tribe. The massacre also set the course for more than a century of federal policies that have induced poverty and eroded the transmission of cultural knowledge from generation to generation, to the extent that some Cheyenne ceremonial and traditional practices were almost extinct only 20 years ago.²⁰² For these reasons, any talk about the Sand Creek Massacre is considered very carefully and is undertaken with a sense of great weight. No one wants to talk about it but some people concede that they must if the purpose might benefit the Cheyenne people. There is nothing casual about anything related to the whole subject of Sand Creek, and it is for these reasons that the oral history project was approached as carefully as possible under rushed and often tense circumstances.

This sense of responsibility for peoples' emotions, their positions as descendants of massacre victims, and the intellectual property rights vested in their stories carried through to the transcription of the tapes, which took place during a second session in Lame Deer from February 10-17, 2000. Sand Creek Office staff was extremely concerned about the accurate interpretation of the Cheyenne language stories into English. Some elderly Cheyenne speakers expressed concern that, as has often happened in the past, the rich meanings of the Cheyenne words would be lost with too casual an approach to translation. Some people talked about how the Cheyenne people have been misrepresented in treaties and other legal processes because of interpretations of Cheyenne into English that don't convey the real meanings of the language. Some older Cheyenne speakers, especially those with important social positions such as Chiefs or Society men, were particularly concerned about accurate interpretation because of unwritten social rules about truthfulness in storytelling. The accurate interpretation of the Cheyenne language stories reveals the storytellers' reiteration that they are telling the story exactly as they heard it. Embedded in the Cheyenne language stories are statements that the story teller is not vouching for the truthfulness of the story itself, only that it is being repeated exactly as it was heard. For these reasons, interpretation of the Cheyenne language stories was undertaken extremely carefully, paying particular attention to the older and less common words, and being sure to convey the full meaning of each individual word. Because each descriptive word can translate into an entire English paragraph and sometimes can not be translated into English at all, the Cheyenne transcription process is slow. The first transcription of 30 minutes of one Cheyenne language story took 13 hours.

After all the stories were transcribed, Luke Brady and I or Luke Brady alone returned to visit each person and brought a hard-copy of their story for them to review, along with a laptop computer to be able to make any editorial changes on the spot. The Sand Creek office also developed an additional written consent form to ensure that the stories were only reproduced with each individual's complete knowledge and approval

²⁰²Steve Brady, Sr., personal communication, February 13, 2000.

(see Appendix 4). By this time, the Sand Creek Office was also able to provide a small cash honorarium to each interviewee. Original consent forms and original tapes were retained by the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek office, with copies of each provided to the interviewees. Per the provisions of the 1999 “Memorandum of Understanding Among National Park Service, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Northern Cheyenne Tribe and Northern Arapaho Tribe for Government-to-Government Relations in the Implementation of P.L. 105-243,” Section III 11, copies of tapes and consent forms were also provided to the National Park Service and the Colorado Historical Society.

Stories Of The Sand Creek Massacre

Northern Arapaho Stories

(Note: most of the following narratives are transcribed from taped conversations and notes. Although they are transcribed as closely to the original as possible, they are not verbatim transcriptions. Formal, verbatim transcriptions are under contract and in preparation.)

Mr. Hubert Warren, Sr.

**Interviewed by Mr. John C’Hair
April 7, 1999**

**Interpreted from the original Arapaho language version by Mr. Warren on September 29, 1999.
Copyright, 1999. All rights reserved.**

My grandmother, Singing Under Water was her name. And she wasn’t very old, she must have been 10 years old. That’s how old she was. And the soldier chief at the place they were at – “we’re going to gather you and take you to the place you are going to live with the Cheyennes.” They are going to move us south where we will make our living. Where the soldiers had put us and the soldier chief said this is the place you are going to live and we are going to leave you with flags. The soldiers’ flags will be flying and any other soldiers that might come upon you will see them.

I don’t know how long we had been there till this early morning massacre happened. The camp crier called out “Attention! Wake up Arapahos! Attention! Wake up Arapahos! We’re being attacked by soldiers!”²⁰³ The crier woke her up and she sat up and put her moccasins on. I ran outside. It was terrible. Everyone scattered all over and the big guns [cannons] were firing. The camp crier was an old man. He was still announcing “Scatter! We will meet again at the place we had our last Sun Dance!” I was terrified. Then I ran and ran, north. Someone called and I looked around. “Look up here! We’re hiding behind the rocks! Crawl up here!” I crawled up and hid with them. There was a man, woman, child, and myself. That’s where we hid, behind the rocks. “Are they going to find us?” “No, they won’t.” I don’t

²⁰³Mr. Warren explained during the transcription that the practice of having a crier was in place until after World War II.



ILLUSTRATION 5-6: Hubert Warren, Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project. *Sara Wiles*

know how long it was. The man was watching the soldiers. They were shooting at wounded children, Cheyennes and Arapahos. Later on there were random shots, they were burning the tipis and belongings.

We are going to start walking. It was cold and we were walking. We were very hungry. Rabbits, prairie dogs – we would sit by the holes and knock them in the head. We quit walking at night. After a while it was all right and we could walk during the day. Far away in the mountains, I don't know how many days we walked till we got to the gathering place. The snow was already deep. It was maybe two months.²⁰⁴

We lost a lot of weight and were all skinny. When we gathered there weren't many Arapahos so we went back into the mountains. I can't remember the name of the mountains (probably the Estes Park area). We were going to go see the Sioux. They knew us. That's where we went. They went into the Black Hills. The soldiers came to the Sioux and asked if any Arapahos had come to their camp. A Sioux said to the soldiers "I guess you know the Arapahos. Go into the camp and pick them out." But the soldiers didn't know and couldn't identify them. After we left there we went back to the mountains (the Bighorns, probably) where the Shoshones lived. We were looking for

²⁰⁴Discussion during the transcription indicated that they may have followed Sand Creek to a certain point, turning west to Kiowa Creek and from there to Colorado Springs. From there they could follow the mountains to their destination.

Arapaho survivors but didn't find any. They must have moved south, Arapahos and Cheyennes.

William C'Hair: I think this concludes what you were trying to express. We have a good description of the stories relayed to him by his grandmother. If you want to, say something in English.

Hubert Warren: My grandmother was Singing Water. She was born in 1853 and died August 29, 1934. She was 81 years old and the Sand Creek Massacre was 1864 so she would have been ten years old.

Gail Ridgely: The tribe is involved in the exact site. When we go to Sand Creek you need to be there to get a feel for where the site might be. At the site where it's at now, there's been erosion. I've heard they hid in crevasses, but at Dawson's there aren't any. They could be taken over by the army. There are other places with crevasses and we should examine them. Are there mentions of the hiding places in your story?

William C'Hair: There's a vivid description of the hiding place in his story, where they hid for four days. What I've seen at Dawson's doesn't fit the description. Just the one area where the marker is. Where they hid is higher ground with rocks.

Hubert Warren: Like flat rocks, like shale. They hid behind them, like a cliff.

William C'Hair: Also they would have to drag a cannon up to a place where they could shoot down.

Gail Ridgely: Like the shale rocks in our photos.

Hubert and William C'Hair: It was flat rocks. Four people could hide back there.²⁰⁵ A man, woman, their daughter – a younger girl than his grandmother. He could cover them up. The man could look down and see what was going on, the sporadic gun fire. When it was quiet they could take off.

Gail Ridgely: Thank you for your assistance and contribution to the Arapaho Nation.

Hubert Warren: I forgot this morning: the warriors were gone hunting. They had been moved from Denver. Took several days to get to Sand Creek. Several hundred horses. Would take 10-15 days or so. When they got there, it was in a depression. Along the creek, like a horseshoe. They didn't camp with the Cheyenne. Each had their own camp. Cheyennes had a white flag and American flag and Arapahos had their own. Their Chief had one. Plenty of water and plenty of wood. The soldiers had to be shooting down from a higher elevation. Had to be a ridge of some kind. They used the cannons to destroy the tipis. Also the gattling gun – “fast shooting gun” she called it. When the militia attacked just the older men were there, the warriors were out. When they got back everyone had scattered and were gone.

Questions:

Q: How far away were the Cheyennes camped?

²⁰⁵During transcription Mr. Warren indicated that from the hiding place among the rocks the people would have been looking west to northwest.

A: In the same depression, but separated, like at Pow Wows today. Pretty close but just apart. The horses were probably together. There should still be horse bones. The horses were shot. What happened to the dogs? Arapahos had a lot of dogs. What happened to them?

Q: There was a natural spring . . . were there any landmarks with Indian names?

A: Don't remember, except she said it was flatter than the land they were used to.

Q: Could the creek have been running back then?

A: As far as I remember she said they always camped next to water. It was impossible to dry camp. There had to be plenty of water and grass.

Q: Coming from Denver . . .

A: They might have followed Cherry Creek

Q: How far did they run before hiding?

A: Couldn't have been far. The man who hid was looking down on the camp and called to her. She was at the creek and heard her name being called – no – she was running up the creek and heard her name. She looked around and they said “look up . . . we're in the rocks.” She had to climb/crawl up. The rocks were flat and the man had stacked them up like layer rocks, like flat limestone. Where it happened was close to a limestone area. Couldn't be far because she was running. Ran north and looked up to her left. They said, “crawl up here” and they were behind the rocks.

Q: Where had the Cheyennes come from?

A: She didn't say. They just scattered. The first thing she heard was the crier “The soldiers are attacking! Scatter! Scatter! We will meet again at the place of the last Sun Dance!” – up in the mountains where no one bothered them. They didn't have the big crowds we have now. Wounded ones would get well. They had to stay along creeks. They dug up roots and berries. They kept going north. At first only at night, then by day after it was safe. Maybe walked 10 days, 15 or 20 miles a day. They were stronger than we are now. North of Fort Collins, they went around. But snow was getting deeper till they got to the gathering place. A few Arapahos were there. They went to the Sioux where they could get help. Don't recall the names of the creeks. Her mother was killed and she stayed with that family till she found other relatives.

Q: What was your grandmother's mother's name?

A: I don't know.

Q: What would you look for if you were going to look for the site today?

A: Shell casings. There had to be a lot of guns.

[Brief group discussion of troop location and how long it would take to get there, how they would bring the cannons, etc.]

Where are the horse bones? Are there mass graves?

William C'Hair: Wherever the Sun Dance was, people were supposed to be there in two moons . . . they'd have to get there in two nights? They'd have to run . . .

Hubert Warren: No, two months. It would have been January. She said the snow was getting deeper. It was up in the mountains. The summer location was around Estes Park, where the Sun Dance would have been.

If I think of anything else, I'll write it down.

Thank you.

Mr. Warren wrote his grandmother's story in September 1999 after the interview. The written version follows:

Singing Under Water Moss (Underwood)

DOB – 1853??

Died August 29, 1934– 81 years old

1864 – Sand Creek Massacre – 10 years old

Story of the Sand Creek Massacre as told to the Warren children

Written by Hubert E. Warren Sr.

Copyright 1999. All rights reserved.

The soldiers gathered us from our camp along with the Cheyennes where we were camped along ??? creek [near now Denver]; the soldier chief told us that we were to be moved to our new [reservation] campground which was to become our new and permanent campground [new reservation].

We had a big herd of horses along with the Cheyennes, it took us several days to make the move. When we came to the new campground, the soldier chief told us to put up a white flag with their flag [American] so that any other soldiers would know that we were a friendly tribe and that they would not attack us and would leave us alone.

On the morning of the massacre I was awakened with the camp crier telling us to wake up; his words were “Wake up Arapahos, wake up Arapahos, the soldiers are attacking, the soldiers are attacking us. Run, scatter, run, scatter, we will all meet again in two moons where we had our last Sun Dance. We will all meet again where we had our last Sun Dance.”

Being a young woman [girl], I sat up from my bed and put on my moccasins, there was an awful lot of noise outside of the teepee. As I went outside of the teepee I saw people running in every direction and I saw people falling down and teepees falling apart. The people falling down were those that were getting killed, the teepees falling apart were those getting hit from the soldiers' big guns.

I started running toward the hills which was north of the camp, as I was running near some rocks I heard my name being called “Singing Water, Singing Water.” I stopped running and looked around and could not see anyone, I was about to start running again when this voice called my name again, “Singing Water, look up to the rocks, we are behind them. Crawl up here and we will hide you with us.” I crawled up to the rocks where this voice came from, when I got to the rocks the man made an entrance for me. I had to stand up and climb over the rocks; behind the rocks was a man, woman and a child. [Note: the storyteller does not recall the names of the people that my grandmother had hidden her.] We stayed hidden behind the rocks for two

days. On the second night the man said “its time for us to move” so we started north along the creek and walked all night. When it started to dawn the man said that we have to move away from the creek and hide all day till nightfall and continue our journey north. She said that they would walk and hide during the day. We walked for several nights and when the man thought it was safe enough, we started walking during the day. How we survived was that we dug up the roots that we knew were edible and also any berries that hadn’t fallen off the bushes. Also we would sit above the prairie dog holes and knock them in the head and roast them. By then we weren’t afraid to make fires as it was getting cold. I don’t remember how many days it took us to reach our gathering place. I do remember that the snow was already deep. The Arapahos that were there told of some of the people that were caught and some of the ones that were killed. My grandmother said that they stayed at the gathering place for several more days then they moved further north. She said that they stayed near the mountains to get any game animals for food and that if the soldiers found them that they could get away in the mountains. “Grandma,” I said “could you tell us more;” she said “I suppose it’s you [she said my Indian name]”. She said “go to sleep like your brothers and sisters and dream about the story I just told you about.” This story was told to us by our grandmother many a night because we told her how brave and courageous she was to get away from the soldiers.

She did mention that the flags that the tribes (Cheyenne and Arapahos) put up on poles to let any other soldiers in the area know that the two tribes were friendly. She said that the soldiers didn’t even honor their own flags as that they were on the poles day and night. She said that she couldn’t understand the attack on them so early in the morning. What this writer doesn’t understand is that my grandmother said that the flag was a white one and the other one was the soldiers flag. Was it the American flag of that era or was it one of the company or a regimental guideon?

This story is the one that has stuck in my memory since I was about nine years old. My grandmother told us many stories of her life on the plains and mountains.

Mrs. Cleone Thunder

Interviewed by Mr. Eugene Ridgely, Sr. and Ms. Debra Calling Thunder

April 7, 1999

Transcribed by Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Hubert Warren Sr., and Joe Waterman, September 27, 1999.

Copyright 1999. All rights reserved.

Eugene Ridgely, Sr.: You can begin to tell your story. Tell us about the Sand Creek Massacre, for the National Park Service.

Cleone Thunder: I was just reading about that. I wish we had those treaty books. They were all in my house when the house burned down. It was a loss to the whole tribe. My grandfather was one of the selected Councilman – called him Wolf White Horse and my father Elmer Iron. They sat there with



ILLUSTRATION 5-7: Cleone Thunder, Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project. *Sara Wiles*

Sherman Coolidge.²⁰⁶ Sherman Coolidge was married to a white woman. She was a millionaire and a nurse. She worked around here and took care of people and helped a whole lot. They transferred him. There's a lot to learn. You can always learn, no matter how old you are you can always learn. That's what I tell my kids. You can keep it in your mind whatever you read and hear. Since that virus last year we don't have too many old people left.

²⁰⁶The transcribers explained: Sherman Coolidge was an Arapaho Protestant minister around Fort Washakie and Ethete, Wyoming. He was an orphan who was adopted by a white officer after a battle. He was a minister at the time her father, Elmer Iron, was on the Tribal Council.

Eugene Ridgely, Sr.: Are you going to tell your story now?

Cleone Thunder: Well, our old folks told us about the massacre. It's sad that our people had to struggle to live. They were industrious, good workers, knew how to survive. They were buffalo hunters and moved after the buffalo and got their supply of food. Also berries and digging for vegetables. That's why we thank Mother Earth. We have to think about survival. Today there is no buffalo meat or robes. I wish I had my buckskins, leggings, and moccasins.²⁰⁷ My hair is growing long again now.

You can't accomplish anything if you're bashful. You have to speak up. We were free at one time. Now the government is closing in on our land. Once we had a lot of land. We were free and knew how to live. They knew how to survive. We have to hang on to our land for our kids and future generations. The government broke the treaties. We could get big per capita payments instead of \$40 a month. The manager of the Arapaho Ranch came to my house. I asked about the ranch. I told him Arapahos should have employment preference. We bought that ranch. Now we have a good manager. He's trying to improve it. My grandson from Oklahoma, Frank Pedro, worked there but got fired. Got in a wreck. He was a foreman, good with the cattle. He said he would make a good living.

I hope to live long enough to tell young people, but most of them don't speak their language. Each tribe has their own language but the government denied it. That's how we lost our language. Who ever speaks Arapaho can help by volunteering at the schools. The old people used to go to the schools and help them learn. Most of our people now get good educations. My grandchildren are now scattered all over. They have good jobs. If we're given a chance, it would be that way. Indians are real smart, but there's still prejudice. Have to stop that. We're all brothers and sisters. We should visit and feed each other. It used to be that way. It's being forgotten today. I'm thankful that people are good to me. I love everybody. I try to be good to everyone and they are good to me too. You have to work hard. We have land and can make a living from it. Mine is exchange land.²⁰⁸ I had 80 acres. Seventeen-Mile crossing . . . but water is a problem. We were not supposed to pay for it. We were free. My grandfather was like a governor.

When they had this massacre, they had to defend themselves. They had to hunt. The women tanned hides and took care of the children while the men were out getting food. If fences weren't up you could go anywhere and dig medicine. But now white people are appropriating ancient Indian medicine. My granddaughter Ramona works in Baltimore.

I'm proud of my grandkids. They have no fear. You can speak up and be proud. They didn't take our pride away yet. I'd like to see that again – kids taught to respect and be obedient. No liquor and things. The legends tell . . . I used to tell them at the missions. Grasshopper used to come . . . the kids sat

²⁰⁷The transcribers noted that this portion is very similar to Mr. Warren's grandmother's story, regarding what it was like at the time of the massacre.

²⁰⁸The transcribers explained that at one time land above the ditch was exchanged for farmland below the ditch.

on blankets and listened. They understood the Arapaho language. We need storytellers.

I used to be bashful, but what for? God made us created equal. No one is better than anyone else, regardless of skin color. Some people go by that. If they just open the gate of freedom, that would be wonderful!

My parents would have people come feast with them. When they settled on the reservation, they made the roads and the ditches. Made the drinking water. The women dug and scooped up the water and didn't have enough shovels. They had to dig for drinking water.

The Indians can . . . we're as smart as the rest, but we have to think how we will live and improve our land and homes and children. I'm pleased with the development, so many buildings and teachers, teaching Indian language and culture.

The old people went to Europe and took a group of Arapahos with a captive white woman they found on the battleground.²⁰⁹ They raised her. Her folks found her and wanted her back but she said, "No, I'm Indian now." Sherman Coolidge and his sister were captives too but they had this massacre right here at Boulder Flat,²¹⁰ all around in there. We could still build there. We own clear from there to Hudson. If they want to find a place to settle there's a good place, but I've never been there. Agriculture is a good business. I've done it myself. I've gotten in and worked like a man and didn't have to rent. I was so happy. I exchanged for 80 acres, but without water. It took two years to do the exchange, for Washington D.C. to approve it. So we built a home and worked like machines. We were so happy.

I hope all the people get along, whether they're white or not. If it's important for the tribe, you must get up and speak. Have no fear. That's what God created us for. The young people need to know what you know. Self respect, obedience. We went to school all the way up through high school. Now the young ones get good jobs. Ramona lives in Baltimore and is a medical spokesman for our people. She comes home sometimes. We have to struggle. Don't care about what other people say. You have to have control over yourself. Pray to the good Lord and he'll direct you. That's what we have to tell our children. We have priests now. We have everything.

St. Stephens was my great-grandfather's land and he gave it to the tribe so the kids could go to school close to home instead of having to go to Pennsylvania. Think how far that was! The kids that went there, they need to be given a chance. Give them the freedom of speech. Give them a job, they are well educated. I'm proud of my grandkids, I can sit back now. My granddaughter even talks about going to space. She wants her family to see what heaven looks like. Pretty smart for a seven year old. I wish I could live long enough to see that. Don't let anyone interfere with what you want. Graduate and then get a job.

Eugene Ridgely, Sr.: Are you going to rest for a few minutes?

²⁰⁹This was Lizzie Broken Horn. She married a man named Broken Horn.

²¹⁰Referring to a battle between the U.S. Army and the Shoshone or between the Shoshone and Arapaho, between Ft. Washaki and Lander, just past Red Lake.

Beginning of Side 2, Tape 1:

[Unintelligible...something about White Water and about Denver....]

The U.S. Army settled and had a camp there after the treaty. The government broke the treaty. If we could get the place in Colorado back, that was our home place but they had that massacre because of the silver and gold – the minerals. Custer . . . there were 2000 soldiers

You know that Shoshone and Arapaho massacre . . . because they broke the treaty. My grandfather was there. In one night they just killed . . . Chief Black Coal, he was there. He had one finger missing.²¹¹ He signed a treaty with Chief Washakie.²¹² They say he was a Flathead, but he was married into Shoshone. Broken Hand had his hand shot in the massacre. My dad was shot in the massacre. He was shot in the heart and died. Elmer Iron. That was my maiden name. His Arapaho name meant iron, or steel, or money, I don't know.

They used to tie the horses on the alert. Didn't trust, you know. My mother's brother got shot and killed right there. He broke his back. They shot him. He jumped on his horse and my grandmother just ran and hid with her little ones. Just crawled in the bush. That's when the Arapaho tribe split into Southern and Northern Arapaho.²¹³ The river washed out and my grandmother and them hid under the bank. My great-grandmother, she was Algonquin/Arapaho. They hid and traveled, and split up. Some went far away and didn't come back. The army shot any living Indian, even little kids, and also killed all the buffalo. They said the Indians would increase like lice so they killed them. They chopped their heads off with swords. My old great-grandmother, she didn't die a painful death.

I have pictures of my great-grandmother. We had treaty books but someone burned our house down at Ethete and they were in there. My mother took care of them in a trunk and then they burned. The old stone house at Washakie, the first agency building, they wanted to tear it down. It had been an army post once.

²¹¹Information from the transcribers/editors: He was also known as Broken Finger, Missing Finger, or Broken Hand. He had several wives and Mrs. Thunder is the granddaughter of Black Coal and one of these wives.

²¹²Information from the transcribers/editors: This was really an agreement with Chief Washakie for Arapahos to move to the Shoshone reservation, saying that Arapahos stay on one side. Seventeen-Mile Crossing is the line. Then the Arapahos moved on up to Ethete. Father Roberts let them move up to the mission. He was Episcopal. Jutz was the Catholic priest and started the mission. The first priest baptized Black Coal and his wives. Later Ethete became a Protestant church (St. Michaels) and then a community. Later the name was changed to Ethete, which means "good."

²¹³The transcribers told the following about the split of the Arapaho people: When Northern Arapahos were taken to be put with the Southern Arapahos, they didn't stay and instead went to Nebraska and elsewhere up to Yello wstone, but no effort was made to get them back. A little town in Montana west of Lewiston is in the oral history. It says how nice and sheltered it was and had good hunting. The Gros Ventre, Crows, and other tribes were there and the Northern Arapahos went there. Arapahos were all along the Bighorn, all the way to Raton, New Mexico. They traded with Mexicans, traded Salt Rock from Salt Lake. They migrated by following buffalo. The Denver area was Arapaho, but had another name, even up to the 1920s. Also Casper, Wyoming, had a name that meant "little clams," they made ornaments from the shells.

To kill in cold blood – even children – they didn’t even have time to gather them up. Some just lay there. They called it Warm Valley. They would gather for the Sun Dance in Warm Valley.²¹⁴ They Cheyennes were in that massacre and a few Siouxs. They took prisoners and put them in a concentration camp. They gave the Indians little bits of beans, flour, bacon, the Indians couldn’t stand it. They were used to meat and berries and vegetables. The women took care of the food, the home and the children. They just had travois and buffalo robes. They put all the old people and children in there and pulled them.

My mother’s brother that was killed, he was shot in the back and killed instantly. The government doesn’t put it in the history books, don’t want it known. Maybe I’ll get scalped for saying it! The government started that scalping, you know. Go to the museum in Cody, that stuff is over there.

After they got the Indians fenced in, they had a fort and the Indians couldn’t get out. Some escaped. They were smart because the soldiers were in barracks. The ground was just red with blood. It hurts your heart to know that. They were our ancestors.

I was born in 1903. If I was born in 1800 I’d know more. But I’m thankful to tell what I know. The old ones were good storytellers and the young ones would listen. If the children fell asleep, that was okay. No matter where they were [in the story] the children would say “hee.” It meant “snow.” [It meant they were listening and were awake. If they quit saying it the grandmother would know they were asleep and would quit telling the story and the next night she would start again at that point.] They would all lean over and fall asleep.

The old people starved to death. They didn’t have the right diet. They were used to buffalo. You can’t get that any more. I don’t know if it tastes different from beef now. Women made all the clothes and leggings. And war bonnets. You don’t see that anymore. Also bone beads. Traders traded with the Indians. Indians did beadwork and quills. They decorated the teepees in front and back. They put little hooves on the medallions and put those on the tipis; also beads and quillwork . . . beautiful decorations. The white man is taking that too. We started a consortium to make teepees but it didn’t work. But we made 400 quilts and sold those and gave the money to the school.

I appreciate the ones that graduate. They can do something for themselves. It’s been a terrible life for the Indians. It was hard but they were industrious. They had to be. Men would even help tan hides. Even after we got settled, we started using teepees again, knowing that we wouldn’t get shot.

Eugene Ridgely, Sr.: Tell me about Sand Creek

Cleone Thunder: I don’t know what month it was. 1864 I think it was when it happened. The people were pushing them out and slaughtering them to get them out of Colorado. It happened right there in Estes Park, Colorado. They believed the government would be truthful and honest because they had a treaty, but the U.S. didn’t go by the treaty because they massacred thousands of Indians. Some lived because they escaped. They escaped on foot to get

²¹⁴ This is around present day Fort Washaskie, Wyoming.

away from the shooting and killing and stabbing. When I think about the past I feel sorry for my people. It was plain murder. Slaughtering a whole tribe almost. The ground was just blood. They wanted to know where to put this one grave. They think it was my great-great-grandfather, not Black Coal. I don't know who wants to know about that. I wish I was living back then so I knew what happened. But today you have a better chance of living. You can go to college and get jobs. I'm proud of that.

They had a birthday for me. There were so many people there. It made me feel so good. Aho, Aho, thank you, thank you. They were all my grandchildren.

Questions:

Q: Where was the massacre site?

A: It was in Estes Park, Colorado. It happened in 1864-1865. Then they made a treaty. My grandfather was there. He was a chief. I wish I had some pictures. You could see them making the treaty. Just a few Shoshones and lots of Arapahos.

Q: What was the name of your uncle who was shot? "Springtime" or "Leaves" . . .

A: The government broke the treaty, so that's the way it was. They have those caves over in Dinwiddie near Crowheart. A lot of people died in those caves.

Q: Can you tell us about your relatives at Sand Creek?

A: My grandmother stayed alive and my great-grandmother stayed alive till I was about 12 years old. Bill Friday, he was captured and educated, and came back as an interpreter. He dug coal around those hills and brought it in gunnysacks. If we had enough money we could have our own mines. We have our own geologists. There is a man who's willing to come. He took movies of the Pow Wows. Now we have our own radio station in Riverton and you can talk or sing or whatever from 8 till 4.

Q: What about Running Rabbit, your uncle, and his wife?

A: They had their horse tied up on the alert so they could spread the word. Then he got shot in the back and fell off his horse dead. It was my mother's brother, or my uncle. In Denver. There was a river called White River. I'd like to go to Denver and see.

Q: When your mother hid on the riverbank, did she say where that was?

A: No, somewhere near Estes Park. They tried to get away. But they just hid where the water washed out the bank. They took a long time to find their people. Then the government stepped in and put up forts. They tried to find their relatives but everyone had scattered. The Arapahos went everywhere. They were scared. My grandfather Chief Black Coal came back to the Sun Dance in Wyoming. Bill Friday was my uncle. He was captured. Also Julia Hereford, and Herbert Welch, and Sherman Coolidge. Those children were walking around in that bloody battlefield looking for their folks and the army took pity on them. Sherman Coolidge became a preacher and married a millionaire white woman. Her children stayed in touch, but they died. The youngest would be about hundred years old or so. And I wish we had Mae Cleveland here. She knew everything. That would help.

*Ms. Lettie June Shakespeare*²¹⁵

Interviewed by Mr. Hubert Warren

July 22, 1999

Transcribed by Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Hubert Warren Sr., and Joe Waterman, September 28, 1999.

Copyright 1999. All rights reserved.

I started out looking for any of my relations that might have been there. I found out there were three there. Red Woman – she married into the Friday family later on – Weasel Bear, and the one we’ve really been looking at is Lame. He is father to George Shakespeare. George Shakespeare was Pratt Prentice. He was adopted into one family or another. Lame was there. I have documentation on him, he’s on the survivors list. There his name is White Bear, Curious Horn, and Lame Man.

There’s other documentation from Adobe Walls on White Bear. Seven Cheyenne men and twenty women were killed. Little Bull, Tangle Hair, Dirty Water, White Bear and [two unintelligible names] in 1878 after Sand Creek. There’s other documentation from *The Life of George Bent*: April 23, 1875 . . . [see the reference to White Bear]. White Bear fired at them and was shot and fell into the creek. His father was Black Hairy Dog (an Arrow Keeper) and his wife was in a party that got away.

Another reference to Lame from Adobe Walls refers to Curious One [Horn]. The best horses had been stolen and the Indians who abandoned the chase couldn’t gain, but two Cheyenne men continued the chase. Little Robe’s son Sitting Medicine and White Bear (Curious Horn) son of Bulls [Sign? Eye?].

My grandmother, her name was Kate Shakespeare (Standing Woman). Kate died when she was 60 years old on September 12, 1920. She would have been four years old during Sand Creek. They didn’t really document the date of birth so she could have been a little older but from George Shakespeare’s testimony in the probate²¹⁶ his mother’s name was Kate Shakespeare. His real father was Lame. From Bent’s notes and other references I found out a lot about my family.

Another one is Weasel Bear who was at Sand Creek. He was the Keeper of the Flat Pipe. His daughter was mother to my dad and his brothers West, Adam, Harry Shakespeare and the rest of them. When the Flat Pipe came back home to Adam it’s also documented in Arapaho politics that Weasel Bear was his great-grandfather. When it came to Adam it was through bloodlines that it was passed on. Her sister was Ute Woman (Weasel Bear’s daughter’s sister) and when the time came to leave Sand Creek they wanted him (Weasel Bear) to go south with the Southern Arapahos and they wanted him to go north with us. So he went and fasted and he was told to come up here to Wyoming. That’s where I got most of my information, from probates, notes from George Bent and mostly from him. The rest of the authors

²¹⁵Mrs. Shakespeare is Eugene Ridgely Sr.’s first cousin. Their grandfather, George Shakespeare, was a Cheyenne. He was from Oklahoma but was adopted by Scarface, a Northern Arapaho. The name Scarface was changed to Shakespeare by reservation officials. George Shakespeare, his wife, and two sons stopped and left offerings in the Sand Creek area on two occasions during the 1930s.

²¹⁶The probate of Scar Face, according to Tom Meier.

recognize him (George Bent) as the one giving us information. I've asked for copies and they've given them to me. The rest comes from things given to me by my mother, my uncles, and my dad. He died when I was two but my uncles West and Adam took care of me like they were my fathers. They were, because my dad didn't have much time. But before he died he told my mother to raise me his way so I had more Shakespeare influence than Friday side. My mother was a Friday but mostly stayed with the Shakespeare's and that's how we were raised.



ILLUSTRATION 5-8: Lettie June Shakespeare, Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project. *Sara Wiles*

They told me stories of my grandfather George Shakespeare. He was a colorful person because he lived in Oklahoma with his mother Kate. He came from Oklahoma and he came here. He was everywhere . . . a loner from a young age and he brought lots of experiences. He traveled to London and everywhere. He came from Oklahoma and was at Sand Creek and went to Oklahoma from there. Weasel Bear had to make a decision at Sand Creek which way to come to try to help his people. It was a big decision whether to come north or south.

Hubert Warren: Did they say anything about the battle (massacre) itself?

Lettie June Shakespeare: Well Kate from George, tells me that when the people were running there was hardly any place to hide but there were ravines, but there was one old lady who was getting children. She was supposed to be related to me on the Friday side. She was getting children but she had medicine so they couldn't see her and she would go back and forth getting children. There were more women holding the children down. Where it happened had to have shelter and some ravines. Land changes over the years through men tilling, farmers, and the wind, rain – it changes subtly. Those ravines might be buried by now. To find anything you'd probably have to dig. But at the time there were hiding places, ravines. They were camped close to water for cooking and things. You have to look for water, at least at the time, look at maps and topography if there was water in the area at the time. Were there ravines back then? Then dig for artifacts. They're probably not on the surface by now. That was one story, it's not in the books.

Hubert Warren: I will pause for a short break and continue.

Continuing:

Lettie June Shakespeare: When I was talking about topography, land and water, they had to cook. Horses needed water. When the massacre happened they had to hide. They needed the ravines. Two little boys, eight or nine years old, were hiding in the rocks. Their grandmother was with them and these were relations of mine but I don't know who they were. They were up there with their grandmother. There were stories of how they hid in the rocks. Courageous despite the massacre of their people, courageous and intelligent as far as hiding. You have to have hiding places, not just flat ground. Ravines and rocks – you need them to survive. That's about it. Thank you.

Ms. Josephine White

**Interviewed by Mr. Hubert Warren
July 26, 1999**

Transcribed from the original Arapaho language version by Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Hubert Warren Sr., and Joe Waterman, September 28, 1999.

Copyright 1999. All rights reserved

Hubert Warren: This is an interview with Josephine White. You can speak either in Arapaho or English.

Josephine White: (Translated from Arapaho by Hubert Warren) Her grandfather (George White Antelope) is the one who was telling the story she will now tell.



ILLUSTRATION 5-9: Josephine White, Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project.
Sara Wiles

That old man, when he had his camp – Chief White Antelope – he had his camp and then this cavalry, they came and they seen those horses and flags. They didn't think much. My grandpa he took that white flag and when they got close to him they killed them all even though they had the flag. One woman got away with her grandson. She was the only one that lived through the massacre. That's what our grandpa told us. Me and Dickey [Ms. White's cousin] and George [a cousin that was killed in an accident in World War II] – three of us – our grandpa told us that. Nobody listened, just me and Dickey. He probably doesn't remember. That's as far as I know. Chief White Antelope with his camp. Madeline [a relation] was going to take us there but it was too hot and I didn't want to go. She said there were shells and things laying around there yet. I had the chance but it was too hot to go out there.

Hubert Warren: Who was White Antelope? Was he Cheyenne or Arapaho?

Josephine White: Half. He was part Cheyenne. [He was] my great-grandpa. His son [Josephine's grand father] was George White Antelope. They were part, not full-blooded Cheyenne, part Northern Cheyenne, as far as I know. George White Antelope married an Arapaho [so Josephine White is part Cheyenne]. As far as I know, that what I was told. Myrtle and Stella might know, they might tell.

Hubert Warren (translated from Arapaho): Was the attack in the morning?

Josephine White: Yes

Hubert Warren: Were there dogs?

Josephine White: Maybe there weren't any or they would have given a warning.

[discussion of the horses]

Most of them remember if only they will tell. It makes you mad that they were killed even though they had the flag. The flag meant not to do anything but they did anyway.

Hubert Warren: [speaking in Arapaho]

Josephine White: yeah, I guess they just shot them and cut them up and everything . . . Arapahos, they just cut them up.

Hubert Warren: [speaking in Arapaho]

Josephine White: They made sure they were all dead. That massacre . . . that's what they did to them.

[Josephine tells a story in Arapaho about an old lady who was left behind when the Powder River area was settled and compares the story to the time during the archeological fieldwork in Lamar when she got sick and everyone went out in the field and left her in the hospital.²¹⁷]

Hubert Warren: Thanks, Josephine, for coming down.

Mr. Ben Friday, Jr.

February 28, 2000

Arapaho, Wyoming

Present: Alexa Roberts and Barbara Sutteer, NPS

Gail Ridgely, Eugene Ridgely Jr., Eugene Ridgely, Sr.

Introduction by Gail Ridgely: Good Morning. My name is Gail Ridgely, Sand Creek representative, descendant for the project for the National Park Service. Today we have an interview with Mr. Ben Friday, Jr. Accompanied by the assistance of Eugene Ridgely, Jr.; Barbara Sutteer, American Indian Liaison with the National Park Service; and Dr. Alexa Roberts, anthropologist and the main person gathering the histories of the Northern Arapaho, Northern Cheyenne, and the southern tribes of the Cheyenne and Arapaho in Oklahoma. To date, the two histories we are going to gather today will make it six histories from the Wind River Indian Reservation which will finalize the project, copyright it, and finalize the final oral history part of the National Park Service. The topic today is the Sand Creek Massacre, the historical perspective from Mr. Friday, and the historical perspective from the family. So, you can go ahead and start. Thank you.

²¹⁷Eugene Ridgely Sr. tells the story during transcribing about the woman who gets sick during the time the Arapahos were travelling so her daughter made her some food and left her there. Some time later some pioneers found her petrified body.



ILLUSTRATION 5-10: Ben Friday Jr., Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project. Barbara Sutteer of the National Park Service is on the left. *Sara Wiles*

Mr. Friday: My name is Ben Friday. I'm 67 years old. I was born May 2, [19]33. Today I'm going to be talking about the Arapahos, which I am a descendant of Sand Creek on my mother's side, which is Lizzie Richards and Horse Colt, which is the Indian name. On my father's side, I'm a descendant through the old man, either Sitting in the Mink or Sitting Sad [Arapaho word] was his Indian name. I have given these ladies [Barbara and Alexa] my family tree, where we come from. But now I'll tell the stories about what my mother's mother's were taught. Their mother was in Sand Creek Massacre. Lizzie Richards was born in 1851 and she was 13 years old when the massacre occurred. Now, the story on my grandma's side, they used to tell, they said Lizzie and her sisters used to always joke about it. When the massacre was in progress, they run up the creek, her and a bunch of little girls and boys trying to get away from the slaughter. And Lizzie lost a moccasin in the water and she was wanting to go back and look for her moccasin but her sisters wouldn't let her go back, so they just ran and hid, and that's how they survived the massacre at Sand Creek.

Now on my father's side, my grandpa [Arapaho name], we figured he was born in 1830 and that was the Arapaho Indian that got lost down along the Cimmaron or Arkansas River, whatever they call it. But at that time that's where the Mexican border was. And they lived around Bent's Fort. And my grandpa was educated . . . but I'm getting ahead of my story now. He was out hunting one day, I think he was age 13 or 14, and he was out hunting for rabbits. And the warning came that the tribe had to move. So they moved

and they tried to come back and look for him, but when he got home he didn't find no tipis, nothing. Only thing he found was a dugout where they put branches over it and put dirt on top of it and that's where the dogs used to sleep and live. So he couldn't find anybody, and they sent warriors back to look for him but he thought that was the enemy so he hid. And he managed to survive there, I don't know how long, until the Fitzpatrick and Kit Carson (I always get mixed up between Carson and Bridger, Jim Bridger). Now they found him and they said he was wild as an animal, they had to tie him. And every time they let him loose he'd try to get away from them. That winter they went back to St. Louis, Missouri and they took him back with them. Fitzpatrick found a school for him, to put him in, and he lived with some people there for quite a while. I think about seven, eight years. And he found a girl he was pretty fond of but, I don't know how to call this, but that girl couldn't marry him because he was an Indian. And he got wind of that and that's why he told Fitzpatrick he wanted to come back west. Well, when he was 21 or 22 years old, they brought him back. And the year before that Fitzpatrick was out here and he asked these camps where these Arapahos were and they said the boy that had been lost was called Black Spot. He had a birthmark on his back toward his hip. And he showed these people that birthmark and people said that was him. So he stayed with the Arapaho and Fitzpatrick went back. And then, he was an interpreter for a lot of the different tribes, I think even the Sioux tribe, because he could talk English. Now this is what I think happened: he wasn't present at the massacre but was out doing his work with the other tribes, interpreting. And they have a book on the fourth grade level that somebody had published called Friday the Arapaho, or The Arapaho Indian. I imagine they have it here at the school.

Now, going back. That's the story of my great-great-grandfather. Now, my story about the Arapaho and Cheyennes that lived in Colorado and was murdered at Sand Creek, the only thing I'm missing is dates of when the Arapahos and Cheyennes were moved to Oklahoma. They had a lot of promises down there, things that never happened. So half of the people, I don't know if it was half of the tribe or half of the Arapahos, but a lot of these times they were great allies of one another, the Arapahos and Cheyennes. And they had clans, and I was telling these women about the clans, how they kept them clean. And these clan mothers and clan grandpas kept the marriages real clean so they wouldn't be intermarrying their relations. And this was done all the time. A lot of the time the lady that was in the clan had to go when she found a husband or he found her she had to go to his clan to live. But the boys they could keep their . . . they brought their wives to his clan. And that way everything was kept real clean. Now, there were different clans that were intermarried, Arapahos and Cheyennes. And at the time they left Oklahoma coming back, that was all these people that were intermarried. And a lot of these stories and the movies show you that part of the people went to Fort Robinson for refuge, and the other half went on up to Sitting Bull's camp. Now, the same thing was happening to the Cheyennes that moved up to Montana. They said there was clan people, so naturally clans, they're relations. The way I figured why I told you mine [story] was different was probably I done a little research and read a lot of these books that came out and a lot of these stories are parallel. They're parallel with one another, the old stories and these books that they had written. But I'm saying, the

people that was down here in Sand Creek is the people that live here. Because there was just as many Cheyennes as there was Arapahos. And up there in the north, it was the same thing. So, after Sand Creek, we ended up back at Fort Robinson. And in 1878 they brought us to the Wind River Reservation, supposedly to stay overnight. But we got one half interest of the reservation, undivided interest, and that's how we live here now. But I told you girls, later the Shoshone tribe got a lawyer called Tunnison (sp?) and sued the federal government for bringing the Arapahos onto the reservation.

So they paid the Shoshones for that. And then back when the Denver claim was started, now, it ended up there were four tribes in the Denver claim they paid off. That was the Northern Cheyennes, Southern Cheyennes, Northern Arapahos, Southern Arapahos. Our share of the pie, the federal government said: "wait a minute. You guys got a deal here called offsets. We gotta deduct that from your claim." So, they deducted the money they had given the Shoshones. In other words, we bought our own reservation. Nothing was ever given to us. We bought our own reservation. And what I think is the people who was down in Colorado, lived there, were the same people who they brought to the Shoshone reservation. All I need is dates to confirm that, when they took the people back, to Oklahoma. And just about when they left Sand Creek. So most of my people lived in Colorado, more times than Oklahoma.

So I hope that helps you.

Alexa Roberts: So when the Arapaho people ended up at Sand Creek, were they intermarried into Cheyenne clans or was there an Arapaho clan, or one or more Arapaho clans?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Well, both tribes used to go by the clan system. And I know the Arapahos kept theirs pretty clean.

Alexa Roberts: So, the Arapahos that were camped at Sand Creek would have been separate clans or would they have been part of the Cheyenne clans. Would they have been camping separately or...?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Well, it all depends, see, on what clan they belong to. Now, if there was a Cheyenne clan with them, I don't know. But I know there was Arapaho clans. But, in the Arapaho clans there was also Arapahos and Cheyennes, they were intermarried. So I would say it was clans, but Cheyennes, I don't know. But there were a lot of names on this enrollment: White Antelope was a Cheyenne name, Mule was a Cheyenne name. There's quite a few names that are Cheyenne names. That is, what they done is, they had all Indian names, but when they had enrollment here, one of my aunt's husbands, Wallace Sinclair, he was Shoshone, he was in charge of enrollment. So he went out to different families to ask them what their names were. And a lot of times, he was the one that gave the names out. Like for instance, Grosbeck used to be an Indian name like saying Goes Back. But he changed it to Grosbeck, but it was Goes Back. And so they made them simpler, and some of them like Antelope they changed their Indian names, used to be [?] but they changed to Antelope. For instance my mother's mother and her aunt, the one that was married to a Cheyenne, his name was Seth Mule and my mother's mother married a Herbert Welch, and that was his new name, Welch. And so this Wallace Sinclair he was a son-in-law to these two

women. So he told this Welch, 'Ok I'll name you Fannie Welch' and this other mother-in-law said, "I want the same name as her." So at that time you never argue with your mother-in-law so she was named Fannie Mule. So she got her name and there were two Fannies then; Fannie Welch and Fannie Mule. But you know, like my dad used to say this, talking with different people, and the one of the main things that worked was that the mother in law never talked to the son-in-law and the son-in-law never talked to the mother-in-law. Same way on the women's side, her father-in-law, they never talked. I think that was to keep families from fighting. There was a lot of good things they done. My dad used to tell a little story about, as a young man, him and his wife, they were caring for her mother. So she went to town one morning and her husband came back to their ranch [?] and all he seen in there was his mother-in-law and he said "well, I can't talk to her." So he went to the kitchen and he seen a cat sitting on a chair. And he said, "hey cat, where'd my wife go?" and his mother-in-law answered "cat, tell him she went to town to do some shopping." So that's communications.

That's all I've got to say. If you have any questions I'll try to answer them.

Barbara Sutteer: What year was that enrollment that Wallace was working on?

Ben Friday, Jr.: I think it was after 1878. Because they brought the people here in 1878 from Fort Robinson.

Barbara Sutteer: I wonder where the original records are?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Well, the original records, they used to have an agency here and they had a fire and a lot of them records burned up. That's what we found out when we started researching.

Alexa Roberts: So you think that the majority of the Northern Arapaho people were camped there at Sand Creek?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Yes. I mean everything shows that. The stories . . . because we had no reservation. They wanted to get the Arapahos and the Cheyennes down there, but the old people said when they left there the people down there told them ok you're going to leave, you can't come back and reclaim this. They said all right. So that's why property was bought on the reservation.

Alexa Roberts: And do you have any idea of how many people that would have been?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Well, they claim it used to be a big tribe. Cheyennes and Arapahos were a big tribe. They numbered, I don't know, sixteen to eighteen thousand. But when they left Fort Robinson to come up here I think it was seven or eight hundred. But I don't know what the number was. But that's what I'm saying. I guess everybody that hears my story are going to say a lot of it ain't true because money wise, getting money from Sand Creek. But that's the closest I can come to actually trying to tell the truth.

Alexa Roberts: And you say that you've talked to a number of older folks who have told the same stories?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Yeah, I've talked to all my aunts, my grandmas, and some of the things, you know, they didn't really talk about. Like Sand Creek. They didn't want to talk about what happened. Who got killed and who survived.

They had too much respect, they respected the people that got killed. That's what happened there.

Alexa Roberts: Did anyone ever say how they would have been camped at Sand Creek? How would they have had their camp at that time?

Ben Friday, Jr.: Arapahos used to always camp in a circle. They still do. The circle meant quite a bit. They said that meant the beginning of life and the end of life. And everything, if you look at what they do, it's a circle. There's quite a few people I used to know, Ed Sage, and his dad. And his dad's the one who went down and showed where the people used to camp at Fort Collins there. Sherman Sage.

Alexa Roberts: Who would the Arapaho Chiefs been at the time they were camped at Sand Creek?

Ben Friday, Jr.: You know I have no idea. They talk about Kettle, he was one of the Cheyenne Chiefs that was there, and probably the old man, Friday. They made him Chief for a long time. Left Hand is mentioned somewhere in there but I really never could find out where. Somebody said he was a brother to one of the Chiefs.

Alexa Roberts: Did you ever hear any details about when your great-grandmother ran up the creek and lost her moccasin, did they say anything about how far they ran or where they hid?

Ben Friday, Jr.: No, no they didn't. They just said they ran up the creek. What they were teasing each other about, their sister wanted to go back and get her shoe and she didn't think of the danger, but they kept her back and they used to tease each other that 'maybe we should have let you go back.'

Eugene Ridgely, Jr.: Did they mention land forms, you know, rocks or trees or anything like that? Physical appearances.

Ben Friday, Jr.: Well, you know there's one thing that might help you guys. When they set up their camps they always used rock to weight down the tipi, so you're talking about tipi rings. And wherever there are Indians, you find these tipi rings where their camp was. But I've never been to the site. I don't know, maybe if I went there something else would probably come to me

Barbara Sutteer: I think that happened to other people. When they went out to the site then seeing it triggered memories of the stories.

Ben Friday, Jr.: But you know one thing I done, when I retired, I retired in '86, me and my wife used to go down to the Southwest a lot and we'd go to museums and I'll tell you that's really interesting. Go to one of the museums and you can just tell the way they lived. Parker, Parker Arizona. They're also all mixed in there. And we traced them Indians all the way up to Reno. There were intermarriages with other tribes all the way up there. [Mr. Friday talks briefly about the rabbit hunting technologies used by Southwestern tribes, until the tape ran out and then he concluded his story.]

Mrs. Evangeline C'Hair

February 28, 2000

Arapaho, Wyoming

Present: Alexa Roberts, NPS; Barbara Sutteer, NPS;

Eugene Ridgely, Sr., Northern Arapaho Descendant

Alexa Roberts: Let me introduce you real quick and then you can go into your story. This is February 28 and this is Mrs. Evangeline C'Hair together with Alexa Roberts and Barbara Sutteer. Mrs. C'Hair is going to tell what she's heard about Sand Creek Massacre.

Evangeline C'Hair: Well, I'll tell you what my grandmother told me a long time ago when I was a little girl. She said that her and my grandfather, Bart Sitting Eagle, that was my grandfather, but she married my grandfather, Aloysius Goes In Lodge. And she said that when the army came in and started killing them. And she told me not to tell, I don't know if I should tell it. She said it was bad, they murdered them, tortured them, and the horses they were on, they were just dragging them, everything was burned down. And her and her mother and her grandmother were running up the hill. And my grandfather's mom, that was Matt Sitting Eagle. And she said his mother was packing him, he was just a baby, about three or four years old and she [Evangeline's grandmother] was older than him. She [Matt Sitting Eagle's mother] got shot in that battle, in the shoulder and he got nicked by his shoulder too. They got away and they had to wait till everything calmed down and they went back down there and there was a lot of wounded and some of them were dead and they buried them. And they had to leave from there because they couldn't sleep there, it was bad. And the place she mentioned was, I can't think of the Indian name. She says it in Arapaho but I can't pronounce it. Anyway she says it's Sand Creek. And she told me all about the Indian names: Scar Face [Arapaho name], [Arapaho name] "The One That Was Wearing Glasses,"²¹⁸ some other Indian names but I can't remember now because it was a long time ago. That's all I can tell you guys. She said not to tell it but I'm telling it now. Because she told me that story off and on, and I'm 60 years old now. That's all I can tell.

My Indian name is [Arapaho name], Yellow Feathered Woman. My grandfather Bart Sitting Eagle named me.

Alexa Roberts: Can you explain a little bit more about who told you the story you heard and what the genealogy is, how the descent goes from Sand Creek to you?

Evangeline C'Hair: Through my grandmother, Ida Goes In Lodge. Her name was [Arapaho name]. No, her name was Ida Coal Bearing Goes in Lodge. And she married my grandfather, Aloysius Goes in Lodge.

Alexa Roberts: And that's on your mother's side?

