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The Dull Knife Battlefield is located in a comparatively remote spot on the eastern slope of the Big Horn Mountains, in a beautiful valley cut by a fine little trout stream. Its remoteness was one reason why a band of Northern Cheyenne Indians chose it as a winter camp, where they felt safe from attack. The main battlefield area is today a large meadow, the heart of a ranching operation owned by Norris Graves. The ranch headquarters complex is at the west end of the meadow, against the base of an angular mountain slope and where several small creek branches came together to form the Red Fork of the Powder River. On the south end of the meadow, only a few hundred yards east of the present ranch complex, the Cheyennes were encamped in November, 1876.

From the front windows of the Graves' log home is a view of the village and battlefield site, but a more comprehensive view of both is obtainable from a hill just west of the ranchstead. From some stock corrals northwest of the ranch house a narrow road abruptly ascends the hill that divides the north and south branches of Red Fork. Atop this breezy knoll, about half a mile above the ranch, is a spectacular view of not only the entire valley but also miles of surrounding country, even beyond the Hole-in-the-Wall twenty five miles One prominent topographic feature of the battlefield, and extending south. northwest to southeast, is Fraker Mountain, a rock barrier that encloses the valley on the north. It was named for Augustus Fraker, an early settler in the valley of the Red Fork. A slight gash at the northwest end of the mountain is Fraker Pass, used by the Cheyennes in their escape from the attack upon the village. Bounding the valley on the south is Mackenzie Hill, named for the leader of the army's attack on the Cheyennes, which lies at the north end of the Red Wall. The Red Wall is a long, north-south wall of red sandstone bluffs averaging about 300 feet in height. Except at a few natural gaps where it may be penetrated, the wall effectively blocks traffic between plains on the east and mountains on the west for 75 miles. One gap is a narrow opening at its northern end, where the Red Fork flows from the eastern end of the Dull Knife Battlefield. At that point Fraker Mountain and the Red Wall come very close together, constricting the meadow and forcing the Red Fork to carve itself through Fraker Mountain. Just south of that gap is a seemingly more logical place for the river's flow, a draw that was followed by Mackenzie's troops and scouts the morning of the battle. From where it leaves Fraker Mountain the Red Fork flows southeast between the Red Wall country on the west and Gardner Mountain on the east, picking up the rust-colored silt that likely furnished its name. At a point about ten miles west of the town of Kaycee the Red Fork empties into the eastward-flowing Middle Fork of the Powder River. Just north of that confluence, the Barnum Road intersects the Red Fork to head west toward another, but larger gap in the Red Wall. At Barnum the road penetrates the Wall and turns north, paralleling and winding along the base of the bluffs for approximately eight miles and terminates at the Graves Ranch. Traveling on a particular winter's day in this country, the visitor is struck by the contrasting colors of deep red sandstone, the green native vegetation of this semiarid environment, white blotches of snow on the ground and blue

8 SIGNIFICANCE

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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The conflict between the United States army and certain tribes of High Plains Indians intensified during and after the Civil War, reaching a climax in 1876. In March, 1876 Colonel Joseph Reynolds fought Crazy Horse in an engagement on the Powder River with inconclusive results. That summer a standstill battle was fought between the same Indian leader and General George Crook at the The most famous engagement, however, was that between a combination of Rosebud. Indian forces and General George Custer, resulting in the annihilation of the latter at the Little Big Horn. Crook continued his campaign against the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho in the fall and winter of 1876, fighting the Battle of Slim Buttes in September. His strategy changed from one of open confrontation to one of seeking out bands of Indians in their winter camps. At that time of the year Indians did not normally seek warfare and were splintered into various bands as they prepared to supply themselves for the season. The mobility of the warrior was thus impaired by the presence of his family and possessions. The army objective was to attack an Indian village, capture their ponies and destroy their winter's supply of food and fuel, their tipis, weapons and utensils. With their subsistence and means of subsistence gone, the Indians would then have little choice except to surrender. Such was the plan behind the assault on a Northern Cheyenne village that took place in the Big Horn Mountains on November 25, 1876.

