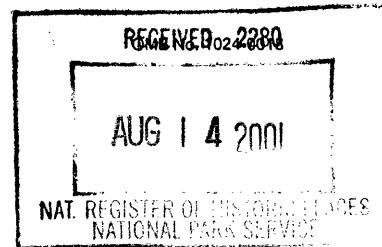


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

1055



NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

1. Name of Property

historic name: Sand Creek Massacre Site

other name/site number: 5SW28

2. Location

street & number: Near the intersection of County Road 54 and County Road W not for publication: N/A

city/town: Eads

vicinity: X

state: Colorado code: CO county: Kiowa code: 061 zip code: 81036

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant X nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Georgina Cortez S.H.P.O. July 20, 2001
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State Historic Preservation Office, Colorado Historical Society
State or Federal agency or bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
 see continuation sheet
- determined eligible for the National Register
 see continuation sheet
- determined not eligible for the National Register
 see continuation sheet
- removed from the National Register
 see continuation sheet
- other (explain)

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

Entered in the
National Register

9.28.01

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Name of Property

Kiowa County, CO
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property: Private and public-local (county)

Category of Property: Site

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: 0

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

Number of Resources within Property
Contributing Noncontributing

	6	building(s)
1	2	sites
	13	structures
	1	objects
1	22	Total

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions:

DOMESTIC/Camp
OTHER/Massacre Site
DEFENSE/Battle Site

Current Function:

AGRICULTURE/Agricultural Field
LANDSCAPE/Natural Features
DOMESTIC/Single Dwelling
DOMESTIC/Secondary Structures
AGRICULTURE/Irrigation Facility
CULTURE/Marker
TRANSPORTATION/Road-related

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

N/A

MATERIALS: N/A

Foundation:

Walls:

Roof:

Other:

Narrative Description:

(See continuation sheets)

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Name of Property

Kiowa County, CO
County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria: A & D
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A
Significant Person(s): N/A
Cultural Affiliation: Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians

Areas of Significance:
Ethnic Heritage (Native American)
Military
Archaeology (Historic-Aboriginal)
Period(s) of Significance: 1864
Significant Dates: November 29, 1864
Architect/Builder: N/A

Narrative Statement of Significance:

(See continuation sheets)

9. Major Bibliographic References

(See continuation sheets)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary Location of Additional Data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency - National Park Service
- Local government
- Universities - U. of Colorado at Boulder and U. of Oklahoma
- Other - Denver Public Library

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: 7,680 acres

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	13	712040	4274920
2	13	716860	4275040
3	13	716960	4271820
4	13	720330	4268710

(See continuation sheets)

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Name of Property

Kiowa County, CO
County and State

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Pamela Holtman, graduate student of history at the University of Colorado at Denver
organization: N/A **date:** March 26, 2001
street & number: 1607 E. Geddes Cir. N. **telephone:** 303-794-1381
city or town: Centennial **state:** CO **zip code:** 80122-1451

Additional Documentation

Maps

(See the continuation sheets)

Photographs

(See the continuation sheets)

Property Owner(s)

(See the continuation sheets)

name/title: .
street & number: **telephone:**
city or town: **state:** **zip code:**

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 1

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Narrative Description:

The majority of the following information is drawn verbatim from documentation prepared by 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 – for the Sand Creek Massacre Project, which was mandated by Congress in 1998 through Public Law 105-243. The results of that project are published as *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study* and *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000).¹

The boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre site covers approximately 11.5 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 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 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. Sand Creek, officially known as Big Sandy Creek, is an intermittent stream that meanders with several twists and bends through the center of the area from northwest to southeast. The boundary encompasses all of the key elements of the Sand Creek Massacre, including the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site that was attacked, 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. The Sand Creek Massacre area has changed very little since November 29, 1864, and has a high degree of integrity.

The site lies in eastern Kiowa County within the High Plains section of the Great Plains-Palouse Dry Steppe Province ecoregion. This ecoregion stretches from northeastern Oklahoma north-northwesterly through Montana.² The site has gently rolling topography

¹For more complete information on the historical, archeological, and tribal information that was used to identify the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre site, see "Report on the Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre" by Jerome A. Greene, "Identifying the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre Site Through Archeological Reconnaissance" by Douglas D. Scott, and "The Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study Oral History Project" by Alexa Roberts in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study* (Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000).

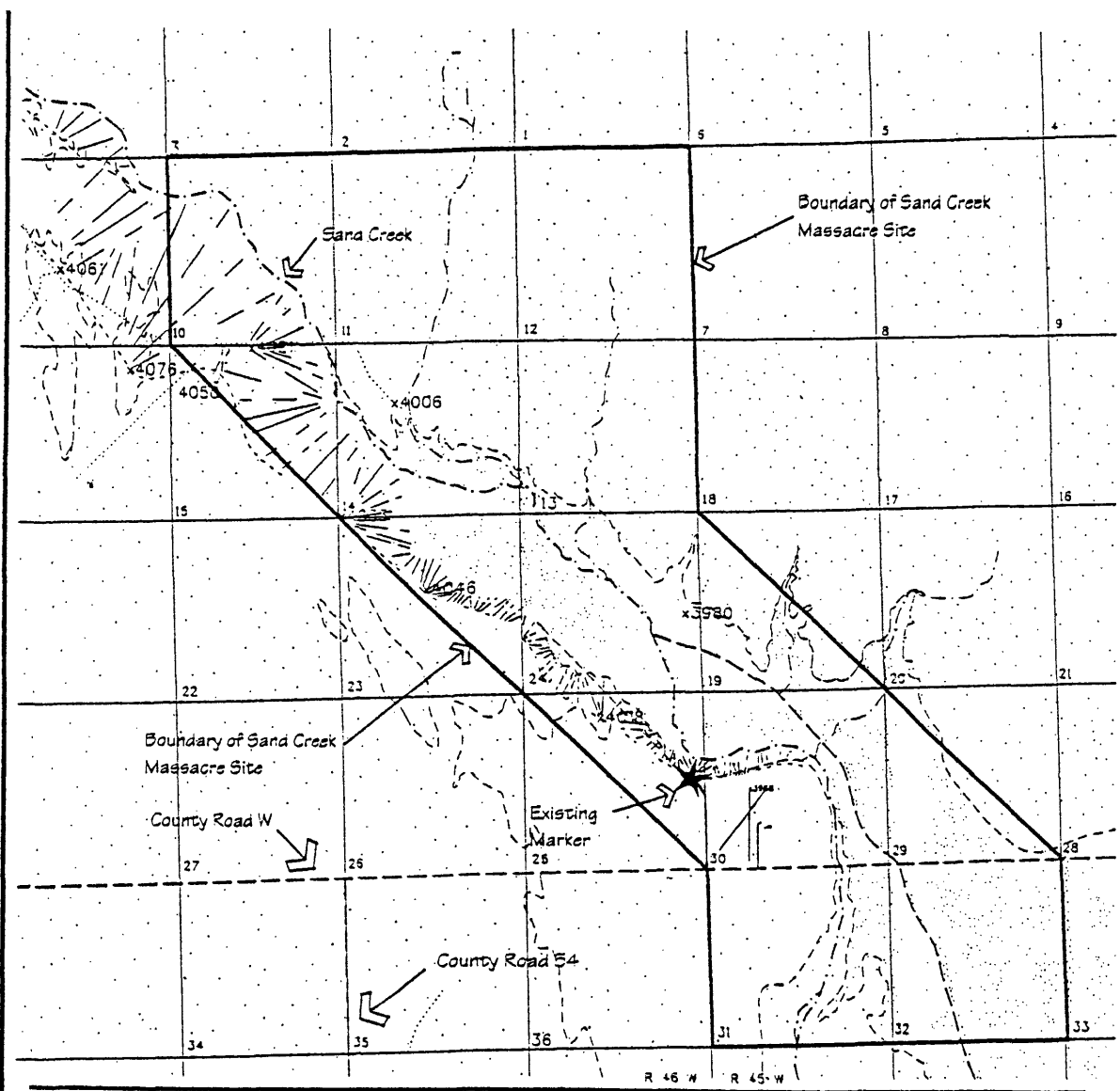
²Robert G. Bailey, *Ecoregions of the United States* (U.S. Department of Agriculture: Forest Service, 1994). As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 55.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 2

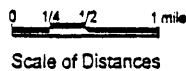
Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



Boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site

Sand Creek Massacre Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service



LEGEND

- Sand Creek Massacre Site
- National Register Boundary

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 3

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

with elevations of approximately 3,960 feet above sea level (asl) along the creek, and elevations of bluffs to the west more than 4,000 feet asl and rising slopes to the east at more than 4,050 feet asl. The Sand Creek floodplain is terraced, but mostly level to gently sloping and varying from one-quarter to one-half mile in width through the site.³

The massacre site is approximately 180 miles southeast of Denver. The town of Chivington, which is nearly abandoned, is approximately 12 miles south of the massacre site. Eads, the county seat, is approximately 25 miles west-southwest of the massacre site. The area's primary access routes are U.S. Highway 287 and Colorado Highway 96, which intersect at the town of Eads. Highway 287 intersects with Interstate 70 at a point approximately 85 miles northwest of Eads. Highway 287 is also the primary access route between Eads and Lamar, which is about 40 miles south of the massacre site. The closest highway to the Sand Creek Massacre site is Colorado Highway 96, which passes through the town of Chivington. From Colorado Highway 96, the massacre site can be reached by traveling on unpaved secondary roads, specifically County Road 54 and County Road W. However, the Sand Creek Massacre site is located on private land and is not open to the public.

As documented in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, historic documents, oral histories from tribal members, traditional tribal knowledge, and archeological surveys were used to determine the location and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre. The site location study was presented to Congress in July 2000; and U.S. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, from Colorado, subsequently used it to sponsor legislation authorizing the establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. President Bill Clinton signed the "Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Establishment Act," Public Law 106-465, on November 7, 2000.

The Sand Creek Massacre area has changed relatively little since November 29, 1864. Geomorphological studies indicate that the area landforms and topography, including Sand Creek, are substantially unchanged. In addition, man-made alterations of the area have not seriously compromised the area's natural features. These alterations include the remnants of the now-defunct Chivington Canal, the crumbling headworks of which are still located on Sand Creek. Two ranch complexes – one occupied and one abandoned – are within the massacre site boundary. Within the massacre site boundary are other remnants of the area's

³Amy Holmes and Michael McFaul, LaRamie Soils, "Geoarchaeological Assessment of the Sand Creek Massacre Site, Kiowa County, Colorado," October 1999, Laramie, Wyoming. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 55.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 4

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

agricultural use including fence lines, water tanks, windmills, and corrals. County Road W, which is an unpaved road, cuts through two miles of the southern portion of the massacre site. The only other roads within the massacre site boundary are secondary dirt roads that serve as residential and grazing access. A small Sand Creek Massacre historical marker placed by the local community is situated on a high ridge south along the Dawson South Bend (also referred to as the South Bend) upon ground which National Park Service historians believe Colonel John M. Chivington ordered his troops to begin their assault upon the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians who were camped below along the Sand Creek streambed.

Historical, Tribal, and Archeological Evidence of the Sand Creek Massacre Site

The first archeological survey of the massacre site took place in 1997. In the early 1990s, amateur archeologists and metal detector hobbyists who had surveyed the 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 Historical Fund 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 the reconnaissance-level archeological surveys for the project. The team surveyed the South Bend, as well as another large bend of Sand Creek, referred to variously as the Rhoades/Bowen Bend or the North Bend, which is in Cheyenne County approximately ten miles to the north of the South Bend. However, the Colorado Historical Society/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 twelve 1864-era items were found in the South Bend, either through the 1997 survey or later by property owner William Dawson. The 1997 metal detecting inventory – which included the Dawson property in the Dawson South Bend and the Rhoades property in the North Bend – covered approximately 940 acres.