²¹⁸Possibly referring to one of the Goggles, according to Eugene Ridgely, Sr.



ILLUSTRATION 5-11: Evangeline C'Hair, Northern Arapaho Tribe, interviewed for the Sand Creek Massacre Oral History Project. Sara Wiles

Evangeline C'Hair: Yes. My mother was Mary Goes in Lodge. That was her dad, Aloysius Goes in Lodge. So I'm the only one alive. They're all gone.

Alexa Roberts: And it was Ida's mother that was there at Sand Creek?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, and her grandmother. I don't know their Indian names. I forgot them.

Alexa Roberts: Did she say how old her mother and grandmother were at that time?

Evangeline C'Hair: She don't remember. She never did talk English. All she talked was Arapaho.

Alexa Roberts: And it was her mother who was shot in the shoulder?

Evangeline C'Hair: No, it was Matt Sitting Eagle. My dad's dad. My dad is Marion Sitting Eagle, so that was his dad.

Alexa Roberts: So you are a descendant from both your mother's side and your father's side?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah.

Alexa Roberts: And it was Matt Sitting Eagle who was shot?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, he was a baby about three years old, and she was older than him.

Evangeline C'Hair: Her sisters were Soe Friday, Katie Brown, Rose Dresser, and her brothers were Matt C. Bearing, Joe Coal. They used to call Coal Bearing but they changed that to C. Bearing. These were the sisters and brothers to Ida Coal Bearing Goes in Lodge.

Alexa Roberts: So you mentioned that when they were running, they ran up a hill?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, they ran up a hill is what she said.

Alexa Roberts: And you mentioned that they came back and buried people.

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, they had to.

Alexa Roberts: Did she ever mention anything about where they were buried?

Evangeline C'Hair: She told me but she talked Arapaho and I can't understand which land it was so I don't know where that is. I talk Arapaho, and when I was growing up they sent me to school so I could take care of them. And I took care of them. And I went to school at Saint Stephens and I went to High School at Riverton High School, and I dropped out from there. Because there was nobody to help them, you know. They didn't know nothing about money, there used to be a little store, they called it Tony's store in Arapaho, and that's where my grandfather used to get credit. And I was the one that used to get them medicine, what they needed. They used Indian medicine, that's all. They didn't believe in the white medicine.

Alexa Roberts: Were you raised by your grandparents?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, they were old. I helped them along because I was the only one. My other first cousin that was Norma but she's gone now. And my grandma used to tell the story because she wanted to make us remember what happened. If they ever mentioned that place, she said it in Arapaho and I can't say it. I can't remember all the details, but she said it was really rough and bad. And those people, the parents of the ones that died, they had to go out, they were moaning bad, they had cut themselves. Now they don't do that, they just cut their hair.

Alexa Roberts: When she said the name of that place was she referring to the name of the creek?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah.

Alexa Roberts: What did it mean if you were to translate it to English?

Evangeline C'Hair: I can't say it.

Eugene Ridgely Sr.: What? Maybe I can figure it out? [goes to ask one of the language instructors at the school]

Alexa Roberts: And when she told you not to tell the stories, was she afraid that there would be some kind of retaliation?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, something like that. She said she didn't want me to mention anything to anybody. But I remember I asked some of my relations, "do you think I should tell it?" and they told me no.

Alexa Roberts: Is it ok to use this story in report?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, it's all right. My aunt is Josephine White. She knows me.

Alexa Roberts: And so when your grandmother told you these stories, was she very emotional about it when she told them?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, she said she wants to get it out of her mind. She told me because I was just a little girl, but I still remember. She said someday it might come up. I don't know how old she was when she died, she was real old. She don't remember when she was born too.

Alexa Roberts: So did she ever mention when they ran, did she say anything about the creek itself?

Evangeline C'Hair: Well she said something about the creek, but she just said they had to run. That's all she could remember. She was scared. She was just a little girl.

[There was some discussion among Eugene Ridgely, Sr., and Mrs. C'Hair, about the name of Sand Creek]

Evangeline C'Hair: She used to tell me in Arapaho but I can't remember some of it because she said that she knew about it but she didn't want to tell nobody about it because it was bad.

Alexa Roberts: And she thought it was better to be forgotten?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah. Some people came from New York and took our pictures, me and my grandfather. I was staying down here and they took pictures but they never did send them back.

Alexa Roberts: Did they say what it was for?

Evangeline C'Hair: No. There was somebody with them because they were talking Arapaho to my grandparents. They said they wanted to take pictures and they told me to stand by my grandparents but I don't know where that picture is.

[Continuing discussion of the name of Sand Creek with language instructor. The Arapaho name could translate to just the sand, "sand," or "Sand Creek."]

Evangeline C'Hair [In Arapaho, translated by Eugene Ridgely, Sr.]: I'm 60 years old, and the only one still alive from her family. My first cousin died, my aunt died down in Oklahoma, all her family died too.

Barbara Sutteer: One of the things I heard, and after the massacre after people left and started moving farther and farther away from that area, one of the people told me there was a big gathering site north of what's now Rocky Mountain National Park. Do you know about the place they stayed while they were getting strong enough to move on?

Evangeline C'Hair: No, I don't. She didn't mention that. But she said they moved because they had to get away from there. She didn't tell me where it was. She said it was really bad, but she was just a little girl.

Barbara Sutteer: And then she came and lived here the rest of her life?

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, she came and lived with my grandfather, Aloysius. And they had a farm down here. They farmed by themselves. She drove a six-team horse wagon to sell hay. Yeah, that's what she said.

Eugene Ridgely Sr.: Can you describe the terrain at all?

Evangeline C'Hair: She told me but I forgot you know, because she told me to forget what she told me, to get it out of my mind. I asked other people if grandma ever told them and she said yeah, but she don't want to tell it.

Eugene Ridgely Sr.: Yeah, we found that out. We have a number of them that have a fear of telling their history. They were instructed not to pass on anything, it was too terrible and they don't want to go back and remember the treatment that the people had that were killed. What was your grandmother's Indian name?

Evangeline C'Hair: [Arapaho name], "Cut Nose."

Eugene Ridgely Sr.: Or "Short Nose."

Evangeline C'Hair: Yeah, something like that.

Alexa Roberts: And what was her mother's name?

Evangeline C'Hair: She told me but I forgot. And her grandmother's name. I can't remember the names. I was raised by them. I didn't talk English till I went to school. I only talked Arapaho.

Eugene Ridgely Sr.: I think we were all that way. I never spoke one word of English till I went to this Catholic school, St. Stephens. They tortured me.

[some discussion of school experiences and teaching of the Arapaho language followed, regarding how people of that generation were punished for speaking Arapaho in school and now the schools are trying to teach the young ones how to speak Arapaho.]

Discussion Of The Northern Arapaho Stories

Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project team members, in addition to Mr. Joe Waterman, discussed the contents of the interviews and summarized several emergent themes. These themes are categorized by topic below.

Site Location

The most direct physical description of the Sand Creek Massacre site is contained in Hubert Warren's story, but the other five stories corroborate or do not contradict his description. Mr. Warren's story and to some extent Ms. Shakespeare's story clearly describes the presence of:

- ?? Crevasses or ravines adequate for hiding;
- ?? A large bluff, like a cliff, from which people hiding would be looking down on the massacre scene, and up which a young girl would have to climb or crawl;
- ?? Large flat rocks that could be piled up to hide four people;
- ?? A hiding place which would have been oriented to where people could see the action;
- ?? Enough water for a large encampment and grass for large herds of horses;
- ?? A geographic feature or water source somewhere associated with the massacre that would be referred to as White Water (according to Ms. Thunder's story);
- ?? In reference to Ms. Shakespeare's story, Mr. Eugene Ridgely's grandfather told similar stories and told Mr. Ridgely's uncles about the road to the massacre site, where he offered prayers in the 1930s;
- ?? Mr. Friday's story describes enough water in the creek that his great-grandmother lost a moccasin as she ran up the creek;
- ?? Mrs. C'Hair's story describes a hill which survivors ran up when they escaped, and they came "back down" into the camp to look for survivors after the massacre was over.

Based on these descriptions, project team members posed the following questions:

- ?? Why is there no evidence of the fire pits that would have to have been present from such a large encampment?
- ?? Why is there no evidence of the rock piles left from sweat lodges that would have been present at an encampment along a creek?
- ?? Why is there no evidence of the tipi rings created by the rocks used to weigh down the tipis?
- ?? Why is there no evidence of horse or other animal bone?
- ?? Where is there evidence of white water or soil?
- ?? How much water could have been present in the creek at the time of the massacre?

Based on these questions, the team considered several alternative scenarios:

- ?? Skirmishes were taking place at many different locations and it is possible that some military engagement took place at the southern site (Dewitt/Ballentine Bend).

- ?? The location of the artifacts was that of a military staging area or possibly the camp of another tribe, but not necessarily the Cheyenne and Arapaho encampment under Chiefs Black Kettle and White Antelope.
- ?? There are cliffs along Rush Creek, there was a fire pit found on the high point on the south site, the topography of the south site matches Mr. Warren's description much more closely than does that of the location where the artifacts were discovered.

Considering these points, team members believed that:

- ?? Additional research to search for fire pits and tipi rings at both the Dawson and Dewitt/Ballentine sites is warranted.
- ?? Additional Northern Arapaho archival and oral historical research is necessary, especially regarding the genealogical affiliations of Northern Arapaho people with those who were present at the massacre.
- ?? Tom Meier has researched the geo-hydrology of the Sand Creek Valley and found that limestone bedrock underlies much of the valley and could show up as "whiteness" anywhere along Sand Creek, both north and south of the Dawson property. The availability of springs should also be researched.

Other Themes Present in the Stories

The genealogical information conveyed through the oral histories is particularly important in establishing the complex and dynamic historical interrelationships between the Cheyenne and Arapaho people as most of the interviewees have Cheyenne or mixed blood ancestors.

- ?? Josephine White is a descendant of White Antelope through her paternal line.
- ?? Lettie June Shakespeare is a descendant of Lame Man through her paternal line.
- ?? Hubert Warren has relations with the Southern Cheyenne through intermarriage with the Friday family.
- ?? Eugene Ridgely, Sr. has relations among the Southern Cheyenne through George Shakespeare.
- ?? Ben Friday, Jr. describes the intermarriage of Arapahos and Cheyenne and the presence of Cheyennes within Arapaho clans.

Besides conveying information about site location and genealogical relationships, the stories people told contain vital historical and cultural lessons for Northern Arapaho people today, especially the youth.

One common theme among the interviews is a sense of disbelief that the United States Army could dishonor such a powerful symbol as its own flag. The importance placed on the role of the flag in the stories of the massacre suggests that the transmission of oral history through the generations has included embedded lessons about Arapaho values attached to cultural and national integrity. The stories suggest that the United States' act of betraying its own symbol of peace in the name of genocide is a practice that has characterized federal/tribal relations throughout history.

These messages are particularly clear in Cleone Thunder's narrative. Her knowledge of and thoughts about the Sand Creek Massacre are woven into her experiences with the Arapaho people's struggles for survival throughout the last century. She suggests that the Arapaho people are still fighting for survival and that young people must protect themselves from continuing cultural annihilation by arming themselves with an education. Young people must be formally educated so they can have good jobs and determine the future of their people and they must also have traditional education about Arapaho culture, history, and language.

Sand Creek is still a lesson for survival today. Kids today think they are invincible until they read about things like this and realize it could happen again. If culture is lost today, it's the same as being wiped out in a massacre.²¹⁹

And so these stories serve a role not only in assisting the National Park Service with the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site and the evaluation of its national significance, but also in retaining the cultural identity of the Arapaho people.

This is the first time the Arapaho people have been involved in this kind of project. We regard it very respectfully...The Arapaho people are very strong. The old people believe that that the traditions – religion, language, and culture – can save the culture. Drugs and alcohol are the enemies, stories like these can save the people.²²⁰

Southern Cheyenne Stories

(Note: most of the following narratives are transcribed from taped conversations and notes. Although they are transcribed as closely to the original as possible, they are not verbatim transcriptions. Formal, verbatim transcriptions are under contract and in preparation.)

Mr. Lyman Weasel Bear, Sr.

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;
Carolyn Sandlin, NPS; and David Halaas, CHS
June 2, 1999
Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center
Clinton, Oklahoma**

My family history can be traced to Chief Medicine Snake, on my mother's side. He was killed by Pawnees around 1830. Around 1850, his son Whirlwind became Chief. Whirlwind's son was Chicken Hawk and his son was John Marshall Chicken Hawk. My mother was Elsie Weasel Bear

²¹⁹Comments by Eugene Ridgely, Sr. during the conclusion of the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project, September 28, 1999, Arapaho, Wyoming.

²²⁰Comments by Gail Ridgely during the conclusion of the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek Oral History Project, September 27, 1999, Arapaho, Wyoming.

Chicken Hawk and her mother was Julia Big Horse who was from Chief Big Horse. This family was the true royal blood of the Cheyennes. If there is any true royal blood, it belongs to James Hawk and my mother Elsie Hawk Weasel Bear. They are the true royal bloodline. My mother had a grandpa who was scalped alive. His name was Yellow Fingernails. When they scalped him, they shot him too but he wasn't dead. His forehead skin fell over his eyes so he pretended he was dead and they left him. He wanted to say goodbye to his grandchildren but they were too afraid to look at him so he held his forehead skin up so he could say goodbye and then he died. This was at Sand Creek.

On my father's side, the Weasel Bear side: my father is Busby Weasel Bear, his father was Hugh Weasel Bear and his father was Weasel Bear. In English it was Weasel Bear but it really translates to Wolverine. He was given the English name Frank by the Cavalry because he didn't have a first name. He was 4-5 years old during the Sand Creek Massacre. He had 3 sisters and is said to have had a brother but no one knows for sure. It may have been an adopted brother or cousin. But don't know about his parents. But he was with the Northern Cheyenne and he stayed close to the Sacred Tipi of the Northern Cheyenne, with the Sacred Buffalo Hat, which belongs to the Suhtai. To the Cheyenne the name Suhtai is equal to "real men." They are the most admired group among the Cheyennes.

Weasel Bear fought in the Little Bighorn. He became a scout for General Miles and helped capture Chief Joseph and renegade Indians and was sent to the Sioux reservation where they were almost attacked but they were taken back to the Northern Cheyenne reservation where he became one of the first tribal police on the reservation. He retired there. I am a direct descendant of the Sand Creek Massacre and am full blood but my children have one-eighth French in them and my grandchildren have White and Mexican in them too.

My mother used to tell the stories of Sand Creek. She said her grandmother Messy Girl (or Wooly Dog or Fuzzy Dog) was at Sand Creek and told stories to my mother about how they ran for their lives. My grandfather Weasel Bear was 15 at Little Bighorn and said that the wars were okay because as many women and children as the white man killed we killed equally men. And those were his words. He also said that a good Indian fighter is a white man who seen Indians far off and ran the opposite direction. That was his definition of a good Indian fighter. Weasel Bear said we have killed equally men that they have killed women and children. Now this Sand Creek thing, talking about the Northern Cheyenne, "the old men have moved on this matter and it should be left idle until such time as it would be discussed again." And now it is being discussed. But Frank Weasel Bear had made that statement to his descendants.

Q: How should the site be managed if it becomes part of the National Park Service, or should it even become part of the National Park Service?

A: The site should be remembered. Look at what's happening in Kosovo, Uganda, the Tutsis and the tribes fighting each other all over the world. It seems that if you have black skin it's not important but when it's whites in Kosovo then we have to save them. But that's not the point. America could have stepped in to the Holocaust when Jews were being killed by they didn't and now the Jewish people are honored but the Indians still haven't been.

Larry Flint said “what the Nazis failed to do with the Jewish people America has succeeded in doing with American Indians.” The white man is still in power and has taken everything. Oklahoma is a prime example. Today they want me to be honest in paying my taxes but it’s ok for the system to steal from my people. There is a double standard there. Let me be as the government is. Teach me how to lie too. If they are going to honor the Jews, honor the Tsistsistas and the Suhtais.

I’m told by the old people that the Cheyenne are the Chosen Ones among American Indians. When the Indians would move on the plains they look for lightning and storm clouds and know that’s where the Cheyenne would be because the storms follow them. In our ceremonies the great Medicine Lodge, the New Life Lodge, we honor thunder. It used to be called the thunder lodge but today it’s new life lodge. Anthropologists coined the phrase Sun Dance; it’s really a renewal. I guess that’s it.

Q: If you were going to look for the Sand Creek Massacre site today what would you look for?

A: We should ask the people that have come back as a new person and honor them and locate them. The Medicine people can have a Spirit Lodge to locate these places and spirits can show the locations but the Medicine people need to be supplicated to do that. They have the New Life Lodge Priesthood and the Cheyenne Arrow Priesthood. They could give a spiritual location through the Spirit Lodge ceremony, but you don’t speak lightly of that. It’s very sacred and very hidden away. They are psychic in the white mans way of thinking.

Q: Have you heard stories about whether the Arrows were at Sand Creek?

A: There was an Arrow Keeper who got the Arrows and started to carry them and at that time he was shot in the head and as he fell he stopped himself and through a miracle he continued with the Arrows. The Arrows probably were there because where there is a large group of people they want the Arrows there. When soldiers attacked Sand Creek there was a bright white light that came up and as they attacked it diminished. There is something to that.

Q: When the village was attacked they hit the south end first and the few warriors that were there fought hard while the women and children ran upstream. There upstream they dug pits to hide in and were killed. Some men fought from the pits. Have you heard anything about the pits?

A: That was probably standard operating procedure, hunkering down.

Q: Would the old people be able to run? Some say up to two miles. What do you think? Would they have dug the pits for the men for shelter when they got there or to hide in themselves?

A: To hide in – it’s a basic survival instinct.

Q: Did you hear anything about the daily way of living at that time? Would they have moved the village at all?

A: They would have to be moving often, especially because they have good hygiene and keep the area clean, and for grass for the horses. If you have livestock, you have to keep moving them.

Q: What about if the creek wasn’t flowing at the time of the year . . . ?

A: Depends on the water table. They could just dig down some and get water. Indians always travel by water. Not much available in the way of containers, they needed to stay by water all the time.

Q: Were there Cheyenne names for the creeks or landmarks around the area?

A: Ask my mother. She could tell you about the names of the water sources, and anything you want to know.

There are no full blooded Weasel Bears left among the Northern Cheyenne. There are ½ Sioux and ½ Cheyenne but those Weasel Bears come from Pine Ridge. There is no full blood Northern Cheyenne Weasel Bears left. My dad was the last one and he moved to Oklahoma. Technically I'm Northern Cheyenne but have no remaining ties there.

Q: Were there Arapahos camping at Sand Creek?

A: I read James Bird Grinnell and he said that Little Bird came to look on and the Kiowas also looked on but didn't participate.

Q: Do you know who else would be good to talk to about Sand Creek?

A: Also interview Myrtle Woods in Kingfisher. She is a direct descendant of the lady that had a baby by Custer. Mo-na-cee-tah or Monacita.

Thank you.

Mrs. Blanche White Shield

Born October 10, 1914

Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;

Carolyn Sandlin, NPS; David Halaas, CHS;

and Colleen Cometsevah, Sand Creek Descendant

June 2, 1999

Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center

Clinton, Oklahoma

This is my grandmother's story about Sand Creek:

Some old men, some Chiefs, wanted to make peace with the U.S. government. They had a meeting, they really trusted white men. Once they become a Chief, they must be honest and sincere and love their people and help them in good ways. Once they become Chief they can't argue with anyone. If somebody hurts them they've got to take their pipe and smoke. That's all they could do. So, these two old men, Black Kettle and another one . . . Sitting Bear? . . . they went a few days before to soldier camp to make peace and when they came back to the village, somebody told them the soldiers would come back to attack them. And they said "no they won't we were there to make peace with the soldiers (blue coats)." They didn't take their words of warning, once you make peace with somebody they take it seriously. "You should move." "No, they won't hurt us." But the next day they came, the blue coats, shooting at them. When they started shooting, Black Kettle and White Antelope got the flag, I guess they had gotten it from the soldiers. Somebody told them to wave it so the soldiers wouldn't attack. So they did, they raised the flag. But the blue coats destroyed it and then started shooting at them. They scattered out, the women and children and tried to hide in the banks. One woman was pregnant and started to run and jumped into the bank and the baby was born. Another woman jumped in and got that baby to take

care of it. My husband's relative – his grandma's son – came running and jumped into the bank. His religion was Clowns, or Backwards, it was religion, not in a funny way. He came and jumped in and the woman, the nurse said, "no, you've come to the wrong place." He saw that a baby was born and he jumped out because he's backwards, that means he was happy seeing the baby. He started to run off but the soldiers shot him down. Next was my husband's grandma . . . she got shot down at the tipi and they cut her up everywhere. She was still breathing and alive. She was Spanish Woman. She had a little girl. And she escaped some way. Her mother, Spanish Woman was all cut up. They tried to take care of her but she was dying and she was asking for her little girl but they told her she escaped. She was happy, and later she died. The one that got shot down, the clown and this little girl . . . I guess she had two kids. When she died, I don't know what they did. Anyway, that's what our grandmas told us. That's as far as I can go. But there were lots of them that got shot down. They were all relatives. It was one village, one man's family, they camped together. It must be Black Kettle's village. That's all I can remember. One old lady told us, same age as my mother, she told me "we lost all our property, our tipi, our horses, but that's all we lost. My family escaped." I guess the old lady, this Howling Buffalo, said her grandma, she died around 1970 or so, she told us. I got the tape but I don't know what became of it. She told about Sand Creek. She had a lot of relatives, Ridge Bear. That's all I can remember. I'll have to look for the tape. It's the old kind of machine that doesn't work anymore. My niece recorded her story.

Q: Do you remember the clown's name?

A: She might say in the tape but I don't remember.

Q: What about the woman with the baby?

A: She didn't name her. It's hard to remember, they don't write it down.

Q: What was your grandmother's name?

A: Which one?

Q: What was the name of your grandmother who told you the story?

A: That's on my husband's side. I don't know, I think they lived somewhere in that big village, my ancestors.

Q: How far did the women the run?

A: There's the village, and there's the banks and I don't understand right there – I guess maybe they were afraid and they already made like fox holes in case the soldiers really came. Maybe that's what they ran into, you know it's kinda like a creek.

Q: When you saw the area, could you recognize it from the stories you heard?

A: There was a big stone they set up, we just looked down from there.

[looking at maps and photos]

I was there [before they put up the formal monument in 1950], it was just a rock. And there was more sagebrush then.

Q: Where did they get their water?

A: Indians really kept along the streams because they used the water and kept their horses, and there were springs. Some of them were superstitious about springs and wouldn't go to them. Some would use the springs.

Q: How far would they walk to get water?

A: Not too far, they didn't have buckets or anything.

Q: Are there Cheyenne names for Sand Creek or any landmarks?

A: Means something having to do with fresh rain. They called it Dry Creek.

Q: Was there a name for the place where the village was?

A: They call it Sand Creek. I don't know why they camped there. They moved down south from the Rocky Mountains. They kept moving from Wisconsin and Michigan and moved to the Black Hills because they followed the buffalo. Followed them to the Dakotas, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, all the way to Oklahoma. But the soldiers hated us and that's why there's wars. There's bad Indians. Like today. Or black men or white men, there's a few bad people to cause trouble.

Q: Was this a place they camped every year? Or did they just happen to be passing by?

A: Depends on the buffalo. They get reports about the buffalo and go get the meat and bring it back. The soldiers punished everyone. They destroyed their tipis and their property. And they [Indians] didn't want to hurt anyone. They don't kill their enemies' women and children, they bring them back to their village and adopt them. But the soldiers killed everyone, blamed the whole village.

Q: Where did they go after Sand Creek?

A: They just scattered everywhere. They knew there was a big village and went to try to find it.

Q: How long did it take to get there?

A: It wasn't too far. They traveled at night. Maybe just a day.

Q: What was your husband's name?

A: Henry White Shield. It was his great-grandma that escaped. They called her Big Bear. Her husband's name was Big Bear. The woman was half Spanish and half Apache. Her mother, that's the one who was lost at Sand Creek – Spanish Woman. My husband's mother was Mary Big Bear. She had three sisters and one brother. Her brother was Robert Big Bear and her sister was Martha Big Bear. Can't remember the other sister. She had four children. Robert Big Bear's daughter married Leonard Yellow Eagle and had eight children, all named Yellow Eagle and they live north of Weatherford. Martha had a child named Jenny Howling Water. She has six children.

My mother told me we are from the "strange people," from the north. She said that's why we have kinky hair and lighter skin. That was Black Kettle's group.

Q: How long would a village stay in one place before they moved?

A: They keep moving. Warriors keep hunting. They scout for buffalo and then come back and get the people. They have to be close to the buffalo

because they can't carry big loads of meat. The women butchered and used every bit of the buffalo. Didn't waste anything.

My grandfather's name is Afraid of Beaver. He belonged to a warrior society. He moved from Fort Bent to Oklahoma and is buried at the Mennonite cemetery. There is a big granite stone. His wife, my grandma, her name was Walking Woman. My grandfather went and looked for Black Kettle, it was his brother-in-law. He found him at Washita. He looked all over for him, and found him where he had been shot. His horse was lying on him. They buried him. My family should have asked where they buried him, but Indians are really superstitious about burials and don't talk about it. So I don't know where they buried him. Mrs. Black Kettle was Walking Woman's sister – Medicine Woman. They were camping in his village. Mrs. Black Kettle – he had several wives – one was Medicine Woman (not Medicine Woman Later). My mother's mother. Her Indian name is Corn Stalk. My father's name is John Peakheart, but he had a lot of names. He got that name at Carlisle Indian School.

Q: Anything else you'd like to tell us?

A: No, I'd like to find that tape. Mrs. Ridge Bear told her story. I'll go look for it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Arleigh Rhodes

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;
Carolyn Sandlin, NPS; David Halaas, CHS
June 3, 1999
Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center
Clinton, Oklahoma**

I am a direct descendant of Black Kettle #1, what we call the original, what we call Black Kettle. There is a line of descent, Colleen and I and our brothers and sisters we all came from the one we call the second wife. We always heard she was the second wife. She had three children. We are from the middle child. That one was my babysitter as a youngster, Walking Woman. I always called her my blind grandmother. Walking Woman had four children, Minnie being my grandmother. Minnie had four children, Sophie being my mother. That's how I'm connected with that generation. Stands Moving was the wife of Black Kettle 1, as I call him. So that's how I'm listed in the descent. So I guess that makes me a blood relation.

As far as the site, only a few stories have been related and you've probably heard most of them already. Most of the information that I know of comes from other people who have written about or know about such things. At this point you kind of wonder what I really do know. Having been there to kind of reinforce what your thinking was and what your imagination was you can kind of get a picture of what was there and of course the more you talk about this thing you begin to get a better rounded picture of this thing. Still your imagination leads you into how it must have been back then. But I'm not of the age where I can tell you this one went down this valley or this road, those things I don't have to share with you other than what was generally concluded by the tribe is that the vicinity and that locale that's been researched. I can't

say there was any kind of landmark other than it was in the riverbank that we know to be Sand Creek. It's general and vague what I know because a lot of it I picked up from other information. A lot of it you already know.

I went to Sand Creek in the early 90's. There was no one there, it had been visited by the so-called Long Walk, I think they called it who came through there and trashed it up because when I got there the owner was right on my tail. But after we got on the site and got into the creek valley there, he approached us and we visited. I was telling him about my connection there and I happened to have a number of my grandchildren with me and I explained that I wanted my grandchildren to be aware of their ancestry. He obviously had knowledge of groups at that point because he related to me about the Long Walk people who had come through and trashed things up because he was very particular about keeping it clean. Anyway in the course of all that we developed rapport and he offered that we could use the place in the future. He was very nice and considerate.

I heard my grandparents and parents talk about going there, and they were in the same vicinity. They used to frequent the mountain area, we would go on vacations there, and they knew about the Sand Creek Massacre site. And they always called it that. They had a good knowledge of where it was.

Q: So when you saw it did it look like the stories you heard?

A: Yeah, when you get on the site you begin to formulate a picture, it falls into place. I always heard about the creek bed and it all fit into place. I had no reason to doubt that was the place. It was a dry creek bed and you can tell where the embankment was, what we now call the high ground.

What they describe as the ravines . . . when the first attack came everyone scattered, the old ones and the women. Throughout the first day and maybe even the second day, there were riders who were going to the trouble of hunting down the wounded and finish them off. I even heard that the next day they were tracking them down. There was obviously a lot going on in every direction, I don't know how many soldiers there were but they were spending a lot of time in the creek bed area. Others, like outriders, went to the different directions. When I see what's there it seems that you'd only need horseback to the south and west, because it seems like other directions are within sight. There's nowhere to hide, it's flat to the east of the site with terrain to the south and west of the site. To the north, I guess that's where there's a question about the pits. I know you all have thought about it but if you've ever been under gunfire, you're not gonna want to run two or three miles. I can tell you for a fact you're not going to run very far under gunfire. Unless you have complete disregard for your own safety, then you might run a quarter of a mile or a few hundred yards, but with that many guns, you're not going to run very far. I can't imagine they're going to run two or three miles. If you've been under gunfire you know what I'm talking about. Maybe one lucky person could get even a quarter of a mile, because they're going to get you one way or another. The pits had to be nearby. Besides, you can't dig into that hard terrain, not with the kind of tools they would have had. Back in those days they had big caliber guns. I've heard about these pits, I would call them foxholes, but they'd have to be within a very short distance of the site.

I heard they were on the run from the initial attack, they scattered and the army did a mop-up. Those that scattered – a lot of wounded and elderly looking for their children and the next day the soldiers were riding up and down the ravines picking them off. I'm sure under the cover of darkness some of them got away too. That's kind of the general things I hear, about what happened over the course of the day, at the onset, everyone scattered. You can imagine trying to approach someone and relay friendly intentions and having someone turn on you. You can imagine the impact, chaos. After that was "mop-up" actions. If you've ever run in the sand you know you can't run too hard.

[Mr. Rhodes summarized by explaining that when he overheard his grandparents and the elderly people talking they did not tell him things directly because he was of a young age. They might have told other adults or his older siblings but they didn't tell him directly. Anything he remembers hearing he learned by overhearing the older people talking to each other.]

Q: It sounds like from what you heard everything happened in one concentrated area.

A: It always sounded like they had to have run upstream, up toward the pits, because where else could they run? They wouldn't run out on the flats. There had to be some kind of cover. The vegetation up there is heavy-duty thistle, you'd have to be wearing chaps. I can't imagine women and children running through that without getting all cut up. Some of them probably did get into it. If they did the soldiers could just mop them up. If you think about it's a terrible thing. You can imagine. Children, elders, neither one can run far. And those are the ones you hear about.

Well, I guess that's about it.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. Marybelle Lonebear Curtis

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;
Carolyn Sandlin, NPS; David Halaas, CHS;
June 3, 1999
Cheyenne and Arapaho Elderly Nutrition Center
Clinton, Oklahoma**

I am Marybelle Lonebear. I am the granddaughter of Stacy Lone Wolf Riggs. Lone Wolf was his Cheyenne name. He was my mother's father and he was a descendant of Black Kettle. During the raid on the village they were all wiped out except his sister. She went back north and there she lived out her life. She never married. My grandfather chose to live here in Oklahoma. He was an orphan but never let it stand in his way. He was determined; he was a survivor. He raised seven children, some died of typhoid but most grew to adulthood. My grandfather raised his family at Whirlwind, between here and Watonga. It's a rural area. There they had an encampment. My grandfather must have been enterprising because he had a little store there that he managed and provided food for the campers. When the children grew up he moved to Clinton and settled there along the Washita River and built a home there. All the children went there in the summertime. He always had a garden and had lots of food because lots of children came to stay. He would

sit us down and tell us stories. Some went off to swim but some of us would sit down to listen. He had a summer arbor and he would keep the willow branches wet so it was cool. It has a screen around it so we could sleep outside. It was a real happy time. We didn't know we were poor, we were happy. One year one of the older boys took us into the corn patch to steal corn and we built a big fire and cooked corn. That night at dinner my grandpa said, "somebody stole my corn." I looked at my brother and we smiled and we all had black teeth. That was one highlight of one summer. They were summers filled with fun. But my grandfather was a very modest man. He survived his childhood and a missionary adopted him. That's how he got the name Stacy Riggs. In his early life he became interested in going hunting with his uncles. They got picked up by the soldiers and got sent off to a prison in Florida. He was the youngest one, but he went with the elders. While there he was converted to Christianity and became Episcopalian. He was there with a relative, David (Sun Dancer) Pendleton. They both converted together. When they came home, David became a minister and converted a bunch of people. My grandfather was a lay reader, he didn't go to school for it but followed in David's footsteps. But the missionary sent him to Carlisle and he became educated. Then he came back and became a scout for the army. He was stationed at Fort Elliot and visited places they had been, and where the massacre had been. When he came back he married Mary Ellen Poisel. She was one-half French Canadian and one-half Northern Arapaho and Gros Ventre. They had seven kids and two died and are buried at Whirlwind. They lived out their lives in Whirlwind.

I loved to listen to him. Everything sounded like it happened yesterday. Even the bad parts, he wasn't bitter about. He was very intelligent. He was my hero. Lots of the older kids weren't interested, now they ask me what he told us.

His mother was a daughter of Black Kettle. I don't know her name. He wrote a lot because he was educated, so people would come interview him. He wrote a chapter of a book called *The Soul of the Red Man*, I don't know the author.²²¹ I think it was 1936 and there was only one edition ever printed. It was written just the way people talked and I guess they thought it wasn't well written, but it was never reprinted.

[Marybelle reads an article from the *Clinton Daily News*, Friday May 5, 1978, regarding the massacre at Washita, as told by Lone Wolf. See Appendix 4.]

That's about all I know.

He mentioned seeing the breastworks where they hid and those were the banks of the river. He told us we were very fortunate that we children didn't have to wake up in the middle of the night to move at night. He reminded us of how lucky we were to have food and to go to bed without worrying. He lectured about education, he said that was one thing no one could take away.

A man came to him years ago saying they wanted to know about his family tree so he could be compensated. He said he didn't want to be compensated

²²¹A copy of this book, which was self-published by Thomas Barton Williams in 1937, is in the collection of the Western History Department, Denver Public Library.

because it still wouldn't bring them back. He wouldn't take money for what they did.

He is the one who taught me how to speak Cheyenne. In his later years he wrote for a weekly newspaper column in the *Cordell Beacon*. He wrote about his experiences and the news of tribal activities. His mind was clear till the time he died. And he would visit his sister who lived in Olympia, Washington and never married.

Q: Did he ever describe the Sand Creek Massacre site?

A: No, but he said the morning of the raid a lady was getting water and saw the soldiers approaching. She tried to warn the camp but it was too late. But there must have been either a river or spring close by. All he ever mentioned was the breastworks where they hid and I imagined a cove. In the book he said he was riding and his horse couldn't get up the bank and he fell off and he ran, he said "as fast as my legs could carry me." How he could grow to manhood without being bitter, I thought he must have been a very brave person.

I guess that's about it.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. Colleen Cometsevah

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;
Barbara Sutteer, NPS; and David Halaas, CHS
May 18, 1999**

Lamar, Colorado

Minor editorial changes made by Mrs. Cometsevah on February 29, 2000

I've always heard about Sand Creek practically my whole life, on both my maternal and paternal side. My paternal great-great-grandfather was Blacktail Eagle, better known as Big Jake. He was one of the Chiefs at Sand Creek. He was mentioned in some of the testimony about Sand Creek, I forgot by who, someone who was familiar with the Chiefs who came down to Fort Lyon. I can't remember his name, seems like it was Campbell. He testified at the hearings and mentioned Big Jake. Anyway, my paternal grandfather told me that was his grandfather. He said he was a survivor. On my maternal side my great-grandfather was Sioux who was my maternal grandmother's father. He had several half brothers. His mother's name was Yellow Woman. She was married at the time to Bear Tongue and their son was Little Bear. Little Bear is one that George Bent mentions as one of the first to see the soldiers coming. Little Bear told him how he and his parents escaped. Bear Tongue was later killed at the Washita Massacre.

My grandmother's father was a half brother to Little Bear. They had the same mother but different fathers. His half sister, Mary Little Bear Inkanish told us little bits of what she was told, and that's how we became aware of Sand Creek.

My grandfather Paul Rhoads, also known as Paul Goose, was acquainted with George Bent. George Bent's son was married to my grandfather's aunt. They had a baby but the baby died, and then his wife died and then he died so George Bent inherited their allotment. That's the way I heard it.

I'm the only one who can trace the Sand Creek genealogy back eight generations. I also have a picture of Big Jake, which probably no one else can say about their great-great-grandfather. My grandfather is the one that told me about how we're all related. He said that Big Jake's father was named Man Above. His father was also Man Above. He was killed by the Kiowas in 1838 on Wolf Creek. His son was Big Jake (#2). His son was Man Above (#2). When my father had my brother next to me he was named Man Above so he's Man Above #3. These names are handed down through the generations. When a baby is born he's named for someone in the family. When he grows up he has the option of changing his name three times: the name he's born with, when he goes to war and kills an enemy, and if they take part in the Sun Dance or the Arrow Renewal ceremony. But it can't be any name, it has to be someone in the family. That's how the names are handed down. Same way with the girls. I was named for my grandfather's aunt. I have a Cheyenne name and all my children have Cheyenne names, named for people in our family.

When we started on this project back in 1970 I decided to research my family to establish all their relationships. Then Laird got interested and wanted me to do his family and then we got interested in Sand Creek. So I wrote to the War Department and asked for a listing of all the people at Sand Creek and that's where I got that schedule and that's how we got started. I was working at the Concho Agency and they had the abstract records and what have you and I would look at the information during the noon hour and I got so interested I'd forget to eat lunch. After about two years Ruby came to work at the agency and she got interested too, and that's how three of us started doing the research.

I never heard too much about where the massacre took place but according to my grandmother and her great-aunt, they used to tell us about how they lived back then. One of the things I remember especially was that it was against their belief to drink water that sat overnight because of the spirits that they thought drank from the same water container so they always had to have fresh water in the morning. They did mention that there was a drinking place where they got their water. They said Sand Creek was called [Cheyenne name] which means "Dry River" and there were just pools of water here and there, but they had a spring where there was fresh water. So it's always been my opinion that they had to camp close by to a spring where they could go after water early in the morning. Things were dangerous in those days, the women had to be careful where they went. In fact, my great-grandmother used to wear a knife on her belt and she said in the old days you always had to wear a knife for self defense. So that, together with this belief that you have to have fresh water made me believe that they had to be close to a spring.

There were Cheyenne names for all the rivers. They followed the creeks. They didn't follow any particular trails, just rivers. That's how they gave directions and got oriented, was by the rivers and creeks.

On my paternal side, my grandfather said his mother was at the Washita. There were five of them: my great-grandmother Little Women Curious Horn and her sister White Buffalo Woman. They had three brothers, Standing Bird, Bird Chief and Red Bird. Red Bird was killed at Washita. He wrote her account for me and I still have it. He tells about when they heard the first shot

they jumped up. They used to hobble the best horses by the tipi and their father took them and put them on the horses, the mother and the two girls and he told them to go to the other camp and quirted the horses and told them not to stop for anything. Then he and his three sons went down to help Black Kettle. The youngest one got shot in the stomach. When he fell off his horse his father went to get him had he held him in his arms. His son told him to keep his horse but he said “no he’s going with you” so he shot the horse. That’s one of their beliefs too.

At Sand Creek, according to George Bent the horse herd would have been on the south and west sides. Because to me, Little Bear was going out to check on the horses and as he was getting onto the bluff he saw this other fellow running back toward him saying soldiers were coming. And that’s when they ran back to the camp. Kingfisher was his name.

They never really talked about the landscape at the massacre site. Just about the escape, and when their son got back to their tipi to pick up his weapons his mother and father were already gone so he ran up the creek with the rest of the people. Every step of the way they were shooting at him and by the time he got to the pits all the feathers were shot off his war bonnet and there were holes in his shield.

Several people told us what they heard about Sand Creek. The Tallbird family told me their grandmother was a little girl at that time and her mother tried to run with her but she couldn’t keep up. So she tried to carry her but the mother gave out as they were running up Sand Creek she just scooped out the sand and put her little girl in there and told her not to move and that she’d be back for her. She covered her with sand and brush and leaves and ran off. When she came back two days later the little girl was still alive. The little girl suffered through that cold, with no cover, no food or water. Another one told me that their grandmother was running ahead of her mother and the mother managed to get hold of one of the horses. The little girl turned around and saw her and the little girl held out her arm and her mother reach down and scooped her up and they both got away. Another one told me the story of her mother, an elderly lady who was about 90 years old told me that her mother was a little girl at Sand Creek. When everyone was running and scattering she didn’t know what to do or where to hide so she ran to a hollow log she knew about and hid in it. From there she could watch from a knothole and she stayed in there and watched for two days. She saw them going around killing everyone and she was too scared to come out, until the third day when they didn’t come back. She finally came out and ran up the creek and there were no living people. Only dead ones. She ran until she got a catch in her side and she finally slowed to a walk and she saw something moving up ahead. She got scared that it might have been an animal or a soldier but she finally saw that it was an Indian man. So she ran again until she caught up with him. She asked him where everyone went. He was wounded and walking with a crutch. He said just follow the tracks. Don’t wait for me, you just go on. So she went on. The people had gone to Smokey Hill. The people stayed there.

Q: Did people say how far they had to run to get to the sandpits?

A: No, but Laird and I have discussed it a lot of times. He doesn’t see how elderly men and women could run five or ten miles. Someone like his elderly mother or the children probably couldn’t even run half a mile. So we think

that the camp was where George Bent said it was and couldn't have been more than a mile or half a mile, but they were all strung out along the creek bed. They couldn't have run five miles. They didn't have a Cheyenne name for the sandpits but they definitely did say that they dug holes. It was sandy enough to dig holes. Some other people tried to hide in the sand.

Q: How would the village have been laid out when the soldiers first saw it?

A: Well, it would have been down, on the other side of the dry riverbed. The Cheyennes always face the tipis to the east or the west, never north or south.

Q: Where would the Arapahos have been camping relative to the Cheyennes?

A: They would have been south, like June Black said. She said that her aunt told her they were camped further south and the soldiers attacked them first.

These Chiefs, they only mention four but it would have been more like thirteen from what I counted. And Chief Lefthand that they keep talking about, there were two Chief Lefthands. One was Cheyenne and one was Arapaho, and the one that was killed at Sand Creek was Cheyenne. He's one that signed the treaty of 1861. On the treaty it says "Namos" in parentheses after his name. That means "left hand" in Cheyenne. It clearly shows that was the Cheyenne Lefthand. The Arapahos always camped a distance downstream from the Cheyennes.

I've always heard that the massacre site is where we believe it to be today. When I first saw it I could imagine everything I had been told about it, how the camps were laid out, and the Arapahos further downstream.

Q: Who else would be good to talk with?

A: I already asked Blanch White Shield and she said she would. Also Marybelle Lonebear. A lot of the older people are passing away. Just two weeks ago Bessie Seeger passed away and she had told me, "you ought to get my sister Bertha, Eddie White Skunk's mother, Blanche White Shield, Eveline White Crane and me and we could just talk there at the Center and discuss what we heard about Sand Creek."

The only thing I can think of to emphasize is that there must have been a spring close by where they could get their water. The Cheyenne word just means "spring." They already knew about that spring. It was a regular crossing place, an Indian trail.

Q: Did you ever hear anything about the bend itself?

A: No but they said each group was camped side by side. To me that means it must be level. Black Kettle's camp was near the present cottonwood tree that's leaning over.

Q: How many people would have been in the village?

A: According to John Smith's testimony, and I believe him more than anyone, he said there would have been four to five people per tipi and there were somewhere around 150 tipis. You'd need a lot of water. There's no definite number of people killed but Ruby and I have found about 80 that weren't listed so I've tried to match up the lists with what I've found and it's less than 200 killed.

Q: Was there anything you heard about how long they were there before the attack or whether it was a favored camp site where they camped many times?

A: They camped there sometimes, maybe not many times. But they weren't the only ones that used that trail. But they were told so many days after the Chiefs came back from Camp Weld to go camp there.

The little girl who watched from the log said that after they shot everybody the first time, the soldiers came streaming back and started killing the wounded, then they went to the tipis and took everything they wanted and destroyed the food supply. Then the second day they were either still there or they came back and that's when they burned everything. She didn't come out till the third day after she was sure they were gone.

Laird's great-grandfather Cometsevah had a younger sister named Tallow Woman. She was about 13 or 14. She went to visit her aunt the night before and she was coming back on horseback. Someone tried to throw a stick or something at her while she was riding. It was late and she didn't see anyone. But she went back to camp and told them that someone threw something at her and whistled and they laughed and said it was probably a young man trying to get her attention and didn't question it. But that night several Chiefs were discussing things and Cometsevah tried to get them to move, and they said no, maybe tomorrow. That girl disappeared. They never found her body or among the prisoners, or anything.

There was another teenage girl from the Miles family from Hammon. She disappeared too. Her name was Shawnee Woman. She was about 15 or 16. All they found was one of her moccasins.

In Bent's book he mentions that Black Kettle's first wife was captured by the Utes, then later on he married a woman named Moiseyo, my great-grandmother's mother. She must have been Black Kettle's second wife. That's how we're related. But we hear about people who are descendants but don't know how they're connected. My great-grandmother always told us that her father was Black Kettle. The last time she ever saw her parents alive was at Washita. She was nine years old, her little sister was five or six, and their little brother was just starting to walk. When the shooting started he popped his head in the tipi and told his wife to get the kids to the other camp. The girls put on their moccasins and grabbed their little backpacks and took off running. Before they got to the banks there was shooting everywhere. She heard her mother call her name and she turned around to look and just then she saw her little brother tumble head over heels and it knocked the wind out of him. Her little sister ran to pick him up and the sister ran to her mother, but she had been shot and was lying on her stomach. The girl tried to lift her but her mother told her to take the kids to the other camp and don't look back, "don't cry."

They were in the group major Elliot was chasing. The people jumped into the frozen water and she kept her sister and her brother with her. One of the three men defending them got shot while crossing. The water got up to her thigh, and then they got to a place where the warriors from the other camp came to get them, and shot at the soldiers. My grandfather named a man from the other camp who ambushed the soldiers. The soldiers had jumped off and hid in the bushes and the Cheyennes were able to kill them, and then they got the people out of the water. When they got to the camp they put them in a tipi with a big fire and got them warm. The little girl wouldn't let go of her

backpack, but when one of the ladies opened it she had berries and dried meat and an extra pair of moccasins and her little sisters had the same thing. No one knows where Black Kettle is buried. They do know the burial places of the two men who fished Black Kettle and his wife out of the water. One was Bad Teeth. He was one of my grandfather's uncles. The other man was White Fool or White Clown, my mother told me. But that was at the Washita.

Thank you.

Mrs. Cometsevah was interviewed a second time on June 3, 1999, in Clinton, Oklahoma. Present were David Halaas, Colorado Historical Society; Carolyn Sandlin, National Park Service; and Alexa Roberts, National Park Service. Interviewed by David Halaas.

David Halaas: We already talked about the site a couple of weeks ago, and today we are going to talk more about the event.

Colleen Cometsevah: Well, the only things I heard were from my maternal side and some from my paternal side. My paternal grandfather used to tell us that his grandfather Big Jake was at Sand Creek and survived. But didn't go into too many specifics. On my maternal side my great-great-grandmother was Yellow Woman (Stone). She died in 1905. She was married four times and had four sons. One was Sioux and he was my maternal grandmother's father and was half brother to Mary Little Bear Inkanish. Little Bear was the one that's mentioned in George Bent's book. He was one of the first to see the soldiers. He went out to take care of the horses and was met by Kingfisher, who was on his way back and told him there were soldiers coming. They ran back to the camp and his parents were already gone. So he put on his war bonnet and ran after them. The soldiers were right behind him shooting every step of the way. By the time he got to the sandpits, all the feathers were gone from his war bonnet. He and his parents survived.

On my mother's father's side, her father was named Irvin Goodblanket. He told my grandmother after they were married that his grandparents were both killed at Sand Creek. His grandfather's name was Sioux With Tooth Missing. He had two wives. The first one, Blackfoot Woman, was also killed at Sand Creek. That was my great-great-grandfather and great-great-grandmother. The second wife, Running Away or Medicine Woman, survived and later remarried. My maternal grandmother was Minnie Sioux Goodblanket. Her mother was Walking Woman. Her father was Black Kettle #1 and her mother was Stands Moving (Moiseyo). They were both killed at Washita. Sioux and his two brothers were half brothers to Little Bear. I've heard these stories since I was a little girl and from time to time they talked about it.

The soldiers mutilated the dead. Some of them didn't die immediately. They were wounded and the soldiers stayed there and finished killing them the next day. I've heard different stories from different families. One was from a family about a little girl whose mother got a horse and was able to grab the little girl by the arm and pull her up and they got away. And then this lady, Mrs. Starr, told me that her great-great-grandmother was a little girl and she was covered up in a hole, covered with sand and leaves, and she survived. Then Laird had a story about two small children whose father managed to catch a horse and put his two small children on the horse and got them out of

there and told them to keep going. The kids kept switching the horse and they ran and ran till the horse died of exhaustion.

Spanish Woman was disemboweled. Different families would tell us different things like that. The stories are very much alive and handed down. Now the children don't pay that much attention and they forget about them.

The story about Black Kettle's wife being shot down is in the books. She was shot and fell and was lying for dead and the Cheyennes say that he ran off and left her, but actually he did go back and get her. My mother's step grandfather used to tell that Black Kettle wasn't very popular after that for getting the people there in that valley in the first place. That wife was Medicine Later.

She testified later at the hearings and showed them that she had been shot nine times. She laid there in the creek bed and they came back and shot her four or five more times. One thing that puzzles me is that after the investigation no one mentions the women that the soldiers took away and raped and killed them later. I do know of some families that have half bloods that were products of the rapes. I've also heard that from people at Lame Deer; there are some of those families up there too.

There were two Black Kettles. After Black Kettle was killed at Washita his brother, Black Hairy Dog, changed his name to Black Kettle. Both of them had more than one wife. It's confusing in the research. It's hard to differentiate between wives.

Q: George Bent, who married Magpie, said that Black Kettle didn't have children, but he must have. And Bent said that Magpie is Black Kettle's niece and elsewhere he says daughter.

A: Well that's one thing that a lot of writers don't understand. You must understand the Indian kinship system. An uncle is the same as a father. And some say a first cousin is same as a sister or brother. A child might have lots of grandmas and grandpa's. A grandfather's father or brother is also your grandfather.

[David Halaas and Colleen Cometsevah have a long conversation about George Bent – see full transcript for genealogical details of Black Kettle and his brothers.]

[The tape ended here but conversation continued briefly. Mrs. Cometsevah mentioned that she first went to Sand Creek with her husband in the 1970s when they first started working on the project. But Laird's parents used to go there all the time on their way to Montana. The location of the Sand Creek Massacre has always been common knowledge to the Cheyenne people.

Colleen also described the descendants of Lame Man (Non-ne), who was the stepfather to her grandfather Paul. Lame Man survived Sand Creek and was very old when Colleen was a young girl. He said he had been wounded in a war with another tribe, when the other tribe surrounded a mountain, but the Cheyennes managed to infiltrate the other tribe and drive them off. The three men on the mountain stayed there for three days. This is the man some of the Arapaho people say they are descended from, but Lame Man only had one daughter and she died in childbirth at age 18. That baby was Silas White Shield. Silas' father (the husband of the young woman who died) remarried

and had more children. Silas White Shield married three times and had a daughter, Patricia White Shield. These are the only blood relatives of Lame Man. Note: Compare this genealogical information about Lame Man with that provided by Lettie June Shakespeare.]