The Dull Knife battle is well-documented in a number of sources, one of the most interesting accounts being that of Captain John G. Bourke of the Third Bourke's eyewitness account is only one of at least several available, Cavalrv. but it is beautifully written by a man who was gifted with the discerning eye of a historian, a fine literary style, and the ability to tell a good story. small portion of his lengthy account is included in the nomination in order to preserve some of his writing in a document that may receive more attention than Bourke's original source material. It is also included in order to document the crushing effectiveness of the army victory, as well as provide some insight into the nature of a particular Indian winter camp. Another account, which may be the only complete one from the army's point of view, is that by Sergeant James S. McClellan, also of the Third Cavalry. McClellan's narrative picks up the Powder River Expedition of General Crook at Fort Laramie, follows it to Fort Fetterman, Contonment Reno and the Crazy Woman Crossing on the Bozeman Trail, and then provides a detailed description of the battle. Following the battle McClellan describes the return of the expedition, via Pumpkin Buttes, to Fort Fetterman, Fort Laramie and winter quarters at Sidney, Nebraska.

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

See ADDENDUM, Item Number 9.

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET DESCRIPTION . ITEM NUMBER 7 PAGE 2

skies overhead. Near a landmark called the "saddlehorn" the road ascends sharply into a natural gap in Mackenzie Hill. The gap is also a vantage point which provides a panorama of the Dull Knife Battlefield. It is no wonder the Cheyenne chose this location where wood, water and forage were available, where a roughly-dissected country offered remoteness as well as scenic beauty; and as late as 1876, grazing along the eastern foothills of the Big Horns, buffalo provided their meat for the winter.

The Dull Knife Battlefield site basically has not been changed since the fight that occurred in 1876. Perhaps there are fewer cottonwoods, willows, and other trees and bushes in spots, perhaps more in others, and the stream may have changed its course slightly, but the open characteristic of the valley, and the ruggedness of the slopes that surround it are the same as when it was occupied by Indians. The Graves ranching operation, the head-quarters of which are located at the west end of the battlefield, is only the latest human intrusion upon an otherwise natural scene. The presence of the ranch indicates that the land is productive for today's rancher, just as it was productive for those who lived before him in historic and probably, prehistoric times.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 2

On a cold day in November, 1876 scouts sent out by General Crook discovered a band of about 1400 Cheyenne under chiefs Dull Knife and Little Wolf camped in the upper valley of the Red Fork, one of the headwater streams of the Powder River. Crook was searching for the Sioux village of Crazy Horse and the actions of his scouts had already caused one band of Cheyenne to head for the Crazy Horse camp. Learning of another band that was discovered nearby Crook decided to attack, sending into the Big Horn Mountains General Ranald S. Mackenzie, Fourth Cavalry, in command of Indian scouts and all cavalry except for one company. Mackenzie's effective force was over 1183 men, of whom almost one third were Pawnee, Shoshone, Sioux, Arapaho and Cheyenne scouts with a scattering representation from other tribes. Because of inclement weather and a late start the Crows, ancient enemies of the Cheyennes, did not arrive in time for the battle and reached the expedition a full month later at Christmas. Tom Cosgrove was the leader of the Shoshone scouts, whose numbers included sons of Chief Washakie. Frank and Luther North led the Pawnee scouts. Also present was another famous figure, Sharpnose, a leader of the Arapahoes.

Crook remained with his wagon train at a place where the Bozeman Trail crosses the Crazy Woman Fork of the Powder River, or about 25 miles north of his supply depot at Cantonment Reno, while Mackenzie's forces carefully moved south and Reaching the Red Fork they followed it upstream to a gap in the Big west. Horns. At daybreak on November 25 troops and scouts charged from the gap into the eastern end of a valley toward the unprepared village of the Cheyennes. While Mackenzie's troops were deployed into the middle of the valley, his scouts broke out into a flanking maneuver. Mackenzie himself headed for a high point of ground at the base of Fraker Mountain overlooking the valley. The Cheyennes, aroused from their beds following celebration of a successful raid against the Shoshones, raced west for cover, ascending the branches of the Red Fork and the slopes of Fraker Mountain. Some took positions in a draw just west of a red hill or butte near the center of the valley, where a sharp, hand-to-hand engagement took place. Here were sustained the heaviest losses of the battle for both sides, including at least one son of Chief Dull Knife, and Lieutenant John A. McKinney of Mackenzie's force. That day and into the night rifle fire was exchanged between the antagonists, but the victory belonged to the attackers. The Cheyennes held their fortifications among the rocks above the battlefield and according to Sergeant McClellan fought "wonderfully." But at nightfall most of them withdrew some distance away, taking very little except their families and their dead and wounded. A few sharpshooters remained to harass the soldiers