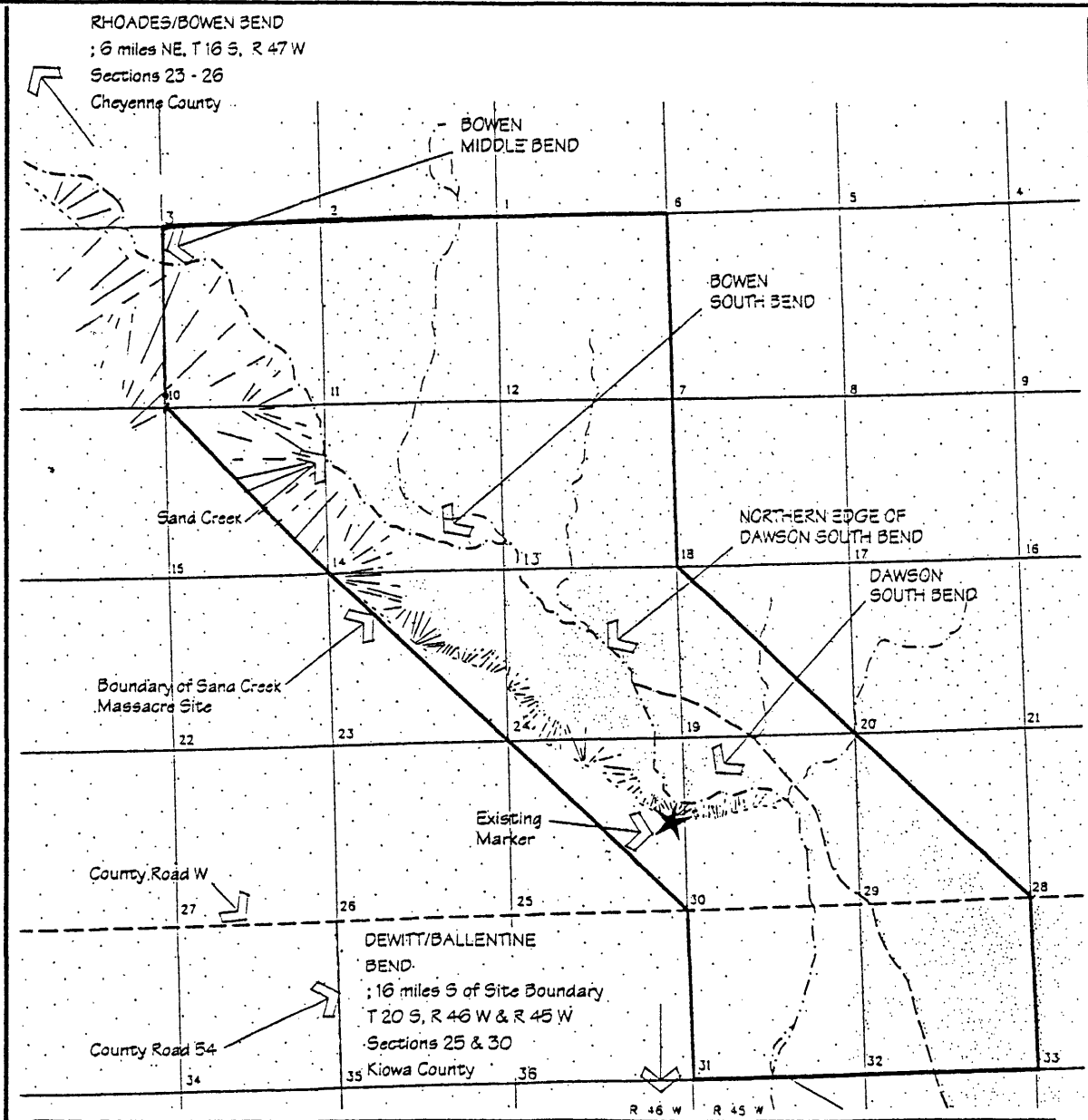
Following the passage of the “Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act” on October 6, 1998, the National Park Service, Intermountain Region, initiated its search for the Sand Creek Massacre site. The major goal of the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 5

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

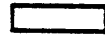


Site Map of Place Names Used in the Documents

Sand Creek Massacre
Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service

LEGEND



Sand Creek Massacre Site
National Register Boundary



0 1/4 1/2 1 mile

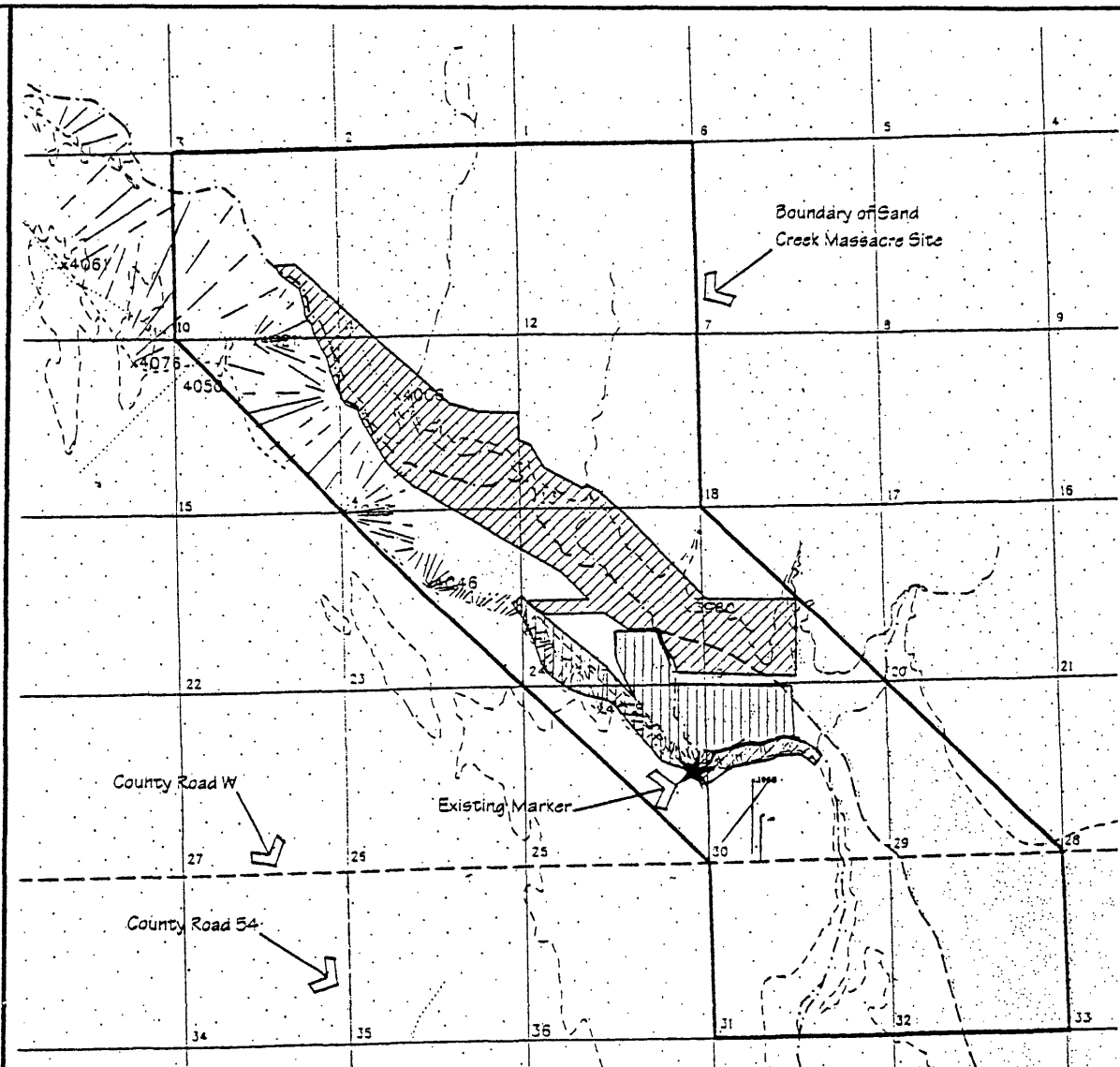
Scale of Distances

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 6

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



Archeological Survey Areas


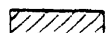
Sand Creek Massacre
Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service



0 1/4 1/2 1 mile
Scale of Distances

LEGEND

-  1997 Inventory Area
-  1999 Inventory Area
-  Sand Creek Massacre Site National Register Boundary

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 7

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

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.

The archival search for information to identify the site of the Sand Creek Massacre involved an 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, such as an 1868 map drawn by Lieutenant Samuel Bonsall; historical aerial photographic documentation; and 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 events on November 29, 1864. As discussed by National Park Service historian Jerome Greene in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, the archival record indicated 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, two maps drawn by George Bent (a mixed blood Cheyenne survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre), and a host of participant testimony and other documents led Greene to conclude that the major resource property of the village was probably approximately one mile upstream of the "vee" of the Dawson South Bend.⁴

Other important sources of information used to identify the location of the Sand Creek Massacre were oral histories and traditional tribal methods. Between April 1999 and February 2000, 32 Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre gave oral history accounts of the massacre, which they permitted to be recorded and transcribed for the site location study. The Sand Creek Massacre oral history project specifically focused on information that would help identify the location of the massacre site. In particular, descendants were asked specific questions about topics such as geographic landforms, physical descriptions of the size and extent of the Indian encampment, and information on trails that led to the site. National Park Service

⁴Jerome A. Greene, "Report on the Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site," in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, pp. 31-69.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 8

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

ethnographer Alexa Roberts coordinated this recordation effort; her report on the project, which includes transcripts of the oral history interviews, is published in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*. In addition, Cheyenne and Arapaho elders and spiritual leaders also shared their traditional knowledge of the site. These traditional site location methods included sensing a spiritual presence or hearing the voices of women, children, horses, or other animals while present on the site, as well as the presence of certain sacred animals, like badger and eagle.

National Park Service archeologist Douglas D. Scott oversaw the field archeology for the Sand Creek Massacre Site Location Study. It was a premise of the methodology for the 1999 site location study that the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site, and possibly the sandpits area, might contain enough intact archeological artifacts through which the massacre site could be identified. The archeological field investigation was conducted between May 17-27, 1999, and Scott's report on the results of the archeological survey is published in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*. During the archeological survey, approximately 400 artifacts were found, the majority of them dating to the 1864-era. 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 collection of artifacts indicates that this area was likely Black Kettle's camp of 1864. Participating in the survey were members from the National Park Service, the Colorado Historical Society, volunteers, landowners, and members from the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe. In the vicinity of the Dawson South Bend, the area of archeological investigation was comprised of one contiguous area along Sand Creek about 3.5 miles long. A second area, approximately 20 miles south of the Dawson South Bend, was also investigated for a total inventory area of 680 acres.⁵ Metal detectors were employed as an inventory tool. Artifacts were found at depths between surface and 12 inches.

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, define its boundary, and collect a judgmental sample of the site's artifacts. The 1999 archeological survey uncovered significant physical evidence to identify the massacre site. A total of 386 field numbers were assigned during the 1999 fieldwork; in some cases, such as the cache of .58-caliber round balls, one field number was assigned to a number of objects. The 1999 investigation approach required a judgmental artifact

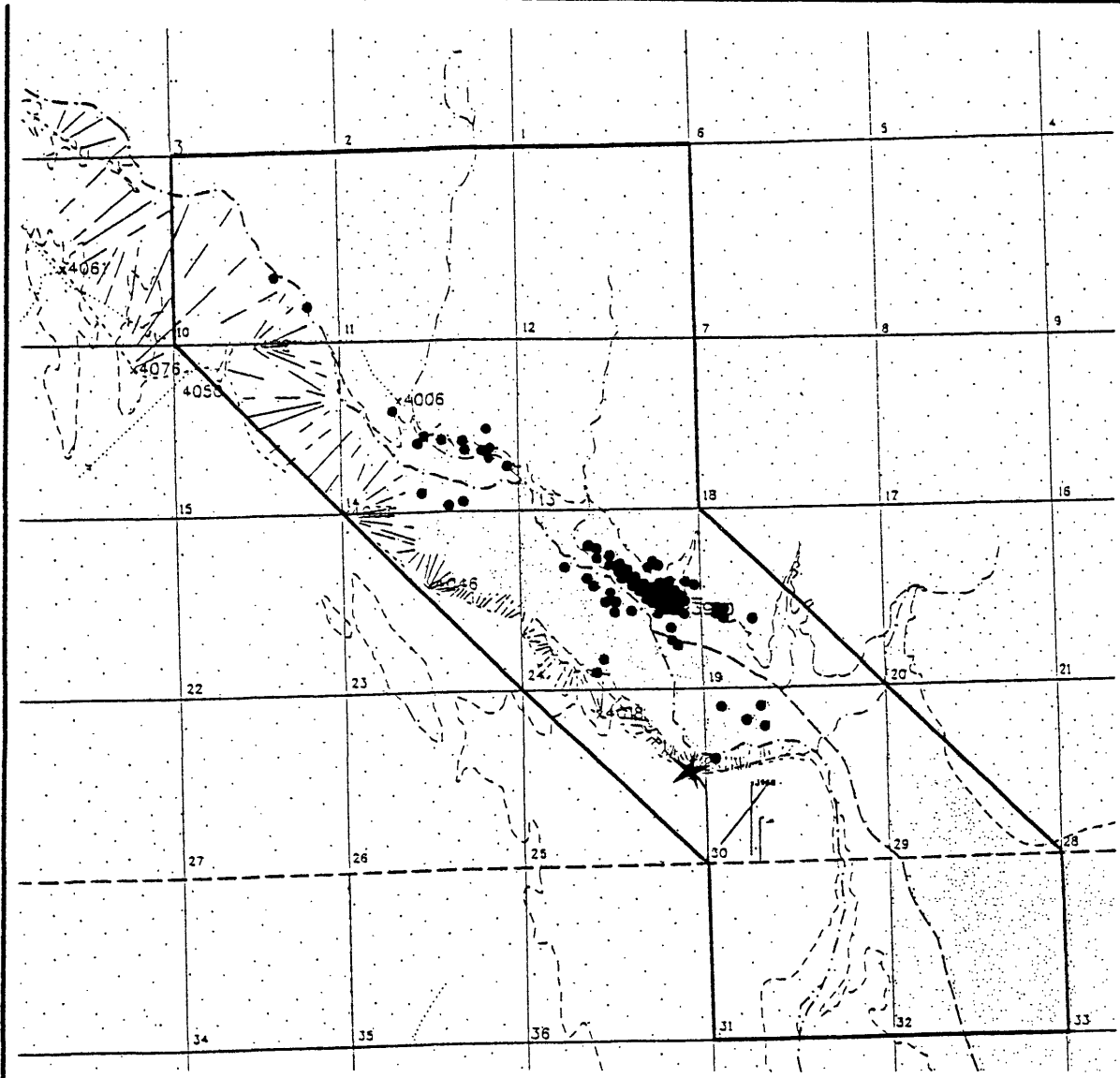
⁵No evidence of the massacre was found in the second area.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 9