Mr. Jesse Howling Water

Born December 22, 1937.

From Lame Deer, MT

Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS and Carolyn Sandlin, NPS;

June 4, 1999

Clinton, Oklahoma

All my kinfolk live in Lame Deer. Once in a while I go back there. Talk about old times though, I can tell you what my grandfolk taught me. I did grow up around Montana. In 1869, that's a long, long story.

Sand Creek was my great-great-grandpa. His name was Standing Elk. He got killed there. He was my great-grandpa on my mother's side. My grandpa was born in 1869. He was Standing Elk's son, Frank Standing Elk. My grandpa used to tell me the story that his grandpa was killed at Sand Creek. He'd never been there, but after he grew up he went there. My father was named Horse Handler. He's Frank's son-in-law. My mother was Emma Standing Elk, before she married my dad. My mother told me stories of Sand Creek, and so did my grandparents. My grandmother was Annie Rowland. She was from Lame Deer.

[unintelligible] with Dull Knife and he got away. He went way up north to Montana and hid out in the Rocky Mountains. And he finally came back when that country settled down and he came back to the northern Cheyenne reservation. And he finally died up there around Lame Deer.

Dull Knife got away. My grandpa Frank said he got away before the government soldiers could get in there. He got away by himself. When he got away he stayed around in Lame Deer for a while looking for his people. Standing Elk is buried over here in Hammon. When he came after it was settled, 1871, my grandpa joined the army to be a scout. He told lots of stories about being in the army. He would check the ammunition and guns. He liked the army.

My grandpa told the story about Standing Elk getting killed at Sand Creek. A government soldier was shooting at him and that's how he got killed. He fought back with bows and arrows. He wasn't married then.

My grandpa Morning Star also got away from Sand Creek. He also went to Lame Deer. So many people on that side have stories about Sand Creek. So many Chiefs got away from Sand Creek, at least three. But they're not my kinfolk, they're on the other side. Morning Star was one of my great-grandpas. Black Kettle got away too, but he got killed at Washita by Custer.

My grandpa told me about where my great-grandpa Standing Elk was killed. He was killed right by those hills where the creek goes around this way and then comes back around this way, he was killed right on that hill right there. Right where the creek bends. Right at that big turn. [looking at aerial photo].

He got killed right in these hills. He's buried there and they never found his body. Right along in here [pointing to the big bend], the Northern Cheyennes say they dug a big hole and threw all the bodies in there. I know a lot of kids got killed in here [pointing to north bend]. Next time I'll try to go with Steve Brady and look around. I think you'd find graves. My grandpa got shot right in here and is probably buried around in here. He was trying to shoot back with bows and arrows but couldn't hit them against their guns. They were shooting with cannons. My grandpa told me that the ones that were killed were killed with cannons. All the people there were killed. The cannons were sitting over here [on the south side] and they shot toward the people along the creek. There's probably graves all along there. My grandpa said there were about 3,000 people camped there and they were almost all killed by the cannons.

I don't know if the Southern Cheyennes know these stories, about Dull Knife. But the Northern Cheyennes do. When I go to Lame Deer they talk about Sand Creek and Dull Knife and Morning Star and how they got away. If I knew the Cheyenne names for the places I would know the whole story but I don't know the Cheyenne names. I learned about White Cloud in high school and how he was a great fighter. He was Northern Cheyenne. I asked an old guy and he know about him.

Northern Cheyennes said the Arapahos camped about 20 miles away from Sand Creek, east or west. I just heard about that. I don't know which way.

I've been to Sand Creek lots of times. I used to go with my dad. We'd go on vacation and go to Montana. We'd stop by there and look around. Once I found an empty shell there but I put it back in there. We'd just walk along the creek. I went there when I was 16 (1954) and the next time I was 17 (1955 or so). The village would have been huge [indicates from north bend to south bend on the map].

My dad just knew where the site is. He was Southern Cheyenne and they just know where it is. The Northern Cheyennes know about all the horses that were killed. They people knew about the soldiers coming because they used to send out scouts in each direction. They checked each direction day and night. But at Sand Creek they didn't know that soldiers were coming. They didn't know till the soldiers got to the camp. Once they got away it took them about four or five days to get to Lame Deer, and they met up when they got there.

My dad was from Oklahoma. His great-grandpa was Black Wolf Howling Water. He was taken to Fort Reno and then sent off to Florida. When he was in jail at Fort Reno, it was attacked by Cheyennes and Arapahos and he got away. He got shot in the stomach while escaping but someone stuck him on a horse and he got away. He went through Texas towards Colorado and all the way to Wyoming, Indian doctors operated on him and he lived on for many years and came back to Oklahoma. That was in 1869 when he got shot. Black Wolf Howling Water heard about Sand Creek, it happened about the same year. He went to Sand Creek to look for the massacre site, looking for Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors but he didn't find them. Concho would have records about when he passed away.

Mr. Roger White Turtle

68 years old.

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS and Carolyn Sandlin, NPS;
(also present, nieces Margaret Starr and Willie Jean Kalauity;
and Laird and Colleen Cometsevah)**

June 4, 1999

Clinton, Oklahoma

(Note: due to poor tape quality, this transcription is based largely on notes)

Everything at Sand Creek . . . horses, tipis, wagons . . . everything was destroyed. Set on fire. My relatives there were Greasy Nose and Black Bear. Their descendants are the White Turtles. There is only three White Turtles left.

. . . even little babies, they shot them dead. This one old man he was standing on a hill, it was solid rock, straight down. He was calling to the people [in Cheyenne], saying "this way, this way" as people ran. I made a tape of this for a colonel in the army. I was acquainted with his daughter and she asked the same things you are.

There was an old lady, she had a baby and she was running (or riding?) to a man. But somebody shot her in the back of the head and she dropped the baby. But a man came by and scooped the baby up. Don't know what became of that baby.

Margaret [one of Mr. White Turtle's nieces] also tells that her grandmother said that two girls were put in a hole and covered them up and told not to cry, but don't know how they got saved.

Margaret's grandmother used to tell stories. She was Margaret Lillian White Turtle. Roger White Turtle heard his stories from his aunt who was Medicine Woman. She spoke no English because she refused to go to school. She lived to be 103 years old.

Roger and some family members already recorded some stories but Lawrence Hart has the tapes.

The Sand Creek site is somewhere up near Fort Collins. It was one of the biggest Cheyenne camps. At the place where Sand Creek is, there are some flowers with crosses on them.

Roger's family group is of the Elk Society. His father was related to David Pendleton and his dad's sister was Laura White Turtle. She married John Antelope and there are a lot of Antelopes.

Thank you

Mr. Gus Wilson

Interviewed by Alexa Roberts and Carolyn Sandlin, NPS

June 4, 1999

Clinton, Oklahoma

(Note: due to technical difficulty with the original tape, this transcription is based on notes.)

Gus Wilson's Cheyenne name is Buffalo Howling, but should be Howling Buffalo. His father was Frank Wilson. His father's aunt, Bad Finger, was at Sand Creek. She was about 10 or 11 years old. She is now buried behind the Clinton Indian Hospital. She was there when the shooting started. A bullet ricocheted off the ground and hit her in the ankle. But she kept riding, until a stray bullet hit her horse and was killed. So she crawled between the legs of her horse and hid there the whole rest of the day and all that night and the next day. She used a stick as a walking cane and her uncle Bear Tusk found her and took her to a camp of the Southern Clan (which had been moved somewhere else). Her uncle was Northern Cheyenne and he was Gus's grandfather's [great-grandfather's?] brother. His great-grandfather (?) was Yellowhawk. They are Northern Cheyenne.

The people ran to where ever they could find shelter. Some ran as far as they could get. Bad Finger never married and had no children. Gus heard this story from his father who heard it from his mother. She was a captive white woman named White Girl. Her husband was John Wilson (Gus's grandfather). Gus and his brothers are $\frac{3}{4}$ Cheyenne. There are a lot of stories like this one.

Mrs. Emma Red Hat and Mr. William Red Hat, Jr.

**Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS; Carolyn Sandlin, NPS and
Joe Big Medicine, Southern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendant
August 18, 1999
Longdale, Oklahoma**

From what the old people talk about . . . Red Dust Woman was Minnie's aunt, my mother-in-law's great-aunt. What they talk about is, well they never really forgot what happened. They would cry whenever they told about Sand Creek. Sand Creek, they always told us that they camped by the river, and place they told us was Sand Creek was the place we went to over at Lamar. My mother-in-law's husband, we went with them over there. They say there was a river and a lot of cottonwood trees there. When they used to tell about it, they still remembered a lot. She said that she got lost when they were running and she held onto another woman but they never really did tell us the name of the woman. But she got saved from the fighting they had there. That was my mother-in-law's great-aunt, Red Dust Woman. I heard the stories from my mother-in-law. My husband always told about what his grandma told him, and that's how we remember. They used to always camp by a river.

[Conversation while looking at photos with Emma Red Hat, William Red Hat, Jr., and the interviewers.] Red Dust Woman was married to Old Man God. They called her Red Dust Gold. She was seven or eight years old at the time of Sand Creek. When everyone started running she didn't know where she was going, but she just ran for safety and she held onto this woman but they didn't tell us who the woman was. William Red Hat, Jr. speaking: But when she ran after the woman she called her "auntie" in Cheyenne. But she goes on to tell more, that when they were looking back from someplace, they had to be high someplace because they could see the soldiers. During that time when it was almost over, she saw some Arapaho women with the soldiers that came out and cut these women's bellies open and took the Cheyenne child out

and cut his throat. So I kind of realized in one of the testimonies that I read it told about an Arapaho woman took a child off one of the buckboard wagons and put him out there so the soldiers could shoot him and kill him. So she used to cry when she used to tell this story and my dad and my grandma used to tell about it. You can tell she's probably about that age, she was 87 when she passed away, Grandma Minnie.

[Discussion of a Red Hat family picture taken around 1942-43 at the old family allotment, which is now inundated by present-day Canton Lake. The family was forced to sell or face condemnation for creation of the lake in the early 1940s. Red Dust Woman and her husband Gold were in the picture as elders; Emma's husband, Wayne, was a boy of approximately 13-14 years in the picture. Note: Wayne (William Wayne, Sr.) was Arrow Keeper before Bill. Wayne's father, Edward Red Hat, also served as Cheyenne Arrow Keeper. Thus, the Sacred Arrows have been watched over and protected by three generations of Red Hats.]

Q. Did they say how far Red Dust Woman ran when she ran from the fighting?

A. No, she just took off running I guess when they all took off running when they started the battle. They didn't say how far she went.

Q. Did she say anything about people digging into the sand to hide?

A. No they were just running for their lives, trying to get to safety.

Q. Did she hide somewhere or just keep running?

A. No, I don't think so because she had to see the last of it because she was telling about what was happening afterwards, about what they were doing, and they finally left. She didn't tell anymore about it. They didn't tell about getting into the banks or into the brush like some people tell. We didn't really ask her.

William Red Hat, Jr.: Everything must have happened pretty quickly because she didn't really clarify all those details. But I just remember hearing it from my grandmother and my dad, she might have told my grandmother more than they told us.

Emma Red Hat: Just what she remembered is what she told us. But when they had the Longest Walk we went and camped over there, and there were at least 300 people camping. We camped on the north side with my father-in-law, he was the Arrow Keeper then. That was in 1978.

She told mostly about what the soldiers had done and I don't how she recollects about these Arapaho women but that's what she said.

Q. So, were the Arapahos camped there?

A. No, they weren't camped there. Cheyennes never let Arapahos camp with them.

Q. Was it one or two Arapaho women that she saw?

A. I think it was two. She saw them take a baby. And they told where the camp was, that's what we hear.

Q. When you went there in 1978, were the people pretty confident that's where the site was?

A. Yeah, well the Longest Walk started in California, and this is where they stopped to camp, and from there they went to Wichita and then back east. My daughter and son joined at Wichita and walked from there to Washington D.C. We met them in Baltimore, Maryland where they camped and from there they walked to Washington. That was in 1978.

William Red Hat, Jr.: I hear that there were some Arapahos camped with the Cheyennes but these were main men, or they had come to visit or something, but somebody came from the south talked with the Arapahos and that guy left and the others started leaving. And then this Left Hand man started leaving with his group and he must have gotten a mile away and he said “I can’t just leave, I gotta say something or do something.” Anyway what the Cheyennes heard is that there was a wolf call for danger and he made that howling sound to tell the Cheyennes there was danger, and then he went on.²²²

The two Arapaho women were with the soldiers. They say they are the ones that told the soldiers where the Cheyennes were camping...Cheyennes didn’t let Arapahos camp within the circle, but Arapahos camped close by for safety.

Q. How did they live back then? How did they get water and wood and take care of the horses?

A. They always camped by rivers. There’s always dead limbs along rivers. You never stay in one place too long because if you do you become a civilization and destroy things. You have to move on and let the land replenish. In one area, so many hundred would deplete the area in a short time. They dried their meat just before winter, maybe at the end of October or early November, but they didn’t do much hunting because it’s too hot and the game would spoil. So they wait till it gets kind of cold but they still have sun. I’ve heard that soldiers liked to attack the Cheyennes because they had the best dried meat. But they were used to doing things like that, hunting and gathering and drying them for the winter. If you do that all through September, October, and November-December, January and February is when it’s coldest and you stay inside your tipi and tell stories. It’s too hot to tell stories in the summer so you do it when it’s cold. And if you didn’t do what you were supposed to be doing [earlier in the year] you’d have to go out and hunt.

Q. So, how large would the encampment have been if there were that many people camped together?

A. William Red Hat, Jr.: I’d say the group was about 500. It would take up about 50 acres.

Q. Would the creek have been running at that time or if not how would they have gotten water?

A. There’s a Cheyenne word they call it [Cheyenne word], it means “bone dry.” And then there’s another word [Cheyenne word] that means “when it went haywire” or “chaos” I guess. That’s the word they use when they talk about that [the Massacre]. They use the word for “bone dry” and the word for “chaos” to refer to it.²²³ But you have to remember that there were no dams

²²²Colleen Cometsevah noted to Carolyn Sandlin that Left Hand had a broken leg and died three days later.

²²³Colleen Cometsevah noted to Carolyn Sandlin that Sand Creek is also called by another Cheyenne phrase, which translates to “the place where they (our people) were destroyed”

back then. A lot of those little streams would swell up when it rained and made the creek real big. There were no dams so water would be running, but it was probably just a small creek, “bone dry.”

Q. So when Left hand gave the warning, did the Cheyennes believe him or did they . . .

A. Well some of them did believe him and they left. The ones that didn't believe him believed in the flag. Some of the men didn't believe in the flag, and rightfully so.

Q. Did she say anything about knowing the soldiers were going to attack or were they completely surprised? Or was she not aware of that part?

A. She didn't say. All she said was they took off running, so they must have already done something ahead of where they were at. They had told the women “just go to sleep, don't worry” because they had the flag up.

Q. Where did the people go after they ran?

A. She didn't say. She was just a child. They never went back there.

William Red Hat, Jr.: I've been there. You kind of feel things, but I never felt anything. You would kind of get scared or something, you know you get that feeling in your back, that there's something there. We were told that was a place where people got killed, but as far as gut feelings, I didn't feel anything. There was a place where you came in this way and then went south and it became pretty good sized and then over here there was just a big bank and it goes down, sloping down to the rest of the place. There was a little stream when we were there. The site is where the big bank just goes so far and then it levels out. That's where we went when we were there in 78.

Q. Was there a marker on the bluff?

A. William: I think there was something up there. There were 10 or 15 white guys on a pickup. They came up over the bank and they had guns. But when they got to the bank they saw all these camps and you could just see that truck shaking going backwards to get out of there. Yeah, there was a stone marker up there. There were some monks drumming up there. The Arrow Keeper prayed for this one man that was sick. He prayed for him and blessed him and before he was done there was a long line and we figured there were about 300 people there. But there were probably more, that's just how many he brushed off [ritually cleansed].

Q. Did they camp there because it was the site of the Sand Creek Massacre.

A. Yes.

Q. How did they know that was the right place?

A. There was a marker there, before you go in.

Q. Because you didn't feel anything when you went there, do you think it's not the right spot?

A. I kind of think so. Because if somebody tells you're going to go by the graveyard, ok fine, but you're going to feel something. Regardless of whether anything bothers you or not.

[Discussion of where the artifacts were. Drawing in the dirt. Reference to the cliff and the big tree. Prayed but didn't feel anything. Neither did his grandfather. The spot might have changed somewhat because of changes in

the course of the river and the erosion of the bank. The trees that are there are not are not that old. Except that one big one out in the middle. We took pictures of the whole area. Something's going to change over 125 years. Even those bluffs, you're not going to find anything.]

Q. What kinds of artifacts would you expect them to find today? What would people have left behind?

A. Everything. They just took off and left everything. They should find a lot of stuff.

Q. Are there any other Cheyenne names for the area or that refer to the Sand Creek Massacre?

A. No. All she remembers is what she saw. Not where this and that is. But she was old enough to remember.

Q. Who else would be good to talk to about it?

A. Well, most of the elders are gone now. It's just the younger ones, like Colleen, Laird and us our age. Hardly anybody older that I know of right now. It's just from what my mother-in-law and Minnie heard.

William: The one that told me the story about Left Hand coming back was Walter Roe Hamilton, at his house quite a few years ago. We had a meeting there and there were about 18 of us there. I was kind of surprised that he told that story because his wife is Arapaho, but when these guys get together and start telling these stories they have to tell the truth. So he told the story that they weren't camping there or anything but they did leave and he came back and hollered at them with the wolf danger sound.

Q: When you went there in 1978, did it look like the stories you had heard?

A. Yeah, because they said they always camped by a river. And wherever Cheyennes camp by a river, they always camp on the south or west side. Never on the left or east side of the stream. In law you have to. There's ceremonies that go on because of that. There's reasons but they're ceremonial. As far as I know they always camped that way.

Q. Have you heard other stories from anyone else?

A. (William:) Well, I've just read other stuff. Like the one about the Arapaho woman taking the child off the buckboard. That was from the Congressional hearing.

Note: Joe Big Medicine joins the discussion at this point. Discussion of the location of the Arapaho camp: There were 8 lodges of Arapahos (approximately 42 people) camped $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south down the creek from the Cheyenne camp, according to George Bent's and Hyde's maps, and aerial photography. You can see where the creeks run and it tells where the Arapaho camp was. All but four Arapahos left prior to the attack to join the Arapaho camp of Little Raven about 20 miles south, because they were warned by a hunting party. Of the four that stayed at Sand Creek they ran upstream and two escaped and two got killed with the Cheyennes, but they were not camped with the Cheyennes.

William: So, they had a small camp south of there.

Joe: Yeah, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

William: So that's why they left. That kind of coincides with what he's telling me, that Left Hand got about a mile away and howled the warning sign and went on. They never said that two came back. Only one came back, Left Hand, gave the warning sign and went on with the rest of them. They must have had a small "liaison" camp, and the big one was 20 miles away, that's probably true. Because Cheyennes wouldn't let the Arapahos camp with them. There's no way. You even have it in the Agency reports.

[General discussion of the process we are in now and the potential for National Park Service acquisition of the site, to be included with final tape transcriptions.]

Joe Osage

One of 44 Cheyenne Chiefs

Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS; Carolyn Sandlin, NPS and

Joe Big Medicine, Southern Cheyenne Sand Creek Descendant

August 19, 1999

Hammon, Oklahoma

(Corrections by Joe Big Medicine January 11, 2000)

My parents, they didn't have any knowledge of the exact place. It's just that all my life growing up the name, the Cheyenne name [Cheyenne word] was very familiar. It was the word for where a lot of our people were killed. It's just like this site over here [Washita]. Personally I might not have known any of those people but when I go over there, well whenever I have the opportunity I take my food over [for offerings]. I can feel the sorrow that those people experienced. A lot of non-Cheyenne don't feel that when they go over here. That's why I felt that anything people would do wouldn't be appropriate to memorialize it and I feel the same way about Sand Creek. Our people died. The Jews won't let the world forget about the Holocaust, but the world has never been told about the pain and suffering our people have endured. The first time the Anglo people landed on the east coast, that's part of our prophecy. This is something we would encounter. That's why I feel strongly that it not be made a tourist attraction but a place people can grieve and express themselves in a way that traditional people and non-traditional people might.

The only connection I have been told is a person I was related to that died at Sand Creek. The person was Sand Hill Crane, a man. Other than that I don't have any personal knowledge of the stories. Evidently that part of our history ended right there. I'm sure that if you've spoken to the Arrow Keeper he's told you that a lot of our traditions, our rituals and our holy men died at that place. A lot of what happened to our family histories is the same. Wherever our people died, that ended it. That's a shame. That's tragic. Somehow we need to gather what knowledge is left of that so our grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren have some knowledge of these places. Like most of them I heard of these places when my grandmother spoke of it as [in Cheyenne], "the place where Black Kettle was rubbed out." That's all we know of that place. We have stories I'm sure from individuals. My wife had some relatives that were in that, and probably my mother-in-law. One night at a traditional meeting some of them expressed the thought that those people that were most closely connected to this place [Washita] were never consulted.

They never came here to Hammon. They didn't ask the descendants of the survivors. They didn't ask them any of the stories or their knowledge of what happened over here. Most of the leaders and Chiefs were killed. So they had to bring in some other people, and some Suhtai were brought in. The Hart family, and the Howling Water family and some of those, they're all from the other group in Montana. The whole of the Red Moon community you don't have all descendants, just a small number of them and most of the others, the chiefs, were brought in from other families. A tribal official told me at one time the tribe had done some research on Black Kettle and it came out that he didn't really have any direct Cheyenne descendants because he didn't have any children. That's something I've always wondered about because people claim to be his direct descendants, but he didn't have children so some people make false claims. As far as Sand Creek goes, I know the name of the place and I know that a lot of people died and even though it's been many years and we've moved far from that place, we still grieve. We might not know the names of the people personally but we can still think about them.

Joe Big Medicine: There were three Black Kettles. There was the Chief Black Kettle, he was Suhtai. He had seven wives. In another account he had nine wives. The other Black Kettles, one was a nephew, and one was a cousin. Their names were Black Kettle too. One of the Black Kettles didn't have any children. Tonight when we go to Seiling to the nutrition center, these ladies, their last name is Black. They said their name used to be Black Kettle but when they went to school they made fun of them so they changed it and took off Kettle and went to Black. They're going to be saying that they are the direct descendants of Black Kettle. OK, they are from the second Black Kettle. Colleen knows this too. They're related to Black Kettle, yes, but not the old man. My grandma told me that.

Mr. Osage: This past year I spoke with a person from up north that participates in our traditional ceremonies and I asked him different ceremonies and I asked him about the Chiefs that the Cheyennes had because there's some question about that. Then I went to the Suhtai and asked them about Chiefs. They said Suhtai have no have no Chiefs, but some of them, like Lawrence Hart claims to be Suhtai and even some of our relatives like Alfrich Heap of Birds. You know, it's really all messed up. I'm just telling you what this person told me, and I have to believe him. He has to speak the truth because he's an Arrow Priest. I think there's some conflict there, in some of the stories from out here, because oral history is very difficult. We found that in communication, even in our community, the stories get carried out and they're changed. It's the same way with the oral histories.

I'm descended from Sand Hill Crane through my father. That's all I know. My uncle's wife at another meeting like this, she shared a little bit of what she was told even though she said she wasn't a traditional person. This is the information she was given. Sand Hill Crane was killed at Sand Creek.

What little we know is general information. As far as personal stories go they come from descendants of survivors, like probably my wife's mother. Most of her family is gone now. Her mother might be able to tell you. Her name is Maude White Skunk. My wife's maiden name was Cynthia White Skunk. They're related to Eddie White Skunk.

[Discussion of the offspring of Black Kettle and Dull Knife and how many people might share the same name. See the final transcripts.]

Mr. Osage: When they had the dedication over here [at Washita], we had some Northern Cheyenne come down. There was five of them and their Hat Keeper was there. They had a powwow. The next day we met with the Arrow Keeper and those people got after us and said “you people are dancing on the graves of your ancestors, our ancestors, and it’s not good.” So that’s why I felt that the integrity of the memorial should be . . . they’ve already gotten after us up there. And because of him being a Suhtai they said “why didn’t we have a part in this.” So we’ll always have that from them up there. They should have some input.

There are three bands of Cheyenne: the Suhtai, Tsistsistas, and Ohmisi. The Tsistsistas are the original Cheyenne. I’m a member of the Scabby band from Watonga. They have 10 bands, seven societies. They did away with three of the societies, they only have four today. Plus the fifth one, the Chiefs society. Joe Osage is a member of the Chiefs society.

It gets more difficult because we can’t find many full-blooded Cheyennes [discussion of Cheyenne membership. See final transcript.]

Q: How do the stories of Washita and Sand Creek continue to define who the Cheyenne people are today?

A: I believe because it happened to our people. Like I related it to the Holocaust. We go back and see how many men were killed in ratio to the women and children. It’s like Wounded Knee. One of the witnesses to that was George Dull Knife, he saw all the bodies. That was that little boy who was left here during the flight home. He was the one that eventually ended up at Pine Ridge and that’s all of his descendants. All those people still speak Cheyenne. Even in Canada there’s some Cheyenne people that must have migrated up there. A lot of our stories come from up north, most of the stuff in books. Our people have been told not to write things about our traditions and our ceremonies. In our way you can only get information if you go through the ceremonies. It’s like with the women, they’re the only ones that make tipis. And there are only certain ones that make certain parts. At one time there was a woman that lived here that made the medallions that go on them. There’s women things and there’s men things. We are not privy to what the women do, it’s not our business to know. So we can’t speak on what women do. It’s like what Laird was talking about with the women’s auxiliary to the Chiefs, the women have their own society. They don’t have any knowledge of that today, it’s all gone.

We are not interested in compensation, we are interested in preserving the memory of our people. A memorial with the names would be good. For both Washita and Sand Creek. The Washita discussions should have started here. This is where all the descendants are from.

Joe suggested interviewing Gerald Panana and Marcella Howlingwolf.

Note: On August 19, we met Bob Standing Water at the Clinton Indian Hospital. He suggested interviewing his aunt, Emma Hart of Hammon. Their relative, Chief Standing Water, was killed at Sand Creek.

Robert Toahy**Kiowa/Arapaho of Colony, OK****Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS and Carolyn Sandlin, NPS****August 20, 1999****Clinton, Oklahoma**

My mother, Lillian Pratt has told me that we are descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre. From what I understand there was only a handful of Arapahos that were with the Cheyennes at Sand Creek. When I was growing up I was told about Sand Creek, but as a young man I didn't really understand about it. You know, you hear about one atrocity against the Indians and you've heard them all. Not really understanding about Sand Creek or Wounded Knee, or any other massacre, I put it aside. In 1978 I went to Wyoming to live, to put together a radio station up on the Wind River Indian Reservation and my nephews, the Ridgely's, had a rock and roll band named Sand Creek. I toured and played with the band as a percussionist and singer for 11 years. After that I started learning about Sand Creek from the Northern Cheyenne and the Northern Arapahos. You hear more about it up there than you do down south. You hear occasional stories about how we're descendants of Sand Creek Massacre. Back three years ago in June 1996, my wife and I were coming back from Canada. We'd been travelling and living in our tipi. We stopped at Sand Creek at about 2:00 in the afternoon. All I saw was this headstone saying Sand Creek Massacre. I told my wife, let's stay for the night. She said OK. We're not really scared of anything since we lived in our tipi. We've heard and seen a lot of things at night. This I thought was really important. I wanted to do this for myself and my wife, she wanted to know where I came from and what my people are like.

I sat there by the trees facing north, about three or four o'clock in the afternoon and could hear about a dozen children up in the trees. You could hear them giggling. Once in a while you could hear a word but it was inaudible, you couldn't really understand what they were saying but you knew they were saying something. Sometimes you could tell if it was a girl or a boy. Later on when it started getting dark I went on down and you could hear old women talking around the trees. There were about five or six of them talking but you couldn't hear what they were saying. They were just out of reach of what you could understand. But it was funny, it was like some places they knew that you were there, other places, walking north up the dry riverbed, it was in another time and place and they really didn't know that you were there. At the time, I didn't know . . . I could sense that something happened to the north. I was facing north around the tree row and I knew that something happened north of where I was standing. So I walked north about a half a mile along the dry riverbed and I'd say about every 30, 40, 50 yards along the rocks there I could feel young warriors and old people looking at me. As it got dark, I didn't feel scared but they were curious about what I was doing there that late at night or by myself. The farther I got north, the darker it got and the more people I sensed. They were younger people that I kept running into. It wasn't on the flatland, but I could still sense that something happened north. I could feel the tenseness, that anxiety, danger for somebody else. In the back of my mind I could feel the sadness. Even driving up there that's all you could feel was the sadness.

After a while it was so dark, it must have been about 9 or 10 o'clock, I wasn't scared of spirits, I was scared of coyotes. There was a band of coyotes gathering southeast of me about a mile and a quarter. You can tell when they're getting ready to hunt because they congregate and make these noises and then they take off. So I figured they were getting ready to hunt. So I wasn't scared of anything else but the coyotes because I was by myself.

About two years ago, my cousin Eugene Ridgely, he lives up on the Wind River Indian Reservation, he did a portrait of the battle on a deerskin for the state of Colorado. We got to talking when I was in Boulder about it. He asked me my insight on it and I told him that the battle scattered, you can go there and just feel it. I'm not a shaman or a medicine person, but I can feel and sense these things. That's one reason why I went out there, to experience it. At Sand Creek, you can go there at any time of day or night and if you close your mind to everything else you can feel the children, where they're congregating and laughing and having fun. The old ladies mostly congregate in the shade. The young warriors congregate in the rocks. That was the experience that I had two years ago. I plan to go back and stay and put my tipi up and make offerings. Hopefully if they want to go on I can give them some prayers.

Q: A while ago you mentioned owls. Were they there when you were there?

A: No. The only animal there was birds, but they stayed away from that one area of the trees. There were children playing up there, so the birds were in other trees farther away. That evening there were coyotes. But that's all I've seen. Arapaho have a fear of owls, but I've had dealings with them. I've had them talk to me on different occasions. I still fear them because they are powerful birds, a powerful species, a powerful nation, but I fear them the way I do a snake. They are a powerful nation. You have to respect them and let them live just like anything else. Owls come around where I live in Colony, but I don't fear them the way other people don't fear them because they are a nation themselves.

Q: When you first got there and walked where were you?

A: I was standing on a ridge. When you first leave that monument and walk north to the ridge . . . as you can see I have artificial legs and support myself with crutches. That hill was a little steep so I walked to the side, to my left about 30 yards and there was kind of a washout area that goes down. Well that's the route I took to the bottom, to the river.

Q: How far up did you walk?

A: About half a mile. I could have walked further but it was dark and if not for the coyotes. I really wanted to keep going north because I could feel that something happened to the north. I want to go back and keep going as far as I can feel the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. I know it's not that far north along the creek because you just have to close your eyes and you can feel where they're at. I know they're scattered all up and down there. A lot of them are stuck in this plane of existence. Because a lot of them were taken before their time and their bones are scattered. The children were just killed out of cruelty and the old people for no cause. It was a genocide, plain and simple.

Q: Where you felt the presence the strongest, or where you really felt the massacre had taken place, are they any landmarks at all?

A: No, there were no landmarks. Just a feeling. There are little rises in the ground. When I close my eyes while walking, it's like a light that's on the top of the earth that's illuminating, but you can't see it. You can feel it but you can't see it. I don't know how to explain it. When you close your eyes, it's not a black background. It's an illuminated background, like a little rise over the earth, like it has a halo or a little dome over it. Sometimes I can't explain it. There's just people there that should have gone on. Sometimes it's horses, or wagon trains, donkeys, not just people [in other places].

Q: Have you always had this ability?

A: No. When I really started to lose fear . . . I always used to be scared. I've seen see things before and they always used to scare me but you know when you're Indian you're brought up this way. It's natural. When I was young and used to see things they scared me and I had to have a light on.

Q: Have you talked to other people about it?

A: I've talked to different elders, Cheyenne and Arapaho. When I first started living in my tipi in Concho some said that's good. Others told me I was crazy. They called me a squatter. I told them I had a good job, a truck, this is the way I want to live. I wanted to find out. You can listen to the elders talk to you but no matter what, I went to Concho and I could feel people coming to me. You could actually see them and they would come to you. I never had any of them speak to me but I could sense that they were saying "what you're doing is alright."

Q: What that your first trip to Sand Creek?

A: Yes. I've been by there a dozen times but I never felt that there was a need for me to stop. Then three years ago I was coming back from Montana and I wanted to come by Sand Creek, because I felt there was a reason I had to go there. I had to find out for myself what happened. And this is before anybody did any kind of research on it. Eugene Ridgely asked me what I thought about it and I told him that they didn't die right there, they died north of there. And he said he thought the same thing. People are scattered at least a mile and a half or two miles from the ridge, but I didn't go that far. But I could feel it inside my heart and my head. I'm not a spiritual person but it's there and I respect it. Everyday people ask me what's happening spiritually. It's happening all around our house. There's people all around our house all the time but we're the only ones there within half a mile.

Q: Is your wife Cheyenne or Arapaho?

A: No, she's an Appalachian Indian. There are no Appalachian Indians. They had a tribe, but she went off to Europe in the 60's to get her degree at the University of Munich and they had tribal land. But when she came back there was no more tribal land. She's from Kentucky. There was a band there and the matriarch was female. She believes in the Indian way, because her grandmother taught her a lot of things. When she met me it was no problem, it's just that she's light skinned and a lot of people don't see her as Indian, but she can make fry bread with the best of them.

Q: Do you know who you are descended from that was at Sand Creek?

A: No, I don't know. I'm descended from Bent too. My mother lives in El Reno and she said the farthest we can track our ancestors back is to Sand Creek. From Sand Creek back is unknown. She told me who it was but the name escapes me. But when I was there, the majority of the people were speaking Cheyenne. It's barely audible. All I could tell was that they were speaking Cheyenne, but not what they were saying. Except their language was sharper and more direct, but barely audible. But I did run into five entities or people that were speaking Arapaho at the massacre site.

Q: When you were travelling back from Canada and decided you wanted to stop at Sand Creek, how did you know where it was?

A: Just looked at the maps. Every year I travel north and every time I came through there . . . one year I caught a bus from Pueblo to Wichita and there was no one else on the bus but me and the driver. And when we got close to it, you could feel it, and you could see that little dome of light, but I didn't say anything to the driver because I knew he wouldn't get it. And you can't tell this stuff to too many people outside your own race because they think you're nuts. My wife sees things, and at first my sister-in-law didn't understand but now she does. It's funny about Sand Creek too, when I was there they were letting me know they were there by the way they were talking. Because I was thinking, you know when you're sitting among Indians, you don't just holler out. You make signs, you don't talk. You just move your hands. My wife is deaf and so we sign. When I was at Sand Creek, after I left, I told my wife they were talking. I can see them, they could see me. If I was there with them and we could see each other, why did they have to talk? They could have signed to each other. I told my wife, Indians don't do that, they should have been signing. After being at the site, it's like they were trying to teach me something. Like "hey don't forget us, we're still here. The old ones and the young ones doing battle and the babies, we're still here." Some of them have gone on and aren't there any more, but some are still there, just scattered up the creek. But from where I was standing, they were straight north.

Q: When Laird showed you the map just now, did anything look familiar from your visit?

A: Yeah, it did. It conjured up all the feelings I had. I kind of lost it looking at that picture. I remembered all the feelings I had while I was there. And you think "what joy did they get out of this [killing]?" They got five dollars a scalp to take them to Denver. When I felt them, they weren't hurting, or sad, or even angry. And I thought "gee, if someone came up to me on the street and slapped me I would be angry" and these people were slaughtered, butchered, and they don't even hold any animosity or anger or hard feelings. They were letting me know they were there to tell a tale. "This is what happened at this time and space, listen to our story." At that time I had no idea what Sand Creek was, other than it was there. You don't listen to the stories till you go feel it and you understand what happened. If you ever go out there, don't do any research on it, just go learn. Don't go with any hard feelings, just an open mind. If you just sit on the ground, put some dirt on yourself. Pick up some rocks, because those rocks will talk to you just like the trees will, and like owls will. The thing about rocks is you have to hold them and listen for along time before you can understand what they are talking about because their time is slow. Humans' time is real fast. That's how I open myself to listen.

Q: Do you have any recommendations about how the site should be managed?

A: Yes, I've been all across this nation, this turtle island and I've seen a lot of places. Our society is based on things we have. Who has the most things in their box. In Arizona, I saw that meteor crater. I had a national park gold card, and they said "that's no good here, this is privately owned land." A guy owned that crater. In other words, in the time we've been here on this earth, the two leggeds have gotten their hands on anything that can be made into a profit. Whose profit? If the park service is going to do something that has to do with Indians, let the Indians decide. Let the Cheyennes and the Arapahos have first say. Just because the big shots in Washington making a hundred thousand or five hundred thousand dollars a year call the shots and then tell the Indians how they're going to do it . . . no. For once, let's not turn this into a Newark, New Jersey cemetery. Fourteen hundred graves and they have a dumpsite on it. Don't do that to Sand Creek. Don't turn it into a scenic area with benches and toilets and running water and signs everywhere. Once in Wyoming on the Wind Reservation they found the skeleton of a prehistoric elephant. And the best thing they did was nothing. They didn't tell anyone. They didn't put up a fence. And it's still laying on the surface of the ground. Not even any tire tracks to it. A fence is made to be broken down. This is a tragedy that happened a long time ago. It is a tragedy for all two leggeds. No other species kills each other for fun except two leggeds. This is our legacy and we have to learn from it. So don't turn it into a national park where people can trample all over it.

Q: So how should it be protected?

A: That's hard. There's lots of issues. The park service could take it over, or the Cheyenne/Arapaho people could take it over, but probably the best thing is for the park service to do it. But don't put walkways in. Let it be left alone to be sacred. Put up maps where you first drive in. Maybe binoculars. But foremost, Cheyenne and Arapaho people need to go over there and put our people to rest before we do anything over there. Let them know they are not forgotten, then we can preserve it as a site. If we find artifacts, good, then we can show them what happened. Cheyenne and Arapaho elders and young people and children need to go over there and understand what happened and make prayers and offerings. Their energy needs to go on to other places. They are reliving the nightmare over and over again.

Bill Wilson

Conversation with Carolyn Sandlin and Alexa Roberts

August 20, 1999

Clinton, Oklahoma

His great-grandmother, Walking Woman Matches (died 1953 approximately 94 years of age), was approximately 4 years old at Sand Creek and 8-10 years old at Washita. She survived that too.

He heard this from his grandmother Minnie Goodbear Wilson and from his father Woodrow "Bull" Wilson.

Suggested interviewing Lawrence Hart of Clinton.

Prepared Statements Or Positions

In addition to the tape recorded and transcribed oral histories, several people prepared written statements or made statements at public meetings which they requested to be included in the oral history report. Mr. Joe Big Medicine provided a written statement on December 29, 1999. Mr. Laird Cometsevah edited the transcripts of his June 4, 1999 oral history interview and submitted it as a written statement on February 28, 2000. Ms. Ruby Bushyhead provided statements to NPS representatives at a public meeting held at the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal headquarters in Concho, Oklahoma on February 17, 2000 and asked that her statements be included in the oral history report. These written and oral statements follow.

Mr. Joe Big Medicine Jr.

**NAGPRA and NHPA Coordinator, Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, (Southern Cheyenne) Tribal Representative for the Sand Creek Project and Vice Chairman for the Traditional Southern Cheyenne Descendants
December 29, 1999**

My name is Joe Big Medicine Jr. My Cheyenne name is Holy Bird. I belong to the Bowstring Society. I'm a direct descendant of Broken Bow who was slain at Sand Creek.

I've heard a lot of stories from elders. One was there was a small forest nearby where young boys would hunt for rabbits for food near the site.

And I met with local people around the area and what was handed down to them was Black Kettle's camp, which was the south bend near the monument on William F. Dawson's property. For myself being out there with the Dick Ellis project and now with the project with NPS, the feeling I got and the sounds I heard is that the Sand Creek Massacre did happen on the Dawson's south bend, and the pits are there too.

My mother, Imogene Black Bear, talked about Sand Creek. One strong statement she made was that you white people will pay for what you did to my grandfather.

I want what the descendants want. We want Colorado Senators to introduce a bill to Congress to purchase all of William F. Dawson's property and to look into land owned by August ("Pete") Kern and turn it into a National Monument and a Cheyenne National Cemetery with a visitors' center with museum.

The massacre didn't happen to any other tribe as a whole. It happened to Cheyennes. Because this was the peaceful village of the 44 Chiefs Societies, today the society in charge is the Southern Cheyenne Bowstring. Part of the village lies on the tip end of Kern's.

George Bent drew a map of the Sand Creek area and Tom Baker took a photo that matches Bents map.

In closing my part of the oral histories, Colorado Congressman Bill Schaffer requested the National Park Service Director to do oral histories. So we do not want any of this project to be a settlement that's between the United States

and the Blood Line Descendants that involves the treaty of the Little Arkansas of 1868, Article VI.

Ha Ho.

(signed)

Joe Big Medicine Jr.

Mr. Laird Cometsevah

Cheyenne Chief

Interviewed by Alexa Roberts, NPS;

Carolyn Sandlin, NPS; Colleen Cometsevah,

Sand Creek Descendant, and David Halaas, CHS

June 4, 1999

Clinton, Oklahoma

Edited by Mr. Laird Cometsevah and re-submitted to NPS, February 28, 2000

[Looking at map of the Sand Creek area]

My name is Laird Cometsevah. I am a Cheyenne Chief. We are looking at an aerial photo map of the Sand Creek area. I was telling them about my Cheyenne way of thinking and what I was told by my family. My father's parents were present at Sand Creek. This Sand Creek, to begin with, was a creek with pools of water, but no running water at the time of the massacre. At that time there was an accumulation of light snow in places. In the early morning hours, you can just begin to see in the morning light. Some young men's duties were to watch the horses, on both sides of Sand Creek. These horses were scattered on both sides of the creek. They didn't group their horses all together, they grouped them according to Clan groups. These two young men, Little Bear and Kingfisher, were the first to see this long line of soldiers coming from the south, moving along Sand Creek like a snake. They first thought it was buffalo, then realized it was an army group of some kind. The soldiers divided into two groups, like a horseshoe, to head off the horse herds on either side of the creek. Then Chivington's soldiers were walking in the center, and they were headed towards Black Kettle's camp. The 44 Cheyenne Chiefs Society, orphans, widows, and the elderly were in this encampment. This is the group they brought down from Smokey Hill to Fort Lyon. They were told to go back to Sand Creek, they were glad and led to believe they would be under military protection. They were told to raise the American Flag, Black Kettle was to raise it with the white flag of truce beneath it to indicate that they were peaceful.

When they were at Fort Lyon, they were also told to surrender all their weapons including pistols, rifles, bows and arrows. But, they said they could not feed themselves without their weapons. They were given back only their bows and arrows. They hunted anything they could: deer, antelope, and sometimes buffalo.

When the troops were attacking Black Kettle's camp consisting of children, women, elders, widows, and orphans and the 44 Chief's Societies, the women, children and elders ran toward the bluff on the west end of the encampment. Some were killed there. Others ran upstream, but didn't get far. Soldiers on horseback caught up with them and they had to dig pits for

protection. These last pits were about one (1) mile north of the southwest corner of South Bend of the Dawson's property.

By tribal law, the 44 Chiefs Societies must protect their people and give their lives so their people can escape. That is why so many of the chiefs were killed. My great-grandfather was a young chief at that time and he ran to where Black Kettle raised the flag. White Antelope and others were there also. The troops opened fire on them. They said the troops came like a horseshoe from the east part of the camp area where it turns back south downstream to the Arkansas River. They came from that direction like a horseshoe and went upstream. The Chiefs stood their ground and the troops concentrated their gunfire on the lodges. Later, people said the bullets sounded like hail hitting the lodges. They fired directly into the lodges knowing that people would still be asleep, especially the elders and young children. As the Chiefs held the soldiers off, the Chiefs slowly moved back. I was told that these young men's duty was watching the horses. Kingfisher and Little Bear, who had gone after their horses early, these two ran back to the camp and warned everyone as best they could that the soldiers were coming. But when the troops got to the east end of where the bend goes back south to the Arkansas river, the camp was attacked horseshoe fashion. When George Bent saw this, he ran west to the high bluff by where the marker is now. He saw that a group of young men was standing there trying to decide what to do. At that point, George Bent mentioned it was about one hundred yards from the encampment. So it meant to me that they were camped all the way over by the bluff by where the marker is and back east. At this bluff is where some elderly women and small children ran to. But, George Bent went on up further north. Just a little distance up north from the bluff where the women and children dug what they call sandpits or rifle pits, but I call them survival pits. They dug in at the middle of the channel. From there the chiefs stood their ground. My great-grandfather said when the troops quit shooting at them the sun was straight up. Somewhere between the bluff and the first sandpit George Bent got shot in the hip, but he survived in the sandpit.

Cheyennes they all belong to family clans, clan groups where all their relatives camped together and each one of them has a name.²²⁴ They each belong to one of these four military societies: Bow String, Elk, Kit Fox, Dog

²²⁴Mr. Cometsevah lists the clans as the following:

Heviksnipahi (Sand Hill) – in the Watonga area

Wotapio -- (Black Kettle)

Hesiometanio (White Antelope) – in the Watonga area

Nako Nitán (Bear Tongue) – in the Watonga area

Oivimana – War Bonnet

Oh ki nie – (One Eye)

Na Mos – (Left Hand [signed the treaty]) – Watonga area

Ta ne vo – (Arapaho [the Cheyenne man]/Buffalo Shedding)

Nak nogis – (Lone Bear)

Suhtai – (Southern, married into Southern Cheyenne. Would have had a similar horseshoe at the North end of camp)

Soldier, and Chiefs Society. The Chief Society being the governing body of the Cheyenne. All the other societies are subordinate to the Chiefs, the governing system of 44 Cheyenne Chiefs. They are the ones that make all the decisions for the Cheyenne Tribe. What ever is decided is enforced by the Bow String Society. They can tear down your lodge, destroy your belongings and kill your horses and dogs, they enforce what the Chiefs decide and dictate.

There would have to have been 12 to 14 horse herds. The horses were trained to return to the owners or the clan that they belonged to. So, when they were attacked the horses ran back to their respective clan group areas. Cheyennes say there were many horses and some of the men were able to get their elderly and children on the horses and that's how some of them escaped. There was one story that was told about one of the fathers who caught one of these horses and he put his son and his daughter on the horse and told them to ride upstream as fast as they could. He told them not to come back and we will find you later. So, the son and daughter ran the horse so fast at full speed that the horse fell with the children. They tried to get the horse up but it was exhausted and couldn't breathe that it swallowed its tongue, smothering itself to death.

The weapons that the Cheyenne had were only bows and arrows. Didn't find too many flint arrowheads, the flints that were found were few. They did find metal arrowheads along with little files they used when they filed the metal arrowheads. But the flint ones had to be acquired somewhere else and the metal ones they made for themselves. My father used to say when they didn't have arrowheads they just sharpened the shaft to a sharp point and it was as effective as an arrowhead. The shaft alone could penetrate an animal or a human being. This type of arrow, shaft alone, were wood and rotted away. But that was mostly all they had, or maybe a tomahawk or one of those long society-type spears. The Cheyennes had to defend themselves against military weapons with only these bows and arrows. We were on Dawson's and Kern's properties, the first area where we found the artifacts, from here on upstream there were really no more artifacts.

The National Park Service is looking for artifacts to justify it as an historical site, but I don't think there's enough evidence of artifacts to justify this area further upstream as an historical site. Regarding the first area on Dawson's property where these lead balls were found, Cheyennes have a different view than other Indians or white men. White men call it a sixth sense, maybe the Cheyennes have an extra sense where they can feel or see spirits or areas where spirits are present. Sometimes they see their ancestors, in daylight or night; they have this extra gift that was given to them by the Almighty. Before going up to this area, Joe Big Medicine, Luke Brady, and I had a feeling. So we put on our red paint and when we put it on that's when we found the area with the 75 musket balls. They were wrapped in cloth originally but the cloth had rotted and disintegrated. Although they were still in a round shape. I saw them dig them out and count them. Anyway, they found them when we put on our paint. Also, east at the Kern's property we did the same thing and that's why they found some more. This is the Indian way of doing things, this is the traditional method. It still works and still has its powers.

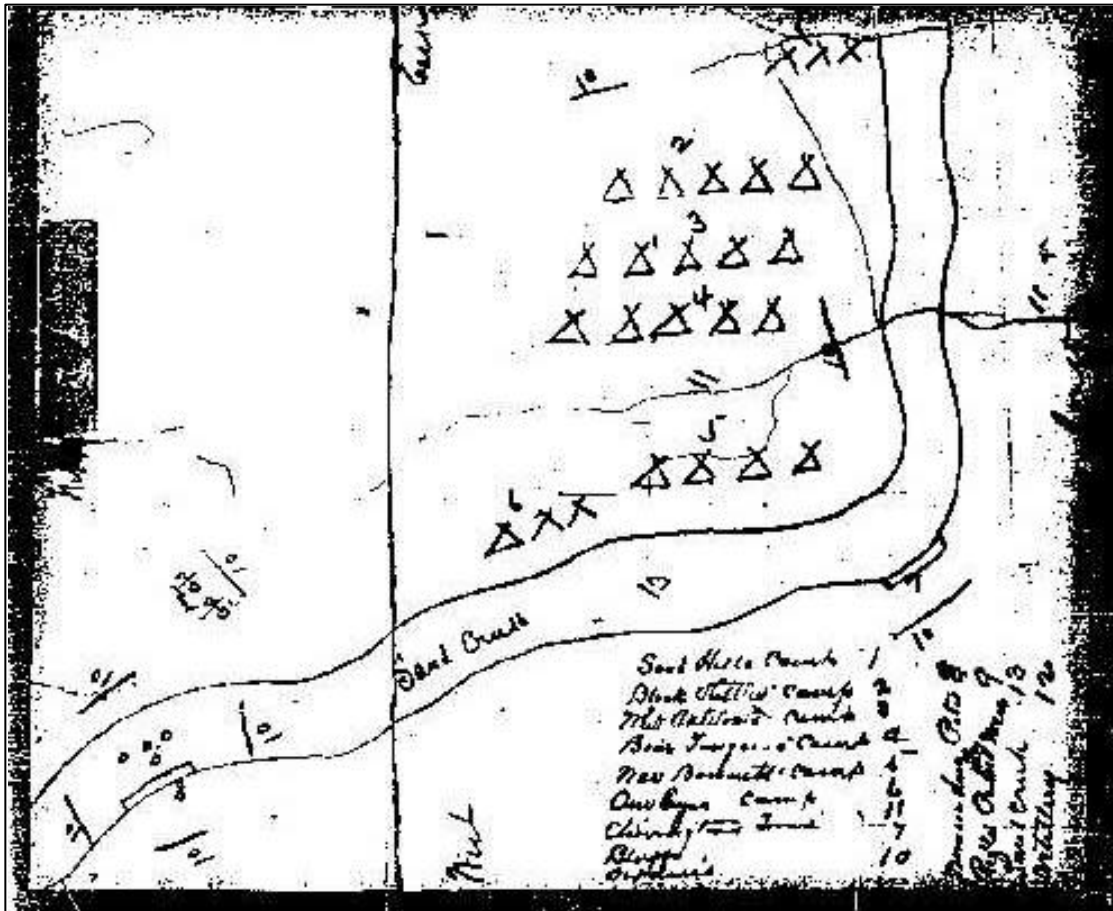


ILLUSTRATION 5-13: George Bent map of the village site. Oklahoma Historical Society

and water, and the Cheyenne would never get sick. But, with the white man we got all kinds of different foods and experienced a lot of health problems. Cheyennes could still get back their health by returning to these kinds of foods.