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 3

who set up camp in the valley below. That night the weather turned cold with the temperature dropping to 30° below zero. Picking up Captain Bourke's narrative at this juncture provides us with a description of the losses sustained in the battle by both sides.

Then other hostile Cheyennes approached, calling out that they were going over to a big Sioux village they asserted was near and get its assistance and clean us out. "You have killed and hurt a heap of our people," others said; "you may as well stay now and kill the rest of us." The Cheyennes' talk was still fierce enough and their courage unabated; had we attempted to force them out of their improvised rifle pits in the crevices and behind the rocks on the hillside, there would have been fearful loss of life.

Prudence suggested that we make sure of what has been gained, move off all the pony herd rounded up by our Indian scouts, burn and destroy every vestige of the village, meanwhile sending back to General Crook for the infantry, whose more powerful rifles could be brought to bear upon the hostiles in the morning in case they did not withdraw to another position during the night. Our own losses were, of course, known -- one commissioned officer, Lieutenant McKinney, and six enlisted men killed, and twentysix wounded. Thirty dead Cheyennes fell into our hands, and sixteen scalps were taken by the Pawnees and Shoshones; respecting the wishes and sentiments of the white soldiers about them, the other scouts did not take any scalps.

The full loss of the Cheyennes was not determined until their surrender at Red Cloud Agency several weeks later, when they submitted a list of forty killed, but either on account of superstition or repugnance to dwelling on the subject, never mentioned the number of wounded. From the desperate cold of the following night they suffered as much as from the fight; eleven babies froze to death in the arms of famished mothers, and ponies were killed that feeble old men and women might prolong their lives by inserting feet and legs in the warm entrails. That night was unusually severe, the spirit thermometer in our supply camp registering nearly but not quite 30 degrees below zero.

These facts were not learned for some time after the fight; it was always difficult to get them to speak of the frozen children, or name the dead;

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE . ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 4

except under pressure of grave exigency, an Indian will never mention the name of his mother-in-law, or of a recently deceased friend. Gashed legs and arms of mourning widows and orphan girls were the best visible sign of the extent of their losses and the depths of grief it had provoked. The destruction of the village would have been a veritable triumph for us, without killing or wounding a single Cheyenne, for never before had so rich and complete a prize fallen into the hands of the Regular Army.

200 lodges, mostly canvas, but a considerable number of buffalo hide, were all kinds of magazines of ammunition, fixed and loose, and a supply depot of many kinds. More than a half dozen were extra large size, filled with saddles and warlike trappings ranged around the circular floor; these were the convention halls or lodge rooms of the "soldier" societies. Artistic taste was frequently evident in pictographs upon the hide or canvas walls; where the head of the lodge was a person of importance, his shield--ornamented with his "totem" and "medicine"--was suspended from a post or tree-branch in front of the entrance.

Soldiers detailed to work of destruction have no time to indulge in contemplating the aesthetic development of savages; an important task had been assigned to us, so during all that night and well into the next morning, Russell's 3rd Cavalry troop and Davis's of the 4th burned and destroyed many products of aboriginal industry and taste which would have been gems in museum cabinets. First, all the fat and marrow preserved by the squaws in great bladders and paunches were laid upon the lodge fires, on which the many cords of wood gathered as their winter fuel supply were then piled.

Crackling flames roared and bellowed in their upward rush through the hide and canvas covering; but before the lodge poles were actually ignited, explosions of powder kegs and cans sent most of the belongings of Cheyenne domestic life rocket-like into the air. Never were orders more thoroughly executed. Experience had taught us in bitter lessons the preceding winter that villages only half destroyed were scarcely to be considered injured at all; on this occasion it was determined not to let a square inch of canvas, hide, robe or even gunnysack be left for use by the discomfited enemy.