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



Archeological Findings

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

- Artifact Site
- Sand Creek Massacre Site
National Register Boundary

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 10

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

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 were described and identified, where possible, and are detailed in archeologist Douglas Scott's report in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*. The emphasis of the analysis was to identify the artifacts and determine their datable range for the purpose of determining if the materials recovered could be associated with the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.

It should be noted that no human remains were discovered during the 1997 or 1999 investigations. Following the massacre, the bodies of Indians that had been killed were left on the field and were not buried. As noted in Jerome Greene's report in the *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, Lieutenant General William Sherman visited the Sand Creek Massacre site in June 1868, and his party is reported to have collected relics and human remains from the site.⁶

Following is a summary of the major artifacts found during the 1997 and 1999 archeological investigations of the Sand Creek Massacre site.

Firearms and Munitions

Firearms and munitions comprised the majority of the artifacts found during both surveys. The majority dated from the Civil War time period, contemporary with the Sand Creek Massacre. They included:

- Three .30-caliber balls or lead shots
- Three .32-caliber conical bullets
- A broken and oxidized .32 Long unfired cartridge
- Three unfired .36-caliber conical bullets
- A single .38-caliber conical bullet
- Five .44-caliber bullets (three were fired in Colt revolvers, and the other two in Sharps firearms)
- Two .44-caliber Henry rimfire cartridges
- One .44-caliber center-fire cartridge case in .44-40-caliber and a .44-caliber bullet

⁶ Greene, "Report on the Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site," p. 45.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 11

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

- One .50-caliber round ball, a .50-caliber conical bullet, and a .50-caliber brass cartridge case
- A single 3-ring flat-nosed bullet
- Three .52-caliber Sharps bullets
- Three .54-caliber conical hollow-base minie-type lead bullets
- Fifteen other .54-caliber bullets
- A single Spencer .56-56-caliber cartridge case
- Six .58-caliber centerfire cartridge cases
- Four lead .58-caliber conical bullets
- A cache or cluster group of .58-caliber round balls. There are 174 balls of .58 caliber in the group, and one of .30 caliber.

12-Pounder Mountain Howitzer-Related Ammunition Fragments

A variety of historical accounts document the use of four 12-pounder mountain howitzers during the attack.⁷ The Model 1835 Mountain Howitzer was a light field piece intended for use in rough terrain.⁸ 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.

The archeological survey yielded four spherical case fragments. The four fragments are body fragments of the sphere and are .4-inch thick. Also found were two fragments of 12-pounder mountain howitzer case fragments and a single .69-caliber ball.

Military Equipment

Military equipment found during the archeological surveys included the crescent end of an enlisted man's brass shoulder scale, a mounting tongue for a shoulder scale, a Model 1858 canteen stopper ring, a canteen stopper chain, and a Model 1859 army issue picket pin.

⁷Greene, "Report on the Historical Documentation of the Location and Extent of the Sand Creek Massacre Site," pp. 31-69.

⁸Warren Ripley, *Artillery and Ammunition of the Civil War* (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Company, 1970). pp. 198-201. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, p. 89.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 12

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Personal Items

Several personal items were recovered during the surveys. Items collected included a fragment of a stamped brass suspender grip. Also found were several buttons, including three military general service buttons, a General Service type military button, a Staff Eagle type button, a New York State Militia button, three buttons associated with soldiers' trousers, and five civilian type buttons. Other personal items included three boot nails, a three-inch-long ornate brass fragment that represents one side of a photograph preserver or frame, a fragment of sheet silver, a sheet silver ornament, three bells (two "hawk bells" and a heavy cast brass bell), a sewing thimble, a one-inch lightweight brass D-shaped buckle, and three iron tinkling cones (common ornamental items on Native American dress).

Camp Equipage and Utensils

A number of pieces of camp equipment and utensils were discovered while surveying. These items included the following:

- Five tin cups
- Fragments of a coffee boiler
- Part of a tin plate
- A tin bowl
- Several strap tin handles
- A possible grater
- A number of fragments of sheet iron pans or boilers
- Two crushed and flattened tin cups
- A crushed and mangled tin plate and three other fragments of a second plate
- A crushed and deteriorated tin bowl
- A number of tinned iron and sheet iron fragments may be the remains of tin kettles, coffee boilers, pans, and pots
- Four sheet iron fragments that may represent parts of food graters
- Parts of three buckets including a bucket bale with a brass attachment ear
- The handle and grinding gears of a coffee grinder or mill
- Everyday utensils, including knives, forks, spoons, and possible meat skewers
- A fragment of a scissors or cutting shears blade
- Several pieces of cast iron representing several container types including a Dutch oven, a frying pan, a tea-type kettle, and rounded body cast iron kettles

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 13

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

- Three cast iron fragments are parts to a stove
- Tin cans and can fragments

Tools

Tools were also found during the archeological surveys. These tools included three axe heads, a battered poll, three handmade awls, five files, an iron cross pien hammer, nine iron items categorized as scraping tools, and an iron tool wedge.

Horse Tack, Harness, and Related Horse Equipage

Several horse-related artifacts were discovered. These included an iron spur, a brass girth D-ring, rings either military or civilian in origin, one military-type iron skirt ring, three bridle curb chains, twenty-six tack buckles, eight horseshoes or horseshoe fragments, sixty-eight horseshoe nails, and a few pieces of horse-drawn wagon hardware.

Fasteners

Fasteners were recovered during the surveys as well. They included cut nails, wire nails, a railroad spike, a single brass upholstery tack, a washer, a shanked bolt, twenty-five pieces of strap iron, and three barrel hoops.

Miscellaneous Artifacts

Some of the miscellaneous artifacts found included a trunk lock, a brass gas jet and housing, a stamped brass collar for a kerosene lamp, a deteriorated iron bar, a possible iron wagon staple, an iron mounting plate, a square iron operating rod, a 3-inch-long iron finger lever, a possible chain link fragment, a 1/16-inch-diameter piece of wire, a piece of iron, a fragment of sheet brass, three iron fragments, and an iron shaft housing fragment. Also found were four lumps of melted lead, three brass percussion caps of unusual style, two tinned iron pieces, a gun lock bridge, and six iron arrowheads.

Lithic Items

Two lithic artifacts were recovered as surface finds including a two-hand grinding stone of granite and a work flake of Alibates flint.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 14

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Summary of Archeological Investigations

As National Park Service archeologist Douglas Scott discusses in chapter four of *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, the archeological data, including the artifact distributions and the artifacts themselves, point to the approximate center of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West as being Black Kettle's camp of 1864. According to Scott, 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 (items given out annually) known or requested by the U.S. Office of Indian Affairs for distribution to the Cheyenne and Arapaho in southern Colorado (per treaty agreements), demonstrate a striking degree of concordance.

Of similar importance to the camp site at Sand Creek 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

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 15

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

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 a 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. In addition, archeologist Douglas Scott noted 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 unaware 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.

Location of Artifact Collections

Artifacts collected during the 1997 and 1999 archeological investigations are the property of the landowners. As such, most of the Sand Creek Massacre site collection is in the possession of the Dawson and Bowen families. August "Pete" Kern, however, donated the artifacts found on his property during the 1999 investigation to the National Park Service. The Kern collection of approximately 200 artifacts is stored at the National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center in Lincoln, Nebraska.

Different Interpretations of Locations of Elements within the Massacre Site

As with any historic event, understanding of the Sand Creek Massacre is still limited and obscured through time. Views differ regarding some of the specifics of the massacre within

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 16

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

that boundary. However, 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 nomination. 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. 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 NPS archeologist Douglas Scott in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study*, 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. Historical documentation indicates that the soldiers destroyed and burned the Indians' personal effects at the village site. 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.

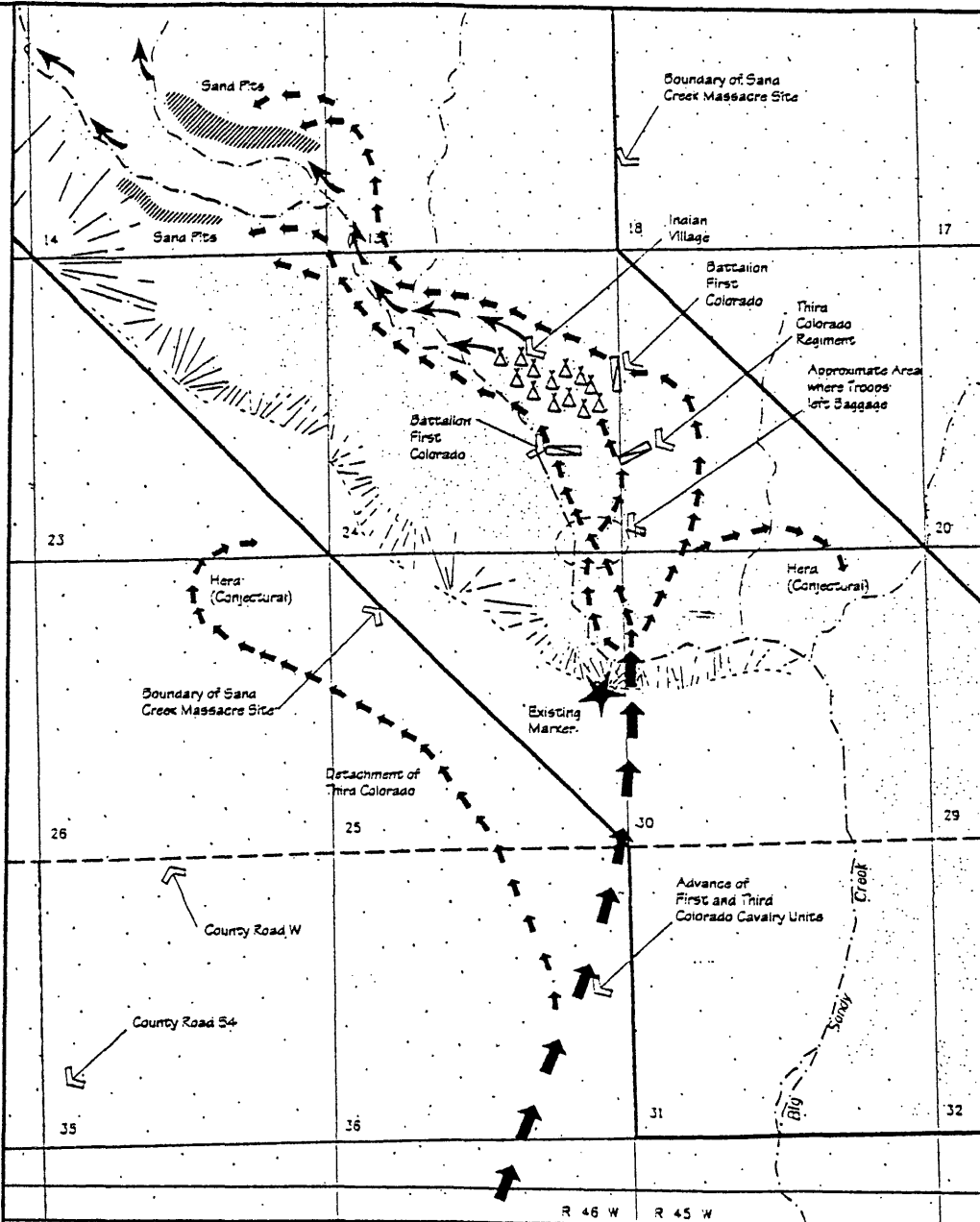
The Northern Arapaho Tribe concurs with the National Park Service on the location of the village and sandpits. The Northern Arapaho had originally considered another site, approximately 20 miles to the south, as the possible location of the massacre. After reviewing the results of the historical and archeological investigations – and following a site visit to the South Bend area by tribal elders employing traditional tribal methods – the Northern Arapaho concluded that Section 24 was the site of the village that was attacked during the Sand Creek Massacre, and that the sandpits are likely located in Sections 13 and 14.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 17

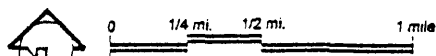
Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



National Park Service Site Map based on the Historical Documentation Report by Jerome Greene and the Archeological Report by Douglas Scott.