I said a prayer for the spirits that are still at Sand Creek because of the genocide that was forced upon them. The treaty they made with the Cheyennes and other tribes in 1851 included Denver, Wyoming and other areas. But, when gold was discovered they needed to move the Indians out of the way, so in 1861 they moved the Cheyennes and Arapahos to the Sand Creek area. When the massacre occurred on November 29, 1864, the Cheyennes were on the reservation the U.S. government had given them, and the government condoned all this action resulting in the killing of these innocent people.

Based on George Bent's map, these clan groups (each one is headed by a leader or chief), there are more than these too, each one of these has its own name. From what my father told me, there were no Arapahos at Sand Creek. They had left before this time and had gone downstream, 30 or 40 miles east on the Arkansas River. According to books, after the massacre Chivington went east looking for Arapahos and when he went down the Arkansas he

found their encampment from where they had just moved. These Arapaho ended up with the Kiowas and Comanches. As far as the books go, I disagree that there were Arapahos at Sand Creek. I would rather believe what I was told by my father and what he was told by his mother and grandfather. There were no Arapahos at Sand Creek, my ancestors survived Sand Creek and they knew. That's my way of knowing, through my family. I also disagree that where they found these musket balls was the original campsite of the Sand Creek Massacre. The original campsite was east and west below the present marker on the South Bend.

But, hopefully, what I'm saying today will be of some significance to what this bill requires. I also want to say that this was formerly the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation. It belonged to them, and I would like to see it go back to its original owners of 1861. With these tribal committees to act as trustee in behalf of the tribal members who are Sand Creek descendants. From what I know I think Canyon de Chelly is also like that. When the land goes back to the descendants they can get the Secretary of Interior to buy it back for them. There's already a precedent for that and then it can be leased back to the National Park Service for the upkeep of the historical site.

I also want to say that this project is in no way is related to the treaty with the Cheyenne/Arapaho treaty of 1865 Article 6. This is in no way connected. This is not a settlement of any kind. If my way of thinking is helpful, I hope this helps in some way.

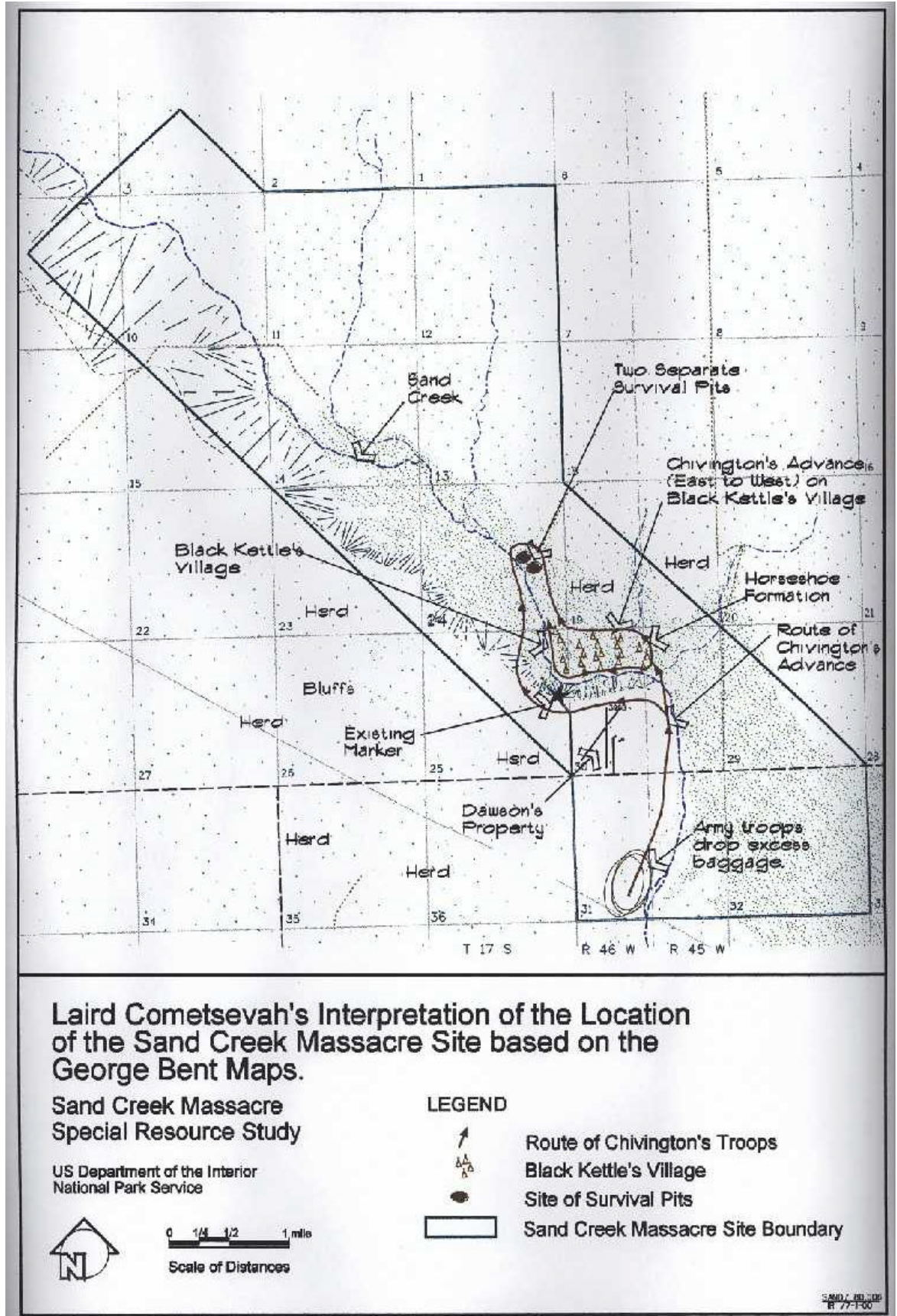
To anyone reading my interview I wish them good health, long life, and a safe journey.

Thank You.

Questions and Answers:

Q: When you were there for the October 1997 fieldwork you were telling me about what you heard.

A: Oh yeah, I forgot to mention. When Richard Ellis did research down there at Sand Creek we were part of it and in the traditional or the Indian way, this feeling that I talked about before. Steve Brady made a cloth offering and he asked me and Joe Big Medicine to help. I was sitting behind this Red Pipe and the prayer is always said first. So we said the prayer and smoked and I got cloth offerings, there were four, and tied them to the trees. When I tied the second one I heard some children crying. I was at a distance from Steve Brady and Joe Big Medicine and I guess at about the same time they heard women running and crying. From where we were sitting it was east of the monument, north side of the creek. The women were running west, toward the monument. Later, after the prayer, we were sitting at the picnic table and we heard the women crying again, we heard them twice. Later that day I told Richard Ellis, he was talking to Gary Roberts and I told him it might be helpful, we heard them crying twice. And Ellis told me not to say anything or



Laird Cometsevah's Interpretation of the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site based on the George Bent Maps.





Sand Creek Massacre Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service



0 1/4 1/2 1 mile
Scale of Distances

LEGEND

-  Route of Chivington's Troops
-  Black Kettle's Village
-  Site of Survival Pits
-  Sand Creek Massacre Site Boundary

SAND CREEK MASSACRE
R 77-1-00

Back of fold-in
blank

not to tell anybody. I thought it would be helpful to verify what he was looking for, but I guess he had his own reason not to tell anyone or put it in his report. But that's what we heard and we saw lots of signs. Animals have meaning. Eagles, antelope, deer, and we saw a badger. Badger is the keeper of the spiritual beings below the earth, and we use badger in our ceremonies. It represents Cheyenne Earth.

Also, in reference to Cheyenne earth, back in 1978, old man Red Hat, former Arrow Keeper, he's now dead. He too made a journey to Sand Creek and he went there and made Cheyenne earth which we use in our ceremonies. When the Cheyenne earth is made it's like reclaiming the land that belonged to us. The Cheyenne earth was made so the Cheyenne would re-own Sand Creek, and that's how the Cheyenne earth was made and its purpose by this Arrow Keeper. I was given the great honor of being the spokesman for Arrow Keepers, a position I still hold. I went through a ceremony and they gave me this great honor until I pass away. Then they will select someone else. But, I am the spokesman for the present Arrow Keeper, by tradition, by this Red Pipe. And that's what I was to the old man that made the Cheyenne earth there. After this last day and we were leaving Lamar on this NPS project, I was loading the car and Joe Big Medicine was helping me and we looked up and saw this great big eagle circling around real low. It was a golden eagle. It climbed straight up till we couldn't see it anymore. Things like that are a good sign.

Q: Could you say some more about water and the spring near the camp?

A: This Sand Creek just had pools. Some were larger and some were deeper but they were scattered all over. Cheyennes only used it for their horses, not for drinking. They always said the water is bitter, so there was a spring my dad said, east-northeast where they would get their water. It flowed down and joined Sand Creek right east of the campsite. And they said that from there on down the water was half way good to drink with the spring water coming in Sand Creek. The first time we flew along Sand Creek we saw that spring fed creek. The Cheyenne always say that these buffalo roamed and followed the same trails over and over and wore them into deep trails. Wherever they would stop to rest in a bare spot they would roll around in it, over and over, and finally springs would bubble up from those spots. The kind of spring at Sand Creek could have been one of those. Cheyennes knew where those springs were and Cheyennes knew this was a good campsite. It was covered with cottonwood trees and willow and sage. These trees are sacred and used in ceremonies. Cheyennes know this place.

My great-grandfather talked about these buffalo trails. One time he was out hunting and he hit a buffalo with an arrow and it was wounded. Blood came out its mouth he kept running straight till it got weak. He chased it on horseback and the buffalo got slower and slower, but before he fell the buffalo attacked his horse and knocked the buffalo to the ground and kept going at the horse and then went after my grandfather. My grandfather got to a buffalo trail and it was deep enough that he could get down in there and the buffalo tried to get him out with his horns but he was in too deep. By then he was covered with blood. Buffalo are very intelligent. Anyway he waited a long time and the buffalo finally died. He waited a long time, but finally the buffalo bled to death. But that's how a spring could get made.

Q: Would the people have gone from these camps way up here [pointing to map, see] to get the water from the spring over here?

A: Yeah, I think the spring was over here [pointing to map]. They probably went down to the confluence of the spring to get the water.

Q: How many lodges would have been together in one clan group?

A: Well, it depends on the size of the family. My grandmother must have been 4 or 5 years old. How those mothers protected their kids, those cottonwoods grow fast and huge, and decay fast too. The centers get soft and hollow and a kid can get in there. One of Colleen's relatives was saved that way. These families each have stories of the atrocities that happened to their family members. That's what stuck in their minds. My dad told me, but it was hard for a lot of our elders to tell these stories because they never did trust anyone again after that. They never trusted white people again .

The Sand Creek Massacre took place November 29, 1864. George Bent was camped and witnessed this atrocity of genocide on a peaceful group of Cheyenne.

He was wounded in the hip and survived in (1) one of the (2) two sandpits that were dug approximately (1) one mile north upstream from the southwest corner of the South Bend of Sand Creek (Dawson's property).

George Bent was half Cheyenne and half white, he was born July 7, 1843 and died May 15, 1918. He lived out his years among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes at Seeger Agency, Colony, Oklahoma.

In 1908 and 1912 George Bent drew (2) two maps of the Sand Creek Massacre that took place on November 29, 1864 with the assistance of survivors of the massacre.

I would like these (2) two George Bent maps included in my interview of June 4, 1999, Clinton, Oklahoma.

HA-HO

(signed)

Laird Cometsevah

Cheyenne Chief

Ms. Ruby Bushyhead

Statements relayed to Barbara Sutteer and Christine Whitacre, NPS

Concho, Oklahoma

February 17, 1999

Ms. Bushyhead stated that according to her family stories, following the Sand Creek Massacre, her ancestors went directly east to meet up with other members of the tribe. Ms. Bushyhead also stated that there was no indication in the stories that her ancestors went north, only east. Ms. Bushyhead stated that the stories suggest that the Sand Creek Massacre took place much farther north than the Dawson South Bend, near the town of Kit Carson, Colorado. She requested this information to be included in the oral history report. Ms. Bushyhead repeated this information in a March letter to Barbara Sutteer (dated March 15, 2000) in which she stated: "Indians/Cheyenne oral

history says the survivors fled east to Smoky Hill. I first heard this from the Cometsevahs. I didn't know Smoky Hill was a river until much later. There was a Dog Soldier camp at the headwaters of the Smoky Hill at the time of the massacre.”

The Oklahoma Historical Society Interviews

References to Sand Creek in the interviews conducted by the Oklahoma Historical Society²²⁵ repeated the family stories about the death or survival of family members, incomprehensibility of the massacre in general, and the lasting legacy it had for the Cheyenne and Arapaho people to the present day. The narrative of Alfrich Heap of Birds mentions specifically the presence and placement of individual groups within the encampment at Sand Creek.

Eugene Black Bear told of his great-grandfather, Strong Bow, and his grandfather, Black Bear, and how they escaped from Sand Creek before the shooting started. He believes they may have been camping way on the west side of the encampment when Chivington attacked and were able to escape before the soldiers got that far. His grandfather, Black Bear, a young boy at the time of the attack, was thought to have died from the cold during the family's flight and they were preparing to quickly bury him in the sand and go on. He was saved by a break in the clouds allowing the sun to shine on his body and reviving him. Mr. Black Bear believes that the massacre at Sand Creek, followed by the massacre at Washita, ultimately lead to Custer's death at Little Bighorn. He also stated that there was a Kiowa woman present at Sand Creek who had been captured and kept by the Cheyennes and that later she had Cheyenne children, so that effectively there are no Kiowa descendants of Sand Creek.

William Fletcher is a descendant of William Bent, and related a story that superimposed the massacres at Sand Creek and Washita. Although he describes the attack as being carried out by Custer, the description of the attack and Black Kettle's raising of the flag is that of Sand Creek. Mr. Fletcher questions the descent of people today from Black Kettle because it is said that Black Kettle had no children. Mr. Fletcher played a tape of songs about Sand Creek and Washita.

Sam C. Hart stated that his grandmother knew stories of both Sand Creek and Washita but was reluctant to tell them because she said that those were times of terror and remorse for the tribe and the stories are better forgotten than being repeated.

Alfrich Heap of Birds described the song that White Antelope was singing when he was shot down at Sand Creek. The song is still in existence and is still sung. The song refers to death, and includes the words "Death is upon us and nothing exists but the rocks and the mountains." Mr. Heap of Birds also described the order of the camps at Sand Creek: "I do know that Chief Sand Hill camped on the east side, the next camp to him was old man Arapaho Left

²²⁵See earlier discussion of the OHS project. See also *Final Report: Conduct Oral History Research for Washita Historical Site*, by Mary Jane Warde, Oklahoma Historical Society, September 1999, on file, National Park Service, Washita Battlefield National Historical Site.

Hand, and the next camp to Left Hand was Black Kettle, and then...there was six groups of camps; the last camp was War Bonnet, and so each of those, course they had other chiefs with each group.²²⁶

Larry Roman Nose described the survival of his paternal great-grandmother, Standing. He emphasized that before the massacre, the Cheyenne people were mobile, but were organized by societies. Each move was well planned so that certain groups were camped in various places and the whole tribe did not move or camp together. His relatives were in the group camping at Sand Creek when it was attacked. At the time of the attack, some of the older people were able to grab some of the young children and hide them under the river banks. His great-grandmother Standing was one of those that survived that way. Eventually they were able to make their way to other groups. Man On Cloud was one of the ones that helped save the children. That's how the story has been passed down and that's how he learned it.

William Sage describes himself as Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and part Hispanic. He is a descendant of his maternal great-grandparents, Ed Hadley and Man Stand, who were Cheyenne survivors of Sand Creek. His grandmother told him about what her mother, Man Stand, told her about what she remembered as a young girl at the time of the massacre. They had been camped there and had young boys as sentries because all the men were away from camp, except the older men, along with women and children. When they saw the soldiers coming, they oldest group of boys rode their ponies straight into the group of oncoming soldiers, armed only with their bows and arrows. When they were killed, the next oldest group rode into the cavalry and was also killed. The youngest boys then rode back to the camp and everyone was running and one of the boys rode by at a full gallop and grabbed Man Stand by the hair and that is how she was saved. After that they joined some others who had escaped and they all eventually joined other groups.

Grover Turtle's maternal grandmother was shot at Sand Creek but survived. She carried the scar on her arm and showed it when she told the story. He did not know her English name or what her Cheyenne name meant in English, but she was married to Little Calf, Grover Turtle's maternal grandfather. She told how she was playing when they first saw the soldiers coming and it was too late to get to the horses. The shooting had already started. So they ran and fell in a ditch and threw enough brush over it to hide in. From there they could see the women and children being raped and killed, lying around, blood everywhere. Somewhere during the chaos a stray bullet hit in the left arm, just above the elbow. She carried that scar all her life and cried when she told the story.

Lucian Twins did not specify that he had relatives present at Sand Creek, but growing up with his grandfather who was the Arrow Keeper for many years, he heard stories about Washita and Sand Creek many times. Although he was no longer certain if it was Washita or Sand Creek, he particularly remembers hearing that Black Kettle had been given an American flag and a flag of truce that would protect them from attack. When the soldiers arrived, White Antelope went out unarmed to negotiate with them but they shot him on the spot. The soldiers went into the village without acknowledging the American

²²⁶C Compare with the clan group information provided by Laird Cometsevah.

flag or the flag of truce. The village was inhabited only by the elderly, women and children because the young men were gone, and the Indians had only their bows and arrows “. . . and I guess the spirit. That’s no match against the rifle.”

Melvin Whitebird is Cheyenne on his father’s side and Cheyenne and Arapaho on his mother’s side. His grandmother (great-grandmother?) was at Sand Creek and her parents were killed. They were Kiowa. She survived, and after the massacre was raised by a Cheyenne family. They named her Kiowa Woman, but she was enrolled as a Cheyenne. She had an allotment, the Kiowa Woman allotment, two miles west of Watonga. As an adult, she had a child with a Union soldier of Irish descent by the name of Charles Thompson. He does not know why there was a Kiowa family staying with the Cheyennes at Sand Creek, but they were there (see Eugene Black Bear, above).

Carol Whiteskunk identified herself as a descendant of Sand Creek at least on her father’s side. Terry Wilson is a descendant of Bear Tusk and of Dull Knife (or Morning Star). Lucille Youngbull is Cheyenne and Sioux, and is a descendant of Sand Creek, Washita, and Little Bighorn. Her maternal grandparents were Horse Road and Bear Woman and her great-grandparents were at Sand Creek, Washita, and Little Bighorn. Stories of those events were passed down but they were meant to be given to her and not to be told further. She did emphasize that while Cheyenne camped together with Siouxs, it would not have been possible that they would have camped together with Arapahos.

Northern Cheyenne Stories

(Note: The following narratives are transcribed from taped conversations and notes. Although the English-language transcripts are transcribed as closely to the original as possible, they are not verbatim transcriptions. Formal, verbatim transcriptions are under contract and in preparation. The Cheyenne-language transcripts are verbatim.)

Nellie Bear Tusk

January 22, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Bee Red Woman and Alexa Roberts

Note: The following excerpts of Mrs. Bear Tusk’s stories are those that pertain to Sand Creek, although she spoke of many other things.

Nellie Bear Tusk: You know, the old people have a saying, before you begin telling these stories the sun has to be behind, before you start telling the story. You start telling it towards evening when the sun is down and that’s when my grandmother used to tell these stories. I was just nine years old, that’s when she used to . . . well, you know, you don’t get to hardly listen. We used to play and all my uncles were always there or my cousins to listen to my grandma tell the story about Sand Creek, and I just caught on here and there you know. But my brother knows the full story of it.

Alexa Roberts: Nelson?

Nellie Bear Tusk: No, Bill. I imagine Linwood [Bill's son] would have some copies of that story, I really don't know. Being the only girl in the family you know I wasn't that much closer to my brothers after they all got married, you know. I was the only girl in the family.

The beginning of it, she would always cry when she told that story, and I always wondered why she cried. That was when I was about eight or nine years old. I always wondered, and then when I started growing older I began to realize what she went through seeing all her people getting killed and stuff.

Each evening she would start telling us the story about Sand Creek. I was just a little girl then and I didn't hardly catch on all of it, but I'll tell what I can remember. She used to say that when they got attacked the men tried to protect them and told the women to take off, children and old men, and my grandfather was one of the protectors trying to protect them. And when my grandfather was still there waiting for all of them to get away my grandfather was using a bow and arrow trying to keep them soldiers back and he got wounded, I don't remember if it was the right or left arm and afterwards they took off. He started taking off to follow the people, and there was a little boy walking around there that got left, he grabbed that little boy and took off with him. And when they were running they heard a whole bunch of horses coming, they thought the soldiers were catching up with them and here it was a stallion leading a whole bunch of horses. And it stopped for those people and those people went and grabbed whatever horses they wanted to get on. And after they got on them horses that stallion took off again and led the horses and went like he went to hide them somewhere where they couldn't find them. From there I don't know where they ended up, that was all I picked up and I never bothered to ask my grandma to tell me that story again after I grew up. I thought it wouldn't be that important again later in life. But my brother Bill, two of them are gone, Joe and Henry, and they know them stories real well. My mother used to tell me, she said towards the end after everything was settled my grandma used to say that there was going to be money involved. Pay back, you know, to what ever people were in on it, relatives and heirs, and she said I'll probably be dead by then and your mother will probably be dead, and then she said maybe yourself will be gone before this money ever comes. But always tell your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren so they'll know. That's what she was always telling me.

Alexa Roberts: What was your grandmother's name?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Ellen. Ellen Heap of Birds Brady. And my grandfather was Arthur Brady.

Alexa Roberts: And it was your grandmother and grandfather that were actually there at Sand Creek?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Yes.

Alexa Roberts: Who were their parents?

Nellie Bear Tusk: I have no idea, they were just now, you know, coming from Oklahoma. I don't know her parents but her maiden name was Heap of Birds.

Alexa Roberts: And was she a little girl then or was she older?

Nellie Bear Tusk: No she was in her teen years, because they were already together, my grandmother and my grandfather.

Alexa Roberts: Who was your mother?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Mary Brady Tall Bull.

Alexa Roberts: This was your mother's parents?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Yes

Alexa Roberts: Do you know, who they camped with? Were they with a particular group of people?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Well, I don't know, I've never listened to my grandfather that much, but they were always camping with Chief Little Wolf that I remember. At that time it wasn't a tribe, they were just clans.

Alexa Roberts: I've heard other people mention stories about horses coming back to the people that own them. That's amazing.

Nellie Bear Tusk: Yeah, you know, if I knew, I would have had my grandma tell me everything, you know. But she was a medicine woman. She doctored people and also my grandpa was a medicine man. And I used to carry her medicines for her whenever she got called on to doctor a person. And she was the only one who knew how to heal cancer. I guess they had it then, you know, around like on the neck you know, and she was the only one who knew how to cure it. I should have learned about her medicines still. Maybe I could have been a well-known curer of cancer. She could cure cancer and there are a lot of stories about her and the people she cured.

My grandfather was a Medicine Chief. He was wounded under the arm. And then the second one that took place here at Bighorn he was wounded in the leg. That took place afterwards, and my grandmother just about had her baby when that happened at Little Bighorn.

She was pregnant with her first child?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Yeah.

Alexa Roberts: Do you know when they passed away?

Nellie Bear Tusk: No I don't remember, it was a long time ago. I know I was trying to go to school down in Lawrence, Kansas and I got called back. My grandma must have died. I can't remember the year though. I think it was 1947 when she died, August or September.

Alexa Roberts: When were you born?

Nellie Bear Tusk: January 25, 1929

[Mrs. Bear Tusk talks about her birthday and celebrating it with her daughter in Las Cruces, New Mexico.]

Alexa Roberts: Did your grandmother ever tell you anything about how they lived back then? Like how they got their food and water?

Nellie Bear Tusk: Well when they were still in Oklahoma, when they didn't want them to leave there, these men would go out and hunt and my grandfather always said that it would take three or four days to find

something. Mostly what they would find is these wild pigs, you know, and my grandfather was on horseback, they were going into these bushes you know, and here one of those pigs shot out from the bushes and scared his horse. He fell off and fell right onto one of those big cactus, right on his back and he had a hard time getting those big needles out of his back. He said “I would just scream.” He said that by the time they got back to Oklahoma the meat would be spoiled because there was nobody along to cure the meat while they were gone. I believe they would go as far as New Mexico.

[Mrs. Bear Tusk talks about some things that happened to her grandfather while traveling in New Mexico]

Alexa Roberts: Have you ever been to Sand Creek?

Nellie Bear Tusk: No, just to Denver. But my brother Bill knows that place real well

Alexa Roberts: Did he ever say what it looked like?

Nellie Bear Tusk: The reason why he was protecting these sacred sites, you know, that was one of them he was trying to protect. He said, “when you go to a real sacred site where people got killed, like Fort Robinson, you can feel their presence, their spirits.” He said when you go out at night and sit you can hear them moan and cry. He said, “I always have my pipe ready and smoke sweetgrass.” He can feel the presence of anything, wherever there’s a sacred site.

[Mrs. Bear Tusk talks about other things William Tall Bull experienced at sacred sites, and many other adventures her relatives experienced over the generations.]

Mr. and Mrs. William Gardener

January 24, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Mr. and Mrs. William Gardener, Luke Brady, Alexa Roberts

Translated from Cheyenne to English by Luke Brady, February 11-12, 2000

One minor editorial change made by Mr. Gardener on February 18, 2000

Alexa Roberts: Is it okay to use the information you provide in the report to Congress? [translated by Mrs. William Gardener]

William Gardener: I can only tell you what I heard, anything else I can’t speak on. I’m going to speak Cheyenne because I don’t know all the English words. The way I’ve heard it is the way I’m going to speak, but I don’t know anything before that [Sand Creek]. I don’t know if the stories are truth or lies but I don’t question their validity because that’s the way I heard them.

During those times [Sand Creek] things were unstable, frightening.

[Translator’s note: referring to the fact that before the military, other than wars with other tribes, things were peaceful, until the military intrusion. Then things became frightening.]

[Translator’s note: Mr. Gardener discussed in Cheyenne the conflicts caused by a variety of writings, like the interviews that were conducted in the 1960s by the Southern Cheyennes. He stated that he had been interviewed in the

1960s when the Southern Cheyennes were doing research on Sand Creek for reparations. They conducted these interviews and Mr. Gardener doesn't even know what became of them, and then we come along and do it again. He said too many individual projects confuse things.]

But it's good that you are doing this. You are doing a good job with how you are approaching this. Otherwise no one will talk about this. If we don't do anything ourselves it will be forgotten. Like all the black people that came from across the ocean and got killed; they have already been paid.²²⁷

Others must have already given a lot of stories. I'm not going to talk about a lot of unnecessary things, I'm just going to tell the story, other people have already given their stories. That's the way it should be. There are a lot of things [intellectual property] that belong to us and as time goes on these things will be talked about again and again and our rights should always be fought and argued for. Others always come and take things away from us, even those people that are relatively new to the country [today, relative to the past], they come in and take what belongs to us and cheat us out of it. We owned a lot of land, they come in and fight over these things that belong to us and we get cheated out of these things. They even take our children too. The white people keep them and our children don't learn what they should learn. When kids return from placement with white families they don't know how to be who they need to be.

Now I will go into my story.

My name is Willie Gardener. I changed it from William Big Foot. This person from that time who I am going to talk about, this woman is my mother. This woman, her father's name is Old Scabby. This man, Old Scabby, his father is Herbert Rising Fire. That man was over there where they killed a lot of our people. Sand Creek, they escaped from there. Rising Fire and Head Swift. For some reason, from sheer luck, they escaped and walked on into another Cheyenne camp. Right there in the story I don't know who the parents of my grandfather and grandmother were, but they were killed. But he [their son, Rising Fire] was 13 [years old] as far as I know at that point in the story. But over here [Montana] I went through the enrollment, I traced it back and he was telling the truth. He was that old at that time, thirteen. He told that story and in Billings I found some papers and he told that story that way. My wife and I, we went back to look for that paper and we never found it again, but maybe sometime it will turn up again. That's the way we know it. We are from this man that was from those people that were killed. The people from Birney are from the people that were killed at Sand Creek. This woman, my wife, her mother's brother was named Red Wolf. The Strange Owls are also from that side of the family. My wife's grandmother is White Buffalo Woman. Just from the way I understand it, there are quite a few women that have that same name, even with the Southern Cheyenne. I'm not too sure if that is the original wife of Black Kettle, my great-grandmother. There are some other women that have that name White Buffalo Woman from over there [Southern Cheyenne] so I don't know if that's the original [White

²²⁷Mr. Gardener may have been referring to issues such as that discussed in a recent opinion piece in the *Montana Kaimin* regarding reparations to Black victims of the 1921 Tulsa, Oklahoma race riot, *Montana Kaimin*, February 8, 2000, courtesy, Luke Brady.

Buffalo Woman] but I do know that my great-grandfather [Rising Fire] escaped from over there [Sand Creek]. His name is Rising Fire but his Indian name is [in Cheyenne]. This man, Head Swift, I know him by name but I don't really know about him. This man, Head Swift, Birney is where they're from.

Question to Mrs. Gardener: Isn't that the place that he's from? Isn't that their names?

Mrs. Gardener: Yes.

Mr. Gardener: I've tried to look around for that name in Oklahoma, but the name only exists up here. I'm not too sure, but maybe that's the man. My great-grandfather is Big Foot. My dad's name is David Big Foot and his dad's name is White Big Foot. White Big Foot is the original Big Foot. His name is either Edward or William Big Foot. That's my great-grandfather. At that time, Sand Creek, he must have been about 35 years old or somewhere in there. At that time his daughter [Small Woman] was married to one of the people that was killed, one of the Cheyennes, but they were from down south. But I've got the records. From there I know my dad's side. My dad took the papers about Big Foot's daughter back down to Oklahoma, because her husband was from Sand Creek [and his people are from Oklahoma]. Big Foot had three wives. One was Pipe Woman, one was Kills Night Woman, and one was Mean She Bear . . . She Bear Woman. Some of his family still lives in Oklahoma. She Bear Woman [died in Oklahoma in the early reservation years]; Kills Night Woman or [I mean] Pipe Woman was killed at Fort Robinson. [Kills Night Woman died in Montana after 1884]. And his son was killed over there too [Ft. Robinson], Charging Bear. That's my grandfather. Another woman, his [Big Foot's] daughter, was killed too; three of them. I've got papers on them. They were killed at that time. I went over to Ft. Robinson, his name is there, Charging Bear, son of Pipe Woman.

[Mr. Gardener speaks about Fort Robinson briefly and refers to the Cheyenne names of creeks and rivers throughout Cheyenne country from Montana to Oklahoma and Mexico.]

They had all the Indian names, Cheyenne names, before there were maps. That's the way I know it to be true. They knew where they were at at that time, and they knew what happened. They could remember, they got good minds, they knew what happened, what went on when everybody was still alive . . . butchered or something like that. But they weren't liked by the white people because they want the land from them. They want to get that land. They can't get it in a good way so they killed them off. I don't think it's right – we're preached from right and wrong. To me, that was wrong to kill off somebody for itself just to get rid of them, because God put Indians on this earth to live. He gave them this land to live on. I think they were doing wrong to us. They almost killed every one of us. Just a few of us left. I am a full blood Cheyenne. Full blood. Maybe I'm just one of the few that's here, but I want to keep it so that Cheyennes can live long. I'm related to almost all of you, like your dad [addressed to Luke Brady]. The way that I know it, we're all related from those old people back then. Because it's this way, Sand Creek, these are the people who are directly involved in that. That property, they were killed for it. Horses and them . . . tipis were burned down, they even

showed that they were peaceful like. They even raised the American flag. They tried to stop them in every way they could stop them. They didn't keep their word. They killed a lot of them with extreme, destructive gunfire. Even after they were killed, the still butchered them and cut their heads off. It's wrong to do that. The only way you can do that is to animals, maybe, but we're human beings. I don't think it's right. I think God was helping us at that place, at that time. I think the government should pay us. We weren't bothering anybody. We were trying to live. And even I know that chiefs don't go for bothering anybody, they always talk. They're always taught not to bother other people. That's the old way, the Cheyenne way, you don't take things away from the elderly, the disabled. That's the Cheyenne way, you help out. You help them. Another thing, you don't just kill somebody right off just because you need . . . that's different. You have to know of they're friendly or something. That's what I understand. That's what I understand.

Those are the things I used to hear a long time ago. That's where we're from. Like yourself [to Luke Brady], from the ones who remember it. That's the way I heard it and I think it's real good that you contacted me and you are working on it. We should keep it [the land], the Sand Creek descendants, or something. There you have it, that's the way I know it.

I'm a full blood Cheyenne, I just changed my name. I guess it wasn't even legal, I just found out about 1980 that I was going by Gardener. I had to go back to court to make it legal. Over there when I was in the service, I got disabled. I tried to get pension and I was under Big Foot and there was no way to receive it. I had to prove that I changed my name. I had to go back to court and that's how we straightened it out, I got papers for it. Big Foot used to be my name. The reason why I changed it, I was going to go to that relocation. You know we're looked down on everyplace we go because of the skin of the Cheyenne, of the Indian and the name, either they make fun of us once they know we're Indian and we don't have a chance to get a job out there. So you almost have to do something to get an equal chance for a job or anything. That's what happened. That's why we changed it. It was because I was trying to get a job for us, for my family to live, to support myself. That's why all these names were changed. Like her [Mrs. Gardener], she was named King. Back in the old days they probably had a different name. That's probably the reason they changed their name too.

I have some writings [documents], I won't bring them just yet but if they're going to be used here I'll bring them later. Over there [regarding Sand Creek] the interpreters Smith and Bent, they got the land for interpreting for the Cheyennes. They got some land for it over there, in Colorado. I don't know how many acres. Maybe some money too. How come they can't pay for the people that were killed, what they plundered, what they owned. How come the government can't pay for it, they were already paid, they were just interpreters over there at that time. They gave them land. There you have it. I think another one is Powers, or I don't know, George or Smith. I read some papers, that's the way I know it. I'll look for those papers, it's written in there. We'll take a look at them and what land was given to them, and money that was given to them. Money got sent to the Southern Cheyenne, I don't know the amount. There was a lot of confusion over the money. There were only a certain few who wanted it for themselves. Money was then sent back to the

Treasury Department and people were not allowed to speak of it again. The money must still be there. Maybe there will be a large sum given out. Why haven't they sent anything here? And another thing, anyway we're from there [Sand Creek] too. I've come to know on my own that I'm from there and you [to Luke Brady] must know you're from there, what happened and the things you were told. Like this one [Mrs. Gardener], she's on the papers of the Southern Cheyenne. They already wrote themselves down for an amount of money. Another thing, Living Bear is the woman's name . . . down there [Oklahoma] there's a whole long list of names, there's a lot of them, the ones that are from there [Sand Creek]. They have papers, up here we're behind on our paperwork. If someone can work on this and look into this for the descendants maybe we'll be able to receive some money. If there is some way, they could be included back on the list. Anyway, realizing we're not going to get money from anywhere else. The white man should pay that. We [the Cheyenne people] all still feel the loss and have absolutely nothing. We've got nothing right now. I'm living on a fixed income. We're poor. The government should pay us for what happened. Maybe I'll get a little bit cause I just barely make ends meet. I'm tired of eating one thing for two days. Maybe that's why I get sick, from not eating the proper food I should have. Or maybe all the kids over here. The other thing is that the Cheyenne kids don't go to school, the ones that have this color skin. They don't have much of a chance, somebody takes things away from them. Need to do something so they can help themselves, support themselves, get education or something. Maybe the government should help. What they've done to us over there, at least the descendants. That's the way I know it. Over there, the Southern Cheyennes already know how to go about it. Even people from over there, different tribes, they're trying to claim . . . but the people that were killed there we know they were specifically Cheyenne speaking only, the way that I'm speaking right now. The language I'm speaking now the people have rights to claim over there whatever they done to us wrong. Different tribes got their own language, some of them are trying to claim but we're the original Cheyenne. We haven't lost our talk, I can count to one thousand in Cheyenne, count.

That's what I want to say. I hope this will help . . . For the ones who have this language, that are Cheyenne speaking, they should be allowed to speak Cheyenne. So that they can help us in the right way for the way our language is spoken to each other. When someone else comes along to gather stories from people talking, there's no way they can even begin to know how to do it right. For the ones who speak English, they wouldn't even know how. When a person speaks Cheyenne, he knows clearly and understands exactly what he is saying. That's all I need to say. I have said what I wanted. That's all I have to say about over there in the way I've been told about those days and times. You [all that you represent, everyone that is working on this] are doing a very good job at this. That's the way I know it and that's the way it is. There's a whole lot of things about this and I might have forgotten some things. Maybe later on I'll remember some more things. Maybe I'm taking up a lot of your time.

[Mr. Gardener briefly discusses White Buffalo Woman and the unclear descent of the Southern Cheyenne from her because of various other women having the same name, and his descent from Big Foot and their relatives.]

One other thing I forgot to mention: There was a place in time, a long way back in time, who knows exactly how many years upon years of how far back it was. There was a whole lot of them that died, these Men of the Clouds [Arapahos]. There must have been something that they lost a lot of lives from, the men, and there was only a small group of women. They were moving camp and they came upon the Cheyenne. The message was relayed to possibly the chiefs or the societies that they came seeking some kind of support, the coverage of their strength. They were afraid of other enemy tribes at that time. The Chiefs gave their blessing and the societies that had the authority at that time gave their approval. We can go ahead and protect them. We'll help them out and we'll fight for them, along side them. But the only thing, downstream a way, that's where you'll camp. That's what they were told, those Men of the Clouds. They were told that for whatever reason they lost their men we didn't want to jeopardize our own men. Maybe it was a sickness or some other kind of unseen force. And since that time on, that law has always been that way, that they camp downstream. They never did camp together, it was always a ways out. They would camp below on the river or where the creek was running. They were scared of them because . . . the men died off for some reason, maybe they got sick with some sickness, I don't know. But they were scared of that sickness, they made it . . . the societies made them camp below so many yards, maybe a mile away from them, that was the law like at that time. But at this place in time, Sand Creek, I'm kinda mixed up about that [law]. If that was the law, how come they were right in the middle of camp at that place in time? They should be camped down stream, Cloud Men. I'm not clear on that but that's what I heard. That's what I know from back then, from the old people. Why would the old people say that if it wasn't true? That's the thought in my mind. That thing, I wanted to tell that. Maybe there's someone who might or might not know. I just wanted to say that again, but I'm not clear on that. I don't know if that's true, but who am I to question. That's probably exactly the way it is, but that's all I want to say again.

[After the tape was turned off Mr. Gardener had additional details he wished to add regarding the escape of Rising Fire and Head Swift]

Rising Fire and Head Swift, one of them was wounded pretty bad, in the leg, I think. One of them, Rising Fire or the other one, those guys barely got to the other camp. It took them so many days to reach the other camp. There were both wounded but they barely escaped [in time]. One was wounded here [pointing to his leg], from being fired upon. That's the way I know it. But they got well when staying at the other camp. They got healed up. They must have helped them somehow, through traditional doctoring.

Ray Brady

January 23, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Luke Brady, Alexa Roberts, Shirley Brady

Alexa Roberts: [explaining the purpose of the project and introducing Mr. Brady]



ILLUSTRATION 5-14: Ray Brady, Northern Cheyenne Tribe, with a painting of his grandfather Braided Hair. *Alexa Roberts*

Ray Brady: All I know is what my grandfather told in the stories. I was told to listen to him when he talked about this to other people. So I don't know them other details about the battle but this story starts with the morning attack by the troops of Chivington. It happened real early in the morning and my grandfather had just gotten up, hadn't even started the fire. He got up first thing he thought of was his rawhide rope. He was more concerned about his wife who was pregnant at that time with my oldest uncle. My grandfather run out of the tipi and it happened that the horse were running by the tipi so he roped one of the horses, he stopped it, brought it to his tipi, and told my grandmother to get ready, she was going for a ride out of the battle. My grandmother got ready while he was fixing the horse, got her on a horse and told her to go back the direction where the horse went and she did. She caught up to the horses and this is how she got through the lines in the midst of these horses going through the battle. And my grandfather went back into

the tipi, grabbed his weapons, bows and arrows and maybe rifle that he had, which he didn't tell me, but anyway he came out, starting to fight his way out of the battle. And one main thing he tells about, the incident that happened while he was fighting his way out, there was a blind man with a medicine pouch, carrying it in the back, and the old man was blind, and a little kid was guiding him to safety. And my grandfather stopped by to care for the old man and he got wounded while doing this, got hit in the elbow. But then he had to get away because he was bleeding, and left the old man. He didn't know if he was killed or what but he left the old man there and fought his way out of the battle with a wounded arm, and he got away. He tells about where the survivors gathered, at a little hill. When I got to Sand Creek that's the first thing I looked for was a little hill and I could never see it, any hill nearby. But later on when these people were looking for the site, they eventually saw this little hill which they said was approximately eight miles north of the battle site. So I agree with that. They had to get quite a way away for the survivors to get organized in case there was another battle. So they were organizing there at that hill and these horses I guess were pretty scared themselves because they all run to their people, where they belonged. And they run to this hill and my grandmother was with this bunch of horses. And when she got there they roped the horse and got her off and eventually my grandfather got there later on. Of course he was wounded and then they escaped. They decided to escape out of the area completely. And that I didn't know . . . he didn't finish the story, or maybe that was the end of the way he wanted to tell about it. That's it. That's all I know.

Alexa Roberts: Can I ask you some questions?

Ray Brady: Yes.

Alexa Roberts: When they found that little hill was it north or upstream or . . . ?

Ray Brady: It was north of the battlefield.

Alexa Roberts: And did your grandfather mention the name of the blind man?

Ray Brady: Yes, well no he didn't understand why he was carrying a bundle. See they have our covenant down there and its arrows. They're all carried in a bundle in case of battle or something. And that he didn't know.

Alexa Roberts: He didn't know if that bundle was the arrows or not?

Ray Brady: No, that's right. He didn't know. That's why he stopped but you know they were attacked, and they just couldn't ask too many questions you know.

Alexa Roberts: What were your grandparent's names?

Ray Brady: Arthur Brady and Ellen Brady.

Alexa Roberts: Did he mention anything about digging out survival pits in the sand and hiding in them?

Ray Brady: That he never did. See I was in and out of the tipi where they were telling those stories and they chased me back in there. It's a good thing I got to hear all of the story. But it's good that they chased me back into that

tipi, I was glad for that. I was running in and out of that tipi trying to hide or something.

Alexa Roberts: So your grandmother was not wounded?

Ray Brady: No. She was pregnant, ready to have the baby; later on after that he was born so that's how I remember how many years ago that battle took place. That was my oldest uncle, Charles Whistling Elk. See when they give them white names, they use their Indian name as a last name. And Brady, they made an Irish name out of it. See my grandfather's Indian name is Braided Hair. That's why we got the white name.

Alexa Roberts: So when did you go and see the Sand Creek site.

Ray Brady: Gee, I don't remember those years. But I lived in Denver for seven years. And my sister lived there, so we went down there to visit the battle site. And when I got to the site, see I've been to combat in WWII. And after I got out of the car and I looked around there, no wonder these guys got shot off. Who wants to fight in flat land like this, you know? And I mean, there's no place to hide.

Alexa Roberts: Do you think they weren't worried about fighting because they had...

Ray Brady: Well, they were told to go camp in this area and given this flag that they were safe in case they were attacked by troops all they would have to do is put up the American flag and the white flag underneath. And he did this and they still attacked.

Alexa Roberts: So when you went to visit the Sand Creek site, how did you know where it was?

Ray Brady: Well my brother-in-law had been down there before and he just took me down there. His name is Arthur Young Bear.

Alexa Roberts: Do you remember what year that was?

Ray Brady: Gee, this happened . . . Shirley do you remember when I left? That's my oldest daughter. I left the family, broke it up. Just lost my family through drinking, so I had to leave here and I went to Denver. That's why I spent my seven years down there.

Alexa Roberts: So was there a monument there?

Ray Brady: There was a monument there, that old monument that they made there? When was that made, do you remember?

Alexa Roberts: I think it's been up since at least the 50's

Ray Brady: Well I came home in 1946 and I spent a few years here on the reservation, so I'd say between 1950 and 1960.

Alexa Roberts: And was it common knowledge about where the Sand Creek site was at that time? Did most Cheyenne people know about it?

Ray Brady: Well Arthur knew about the monument and where he thought it was, and we noticed the creek coming up, it had trees, and the road went around these trees. Not very many trees, not pine or anything. I don't know what kind of trees they were but we looked from there. He said "that's Sand

Creek,” and then I got to talk about it. This is the worst place a guy could try to fight to live, you know? It’s flat land!

Alexa Roberts: Which means they must have really been trusting those flags...

Ray Brady: Well, that was their main thing to stop that.

Alexa Roberts: So did your grandfather say how many people were camped there?

Ray Brady: That I don’t know. Maybe he didn’t want to say it because, see we’re Northern Cheyenne. I mean my grandfather was Northern Cheyenne and my grandmother was Southern Cheyenne. So when my grandfather went down there, with these few Indians, I don’t know how many families, but anyway, he was just visiting. The whole Northern Cheyenne tribe was not down there. The whole Northern Cheyenne tribe was not even in the battle. It was just a few of those people like my grandfather travelling together to visit like my grandmother’s tribe. I still have relatives down there.

Alexa Roberts: So it was mainly Southern Cheyennes?

Ray Brady: Yes, but it was quite a few. But I guess he didn’t want to estimate how many it was, I see later on in history books that there were quite a few bands together. Like Black Kettle’s band, Antelope’s band, I saw that in a picture that there were quite a few bands camping together. That was all Southern Cheyennes together. And to this day I don’t know why there were all together. See they might have belonged to one tribe, but they separate themselves into bands so they wouldn’t all be killed off together. They traveled in bands. Like Dull Knife and Little Wolf.

Alexa Roberts: What about Arapahos?

Ray Brady: Arapahos were our allies and Sioux, those two tribes, they were very close together.

Alexa Roberts: And were they present there at Sand Creek?

Ray Brady: No, no. He mentioned later on in years he always talked about Cheyennes being there, Southern Cheyennes, and I never did hear him talk about Arapahos.

Alexa Roberts: And did he say where they went after they gathered at that little hill?

Ray Brady: Well they had to get out of there. I don’t know what direction they went. Later on I guess they got home. My grandfather, they came back up this way after the massacre. And my grandfather must have thought about this battle being wrong. It was the wrong thing to do because they thought they were given peace by the white army, by being given a flag and show it so that they could see the flag and they would not be bothered by army. But later on when I got to read more, Chivington was a volunteer. Was he a Colorado volunteer?

Alexa Roberts: He had troops of Colorado Volunteers.

Ray Brady: So he told the story, and he told his sons – he had four sons – to write this out, that he kind of thought there might be something in later years

where there would be claims because he was wounded in action and lost some property. And my uncles did that. We've still got it someplace. Steve might have it.

Alexa Roberts: What year were you born?

Ray Brady: 1925. My grandfather lived to be 106. That's why I got to know him. I was the second youngest in the family. He raised me. See, my dad was married twice. The first bunch would have known a lot better about what he said about that battle, but they all died off. I'm the only one left.

Alexa Roberts: What was your dad's name?

Ray Brady: George Brady

Alexa Roberts: And who were the other three brothers?

Ray Brady: Charles Whistling Elk, Alec Brady, and Chester Brady, he died. I don't know him. And Mary Tall Bull. They're all gone now

Alexa Roberts: And of all their children, you're the oldest?

Ray Brady: Of my cousins, there's some girls left. But see of that Tall Bull, that's another family. I've got some nephews left in that family, and nieces.

Florence and Phillip White Man

January 22, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

Translated from Cheyenne into English by Luke Brady, February 12, 2000

Phillip White Man: The way I used to be told by my grandfather and grandmother when they used to talk about this, Black Kettle, they must have made an agreement somewhere with the white soldiers that they weren't going to bother them anymore. They were given flags and they were camped there against the hill [referring to any high, sheltered place, including hills, banks, mountains, bluffs, etc.] someplace in Colorado. They used to refer to it by the Cheyenne name, that stream. The old people knew where it was at, they knew the name and they knew the flow of the water. They were camped there up against the sheltered hill and were attacked by the soldiers. The flag was white and no matter where they were camped it was supposed to be flown and they were not going to be bothered by the white soldiers. That flag was flying. The way I've heard it, it wasn't the white soldiers that attacked, it was the white [settlers] who wanted to come over here and live who attacked them. It was those people who did that to them. There is a [old Cheyenne word meaning a cove-like place, sheltered by one or more high sides, between the hills but not in the corner where they come together, but out in front at the ends of the hills] where they camped. At that place is where they were attacked, quite many were killed. Some ran away, escaped. [Referring to Sand Creek] he was along with them, White Antelope. The old man, they're relatives of Florence [Mrs. White Man]. He might have escaped too. My grandfather is also included in the stories of that time. Having no choice but to leave from there, the ones that ran away escaped. The last time the old people spoke about this, this man was along, Braided Hair and his relatives. He was there with a young woman that he was married to and the woman was pregnant. He stopped one of his horses, he put her on the horse, and he

chased the horse away and the horse took off running. That woman was sitting on the horse. That's how she got away, that's how they used to tell the story. That family is from there [Sand Creek] and they are still alive today [the Brady family]. There are some people working on it from down south [Southern Cheyennes]. The one that's working directly with it is my sister's daughter, directly working on Black Kettle. She knows who all is related from there [Sand Creek]. I'm not too clear on how they came back to the other people. There's been a lot of times that they've been attacked by white soldiers. They were being killed through all those attacks. In the efforts of trying to kill off all the Cheyennes [by the white soldiers] . . . The way I've always heard it, right now at this time the stories aren't clear at this time. There's people who want to know about the people who survived there. They're relatives and at this time it's also being talked about with the Southern Cheyennes. Maybe there's some who know and also it's still unclear in some places. From my understanding, they're going to get a lot of money, there must be a lot of money sitting there for those lives that were lost at Sand Creek. In seeking the monies that are there, they should be paid, they should give that money to all the Cheyennes because we lost a lot of people there, and because they could have all been killed. There's a great wrong done there because the flag was flying. That is the second time they have done that to us [the second being Little Bighorn]. When they were killed there [Sand Creek], during the time the flag was flying in the wind and they went right ahead and attacked them and tried to kill them all. That's the same thing Custer did. They made agreements that they would not ever be bothered again and that's the reason for the battle at the Little Bighorn. For that reason is why they were attacked again by Custer [or the reason they attacked Custer back]. We lost a number of people there again. Some of the ones who made it to Fort Robinson from the breakout from Oklahoma Territory, that's where you hear about Dull Knife and Little Wolf. At that time again they were going to kill off all the Cheyennes. Knowing that, there was something that protected us and helped us and stood with us. That is why we're still here, but after trying to kill us all off, which has only left a few of us. There are others living who are Southern Cheyenne, our relatives. Over here, there are Tsi-tsi-sta's and Suhtai [Northern Cheyennes]. They're still living here today. And that's the way I used to hear it from my grandfather and my grandmother, who used to be together.