Lodge poles not more than half burned were broken into smaller pieces and thrown upon what it is no rhetorical flourish to call the funeral pyres of Cheyenne glory. Axes, spades, picks, shovels, hammers, scissors and knives were heated to take away their temper; holes were knocked in the bottoms of canteens, kettles, pans and all other utensils before subjecting them to heat; saddles were smashed, bridle reins cut and bits broken, and all thrown to the conflagration. Many weapons of excellent make were saved from the otherwise common fate.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE . ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 5

Seven hundred head of stock fell into our hands, nearly one hundred of them taken away by our Pawnees, with such plunder as appealed to their fancy. How many tons of buffalo meat were consumed, I will not pretend to say; when we took possession of the village we found immense stacks of it, aggregating thousands of pounds-sufficient to last their camp until spring; without stopping to estimate the amount, we tossed it along-side blazing saddles and steaming fat, to add its quota of crackling noise to the detonations of bursting ammunition.

That this band of Cheyennes had been in the very thick of the Custer Right, June 25, 1876, evident to the least discerning, increased the zeal pressing us in our exertions. We watched the untanned buffalo skins, robes and blankets burn to a crisp, and threw in alongside them bottles of strychnine used by the Cheyennes to poison wolves, all these things useless to us, but priceless at that time to them. Thus all the Lares and Penates of primitive man, with a liberal contribution of much that a taste of civilization could devise, or its art and industry produce, were consumed.

Among the principal features of evidence implicating this band in the Custer fight were: A pillow case made of a silk guidon of the 7th Cavalry; guard roster roll, Company G, 7th Cavalry; memorandum book of the first sergeants, 7th Cavalry, one with an entry made the day of the fight ("Left Rosebud, June 25th"). A Cheyenne warrior had subsequently used this to exhibit a picture history of his own prowess; on one page he was depicted as murdering a teamster, on the next, killing a miner. At one point he was running away from Reno's barricade on the hill (represented by a round line of fire, with saddled horses lying down inside) amid a hurricance of bullets; in this encounter the Cheyenne represented himself as wounded twice and his horse four times.

Other objects were: Cavalry horses branded U.S. and 7 C; saddles, canteens, nosebags, currycombs, company roster, shovels and axes, all marked with the letter of the 7th Cavalry company to which they had belonged. A book containing names of the three best shots at each target practice of Lieutenant Donald McIntosh's company, 7th Cavalry. An officer's blue mackintosh and cape; buck-skin jacket, lined with taffeta, supposed from its appearance and marks to have been worn by Captain Tom Custer on the fatal day; a gold pencil case and silver watch.

Pocket books containing currency and coin. In rummaging around in the tents, Sharp Nose, the Arapaho chief, was delighted to discover nearly \$50 in greenbacks.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 6

The hat of Sergeant William Allen, Company I, 3rd Cavalry, killed in the Rosebud fight, June 18, 1876 with Crook's forces (identified by name on the band). Letters from relatives at home and others written and ready to be mailed; one to a young lady in the East was stamped, ready for mailing.

Photographs, one of which I pasted in my note-book; and a full cartridge belt, with silver plate marked "Little Wolf", presented to that Indian while he was visiting Washington. This was taken from the body of a dead warrior to whom Little Wolf had given it, or who may have won it from him gambling. The scalps of two young girls, neither of full age, one a flaxen-haired white, the other a Shoshone. Buckskin bag containing the right hands of twelve Shoshone babies, hand and arm of a Shoshone squaw.

Scalp of a Shoshone warrior killed on our side at the Rosebud fight, recognized by his friends from the hair ornaments. Necklace of human fingers, a ghastly specimen of aboriginal handicraft, the special decoration of High Wolf, the chief medicine man, still to be seen at the National Museum, Washington, D.C., where it was deposited by me. Scalp shirts fringed with human hair, savage and civilized. War bonnets of eagle feathers, shields and many other specimens of dress, art and crude manufacture.