The Northern Arapaho Tribe concurs with this site map based on the historical and archeological evidence, as well as input received from Northern Arapaho tribal representatives and spiritual leaders who participated in the fieldwork and traditional tribal method process.

Sand Creek Massacre
Special Resource Study
US Department of the Interior
National Park Service



Legend

- Indian Village
- Sand Pits
- Area of Indian Flight
- Routes of Troops
- Troop Position
- Creek Channel
- Boundary of Massacre Site

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 18

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Representatives of the other tribes have reached different conclusions. 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 "vee" of 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. For example, 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. 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 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 a later Euro-American 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 will 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 the site location study and in this nomination.

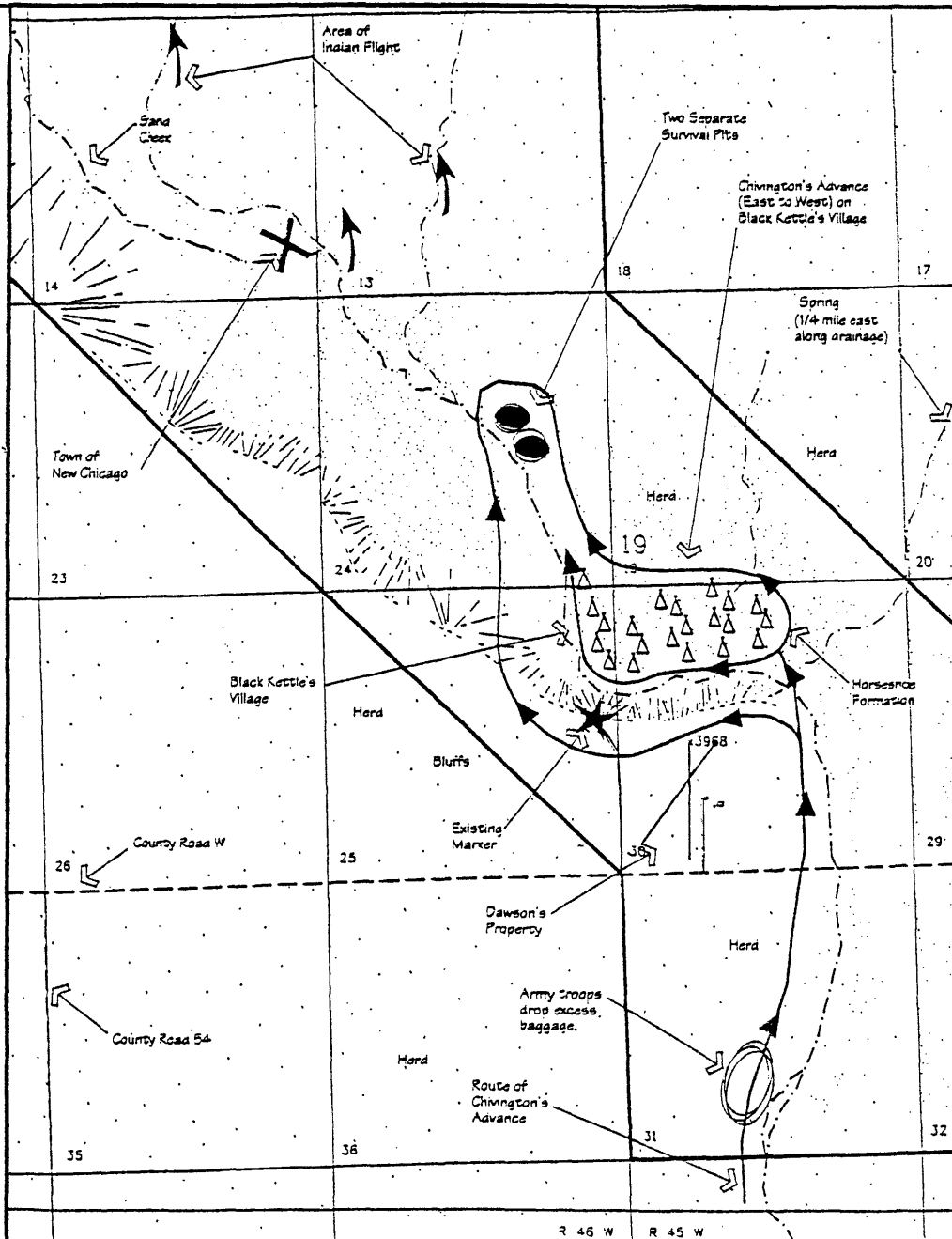
Oral histories are powerful testimony to the tragic and horrible events of November 29, 1864, and were an integral part of the site location study. They are also another source of differing interpretation as to the location of the massacre site. As detailed in the site location study, oral history interviewees were specifically questioned about geographical elements of the massacre site. The responses are remarkably consistent in terms of the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 19

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado







Southern Cheyenne/Southern Arapaho/Northern Cheyenne Map of the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site based on Traditional Tribal Methods, Oral Histories and the George Bent Maps.

Sand Creek Massacre
Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service

LEGEND

-  Route of Chivington's Troops
-  Black Kettle's Village
-  Area of Indian Flight
-  Site of Survival Pits

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 20

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

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 National Park Service Anthropologist 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 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 “vee” of 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 Historical Fund-funded archeological survey or later by landowner William 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’s Chief Historian, believe that additional intensive-level archeological work in the crux of 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. 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

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 21

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

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.

While there may be different beliefs about the location of some of the components of the Sand Creek Massacre, it is again important to note that the National Park Service, the State of Colorado, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and the Northern Arapaho Tribe are all in agreement with the Sand Creek Massacre Site boundary as presented in this nomination.

Contributing Resources

The only contributing resource is the Sand Creek Massacre Site itself. The site includes the point from which Colonel John Chivington and his troops launched their attack upon the Indian encampment, the Cheyenne and Arapaho village site, the sandpits area where most of the fighting and killing took place, and the area of Indian flight.

Noncontributing Resources

Chivington Canal – 1 structure

The Chivington Canal (ca. 1910-12) begins in the southwest quarter of Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, and extends in a southwesterly direction through Sections 19, 30, 29, and 32, Township 17 South, Range 45 West. Features on the canal include remnants of the headgates in Section 24 and a flume in Section 30. The canal was abandoned soon after 1918.

William and Jredia Dawson Residence – 3 buildings, 3 structures, 1 site

The Dawson complex is located in Section 30, Township 17 South, Range 45 West. On the Dawson complex there is a house built in the early 1950s, a metal building built in 1974, and a barn built in 1970. Also on the property are three structures and one site. They include an unpaved air landing strip, a boxcar used for storage, a corral, and the extant foundation of a residence that served as a line camp for the SS/Holly Ranch near the center of the section. In 1871, Hiram Holly established the Holly Ranch – which later evolved into the SS Ranch – over much of southeastern Colorado, and the open range cattle lands encompassed the Sand Creek Massacre study area. By the 1880s, SS Ranch pasture was under fence, and the Sand Creek Massacre site marked the western boundary of the “north pasture.” The fences were taken down by 1885.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 7 Page 22

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Abandoned Complex – 3 buildings, 2 structures, 1 site

In Section 31, Township 17 South, Range 45 West, there are the remnants of a ranch complex (ca. 1900) that includes: a frame outbuilding, a Quonset hut, a chicken house, a corral, a pump house, and the ruin of an adobe outbuilding.

County Road W – 1 structure

Within the massacre site, County Road W is an unpaved east-west road, that runs parallel with the section line from the southwest corner of Section 30 straight across to the southeast corner of Section 29.

Sand Creek Massacre Memorial Marker – 1 object

On August 6, 1950, the Colorado Historical Society participated in a dedication ceremony in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West, on property now owned by William and Jredia Dawson. Here, overlooking a bend of Sand Creek, local residents, the Colorado Arkansas Valley Inc., and the Eads and Lamar Chambers of Commerce placed a memorial marker, designating the area as the site of the massacre. The memorial marker is made from carved granite with an inscription that reads: "Sand Creek Battle Ground, Nov. 29 & 30, 1864."

Isolated Structures – 6 structures

The massacre site also includes several isolated structures. They include:

- Two livestock water tanks located in Sections 31 and 19, Township 17 South, Range 45 West
- Two livestock water tanks located in Sections 25 and 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West
- One school bus body in Section 25, Township 17 South, Range 46 West
- One windmill in Section 24, Township 17 South, Range 46 West

The noncontributing resources may be re-evaluated at a later time to determine their local and/or state significance within the context of ranching in eastern Colorado.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 23

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Section 8

Narrative Statement of Significance

The site of the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre is eligible to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A because it is associated with a nationally significant event that profoundly influenced Indian-white relations on the western frontier during the last half of the nineteenth century, had devastating effects upon Cheyenne and Arapaho familial and social structures, and was a catalyst for years of ensuing U.S. Army-Indian warfare throughout the central plains. The Sand Creek Massacre also represents, in its broadest sense, the tragic extremes sometimes reached in the 500 years of conflict between Native Americans and people of European and other origins concerning the land that now comprises the United States. On November 29, 1864, approximately 725 soldiers, composed of 100-day volunteers from the Third Regiment, as well as five companies of the First Regiment of the Colorado Cavalry, under the command of Colonel John M. Chivington, attacked an Indian village of more than 100 lodges along Sand Creek in what is now Kiowa County, Colorado. Under the leadership of Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle, approximately 500 Cheyenne and Arapaho people were camped at this village, believing that they were not only at peace with the government, but also under the protection of the U.S. Army. Nevertheless, Chivington's forces launched a surprise attack upon the village. By day's end, at least 150 Cheyenne and Arapaho people had been killed, mainly women, children, and the elderly. Many of the soldiers followed up the attack by mutilating the bodies of Cheyennes and Arapahos killed during the strike. Although the soldiers returned to a heroes' welcome in Denver, the Sand Creek Massacre was quickly recognized as a national disgrace that was soon condemned by two congressional committees and a military commission. Since the day it happened, the Sand Creek Massacre has maintained its station as one of the most emotionally charged and controversial events in American history, a tragedy reflective of its time and place. A watershed event in U.S. Government/Indian relations, the Sand Creek Massacre created a climate of enormous distrust, and the months following the massacre witnessed an eruption of warfare throughout the plains that would last for years. Four years after the Sand Creek Massacre, Chief Black Kettle was killed by U.S. Army troops, led by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer, along the Washita River in Oklahoma (now designated as the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site). Custer's subsequent defeat at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876, and the 1890 tragedy at Wounded Knee – which was the last major armed encounter between Indians and whites in North America – are also rooted, at least partly, in the events of November 29, 1864. In addition, the Sand Creek Massacre severely impacted

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 24

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

the Cheyenne and Arapaho people and their ethnic homelands, the effects of which have had far-reaching repercussions that linger to this day. For both peoples, the site of the Sand Creek Massacre comprises sacred ground, consecrated by the blood of lost forbears and venerated today by descendants and friends of those who died, as well as of those who survived.