[Mr. White Man now goes into a story about Little Bighorn, Fort Robinson, Fort Keogh, and other incidences. Mrs. White Man suggested contacting their relative, Ruby Bushyhead, in Oklahoma, who is working on Sand Creek].

Mr. Donlin Many Bad Horses

January 26, 2000

Busby, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

Note: Mr. Many Bad Horses began his story with a prayer before he began speaking of Sand Creek

This thing that we're going to talk about, for those people that were killed, old men, old women, children . . . well, that's the way things are done and that's

the way I like to do things that way, because this is a very heavy matter that we are going to talk about.

I'm Don Many Bad Horses. I'm a known Cheyenne tribal member here on the reservation. I live in the Busby community, it's just a small community, I live. And that's where I spent most of my life when I was a child here on this community. A lot of my parents, grandparents, have gone on before me. So I've been here with my kids and my grandchildren. The rest of the people that I know and care about. And also that I'm one of the spokesmen for the tribe and the ceremonial and the camp crier for all the religious purposes. The Cheyennes still have got whatever little they have that we are trying to preserve it as far as history is concerned. As we go into detail the things that really happened, we know as far back when this incident happened, Sand Creek Massacre. There was so many stories that's been told are not public to people, just immediate family was being discussed. For that purpose was that fear had come into our lives because this information they would not speak to any storytellers, book writers, anything that would carry out because of the fear. Fear got to their lives, they didn't want to say anything of any kind of information that they hear from their grandparents, great-grandparents, so far back. And to this day that some of our old people that know that information has been gone, it's no longer with us. Some of them took their stories, they never told anybody. Just the very light of the stories, not really deep or say who they are, that told these stories, or identity. Because of that fear. When they were told some of these old people that knew they warned them not to say much and they also say if you do tell the soldiers will come and get you and kill you. Because of that they didn't want that thing to be told to any other area, because of this incident and this fear that the people have. So that's where we're at, they didn't want to talk too much about it. But in the later years they will promise, there were a lot of promises were given to the tribes that were involved in this massacre that got killed. One thing they always mention deeply by these leaders said they were given a flag because these old men that were the leaders told the United States government that they wanted to be left alone. So they wanted to have something to show for it to protect their people. And the Congress of the United States gave them an American flag as peace and unity to live. Because of these two leaders they know the condition of their tribe. They were old and some were young. To protect them and to preserve their lives as living peaceful. They were given to the flag and then there was a white flag added on. And then below that was a medicine bundle was tied to it, with medicine to protect them from sickness. And that's how the agreement that was made to the people. This is only the Cheyenne part, what they had as far as information is concerned. And they truly believed it was going to be that way the rest of their lives, but somehow something happened. We couldn't really say a mistake, but I think that the way they were trying to present the issue was racism. They didn't want them near to anywhere or to trade. They were totally isolated, but still they were peaceful people. They didn't cause no problem. They gave them their word to live in peace. The only firearms they had was to hunt for food, for game that was used. There was just a few rifles given to them. But still they had fear not to really give up their arms in case something would happen to them. Because they knew that the United States government did not keep their promises, the various tribes. And that one of the things, the promises they

broke. They never held those promises and from then on, the tribes, the Cheyennes ignore any kind of peace treaty that was offered to them. They had to defend themselves to survive as a tribe.

Now for that incident that happened, there is very little that I have gathered that I when I was young. I listened to the old people, my grandmother, some of the people that . . . my grandmother's great-grandmother was there. And according to that story wasn't told very much, to anybody. When that incident came, when the army attacked the village, they probably ignored the flag and they tried to stop them and said we are peaceful Indians, we are the peaceful tribe. We do not wish to fight. But still, they insist to fight them. Whatever they had was to defend themselves, but it's not enough. The army was too heavily armed to try to defend themselves. They were slaughtered. A lot of kids were killed trying to run for cover. They could not make it to the edge of the bank where it's close by the camp, they all got caught. But somehow my grandmother's great-grandmother was six years old. I can not remember the name she had. She managed to run and made it to the creek bottom. As she hid on the side of the bank where a lot of this grass was hanging over the edge, sat there and according to her story, she listened till she heard the last cry of the last wounded person. Gasping for life until finally there was silence. There were still people there suffering in agony from the soldiers, from their bullets, from their swords. I don't know how long she was there, but she finally managed to leave in the dark. Because she wanted to go back and see who all was killed but was, according to her story, when she looked back, every thing was destroyed. The tipis were burned. Kids all were laying scattered, butchered, scalped, so she ran and ran. I don't know how many days she ran, how she got to Red Cloud Agency. They could not accept her for a long time because she was a strange person but she knew that some of her relatives were there. Finally they accepted her and told the story to one of the leaders, what happened. And that's some of the stories that my grandmother always tell of this massacre. And they really couldn't do anything. So in later years, she lived in Sioux country for many years and died there and that's where my family came to know that story but she got never to remember that great-grandma.

So that's one of the stories they always tell. I'm sure there were some survivors, but they could no longer travel or make it, they had to just die there from suffering, the pain that was caused by these men. So that's some of the stories that I on my part, the people. And this here massacre, it's been introduced so many time, so many years, they didn't really accept it, what really happened, to find out the truth. But later they did find out, but it was kind of late to process any kind of a claim. But then they came back up with a claim that the massacre, that what happened, the information somehow was there and they processed this claim for the people that were killed. I don't know how many times I spent this issue, that was introduced to Congress of the United States, but they were not given a chance to really continue this issue. But still it was a painful memory and it still does today. "Why" was always a question. So they came up with another suggestion to process this claim again. My mother was involved in it. She was one of the descendants that was processed on this side of the tribe, the Northern Cheyenne, from the half of the Southern Cheyenne. They were the only two that really communicate with this issue. They went on, and on, and on, it was found that

Congress promised them to pay for the damages, the death of that incident, but they never have come . . . A conclusion of the settlement, it just kept on and on and never been forced to pass this claim. Now to this day we see that people that I was involved with, my mother Sarah Black Wolf, August Spotted Elk, Sam Dicke, Mike Little Wolf, and another brother Spotted Elk (I can't think of his first name) and Southern Cheyennes with Sam Dicke . . . There were several Southern Cheyennes, I can't think of their names at this time but their sons and daughters are still living. I believe his [Sam Dicke's] wife is still living, that is processing on the Southern Cheyenne side of this claim. Now there's more people involved in this claim to process this claim to establish. And I believe we'll come really close to some of the information that's still here like we said that a lot of it's been gone. Not very much to follow on for this claim. But whatever tool we have to process and to make it really stronger. I think that's where we're at at this time to continue and make it stronger. We know that it is according to a lot of civil rights acts has been introduced to people. I believe we fit in that civil rights as a claim. And I believe that Congress has to accept it now, to pass. And that's about where we're at at this time, it's like I said a lot of it's lost as far as the stories are concerned. There are many stories that has really, that was afraid to tell some of those old people that was still living and knew this information. To this day they're gone.

Mrs. Annie Brady

January 22, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

Translated from Cheyenne to English by Luke Brady, February 12, 2000

[Mrs. Brady began speaking before tape recording began.]

Annie Brady: The women and the children that were left behind went on up...

Luke Brady: Can you tell your line of descent through your mother and your father, how you're related to Black Horse?

Annie Brady: Well, there's a lot of us.

Luke Brady: What is your Cheyenne name?

Annie Brady: Annie Whistling Elk, I mean Brady.

Luke Brady: What is your Cheyenne name?

Annie Brady: Youngest Female.

Luke Brady: How old are you?

Annie Brady: 79.

Luke Brady: Are you going to speak about Black Horse?

Annie Brady: Yes, Black Horse is what they call him. That old man, my grandfather, I'm one of the ones who knew him. My mother passed away . . . oops, wait a minute . . . my mother allowed them to raise me, so that old man took me in. I was raised in that family. My grandfather, they took me from when I was a baby and that's who I grew up with. I finally went back to my

mother when I got older. I'm having a real hard time speaking [due to a recent stroke] but in my mind I know what I'm thinking. Over there [Sand Creek] they got into a fight because the soldiers came upon them and they fought them. And then they went to someplace where there was a lot of trees and climbed the hill. After they ran away, they later returned back [to Sand Creek] to look for each other. They returned back to find those that they were camped with. The men went down to look for people. That man [Black Horse], that old lady [Black Horse's wife] had hidden in the water. When he found her she was just coming up out of her hiding place. As he rode into camp and saw her and she was just coming up, it made her scream with fear at what she saw. That woman started back up to meet the men who were coming in. When her father saw her, he sang a song for the people whose bodies were lying all over. That woman, the old lady, sang a song for the people lying out there, and then they all moved on up into the trees and hills. They went there and then they left from there. That's all I can remember. The first time they came there [the soldiers] fired very heavily. That woman is the only one who came back up out of the water. When the woman came back into the view of those coming down, that's the way I know it, during the early morning they came back to see who was lying around.

Is this what she [Alexa] is working on?

[Mrs. Brady begins speaking of the documents that her family members have, and refers to Ray Brady who should know the story.]

Alfred Strange Owl

January 25, 2000

Busby, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

Translated from Cheyenne to English by Luke Brady, February 13, 2000

Alexa Roberts: Is it OK to use the information you provide in a report to Congress?

Alfred Strange Owl: Yes.

Alexa Roberts: If you would please tell us who you are related to that was present at Sand Creek and then tell your story.

Alfred Strange Owl: Now?

Alexa Roberts: Yes.

Alfred Strange Owl: As you know I speak Cheyenne very well. And from the way I've heard these stories. My Grandfathers, there's two of them. It's here my grandfather's name is Strange Owl. And another one is Ovi-manan [Scabby Band]. Mao-anih is his name. It was from there [where Mao-anih's grandfather is from] that they [Strange Owl and Mao-anih] made their way with their relatives [Scabby band people] back here [and eventually, between 1864 and 1884, came to reside near present-day Birney]. They were society men and my grandfather was a chief. My grandfather Strange Owl is a chief. When they left from that place where they were found [implied by the white military (Sand Creek)] . . . I've been to that place two times and I went there to talk [pray] about the ones that were killed there, and this place is just a flat

plain. These two men that came back this way from those that stayed [in Oklahoma], we still have relatives there. They have the same language we do, these Southern Cheyennes. Those of us that are this age, we still know each other. For those ones that came here, we are related to those people too.

[The remainder of Mr. Strange Owl's story is about the period of leaving Oklahoma and the Ft. Robinson breakout, as well as Little Bighorn.]

[Mr. Strange Owl's grandfather Strange Owl has been gone for 54 years and was 89 years old when he died, which would have made him about 7 years old at the time of Sand Creek. Mr. Strange Owl said that at the time his grandfather died he didn't seem old, he still rode around on horseback.]

Alfred Strange Owl: At that time, they were still strong, tough, hardy old men. My grandfather died of a sickness. That man Strange Owl, and my uncle and the wife of Strange Owl, Elk Woman, all passed away at the time of losing a lot of people [referring to a time that something happened that killed a lot of Cheyenne people.] Then I moved over to my grandfather's place in Birney. He was the same way, he didn't even seem old. He still rode around on horseback. That's what I'd like to tell, that's what I've been told through hearing these stories.

Irene Bear Quiver

January 25, 2000

Busby, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

Alexa Roberts: Do we have your permission to use the information you provide in the report that will be sent to Congress?

Irene Bear Quiver: Yes

Alexa Roberts: OK, so if you would just tell a little bit about who you were related to that was present at Sand Creek and then just tell whatever you know.

Irene Bear Quiver: Well, I'm not related to him, that man, Plenty Camp. But my husband is. That's where my kids are from, Bear Quiver. And the one that told me the story is Louis Roman Nose. He's my uncle. Well he told me the story once that that man was stingy. He wouldn't share or invite people to eat with him. He would pack up all his meat and go live up quite a ways from here someplace towards CC camp . . . dry all his meat and hide it, and wouldn't share. He told me he was the stingiest man. He was telling me that he was the only one that survived. He came back, he don't know how he made it back over here but he was on foot I guess. He lost his wife and three kids. That's where we got to know that my kids were related to that man, I think their great-grandpa. He had a scar below his nose, across his cheek.

Alexa Roberts: He was the great-grandfather to your kids through your husband?

Irene Bear Quiver: No, that was my husband's father. His father's Edward Bear Quiver and they said that was his dad.

Alexa Roberts: And Louis Roman Nose is your uncle?

Irene Bear Quiver: Yeah, he's my uncle from the Kills Nights. He's a Kills Night but he changed his name to Roman Nose because he has a Roman nose. My grandma had 14 kids, he changed his name, they used to get mixed up when they'd get their lease money.

Alexa Roberts: And did Plenty Camp get the scar across his face at Sand Creek?

Irene Bear Quiver: Yeah, at that time if somebody knew they could get a picture of him or somebody would get a story from him. Like me I never cared [to get a story from him], it was just nothing because he [my husband] was just telling me that he was the biggest stingy person. Edmund, he always stays off by himself, he stays way up there in Kirby.

Alexa Roberts: Do you know when he died?

Irene Bear Quiver: Who?

Alexa Roberts: Plenty Camp.

Irene Bear Quiver: No, I don't even know when he died. You could look up that genealogy when he died. Over there in Forsythe, the papers must be there. If you want to look up that genealogy go see Forsythe and go see Cook.

Alexa Roberts: As far as you know, through the Kills Nights, there was no relationship to Sand Creek?

Irene Bear Quiver: I don't know, because I wasn't raised there. I was raised up in Kirby.

Alexa Roberts: Did he say anything about where he went after he escaped? He just came back here?

Irene Bear Quiver: He didn't even tell me that. Maybe he could have said some other things but he was telling me that. He used to talk about a lot of people, how they lived, where they went. Summer time, they used to go for berries, where was the best place to go, here I never listened. And now I think about it. Now I wonder if they still have those berries up there.

[Mrs. Bear Quiver talks about the Medicine Wheel, Little Bighorn, and some other things not related to Sand Creek.]

Betty Williams

January 23, 2000

Lame Deer, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

One minor editorial change made by Mrs. Williams on February 24, 2000

Alexa Roberts: Will you tell about the Sand Creek Massacre and who you were related to that was present?

Betty Williams: Well, my father just told me this story about his aunt. Her name was Minnie Limpy White Antelope, and that she was shot in the arm when she was escaping from the battle and she had one of Black Kettle's sons on her back. She carried him with a blanket, you know how they used to carry them, and she got shot in the arm. That's the story that he told me.

That story is from my father. His name is Fred Limpy, Jr.

Alexa Roberts: And it was his aunt?

Betty Williams: His aunt, his father's sister. His father is Fred Limpy, Sr. And Minnie lived in Wyoming. She was 107 years old when she died.

Alexa Roberts: When did she die?

Betty Williams: I don't remember the year. I was living in Kansas then because I saw a clipping of it in the newspaper. When she died it was in the Wichita paper. They gave a story about her.

Alexa Roberts: So how old would she have been at Sand Creek?

Betty Williams: I don't know. I just heard the stories. I clipped that newspaper article out but I lost it someplace.

Alexa Roberts: And so was she related to Black Kettle?

Betty Williams: I'm sure they are but I can't . . . I don't know. My father said that Black Kettle had five wives and they were all sisters. My mother was related, my grandmother, but they never talk about the battle. They were afraid. They hid. They changed their names and they wouldn't talk about it because they were afraid of the white people. They were afraid they would come and kill them, so they changed their names and they wouldn't tell. But my grandmother, her brothers are Black Kettle's sons. She talked about her uncles.

Alexa Roberts: And what was your grandmother's name.

Betty Williams: Her name was Olympia . . . I think her maiden name was Lone Wolf but my grandfather was a Red Hat so she was Olympia Red Hat. She was related to Black Kettle.

Alexa Roberts: And that's your grandmother on your mother's side?

Betty Williams: Yes.

Alexa Roberts: What was your mother's name.

Betty Williams: Sophie Ellen Red Hat Limpy.

Alexa Roberts: So the aunt that was . . .

Betty Williams: The aunt that was shot in the arm was my father's . . . and then my mother was related to Black Kettle.

Alexa Roberts: And did you ever hear anything about where they went afterwards or anything?

Betty Williams: I can't remember.

Alexa Roberts: And did you ever hear stories directly from your grandparents or was it from your parents.

Betty Williams: I heard them from my parents. I knew my grandmother and my grandfather, but they used to just talk about that someday they would get paid for that battle, where they were killed, the women and children.

Alexa Roberts: Do you know of other people who would have been old enough to hear stories from their parents or grandparents?

Betty Williams: Flossie Rock Roads, she's one of my aunts, she used to talk about one of her grandmothers. She got shot in the face and a medicine man doctored her and stopped the bleeding. But she had after the battle she always had a hole in her face and she would get mad when people would stare at her. She would pull out a knife a slash her clothes when people would stare at her because she had a hole in her face from being shot. My grandmother's name was [in Cheyenne], it means 'hole in the face' or something. I just wonder if she was named for that lady that was wounded in that battle. But I think her name might have been Rib Woman, or Rib...

Alexa Roberts: The one who was shot?

Betty Williams: . . . in the face.

Alexa Roberts: And your grandmother [hole in the face] was on your father's side or your mother's side?

Betty Williams: That was my mother's mother. But the woman that was shot in the face she was related to Limpy's. I don't know if it was my great-great grandfather's wife . . .

Alexa Roberts: And you said that Minnie, she carried Black Kettle's son on her back . . .

Betty Williams: . . . and she saved him . . .

Alexa Roberts: . . . do you know which son . . . ?

Betty Williams: I don't know, I can't remember which one.

Alexa Roberts: And she was shot in the arm?

Betty Williams: Yes.

Alexa Roberts: And is your aunt Flossie, is she still around? Do you think she'd be willing to tell her story?

Betty Williams: You could ask her. That's all I can think of. The old people wouldn't talk about it because they were afraid that the soldiers would come and kill them again, or the government would. They were afraid so they never would talk about it. My grandma just wouldn't talk about it. She didn't trust the white people, she wouldn't sign her name, she wouldn't put her thumbprint on anything. She was afraid, you know, she didn't trust after the soldiers came and attacked the people. That's why it's hard to ask her these stories, when she was afraid, you know. She wouldn't even sign her name, they wouldn't tell, they changed their name from Black Kettle, they go by Black, they dropped the Kettle. Some of them just go by their first name. Moses Star Black, Red Bird Black, Jay Black, Paul, I believe . . . my aunt Grace used to tell me that those were her uncles, or grandparents, because her mother was the daughter of one of Black Kettle's daughters. My grandmother, her mother was one of Black Kettle's daughters.

Alexa Roberts: Which grandmother?

Betty Williams: Olympia [was the daughter of one of Black Kettle's daughter]. Her name was Red Paint Woman [Olympia's mother, Black Kettle's daughter].

Genevieve Bear Quiver

January 26, 2000

Busby, Montana

Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

One minor editorial change made by Mrs. Bear Quiver on February 24, 2000

Alexa Roberts: Do we have your permission to use the information you provide in a report to Congress?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: Well my grandma used to tell me that we were going to get paid but now that she's gone I don't know too much about it. Now that they're all gone I don't think they never did receive any money that I know of. But she used to tell me that her mother was wounded there when she [Genevieve's grandmother] was a little girl, or something. I don't know. They used to call her a Ghost Woman.

Alexa Roberts: And she was a daughter of Black Kettle?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: Yeah, I think. She was maybe a grandpa [he was maybe grandpa to her] or maybe a daughter.

Alexa Roberts: Did she say she how old she was when she was at the time of the Massacre.

Genevieve Bear Quiver: I don't think she was born at that time [referring to her grandmother].

Alexa Roberts: I mean Ghost Woman.

Genevieve Bear Quiver: I didn't know her.

Alexa Roberts: When did your grandmother pass away?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: I don't know the year. Anyway, she died over here and she's buried up there and I don't know what year she came to Montana.

Luke Brady: How old was she when she died?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: She was 86 or 87 when she died. And she had all her teeth, and then one day one of them fell out. And every time she would talk she would cover her mouth like this. She really missed her teeth.

Alexa Roberts: And she was your grandmother on your mother's side or your father's side?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: My dad's.

Alexa Roberts: What was your father's name.

Genevieve Bear Quiver: Nelson [Hawke]. And I'm the only one living on my grandmother's side.

Alexa Roberts: Did she say anything about how Ghost Woman was wounded?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: Well she used to talk about it but I already told you I didn't care to listen. She used to talk about her mom. I guess some of this here [pointing to the tricep of her left arm] was gone.

Alexa Roberts: And what was your mother's name?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: Hannah Seminole.

Alexa Roberts: What year were you born?

Genevieve Bear Quiver: June 2, 1932.

Elsie Standing Elk Wick

December 20, 1999

Lame Deer, Montana

Interviewer: Karen Stone

Karen Stone: We'll start off with, can you tell me some things about yourself, like what is your full name?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well my full name is Elsie maiden name Standing Elk. Married name is Wick. I've only been married once with the same man for many years until he passed away from cancer, but my mother's maiden name was Swallow so she went by Mary Swallow Standing Elk and my father Henry Standing Elk. Where he lived is where I live, out in the country towards Birney. And his father was named White Frog Flying, would be my grandfather, and my grandmother lived there. So I lived there with my family.

Karen Stone: When were you born and where were you born?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: I was born at home where my mother and father eventually settled which is called the camp area in Ashland which is by the pow wow grounds, and I was born in 1940 at home. Back then I think a lot of people were born at home.

Karen Stone: Have you worked and moved around or where have you worked and moved around?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: I haven't really moved from the reservation although I went off to school. Usually just to Billings was the farthest I went. I went to Penn State for a year. That's about it. I've always worked here on the reservation I worked in three schools here. St. Labre and then Busby, Northern Cheyenne Tribal Schools, and then Lame Deer a couple of times. Two times at Busby, each time I was there for 4 years and at Lame Deer for 4 years. And then I went back again when my husband got sick. Worked there just for one year and then quit just to be with him. At home and then I was out of work for two years and I finally ended up over here at the culture affairs department at Dull Knife. I just noticed this hand written note up here from Otto. About public information. Otto said they might use this information for the Sand Creek run video.

Karen Stone: Is that okay with you

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: I'd have to think about that. I guess it's okay.

Karen Stone: Okay. Can you tell me who your grandparents on your mother's side were?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, obviously my mother's maiden name was Swallow, which stemmed from Chief Swallow. That was her grandfather. He was a Suhtai. He was related somehow to White Antelope because she would always say we were related to him, but I never took the time to find out

exactly how, I just know that we were related to him. I would probably have to look that up in the archives or something to get the lineage from that

Karen Stone: How about your grandparents on your father's side?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: My father was adopted by his aunt and in the Cheyenne way, then that became his mother. His real mother and father worked at Fort Keogh in Miles City and she contracted tuberculosis. Which back then spelled death for our people and when she knew she had it she left there to where I live now and gave my father to her sister and he was only 2 or 3 years old at the time. And she traveled on to Pine Ridge where their mother lived. At that time there was, you know, intermarriage between the Cheyenne and Siouxs. It still happens nowadays too, but there was a lot of relatives they used to go back and forth to visit. She went down there and gave birth to his sister. She still lives down there, but I hear she's pretty old now. She was raised there and my father was raised where I live now and they had an older brother who was probably 5 at the time or six. At the time she arrived there, one of her uncles I think it was, happened to be there. They had rode in from Fort Belknap and he took the older boy. His name was Thomas and raised him as his son up north. So as a result we have some land up there in Fort Belknap and then the older son, when he got old enough to marry he settled there and then his wife passed on. That's how he got the land. And then he married a women from Oklahoma, moved to Oklahoma, the wife down there passed away, so we own land in Oklahoma too so my uncle moved around. But the land I inherited was from my father. His parents, which then became his parents, lived there and they owned the land, so when they passed away, he inherited the land from them and then when he passed away, we got his share of the land. So that's why I'm able to live there, out in the country where it is nice and peaceful. But before Fort Keogh, I don't know, I would have to . . . I should do it, you know, instead of saying I should, I should really pursue it to really see their background and all that.

Karen Stone: Who are your siblings, your brothers and sisters?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, there were six of us in the family that were alive. There were other members but they died from childhood diseases before we came along. My older brother was named Ben Standing Elk, the next one was George Standing Elk, and then my sister, her name was Stella, Stella Standing Elk, and then myself, and then my younger brother Edwin, and my younger sister Evelyn who would be the baby of the family. My mother had twins that died from whooping cough. The oldest of the family died from double pneumonia. They died when he was 8 months old and the twins were like maybe a year old. So I think a lot of babies died from those causes back then.

Karen Stone: Now we are gonna go into some Sand Creek questions. Are you a descendant of someone who was at the Sand Creek Massacre and who was it?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: My brother, I and my brother discussed it, George, when he was younger, our grandparents would often keep him, or he would go and stay with them for at least a week or two during the summer. He told me, just recently, after the run, I was telling him, about the run and I told him "You should have went along with us, it was really, really something to see."

And he said, "You know, our grandmother," which is the grandmother that we knew, where I live, told him one time that we came from a little girl that had said she was only . . . I don't know how old she might have been, but her and, he just said a few so, I don't know how many would have been a few, that hid and then they left, left the area. See, now that's not written anyplace and that's not known. And he was telling me something that is virtually unknown. But he said that my grandmother would talk about that, and that was where we came from. So, that was news to me, I had never heard that before. But he said they were kids, they weren't adults, they were kids and somehow they made it back to, probably another camp of Cheyenne, they, you know, probably knew where the camps were back then. So, that's what he told me. I was really surprised about that. So this is new information. But being kids, you know, and I suppose if they did meet up with other Cheyenne's, they were probably told not to say anything like they did after the Custer battle. No one was supposed to talk about it anymore.

Karen Stone: Have you heard stories about the Sand Creek Massacre?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Yes, my mother would tell us. And then when she told it she would cry and she would say it was the time when, in Cheyenne there is a word that kind of says it all. It's an all-inclusive word, which means they were all annihilated and I don't even remember how to say it now but my brother does. George knows how, he would know how to say that word. But she used to use that word when she would talk about it and she would cry. So, it was a wound that was carried by the people and if it affected my mother so, you know it was a deep sorrow that was shared by the people and she would convey this to us. And to me that was, whatever made my mother cry, I'm pretty sure you would be that way with your mother, or somebody with their mother, if you see your mother cry when you are young, when they are telling you something, it does something to you. You know, because you don't want to see your mother cry. And whatever hurts her then becomes your hurt. That's pretty much how I felt when I was down there. I could feel my mother's deep sorrow again. So it must have been very hard for the people to take. You know, to have that happen. So, and to have that sorrow carried through the years. So I think what is happening now with what they call the healing run, I think it is good for our people cause they can put that sorrow to rest and do a closure on it, which had never been done. I don't know if the people ever went back to the area or if it was a place where they left it because it was then a burial site for their people.

Karen Stone: Did you hear specifically about the place where the massacre happened?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: The only thing I know is that it was on the plains which when I was down there I saw that it was on the plains and my mother would say that it was pretty flat and that they did camp in a grove of trees. Then I saw down there that there's not that many trees. So, but as the specific land formations or anything, she didn't mention them.

Karen Stone: Did she say like the place where they were camped, was there a name and can you say it in Cheyenne?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: No, I don't, my brother might remember. I'll have to ask him about it.

Karen Stone: Did she say like sometimes they name a place in Cheyenne and always refer to it?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, for her it was the place where the people got killed in Cheyenne. That word is [Cheyenne word] or something like that. It means annihilated [Cheyenne word] the place where they got annihilated is how she would say it. But, what they called it when they were camping there, I don't know. That was the term she used when she talked about it. The camp where the people were annihilated. And that was the only time she would use that when she would talk about the Sand Creek. That would be the only time she would use that phrase.

Karen Stone: Did you hear anything about plants or trees or animals that were present at the time of the massacre?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: She did mention small stands of trees, which I saw, that were there. She would also say that they tried to run away but that it was too flat, you know there was no hiding place.

Karen Stone: What about water sources such as springs and prominent landforms, hills, or anything? Did she refer to anything like that?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Not really. I think if there were, you know, they weren't important enough to mention because of the event. That became more important than stating there was water here or that kind of thing. The murder of the people was too prominent you know. Too much more important then because it no longer seemed important I guess at the time where their water source was, etc. But back then, you know, the land wasn't that populated so I'm sure there was an abundance of probably antelope and deer and the buffalo.

Karen Stone: Like those little squashes. I don't know what they were, but it looked like they grew naturally there. Did you see them?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: No, I didn't get a chance to walk around.

Karen Stone: I was thinking this might be how they survived. They looked like squash, but when I stepped on one, it looked more like a potato.

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Oh yeah. Well, they knew more about those things then we do presently, you know. When we used to interview old people, they used to mention, they would tell us different places. They would tell us where you could go to pick this and pick that. And then in the next breath they would say I don't know if they grow there anymore because the last time I was through there, there was a lot of white people living there and they might have got rid of them. So they knew the different locations like in Sheridan they used to go over there and pick a certain plants and then they used to pick certain plants along the Tongue River to Miles City. You know they knew where all these different things were. And then now, they are pretty much plowed under or killed, you know. But it would be interesting. We used to interview them too and get a lot of the information on tapes. But those tapes have all disappeared. And most of the people that we used to interview are no longer alive, so it was valuable information lost. I know a little bit about edible plants but not the ones they would go out of their way to harvest.

Karen Stone: How would the camp have been set up you know along the creek? Do you have any idea how it would have looked?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, they used to have a set camp pattern that they would have. And my mother told me they would always camp in a loosely formed circle with one opening towards the east. The main Chiefs would be somewhere back in the middle and that's probably why he came out of his teepee and went forward and they set up the flag. I'm not saying that's how they set it up, but I know that was the traditional lay of the camp. It wasn't a tight formation like in a circle. It would be kind of like a loose kind of circle but they always had a pathway to the east where the morning sun came up. And that's how the Sun Dance is set up too.

Karen Stone: Where would the village have been located regarding water and what was the importance of water?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, like I say, you know, they knew where all the different resources were more so then our present day. I think if we were left alone somewhere, we'd probably die of thirst or starvation because we wouldn't know where to look but having spent all their lives following different routes, that they knew different plants. It was probably very convenient for them to be near water. Especially on the plains there and hidden sources of springs and that place there where we were, I think would have been an ideal source of hidden spring. But I don't know. I didn't walk around to see if there was any.

Karen Stone: Do you remember your mother talking about how the soldiers approached the village?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well she would say that he went out to meet them. He went out to meet them and he had the flags.

Karen Stone: Who?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: White Antelope. And since he was Suhtai when he realized they were coming not with peaceful intent, they had started shooting, he staked himself to the ground and he told his wife to leave, and which she tried to do. That's where he died, where he staked himself to the ground.

Karen Stone: Did his wife die too?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: I think they said she was shot in the back. I don't know. I would have to ask my brother.

Karen Stone: We have like four minutes left.

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: My brother sometimes talks really low and I can't hear him. But he was talking about the wife, and I'll have to ask him again. Maybe I could write it down or I could tape him. Because I didn't know about a few kids surviving and they ran away. I guess they didn't see the slaughter. They ran away. They were told not to look back. I suppose eventually probably some of the scouts went back to see, and saw what had happened to the people and they probably were the ones that told the story. Because otherwise, we wouldn't know it today, you know.

Karen Stone: How were the soldiers first spotted by the people in the village?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well, my mother used to say they came to tell, so that must mean they probably had scouts out. Those were always on the look out for anyone approaching. She said they came to tell that there were soldiers coming. Then he went out to meet them. They started shooting and they came in and just killed everybody. So I assume it was scouts they had posted out. I mean what would be out.

Karen Stone: Do you know what kind of possessions the people might have left behind when they ran?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Well they left all their belongings. My mother said that they used to always have small pouches hanging by the door or they would put them by the door. And when they ran, they used to grab those and they would have a little bit of supplies in them. It was just always a procedure they must have followed because she said they always did that. So that might have been the only thing they grabbed probably.

Karen Stone: Okay. Well, we didn't even get to the run. What did you think about the run?

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: It was good for me. I think it . . . in my way of thinking, you know, that our ancestors were with us. And especially my ancestors and I think there was a lot of healing taking place because I think they were the forgotten, forgotten ones and to have prayer said there was good. So, I think the awareness of it has made people sit up and realize, you know, the horror of it that, you know, that only we remembered, that only my mother would remember and carry with her. And I thought it was good that we finally opened it up for everyone to hear and to know that it was a terrible wrong that was done to our people and the healing process, you know, is taking place and that is very important

Karen Stone: Is there anything else? This is going to go out at any time.

Elsie Standing Elk Wick: Oh, I guess that's about it.

Karen Stone: Okay, that sure is interesting. I wish I had an hour tape so we could just go on and on. I have a feeling we are just getting started. But I think what you said was really good.

Nelson Tall Bull

December 20, 1999

Lame Deer, Montana

Interviewer: Karen Stone

Karen Stone: Can you tell me what your full name is?

Nelson Tall Bull: My name is Nelson Tall Bull Sr. My Indian name is [Cheyenne name] which means Lighting.

Karen Stone: When were you born?

Nelson Tall Bull: October 25, 1923.

Karen Stone: Where were you born?

Nelson Tall Bull: Mouth of Muddy in a log cabin situated on the north side of the Rosebud Creek.

Karen Stone: Where do you live now?

Nelson Tall Bull: In Ashland, Montana.

Karen Stone: Where have you worked and moved around to?

Nelson Tall Bull: In the military service and most of the western states.

Karen Stone: In the military, what war was it?

Nelson Tall Bull: Overseas and Europe.

Karen Stone: Was it WWII?

Nelson Tall Bull: No, it was at the closure of the Korean.

Karen Stone: Can you, also, I forgot, also say that your interview can be used for public information?

Nelson Tall Bull: Whatever.

Karen Stone: Can you say it?

Nelson Tall Bull: This can be used for public information at any time they wish to hear it.

Karen Stone: Okay, now we are going to get to the part about your family. Who were your grandparents on your mother's side?

Nelson Tall Bull: Arthur Brady and Ellen, his wife Ellen. They were my grandparents. They shortened the name to Brady from Braided Locks, his Indian name.

Karen Stone: Can you say that in Cheyenne?

Nelson Tall Bull: [Cheyenne name given]

Karen Stone: How about your mother, I mean your grandmother?

Nelson Tall Bull: I don't know her Indian name, all I know is ke'e.

Karen Stone: How about your grandparents on your father's side?

Nelson Tall Bull: I know nothing about that. There was no oral history ever given who my father was. I never seen him or my grandparents on my father's side. It wasn't nowhere.

Karen Stone: Did they pass away at an early age?

Nelson Tall Bull: I don't know, probably.

Karen Stone: Oh. Who were your parents?

Nelson Tall Bull: Charles Tall Bull. His Indian name was Little Wolf, I believe

I have to think about these things; Indian names have been . . . It slips my mind.

Karen Stone: Okay, what about your father, what was his name . . . or your mother

Nelson Tall Bull: That's Mary, Mary Brady.

Karen Stone: Do you remember her Cheyenne name?

Nelson Tall Bull: [Cheyenne name given]

Karen Stone: What does that mean?

Nelson Tall Bull: It must be an old time word. I don't know.

Karen Stone: What family is your mother from?

Nelson Tall Bull: From Brady.

Karen Stone: Oh, Okay.

Nelson Tall Bull: Arthur and Ellen Brady. And my grandmother was, her maiden name was Eagle Bird.

Karen Stone: Who are your children, I mean who are your brothers and sisters?

Nelson Tall Bull: Joe, Bill, Henry, Russell, Charles, one sister, Nellie. And half- brothers would be Jacob and Matthew.

Karen Stone: Okay.

Nelson Tall Bull: Don't ask me their Indian name either.

Karen Stone: Who are your children?

Nelson Tall Bull: I have 3 sons and one daughter. The oldest is Charles, the next is named after me, and then Patricia Ann, and then the youngest is Wayne Allen.

Karen Stone: Okay, are you a descendant of someone who was present at the massacre and who was it?

Nelson Tall Bull: Arthur Brady. He was present at the massacre. He was present and my grandmother was also there.

Karen Stone: And what was her name?

Nelson Tall Bull: Ellen. I don't know her Indian name. Today . . . I don't . . . I mean I've heard it, but I can't recall it. All I know is we called her . . . I was asked once what her English name was. I said I don't know, all we ever known was ke'e. It's true cause Otto said the same thing. He was asking about his grandfather cause all he knew in the Indian way is that he called him grandfather. That's all he knew. So you, maybe the white people don't understand it.

Karen Stone: So they were present at the massacre?

Nelson Tall Bull: They were present there, one of the survivors that got away.

Karen Stone: So both of them?

Nelson Tall Bull: Both of them.

Karen Stone: Can you say that? Both of my grandparents were at the Sand Creek Massacre.

Nelson Tall Bull: Both of my grandparents were present and perhaps took part in the get away from that massacre site.

Karen Stone: What kind of stories did you hear about the massacre?

Nelson Tall Bull: My grandmother's side. I never heard from, if I did, I have forgotten it, from my grandfather.

Karen Stone: What would your grandmother say about the massacre?

Nelson Tall Bull: All I know is what she has said is that watching the shooting and what have you. And then not able to continue because each time she did begin to say something about that she would start crying and never finish. Perhaps seeing her relation or friends being shoot down in that attack. To actually describe the events, the other events and so forth, she never got to it because she'd start crying. [Speaking in Cheyenne] That's describing what I said in English.

Karen Stone: In English. How about your grandfather? Did he ever say anything?

Nelson Tall Bull: No, never heard. If he did, I either forgotten it. Most of the time it was storytelling time and us younger bunch were told to go outside and play. So as a result that part we didn't know about.

Karen Stone: So, of your brother and sisters, who's all living?

Nelson Tall Bull: I'm the oldest now and my sister's still living. I have one brother younger than me living in Oregon and a half brother, Jacob, is living in Lame Deer. That's all I have left.

Karen Stone: What about like water springs or . . .

Nelson Tall Bull: There was never anything like that mentioned. What my grandmother told me was that she had said those things were probably not pertinent at that time when she described the events to a certain extent. Those weren't . . . you take a situation like that, you're not up to seeing animals anyway because the first volley they hear animals scatter anyway, birds or what have you.

Karen Stone: How do you think people would have been camping over there?

Nelson Tall Bull: I have no idea. Those things weren't described to me. I mean she never said who all camped there, their names weren't mentioned because in her description of it that's all she could talk about and then start crying and never finish. So those questions are not . . . it's not there. I mean there wasn't anything said about it.

Karen Stone: Do you think the Cheyenne and Arapaho would have been camped together over there?

Nelson Tall Bull: As far as I know there wasn't any. If they were, they were apart from that main camp because they were clamish. You know, I mean it wasn't . . . they could have been as much as a mile away from that. But you see they, if there were any Arapaho, they were camped quite a distance from the Cheyenne.

Karen Stone: What did you hear about how the soldiers approached the village and what do you know about how the soldiers . . .

Nelson Tall Bull: I have no idea. All I want to say is what my grandmother said her statement about it. Other than that I have no ideas.

Karen Stone: Okay.

Nelson Tall Bull: It seems some of those questions are like if a person was right there themselves.

Karen Stone: Yeah, do you have any feelings or opinions about where the massacre site is even if you haven't heard any stories about it?

Nelson Tall Bull: I would know once I went down there. We have a way of knowing. By the spirits. The concentration is that it would be like a cemetery. Out here you know, you would know. If you went by it at night or whatever you would know. You would have that . . .

Karen Stone: So what do you think about what the Sand Creek Office is doing to have some recognition for that site? I mean they are thinking about trying to get some land over there so they can build some sort of memorial.

Nelson Tall Bull: I believe their efforts are well sought. I believe the land should be acquired and owned by the tribe if the present owner is willing to sell and this has been ongoing for how long, I don't know. And in my grandmother's statements she says that she probably wouldn't realize the payment from this massacre. She died and passed her information through my mother. Who in turn died and passed it on to my sister. Now she's passing it on to her children. And in her statement she emphasized that it be mentioned this to the rightful parties that there should be a payment made.

Karen Stone: You mentioned that your sister was the one that heard the story from your mother. What is your sister's name?

Nelson Tall Bull: Nellie Bear Tusk. Bear Tusk is her married name.

Karen Stone: Do you think she would be willing to talk in front of the camera, to talk about what your mother told her about Sand Creek?

Nelson Tall Bull: You'd have to ask her. I don't know about that.

Karen Stone: Okay.

Nelson Tall Bull: But I imagine she would; she's interested in these things.

Marie Sanchez

January 28, 2000

Billings, Montana

Present: Alexa Roberts

Alexa Roberts: First I need to ask if we have your permission to use the information you provide in the report to Congress

Marie Sanchez: Yes, you have my permission.

Alexa Roberts: You were starting to tell about your family, so if you would tell about that and how they were related to Sand Creek and then tell what ever stories you have about Sand Creek.

Marie Sanchez: My real name is Juanita Marie Brady Sanchez. My father is James Brady, the son of George Brady, who is the son of Braided Locks or Braided Hair. He was in the story of which I will tell. On my mother's side, her father is Arthur Wooden Thigh. My mother's maiden name is Mary Wooden Thigh. And he had a brother named Chester Wooden Thigh. And

their father was Hugh and their mother was Mary. And Hugh was the son of Chief Little Wolf's second wife. I can't remember her Indian name. So I'm a descendant of both Chief Little Wolf and Braided Hair, Braided Locks.

My stories mainly came from my maternal grandmother and my paternal grandfather's brother Alec who I also refer to as my grandfather. I had a real protected and secluded childhood. After my mother and grandmother died, my brother and two sisters were taken to the St. Labre Mission and we were cared for by the nuns and priests there. I guess we were the first Cheyenne home children and so I had little contact with everybody else, all the other relatives besides my grandfather Arthur Wooden Thigh. And I lead a very structured life there. We get up in the morning at six and go to church and that was how we started our day. And we had to be indoors at seven and it was very hard in the summertime to be going to bed at seven o'clock in the evening when it was still daylight. But I could not be with my Cheyenne-speaking friends. I was very discouraged to speak Cheyenne but through all that I haven't forgotten my Cheyenne language. And it was only after I married and returned to the Reservation from California that my grandfather Alec Brady sat me down at the woodpile while he was chopping wood in Lame Deer, and he talked to me for a long time, telling me about our history. He told me that he had been working on the Sand Creek list. He along with Alex Spotted Elk, and I can't think of the name of the other Spotted Elk but it's Navitt's father. And these three had compiled a list all on their own, at their own expense, taking names down, and children's names and grandchildren. And I remember that he always mentioned a Sam Dicke from Oklahoma that he sent all these names to, this list. And he said that he had included mine and my children, at that time I only had four. And of course during my education the history that I was taught or made to learn was not what he had told me. And I wasn't too clear about Sand Creek at the time. And it was only after I had returned to the reservation that things became more clear to me and that my ancestors had been survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre.

The one story that I haven't forgotten, and I'm sure all the Brady children at least my age, I think they know or have heard it. And it has to do with the day of that massacre. That Braided Locks (or Braided Hair as I think he's referred to now) but his Indian name is [Cheyenne name given]. The horses had been running through the camp and he had heard the fighting, the shots and everything and knew that they had been attacked by the soldiers. And when the horses went running by his camp, he grabbed one and threw a buffalo robe on the horse and put his pregnant wife on that horse and turned the horse loose. And the horse ran with the herd away from the camp. And he continued to help fight and later after the fight, after the soldiers had done what they did, he followed the herd or the tracks, and this was in the winter time . . . there was blood all over He later found this herd of horses milling around in the ravine away from – I don't know how far away but away from – the site and the flapping of the buffalo robe was scaring the horses. And the horse that his wife was on was starting to rear up but she was still managing to hold on and when he got there he managed to quiet the horses down and got his wife off. And it turned out that that buffalo robe was the only one saved from the massacre. And the baby in that womb was my grandfather's father, Arthur Brady. That's it.

Even though we're so many generations away from that time of the massacre, I think it's because the stories were so descriptive that we heard from our grandparents, I think they're so . . . I mean we remember them so much more. I know a lot of older people didn't want to tell these stories because they feared they would get arrested. They were afraid of the government after that.

Alexa Roberts: Do you think that it's still like that today, that people are reluctant to tell the stories?

Marie Sanchez: I don't know about the older people, older than me. I'm 60. They tell them to me, I mean to their immediate family. But I think that fear is probably less now than it was right after or soon after.

Alexa Roberts: And you were just mentioning right before I started the tape that when you were in school and you wondered why you were treated so respectfully and it was because you were a descendant

Marie Sanchez: Yes, no not at school, not by the nuns

Alexa Roberts: I mean, by your family.

Marie Sanchez: The nuns always told me that I shouldn't have an ego, you know, they treated us . . . well, they didn't treat us very good. They fed and clothed us and all that, but we were like a lower class. They wanted to put the fear of God into us and all that. But my father's family, whenever I would go visit them they treated me like I was special. When I was at the door they'd say "Look who's here! Make a place for her." And they would all shake my hand and my grandfather George Brady would shake my hand and hug me, and my grandmother. They were always very glad to see me and they would offer me food right away; "Feed her something, give her something to drink." And I had always wondered about that because they had other grandchildren too. All my cousins and it was only later in life that I understood my own personal history through my maternal grandfather that I'm a descendant of Chief Little Wolf. And I tried to find out for myself if anything was on the records but it was through my relatives from my mother's side that told me stories about being a descendant of Chief Little Wolf. And one thing that clarified my doubt was that I was on the estate of Lena Man Bear. It was my grandfather really that was on the estate but after his death I was listed under that and I found out that Lena Man Bear was one of the daughters of Chief Little Wolf. And looking through some of the records at St. Labre Mission Hugh and Mary Wooden Thigh are buried at the cemetery there. They had two sons and a daughter but I can't remember her name. And their names were Arthur and Chester and when I looked through the executive order for the reservation it was President, his name was Chester Arthur, I'll have to look the name up, but why would somebody in that age in that time name his sons Chester and Arthur? Because Chief Little Wolf had talked with General Miles about the reservation.

Alexa Roberts: Do you think that today the descendants are still distinguished in the community, that they still have that kind of respectful position?

Marie Sanchez: Personally there's a lot of jealousy that I see. When I was 11 years old I was selected to be one of the four sisters of the Elk Horn Scrapers Society. It was because Chief Little Wolf was an Elk Horn Scraper and he always traveled with that society. And then on my father's side they're from

the Crazy Dogs, and all my sons except for my oldest – he wants to belong to my group – but all the others are Crazy Dogs. And my grandson, he’s named after Chief Little Wolf – [Cheyenne name given] – he’s a Crazy Pup. During the days between maybe 40’s, 50’s and 60’s maybe, those were one of the things that Grandpa Alec would bring up to me during those visits at the woodpile. He said there had not been a Sun Dance for three years and he said that if there’s not another one how this year or next year he said, that would be the end of our culture I guess. He encouraged me to speak Cheyenne to my children so they could understand life better. When I realized what he told me then as I looked back, those were the days in my mother’s generation, you know the people before me, they had all gone through worse things than I had at the Mission. Boarding schools and trying to get their Indian-ness away from them. And I could understand what he was talking about our religious ceremony of the Sun Dance and how it’s interrelated with the social and political aspects of our whole nation, our tribe.

Alexa Roberts: Do you think Sand Creek still continues to affect people to this very day?

Marie Sanchez: Yes. It affects us and we’re, what, the fifth generation today? And it appears in alcoholism. Our anger, our disrespect for authority, like the government. And we use alcohol for relief, but that’s the only way we can express all that, is through alcohol. I guess that’s our legacy. It’s my own personal experience with what I’m afflicted with, rheumatoid arthritis, and I was so stiff if I could hardly open my mouth to eat. And my family would beg me, “please get up, please move,” but I was in so much pain. I was treated by the doctors with pain pills and medication and in the summertime I would move up to the hilltop and spend the summer up there. I had a visitation from a buffalo that came right up to camp. I told the people at the senior citizen center and they got all excited and shook my hand and said that was a sign. A buffalo would not come near to a human, so I just put it to the back of my head. And the next summer there were two buffalo that appeared there. And I thought this was strange. I finally went to the hot springs at Thermopolis, Wyoming. I went in the water, of course we prayed before we went in, and this other friend of mine that had osteoarthritis, we sat in the water for about three hours. It felt so good. And when we came out I sat down on this bench and this white man and his family came out of the door and said, “Oh look!” and I turned around and there was a buffalo standing behind me. And I jumped up which was unusual because it takes me about two or three minutes to stand. And I thought “my gosh, I can move!” So I made two more trips. And I forgot to mention, I have a cane that has a buffalo head, and I guess Indian women are more spiritual, the spirituality is more enhanced I think. Men, they go through Sun Dance and the piercing and fasting, but their everyday life is more survival, getting food. While I was at the pool there, this lady came up to me and she commented on my cane and I told her that it was a carved head of the buffalo. She asked me if I had arthritis and I said yes, I have R.A. and she told me about a nearby pain clinic. So I called them and they said that the only qualification was that you had to be in pain for three months, and I said “my gosh, I’ve been in pain for five years!” So I went for a check up and saw five specialist and they thought they could help me. There was a sociologist, a psychiatrist, a nurse and a doctor, an occupational therapist and a physical therapist. And of course we talked

with a minister, but he didn't preach his religion to us he was more of a spiritual leader for us. I spent four weeks there and the doctor there and the nurse, well all of them, they believe that when you internalize anger your immune system goes down. And they believe that you should understand your anger and express it. I mean you don't go killing the descendant of Chivington, but I told them about my history and at first I told them I don't have a thing to be angry about. I'm not angry at the Creator for giving me this disease, I'm not shaking my fist at the sky and saying "Why? Why?" But the more I talked to them, even though we're so far away from the actual massacre, we still are angry and I know that arthritis isn't just a Cheyenne illness, there's other tribes too that have gone through things we have from the government. I'm sure that if my generation were taught more about what actually happened, taught more about their history, I think it would help. I know it won't alleviate alcoholism and drug use and crimes of passion or suicides, but it would help our children understand what happened to us as a people.

Alexa Roberts: What do you think about the preservation or memorialization of the Massacre Site?

Marie Sanchez: I think it's a good thing. When it was first discussed, most of the Brady clan showed up and we had to vote for president and secretary and so forth, and I was the first on the list and I voted for Steve. I passed it to my cousin and here they all voted for Steve so he became our president and then Mustard, who is also . . . her father is Nellie Bear Tusk's brother . . . there was William, Nelson, Charles, Russell, Jacob . . . anyway there were seven brothers and Nellie was the only girl. Joe Tall Bull was the oldest, and Henry Tall Bull. So Mustard, or Mildred Tall Bull is from Russell. And she's very vocal; I admire her. I know she was involved in all the digging up there. I think Cheyennes should go visit at one time in their lifetime. Maybe they would quit grieving.