Many squaws' robes of delicately tanned antelope skin, encrusted with beadwork or porcupine quills, or glistening with the pearly luster of elk teeth, were marvels of beauty. Plates, cups and saucers of chinaware, spoons, knives, forks, scissors, coffee pots, pillows-even mattresses-showed that the contact of those Cheyennes with white people was beginning to develop new wants and excite new appetites. Alongside these were primitive implements-stone hammers and fruit and nut mashers for making the palatable compounds known among the Sioux as toro, in which powdered buffalo meat, wild plums and occasionally wild cherries are beaten to a pulp, and boiling marrow added; stone pipes, sometimes inlaid with silver, and at other times without ornament, but always accompanied by tobacco bags most elaborately ornamented with bead and quill work.

Following the battle a detachment of four Pawnee scouts under Captain Luther North was sent on a reconnaissance to determine the position of Dull Knife's band, and returned to say that the Cheyennes were badly cut up, almost naked, without blankets or ammunition, and hauling many wounded in the direction of Crazy Woman's Fork, possibly using Dull Knife Pass in leaving the Big Horn Mountains. The Cheyennes managed to reach Sioux camps on the lower Powder River and on the Belle Fourche, traveling through heavy snow with temperatures

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE . ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 7

dropping to 42⁰ below zero. Most of them eventually surrendered at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies in South Dakota, and some of the Cheyenne warriors enlisted as scouts with the army to help in the campaign against the Sioux. Mackenzie's forces returned to Crook's camp where the dead were buried, except for a Private Beard who had been buried on the battlefield, and Lieutenant McKinney whose body was sent to Memphis, Tennessee. Crook then headed for the Belle Fourche River and the country at the head of the Little Missouri to continue his search for Crazy Horse. Having spent a bitterly cold Christmas on the trail, the expedition eventually turned south to return to Fort Fetterman and Fort Laramie. The expedition was broken up at Fort D.A. Russell in Cheyenne and some, such as the Norths and the Pawnee scouts, spent winter quarters at Sidney, Nebraska.

For the army the Dull Knife Battle was a significant step in forcing recalcitrant Indian bands to live on reservations, and thereby clear their land for white settlement. For the Northern Cheyenne band under Dull Knife and Little Wolf the battle was a terrible defeat that left them unprepared to face a cold winter, and forced them to seek out others for subsistence. It was an important event that helped bring about the end of a way of life that was known to the Cheyennes and the Sioux, since some of the defeated Cheyenne joined the army offensive against the Sioux. The number engaged in the battle, the ferocity of the struggle, and the losses suffered make the Dull Knife Battle significant when compared with other Indian-white conflicts recorded, at least in Wyoming. Sergeant James McClellan, a battle participant, summed up the battle as he saw it:

It is the general tendency, when speaking or writing of the Indian wars in the Northwest, to emphasize the Custer fight, which of course stands alone for the magnitude of the disaster it involved. That was a stinging defeat for the forces of the Government-the greatest it ever sustained in war with the redskinned races; and the principal victim was one of the most conspicuous and famous soldiers in American history. The destruction of Dull Knife's village was a complete victory for the Army-and never since has there been an engagement of the magnitude of either with the tribes of the norther plains.

In the judgment of history, as well as from the record, Mackenzie was fully equal to Custer as a military leader, and participated in as many battles, some-including the Dull Knife Village after the brave Custer had passed to his reward. In the perspective of time, both engagements take their relative place in history, more particularly after the partisan feeling which usually surrounds events of that nature has mostly passed away.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET SIGNIFICANCE . ITEM NUMBER 8 PAGE 8

The endurance and bravery shown by participants on both sides during and after the battle are worthy of at least the stone historical marker that stands on the slope of a meadow in the Red Fork Valley a few hundred yards east of Norris Graves' ranchstead. The entire Dull Knife Battlefield site at which those actions occurred is worthy of National Register status for the same reason, and because the battle was a significant event in the larger historical struggle that took place between cultures for control of the vast Rocky Mountain-High Plains region.