The Sand Creek Massacre site, which has only been the subject of reconnaissance-level archeological investigations, is also eligible to the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion D because it has yielded information supporting, in broad terms, oral tradition and historical documentation. In addition, it is likely to yield new information regarding U.S. military and American Indian conflicts. While the official period of significance for the Sand Creek Massacre site is the year 1864, the massacre affected American Indian/U.S. Army relations in the West through the Battle of the Little Big Horn and beyond.

On November 7, 2000, President Bill Clinton signed into law the "Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Establishment Act," Public Law 106-465, that authorized – upon federal acquisition of sufficient land – the establishment of a national historic site at Sand Creek. At present, the Sand Creek Massacre site, which encompasses approximately 7,680 acres, is owned by private individuals. And, although the site has been recognized through Public Law 106-465 as being nationally significant, the site previously had not been listed on the National Register of Historic Places because of the lack of information regarding the exact location of the site.

The landscape of the Sand Creek Massacre Site has changed little since 1864, including the general alignment of Sand Creek. Today the land is used for farming and stock raising. Few structures have been built on the site and thus it still maintains its historical integrity. Geomorphology studies indicate that the landforms and areal topography, including those of the meandering Sand Creek bottom and its immediately adjoining properties throughout the length of the massacre site, have remained substantially unchanged, thereby permitting considerable accuracy in interpreting the historical features of the site. Beyond remnants of an old irrigation ditch traversing part of the land, plus fence lines, water tanks and an occasional windmill – all parts of the past and present use of the area – the site terrain, as well as the surrounding landscape, remain largely undeveloped, thus assuring the integrity of the historic scene as it appeared during the middle of the nineteenth century.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 25

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

The following information is drawn from documentation prepared by 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 – for the Sand Creek Massacre Project, which was mandated by Congress in 1998 through Public Law 105-243. The results of that project are published as *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study* and *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two, Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000).

General Background

Throughout the Civil War, Colorado officials brooded over possible secessionist tendencies of the territory's populace, and apprehensions arose over Confederate influences in Texas, the Indian Territory, and New Mexico potentially spilling across the boundaries to disrupt Colorado's relations with its native inhabitants. In Colorado Territory, reports of the Minnesota Indian conflict fostered an atmosphere of fear and suspicion that contributed to the war with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in 1864-65. During 1862 and 1863, most area depredations involved not warriors from these tribes, but Shoshonis and Utes whose repeated raids on emigrant and mail routes south and west of Fort Laramie (in present southeastern Wyoming) disrupted traffic and threatened the course of Euro-American settlement. Aggressive campaigning in 1863 by columns of California and Kansas troops, including the massacre of a village of Shoshonis at Bear River in present Idaho by a force commanded by Colonel Patrick E. Connor, abruptly ended these tribes' forays. Meanwhile, on the plains east of the Rocky Mountains, conflicts were mostly confined to bands of Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, Arapahos, and occasionally Comanches, who stopped wagon trains bound over the Santa Fe Trail; elsewhere, the Lakotas and Pawnees maintained traditional conflicts with each other, encounters with but incidental impact on regional white settlement.⁹

⁹ Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 281-83; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), pp. 292-94; Elliott West, *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), p. 287. The most definitive presentation of the events leading to Sand Creek appears in Gary L. Roberts, "Sand Creek: Tragedy and Symbol" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, dated 1984, University of Oklahoma, Norman), chapters 2 through 8. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 26.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 26

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Cheyennes and Arapahos

Of all the plains tribes, the Cheyennes and Arapahos appear to have been the least confrontational with white settlers during the early 1860s. Both tribes had been in the region for decades. The Cheyennes, Algonkian-speaking people whose agriculturalist forebears migrated from the area of the western Great Lakes, had occupied the buffalo prairies east of the Missouri River by the late seventeenth century. With the acquisition of horses their migration proceeded, and over the next few decades the Cheyennes ventured beyond the Black Hills as far north as the Yellowstone River and south to below the Platte River. By the first part of the nineteenth century, the tribe had separated into northern and southern bodies that still maintained strong band and family relationships. In the conflicts that followed over competition for lands and game resources, the Cheyennes became noted fighters who forged strong intertribal alliances with the Lakotas and the Arapahos. The Arapahos, Algonkian speakers possibly from the area of northern Minnesota, had located west of the Missouri River by at least the late 1700s and probably very much earlier, and by the early nineteenth century were variously established in what is now Montana, Wyoming, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Colorado. Their alliance with the Cheyennes extended back to the Cheyennes' entrance onto the eastern prairies, when both were semisedentary peoples, and was grounded in mutual enmity (at that time) toward the Lakotas' growing regional domination as well as intertribal trade considerations. (Like the Cheyennes, in time the Arapahos gravitated into northern and southern regional divisions, with the southern group eventually coalescing in the area that included south-central Colorado.) Despite occasional Cheyenne-Arapaho rifts, mutual warfare with surrounding groups during the early 1800s solidified their bond and presently included the Lakotas; together, the three tribes variously fought warriors of the Kiowas and Crows, and in the central plains Arapaho and Cheyenne warriors drove the Kiowas and Comanches south of the Arkansas River. A relatively small tribe, the Arapahos were driven by circumstances to become resourceful in the face of intertribal conflicts and the potential adversity wrought by the presence of Anglo-Americans.¹⁰

¹⁰For Cheyenne history and culture, see, Peter J. Powell, *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History* (2 vols.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); John H. Moore, *The Cheyenne Nation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians* (2 vols.; New York: Cooper Square, 1923); John Stands In Timber and Margot Liberty, *Cheyenne Memories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967); and Peter J. Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879, with an Epilogue, 1969-1974* (2 vols.; San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981). For the Arapahos, see Virginia Cole Trenholm, *The Arapahoes, Our People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971), pp. 384-86; and Loretta Fowler, *Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978* (Lincoln: University of

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Section 8 Page 27

Treaty of Fort Wise

In 1851, the Cheyennes and Arapahos subscribed to the Treaty of Fort Laramie, which assigned them land lying between the North Platte River on the north and the Arkansas River on the south running from the area of the Smoky Hill River west into the Rocky Mountains. By the late 1850s the southern divisions of both tribes ranged through central Kansas and eastern Colorado as they pursued their hunting and warring routine with enemy tribes, and for the most part ignored the gradual inroads of whites into their country. In 1857 the Southern Cheyennes experienced a confrontation with troops at Solomon's Fork, Kansas, and their subsequent attitude toward whites had become one of tolerance and avoidance.¹¹ During the Colorado gold rush and the concomitant movement by whites into and through the territory, most of the Cheyennes and Arapahos remained peaceable, and peace factions headed by Black Kettle and White Antelope of the Cheyennes and Little Raven of the Arapahos sought to continue that status. But the tide of emigration associated with the gold rush, particularly along the Platte and Arkansas valleys, led government authorities to impose new strictures on the Indians.

In 1861, these chiefs touched pen to the Treaty of Fort Wise, a document that surrendered most of the Indian territories as previously acknowledged by the Fort Laramie Treaty and granted them instead a triangular-shaped tract along and north of the upper Arkansas River in eastern Colorado, where they would henceforth receive government annuities and learn to till the land. The accord, however, did not include the consent of all Cheyennes and Arapahos living in the Platte country, and those leaders who signed drew enduring resentment from the northerners who were resisting such changes. Many of the affected people, including the band of Southern Cheyenne Dog Soldiers who repudiated the concept of any territorially confining pact, continued their age-old pursuits in the buffalo country,

Nebraska Press, 1982). As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 26.

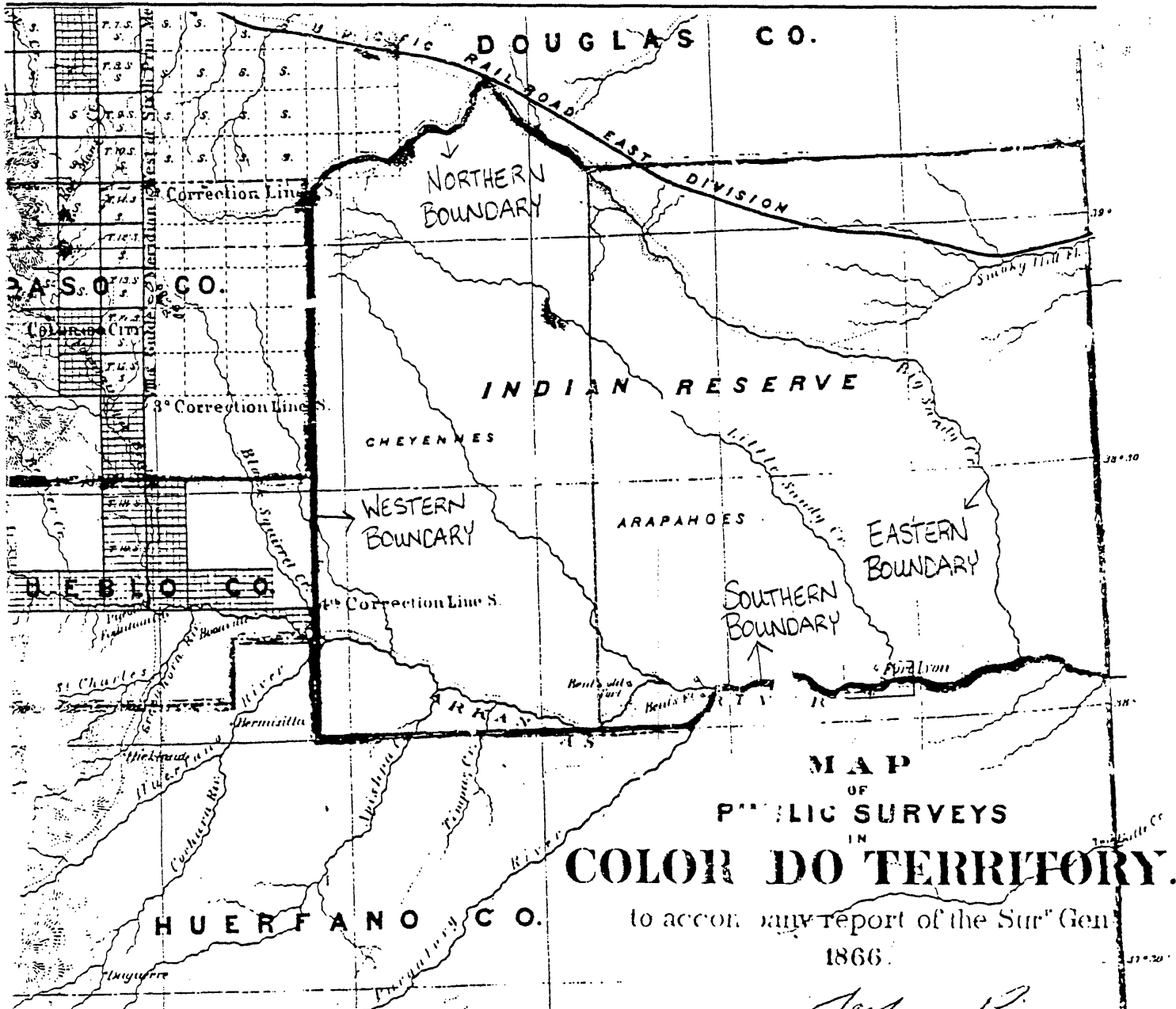
¹¹For the Solomon's Fork encounter, see William Y. Chalfant, *Cheyennes and Horse Soldiers: The 1857 Expedition and the Battle of Solomon's Fork* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989). As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 26.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 28

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



1866 map depicting the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Colorado Territory established by the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise. The northern and eastern boundaries were Big Sandy Creek. The southern boundary was the Arkansas River. The western boundary was approximately 20 miles east of Colorado City (near present-day Colorado Springs). *Western History Department, Denver Public Library*

John Pierce
Surveyor General

Remarks:
Dotted lines for proposed surveys.
S. Townships to be sectionized.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 29

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

and refused to move onto the new reservation. Similarly, the Kiowas and Comanches, to the south, remained disinclined to participate in the treaty.¹²

The immediate circumstances leading to Sand Creek grew out of the Treaty of Fort Wise and the desire of Colorado Territorial Governor John Evans to seek adherence to it by all of the Cheyennes and Arapahos. Within the atmosphere prevailing in the wake of the Minnesota outbreak, Evans, an ambitious visionary, became committed to eliminating all Indians from the plains so that Euro-American travel and settlement could proceed safely and without interruption. He was also interested in seeing the transcontinental railroad reach Denver and wanted eastern Colorado free of tribesmen to facilitate that development. Adding to this, Evans and others feared that the tribes might somehow be influenced by the Confederate cause, to include being drawn into a plan to cut communications between the East and California by seizing posts in the Platte and Arkansas valleys. Concentrated on the Upper Arkansas Reservation, the Indians might not only be better controlled, but would be altogether cleared from roads used by miners and settlers, and to this end Evans invited the tribal leadership to attend a council scheduled for September 1863 on the plains east of Denver.