Marie Sanchez: I remember the other story. It's about a little old lady. It was either her grandson or probably an orphan boy. They lived together and she was camped on the outskirts of the main camp. So during the battle they weren't right in the midst of it. Her grandson grabbed a very stubborn horse or mule or maybe a donkey. I'm sure it was frightened too, but he tried to put his grandmother on the horse and she would fall off on the other side. I can imagine the frenzy, everything going on, bullets flying, screaming, and he was desperately trying to . . . desperately trying to get his grandmother away. And she had a medicine bundle, I don't know if it was hers or someone else's, she had it on her back and he managed to get her on there and they got away from the battle. And as they were running or leaving and the bullets were flying around and she put her head forward and at that instant a bullet grazed her head and followed the top of her head. She could have been shot right there too. That's one of the horror stories I remember. And I find it very emotional because I was very close to my grandmother and I can imagine how the little boy, how much he loved his grandmother, enough to save her life.

Alexa Roberts: Do you know what their names were or who their descendants were?

Marie Sanchez: No, I don't. I think Nellie would probably know the grandmother's name.

Alexa Roberts: Is there anyone else we should be sure to talk to?

Marie Sanchez: Nelson and Nellie. Russell's way over in Oregon. The White Dirt women, like Leona Little Wolf, I don't know about Gilbert White Dirt. When I read through some of the accounts in the library, how they paraded through Denver with body parts, it just turned my stomach and I couldn't understand what they did. And he was supposed to be a Christian man, you know, how he could have done this to other humans. How could he be so inhuman to humans? During my lifetime I've gone to Vietnam, three years after the war, and there were a lot of parallels between what the United States did to them and did to us. I saw people there that were blind, and they were making eyelets on shoes, and working presses making holes, and they were blind. And then they would put the things in a tumbler, that was the last part of the assembly line, and the guy that was turning the tumbler only had one limb. Both of his legs were gone and one arm, and still he was able to help rehabilitate the country. There were similar stories there of how women tried to help, that were just as heroic and what the men tries to do in Sand Creek, even that little boy. There was one little old lady that they mentioned that every time the agent orange, every time the planes would come down she would time them and she would dash out and, they had killed their water buffalo and that was their sustenance, their way of life. And she would run out and butcher them real fast and run back to a cave and she helped that way by feeding the resistance army. And so, I guess fighting oppression, people all over the world do this in any way that they can.

[Mrs. Sanchez went on to tell about her travels to Vietnam and Russia as an activist working on Native American and women's rights.]

Dr. Richard Little Bear

January 26, 2000
Dull Knife Memorial College
Lame Deer, Montana
Present: Luke Brady and Alexa Roberts

For the record, because I want people to know that colleges like Dull Knife and other tribal colleges attract doctoral level people, my title is Dr. Richard Little Bear. It's not out of ego or anything like that, it's just that I want people, especially white people, to know that we, me and another person, are doctoral level educators and both of us speak our languages, which is kind of unique.

Alexa Roberts: If you would start out by talking about your descent from people who were at Sand Creek and then just tell the family stories that you heard.

Richard Little Bear: My connection with Sand Creek is through, white people call White Antelope, and there's two ways of saying his name but I think it's [Cheyenne name] and that's on my father's side. It goes back quite a ways. I think a lot of descendants of White Antelope . . .

A lot of the stories that I heard from when I was young mainly came from my grandmother and people her age, Old Man Fire Wolf and my one grandfather John Teeth. And from my other grandparents, the Highwalkers, High Walking, and a lot of these when I was growing up were never identified as whether they were from Sand Creek or from the breakout at Fort Robinson, or the aftermath of the Battle of the Little Bighorn. So in my mind they're always kind of intertwined, but I do know from the very beginning that the people were treated very, very harshly. I mean you can't treat people any more harshly than actually trying to kill them. And my grandmother, especially, I can remember listening to her . . . as far as getting any information from me about the actual sites, I don't have any of that specific information. I think Luke and the people working on it have better information than I'll ever have.

I graduated from a college at North Newton, Kansas, just 26 miles north of Wichita, Kansas, and I have some friends in Lamar, Colorado and I used to travel through there. I used to travel through Bear Butte and those places and we really have a close identification with those geographical areas, even though it was travelling on highways. When I would go through there and I heard the stories or remember the stories that my grandmother told, she would always name place names. I've forgotten those place names because when you're a young kid you don't listen too well or when you listen you don't retain it all that much. And I would think, "I wonder where that actually happened" because you see Sand Creek on the road and I would often think, "I wonder where that actually happened." And I'm really glad that these kinds of activities are going on because if there's anything that this battle at Washita, the breakout at Fort Robinson, the aftermath of the Battle of Little Bighorn, if anything those have left, it's been a lot of psychological pain for present generations. And I think that by locating these places and having an actual place to go and pay homage to the people who died there, for us it's going to bring closure to a lot of tribal pain that we are presently experiencing. Because I see a lot of our present-day problems as emanating from unresolved grieving issues. And for me, I'm 60 years old, or going to be 60 years old, and for me, these issues need to be resolved for the Northern Cheyennes to make progress again and even become greater people than we are now. And those are the issues that I deal with when I go talk to high school students, because my information on Sand Creek is coming directly from my grandmother. She died in 1966 at 84 years old. I have a hard time remembering that.

When you first came over here to ask me if you could interview me, I've been wracking my brain about trying to get specifics. My opening statement saying that all of these issues of my relatives and how they survived or whether they were killed are kind of a mishmash of information in my head because I see them all as one, not as a continuum. And for that reason I've gone back over the weekend and kind of formulated the idea that we need to deal with these issues straightforwardly as a tribe and as individuals. Because I know that that hurt or that pain is still planted in those incidences. And even now as I talk about it, it really makes me mad that the United States government which constitutionally said that all men are created equal, except for Native Americans and other minorities. The unwritten parts of that constitution are things that really, really have long lasting effects on me even,

as an educator trying to help our youth find their way in this country. To see that kind of hypocrisy from the highest levels of government being carried out at the end of a rifle, that to me is unacceptable. From this you're not going to get very specific information on Sand Creek. I don't have the credentials to be an authority on Sand Creek, but I do know that these battles that I keep referring to have a present-day impact on the attitude of our people. As an illustration of that, a couple of years ago when I first came back to the reservation, we had an intern here doing work in psychology. And she was from the University of Montana. And she came into my office – at that time I was acting president – and asked if she could talk to me. We set a date and time and she said “when did Washita occur” and I said “such and such a date” and then she said “when did Sand Creek occur” and I said “1864” and she said “when did Fort Robinson occur” and I said “1879.” And she was just amazed that these happened over a century ago. Because the clientele she was getting were still talking about those incidences as if they occurred last week, or last month, or last year. And it just amazed her that she didn't know that those were part of our history of the past century, or of the 1800s. And I said, “what does that tell you?” And she told me, “well, it seems like there's still a lot of pain that comes from those incidences.” And I said, “of course it does.” We still live with it. Some people wonder why we have a hard time with white people and white organizations and white systems. That's because those have been very destructive to us as a tribe of people. And she said, “I'm going to have to go back and read on them” and I said “I think you should have done that before you came in here.” Those kinds of incidences really have a long-lasting impact on us as Native Americans. And I said, “I think there are ways of dealing with that.” One is that we have to get over that hurt. We have to make that step to reconcile ourselves with these past incidences. Because if we don't we are going to be continuously bogged down with them. And in my mind, that massacre that started, whether it's Washita or the other battles that I talked about, that massacre that started then is not going to end until we choose to bring closure to it ourselves. That because it's still having a negative effect on us. I'm not a psychologist; I'm mainly just an educator. I'm not a medicine man, I don't belong to any of the societies or anything like that, I'm not particularly a traditional person. But these are things I see in our history that are still having a effect on us and sometimes a negative effect. I've kind of reconciled myself to them. I'm a recovering alcoholic. And I think that a lot of the things that led me to be an alcoholic have a direct correlation with incidences that happened in my past. I don't want to make a big deal out of that because I just plain loved the stuff when I was drinking it, but at the same time, I knew there were deeper reasons. I think that when people see Native Americans, Northern Cheyennes, drinking, abusing, it's not because they're Native Americans or Northern Cheyennes. Part of that is because of policies that have impacted their lives in a highly negative way. And those are the things that I see that are still impacting our students here at Dull Knife Memorial College. Even though they don't hear these stories daily, not any more with the frequency that I did, and at that time, I wasn't paying too much attention to my grandmother. My grandmother and her contemporaries talked nothing but Cheyenne, they used place names that I can't even recall. They used Cheyenne names for everybody and everything, every river, every valley, every mountain. I don't have that proficiency in Cheyenne to remember all of those.

So, as I said, you're not going to get very specific information from me about where to locate Sand Creek, or specific anecdotes about Sand Creek. I do know that that episode is still hurting us today, and for good reason. I think those are the things that Steve and Otto and whoever else is going to be involved, Luke, and whoever else is involved, are going to bring to the Northern Cheyenne people.

Discussion of the Cheyenne Stories

Two themes stand out as prominent among the Cheyenne stories about the Sand Creek Massacre. One is the detailed recounting of the genealogical relationships of victims or survivors of the massacre to present day descendants. Nearly every story is given orientation by placing the storyteller in the context of his or her relationship to ancestors present at the massacre. While the most precise and complex genealogical reconstruction is the eight generations known by Colleen Cometsevah, nearly each person interviewed can recount at least the direct lineal descendants of most of the generations from the time of the massacre to present. Related to this knowledge of family descent, the second most prominent aspect of the stories is the graphic and detailed descriptions of what happened to individual family ancestors. Whether the subject of the story escaped or was wounded or killed, the stories focus on the detailed descriptions of what happened to him or her.

These descriptions are the core of the histories of family members passed from one generation to the next. While other details might be lost over the generations, the recounting of the histories of individual family members is the essence of oral histories best described as "family stories," as discussed earlier. By recounting these family stories, the storyteller may reaffirm his or her context in the history of the family, which in turn is integral to the history of the tribe as a whole. The stories ultimately play an important role in reaffirming the cultural identity of the individuals to whom they were passed down.

This relationship between individual families or family groups is reflected in numerous oral historical references to individual clan or band encampments within the larger village at Sand Creek. Each clan or band encampment had its own identity yet was an inseparable element of the larger whole. These relationships are maintained the same way today and can be seen in the family groupings of neighborhoods within individual Southern Cheyenne communities and the composition of individual communities within the both the Northern and Southern Cheyenne tribes as a whole. The Northern Cheyenne communities of Ashland, Birney, Busby, Muddy and Lame Deer, for example, reflect the ancient band structure of the Northern Cheyennes, as do the various communities in Oklahoma among the Southern Cheyennes. This relationship of band or clan to tribe is reflected in the oral histories of the Sand Creek Massacre.

The stories of terror and escape, while referring to the tragedies experienced by members of individual families, present the fate of each individual as a representation of what happened to the Cheyenne people as a whole. Three-quarters of the Cheyenne stories contained graphic and detailed descriptions of how and where their ancestors

were shot and/or the terror they experienced while managing to escape. Related to these descriptions, more than half the stories refer to the incomprehensible injustice of the United States against the Cheyenne people, and many refer specifically to the hypocrisy of the federal government in dishonoring its own flag. The disregard for the American flag is especially noted by those people who have served in the military. As noted by Northern Cheyenne President Joe Walks Along:

I only went to school through the 11th grade. When I grew up I wanted to finish high school but the federal government called me to serve in Korea . . . I spent 11 months in Korea and every morning we raised the American flag, just like our people did at Sand Creek . . .²²⁸

Sentiments about the injustice of the massacre itself carry forward to the injustice of ignoring the reparations that were promised to Sand Creek descendants in Article VI of the 1865 Treaty of the Little Arkansas. Seven of the Northern Cheyenne stories refer specifically to reparations, stating that even their grandparents spoke of reparations more than two generations ago, and still the people wait. As stated by one woman:

My mother used to tell me, she said towards the end after everything was settled my grandma used to say that there was going to be money involved. Pay back, you know, to what ever people were in on it, relatives and heirs, and she said I'll probably be dead by then and your mother will probably be dead, and then she said maybe you yourself will be gone before this money ever comes. But always tell your grandchildren and your great-grandchildren so they'll know. That's what she was always telling me.²²⁹

It is not unexpected, then, story elements such as geographic details are peripheral to the descriptions of such extreme atrocities and are not salient enough to survive more than five generations, if they were ever included in the first place. They are simply not among the most important aspects of the stories.

. . . [those things] weren't important enough to mention because of the event. That became more important than stating 'there was water here' or that kind of thing. The murder of the people was too prominent, you know . . .²³⁰

There was never anything like that mentioned. What my grandmother told me is that those things were probably not pertinent at that time. She described the events to a certain extent. You take a situation like that . . . those things weren't described, because in her description of it that's all she could talk about and then start crying and never finish.²³¹

Many interviewees noted that some aspects of the stories get lost with the death of each generation. Several people noted that they were very young when they heard the

²²⁸Comments made at National Park Service/Tribal meeting, Billings, Montana, February 9, 2000.

²²⁹See Nellie Bear Tusk interview, also Phillip and Florence White Man, Betty Jo Williams, Genevieve Bear Quiver, Ray Brady, William Gardener, and Don Many Bad Horses.

²³⁰See Elsie Standing Elk Wick interview.

²³¹See Nelson Tall Bull interview.

stories being told by their parents or grandparents. Sometimes they remember overhearing conversation among adults or between parents and older siblings because they were too young to be told the stories directly. Many stated that the stories were often not repeated due to fear of government retribution, extreme emotion, or the fact that the stories belong to the families only (see Evangeline C’Hair; Emma Red Hat; Sam C. Hart (OHS interview); Carol Whiteskunk (OHS interview); Nellie Bear Tusk; Don Many Bad Horses; Betty Jo Williams; Marie Sanchez; Willie Gardener, and Elsie Wick; Nelson Tall Bull).

Some interviewees also articulated that some parts of what they know about Sand Creek come from family stories and some come from what they have read (see Lettie June Shakespeare; Ben Friday, Jr.; Lyman Weasel Bear; Arleigh Rhodes; Colleen Cometsevah; Laird Cometsevah; and William Red Hat Jr. In some cases the events of the Sand Creek and Washita massacres are superimposed (see for example Marybelle Lone Bear Curtis, William Fletcher in OHS interviews, and possibly Annie Brady, who is the only interviewee to mention a person hiding in the water). In the Arapaho narrative by Cleone Thunder, the Sand Creek Massacre is superimposed with the events of an attack in Wyoming involving Arapahos and Shoshones. Two stories also tie the massacre to the Estes Park, Colorado, area (Roger White Turtle, Cleone Thunder) indicating the importance of Estes Park in both Cheyenne and Arapaho oral history and in the peoples’ journey that followed the massacre.

Geographic Elements Of The Cheyenne And Arapaho Stories

Despite some transposition among historical events, the description of the massacre is remarkably consistent among stories. Among those consistencies, several geographic elements recur in some or most of the stories:

?? Stories of Lyman Weasel Bear, Blanche White Shield, Colleen Cometsevah, Laird Cometsevah, and Annie Brady describe water (or lack thereof) to some degree or another. Each person mentioned that there needed to be access to plenty of water, both for the number of people present and for the number of horses. Most interviewees said that the Cheyennes always followed watercourses and always camped by water. Most also said that there was no flowing water in the creek at the time of the massacre, and believed that the horses could have drunk from the standing pools but that people would have to have dug for water or used spring water. An exception to this generalization is Annie Brady’s story, in which she mentions a person who survived the massacre by hiding in the water. See also the Arapaho stories told by Hubert Warren, Lettie June Shakespeare who mention water, and Ben Friday, Jr., who mentions that his relative lost a moccasin in the water while running up the creek during the escape.

At least three people believed that the primary domestic water source must have been a nearby spring. Colleen Cometsevah particularly emphasized the importance of an available spring as a source of drinking water. She noted that it is against traditional Cheyenne belief to drink from a source of water that has been standing overnight and that a source of flowing water would have been a necessity for camping. Blanche White Shield, Marybelle Lone Bear Curtis, Laird

- Cometsevah, and others also noted the importance of springs. The likelihood of another available source of water besides the creek is further supported by the common Cheyenne name for the massacre site which means Dry Creek (Blanche White Shield, Colleen Cometsevah) or “bone dry” (Emma and William Red Hat).²³² Evangeline C’Hair also described the Arapaho name for Sand Creek that translates to “sand”.
- ?? Six stories refer to individuals running up the creek (Blanche White Shield, Arleigh Rhodes, Colleen Cometsevah, Laird Cometsevah, Hubert Warren, and Ben Friday, Jr.). Those that do mention flight up the creek agree that the majority of people in camp, the elderly, women and children, could not have run very far from their lodges before seeking out hiding places in the creek or in the “sandpits.” No interviewee who knew about hiding places, on the basis of their story, had reason to believe that the “sandpits” would have been of any significant distance from the encampment.
- ?? One Cheyenne story (Roger White Turtle) and two Arapaho stories (Hubert Warren, and Lettie June Shakespeare) mention rocky hiding places. Mr. White Turtle and Mr. Warren’s stories are notably similar in their description of a high rock hill or ledge from which someone shouted directions. Mr. White Turtle described an old man standing on a solid rock hill that went straight down, shouting, “This way! This way!” in Cheyenne. Mr. Warren described a high rocky hill from which a man called out in Arapaho, calling a young girl by name and saying “Come up here!” Ms. Shakespeare mentioned the necessity of rocks for hiding but did not mention the high rocky hill specifically.
- ?? Several stories mention hills in general. Perhaps the most specific description is that of Phillip White Man who used an old Cheyenne word meaning “a cove-like place, sheltered by one or more high sides, between the hills but not in the corner where they come together, but out in front at the ends of the hills” to refer to the place where they camped. Hills were also mentioned by Evangeline C’Hair, Annie Brady, Ray Brady, and in Donald Hollowbreast’s graphic representation of the massacre site. Evangeline C’Hair (Northern Arapaho) and Annie Brady (Northern Cheyenne) both described survivors fleeing the massacre and climbing a hill as they fled. Annie Brady described survivors as fleeing up a hill before returning to the massacre site later. Ray Brady describes a hill several miles north of the massacre site to which survivors fled before joining other survivors at other Cheyenne camps. Some of these descriptions refer to descending a hill back to the massacre site to look for survivors after the massacre ended. Donald Hollowbreast’s painting shows survivors descending a hill from their hiding place in the body of a dead horse following the massacre.
- ?? Along with descriptions of hills, several people mention the presence of trees near the massacre site. Joe Big Medicine describes his family history of a small forested area near the massacre site where young boys hunted rabbits for food prior to the massacre. Donald Hollowbreast graphically represents trees in the vicinity of the place where a woman and her granddaughter finally left after hiding in the body of a dead horse in the days following the massacre. Elsie

²³²Other Cheyenne names for Sand Creek mean “chaos” (Emma and William Red Hat, Jr.), “the place where Black Kettle was rubbed out” (Joe Osage), and “the place they (our people) were destroyed (Colleen Cometsevah), and “the place where the Cheyennes got annihilated” or “the camp where our people were annihilated” (Elsie Standing Elk Wick).

Standing Elk Wick related that her mother told her the people camped in a grove of trees and Ray Brady mentions noticing the trees when visiting the massacre site in the 1950s or 1960s.

- ?? Although mentioning hills and trees, Alfred Strange Owl, Elsie Standing Elk Wick and Ray Brady all commented on the flatness of the area today, and the implicit vulnerability of the people camped there at the time of the massacre.
- ?? Many of the interviewees had been to the site in the past, as children with their families or more recently, or heard about visits to the site from parents or other family members. These visits go back to at least the 1940s and were to the location of the monument and the south bend. In all cases, the interviewee stated that “the Southern Cheyennes have always known where the site is” and that its location on the Dawson property is common knowledge. (See interviews by Blanche White Shield, Arleigh Rhodes, Colleen Cometsevah, Laird Cometsevah, Jesse Howling Water, Emma and William Red Hat Jr., Robert Toahty, and Josephine White). Northern Cheyennes who had been to the site in the past include Ray Brady and Alfred Strange Owl, who has been to the site twice.

Details about the size of the encampment, both in geographic space and in numbers of lodges and individuals present and other physical detail vary among some of the stories. Estimates of the number of people present vary from 500 (William Red Hat, Jr.) to 3,000 (Jesse Howling Water), or somewhere in between (Colleen Cometsevah and Laird Cometsevah). Estimates of the size of the encampment also vary from about 50 acres (William Red Hat, Jr.) to the area graphically depicted by Laird Cometsevah within the south bend (about 130 acres), to descriptions of the artifact scatter as representing the north end of the camp site, extending into the south bend (eg. Joe Big Medicine). Based on traditional methods of site location, Robert Toahty estimates that bodies were scattered two miles upstream from the crux of the Dawson south bend, below the ridge on which the historical marker is located. Jesse Howling Water also believes that the village was located primarily within the south bend but that people ran to the north during their flight. Stories of Marie Sanchez, Elsie Standing Elk Wick and Ray Brady all suggest that the encampment was large enough that the fighting had already begun in some parts of the village when people camping in other parts were still able to get their family members on horses and get them out. Elsie Standing Elk Wick stated that the Cheyenne always camped in a loosely formed circle with the opening to the east and the Chiefs in the middle, reinforcing Laird Cometsevah’s knowledge of a more-or-less circular arrangement of lodges camped in a defensive, circular pattern.

Most Cheyenne interviewees who discussed the makeup of the camp believed that the Arapaho camp was further south of the Sand Creek Massacre site, and some say that a small group of Arapahos may have been present at the Cheyenne camp just prior to the massacre but not during the massacre itself (see Lyman Weasel Bear, Colleen Cometsevah, Laird Cometsevah, Jesse Howling Wolf, Emma and William Red Hat Jr., Carol Whiteskunk, OHS interview, also William Gardener). Joe Big Medicine, in the interview with Emma and William Red Hat Jr., explained his understanding that there were eight lodges of Arapahos, or about 42 people, that were camped about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the Cheyenne camp, and that the larger camp of Little Raven was about 20

miles away. He stated that all but four of these 42 individuals left to join Little Raven's camp just prior to the attack. William Red Hat, Jr. stated that this description corroborated his understanding that the Arapaho Left Hand and several others had been visiting the Cheyenne camp and had left just prior to the attack, but when he was less than a mile south of the Cheyenne camp he made the howling sound of a wolf as a warning to the Cheyennes. Jesse Howling Water also heard that the Arapaho camp was about 20 miles south. According to Laird Cometsevah, written accounts state that Chivington found the Arapaho encampment 30-40 miles south along the Arkansas River following the massacre. In contrast, Hubert Warren described the Arapahos as camping ". . . in the same depression but separated, like at Pow Wow's today. Pretty close but just apart." And Ben Friday, Jr. stated that the majority of what became the Northern Arapaho tribe was camped at Sand Creek and that many of the Arapaho clans contained Cheyennes through intermarriage, so the question of separate Cheyenne and Arapaho camps does not make sense.

While these questions are beyond the scope of this study, they do enforce the Northern Arapaho oral history team's conclusion that additional research surrounding this question is necessary. It also speaks to the importance of the genealogical research that many tribal members are currently working on. As the narratives have illustrated, intermarriage among generations of people from different tribes, in addition to the use of the same given names by many generations of descendants (including, for example, various Black Kettles, Left Hands, etc.) has resulted in extremely complex genealogies. Further genealogical research may continue to address the questions of the contemporary descendants of people who were present at the time of the massacre.

Despite questions about geographical detail that may never be answered, indisputable is the sense of chaos, running, scattering, horror, fear, and blood that nearly every story shares. Perhaps because of the magnitude of the loss of life that occurred in one place, many interviewees mentioned that there are other ways besides the stories or written accounts by which they know of the location of the massacre site. While a description of these traditional cultural methods of site location is beyond the scope of this study, several people mentioned specifically spiritual experiences they have had while visiting the massacre site or traditional ways that could be used to locate it.

Traditional Methods Of Site Location

Among the traditional ways of knowing about the massacre site, the one that is mentioned most frequently is sensing a spiritual presence or hearing the voices of women, children, horses or other animals while present on the site.

A detailed account of such an experience was given in the interview of Robert Toahy transcribed in this report. Based on his experience, Mr. Toahy believes that the people killed at Sand Creek are scattered for about two miles north of the stone monument in the creek bed.

Several other people also mentioned hearing the voices of both people and horses. Mr. Laird Cometsevah described hearing the voices of people while on site both during the 1997 and 1999 archeological field sessions. In 1997, the voices of women

running and crying were first heard while Mr. Cometsevah and others were standing just east of the monument. The women were running west toward the monument, and were heard again later in the vicinity of the picnic table. Mr. Joe Osage, also a Cheyenne Chief, tells of feeling peoples' sorrow at the Washita Massacre site and that he gives food offerings when he is there. He feels the same way about Sand Creek. Mr. Cometsevah explained that:

. . . Cheyennes have a different view than other Indians or white men. White men call it a sixth sense, maybe the Cheyennes have an extra sense where they can feel or see spirits or areas where spirits are present. Sometimes they see their ancestors, in daylight or night; they have this extra gift that was given to them by the Almighty. Before going up to this area Joe Big Medicine, Luke Brady, and I had a spiritual feeling. So we put on our red paint and when we put it on that's when they found the area with the 75 musket balls . . . they found them when we put on our paint. Also, east at the Kern's property we did the same thing and that's why they found some more. This is the Indian way of doing things, this is the traditional method. It still works and it still has its powers . . .

These ceremonial powers to help locate the site were also mentioned by Lyman Weasel Bear, Sr. He described the use of the Spirit Lodge ceremony to locate spirits of the deceased and said that it is a very sacred ceremony done only by specific medicine people and that it is not to be spoken of lightly. Mr. Cometsevah also mentioned that the former Arrow Keeper made Cheyenne Earth at the site in 1978, and through that ceremony consecrated the massacre site. The pipe ceremony that took place on site during the May 1999 fieldwork further carried out the proper ceremonial blessings of the massacre site.

Other signs seen or heard at the site include the presence of certain sacred animals. Badger and Eagle, both of which were seen at the site, have very specific cultural meaning, as do other animals and plants (Laird Cometsevah). Robert Toahty also heard coyotes and noticed that the birds avoided the trees in which he heard the voices of children playing.

Mr. Weasel Bear also mentioned that traditional stories mention the presence of a bright white light that came up and then diminished during the attack and Robert Toahty described a dome of light that is present over the site today.

Blessings at the south site (Dewitt/Ballentine property) were also offered by the Northern Arapaho delegation during the May 1999 archeological fieldwork, and other experiences may have occurred there to indicate a spiritual presence at that location as well. Mr. Eugene Ridgely Sr. remembers his father telling his uncles that he offered a prayer on his way to that site in the 1930s.

During the May 1999 field session, Northern Arapaho elders also offered prayers from the Bowen property in the direction of the Kern property, helping to confirm that the artifacts would be found there a short time later.²³³

²³³Gail Ridgely, personal communication to Christine Whitacre, January 24, 2000, and Gail Ridgely and Eugene Ridgely, Sr. to Barbara Sutteer and Alexa Roberts, February 28, 2000.

Mr. Cometsevah also mentioned that both the cache of musket balls and the concentration of artifacts were found after he, Luke Brady, Northern Cheyenne descendant, and Joe Big Medicine, Southern Cheyenne descendant, prepared themselves with red paint while on site in May 1999.

While those traditional methods that were mentioned during interviews are included here, Ms. Barbara Sutteer, Chief of the Office of American Indian Trust Responsibility, has been in closer touch with tribal representatives in the field and regarding traditional site location methods. She and individual tribal representatives should be consulted for additional information about these sensitive matters.

Recommendations And Conclusions

This project constitutes the beginning of an oral history project, based strictly on the need to incorporate every possible line of evidence into the investigation of the massacre site location. It certainly does not constitute the wealth of oral historical information that still exists and that should be collected while the oldest memories are still alive. Table 5 lists people who other interviewees have recommended as possibly having stories and who have not yet been asked if they would like to tell them.

Working together, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes and the National Park Service have initiated a project that can and should be continued, beyond the site location study. Steve Brady Sr., Chairman of the Northern Cheyenne Band of Sand Creek Descendants, recommends that one vital component of future site management must be funding to continue the oral history effort that has only just begun.²³⁴

The Southern Arapaho Tribe has entered into a cooperative agreement to conduct an oral history project and has not yet initiated that effort. Eugene Black Bear, Vice Chairman of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, expressly stated for the record that the oral history project must continue into the future.²³⁵

Oral histories must continue to be a vital part of any long-range site management plans that may result from the current studies. More importantly, they will be a vital part of tribal archives and educational materials for the generations yet to come. The National Park Service and the four Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes should continue to collaborate on developing Sand Creek oral history projects as each tribe considers appropriate. Development of oral history project plans should continue to be a regular part of the long-term planning for the management of the Sand Creek Massacre site into the future.

Importantly, although the collection of oral histories must be an ongoing effort, the wealth of information that has already been collected must be used as a foundation for continued archeological investigations. Additional efforts to locate fire hearths, tipi rings, sweat lodge rocks, springs, hills, and other features specifically mentioned in the

²³⁴Steve Brady, personal communication to Alexa Roberts, February 13, 2000.

²³⁵Eugene Black Bear, statements made at NPS/Tribal meeting, Billings, Montana, February 10, 2000.

oral histories must also continue into the future, as should efforts to locate sources of information that are reported to still exist in various archives.

Table 5: Potential Interviewees Recommended During Interviews

Person Recommending Interviewee	Potential Interviewee
Blanche White Shield	Maude White Skunk
Bob Standing Water	Emma Hart
Bill Wilson	Lawrence Hart
Joe Osage	Gerald Panana
	Marcella Howling Wolf
	Cynthia Whiteskunk
Robert Toahy	Lillian Pratt
Roger White Turtle	Lucille Bent
	Imogene Jones
Lyman Weasel Bear	Elsie Weasel Bear
	Myrtle Woods
Barbara Sutteer	Knowledgeable Ute Tribal Members
Northern Cheyenne Interviewees	Betty Rogers
	Xavier Crazy Mule
	Joe Fox
	Charlie Wolf Black
	Clarence Medicine Top
	Alva Fire Crow
	Martha Wolf Name
	Charles Little Old Man
	Harriet Little Bird
	Hubert Seminole
	Inez Wilson
	Cora Wilson
	Navitt Wilson
	Donna Limpy Gonzalez
	Daniel Pine
	Rock Red Cherries
	Gertrude Fire Crow
	Ruby Roubideaux

Many interviewees have expressed specific sentiments and recommendations about the future of the site and how it ultimately should or should not be managed. The recommendations included in these transcripts should be reviewed and incorporated into the Special Resource Study.²³⁶

Finally, the significance of continuing with the development of a Sand Creek Massacre memorial must be noted. Several people explained the importance of formally designating the Massacre Site as a way of allowing the Cheyenne and Arapaho people to come to terms with their own history:

. . . I do know that we . . . have to bring closure to it and I think that having monuments, obelisks, whatever we're going to have showing there will help us do that. It's going to be so nice to go over there and maybe even offer some gifts and say, "this is where you're finally going to rest." This is where my thoughts are finally going to rest. This is where my torment about how our relatives were treated is finally going to be at rest.²³⁷

²³⁶Specific sentiments about future site management were expressed by Laird Co metsevah who would like to see the site go back to the original owners through some kind of arrangement with the federal government. He also wants to ensure that any land acquisition that occurs as a result of this study and P.L.105-243 is in no way related to the reparations promised under Article 6 of the Treaty of 1865.

Lyman Weasel Bear believes that the site should be remembered to educate the world about the atrocities committed against Indian people.

Edward Red Hat, Jr. also expressed particular concerns about future site acquisition and management. These concerns will be fully stated in the final, formal transcripts that will be attached to the final report.

Joe Osage discussed the integrity with which the site must be managed, and believes that a memorial listing the names of the victims would help preserve the memory of the people. He also wants to ensure that the appropriate people are consulted in the future.

Robert Toahy believes that the site should be preserved but left undeveloped and that the lead for any future management planning should be taken by the Cheyenne and Arapaho people.

In addition to the sentiments expressed in the interviews recorded here, Eugene Black Bear, Willie Fletcher, Sam Hart, Larry Roman Nose, Melvin Whitebird, Terry Wilson, and Lucille Youngbull all expressed recommendations about future management of both Washita and Sand Creek in the interviews with OHS. These interviews in the OHS report should also be reviewed for the Sand Creek Special Resource Study.

In sum, most of the opinions about site management emphasize tribal involvement in or control of acquisition and management planning, respectful planning, leaving the site as an undeveloped sacred place, education both tribal youth and non-Indians about the underrepresented side of history, and placement of memorials listing the names of massacre victims.

²³⁷Dr. Richard Little Bear interview. See also Marie Sanchez and Elsie Wick.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As a result of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study, the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre has been conclusively identified. Included in this report is a map showing the boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre, which covers approximately 12 sections (7,680 acres) of land in Township 17 South, Ranges 45 and 46 West, Kiowa County, Colorado. This includes all or portions of Sections 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 22, 24, and 25 of Township 17 South, Range 46 West; and Sections 19, 29, 30, 31, and 32 of Township 17 South, Range 45 West. Encircling the site of a running engagement, this boundary extends approximately 5 ½ miles in length and two miles in width, distances that correspond with first-hand descriptions given by participants in the massacre. The boundary encompasses all of the key elements of the Sand Creek Massacre, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site, the sandpits area where most of the fighting and killing took place, the area of Indian flight, and the point from which Colonel John Chivington and his troops launched their attack upon the Indian encampment.

Through a multi-disciplinary approach that included historical research, tribal oral histories and traditional methods, and archeological investigations, the National Park Service Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study resulted in the definitive identification of the massacre site. For the first time, there is conclusive physical evidence of the Sand Creek Massacre, as approximately 400 massacre-related artifacts have been located and identified. In addition, the Site Location Study brought together the most comprehensive research to date regarding the massacre's location, including original maps, diaries, congressional testimony, newspaper articles, interviews, and aerial photographic analysis. Moreover, the project also resulted in the recordation of numerous Cheyenne and Arapaho oral histories on the Sand Creek Massacre. Never before had so many resources been directed towards identifying the location of the Sand Creek Massacre, and the results of this project have contributed greatly to our understanding of this nationally significant site.

As with any historical event, however, our understanding of the Sand Creek Massacre is still limited and obscured through time, in this case 135 years. Thus, although the length and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre have been conclusively identified, there are – as the preceding chapters indicate – differing views regarding some of the specifics of the massacre within that boundary. As has been noted throughout this report, the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study was prepared by the National Park Service in consultation with the Colorado Historical Society, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe.

It is important to note that the National Park Service, the Colorado Historical Society, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and

the Northern Arapaho Tribe all fully support the massacre site boundary presented in this report. They also believe that all the primary elements of the massacre, including the Indian encampment and the sandpits, are within the boundary. However, these groups have varying interpretations of the evidence regarding the location of some of these elements.

The National Park Service believes that the Indian village that was attacked by Chivington's troops on November 29, 1864 was in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. This conclusion is drawn from historical documentation and archeological evidence, detailed elsewhere in this volume. Completed prior to the archeological survey, a review of historical documents, which included an 1868 map of the Sand Creek Massacre area drawn by Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall, indicated that Section 24 was the likely site of the village. The 1999 archeological survey uncovered approximately 400 artifacts in a concentrated area within this section. As discussed by National Park Service archeologist Douglas Scott, the type and distribution of these artifacts are consistent with a Native American encampment of approximately 500 people. The artifacts, which included 12-pounder mountain howitzer spherical case fragments and other Civil War-era ammunition, also indicate that the village was under attack by U.S. Army forces. Although there is no conclusive archeological evidence of the sandpits, historical records indicate they were located anywhere from 300 yards to a high of 2-plus miles upstream of the village, but most accounts coalescing at around one-quarter mile to one mile. As such, the National Park Service believes that the most likely location of the sandpits is in Sections 13 and 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West.

The Northern Arapaho Tribe concurs with the National Park Service on the location of the village and sandpits. As noted earlier in this report, the Northern Arapaho had originally considered the Dewitt/Ballentine site, approximately 20 miles to the south, as the possible location of the massacre. After reviewing the historical and archeological surveys – and following a site visit to the vicinity of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West by tribal elders employing traditional tribal methods – the Northern Arapaho concluded that this general area, where most of the archeological evidence was found, was the site of the Sand Creek Massacre.

Representatives of the other tribes have reached different conclusions. As summarized in the oral history and traditional tribal methods report, the Sand Creek Massacre project representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Cheyenne Tribe believe that the Indian village attacked by Chivington was in the Dawson South Bend, which encompasses Section 25 of Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and Section 30 of Township 17 South, Range 45 West. These representatives believe there are several lines of evidence that support their conclusion. As noted earlier, George Bent, a mixed-blood Cheyenne survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre, had drawn several maps that identified the Sand Creek Massacre. Two of the maps show the village within the crux of a 90-degree bend of Sand Creek. The tribal representatives believe Bent's maps match the configuration of the Dawson South Bend, and are significant evidence that the village was located in that area. As discussed elsewhere in this volume, some Cheyenne oral histories and traditional tribal methods also indicate that the Dawson South Bend was the village

site. These traditional tribal methods include experiencing a spiritual presence and hearing voices at the Dawson South Bend, which has been periodically visited by Cheyenne and Arapaho people since at least the 1940s. Moreover, the Cheyenne Arrow Keeper blessed the Dawson South Bend as “Cheyenne earth” in 1978, thereby designating it as the Sand Creek Massacre site.

If, as the representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Cheyenne Tribe believe, the village was in the Dawson South Bend, then what is the concentration of 400 artifacts approximately one mile north in Section 24? Laird Cometsevah, great-grandson of Cometsevah who was a survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre, believes the artifact concentration may be evidence of the sandpits, or perhaps the New Chicago settlement. Others, including Colorado State Historian David Halaas, believe that the artifacts in Section 24 may represent the northern edge of the village, the area where the U.S. troops bivouacked after the massacre, or both. The State Historian believes that the conclusions reached by the National Park Service as to the extent and location of the village and the sandpits are not definitive, and that additional geomorphological and archeological work may indicate that the village site extended as far south as the Dawson South Bend. However, the Colorado State Historical Society also strongly supports the massacre site boundary as identified in this study.[?]

Oral histories are powerful testimony to the tragic and horrible events of November 29, 1864, and were an integral part of the site location study. They are also another source of differing interpretation as to the location of the massacre site. As detailed elsewhere in this volume, oral history interviewees were specifically questioned about geographical elements of the massacre site. The responses are remarkably consistent in terms of the Indian encampment being near a water source, the proximity of a large natural spring, accounts of people running up the creek, and the presence of trees and hills at the site. But, as noted by Alexa Roberts, geographic details in the oral histories of the Sand Creek Massacre are peripheral to the descriptions of the extreme atrocities committed during the massacre. With important exceptions – such as the description of the site provided by Sand Creek Massacre descendant Laird Cometsevah – geographic details of the massacre site are non-specific as to exact location. (Some interviewees expressed a reluctance to provide more detail because of the oft-stated fear of government retribution, extreme emotion, or the belief that the stories belong to the families only.) Also, in some cases, descriptions of some physical elements of the massacre – such as the relative locations of the Cheyenne and Arapaho encampments, and the size and extent of the village – vary among the oral history accounts. Thus, while the National Park Service believes that the placement of the village in Section 24 is not in conflict with most oral history accounts of the massacre, that is not a view

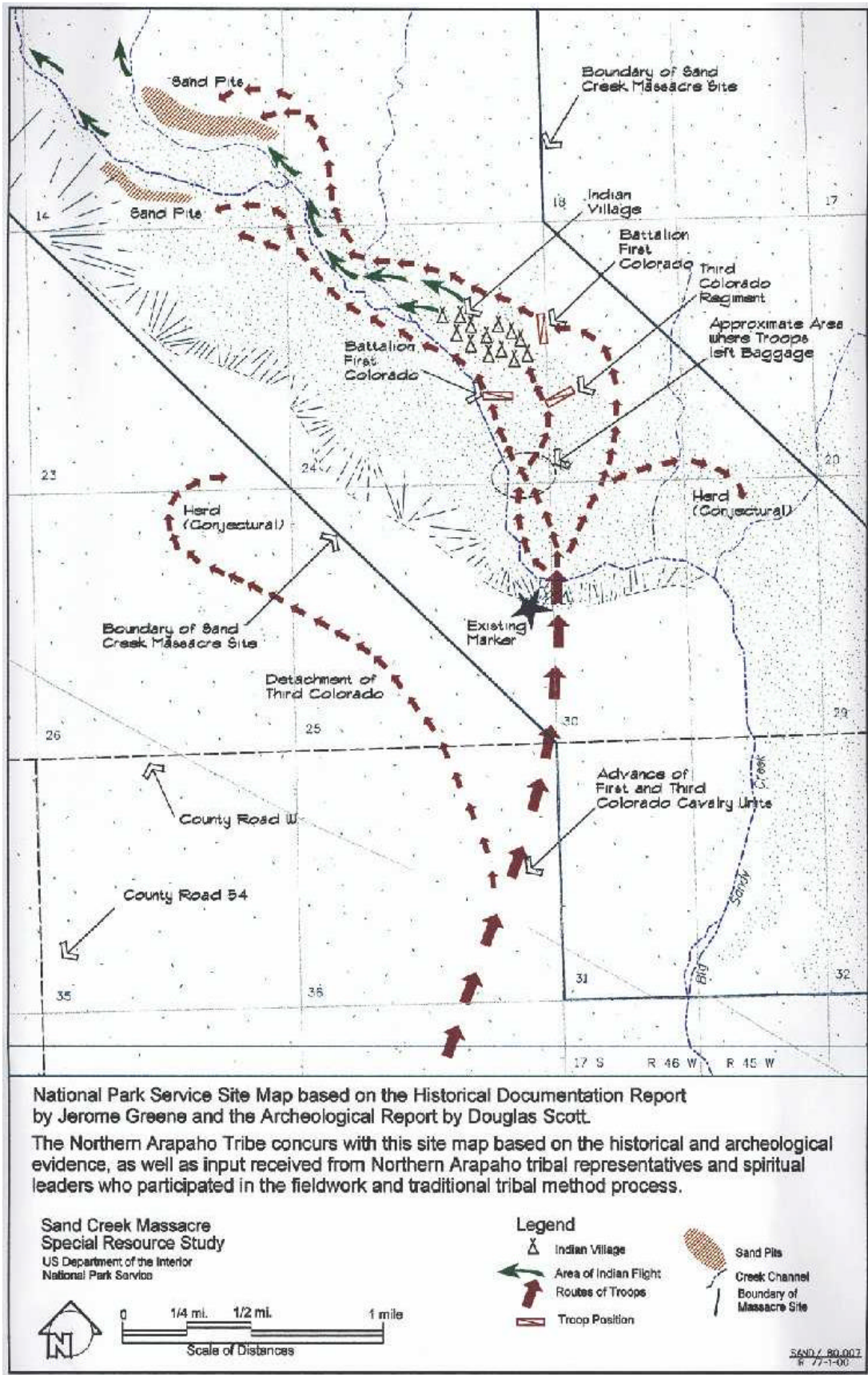
[?] Two of the landowners within the site boundary also have opinions about the location of the components of the massacre. William Dawson believes that the village was within the Dawson South Bend, and that the discovered artifacts represent the northern edge of the village. Chuck Bowen believes the artifacts may represent a smaller Indian encampment three-quarters of a mile downstream from the main village, which he believes is in the Bowen South Bend in Section 14 of Township 17 South, Range 46 West.

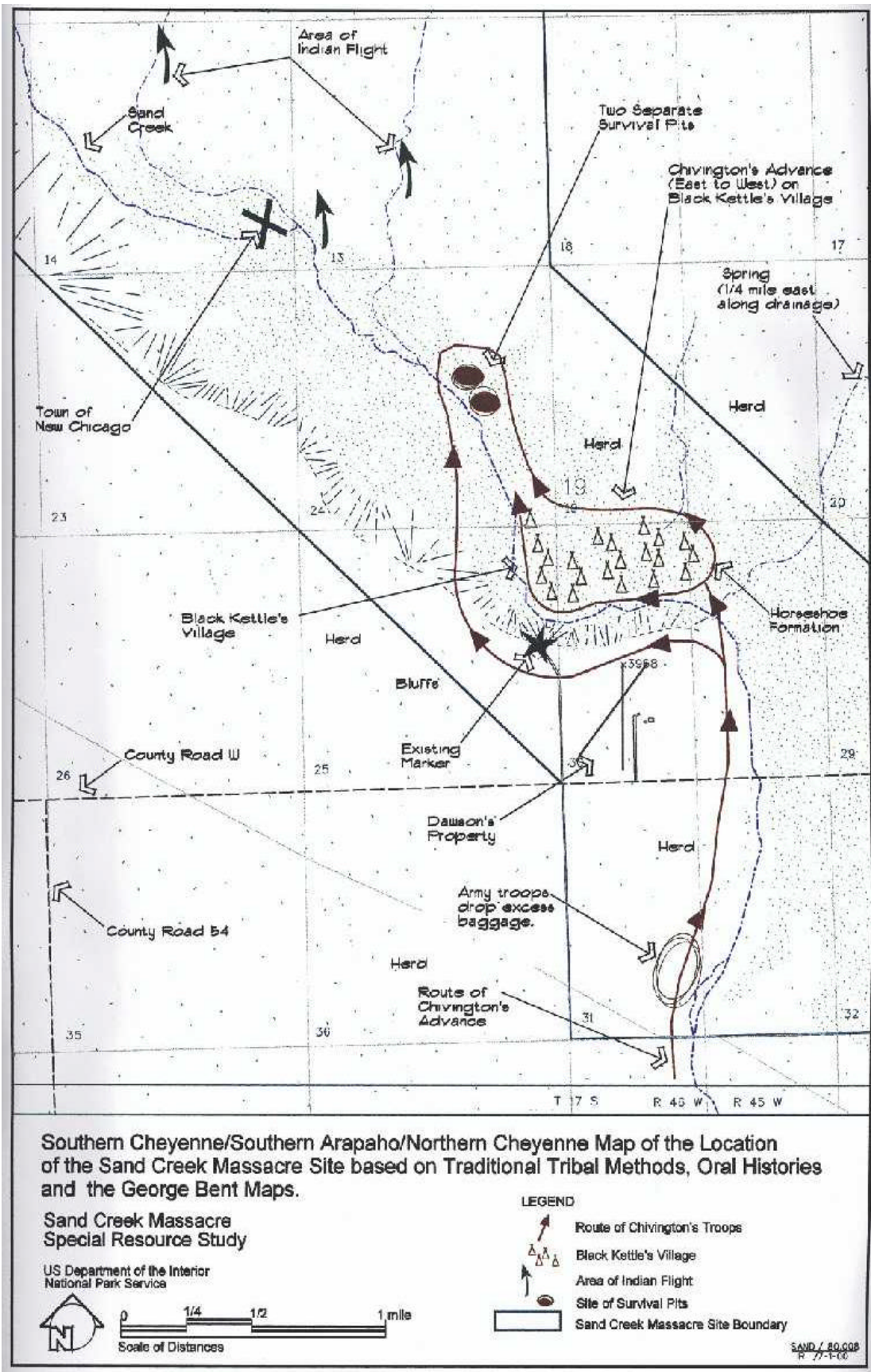
shared by all of the tribal representatives to the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. The Northern Cheyenne and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma believe that the oral histories are strong evidence that the village is located in the Dawson South Bend. And, as noted above, traditional tribal methods employed by these tribes also support the placement of the village in the Dawson South Bend.

Future work, beyond the scope of this project, may resolve these differences. In particular, the project team recommends additional archeological work. Twelve 1864-era artifacts have been found in the Dawson South Bend, discovered either during the 1997 State of Colorado-funded archeological survey or later by landowner Bill Dawson. The National Park Service interprets this paucity of artifacts in the Dawson South Bend as additional evidence that the Indian village that was attacked by Chivington's troops was located one mile further north. However, the representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma and the Northern Cheyenne, as well as the Colorado Historical Society, believe that additional intensive-level archeological work in the Dawson South Bend will result in the discovery of Indian encampment-related artifacts. The Northern Arapaho Tribe would also like to see additional archeological work, including at the Dewitt/Ballentine bend. Specifically, the Northern Arapaho are interested in archeological evidence of sweat lodge rocks, tipi rings, and fire hearths.

Indeed, it is important to note that both the 1997 and 1999 archeological surveys of Sand Creek were conducted only at the reconnaissance level, and are not the final statement on the archeology of the massacre. The purpose of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study was to "identify the location and extent of the massacre area." As Douglas Scott noted in his report, the research goals did not require, nor was it desirable, to find and recover all metallic evidence. Thus, the field approach taken was one of reconnaissance, where the goal was to find evidence of the site and define its boundary.

That task has been completed, and the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre has been conclusively identified to the satisfaction of the National Park Service, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne, the Northern Arapaho, and the Colorado Historical Society. Now that its location is verified, steps can be taken to protect and preserve this nationally significant site. The "Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act of 1998" directed the National Park Service to not only identify the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre, but to also identify alternatives for its management, administration, and protection, including its possible designation as a National Park Service unit. The identified boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre will serve as the basis for those management alternatives.





REFERENCES

Manuscript Material

- Bloomington, Indiana. Indiana University. Lilly Library. Walter M. Camp Collection.
- Boulder, Colorado. Boulder History Museum. Boulder Historical Society Collections. Carnegie Branch Library for Local History. Henry Blake Diary.
- _____. University of Colorado Library. Western History Collections. David H. Nichols Papers.
- _____. _____. _____. George Bent-George Hyde Papers.
- _____. _____. _____. Hal Sayr Papers.
- _____. _____. _____. Harper A. Orahood Papers.
- _____. _____. _____. Hubert H. Bancroft Collection.
- Bowen, Chuck and Sheri Bowen. "The Search for the Sand Creek Massacre." August 1, 1999. Report on file, Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Denver, CO.
- Colorado Springs, Colorado. Colorado College. Tutt Library Special Collections and Archives. Irving Howbert Manuscript Collection.
- _____. _____. _____. Frank Murray Wynkoop, "Data Concerning Col. Edward W. Wynkoop."
- _____. Pioneer Museum of Colorado Springs. Starsmore Research Center.
- _____. _____. _____. Andrew J. Templeton Collection.
- _____. _____. _____. Cragin Notebooks.
- _____. _____. _____. Howbert Family Collection.
- _____. _____. _____. John Wolfe Collection.
- Dawson, William F. "Ordnance Artifacts at the Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Technical and Historical Report." September 1999. Report on file, Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Denver, CO.
- Denver, Colorado. Bureau of Land Management. Colorado State Office. Field notes for surveys in Townships 16 and 17 South, Ranges 45, 46, and 47 West.
- _____. _____. U.S. Post Office Department. Applications for establishment of post offices.
- _____. Colorado Historical Society. George Baxter Collection.
- _____. _____. James R. Doolittle Collection.