Today animals graze on the Dull Knife Battlefield which has become part of a ranching operation owned by Norris Graves. Occasionally, artifacts are still found by those who scour the area, and Mr. Graves himself has many momentoes from the 1876 battle. Some of them were put to use again, but for another purpose. Camp stoves found at the site, for example, were welded together and now serve as a source of heat for a ranch outbuilding. The Biblical pyres, "beating swords into plowshares" became a reality when rifle barrels found at the battle site were made to serve as tines or spikes of a harrow used on the ranch. Further research will reveal interesting facts of a ranching operation whose history is part of the fascinating story of an area on the eastern fringe of the Big Horn Mountains called Hole-in-the-Wall country. The history of this region is diverse and is highlighted by stories of outlaw hideouts, and by the controversial conflict between large and small ranchers called the Johnson County War. The Graves Ranch in particular may in the future arouse the curiosity of the historian since it once received national exposure through an article featured in the now defunct Life Magazine in the early 1960's. For a short period of time a Life photographer lived with the Graves family and, using the techniques of documentary photography, portrayed a moment in their lives. In a symbolic way he also documented a way of life found in a number of medium-size ranching operations of the mid-twentieth century. The photographs featured in the Life Magazine article are only part of a nice collection owned by Mr. Graves which may provide useful insights into ranching history.

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET ADDENDUM ITEM NUMBER 9 PAGE 1

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM



CONTINUATION SHEET	ADDENDUM	TEM NUMBER 10 PAGE	1
		ADDENDUM: ITEM #10 UTM COORDINATES	
	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
А	13	3 45 <u>525</u>	48 46 <u>275</u>
В	13	3 45 <u>525</u>	48 45 <u>825</u>
С	13	3 44 <u>250</u>	48 45 <u>300</u>
D	13	3 44 <u>150</u>	48 45 <u>525</u>
E	13	3 43 <u>225</u>	48 45 <u>900</u>
F	13	3 42 <u>850</u>	48 45 <u>725</u>
G	13	3 42 <u>150</u>	48 46 -150 - 250
Н	13	3 41 <u>275</u>	48 46 100
Ι	13	3 41 <u>800</u>	48 46 375
J	13	3 42 <u>000</u>	48 46 750
К	13	3 41 <u>750</u>	48 47 <u>425</u>
L	13	3 41 <u>350</u>	48 47 <u>300</u>
Μ	13	3 41 <u>425</u>	48 47 <u>600</u>
N	13	3 41 <u>100</u>	48 48 000 073
0	13	3 41 <u>275</u>	48 48 175
Р	13	3 41 275	48 48 650
Q	13	3 41 <u>750</u>	48 49 025
R	13	3 41 <u>550</u>	48 48 <u>675</u>
S	13	3 41 <u>875</u>	48 48 725
Т	13	3 42 <u>025</u>	48 48 525
U	13	3 42 025	48 48 <u>850</u>
V	13	3 42 <u>375</u>	48 48 <u>350</u>
W	13	3 42 <u>300</u>	48 48 <u>575</u>
Х	13	3 43 <u>000</u>	48 48 <u>000</u>
γ	13	3 42 <u>925</u>	48 48 <u>200</u>
Z	13	3 43 375	48 47 <u>350</u>

ADDENDUM: ITEM #10

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Verbal Boundary Description

The Dull Knife Battlefield is a mountain valley enclosed by two outstanding topographical features: Fraker Mountain on the north and Mackenzie Hill on the south. Beginning in the $SW_{\frac{1}{2}}$ NE_4 of Section 27, T44N R84W, at bench mark 5606 or map point B, the boundary of the battlefield ascends Mackenzie Hill. The line follows the crest of the hill to its west end from which a straight line intersects the Saddlehorn, a gap between Mackenzie Hill and the lower slopes of the Big Horn Mountains. The line then picks up a contour line of that western barrier and heads west, returns east, then follows the top of a hill to map point I. There the boundary again becomes a straight line drawn northeast across the South Fork of the Red Fork to a hill on the north bank of the creek. The line follows the hill, flanking the west bank of the North Fork of Red Fork. At the confluence of the North Fork and Beartrap Creek, the boundary ascends Beartrap Creek to a small branch of that watercourse. The line ascends the latter, unnamed watercourse in a northeast direction to a contour line near the crest of Fraker Mountain. The boundary line then extends southeast all the way along Fraker Mountain to the east end of the battlefield at map point A. From map point A a straight line is drawn from Fraker Mountain to the point of beginning, intersecting the narrow canyon of the Red Fork. Thus enclosed mainly by the contours of hills and mountains, the battlefield contains approximately 1900 acres.