The Cheyennes and Arapahos were clearly not interested, however, and none appeared to negotiate; most regarded the treaty as a swindle and refused to subject themselves to living on the new reserve. They, moreover, believed the area devoid of buffalo, whereas the plains of central Kansas still afforded plentiful herds. Coincidentally, at Fort Larned, Kansas, a Cheyenne man was killed in an incident that fueled considerable controversy among the Indians and resolved them even further against more treaties. Governor Evans took the refusal to assemble as a sign that the tribes were planning war; he used the rebuff, along with rumored incitations of area tribes by northern Sioux, to promote the notion to federal officials that hostilities in his territory were imminent. Although Evans may have sincerely believed that his territory was in grave danger, it has been suggested that he lobbied to create a

¹²Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 148-52; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 283-84; George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915), p. 120; Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 12-17; David F. Halaas, "'All the Camp was Weeping': George Bent and the Sand Creek Massacre," *Colorado Heritage* (Summer, 1995), p. 7. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 27.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 30

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

situation that would permit him to forcibly remove the tribesmen from all settled areas of Colorado.¹³

Governor Evans, Colonel Chivington, and the Plains War of 1864

Evans's accomplice in the evolving scenario was Colonel John M. Chivington, a Methodist minister who had garnered significant victories against Confederate troops at Apache Canyon and Glorieta Pass in New Mexico. Nicknamed "The Fighting Parson," Chivington governed the Military District of Colorado within the Department of the Missouri, whose commanders were often preoccupied with operations elsewhere, thus affording him an opportunity to play out his military and political fortunes on the Colorado frontier. In January 1864, reorganization of the military hierarchy placed Chivington's district under Major General Samuel R. Curtis's Department of Kansas, a jurisdiction that remained considerably immersed in campaigns against Confederates in eastern Kansas and the Indian Territory, thus leaving Chivington to pursue his interests with total independence. As the war proceeded in the East, however, both Chivington and Evans grew alarmed at seeing territorial troops increasingly diverted to help fight Confederate forces in Missouri and Kansas. Evans lobbied for their return, and requested that regulars be sent to guard the crucial supply and communication links along the Platte and Arkansas valleys. Facing widespread manpower deficits in the East, Washington initially rejected his appeals.¹⁴

Chivington endorsed Evans's notion that the Indians in his territory were ready for war, even though evidence indicates that, despite the transgressions of a few warriors, the tribesmen believed they were at peace. In April 1864, however, when livestock, possibly strayed from ranches in the Denver and South Platte River areas, turned up in the hands of Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, Evans and Chivington interpreted it as provocation for the inception of conflict. In response, troops of the First Colorado Cavalry skirmished with those Indians at Fremont's Orchard along the South Platte River. They acted on Chivington's orders to "kill Cheyennes

¹³Gary L. Roberts, "Sand Creek: Tragedy and Symbol," pp. 76-108; Uteley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, p. 284; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 121-29; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Civil War in the American West* (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 295, 297-98; Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 155, 158-61, 166-69. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 29.

¹⁴Uteley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 284-85; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, p. 299. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 27.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 31

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

wherever and whenever found." Soldiers during the following month assaulted numerous innocent Cheyenne camps, driving out the people and destroying their property, and in one instance killed a peace chief named Starving Bear, who had earlier headed a delegation that met with President Abraham Lincoln in Washington. In retaliation, parties of warriors mounted raids along the roads in Kansas, especially between Forts Riley and Larned, but refrained from all-out conflict. Attempting to stem the trouble, Curtis's inspector-general advised against further Chivington-like forays and instead counseled conciliation with the Cheyennes and protection of the travel routes. He complained that the Colorado men did "not know one tribe from another and . . . will kill anything in the shape of an Indian."

But it was too late. Following the murders of several more of their people, the Cheyennes escalated their raiding, and their camps soon swelled with stolen goods. Marauding warriors from among the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Lakotas, often minus the endorsement of their chiefs, opened attacks on white enterprises along the trails bordering the Platte, Smoky Hill, and Arkansas rivers in Nebraska and Kansas, killing more than thirty people and capturing several women and children. In Colorado, warriors attacked and murdered an entire family, the Hungates, on Box Elder Creek but thirty miles from Denver; public display of their bodies, coupled with fearful pronouncements from Governor Evans's office, drove most citizens from isolated ranches and communities to seek protection in Denver. In one panicked missive to the War Department, Governor Evans called for 10,000 troops. "Unless they can be sent at once," he intoned, "we will be cut off and destroyed." Although the Cheyennes received blame for the Hungate tragedy, Arapahos later confessed to the deed.¹⁵

Responding to the crisis, in July and August 1864, General Curtis directed several columns of troops to scour the country west, north, and south of Fort Larned. While the campaign brought meager results, it succeeded in opening the traffic route west along the Arkansas because of increased garrisons at the Kansas and Colorado posts. Curtis now strengthened his administration of the area by establishing a single district, the District of the Upper Arkansas, commanded by Major General James G. Blunt, to replace those that had previously monitored Indian conditions. Similar administrative changes were made in Nebraska. There, in August, Cheyennes attacked homes along the Little Blue River, killing 15 settlers and carrying off others. In response, Curtis mounted a strong campaign of Nebraska and

¹⁵Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 285-87; Halaas, "George Bent and the Sand Creek Massacre," p. 7; Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 176-91; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 36-90; West, *Contested Plains*, pp. 289-91; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 131-42. The quotes are cited in Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 300, 303. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 30.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 32

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Kansas troops to search through western Kansas, but the soldiers found no Indians. Similarly, in September General Blunt led an expedition out of Fort Larned in south-central Kansas, eventually heading north seeking Cheyennes reported in the area. On September 25, two companies of Colorado troops under Major Scott J. Anthony encountered a large village of Cheyennes and Arapahos on Walnut Creek and engaged them, fighting desperately until Blunt arrived with support. The command pursued the Indians for two days, then withdrew from the field.¹⁶

Peace Initiatives

Following these operations, Blunt and Curtis became distracted from the Indian situation by a sudden Confederate incursion into Missouri that demanded their immediate attention. The diversion permitted Colonel Chivington to step forward, just at a time when the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and other tribes began slackening the war effort in preparation for the winter season. Buffalo hunting now superseded all else. Cheyenne leaders like Black Kettle, who had previously urged peace, regained influence. Black Kettle learned of a proclamation issued by Governor Evans calling upon all "Friendly Indians of the Plains" to divorce themselves from the warring factions and to isolate their camps near military posts to insure their protection. Those who did not thus surrender would henceforth be considered hostile. In late August, the chief notified Major Edward W. Wynkoop, commander at Fort Lyon, on the Arkansas River near present Lamar, Colorado, of his desire for peace. Following up, Wynkoop led his command of First Colorado Cavalry out to meet Black Kettle and the Arapaho leader, Left Hand, at the big timbers of the Smoky Hill River, near Fort Wallace, Kansas. At the council, the Cheyennes and Arapahos turned over several captive whites and consented to meet with Evans and Chivington in Denver to reach an accord. Then Black Kettle and the other leaders followed Wynkoop back to Fort Lyon.

When Black Kettle and six headmen arrived in Denver, the city was in turmoil because of the conditions wrought by the Indian conflict. Incoming supplies of food and merchandise

¹⁶Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 91-97; Utey, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 287-89; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 301-04; Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 193-208; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 155-58. For a participant's view of these broad operations, see Eugene F. Ware, *The Indian War of 1864* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960). As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 31.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 33

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

had been stopped by the warfare, and the citizenry was still shaken by the Hungate murders. Furthermore, in August, the governor had published a proclamation contradicting his earlier one and that called upon citizens to kill all Indians and seize their property, effectively extending an invitation for wholesale bloodshed and thievery. Evans had meantime received from federal authorities permission to raise a regiment of 100-day United States volunteers, to be designated the Third Colorado Cavalry, and Chivington was preparing it for field service. All of these developments made Evans's earlier pronouncements ring hollow, especially with many of the territory's citizens clamoring for vengeance. Moreover, the governor needed to back up his earlier war predictions with Washington officials and clear up questions regarding the status of Indian lands in Colorado. And if the tribes went unpunished, he believed it would likely only encourage them to renew the warfare next year.¹⁷

At the council at Camp Weld near Denver on September 28, 1864, Evans spoke evasively to the chiefs, informing Black Kettle that, although his people might still separate themselves from their warring kin, they must make their peace with the military authorities, in essence turning the situation over to Chivington. Anxious for peace, Black Kettle and his entourage acceded to all conditions and Chivington told them that they could report to Fort Lyon once they had laid down their arms. But the Camp Weld meeting was fraught with "deadly ambiguities." The Indians departed the proceedings convinced that since they had already been to the post they had made peace, although neither Evans nor Chivington admitted that such was the case. Further, a telegram from General Curtis admonished that "I want no peace until the Indians suffer more . . . [and only upon] my directions." Evans notified Washington authorities of the continued hostility of the tribesmen and of the need to deal with them by force of arms, noting that "the winter . . . is the most favorable time for their chastisement." Yet, in consequence of the Camp Weld meeting, Black Kettle prepared his people to accept the conditions and surrender themselves as prisoners of war.¹⁸

¹⁷Hoig, *Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 98-107; Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 290-91; Halaas, "George Bent and the Sand Creek Massacre," pp. 7-9; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 305-06; West, *Contested Plains*, p. 291; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 152-53. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 32.

¹⁸Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 210-13; Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, p. 291; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 110-28; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 306-07 (Quotes are in *ibid.*, p. 307); West, *Contested Plains*, p. 295; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 153-54. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 34.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 34

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

First to arrive in late October at Fort Lyon were 113 lodges of Southern Arapahos under Little Raven and Left Hand. Because as prisoners the Arapahos could not hunt, Major Wynkoop issued rations to the destitute people while assuring them of their safety. But Wynkoop's action directly countered General Curtis's policy of punishing the tribes, and when word of his charity reached district headquarters at Fort Riley tempers flared. Wynkoop was summarily called there to explain his actions. At Fort Lyon, Major Scott Anthony, of Chivington's First Colorado Cavalry, replaced him. On arrival at Fort Lyon in early November, Anthony refused the Arapahos further provisions and temporarily disarmed them. When Black Kettle reached the fort he reported that his lodges were pitched some forty miles away on Sand Creek, a location that Anthony approved because he had no rations to feed the Cheyennes. The major told them that he was seeking authority to feed them at Fort Lyon. Major Wynkoop, who the Indians trusted, had given them assurances of Anthony's integrity, and the Cheyenne leaders had accepted these conditions prior to Wynkoop's departure from Fort Lyon on November 26. Advised to join Black Kettle's people on Sand Creek, only the Arapaho leader, Left Hand, complied and started his few lodges in that direction; Little Raven took his followers far away down the Arkansas.

Military Preparations

While all of this proceeded, Colonel Chivington orchestrated events in Denver that would climax in the confrontation with the Cheyennes and Arapahos on Sand Creek. Following a failed statehood vote, in which he was defeated as a candidate for Congress, Chivington directed his efforts to readying the new regiment, locally castigated as the "Bloodless Third" because its members had yet to kill a single Indian and were soon to close out their 100-day enlistment. Composed of but partly trained officers and undisciplined men from the local community, the Third Colorado Cavalry had been organized by Colonel George L. Shoup, who had previously served under Chivington. Earlier that fall, Chivington had envisioned attacking bands of Cheyennes reported in the Republican River country, but by November (and perhaps secretly all along) he targeted Black Kettle and his people. His every movement appeared calculated to that end, for the tribesmen technically were not at peace and were awaiting Curtis's consent before moving to Fort Lyon. In October, in this tense atmosphere,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 35

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Colonel Chivington armed his command and, with Shoup commanding the regiment, started companies south to assemble at Bijou Basin, 60 miles southeast of Denver.¹⁹

On November 14, Chivington himself marched out of Denver with companies of the Third and First Colorado Cavalry regiments headed toward the Arkansas River. The weather turned foul, and the movement was beset with drifting snows that delayed units from rendezvousing at Camp Fillmore, near Pueblo. On the 23rd, Chivington inspected the united command, then all proceeded east along the Arkansas. The troops reached Fort Lyon at midday, November 28. Chivington had traveled quickly and quietly and his approach surprised the garrison. To secure knowledge of his presence and movements, the colonel placed a cordon of pickets around the fort and refused to allow anybody to leave. At Fort Lyon, Major Anthony greeted Chivington and, apprised of his mission to find and destroy Black Kettle's camp as prelude to striking the Smoky Hill villages, gave his wholehearted support to the extent of providing additional troops and offering guidance to the village. Some officers protested that Black Kettle's people were *de facto* prisoners of the government, awaiting only General Curtis's permission before they should arrive.