REFERENCES

- _____. _____. John Evans Papers.
- _____. _____. Luke Cahill, "Recollections of a Plainsman," ca. 1915.
- _____. _____. Scott J. Anthony Papers.
- _____. _____. Thomas Dawson Scrapbooks.
- _____. _____. Samuel Forster Tappan Manuscript Collection.
- _____. Colorado State Archives. "A Collection of Documents Concerning the Battle of Sand Creek, November 29, 1864."
- _____. Denver Public Library. Western History Department. Arthur Ewing Stevens Letters, 1968.
- _____. _____. _____. Flora Ellice (Bishop) Stevens Reminiscences, 1903.
- _____. _____. _____. John Lewis Dailey Diary.
- _____. _____. _____. Silas Soule Papers, 1861-1865.
- _____. _____. _____. Roleta Teal Papers, ca. 1960s-1970s.
- _____. _____. _____. William B. Thom Letters.
- _____. _____. _____. William Dixon Manuscript Collection.
- _____. Colorado Adjutant General's Office. Special Orders, Third Colorado Cavalry, 1864.
- _____. Colorado State Engineer's Office. State Engineer Records. Division of Water Resources.
- _____. University of Denver Archives. Raymond G. Carey Manuscript Collection.
- Eads, Colorado. Kiowa County Abstract Company. Land Records.
- Holmes, Amy and Michael McFaul. "Geomorphological and Geoarchaeological Assessment of the Possible Sand Creek Massacre Site, Kiowa County, Colorado." 1999. Manuscript on file, Intermountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Lakewood, CO.
- Hunt, William J., Jr. "Firearms and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade Frontier: Weapons and Related Materials from Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site (23WI17), North Dakota." Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 1989.
- Ireland, Arthur K. "Analysis of Aerial Photography from 1936-37, 1954, and 1975." 1999 report. National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office - Santa Fe.
- Lamar, Colorado. Big Timbers Museum. "Sand Creek, Copies of Various Papers Relating to the Incident."
- Masich, Andrew E. "Russellville Archaeology Project: A Preliminary Report on Ammunition and Ammunition Components." Undated Manuscript. On file, Office of the State Archeologist, Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

- Petersen, Harold. "American Indian Tomahawks." New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1965.
- Ridgely Eugene , Sr. and Gail Ridgely. *National Park Service Site-Visit "Sand Creek" Lamar, Colorado May 18-28, 1999, Meeting and Site Visit Report to the Northern Arapaho Business Council*. On file, Northern Arapaho Business Council.
- Roberts, Gary L. "The Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Report on Washington Sources." Unpublished report dated January, 1999, prepared for the National Park Service.
- Scott, Douglas D.; Bond, Anne Wainstein; Ellis, Richard; and Lees, William B. "Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864." Unpublished draft report dated April, 1998. Department of Southwest Studies, Fort Lewis State College, Durango, Colorado.
- Washington, D.C. Library of Congress. William T. Sherman Papers.
- _____. National Archives. Record Group 46. Records of the U.S. Senate.
- _____. _____. Record Group 49. Records of the Bureau of Land Management.
- _____. _____. Record Group 75. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- _____. _____. Record Group 77. Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers.
- _____. _____. Record Group 94. Records of the Office of the Adjutant General.
- _____. _____. Record Group 108. Records of the Headquarters of the Army.
- _____. _____. Record Group 112. Records of the Office of the Surgeon General.
- _____. _____. Record Group 114. Records of the Soil Conservation Service.
- _____. _____. Record Group 153. Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate.
- _____. _____. Record Group 159. Records of the Inspector General.
- _____. _____. Record Group 393. Records of United States Army Continental Commands.
- Wegman-French, Lysa, and Whitacre, Christine. "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 1)," September 11, 1998. National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver.
- Wegman-French, Lysa, and Whitacre, Christine. "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 2)," January 29, 1999. National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver.
- Wegman-French, Lysa, and Whitacre, Christine. "Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site (Interim Report No. 3)," April 27, 1999. National Park Service Intermountain Support Office-Denver.

Government Publications

- Albright, John and Douglas D. Scott. "Historic Furnishing Study: Historical and Archeological Data, Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas." Denver, CO: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1974.
- Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961.
- Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891 (reprint entitled *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War*. New York: Arno Press and Crown Publishers, 1978).
- Chamberlain, Andrew B. "Historic Furnishings Report: Indian Trade House and Storage Room, Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, Williston, North Dakota." Harper's Ferry, WV: Division of Historic Furnishings, Harper's Ferry Center, National Park Service, 1993.
- Coffin, Donald L. *Geology and Ground-Water Resources of the Big Sandy Creek Valley, Lincoln, Cheyenne, and Kiowa Counties, Colorado*. Geological Survey Water-Supply Paper 1843. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967.
- Field Service Regulations, United States Army*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905.
- Haecker, Charles. "A Thunder of Cannon: Archeology of the Mexican-American War Battlefield of Palo Alto." *Southwest Cultural Resources Center Professional Papers No. 52*. Santa Fe, NM: Division of Anthropology and History, Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, 1994.
- _____. "Archeological Remote Sensing Survey of the Civil War Site of Camp Lewis, Pecos National Historical Park, San Miguel County, New Mexico." Cultural Anthropology Projects, PECO-01. Santa Fe, NM: Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, National Park Service, 1998.
- Heitman, Francis B. (comp.) *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*. 2 vols. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903
- Hunt, William J., Jr. "Fort Union Trading Post National Historic Site, 32WI17, Material Culture Reports, Part V: Buttons as Closures, Buttons as Decorations: A Nineteenth Century Example from Fort Union." Lincoln, NE: Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, 1986.
- Killion, Thomas W.; Brown, Scott; and Speaker, J. Stuart. "Naevahoo'ohsteme (We are going back home): Cheyenne Repatriation: The Human Remains." Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, May 10, 1992.
- Lyle, D. A. and Samuel W. Porter. "Report on the Manufacture and Issue of Files and Rasps." *Executive Documents of the House of Representatives, 47th Congress*,

- Appendix 35 to Ordnance Reports No. 1, Part 2, Volume 3.* Pages 320-385. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1882.
- Myers, Denys Peter. *Gaslighting in America: A Guide for Historic Preservation.* Washington, D.C.: Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1978.
- Petsche, Jerome E. *The Steamboat Bertrand: History, Excavation, and Architecture.* Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1974.
- The Ordnance Manual for the Use of Officers of the United States Army.* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Company, 1862.
- Revised United States Army Regulations, of 1861. With an Appendix containing the Changes and Laws Affecting Army Regulations and Articles of War to June 25, 1863.* Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1864.
- Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1864.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865.
- Scott, Douglas and Linda Scott. "Analysis of the Historic Artifacts and Evidence from Pollen: A 19th Century Ute Burial From Northeastern Utah." Salt Lake City, UT: *Cultural Resource Series*, Number 16, Bureau of Land Management, 1984.
- United States Army Medical Museum Anatomical Section: Records Relating to Specimens Transferred to the Smithsonian Institution.* Washington: National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1990.
- United States Congress. Senate. *Report of Lieutenant J.W. Abert of His Examination of New Mexico in the Years 1846-1847.* S. Ex. Doc. No. 23, 30th Cong., 2d sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1847).
- _____. _____. *Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating . . . a Copy of the Evidence Taken at Denver and Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory by a Military Commission Ordered to Inquire into the Sand Creek Massacre, November, 1864.* S. Ex. Doc. No. 26, 39th Cong., 2d sess., Serial 1277 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867).
- _____. _____. *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, Massacre of the Cheyenne Indians.* S. Rept. No. 142, 38th Cong., 2d sess., Serial 1214 (3 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865).
- _____. _____. *Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs: Report of the Joint Special Committee. Condition of the Indian Tribes With Appendix (The Chivington Massacre).* S. Rept. No. 156, 39th Cong., 2d sess., Serial 1279 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867).
- War Department, Surgeon-General's Office, Circular No. 3, August 17, 1871. *A Report of Surgical Cases Treated in the Army of the United States from 1865 to 1871.* By George A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871.

REFERENCES

The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. 73 vols., 128 parts. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.

Books and Pamphlets

- Afton, Jean, David Fridtjof Halaas, Andrew W. Masich, with Richard N. Ellis. *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat.* Niwot, CO: Colorado State Historical Society and University of Colorado Press, 1997.
- Allen, Barbara Allen and Lynwood Montell. *From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research.* The American Association for State and Local History. 1981.
- Anderson, George L. *Kansas West.* San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1963.
- Baker, James H., and Hafen, LeRoy R. (eds.) *History of Colorado.* 3 vols. Denver: Linderman Company, Inc., 1927.
- Baker, Thomas. *Aerial Archaeology at Sand Creek: An Attempt to Locate the Site of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 in Southeastern Colorado from the Air.* Tijeras, New Mexico: Aerial Archaeology Press, 1998.
- Barber, John L. *The Rimfire Cartridge in the United States and Canada 1857-1984.* Tacoma, WA: Armory Press, 1987.
- Barnes, Frank C. *Cartridges of the World.* 6th Edition. Northbrook, IL: DBI Publishing, 1989.
- Bent County (Colorado) History.* Las Animas: Holly Publishing Company, 1987.
- Berthrong, Donald J. *The Southern Cheyennes.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963.
- Betz, Ava. *A Prowers County History.* Lamar, Colo.: Big Timbers Museum, 1986.
- Bowles, Samuel. *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormans, and the Pacific States with Speaker Colfax.* Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1865.
- Boyd, LeRoy. *Fort Lyon, Colorado: One Hundred Years of Service.* Fort Lyon, Colo.: VA Medical Center, 1967.
- Breakenridge, William M. *Helldorado: Bringing the Law to the Mesquite.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928.
- Brown, Ian. "Historic Trade Bells." *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1975.* Part I, Volume 10 (1977).
- Carroll, John M. (comp.) *The Sand Creek Massacre: A Documentary History.* New York: Sol Lewis, 1973.
- Chapman, Arthur. *The Story of Colorado: Out Where the West Begins.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1924.

- Coates, Earl J., and Dean S. Thomas. *An Introduction to Civil War Small Arms*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1990.
- Coffin, Morse H. *The Battle of Sand Creek*. Ed. By Alan W. Farley. Waco, Tex.: W.M. Morrison, Publisher, 1965.
- Conner, Daniel Ellis. *A Confederate in the Colorado Gold Fields*. Ed. By Donald J. Berthrong. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- Craig, Reginald S. *The Fighting Parson: The Biography of Colonel John M. Chivington*. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1959.
- Cutler, Bruce. *The Massacre at Sand Creek: Narrative Voices*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Dickey, Thomas S. and Peter C. George. *Field Artillery Projectiles of the American Civil War*. Mechanicsville, VA: Arsenal Publications II, 1993.
- Dunaway, David K. and Willa K. Baum. *Oral History, An Interdisciplinary Anthology*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 1996.
- Farrow, Edward S. (comp.) *Farrow's Military Encyclopedia*. 3 vols. New York: Military-Naval Publishing Company, 1895.
- Flayderman, Norm. *Flayderman's Guide to Antique Firearms and Their Values*. Northfield, MN: DBI Books, 1990.
- Frazer, Robert W. *Forts of the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.
- Gibbon, John. *The Artillerist Manual, Compiled from Various Sources and Adapted to the Service of the United States*. Glendale, NY: Benchmark Publishing, 1970., reprint of 1860 edition.
- Gluckman, Arcadi. *Identifying Old U.S. Muskets, Rifles, and Carbines*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1965.
- Grinnell, George Bird. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915; republished, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
- Haecker, Charles M. and Jeffery G. Mauck. *On the Prairie of Palo Alto*. College Station, TX: A&M University Press, 1997.
- Harmon, Dick. "Henry .44-Caliber." In *Archaeological Insights to the Custer Battle* by Douglas D. Scott and Richard A. Fox Jr. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Hazlett, James C., Edwin Olmstead, and M. Hume Parks. *Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983.
- History of the Arkansas Valley, Colorado*. Chicago: O.L. Baskin and Company, 1881.
- Hogan, Marion A. et al. *Kit Carson, Colorado: Home of the Famous Scout, Friendly People and Land of Prime Beef Cattle*. Kit Carson, Colo.: Kit Carson Historical Society, 1974.

REFERENCES

- Hogarth, Andrew, and Vaughan, Kim. *Battlefields, Monuments and Markers: A Guide to Native American & United States Army Engagements from 1854-1890*. Sydney, Australia: Andrew Hogarth Publishing, 1993.
- Hoig, Stan. *The Sand Creek Massacre*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.
- Howbert, Irving. *Memories of a Lifetime in the Pike's Peak Region*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1925.
- Hyde, George. *Life of George Bent Written from His Letters*. Ed. by Savoie Lottinville. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: The Early Crusade for Indian Reform*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Josephy, Alvin M., Jr. *The Civil War in the American West*. New York: Random House, 1991.
- Lees, William B. "When the Shooting Stopped the War Began." In *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War*, pp. 39-59, edited by Clarence R. Geier, Jr. and Susan E. Winter. Knoxville University of Tennessee Press, 1994.
- Linville, Leslie. *Visiting Historic Sites on the Central Hi-Plains*. Osborne, Kansas: Osborne County Farmer, 1979.
- Logan, Herschel. *Cartridges*. New York: Bonanza Books, 1959.
- Lord, Francis A. *Civil War Collectors Encyclopedia*. Volumes I and II. Edison, NJ: Blue and Grey Press, 1995.
- Lowe, Percival G. *Five Years a Dragoon ('49 to '54): And Other Adventures on the Great Plains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.
- Madis, George. *The Winchester Book*. Brownsboro, TX: Art and Reference House.
- Melton, Jack W., Jr. and Lawrence E. Prawl. *Introduction to Field Artillery Ordnance, 1861-1865*. Kennesaw, GA: Kennesaw Mountain Press, 1994.
- Moore, Jackson W., Jr. *Bent's Old Fort: An Archeological Study*. Boulder, CO: State Historical Society of Colorado and Pruett Publishing, 1973.
- McChristian, Douglas. *The U.S. Army in the West, 1870-1880*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Moore, John H. *The Cheyenne Nation: A Social and Demographic History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.
- Nankivell, John H. *History of the Military Organizatins of the State of Colorado, 1860-1935*. Denver: W.H. Kistler Stationery Company, 1935.
- Otero, Miguel Antonio. *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882*. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935.

- Petersen, Philip L. *Arkansas Valley Railway: Branch of the Kansas Pacific Railroad*. Np: Philip L. Petersen, 1993.
- Pitzer, Henry Littleton. *Three Frontiers: Memories, and a Portrait of Henry Littleton Pitzer*. Muscatine, Iowa.: The Prairie Press, 1938.
- Poor's Manual of Railroads*. Annual issues 1868-75.
- Powell, John Peter. *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879, with an Epilogue, 1969-1974*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981.
- Reish, E.C. *Lamar, Colorado: Its First Hundred Years, 1886-1986*. Np, nd.
- Ripley, Warren. *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War*. New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Company, 1970.
- Rock, Jim. *A Brief Commentary on Cans*. Salinas, CA: Coyote Press, 1987.
- Russell, Carl P. *Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.
- Sand Creek Papers: "Testimonies and Statements Reflecting Facts Concerning the Killing of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians on November 29, 1864 by the Third Colorado Volunteers." Black Forest, Colo.: The Black Forest Bookman, 1959.
- Sanford, Mollie Dorsey. *Mollie: The Journal of Mollie Dorsey Sanford in Nebraska and Colorado Territories, 1857-1866*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1959.
- Scott, Douglas and Richard Fox, Jr. *Archaeological Insights into the Custer Battle: A Preliminary Assessment*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.
- Scott, Douglas D., Richard A. Fox Jr., Melissa A. Connor, and Dick Harmon. *Archaeological Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.
- Sellers, Frank. *Sharps Firearms*. North Hollywood, Calif.: Beinfeld Publishing, 1982.
- Shaw, Luella. *True History of Some of the Pioneers of Colorado*. Hotchkiss, Colo.: W.S. Coburn, John Patterson, and A.K. Shaw, Publishers, 1909.
- Stands In Timber, John, and Liberty, Margot. *Cheyenne Memories*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Steffen, Randy. *United States Military Saddles, 1812-1943*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973.
- _____. *The Horse Soldier, 1776-1943: Volume II, The Frontier, The Mexican War, The Civil War, The Indian Wars, 1851-1880*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- Steinel, Alvin. *History of Agriculture in Colorado, 1858-1926*. Fort Collins, Colo.: State Agricultural College, 1926.

REFERENCES

- Stone, Wilbur Fiske. *History of Colorado*. Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1918-19.
- Sylvia, Stephen W. and Michael O'Donnell. *Civil War Canteens*. Orange, VA: Moss Publications, 1983.
- Taylor, Ralph C. *Colorado: South of the Border*. Denver: Sage Books, 1963.
- Thomas, James E. and Dean S. Thomas. *A Handbook of Civil War Bullets and Cartridges*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1996.
- Tice, Warren K. *Uniform Buttons of the United States, 1776-1865*. Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 1997.
- Todd, Frederick P. *American Military Equipage, 1851-1872*. Volume I. Providence, RI: Company of Military Historians, 1974.
- Utley, Robert M. *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967.
- Ware, Eugene. *The Indian War of 1864*. Topeka, Kansas: Crane and Company, 1911; republication, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960.
- Werner, Fred H. *The Sand Creek Fight, November 29, 1864*. Greeley, Colo.: Kendall Printing Company, 1993.
- White, Virgil D. (comp., ed.) *Index to Indian Wars Pension Files, 1892-1926*. 2 vols. Waynesboro, Tenn.: National Historical Publishing Company, 1987.
- Williams, Scott C. (comp.) *Colorado History Through the News (A Context of the Times): The Indian Wars of 1864 Through the Sand Creek Massacre*. Aurora, Colo.: Picket of Ware Publishing, 1997.
- White, Lonnie J. (ed.) *Chronicle of a Congressional Journey: The Doolittle Committee in the Southwest, 1865*. Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Company, 1975.
- Woodward, Arthur. *The Denominators of the Fur Trade*. Pasadena, CA: Westernlore Press, 1970.
- Wynkoop, Edward W. *The Tall Chief: The Unfinished Autobiography of Edward W. Wynkoop, 1856-1866*. Ed. by Christopher B. Gerboth. Denver: Colorado Historical Society Monograph No. 9, 1993.

Articles

- Anderson, Adrienne. "The Archeology of Mass-produced Footwear." *Historical Archeology* (1968) 2:56.
- Ashley, Susan Riley. "Reminiscences of Colorado in the Early 'Sixties'." *The Colorado Magazine*, XIII (1936), pp. 219-30.
- Berge, Dale. "Simpson Springs Station Historical Archaeology in Western Utah." *Cultural Resource Series 6*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bureau of Land Management, 1980.

- Bloc, Augusta Hauck. "Lower Boulder and St. Vrain Valley Home Guards and Fort Junction." *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (1939), pp. 186-91.
- Burkey, Elmer R. "The Site of the Murder of the Hungate Family by Indians in 1864." *The Colorado Magazine*, XII (1935), pp. 135-42.
- Carey, Raymond G. "Colonel Chivington, Brigadier General Connor, and Sand Creek." *Denver Westerners Brand Book*, XVI (1960), pp. 105-135.
- _____. "The 'Bloodless Third' Regiment, Colorado Volunteer Cavalry." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXVIII (1961), pp. 275-300.
- "Chivington in Colorado." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd, circa 1950s.
- Chivington, John M. "Reminiscences." *Field and Farm*, February 25, 1888.
- _____. "The Pet Lambs." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd.
- _____. "To the People of Colorado: Synopsis of the Sand Creek Investigation." Denver: Np, 1865.
- "Colorado's Territorial Days." *The Trail*, I (March, 1909), pp. 2-3.
- Dormois, John T. "Chivington's Address on Sand Creek." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd.
- _____. "Chivington, Sand Creek." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd.
- _____. "'Friendly' (?) Indians." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd.
- _____. "The Chivingtons." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd.
- Ellis, Elmer. "Colorado's First Fight for Statehood, 1865-1868." *The Colorado Magazine*, VIII (January, 1931), pp. 23-30.
- Fay, George E. (ed.) "Military Engagements Between United States Troops and Plains Indians: Documentary Inquiry by the U.S. Congress," in *Occasional Publications in Anthropology: Ethnology Series*. No. 26, Part Ia and Part Ib. Greeley, Colo.: University of Northern Colorado, 1972.
- Goodykoontz, Colin B. "Colorado as Seen By a Home Missionary, 1863-1868." *The Colorado Magazine*, XII (1935), pp. 60-69.
- Hafen, LeRoy. "Map of Early Trails, Forts and Battlefields of Colorado." *Municipal Facts Magazine*, VII (March-April, 1924).
- Hall, J.N. "Colorado's Early Indian Troubles As I View Them." *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (1938), pp. 126-30.
- Hanson, James. "Upper Missouri Arrow Points." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 8(4):2-8 (1972).
- _____. *Metal Weapons, Tools, and Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.
- _____. "The Scalping Knife." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 23(1):8-12 (1987).
- _____. "Butcher Knives." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 23(3):1-5 (1987).

REFERENCES

- _____. "Sheet Iron Kettles." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 28(1):2-6 (1992).
- Hedren, Paul L. "Army Tincups on the Western Frontier." *Military Collector and Historian* 44(2):57-63 (1992).
- Herskowitz, Robert M. "Ft. Bowie Material Culture." *Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 31*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1978.
- Herzog, Lillie A. "History of Kiowa County," in Thomas S. Chamblin (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado*. Denver: Colorado Historical Association, 1957.
- Hewet, Edgar L. "Tom Tobin." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXIII (1946), pp. 210-11.
- Hurd, C.W. "The Chivington Massacre (Sand Creek Battle)," in Thomas S. Chamblin (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of Colorado*. Denver: Colorado Historical Association, 1957.
- Isern, Thomas D. "The Controversial Career of Edward W. Wynkoop." *The Colorado Magazine*, XL (1979), pp. 1-18.
- Kelsey, Harry. "Background to Sand Creek." *The Colorado Magazine*, XLV (1968), pp. 279-300.
- Kinzer, James B. "The Invention of the Extractor: The Successful Winchester Repeating Rifle." *Gun Report* 28(8) (1983).
- LeCompte, Janet. "Charles Autobees." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXV (1958), p. 303.
- Livermore, Marlin. "The Era of Fictitious Surveys: Part I." "Following in the Footsteps of a Fraudulent Survey: Part II." Canton, Mich.: P.O.B. Publishing Company, 1991.
- Lubers, H.L. "William Bent's Family and the Indians of the Plains." *The Colorado Magazine*, XIII (1936), pp. 19-22.
- Metcalf, George. "Notes on Two Paiute Burials and Associated Artifacts." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* 10(1-2) (1974):2-22.
- Mumey, Nolie. "John Milton Chivington: The Misunderstood Man," in *Denver Westerners Brand Book*. Ed. By Charles S. Ryland. Denver: The Westerners, 1956, pp. 127-48.
- Myers, J. Jay. "The Notorious Fight at Sand Creek." *Wild West*, (December, 1988), pp. 42-47.
- Nankivell, John H. "Fort Garland, Colorado." *The Colorado Magazine*, XVI (1939), pp. 13-28.
- Perrigo, Lynn I. (ed.) "Major Hal Sayr's Diary of the Sand Creek Campaign." *The Colorado Magazine*, XV (1938), pp. 41-57.
- Prentice, C.A. "Captain Silas S. Soule, a Pioneer Martyr." *The Colorado Magazine*, XII (1935), pp. 224-28.

- Sanford, Albert B. (ed.) "Life at Camp Weld and Fort Lyon in 1861-1862: An Extract from the Diary of Mrs. Byron N. Sanford." *The Colorado Magazine*, VII (July, 1930), pp. 132-39.
- Scott, Douglas D. "A Sharp Little Affair: The Archeology of the Big Hole Battlefield." *Reprints in Anthropology, Volume 45*. Lincoln, NE: J and L Reprint Company, 1994.
- Shields, Lillian B. "Relations with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in Colorado in 1861." *The Colorado Magazine*, IV (August, 1927), pp. 145-48.
- Smith, G. Hubert. "Like-A-Fishhook Village and Fort Berthold, Garrison Reservoir, North Dakota." *Anthropological Papers 2*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1972.
- Spivey, Towana, ed., "A Historical Guide to Wagon Hardware and Blacksmith Supplies." *Contributions of the Museum of the Great Plains, No. 9*. Lawton, OK.: Museum of the Great Plains, 1979.
- Switzer, Ronald R. "Maynard Cartridges and Primers from the Steamboat Bertrand." *Military Collector and Historian* 24(3) (1972):85-87.
- _____. "Munitions on the *Bertrand*." *Archaeology* 25(4) (1972):250-255.
- _____. "Butcher Knives as Historical Sources." *Museum of the Fur Trade Quarterly* (8)1 (1972):5-7.
- "That Chivington TV Program." *Masonic News-Digest*, nd, circa 1950s.
- Thompson, George W. "Experiences in the West." *The Colorado Magazine*, IV (1925), pp. 175-79.
- Tobin, Thomas J. "The Capture of the Espinosas." *The Colorado Magazine*, IX (1932), pp. 59-66.
- Sayre, Hal. "Early Central City Theatrical and Other Reminiscences." *The Colorado Magazine*, VI (1929), pp. 47-53.
- The Trail*. Volumes I (Nos. 5, 6, 12); II (10, 12); III (4, 12); IV (1); VIII (4, 12); XV (3); XX (5).
- "Why the Chivingtons?" *Masonic News-Digest*, nd, circa 1950s.
- Willard, James F. "The Tyler Rangers: The Black Hawk Company and the Indian Uprising of 1864." *The Colorado Magazine*, VII (1930), pp. 147-52.
- Wright, Arthur A. "Colonel John P. Slough and the New Mexico Campaign." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXIX (1962), pp. 89-105.
- Wroten, William M., Jr. "Colorado and the Advent of the Civil War." *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXVI (1959), pp. 174-86.

Newspapers

- American Pioneer*. Nd.
- Army and Navy Journal*, 1867.

REFERENCES

- Colorado Prospector*. 1969.
- Colorado Springs Gazette*. 1904. 1906. 1908. 1921. 1923. 1924. 1932.
- Colorado Springs Telegraph/Gazette*. 1884. 1886.
- The Denver Post*. 1903. 1908. 1921. 1968.
- The Denver Republican*. 1883.
- The Denver Times*. 1883. 1905.
- Gazette Telegraph (Colorado Springs)*. 1975.
- Kiowa County Press (Eads)*. 1906. 1917. 1927. 1929. 1940. 1941.
- Lamar Daily News*. 1950. 1994.
- Lamar Tri-State Daily News*. 1963.
- Leadville Daily Chronicle*. 1879.
- The Miner's Register (Central City)*. 1864. 1865.
- Montrose Press*. 1937.
- The Nationalist (Manhattan, Kansas)*. 1890.
- National Tribune*. 1905.
- Pueblo Star Journal and Sunday Chieftain*. 1968. 1994.
- Rocky Mountain News*. 1867. 1868. 1876. 1893. 1904. 1923. 1947. 1963. 1967.
- Star Journal (Pueblo)*. 1948.
- St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. 1876.
- Westword (Denver)*. 1998.
- Winners of the West*. 1925. 1926.

Maps and Plats

- "Asher and Adams's Colorado." 1875. Denver Public Library, Western History Department.
- Baumbach, John. "Chivington Battle Field." 1938. Office of County Surveyor, Cheyenne County, Colorado. Colorado Historical Society.
- Bent, George. Untitled map of the Cheyenne Village and Sand Creek Massacre. Indian Archives Division, Cheyenne/Arapaho Agency File, "Warfare," 1864-1885, Microfilm Roll 24. Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.
- _____. "Arapahoe [Cheyenne] Positions at Sand Creek." Shows Cheyenne village, prepared ca. 1905-14. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 1. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- Bent, George and George Hyde. "Arkansas River Area," prepared in ca. 1905-14. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 2. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- _____. "Bent's Old Fort." Map of Arkansas River, Sand Creek, and Western Kansas, showing massacre site south of the confluence of Rush and Sand creeks.

- Prepared in ca. 1905-14. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 3. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- _____. "Camp after Sand Creek and Trail to North Smoky Hill," prepared ca. 1905-14. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 4. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- _____. "Sand Creek Area." Shows massacre site at Rhoades/Bowen bend, prepared ca. 1905-14. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 10. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- _____. "Work Map," 1916. Map of Arkansas River Valley, showing various trails. Bent-Hyde SMSS, Folder 14. Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
- Bonsall, Samuel W. Map accompanying "Journal of the march of a detachment of the men belonging to the Garrison of Fort Lyon, C.T., under the command of Lieut. S. W. Bonsall, 3rd Infantry, from Old Fort Lyon C.T., to Cheyenne Wells, pursuant to S.O. No. 66 Hdqrs., Fort Lyon C.T., June 12, 1868." U.S. War Department, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77; National Archives-Great Lakes Region (Chicago).
- "Center Line Survey." Union Pacific Railroad, ca. 1870. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.
- "Cheyenne Wells" and "Kit Carson." Topographical maps. U.S. Geological Survey, 1890-91.
- "Colton's Sectional & Topographical Map of Colorado." New York, 1872. Denver Public Library, Western History Department.
- Ebert, Frederick J. "Map of Colorado Territory, Showing the System of Parks." Philadelphia, Jacob Monk, 1865. Annotated copy in Raymond G. Carey Collection, University of Denver.
- "Hotchkiss Historical Railroad Map of Colorado." Rocky Mountain Railroad Club, 1913. Map No. 1178. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.
- "Map of Colorado Territory, Compiled from Government Maps and Actual Surveys." Francis M. Case, Surveyor General of Colorado Territory, 1861. S. Ex. Doc. No. 1, 37 Cong., 2d sess. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.
- "Map of Colorado Territory to accompany Hollister's 'Mines of Colorado,' corrected from the Public Surveys of 1866." Denver Public Library, Western History Department.
- "Map of the Survey of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation." Denver, John Pierce, 1863. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75; National Archives-Rocky Mountain Region (Denver).
- "Map of Utah and Colorado." Compiled under the direction of Brevet Colonel William E. Merrill. St. Louis, H. DeWerthern, 1869. Denver Public Library, Western History Department.

REFERENCES

- “North of Chivington, CO” United States Geological Survey Quadrangle, 7.5 Minute Series, 1982.
- Ranching Settlement of East Central Colorado. Sheet No. 1, ca. 1898. Accession No. EP-74, M-92. Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum.
- “State of Colorado.” Compiled under the direction of Harry King, General Land Office, 1897. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.
- “State of Colorado.” Compiled under the direction of I.P. Berthrong, General Land Office, 1910. Bureau of Land Management, Colorado State Office.
- Survey maps, Townships 16, 17 South, Ranges 45, 46, 47 West. General Land Office. Bureau of Land Management. Colorado State Office.
- “Thayer’s Sectional Map of Colorado compiled from the plats and records of the Surveyor General’s Office.” Denver, 1871. Denver Public Library, Western History Department.

Interviews and Letters

- Bowen, Chuck. Interview with Christine Whitacre, Bowen property, April 22, 1999.
- Crow, George. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Eads, Colorado, February 3, 1999.
- Dawson, Ruth. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Lamar, Colorado, March 11, 1999.
- Dawson, William F. Interviews with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Dawson property, Fall 1998 and February 4, 1999.
- Dawson, William F. Letter to Catherine H. Spude, August 11, 1998. National Park Service Files.
- Dennis, C.E. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Hartman, Colorado, March 11, 1999.
- Finney, C. Gordon. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Lamar, Colorado, March 11, 1999.
- Foulke, Lester. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Cheyenne Wells, Colorado, February 1, 1999.
- Hall, Jack. Telephone interview with Christine Whitacre, January 14, 1999.
- Hall, Jack. Letter to Christine Whitacre, January 1999. National Park Service Files.
- Kern, Tim. Telephone interview with Christine Whitacre, February 9, 1999.
- Lovell, Carl. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Cheyenne Wells, Colorado, February 1, 1999.
- Moore, John H. Telephone communication with Jerome A. Greene, March 11 and 30, 1999.
- Rehyer, Loren. Telephone interview with Christine Whitacre, February 2, 1999.

Root, Mae. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Lamar, Colorado, February 5, 1999.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Service Center staff. Interview with Christine Whitacre and Lysa Wegman-French, Lamar, Colorado, February 3, 1999.

Miscellaneous

Balster, Carolyn. "William Bent of Bent's Fort and the Sand Creek Massacre: An Oral Re-Creation." Transcript of an audio cassette, 1981. Las Animas Public Library.

Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Courageous Warrior Society. CD-ROM based on the work of Andrew E. Masich, David F. Halaas, and the Colorado Historical Society. Denver: Metaphor Publishing, nd.

"Documents on the Sand Creek Massacre." *Archives of the West*. Internet, www.pb.org/weta/thewest/wpges640/sandcrk.htm.

Roberts, Gary L. "An Address on the 'Sand Creek Massacre.'" Presented to the Colorado Historical Society, November 17, 1992. Transcribed from a recording by Clark Harbach, March 1993. Big Timbers Museum, Lamar, Colorado.

Meier, Tom. FAX to Christine Whitacre, October 15, 1999. On file at the National Park Service, Denver.

_____. Memorandum to Eugene J. Ridgely Sr. and Gail Ridgely, March 2, 2000. On file at the National Park Service, Denver.

Scott, Douglas D. E-mail to Jerome Greene, December 21, 1998, subject, "Sand Creek geomorp."

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE SITE LOCATION STUDY TEAM MEMBERS

Rick Frost
Project Manager

Christine Whitacre
Team Captain

Barbara Sutteer
Indian Liaison

Jerome A. Greene
Lead Historian

Douglas D. Scott
Lead Field Archeologist

Alexa Roberts
Ethnographer

Steven De Vore
Lead Archeologist

Charles Haecker
Archeologist

Catherine Spude
Archeologist

Arthur K. Ireland
Archeologist/Aerial Photographic
Analyst

Lysa Wegman-French
Research Historian

Matthew Wilson
Curator

Christine Landrum
Archivist

David Hammond
Geographic Information Specialist

Christopher Theriault
Geographic Information Specialist

Brian Carlstrom
Geographic Information Specialist

Lori Kinser
Graphic Artist

Theresa Burwell
Program Assistant

CONSULTATION STUDY TEAM MEMBERS

Southern Cheyenne Designated Representatives

Joe Big Medicine
Eugene Black Bear Jr.
Laird Cometsevah
Edward Starr Jr. (now deceased)
Edward White Skunk

Southern Arapaho Designated Representatives

William "Lee" Pedro
Alonzo Sankey

Northern Arapaho Designated Representatives

Anthony A. Addison Sr.
William J. C'Hair
Hubert N. Friday
Burton Hutchinson
Joseph Oldman
Ben S. Ridgely
Eugene J. Ridgely Sr.
Gail J. Ridge ly
Nelson P. White Sr.

Northern Cheyenne Designated Representatives

Steve Brady
Otto Braided Hair
Steve Chestnut

Conrad Fisher
Norma Gourneau
Reginald Killsnight Sr.
Lee Lonebear
Mildred Red Cherries
Holda Roundstone
Joe Walks Along

Colorado Historical Society

Susan Collins
David Halaas

Additional Consultants

William Dawson
Historical Research on Military
Ordnance
Michael McFaul and Amy Holmes,
LaRamie Soils
Geomorpholocal and Geoarcheological
Study
Gary Roberts, Abraham Baldwin
Agricultural College
Historical Research

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Lists Of Annuity Goods, Claims, And Gifts For The Cheyenne And Arapaho

A. 1858 List

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

North Pawnee Fork K.T.
Near Santa Fe Road
Aug. 21, 1858

Sir

I herewith enclose to you duplicate Bills lading signed by Wm. W. Bent at Kansas City Mo. and duly certified as having been preformed by me agreeable to contract. I found all Indians (five Tribes) belonging to the Upper Ark. Agency assembled at this point from whence they design starting upon their usual summer hunt. I did not therefore think it necessary to compel the Cheyennes & Arrappohoes [sic] to return to Bents Fort before receiving their goods --- . . .

Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servant,
R.C. Miller
U.S. Ind. Agent

Col. A. M. Robinson
Supt Ind Affairs
St. Louis Mo.

[The following list was attached to the above letter. The top of the page contains wording (not transcribed here) related to packages of Indian goods being delivered by Wm. Bent to R.C. Miller, with signatures of both at bottom of page. The original list includes numbers written in words as well as in numerals, and the weight is supplied for each item (not transcribed here).]

33 bales Dry Goods
19 Boxes Dry Goods
6 Bales Domestics
1 Box Beads
1 Cask Beads
20 Boxes Hardware
3 Casks Hardware
20 Boxes Guns
1 Box Powder Horns

26 Boxes Tobacco
175 bags Flour
72 Bags Rice
26 Bags Coffee
80 Bags Sugar
73 Boxes Pilot Bread
4 Kegs Bullets
6 Bundles Hoop Iron [weight = 500]
27 11/32 kegs Powder

B. 1859 Claim

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

[Huntington describes his trip (not transcribed here) from Leavenworth City in Kansas Territory to Denver City on Cherry Creek in March 1859, following the Smoky Hill Trail. Cheyenne Indians robbed him. The list also included prices, which have not been transcribed here.]

Deposition of witnesses taken to be used in the matter of the claim of John Huntington against the Cheyenne Indians for indemnification for losses sustained by said John Huntington at the hands of said Indians.

Deposition of John Huntington

. . . The property stolen as aforesaid near to the best of my recollection [sic] & belief as follows:

To wit:

Flour 125 lbs
 Corn meal 200 lbs
 Meat 250 lbs
 Coffee 25 lbs
 Sugar 25 lbs
 Beans 25 lbs

The following property was also lost as a consequence of the theft:

One Yoke of oxen
 One ox cart
 One Government Tent
 Five Sets Mining Tools
 Cooking Utensils and Dishes
 One Trunk
 One Set of Mason's Tools
 Six Flannel Shirts
 Six Cotton Flannel Shirts
 Two Overcoats
 One Rifle & Acoutrement
 One Mattress
 One Quilt (B-----) [?]
 Five tin buckles [or buckets?]
 Three Camp Kettles
 Three Gold Washers
 Two large tin pans

C. 1861 Request for Goods

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Colorado Superintendency, 1861-1880. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 197. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

[The document begins with a transmittal letter from Governor William Gilpin of Colorado Territory to Honorable William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dated August 3, 1861, submitting an estimate of goods for the Cheyennes and Arapaho Indians, as requested. List is addressed to His Excellency William Gilpin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, dated August 1, 1861, from A.G. Boone, U.S. Indian Agent Upper Arkansas, "in regard to estimate & schedule of goods showing the kind and quality required for the Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Indians for the ensuing year . . ." The estimate begins with long list of a variety of soft goods, e.g. blankets, cloth, hats, hose, gloves, ribbons, etc (not transcribed here). Prices are also listed for all goods, which are not included in this transcript. Hard goods are listed below. In the column to the left, a person with a different hand wrote numbers, x's, 0's and /'s, (1, 2 or 3 of these per line) possibly while filling the order.]

6 Doz Large Blk. Cotton Umbrellas
 2 Doz. Women's Green Silk Umbrellas . . .
 6 Doz Green Wire Goggles
 2 Gross Assorted Pins
 200 # No. 12 Brass Wire
 200 # No. 9 Brass Wire
 20 Doz Gutta Pacha Hair Pins
 20 Doz Wire Hair Pins
 200 Large Bore Percussion Rifles
 100 Large Bore Flint Rifles
 25 Doz. Powder Horns
 1000 Extra Cast Steel Nipples
 50 Nipple Wrenches
 100 Ely's Water Proof Caps
 50 Doz. Basting Spoons
 10 Gross Iron Table Spoons
 200 Doz. Ames Butcher Knives
 100 Nests [Nest's?], Japanned Tin Kettles
 200 Doz Tin Cups
 40 Doz 2 Qt. Pans
 40 Doz 3 Qt. Pans
 50 Doz. Fish Lines
 10 Gross Fish Hooks
 14000 Sharp's Assorted Needles
 100 Doz. Crambo [?] Combs
 50 Doz S.S.S. Fine Combs
 20 Doz 10 in. Mill Saw Files
 50 Doz Hand Saw Files
 80 Doz Metallic Himrd [?]
 100 Doz Fire Steels
 500 # Assorted Cold. [i.e. abbrev of colored] Monntam [?] Beads
 25 Doz. ½ Axes "Collins"
 20 Doz Drawing Knives
 20 Doz Pocket Knives
 8 Doz "Westernholme" Knives
 20 Doz Assorted Frying Pans
 1,000 W [?] Assorted Brass Kettles

12 Doz Fine Hunting Knives
 50 Doz Small Shears
 50 Doz Assorted Scissors
 500 Round Steel Awls
 500 # Skillets & Lids
 20 Doz Corn Brooms
 5,000 # Family Salt (in Small cks [?])
 2,300 # Soda (in Papers)
 4,000 # Com. Chewing Tobacco
 500 # Hoop Iron
 2,000 # Lard
 10,000 # Bacon (Clis [?] Side)
 60 Kegs F.F.F. [might be crossed out] Powder
 50 Bags Bullets [in different hand is written:] Trade Balls
 20 Doz. Stew Pans
 20 Doz. Coffee Mills
 1,000 # Soap (Family)
 2 Cases Chinese Vermillion
 40 M Blk Wampum
 20 M Wht. Wampum
 50 M lbs Super Fine Flour
 4 M lbs Rice
 5 M lbs Rio Coffee
 20 M lbs N.O. Sugar
 300 Pd. 2 inch Hair Pipe (600 ins.)
 300 Pd. 1 ½ inch Hair Pipe (450 ins)
 2 Doz 1 Bay State Shawls

N.B.

In the excess of this estimate for the Cheyennes & Arapahoes I would respectfully recommend if there is any deduction, that it be made from gew gaws, and not from provisions or necessaries of life . . .

Denver City August 1st, 1861

A.G. Boone US Ind Agt
Upper Arkansas

D. 1862 Request for Goods

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Colorado Superintendency, 1861-1880. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 197. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

[The list begins with many soft goods, not transcribed here.]

Upper Arkansas Agency
 Fort Lyon Colorado
 September 25th, 1862

Sir,

Herewith I submit my estimates for goods and presents for the Arapahoes and Cheyenne Indians for the year ending July 1st, 1864.

20 Doz Canadian Belts . . .	15 Doz Squaw Hatchets
100 lbs Seed Beads asst Colors . . .	10 Doz Handled Axes
20 M Wampum	100 Doz Squaw Awls
200 Prs [?] Hair Pipe	100 Doz Fish Lines
15 Sks Rio Coffee . . .	400 Doz Fish Hooks
15 kegs Powder	20 Doz Hand Saw Files
25 sks Bullets	10 Doz Nipples
10 sks Shot No 3	10 Doz Nipple Wrenches
250 lbs Bar Lead	100 M Water Proof Caps
50 North West Guns Flint Locks	20 Doz Basting Spoons
10 Rifles Guns Flint Locks	150 Gross Needles
1500 Flints	24 Doz Course Tooth Combs
20 Nests Nests Jap. Kettles	12 Doz Fine Tooth Combs
100 Camp Kettles	20 Doz Shears
20 Doz. 2 qt. Tin Pans	20 Doz Mirrors
20 Doz 4 qt. Tin Pans	200 Fry Pans
10 Doz. 6 qt Tin Pans	100 Doz Table Spoons
50 Doz Tin Cups	50 Powder Flasks
20 Doz Half Axes	50 Powder Horns

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Your obt. servt.
 S.G. Colley U.S.
 Indian Agent
 Upper Arkansas

To Hon. Wm. P. Dole
 Com. Ind. Affr
 Washington
 D.C.

E. 1863 Letter

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

Cronin, Hurxthal & Sears,
Dry Goods Importers & Jobbers,
118 & 120 Duane Street
New York April 3rd, 1863

Sir,

We have the honor to acknowledge receipt your letter 31st ult. ordering sundry articles as presents for Indians from Upper Arkansas now in your city. We have selected packed & forwarded . . . the goods needed . . .

The "Silver arm bands" ordered are not to be had in the market & it would require 10 days to manufacture them, we therefore sent you the nearest approach to the article, "Silver Brooches," much in use by bands of Arkansas Indians & trust they will answer the purpose . . .

Cronin Hurxthal & Sears

To
Hon. Wm. P. Dole
Com. Indian Affairs

F. April 3, 1863, Receipt

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

[A receipt for items delivered to the United States, Hon. Wm. P. Dole, Comm. Of Indian Affairs, bought from Cronin Hurxthal & Sears. The receipt also had prices, which aren't included in this transcription.]

Case
10 pair 3 point Indigo Blue Mackinac Blankets
20 [might have "z" after 20, for doz?] Indian, Silver Brooches
2 Long Shawls
2 Balmoral Skirts
6 yards Crimson Cotton Velvet
10 Fancy Shells
1 Suit Soldiers Clothes for Boy
Cap, Leggings & shoes
1 suit Mens Clothes
14 pair Gold Epauettes

G. 1863 Goods Requests

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

Washington D.C.
April 1st, 1863

Sir:

I have to request that you will furnish me for the Arapahoes and Cheyennes the following articles under the late treaty with those Indians, viz. ---

200 pairs 3pt. Indigo Blue Mackinac Blankets
100 Blk. Felt hats with gilt cord (large size)
20 doz. Plaid flannel shirts
10 doz. Blk silk handkerchiefs
800 yds Plain Linseys
2000 yds Calico
400 yds Jared [?] list blue cloth
280 8/4 wool shawls
20 doz. Ebony handled Knives 6 & 7 inches
40 doz Half Axes
200 sacks Flour
50 sacks Sugar
10 sacks Coffee
2000 lbs Bacon

Very respectfully
Your Obedt. Srvt.
S. G. Colley
U.S. Agent
Upper Arkansas

Wm. P. Dole Esq.
Com. Of Indian Affairs

H. April 2, 1863 Request for Presents

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

Washington D.C.
April 2, 1863

Sir,

As a portion of the presents you propose to make to the Indian Chiefs under my charge, I would recommend that twenty dragoon saddles, and the same number of fancy bridles be purchased at Leavenworth and await my arrival there for distribution to the said chiefs.

Very respectfully
Your Obedt Srvt
S.G. Colley U.S.
Ind. Agt.
Upper Arkansas

Hon. Wm. P. Dole
Com. Of Indian Affairs

I. September 30, 1863 Request for Goods

Source: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs (Washington), from Upper Arkansas Agency, 1855-1864. Record Group 75. Microfilm 234, roll 878. National Archives and Record Center, Denver.

[Transmitted from S.G. Colley, U.S. Indian Agent, Upper Arkansas to Hon. W.P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., September 30, 1863. Soft goods were listed first, but are not transcribed here.]

Estimate for goods for the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe [sic] Indians of the Upper Arkansas

10 Doz Canadian Bells
 100 Pounds Seed Beads
 50 Doz Ebony Handled Knives
 100 Beaver Traps
 20 Doz Fancy Mirrors with Chains [?]
 20 Shears
 20 Basting Spoons
 100 Coffee Mills
 50 Rifles
 20 Kegs Powder
 500 Pounds Balls
 30000 W.P. Caps
 50 West [Vest?] Japaned [?] Kettles
 50 Doz Tin Cups
 20 Doz Half Axes
 20 Gross [? A quantity unit] Squaw Awls
 50 Gross [?] Needles large size
 20 Doz C. S. Comb
 200 Fry Pans
 [more soft and perishable goods listed last]

Appendix 2

Lists Of Abandoned Goods In The Camps On Pawnee Fork, Kansas (1867), Washita River, Oklahoma (1868), And Summit Springs, Colorado (1869)

A. Pawnee Fork, Kansas

Source: Outpost, Newsletter of the Fort Larned Old Guard, no date, page 7.

[Items found within the Cheyenne and Sioux camps at Pawnee Fork, Kansas, that were destroyed by order of Major General W.S. Hancock in April 1867.]

1. Cheyenne Camp

132 lodges	58 kettles	44 sacks paint
70 coffee pots	15 sets lodge poles	25 tea kettles
396 buffalo robes	125 fry pans	57 sacks medicine
50 hoes	17 stew pans	250 spoons
57 saddles	200 tin cups	63 water kegs
120 fleshing irons	4 draw knives	57 knives
120 travois	130 wooden bowls	14 ovens
200 parfleche sacks	10 spades	4 pickaxes
78 headmats	116 tin pans	117 rubbing horns
160 brass kettles	2 bridles	42 coffee mills
90 axes	103 whetstones	264 parfleches
40 hammers	93 hatchets	100 chains

2. Sioux Camp

140 lodges	40 frying pans	160 rubbing horns
82 hoes	4 stew pans	4 pickaxes
420 buffalo robes	190 tin cups	7 coffee mills
25 fleshing irons	9 drawing knives	1 sword
226 saddles	146 tin pans	280 rope lariats
40 horn spoons	2 spades	1 extra scabbard
150 travois	140 whetstones	140 chains
14 crow bars	8 bridles	1 bayonet
140 headmats	70 sacks paint	146 parfleches
54 brass kettles	3 pitchforks	1 mail bag
142 axes	63 water kegs	50 curry combs
11 hammers	3 tea kettles	-- stone mallets
138 kettles	6 ovens	58 coffee pots
5 sets lodge poles	280 spoons	1 lance

B. Washita, Oklahoma

Source: Philip H. Sheridan Paper, Library of Congress. Report of Lt. Col. George A. Custer, and Jean Afton et al, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat*, pp. 317-318.]

[Cheyenne village property captured at the Washita, Oklahoma, November 27, 1868.]

Horses and mules	875
Bufflao robes	573
Untanned robes	160
Hatchets	140
Rifles	47
Lead, lbs.	1050
Lances	75
Bows	35
Bullets, lbs.	300
Buckskin saddlebags	940
Coats	93
Saddles	241
Lodge skins	390
Axes	210
Revolvers	35
Gunpowder, lbs.	555
Arrows	4000
Bullet moulds	90
Shields	12
Lariats	775
Blankets	470
Tobacco	700

C. Summit Springs, Colorado

Source: Jean Afton et al, Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat, pp. 320-321.

[Cheyenne property captured at Summit Springs, Colorado, July 11, 1869.]

Rifles	56
Revolvers	22
Bow and arrow sets	40
Tomahawks	20
Axes	47
Knives	150
Lariats	200
Strychnine, bottles	16
Lodges	84
Parfleches	125
Meat, lbs	9300
Tin cups	160
Powder, lbs	50
Bullets, lbs.	20
Bullet moulds	14
Lead, bars	8
Percussion caps, boxes	25
Sabers	17
War shields	17
Lances	9
War bonnets	13
Buffalo robes	690
Panniers	552
Moccasins	152
Raw hides	319
Saddles	361
Mess pans	31
Water kegs	52
Tin plates	180
Dressing knives	200
Shovels	8
Lodge skins (new)	75
Saddle bags	40
Bridles	75
Dresses	28
Hammers	50
Coats	9
Tobacco, lbs.	100
Tin coffee pots	200
Brass/iron kettles	67
Horses/mules	443
Gold and notes	\$1500

Appendix 3

Lists Of Known Arms And Ammunition Used By The Colorado Volunteer Cavalry

A. Ordnance Issued and Returned by the Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry

[During the testimony given during the investigation into the Sand Creek Massacre and reported in the Report of the Secretary of War, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Executive Document No. 26, February 4, 1867, First Lieutenant Charles C. Hawley, First Colorado Volunteer Cavalry and acting Ordnance Officer for the District of Colorado reported the ordnance stores issued and returned by Third Colorado Volunteer Cavalry during their 100 day enlistment period. As some of these items were in used at the time of the Sand Creek Massacre it is useful to record them as some of these types may be represented archeologically.]