At around 8 p.m. on the 28th, Chivington led his column out of Fort Lyon paralleling an old Indian trail that headed northeast. Scarcely any snow lay on the ground. His command consisted of Shoup's Third Colorado Cavalry and about one-half of the First Colorado Cavalry divided under Major Anthony and First Lieutenant Luther Wilson, in all about 700 men bundled in heavy overcoats. Mules pulled along four howitzers and their ammunition and equipment. Some 37 miles away on the northeast side of Sand Creek stood Black Kettle's village of approximately 100 lodges housing about 500 people. Other Cheyenne leaders in the camp were Sand Hill, White Antelope, Bear Tongue, One Eye, and War Bonnet. Also here were approximately eight Arapaho lodges with Left Hand. Although some men were present, many had gone hunting, leaving mostly women, children, and the elderly in the village. Through the night of November 28-29, all were oblivious to the closing proximity of the soldiers.²⁰

¹⁹Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 292-93; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 129-32; Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 214-15; West, *Contested Plains*, pp. 297-98; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 307-08. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 34.

²⁰The locations of the Cheyenne camp components are laid out according to George Bent in George E. Hyde, *Life of George Bent written from His Letters*, ed. Savoie Lottinville (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), p. 149. See also, Peter John Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-*

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 36

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

The Massacre

Chivington's force kept a lively pace through the cold, moonless night, so that the first streaks of dawn on November 29 revealed the white tipis of the Cheyennes and Arapahos a few miles off to the northwest. Advancing closer, the soldiers gained a ridge overlooking Sand Creek from which they could clearly discern the camp. Pony herds ranged on either side of the stream, and Chivington dispatched units to capture and corral the animals before the Indians might use them. As the tribesmen slowly awakened, the troops descended into the dry streambed and moved northwest along it with the howitzers in tow. While troops of the First Colorado rode ahead, Chivington halted the men of the Third about one-half mile from the village so that they could remove their overcoats and other luggage. He exhorted them at the prospect before them, then sent them forward toward the camp, whose occupants had gradually become aroused at the noise of the approaching threat. Nearing the lower end of the village, the soldiers deployed their force and opened fire. As the startled Indians ran out of their homes, howitzers hurled exploding shells that turned the people away to congregate near the westernmost lodges while their leaders tried to communicate with the attackers. Then shooting erupted everywhere. The leader White Antelope ran forward, arms raised and waving for attention, but a soldier bullet cut him down. Black Kettle, proponent for peace and guardian of his people, reportedly raised an American flag and a white flag on a pole near his lodge to announce his status, but it was ignored in the heat of the onslaught.

Chivington's command continued the small arms fire from positions northeast and southeast of the camp. Caught in crossfire, the warriors responded by attempting to shield the women, children, and elderly who ran to the back of the lodges. Most of the howitzer rounds fell short of their mark, although some burst over the village. As the soldiers advanced on horseback along either side of the creek, they kept up their shooting, and those on the north (east) bank of the stream passed through the fringe of the camp. The mass of people began to flee in all directions for safety. Many ran into and up the creek bottom, which appeared to afford a natural protective corridor leading away from the assault. Riding on either side of the Indians, however, the cavalry troops indiscriminately fired hundreds of rounds into the fleeing tribesmen, and began to inflict large numbers of casualties among them. Meantime,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 37

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

other Indians bolting the village at the opening of the attack had managed to obtain horses and were running generally north and southwest over the open terrain as they tried to elude squads of pursuing cavalymen. Many of them were chased down and killed by the flying troops.

But it was the mass of people in the streambed that drew the attention of most of the soldiers. As they reached a point several hundred yards above the village, these people – composed mostly of noncombatants – sought to find shelter in hastily dug pits and trenches in the creek bed, most excavated by hand at the base of the dry stream banks. The Sand Creek bottom was several hundred yards wide at this point, and the people sought shelter along either bank, digging hiding places and throwing the sand and dirt outward to form protective barriers. Having pursued the Cheyennes and Arapahos to this location, the troops dismounted on either side of the stream and approached cautiously. Some began firing at Indians sheltered in the pits beneath the opposite banks, while others crawled forward and discharged their weapons blindly over the top of the bank. Thus trapped, the Indian people fought back desperately with what few weapons they possessed. Shortly, however, the howitzers arrived from downstream, took positions on either side of the Sand Creek bottom, and began delivering exploding shell into the pits. This bombardment, coupled with the steady fire of the cavalry small arms, was too much for the people, and by the time the affair was over at around 2 p.m., at least 150 Cheyennes and Arapahos lay dead, most of them killed during the slaughter in the defensive pits above the village or in the stream bed as they ran from the camp to elude the soldiers. Chivington lost ten men killed and thirty-eight wounded in the encounter. Throughout the balance of the day, parties of cavalymen roamed the area for miles around finishing off any survivors they could find. That night, nonetheless, many of those wounded during the carnage managed to get away from the pits and join other village escapees who, over the next several days, journeyed northeast to the Cheyenne camps along the Smoky Hill River. Surprisingly, despite the suddenness and ferocity of the Sand Creek assault, the majority of villagers, including many who were severely wounded, somehow escaped the soldiers and survived.

Those who did not survive became the objects of widespread mutilation at the hands of the soldiers, particularly of members of the "Bloodless Third." Over the next day, these largely untrained and undisciplined troops, including some officers, roamed the site of the destruction, scalping and otherwise desecrating the dead, thereby compounding the basic butchery of the event. The soldiers then plundered and burned the village and destroyed its contents. The captured pony herd traveled south with Chivington as he continued his campaign, and the dead and wounded soldiers were removed to Fort Lyon. Chivington had

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 38

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

earlier planned to mete similar treatment upon the Smoky Hill assemblage, but instead turned toward the Arapaho village that Major Anthony had earlier sent away from Fort Lyon. These tribesmen had fled by the time the troops followed Sand Creek to its mouth on the Arkansas River. The Third Colorado then moved upstream to Fort Lyon before heading back to Denver, where they were greeted on December 22 by a throng of cheering citizens ecstatic over the "victory" of Sand Creek. Scalps from the Indian victims were ceremoniously exhibited at a local theater as the soldiers recounted their participation. As if the true number of deaths were not enough, Chivington boasted of having killed between 500 and 600 Indians in his attack.²¹

Outcry and Aftermath

In the aftermath of Sand Creek, as word gradually spread about the brutality of the onslaught, questions arose about Chivington's version of events. Although Chivington had numerous supporters, particularly in Colorado, the truth shocked and sickened many Americans. In 1865, Sand Creek became the focus of three federal investigations, one military and the others congressional, looking into justification for, and details of, the action. Senator James R. Doolittle (R-Wisconsin), chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, directed an inquiry following receipt of information about the event that "made one's blood chill and freeze with horror." In the West, General Curtis was ordered to find out what had occurred at Sand Creek. The examinations resolved that Chivington and his troops had conducted a premeditated campaign that resulted in the needless massacre of the Cheyennes and Arapahos, and that the atrocities that followed were an abject disgrace. By then, however, the colonel and his men were out of the service and could not be prosecuted for their actions, and only Chivington's political future suffered. The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War concluded in its assessment of Chivington that "he deliberately planned and executed a foul and dastardly massacre which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were the victims of his cruelty." The committee also resolved that Governor Evans "was fully aware that the Indians massacred so brutally at Sand Creek, were then, and had

²¹This account of Sand Creek is based upon information in Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 421-41; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 145-62; Utey, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 295-96; Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 308-11; Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, I, pp. 301-09; Hyde, *Life of George Bent*, pp. 151-56; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, pp. 163-73; and Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 217-22. Chivington's figure is in his report of December 16, 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. XLI, Part I, p. 949. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 38.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 39

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

been, actuated by the most friendly feelings towards the whites. . . .²² Ultimately, Evans paid the price for his involvement in events preliminary to the massacre and was dismissed as governor. In time, the Cheyenne and Arapaho victims of Sand Creek received scant restitution through the Treaty of the Little Arkansas, concluded in 1865, which purported to compensate them for suffering and property losses, a provision as yet unfulfilled. The treaty repudiated Chivington's massacre and promised to bestow lands on chiefs and survivors of Sand Creek whose parents or husbands had fallen at Chivington's hands, as well as redress for white citizens who had been impacted by the warfare.²³

National Significance of the Sand Creek Massacre

The Sand Creek Massacre is nationally significant for several reasons. In the lives lost at Sand Creek, both the Cheyennes and Arapahos experienced familial and societal disruptions that have since spanned the generations of their societies. While the event thus impacted both tribes, it most directly carried devastating physical, social, political, and material consequences among the relatively small (ca. 3,000) Cheyenne population, and indisputably changed the course of their tribal history. Beyond the basic human loss, the deaths of numerous chiefs in the massacre, occurring at a time when the Cheyennes were already experiencing fragmentation in their system with the evolution of the Dog Soldier Band, ultimately had long-range influences on the structural bonds within Cheyenne society. The Council of Forty-four, the central entity of Cheyenne government, was devastated with the losses of White Antelope, One Eye, Yellow Wolf, Big Man, Bear Man, War Bonnet, Spotted Crow, Bear Robe, and Little Robe, besides those of the headmen of three warrior societies. In addition, the losses in material fixtures, including homes, clothing, furnishings, and even

²²Josephy, *Civil War in the American West*, pp. 311-12 (including first quote); Uteley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 297 (second quote), 309; Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre*, pp. 163-76 (including third quote, p. 166); Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 479-521. The three published products of these investigations are: U.S. Senate, 38 Cong., 2 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); 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); and 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). As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 38.

²³Berthrong, *Southern Cheyennes*, pp. 240-44; Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 510, 562-66. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 39.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 40

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

artwork during the destruction of Black Kettle's village were immense, with immediate and future impacts within the tribal community. Among the 50 or so Arapahos at Sand Creek, seemingly few survived, and their chief, Left Hand, was mortally wounded in the massacre. Other effects among the Arapahos were similar to those among the Cheyennes, and the Arapaho bands in the Arkansas country were divided ever after.²⁴

A major result of the Sand Creek Massacre was its effect on the course of Indian-white relations, notably the implementation of federal Indian policy over ensuing decades. Although largely instigated independently by federalized territorial forces operating under the license of Colorado authorities, the event and its aftermath produced an atmosphere of pervasive and nervous distrust between the federal government – principally the army, as the instrument of national policy – and the plains tribes that complicated their associations and compounded negotiations on virtually every matter. In a single devastating strike, the Colorado troops had eliminated nearly all of the Cheyenne chiefs who had favored peace; those leaders who survived Sand Creek thereafter became staunch advocates of resistance. News of the treachery spread among the tribes like wildfire. As one official warned of an upcoming meeting with Indians when troops might be operating in the vicinity, "An angel from Heaven would not convince them but what another 'Chivington Massacre' was intended."²⁵

The months following Sand Creek witnessed an eruption of warfare throughout the central plains, with Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho warriors striking the emigration routes along the North Platte, South Platte, Republican, and Arkansas valleys. In the north, Sand Creek added further fuel to the invasion of Indian lands already underway there via the Bozeman Trail, producing several army expeditions against the tribes, as well as an unsuccessful attempt to militarily occupy the region. On the southern plains, troops attempted to subdue the tribes and overawe them with similar campaigns. In 1865, 1867, and 1868, tenuous treaties arranged between the government and the plains Indians sought to isolate them on designated tracts removed from the principal arteries westward, but peace remained elusive. These conflicts included the November 27, 1868, attack by the 7th U.S. Cavalry led by Lt. Col. George A. Custer upon Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village along the Washita River in

²⁴Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, I, pp. 309-10; Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 684-91. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 42.