Ordnance Stores Issued	Returned	Deficiencies
772 rifles; caliber .54	493	279
224 muskets; caliber .69	92	132
16 muskets; caliber .71	8	8
1012 cartridge boxes, infantry	658	354
1105 cap pouches and picks	455	650
1019 waist-belts and plates	523	496
633 gun slings	358	275
620 cartridge-box belts	279	341
650 screw-drivers and cone wrenches	160	490
28 Sharp's carbines	17	11
58 Starr's carbines	169	-
29 Starr's revolvers	19	10
2 Colt's army revolvers	2	0
72 Whitney revolvers	12	60
82 carbine slings and swivels	114	-
63 carbine cartridge boxes	16	3
39 brush wipers and thongs	49	-
107 pistol-belt holsters	43	64
71 pistol cartridge pouches	5	66
5 Colt's repeating rifles	-	5
7 Cavalry sabers	13	-
122 saber-belts and plates	59	63
527 saddles complete, (pattern of 1859)	412	115
527 curb-bridles	382	145
376 watering bridles	275	101
500 halters and straps	225	275
624 saddle blankets	80	544
426 surcingles	239	187
515 spurs and straps	193	322
562 horse brushes	321	241
565 curry combs	342	223
354 lariats	50	304
354 picket pins	64	290
500 links	139	371
146 nose bags	-	146

APPENDIX 3

245 wipers	22	223
14 spring vices	4	10
12,000 cartridges; caliber .71	10,000	2,000
9,000 cartridges; caliber .69	1,000	8,000
11,000 cartridges; caliber .58	-	11,000
66,000 cartridges; caliber .54	1,000	65,000
22,500 cartridges; caliber .44	11,000	11,500
15,700 cartridges; caliber .36	1,000	14,700
1,500 pounds of lead	700	800
20 kegs of powder	12	8
15 quires of cartridge paper	15	-

B. Ordnance Returns Submitted by the Colorado Volunteers

Ordnance Returns the Colorado Volunteers submitted. No returns (or they didn't survive) for Dec. 1864, but those for Sept. 1864 are available.

The records indicate that many of the companies were armed only with revolvers and sabers.

1st Regt.:

Co. E	6 Rifles, M1840 & 1855, cal. .58
Co. G	same as above

It appears that all companies had .44 Colt Army revolvers, along with a few .36 Navys revolvers.

3rd Regt.:

Co. C	91 rifles as above
Co. G	70 rifles as above
Co. F	27 .52 Sharps Carbines
	57 .54 Starr Carbines
	21 .45 Starr Revolvers
	2 .36 Whitney

The remaining companies show no entries

Appendix 4

Oral History Appendices

QUESTION OUTLINE
SAND CREEK MASSACRE SITE LOCATION STUDY

General Questions:

- 1) Please tell me some things about yourself -

What is your full name?

When were you born?

Where were you born?

Where do you live now?

Where have you worked and moved around to?
- 2) Please tell me about your family -

Who are/were your grandparents on your mother's side?

Who are/were your grandparents on your father's side?

Who are/were your parents?

Who are/were your siblings?

Who are your children?
- 3) Are you a descendent of someone who was present at the massacre? Who was it?
- 4) Have you heard stories about the massacre?
- 5) How did you hear them? How were the stories passed down?
- 6) Did you hear specifically about the place where the massacre happened?
- 7) What did you hear?
- 8) Can you describe the landscape at the time the massacre happened?
- 9) Are there specific native names for the places where the village was, where people were killed, or other places associated with the attack?

Specific Questions:

- 10) Did you hear anything in particular about any plants, trees, or animals that were present at the time?
- 11) What about water sources such as springs or any prominent land forms such as hills or anything else?
- 12) How would people have been camping? How would the village have been arranged?

- 13) Where would the village have been located with respect to water? What was the importance of water in a winter camp?
- 14) How would the Cheyenne and Arapaho people have been camped relative to one another?
- 15) How did the soldiers approach the village? What did they first encounter when they entered the village?
- 16) How were the soldiers first spotted by people in the village?
- 17) How did people travel at the time? Would they have followed specific trails or general routes? Do you know if there were specific landmarks on the trail/route between Fort Lyon and the village on Sand Creek? How long had that trail been there?
- 18.) How did people use the environment along the river before the massacre?
- 19) Do you know what kinds of possessions people might have left behind when they fled? Are there stories about important objects or possessions that were lost during the massacre? What kinds of military equipment might have been present?
- 20) What was the name of the place people fled to after the attack? What kind of place was it? What was there?

Closing Questions:

- 21) Do you have feelings or opinions about where the massacre site is even if you haven't heard any stories about it?
- 22) Have you visited the site yourself?
- 23) Are there other ways to know where the site is besides oral history?
- 24) Are there other people we should be sure to talk with?

INTERVIEW CONSENT/STIPULATION FORM

National Park Service

Park Name (if applicable): _____



PURPOSE OF THE INTERVIEW (Interviewer: Describe purpose of interview) _____

I, _____ hereby:
 (name of interviewee)

- DO/DO NOT** (circle one) agree to audio taping of all interviews.
- DO/DO NOT** agree to let the interviewer take written notes during the interview.
- DO/DO NOT** agree to video taping and/or photographing of me before, during, or after interview(s).
- DO/DO NOT** agree to video taping and/or photographing of sites, places, or objects discussed in my interview.
- DO/DO NOT** agree to have photographs of me or places I discuss published.
- DO/DO NOT** agree to have direct quotes by me published.
- DO/DO NOT** agree to have my name cited in a final or published report, along with the information I have provided.
- DO/DO NOT** wish to be acknowledged in a final report with a statement that I participated in this project.

Special stipulations on any of the above _____

DO/DO NOT agree to allow NPS to use the information I have provided for purposes other than those stated above without my prior consent.

DO/DO NOT grant to the United States of America all literary and property rights, title and interest which I may possess to the tape and/or video recording(s) as applicable, and transcripts(s) of the interview(s) conducted for the purposes stated above. *(By circling DO NOT, the interviewee agrees to release information only for internal NPS use, but not to have the information disseminated to the general public.)*

Additional stipulations _____

Any information retained by the National Park Service (NPS) will be kept confidential to the maximum extent permitted by the Freedom of Information Act, Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act, and Section 9(a) of the Archeological Resources Protection Act. However, strict confidentiality cannot be guaranteed.

Interviewer's signature _____ Date: _____
 Interviewee's address _____

Interviewee's phone number _____ SSN: _____

Interviewer's signature _____ Date: _____
 Interviewer's address _____

Interviewer's phone number _____

(CIRCLE ONE) INTERVIEWER IS AN NPS (EMPLOYEE) OR (CONTRACTOR)

If interviewee agrees to audio taping, he/she reserves the right at all times to ask the interviewer to stop recording or to delete portions of recorded materials.

SAND CREEK MASSACRE PROJECT
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

"TRADITIONAL METHODS, ORAL HISTORY
AND THE INTERVIEW PROCESS"
INSERVICE
FACILITATOR: DR. ALEXA ROBERTS,
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

APRIL 6, 7 & 8
9:00 - 4:00 DAILY
ARAPAHO SCHOOL, CULTURAL CENTER
CONTACT PERSONS: EUGENE RIDGELY, JR.
856-9333 OR GAIL J. RIDGELY, 856-6582

BRIEF OVERVIEW

Dr. Roberts will provide inservice for the Northern Arapaho Sand Creek consultants, historians and other interested individuals. The main focus of the inservice will be the interview process. The consultants and historians will interview tribal members who may have information concerning the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. This data will be one phase of three processes in determining the Sand Creek Massacre Site. This is the first time that The Northern Arapaho, Northern Cheyenne, Southern Arapaho and Southern Cheyenne have a major input in the location of the actual Sand Creek Massacre Site. The National Park Service is mandated by Congress (16 USC 1a-5) to study and monitor areas to determine if they are nationally significant, and if so whether they have potential for inclusion in the national park system. This study will address the national significance suitability, and feasibility aspects of the Sand Creek Massacre Site.

Sand Creek Massacre Oral Histories

National Park Service (NPS) representatives Alexa Roberts & Carolyn Sandlin, along with Joe Big Medicine, will gather oral histories from Sand Creek descendants.

This will be the last opportunity to contribute oral histories for the NPS report to the Department of Interior on whether Sand Creek should become a protected National Park Service site.

When: Wednesday - Thursday - Friday
August 18 - 19 - 20, 1999

Where: Cheyenne & Arapaho Nutrition Center
Clinton, Oklahoma
(580) 323-0200

Contact: Laird or Colleen Cometsevah
Joe Big Medicine
Arleigh Rhoads

NORTHERN CHEYENNE SAND CREEK OFFICE
 P.O. BOX 1338
 BIA BUILDING, HIGHWAY 39
 LAME DEER, MONTANA 59043
 TEL# (406)477-8026 FAX # (406)477-8811 E-MAIL sandcreek@gmail.com

Sand Creek Massacre Site Project
Northern Cheyenne Oral Histories
CONSENT OF INTERVIEWEE

On _____ 2000 on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, I was interviewed regarding the Sand Creek Massacre by persons from the Sand Creek Massacre Site Project ("Project") and the National Park Service ("NPS"). The interview was voluntary and was recorded with my consent.

I hereby further consent to use by the Project and/or NPS of the stories and information I provided in the interview for purposes of locating the site of the Sand Creek Massacre and pursuing action by congress, NPS and any other appropriate parties to establish, protect, administer, or interpret the site.

I have received an Honorarium of \$50.00 dollars. Dated: _____ 2000.

 Interviewee

 Interviewer

 Interviewer

Original: Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office
 Copies: Interviewee
 National Park Service
 State of Colorado Historical Society

Sand Creek Massacre November 29th, 1864

P. 4. (Sec. E) Clinton Daily News, Ft., May 5, 1976

Lone Wolf recalls Custer's massacre of his people

EDITOR'S NOTE: The well-known "Battle of Washita," or "Black Kettle Massacre" was an attack by General George Custer on a band of Indians on the Washita River. The Indians had signed a peace treaty with the U.S. government less than a year before. One of the few survivors of the attack, Lone Wolf, wrote this story about the battle.

1868, the part of the Indian Territory which is now Oklahoma was our favorite home and happy hunting ground.

first, he declined to accept the terms of the United States for fear of losing the Indians' hunting grounds in the plains country.

Curly Hair. He took them to the place he had his women prisoners where many of my aunts, grandmother, and cousins were kept prisoner.

The Cheyenne Indians were members of the great Five Plains Tribes representing the Western Plains Indians who signed the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1868.

The tribal interpreter, George Bent, and others begged him to accept the White Man's terms and he signed the treaty, which would mean peace without inflicting penalties on his people. He believed the United States would keep the promise.

The Indians returned to recover what had not been burned. Things were gradually replaced. General Custer returned and wanted to smoke the pipe of peace with the old men.

We left General Custer without fighting him, for we had respect for our pipe of peace.

I remember well that my people went on horseback to attend the great meeting and we children remained at home.

He returned from the Medicine Lodge meeting with uniforms, blankets, ponies, packs and other provisions of the Cheyenne Indians. At

When I was a United States scout and stationed at Fort Elliott in 1868, I at once recognized the place, where Custer smoked the pipe of peace and later broke his promise. I also later stopped to camp at our old village on the Washita during the time I was chasing outlaws.

The ghost of the old battle field was heard at night when the wind was blowing through the dead grass.

Long before Gen. George A. Custer attacked and massacred our people at the Black Kettle village on the Washita River, near the present town of Cheyenne, in

Black Kettle had promised to die before all his people fell—and he did, at the Washita massacre one cold, early dawn in November.

He was warned that he should not do this unless he intended to keep the peace, but Custer ignored the warning and smoked the peace pipe, promising that he would not fight the Indians again.

The next day, he trapped three old Indians at his camp—Fat Bear, Island and

their teepees. Their nephew Bear Feathers, defended them bravely, but both were shot.

Soldiers close behind him were firing. Suddenly Bear Feathers saw rescuers arriving from other Indian camps below the scene.

The next day, he trapped three old Indians at his camp—Fat Bear, Island and

engagement and he marched away with the military band playing the victory march. He left the dead at the battlefield.

General Sheridan returned to the band of Black Kettle, who had signed the peace treaty at Medicine Lodge.

Black Kettle had promised to die before all his people fell—and he did, at the Washita massacre one cold, early dawn in November.

The next day, he trapped three old Indians at his camp—Fat Bear, Island and

engagement and he marched away with the military band playing the victory march. He left the dead at the battlefield.

Sept 2000 Medicine Lodge Re-enactment

Wellington E. Webb
MAYOR



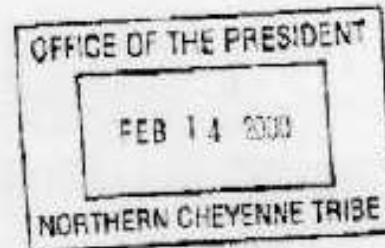
City and County of Denver

CITY AND COUNTY BUILDING • DENVER, COLORADO • 80202

AREA CODE 303 640-2721
640-2720 (V/TDD)

January 10, 2000

Honorable Joe Walks Along
President of Northern Cheyenne Tribe
P.O. Box 128
Lame Deer, MT 59043



RE: Sand Creek Proclamation

Honorable President Walks Along:

The ceremonies of healing, the singing, and expressions by the runners and participants in the historic events of the week of November 25th to 29th, brought a sense of well-being and closure for many. But it also brought to the forefront, the message that this is just the beginning for many tribal Nations to regain their sense of self and control of events that affect the Nation's peoples.

We, who live in the City and County of Denver, thank the Nation for the opportunity to be a part of this historic process. Enclosed for the Nation's records is the City and County of Denver's Proclamation "Sand Creek Spiritual Run and Remembrance Days for the Sand Creek Massacre of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Peoples."

Should you have need of assistance in the future, please call me at 303-640-4105. Thank YOU.

Sincerely,

Jonny BearCub Stiffarm

Jonny BearCub Stiffarm
Honorable Mayor Wellington E. Webb's American Indian Liaison

enclosure



Proclamation

WHEREAS, *The site where the City and County of Denver is situated has long been a site where American Indian Nations have gathered for meetings, religious ceremonies, and celebrations; and*

WHEREAS, *November 29, 1999, is the 113th Anniversary of the Sand Creek Massacre, and this year a Spiritual Run which begins at the Big Sandy Creek near Eads, Colorado will end in the City and County of Denver at the steps of the State of Colorado Capitol; and*

WHEREAS, *The participants of the Spiritual Healing Run representing delegates of many of the American Indian Nations upon arrival in the City and County of Denver will meet, pray, and participate in traditional activities with the members of the American Indian community and supporters, in remembrance of Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors killed and wounded in the Sand Creek Massacre; and*

WHEREAS, *It is in the best interest of the City and County and the citizens to recognize and encourage events that promote cross-cultural understanding and healing for the diverse communities of the City; and*

WHEREAS, *This event is a historical healing event that will be spoken of in the oral histories by American Indian storytellers who share the legends, legends and histories, and significance of the lives and culture of America's indigenous people.*

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WELLINGTON E. WEBB, MAYOR of the City and County of Denver, Colorado, by virtue of the authority vested in me, do hereby officially proclaim November 25-30, 1999 to be known as:

**"SAND CREEK SPIRITUAL RUN AND REMEMBRANCE
DAYS FOR THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE OF THE
CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO PEOPLES"**

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the official seal of the City and County of Denver to be affixed this 25th day of November, 1999.



Wellington E. Webb
MAYOR

MAR-31-2000 12:10 PM SANDCREEK-OFFICE

14054778021

Sand Creek Spiritual Healing Run

"In Honor of Our Grandmothers and Grandfathers"

November 25-29, 1999

November 25

Opening Ceremonies @ Sand Creek Massacre Site
Near Chivington, CO

November 26 - 28

Healing Run from
Sand Creek Massacre Site to Denver, CO

November 29

State Capitol Grounds
Reception TBA

For further information contact:
Oma Bented Hair, Coordinator
Spiritual Healing Run
Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office
P.O. Box 1350
BIA Building, Hwy 59
Lama, CO: 80643
PH: (408) 477-8020
FAX: (408) 477-8021

Sand Creek Massacre – November 29th, 1864

At dawn on November 29, 1864, while under purported Federal protection, a known peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho village was attacked by Federal troops. Black Kettle, a Cheyenne Chief, raised a U.S. Flag with a white flag underneath it. This did not deter the unprecedented slaughter and butchering of women, children, and elderly by the Federal troops. It is time that the Sand Creek Massacre site be set aside as a perpetual memorial and for the survivors of centuries of genocide to begin a healing process.



SAND CREEK SPIRITUAL HEALING RUN
"IN HONOR OF OUR GRANDMOTHERS AND GRANDFATHERS"
SAND CREEK MASSACRE, NOVEMBER 29TH, 1864.

October 25, 1999

Despite years of negotiations and compromising through treaties and gifts of perpetual Peace and Friendship from the highest levels of the United States government, the pressure remained intense in a struggle to maintain traditional homelands and a way of life. Cheyenne Chiefs Black Kettle, White Antelope, Lone Bear, among others, never gave up in their desire for peace and harmony with the United States, to the extent that during their entire lifetime they never once raised a single weapon of any kind against United States.

"I now think a little powder and lead is the best food for them," statement of Gov. Evans, July, 1864. Having been denied rations, other annuities and the promise of protection at Fort Lyon and then ordered to leave Fort Lyon, the known peaceful Bands headed north to a favorite and commonly used campsite known as Sand Creek where it intersected with the Smokey Hill trail to begin the late preparation for the imminent harsh winter conditions.

Damn any man who sympathizes with Indians!" "I have come to kill Indians and believe it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians!" "Kill and scalp everyone, including infants, girls and old!" These comments expressed the sentiment of Col. Chivington which led to the ultimate act of genocide at Sand Creek.

At dawn on November 29th, 1864, Colonel Chivington, a former Methodist minister, found the village and immediately set up and began raining down artillery into the village. Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle quickly raised the 6'x12' U.S. flag with a white truce flag underneath it to signify that they were a known peaceful band. The gift of the U.S. flag and instructions came from U.S. representatives, including Peace-and-Friendship medals given to the Cheyenne Chiefs personally from the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln himself, none of this was deterrent in the appalling surprise attack. Most of the Cheyenne men were cut hunting.

Despite the absolutely clear indication of friendship, the killing and butchery of elderly, women and infants went, the carnage and brutality was unprecedented. The horse herds cut-off from the village, the survivors, many wounded and scantily clad fled on foot. The entire village burned to the ground, including the bodies of those slaughtered." The private parts of the elderly, women and children were paraded through Denver as trophies.

Sand Creek Spiritual Healing Run

Pg. 2

10/25/99

"The village area was permeated with burning human flesh," Braided Hair, a wounded survivor who later returned to the village site to search for any survivors. Moreover, many of the remains were dismembered and decapitated and sent to U.S. military forensics labs for the purpose of ascertaining level of intelligence and/or for the enhancement of military ballistics (these "scientific specimens" were finally repatriated to Cheyenne & Arapaho agency, Concho, Oklahoma, July 1993).

Congress and military tribunals condemned the atrocities committed at Sand Creek and quickly declared it "a national disgrace" and promised reparations through Article 6 of the Cheyenne/Arapaho Treaty of Little Arkansas, 1865. While the U.S. Constitution provides that "treaties are supreme law of the land," the promise remains unfulfilled.

The state of Colorado in late 1953 launched an effort to identify and locate the Sand Creek Massacre site in southeastern Colorado, the results were inconclusive. Subsequently, U.S. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, (R-CO), among others, introduced Senate Bill 1695 and held a hearing on the bill in late March of 1998. On October 6, 1998, President William Clinton signed into effect P.L. 105-243 that authorized a study to "identify the location and extent of the massacre area..."

Since the provision in the legislation to "identify the location" has been met (May 1999) and confirmed (October 5-8, 1999), the Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Massacre Site Committee is sponsoring a "Sand Creek Spiritual Healing Run" from the Sand Creek Massacre Site to the state Capitol in Denver with the hope of bringing about a special sense of awareness to the issue and as a method of healing for descendants of the Sand Creek Massacre. Moreover, it will require that Congress approve appropriations for purchase of the land for the purpose of designating a national memorial.

There will be ceremonies held at the site on November 15th, 1999, the Run will proceed through November 26th - 28th and the Run will conclude with activities at the state Capitol on November 29th, 1999 (*anniversary of Sand Creek*).

It is very important that the "Sand Creek Spiritual Healing Run" become a reality, therefore contributions, monetary and otherwise are being sought so that the needs of the participants in the Run can be met.

Contributions and/or for more information can be addressed to: Otto Braided Hair, Coordinator, Sand Creek Spiritual Healing Run, Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office, PO Box 1350, Lama Deer, Montana 59043. Ph# (406)477-8026 or Fax# (406)477-8021. Thank you - Ha-Ho!

* * * * *

**SAND CREEK MASSACRE
NOVEMBER 29TH, 1864**

**"SPIRITUAL HEALING RUN"
NOVEMBER 25-29, 1999.**

- Nov. 25 - Opening Ceremonies @ Sand Creek Massacre Site.
Nov. 26-28 - Healing Run from Sand Creek Massacre Site to Denver Colo.
Nov. 29 - State Capitol Grounds.
- Reception TBA

For Further Info Contact:
Otto Braided Hair, Coordinator,
Spiritual Healing Run
Northern Cheyenne Sand Creek Office
PO Box 1350
BIA Building, Hwy 39
Lame Devr, Mt. 59043

Ph. #(406)477-8026
Fax. #(406)477-8021

Absolutely No Drugs or Alcohol Allowed. Not Responsible for Theft or Accidents.

Appendix 5

Public Comment Brochure

We welcome your comments about the Sand Massacre Site Location and Special Resource Study project. Please fill out this comment form and leave it in the comment box at the public meeting. Or, if you prefer to fill it out at a later time, please fold this form in half, tape it closed, and mail it back to us. *No postage is necessary.* Thank you for participating.

Do you have any information regarding the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site that you would like to share with us? And, if so, may we contact you about this information?

Are there any other sources of information that might be helpful in determining the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site?

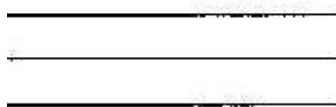
Do you have any additional comments or questions about the project?

Name: _____
Address: _____
Phone number: _____

FOLD HERE AND TAPE CLOSED (OR STAPLE TO FLAP)



NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES



OFFICIAL BUSINESS
PENALTY FOR PRIVATE USE \$300

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
FIRST-CLASS MAIL PERMIT NO. 12851 WASHINGTON DC

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY ADDRESSEE

**RICK FROST
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE INTERMOUNTAIN REGION
PO BOX 25287
DENVER CO 80225-9903**



Appendix 6: Abstracts

Numerous research efforts contributed to the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. In addition to the three primary studies included in this volume, other researchers contributed reports on specific aspects of the search for the Sand Creek Massacre site. Following are abstracts of these reports, the full copies of which may be obtained by contacting the National Park Service or the authors.

Gary L. Roberts

The Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Report on Washington Sources

Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College, Tifton, Georgia, 1998 (53 pages, including copies of documents)

The researcher visited Washington, D.C. in November 1998 to locate documentary evidence that might provide direct or indirect information concerning the location of the site of the Sand Creek Massacre. He had made an earlier visit in 1997, as part of the project sponsored by the Colorado State Historical Society and Fort Lewis College. During the 1997 visit, he concentrated heavily on the period before and immediately after the massacre with a particular emphasis on descriptive materials and cartographic materials that would help identify the site. The results of that visit were limited. The most important consequence of the 1997 trip was to determine that no map contemporaneous with the event had been located, and the various accounts provided no conclusive evidence of the location. The focus of the 1998 trip was different due to developments in the interim, most notably National Archives archivist Scott Forsythe's discovery of the "strip map" with commentary by Lieutenant Samuel W. Bonsall. This 1868 map is the closest thing to a contemporary map of the Sand Creek Massacre that has been found to date. In addition, a manuscript by non-commissioned officer Luke Cahill describes going to the massacre site under his commanding officer Lieutenant Bonsall, with "General Sherman." The introduction of General William T. Sherman raised expectations for additional documentary evidence.

The goals of the 1998 trip were to: 1) locate other maps made by scouts; 2) locate descriptive materials from the records of Fort Lyon and nearby units; 3) document further the visit of General Sherman to the massacre site and determine the disposition of the "relics" gathered there at his order; 4) explore the documentary record of the transfer of human remains to the Army Medical College; and 5) find the report of the district inspector who visited the massacre site on January 1, 1865. Locations visited or consulted included the National Archives, the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, and the National Museum of Medicine and Health.

The search failed to turn up any maps or descriptive material of the Sand Creek area. Indeed, it was determined that most of the records of Fort Lyon had been lost. Although no significant body of General Sherman's correspondence was found, Sherman's itinerary was confirmed, which placed him at Fort Lyon at the appropriate time. Records indicated that human remains had been sent to the National Museum of Health and Medicine and to the Smithsonian. However, most of the incoming correspondence related to the remains had been lost as early as 1914. All Cheyenne human remains were repatriated in 1993. Finally, the illusive report of the district inspector was not located.

The researcher concluded that, at the time of his report, the Bonsall map appeared to be the "Rosetta Stone" of the project. The Cahill manuscript offered further support. He recommended that the accession cards at the Colorado Historical Society be reviewed for Sand Creek artifacts, and that it be determined if relatives of the donors are living.

Arthur K. Ireland

Sand Creek Massacre Special Study: Analysis of Aerial Photography from 1936-37, 1954, and 1975

National Park Service, Santa Fe Support Office, 1999 (39 pages, including graphics)

The purpose of the interpretation of the aerial photographic record was not to locate the actual massacre site, but rather to locate other features, such as aboriginal trails or wagon roads that may have been related to the massacre or the Indian village itself. The technique used to find and analyze resources in photography is called photo-interpretation. The photo-interpreter viewed overlapping stereo-pairs of photographs using a stereoscope, which produced a three-dimensional effect. The photographs used were taken in four different years, covering a time span of nearly 40 years. There were remarkably few changes noted across the years, with the dominant trend being additional homesteads and more acreage under cultivation.

Until sites can be positively identified, they are generally referred to as “anomalies.” Over 105 recorded anomalies were segments of six major anomalies or known features. The qualities that lend credence to them being true features is the number of segments comprising them and the lengthy distances that each can be traced. The first feature is the Santa Fe Trail, along the Arkansas River. Sites along the trail included Old Fort Lyon and Bent’s New Fort.

The second anomaly is linear and comes southwest out of the South Dawson Bend. Numerous segments show a pattern of trending southwest towards the Fort Lyon/Bent’s New Fort area, coming within nine miles northeast of those sites. Local landowners had mentioned an old wagon road in a particular area where this anomaly occurs.

Another linear anomaly appears for 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles along the north bank of Big Sandy Creek. It is oriented in a northwest-southeast direction between just north of the Dawson South Bend to north of the North Bend [also referred to as the Rhoades-Bowen Bend]. Discussions indicated the presence of an old wagon road along this bank.

A fourth anomaly consists of numerous parallel anomalies that are on the north side of Big Sandy Creek, at the first large bend in the creek that is southeast of the North Bend [Rhoades-Bowen Bend]. Although the photo-interpreter originally discounted these parallel anomalies as being livestock trails going to the creek, it became apparent that the anomalies could be traced for up to three miles. This indicates that they might not be stock trails. The photo-interpreter suspects that this may be the “Three Forks” area of the historical record [identified on Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall’s map].

The fifth anomaly is directly across the creek from the fourth anomaly. Segments of this linear anomaly come southwest out of the first large bend in Big Sandy Creek southeast of the North Bend [Rhoades-Bowen Bend].

Yet another linear anomaly starts on the west side of the North Bend [Rhoades-Bowen Bend], and runs variously southeast to south-southwest for over 4.6 miles, when the photographic coverage ends. It appears that the anomaly probably converged with the fifth anomaly, and it is speculated that they probably continued along Rush Creek to its confluence with Big Sandy Creek.

Steven L. De Vore

Geophysical Investigations at the Sand Creek Massacre Site, Colorado

National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, 1999 (29 pages, including graphics)

In May 1999, the National Park Service conducted an archeological investigation of the Sand Creek Massacre site in Kiowa County, Colorado. In addition to the metal detector reconnaissance survey of the project area, geophysical investigations were conducted on a portion of the probable Indian village site in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, to provide an assessment of these applications to future archeological investigations at the site. Three types of geophysical surveys were conducted:

- ?? A magnetic gradient survey with a Geoscan Research FM36 fluxgate gradiometer;
- ?? A conductivity survey with a Geonics EM38 ground conductivity meter; and
- ?? A high sensitivity metal detection survey with a time-phase Geonics EM61 high sensitivity metal detector.

Initially, a metal detector sweep was made in the locale. An area that produced approximately ten artifacts was selected as the geophysical test site. A geophysical grid was established over the area; the 40-meter by 40-meter grid consisted of 4 smaller grids. The ground was then covered with each instrument in a sequence of one-meter traverses adjacent to one another. Upon completion of the survey, the individual grid unit data files were downloaded into a laptop computer and processed.

The magnetic survey represented a passive geophysical technique; that is, it measures the physical property of naturally occurring local or planetary fields created by earth-related processes. The conductivity and high sensitivity metal detection investigations were active geophysical techniques, utilizing electromagnetic signals. An active technique transmits an electrical, electromagnetic, or acoustic signal into the ground. The interaction of the signal and buried materials produces an altered return signal that is measured by the geophysical instrument.

The magnetic gradient survey measures the earth's total magnetic field at a point location. Its application to archeology results from the effects of magnetic materials on the earth's magnetic field. These anomalous conditions can result from magnetic materials or minerals buried in the earth. Iron artifacts have a very strong effect on the earth's magnetic field. Other cultural features that effect the magnetic field include fire hearths, soil disturbances (e.g., pits, mounds, wells, pithouses, dugouts, etc.), and geological strata. The data collected from the site contained three major anomalous areas, and three smaller magnetic anomalies. Given the recovery of iron artifacts from the site during the metal detector investigations, it is probably safe to say that the six anomalies represent iron artifacts dating to the 1864 massacre.

The electromagnetic conductivity instrument detects changes in the materials buried in the soil or soil disturbances from natural or cultural modifications to the soil. In archeology, the instrument has been used to identify areas of compaction and excavation as well as buried metallic objects. It has the potential to identify cultural features that affect the water saturation in the soil. The data collected at the site appear to represent natural changes in the terrace. In addition, two areas appear to be some of the same magnetic anomalies that were found in the magnetic gradient survey.

The high sensitivity metal detection survey is used to detect both ferrous and non-ferrous metallic objects. The system is useful in differentiating shallow objects from deeper ones. The data collected provides indications that there are numerous anomalous objects or targets within the geophysical grid.

Although it would require archeological excavation to identify the nature of the geophysical anomalies identified in the three investigations, it is apparent that the methods are appropriate for the area of the village site. Should the site be placed under government or tribal control, it is recommended that geophysical investigations be considered as an appropriate means of evaluating the site extent and integrity.

William F. Dawson

Ordnance Artifacts at the Sand Creek Massacre Site: A Technical and Historical Report

Chivington, Colorado, 1999 (36 pages, including graphics)

In order to understand the significance of ordnance discoveries by archeologists, one must know the types and calibers of weapons in use by the military and Native American combatants at Sand Creek. The belief that artillery shell fragments must be present in some areas influenced this report. The finding of ordnance relics would be one of the most significant “proofs” of the location of the massacre site.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho still used the traditional bow and arrow in the mid-1860s; all warriors were extremely proficient in its use. However, younger men increasingly used firearms. One contemporary observer noted that Lancaster rifles were common among the Indians.

The First Colorado Volunteer Infantry Regiment was formed without funding from Congress, and was equipped by any means, including purchase of equipment and arms on the civilian market. In the course of the New Mexico campaign, they re-equipped, probably drawing from stores at the Fort Union depot. These arms probably included Model 1842 muskets and/or 1842 rifle muskets. They could have included arms as old as 1816 muskets and musket conversions. The arms were a mix of .69 and .54 caliber, and were Harpers Ferry muskets and rifles and Mississippi rifles. The .69 arms would fire ball, buck and ball, or conical balls, depending on whether they were rifled or not.

Prior to the Sand Creek Massacre, the infantry regiment converted to the First Regiment of Colorado Volunteer Cavalry. It would probably be safe to assume that the men retained the infantry rifles and muskets that they had carried as foot soldiers. By 1864, the First Colorado had been armed with 1860 cavalry sabers, Starr’s carbines, Sharps carbines, Austrian jaeger short rifles, Remington revolvers, Colt’s Army revolvers, and either Starr’s or Colt’s .44 caliber revolvers.

The Third Colorado Volunteer regiment of cavalry was formed in 1864 for 100 days. The Acting Ordnance Officer in 1864 later testified that he had issued 772 rifles to the Third, which included Austrian (.54 caliber) and Belgium muskets, “Mississippi rifles” (Model of 1841 Harpers Ferry), and 224 .69 caliber Harpers Ferry muskets (which could have been as old as 1835 models converted to the 1842 model percussion musket). Also listed were 58 Starr’s carbines, sixteen .72 caliber muskets, 28 Sharps carbines (no caliber given), 5 Colt’s .44 caliber repeating rifles, 2 Colt’s .44 caliber revolvers, 29 Starr revolvers (no caliber given), and 72 Whitney revolvers (no caliber given). Special orders indicated that sixty .69 caliber citizen rifles and six .58 caliber Springfield rifles were also issued to the Third.

Members of the regiments also purchased their own arms. An episode is described in which members of one company paid about \$3,000 for \$40 carbines, \$20 - \$40 revolvers, and appropriate ammunition. A participant later described some of the purchased arms as navy revolvers and Smith & Wesson carbines. However, the latter may have been either Wesson military carbines (which fired a .44 caliber rimfire cartridge) or, almost certainly, Wesson civilian or sporting model carbines (in calibers ranging from .32 to .44 inch.)

The First and the Third regiments each brought two 12-pound mountain howitzers to the massacre. The “12-pound” refers to the nominal projectile weight. These guns fired three types of ammunition: canister, cased and shell. Although grape was mentioned by several

participants of the encounter, it was not in common use during the time, and was almost exclusively relegated to use aboard naval vessels.

Two ammunition boxes typically accompanied each gun, with each box containing room for eight rounds of fixed ammunition. Regulations called for a mix of one round of canister, one round of spherical case shot, and six rounds of shell in each box. Canister was a large tinned can filled with .69 caliber lead balls, which fired as a gigantic shotgun. It had an effective range of 200-250 yards against attacking infantry and probably had a maximum range of less than 400 yards. A round of spherical cased shot consisted of a hollow iron ball that was filled with .69 caliber round musket balls. The most common fuze type was the Bormann. The range in a mountain howitzer was 800 yards at 5 degrees elevation. Spherical shell was basically the same as the cased shot, without the musket balls inside. The wall thickness was .66 to .74 inches. The range was 1005 yards at 5 degrees elevation.

The mountain howitzer was fired with a friction primer, consisting of two thin copper tubes soldered together at right angles. Upon firing, the friction primer usually landed about fifteen feet behind the gun.

Charles M. Haecker

Artifact Categories Potentially Represented at Sand Creek

National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office-Santa Fe, 1999 (6 pages)

The report is divided into two sections: Native American artifact categories; and First and Third Colorado Cavalry accouterments, firearms, and artillery. High plains tribes had adopted many non-traditional items into their cultures by the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Objects and materials of non-indigenous origin were re-utilized in the performance of traditional tasks (such as wagon hardware used as hide scrapers), or were used to perform non-traditional tasks (for example, coffee grinders to prepare coffee for brewing). In April 1867, Major General W.S. Hancock ordered certain Cheyenne and Sioux villages be destroyed. The inventory of items found in those destroyed villages is included in this report, as an example of what could be expected to be found in plains villages of the era. Black Kettle's band would have had access to these types of items through trade, annuities, and raiding. The list contains many non-traditional durable goods that were portable and sturdy, reflecting the nomadic culture of the plains tribes. The list included, for example, metal cooking containers (coffeepots, kettles, and pans), utensils (spoons, knives) and tools (axes, hammers, spades and chains). The containers that held food annuities would have been re-used or recycled, for example, segments of barrel hoops cut into arrow points. It is known that members of Black Kettle's band conducted successful attacks on wagon trains, stagecoaches, and homesteads. These raids would have contributed to the band's non-native material goods. Livestock probably was taken during the raids, thus livestock tack and shoes might also be found in the village area. In addition, a typical circa 1864 Plains Indian village probably contained a wide variety of firearms (and the appropriate ammunition) that included obsolete flintlocks and percussion rifles made for the Indian trade, then-modern Civil War era rifle-muskets intended for military use, carbines, single-shot pistols and revolvers.

The Cavalry section of the report is divided into six categories: apparel; accoutrements; food storage and preparation; personal possessions; firearms; and artillery. Reportedly, the Third Cavalry had been issued regular uniforms just prior to the Sand Creek Massacre. The report describes the typical buttons, buckles and metal items on the uniforms. Accoutrements are described, such as canteens, spurs, picket pins and curry combs. Food cans in use in that era were of the hole-in-cap technology. Personal possessions could include anything that could be carried, but likely items included straight edge razors, pocketknives, smoking pipes, wedding rings and pocket watches. Firearms are summarized, as described in Bill Dawson's report. The artillery consisted of 12-pounder mountain howitzers. In addition to remains of the round shot, spherical case, common shell, and canister that the howitzers could fire, other related artifacts could include friction primers, and cut nails and iron or tin strips used to affix items to the sabot. It should be noted that if a military-related artifact is found at Sand Creek, its last owner might have been an Indian warrior. Thus a military item should not be deemed conclusive evidence regarding where a volunteer soldier once stood.

Amy M. Holmes and Michael McFaul, LaRamie Soils Service

Geomorphological and Geoarchaeological Assessment: Possible Sand Creek Massacre Site, Dawson Property, Kiowa County, Colorado

Laramie, Wyoming, October 1999 (57 pages, including tables and maps).

The primary objective of the investigation was to determine if the Dawson or Bowen properties had the potential to yield *in situ* evidence of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre. First, subsurface stratigraphic records were examined to assess if undisturbed sediments from the 1864 period were present. Next, the investigators evaluated the extent of disturbance from post-1864 agriculture, eolian deflation, and Big Sandy Creek flooding.

The methodology involved a geoarchaeological core program in which core samples were taken at 64 localities in 4 areas on the Dawson and Bowen properties. The position of each was determined using a Lightweight Global Positioning System Receiver or a Sokkia Total Station. Individual core descriptions were compared in order to refine landform characteristics, depositional histories, soil development, and relative ages. Radiocarbon assay was conducted on two samples.

The study area is dominated by Quaternary alluvial landforms [that is, deposited by flowing water] and eolian landforms [that is, deposited by the wind]. Five major landform or terrain types were identified. These consisted of the modern floodplain (T0), three alluvial terraces (T1, T2, T3), and an eolian-capped bluff. The alluvial terraces form a step-like sequence that represents abandoned floodplains. T1 is .5 m above the floodplain, T2 is 1.0 m above the floodplain, and T3 is 1.5 m above the floodplain. By identifying when floodplain abandonment occurred, the investigators assigned ages to the specific terraces, and subsequently assessed their potential to yield buried 1864-period artifacts.

There is a high probability of recovering *in situ* artifacts of the 1864 period in the eolian sands due to relatively gentle nature of eolian deposition and the age of these sediments. The investigators found less subsurface disturbance than they had expected; a possible plow zone was noted in only one core sample. Cultural materials were not recovered in any of the core samples.

The Big Sandy Creek floodplain (T0) spans an approximately 20-100 m [about 22-109 yards] wide area adjacent to the intermittent creek channel. Deposits here are very recent, and are probably too young to yield *in situ* artifacts related to the 1864 massacre. In addition, the high-energy nature of creek flooding may have displaced artifacts, so any massacre-period artifacts found in the flood plain are probably redeposited.

The T1 terrace is older than the modern floodplain. If cultural materials dating to 1864 are present, they would be positioned within the upper 22 cm [8.6 inches] of the T1 alluvium.

The T2 terrace's discontinuous eolian sediments as well, as the alluvium, are young enough to contain 1864-period artifacts. Organics at 97 cm [38 inches] were radiocarbon dated at 2390± 100 years BP [before present], thus the potential is limited to the upper 97 cm of alluvium. Artifacts were found in the eolian sands in the upper 10-20 cm of this terrace in the 1997 archeological survey.

Alluvial terrace T3 is mantled by one or two discontinuous eolian deposits (E I and E II). Although the T3 alluvium is too old to contain *in situ* 1864-period artifacts, materials of that date would most likely be found in the E II eolian sand that caps portions of the alluvium.

APPENDIX 6

The bluff is capped by two thick accumulations of eolian sand at one location. The potential of the bluff to yield *in situ* massacre-related artifacts is limited to the upper 76 cm [30 inches] of eolian sands, where they exist.

Douglas D. Scott, Anne Wainstein Bond, Richard Ellis, and William B. Lees

Archeological Reconnaissance of Two Possible Sites of the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864 (Draft)

Fort Lewis College, Durango, Colorado, April 1998 (40 pages, including graphics)

The archeological project was part of a multi-disciplinary effort coordinated under Dr. Richard Ellis, Fort Lewis College, and funded by a State Historical Fund grant, administered by the Colorado Historical Society. The purpose of the grant was to establish the location of the Sand Creek Massacre. A primary research goal of the archeology component was to ascertain the presence or absence of battle-related artifacts on two areas of private lands.

Fieldwork was conducted from September 28 to October 3, 1997. The northern parcel of approximately 550 acres is in Cheyenne County in portions of Sections 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 23 and 24 in Township 16 South, Range 47 West, and is owned by Mr. Rhoades. The southern parcel of approximately 390 acres is in Kiowa County, in Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West, and in portions of Sections 24 and 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and is owned by Bill and Tootie Dawson.

Faced with examining a large area and assuming that most artifacts of war are either metallic or associated with metal, electronic metal detectors were employed as an inventory tool. The inventory phase also employed visual survey methods, piece-plot recording techniques, and geophysical remote sensing techniques. Locational control or artifact provenance was accomplished through the use of a Precision Lightweight Global Positioning System Receiver.

The archeological investigations to locate Sand Creek Massacre site were only partially successful and inconclusive at best. The survey and excavations located a relatively small quantity of artifacts in the 940 acres. Three artifacts (a picket pin, a .54-caliber bullet, and a girth-ring fragment) found on Dawson's property are consistent with material culture that could be associated with the Civil War-era Colorado cavalry.

Three additional artifacts (an axe, a brass arrowhead, and a fragment of trade silver) found on the Dawson property are types of artifacts that might be expected to be found in a Native American camp. However, Native Americans used the region for thousands of years, and the area was known to have been used for Cheyenne and Arapahoe camps during the 1860s. The material culture from any 1860s camp is likely to be similar to these three items.

The absence of definitive artifacts (ordnance items such as howitzer shell fragments or friction primers) and the lack of more numerous items are problematic. Six items are not adequate to definitively state that the Dawson property is the Sand Creek Massacre site. However, the Dawson property may have enough soil deposition to bury 1864 material deeper than metal detectors can penetrate. Thus, the Dawson property cannot be excluded without further study.

On the other hand, the Rhoades property [a portion of the Rhoades-Bowen Bend] did not yield any artifacts that date exclusively to the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. The relatively few artifacts recovered all post-date the 1864 engagement by at least five or more years. In addition, soil deposition seemed to be very shallow. Thus the Rhoades property is unlikely to be the massacre site and can be excluded from further consideration.

The authors recommend continued archeological and historical research to find the massacre site. The archeological research component should be composed of four tasks: 1) A geomorphologic study of the sediments; 2) An effort to locate and study artifacts removed by collectors; 3) A program of non-intrusive remote sensing be undertaken using multiple instrument types; and 4) The metal detecting inventory should be continued on the Dawson

property, particularly to the east of the currently inventoried area, and on other properties as research dictates.

Lysa Wegman-French and Christine Whitacre

Historical Research on the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site, Interim Report No. 1, September 11, 1998, Interim Report No. 2, January 29, 1999, and Interim Report No. 3, April 27, 1999

National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office-Denver (Interim Report No. 1, 15 pages, not including attachments; Interim Report No. 2, 46 pages not including attachments; Interim Report No. 3, 22 pages)

The three reports consist of compilations of historical research that the historians had found to date regarding the location of the Sand Creek Massacre site. The scope of work was limited to archival resources in the state of Colorado. The second and third reports update but do not repeat nor supercede the previous report(s).

The first report pointed to two probable general locations for the site: the North Bend in Cheyenne County [also known as the Rhoades-Bowen Bend] and the South Dawson Bend in Kiowa County. The report is organized by sources of information: diaries, soldiers' testimonies and contemporary newspaper accounts; the Samuel W. Bonsall map, 1868; Colorado territory and state maps; General Land Office Surveys, 1872-1880; homestead records; U.S. Geological Survey maps, 1890-91; George Bent maps; later newspaper accounts; the 1938 tracing of the John Baumbach map; and the Colorado Historical Society marker. Under each heading are descriptions of information gathered from or about the source.

The second report organized excerpts from archival material within four main categories: sources from people who were at the site 1) during the massacre; 2) within 5 years after the massacre; 3) up to 35 years after the massacre; and 4) more than 35 years after the massacre. Within the first category, quotations from archival sources are compiled and subdivided under these headings: distance and direction to site; site descriptions; location of the howitzer batteries; location of cavalymen and Indians; sandpits and the creek bank area(s); length of massacre site; ammunition (and other possible archeological artifacts); and the route south, after the massacre. These 27 pages of quotations within the first category are derived primarily from the three reports issued from the three 1860s federal investigations into the massacre, in addition to George Hyde interviews with George Bent and Little Bear. The remaining pages of text, covering the subsequent main categories, are subdivided by archival source, and include descriptions and/or interpretations of the material, occasionally including direct quotations. Those sources include the George Bent maps, newspaper articles, the Samuel Bonsall map, the Luke Cahill manuscript, post office records, reminiscences, state engineer records on irrigation ditches, and secondary histories.

The third interim report's organizational format is the same as the second report, so the information could be merged with that in the second report. Sources for the first category (from people who were present at the massacre) include the records of events reported in the muster rolls for five companies of the 1st Regiment Colorado, as well as a Walter Camp interview with Edmund Guerrier, and newspaper articles. Sources for the subsequent categories included secondary histories, later newspaper articles, oral history interviews with

artifact collectors in the area, abstract company land records, and maps by George Bent, Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall, and Dr. LeRoy Hafen.

The three interim reports primarily present data as it was collected from archival sources. Little analysis and no synthesis was conducted on the data, thus no conclusions are presented.

Chuck and Sheri Bowen

The Search for the Sand Creek Massacre

August 1, 1999 (41 pages, including maps and graphics)

The authors' stated purpose of doing this project was to learn the history of the Bowen ranch. The authors propose that Black Kettle's village site was in the lower portion [southeast quarter] of Section 14, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. They propose that the rifle pits area was in the central to upper portion of Section 10, Township 17 South, Range 46 West.

Methodology included historic research, mainly using three sources: *Life of George Bent* (which includes accounts by George Bent and Little Bear), *The Sand Creek Fight* (first hand account of Sgt. Morse Coffin) and *I Stand by Sand Creek* (first hand account of Private Irving Howbert). The other tools used were a metal detector, maps and a personal knowledge of the area.

The research area was limited to a stretch of the creek 35 to 40 miles from old Fort Lyon, between a point just upstream of the present Sand Creek Massacre monument site north to a point two miles upstream of the Bowen property.

The historic terms "Big Bend of Sandy Creek," "Big South Bend" and "South Bend" could have referred to a larger general region of the creek route, rather than a specific bend. If this concept is accurate, Black Kettle's village could have been anywhere between the so-called North Bend [also referred to in this volume as the Rhoades-Bowen Bend] and Dawson's Bend [also known as the Dawson South Bend].

Sand Creek has changed very little since 1864, in spite of dirt storms and flooding. However, in 1907 Frank Ray built a ditch with the route running along the east bank of the creek in Section 10, Township 17 South, Range 46 West; this could have changed the appearance of the bank. The section is proposed as the area of the rifle pits.

George Bent said that a lodge trail crossed Sand Creek at the location of the encampment. The authors propose that Robert Bent, when guiding the troops to the camp, intentionally brought them along an approach from the south, thereby exposing the soldiers two miles from the village. Thus, two trails would approach the village. There are signs of a trail that crossed the creek in the southeast quarter of Section 14; the authors propose this as the site of Black Kettle's village.

The Dawson Bend [also known as the Dawson South Bend], the Middle Bend [also known as the Bowen Middle Bend] and the North Bend [also known as the Rhoades-Bowen Bend] are rejected as the village sites for six reasons, two of which are based on inconsistency of geographical features compared to eyewitness accounts, and two of which are based on desirable features for a winter camp. The reasons are: 1) The high south bluff would have shielded the winter camp from solar warmth and exposed it to cold north winds. 2) The high south bluff would have blocked the view of the soldiers approaching from Fort Lyon; it is unlikely that the Indians would have camped in a vulnerable position. 3) None of the three bends has a place 1 to 1-1/2 miles upstream that has banks 200 yards wide and 10 to 15 feet high, as the rifle pit area was described by witnesses. 4) If the Indians were camped below the

bluffs in any of these bends, they would have been obscured from view and the soldiers would not have been able to see them from about two miles away, as eyewitness accounts indicate.

5) The Indians would have camped below a north bank to collect solar warmth from the sun.

6) None of the eyewitness accounts mentions the dramatic south bank of the Dawson South Bend, a notable omission since much more minor features were described.

Four eyewitness accounts are analyzed and mapped. Descriptions of the ridge, village, sandpits and creek bend are compiled, and three questions are posed: 1) Is the proposed site logical for a winter camp; 2) Are there geological formations suspiciously absent from the accounts; and 3) Are there artifacts to suggest a battle?

At the proposed village site (in the lower end of Section 14), the Bowens found hundreds of square nails and nail fragments. Three reasons are suggested: 1) The small fragmented nails – instead of lead balls – were used inside the howitzer shell found at that location; 2) The nails were dropped as crates were built for an artifact-gathering expedition; and 3) Indians burned the supply crates from Fort Lyon, leaving the nails in the fire hearths. The authors also found old-style tin cans that were soldered together. The six-foot-high north bank and the view to the south are consistent with contemporary accounts of the village. In a subsequent letter (Chuck Bowen to Rick Frost, October 14, 1999), Bowen indicates he found hundreds of artifacts in this location, including bullets, musket balls, cone tinklers, arrowheads, pieces of cast iron kettles, and fire hearths.

About 1 ½ miles upstream from the proposed village area is the proposed rifle pits area, marked on the maps as being in the central area of Section 10, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. The height of the two banks and the width of the streambed are consistent with eyewitness accounts. The authors found a number of bullets, casings, and primer caps along the east bank.

The “Three Forks” that is marked on the Bonsall map is located on the report’s map on the south edge of Section 29, Township 16 South, Range 46 West. Measuring six miles downstream, per the Bonsall map, the authors place the Bonsall camp in Section 24. The southern end of the massacre site begins ¼ mile upstream from the Bonsall camp, and continue for two miles, placing the proposed village site in Section 14 and the proposed rifle pits in Section 10.

The authors conclude that Chivington first saw Black Kettle’s village from the current Sand Creek Massacre monument, which is in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West. The troops would have ridden down into the creek, stopped in Section 24, about ½ mile from Section 14, to remove their excesses. This, according to the authors, is the area of Bonsall’s later camp. The troops attacked the Indian village, located in the lower end of Section 14. According to first-hand accounts, there is a ridge along the south and west side of the creek at the village site. Just beyond the ridge, the view of the village would have been obstructed. Some Indians fled to the sand hills to the west – the Section 14 site is the only proposed village site with such hills. Many Indians fled to the rifle pits in Section 10 – this is the only place in the area that has banks as wide, high, and steep as those described by participants.