²⁵Indian Agent Jesse H. Leavenworth to Brevet Major General John B. Sanborn, August 1, 1865. National Archives, Record Group 393, Part III, Entry 769, Vol. 2, p. 171.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Section 8 Page 41

Oklahoma (now designated as the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site). The conflicts of the 1870s, including the Great Sioux War of 1876-1877 and Custer's death at Little Big Horn, also could trace their origins at least partly to the Sand Creek Massacre and its long-term unsettling effects among the plains tribesmen.²⁶

The Sand Creek Massacre relatedly played a role in the Indian reform movement as partly manifested in the congressional investigations that followed the tragedy, and initially produced an outcry against the military that continued throughout the period of the post-Civil War Indian conflicts. The effect was to place the army in the position of trying to prevent noncombatant casualties during its Indian campaigns, a concept that often conflicted with military tactics that included surprise dawn attacks on villages whose occupants were often asleep. Traditional impressions to the contrary, because of public indignation over Sand Creek and the anti-military sentiments it produced, both Generals William T. Sherman and Philip H. Sheridan, whose administrative domains included the plains region, sought to keep noncombatant losses low in the campaigns that followed, an objective that was not always achieved. In addition, partly because of the federal inquiries that followed the event, the Sand Creek Massacre directly impacted congressional thinking about the role of the army in Indian policy. It not only heightened anti-military bias among Indian reformers, but it blunted then-current efforts to transfer control of Indian affairs from the Interior Department to the War Department. Moreover, Sand Creek became an important symbol in the movement for reform of policies towards Indians, and from 1865 through the 1880s was repeatedly highlighted as proof of the essential inhumanity of federal policy. In more recent times, it has been used by Native Americans and modern Indian activist movements as proof of the genocidal intent of United States Indian policy.²⁷

The Sand Creek Massacre was one of several clearly indisputable human catastrophes that influenced the course of Indian-white relations on the frontier during the last half of the nineteenth century, the others being the Bear River Massacre of Shoshoni Indians on January 29, 1863; the Marias River Massacre of Piegan Indians on January 23, 1870; and the

²⁶For these events, see Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, pp. 300-40, and Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 523-66, 686. The quote is from Indian Agent Jesse H. Leavenworth to Brevet Major General John B. Sanborn, August 1, 1865, (National Archives, Record Group 393, Part III, Entry 769, Volume 2), p. 171. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 42.

²⁷Roberts, "Sand Creek," pp. 568-69, 604. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 43.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 42

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Wounded Knee Massacre of December 29, 1890, in which at least 250 Lakota Indians died.²⁸ In the two former cases, the massacres ended extended periods of conflict with those small bodies and doubtless exhibited some of the same cultural manifestations among them as among the Cheyennes and Arapahos after Sand Creek. Wounded Knee occurred after the Lakotas had been forcibly settled on reservations. Yet because of the influences of the pervasive Cheyenne and Arapaho societies throughout the Great Plains region, the cultural, political, and military repercussions from Sand Creek truly lingered for a generation, affecting intercultural relationships in matters of peace, war, and daily existence that in many respects have continued to the present. Thus, in its immediate, direct, and long-range impacts upon the Cheyenne and Arapaho societies and the plains Indian community, as well as in its immediate and subsequent bearing on the progression of federal Indian and military policy respecting the plains tribes, the Sand Creek Massacre comprised an event of outstanding significance as reflected within the broad national patterns of United States history.

²⁸Fatality figures for these encounters are from *Bear River Massacre Site: Final Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment* (Denver: National Park Service, 1996), p. 16; Jerome A. Greene, *Reconnaissance Survey of Indian-U.S. Army Battlefields of the Northern Plains* (Denver: National Park Service, 1998), p. 85; and Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John E. Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 20. As cited in *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment*, p. 43.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Sections 9 & 10 Page 43

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Section 9

Major Bibliographic References:

Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume One: Site Location Study. Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000.

Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume Two: Special Resource Study and Environmental Assessment. Denver: National Park Service, Intermountain Region, 2000.

Section 10

UTM References (continued):	Zone	Easting	Northing
5	13	720360	4267090
6	13	717100	4267010
7	13	717040	4268600
8	13	712080	4273290

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre is indicated on the attached USGS map and is delineated by the polygon whose vertices are listed under the UTM References.

Boundary Justification

The boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site was determined using section boundaries on USGS maps that incorporate all related features of the massacre. The boundary of the massacre site is approximately 5 1/2 miles in length and two miles in width, a configuration that matches historic descriptions of the length and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre. The massacre site boundary incorporates all the major elements of the Sand Creek Massacre, including the village site, the sandpits area, the area of Indian flight, and the point from which Chivington and his troops launched their attack upon the Indian encampment. The length and extent of the Sand Creek Massacre site, as identified in this nomination, was agreed upon by the Cheyenne and Arapho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, the State of Colorado, and the National Park Service.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Map List & Photograph Index Page 44

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Additional Documentation

Maps

USGS Maps

North of Chivington Quadrangle, Colorado, 7.5 minute series (topographic), 1982
North of Brandon Quadrangle, Colorado, 7.5 minute series (topographic), 1982

Historic Map

“Map of Public Surveys in Colorado Territory, 1866” (depicting the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation established by the 1861 Treaty of Fort Wise)

Sketch Maps (in the order in which they appear in the nomination form)

“Boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site”
“Site Map of Place Names Used in the Documents”
“Archeological Survey Areas”
“Archeological Findings”
“National Park Service Site Map based on the Historical Documentation Report”
“Southern Cheyenne/Southern Arapaho/Northern Cheyenne Map of the Location of the Sand Creek Massacre Site based on Traditional Tribal Methods, Oral Histories and the George Bent Maps”
“Boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site – Photograph Key”
“Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site”(showing the Sand Creek Massacre Site within the boundary of the authorized national historic site)

Index of Photographs

Photograph #1

Photographer: Rocky Mountain Aerial Survey Inc.
Date of Photograph: May 14, 1999
Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO
Direction of camera: Down

Photograph #2

Photographer: Rocky Mountain Aerial Survey Inc.
Date of Photograph: May 14, 1999
Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO
Direction of camera: Down

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Photograph Index Page 45

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Photographs #1 and #2 are of the Dawson South Bend including the diversion point and a portion of the Chivington Canal. For the best view, lay photo #1 on top of photo #2 until Sand Creek and the Chivington Canal match up.

Photograph #3

Photographer: Arnie Thallheimer, Custom Photography, Inc.

Date of Photograph: May 1999

Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO

Direction of camera: Southeast

This photo gives a general view of Sand Creek in the vicinity of the massacre.

Photograph #4

Photographer: Arnie Thallheimer, Custom Photography, Inc.

Date of Photograph: May 1999

Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO

Direction of camera: Northeast

This photo shows the southern portion of the massacre site that is on the Dawson property.

Photograph #5

Photographer: Arnie Thallheimer, Custom Photography, Inc.

Date of Photograph: May 1999

Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO

Direction of camera: West

This photo shows the northern portion of the massacre site that is on the Bowen property.

Photograph #6

Photographer: Arnie Thallheimer, Custom Photography, Inc.

Date of Photograph: May 1999

Location of original negative: National Park Service, Denver, CO

Direction of camera: East

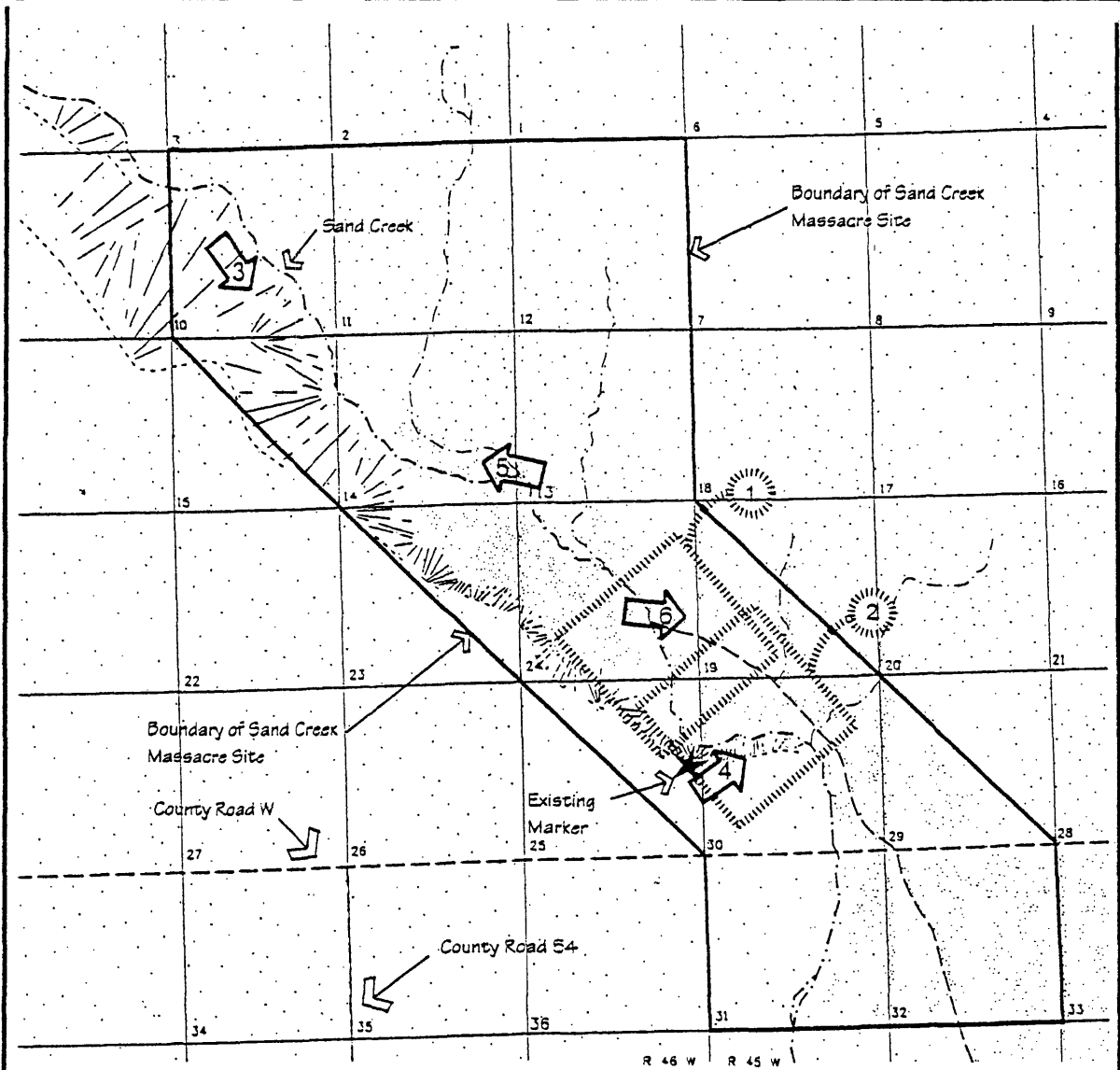
This picture is of Douglas Scott, lead National Park Service archeologist, holding an artifact at the massacre site. Most artifacts were found at depths of surface to 12 inches as shown in the photograph.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Photograph Index Page 46

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado



Boundary of the Sand Creek Massacre Site

Photograph Key

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



Sand Creek Massacre Site
National Register Boundary



Photograph number, location and view



Aerial photograph

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Property Owners Page 47

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Property Owner(s)

name/title: William and Jredia Dawson
street & number: 55411 County Road W **telephone:** 719-729-3529
city or town: Chivington **state:** CO **zip code:** 81036

name/title: Charles B. and Frances Bowen
street & number: 50311 County Road Y **telephone:** 719-729-3366
city or town: Chivington **state:** CO **zip code:** 81036

name/title: A. S. "Pete" Kern Jr.
street & number: PO Box 490 **telephone:** 719-767-5314
city or town: Cheyenne Wells **state:** CO **zip code:** 80810

name/title: Rose Ann Cass
street & number: 2224 Princess Anne Lane **telephone:** 703-494-5327
city or town: Woodbridge **state:** VA **zip code:** 22191

name/title: Cheryl Jackson (Tonso)
street & number: 354 The Eagle Place **telephone:**
city or town: Durango **state:** CO **zip code:** 81301

name/title: Marc Goodrich
street & number: 9247 Twilight Lane **telephone:** 913-894-5874
city or town: Lexana **state:** KS **zip code:** 66219

name/title: Judson E. Goodrich
street & number: 6396 Stone Bridge Road **telephone:** 707-538-4391
city or town: Santa Rose **state:** CA **zip code:** 95409

name/title: Arthur and Martha Goodrich Coate (winter address)
street & number: 7693 Pebble Creek Circle #304 **telephone:**
city or town: Naples **state:** FL **zip code:** 34108

name/title: Arthur and Martha Goodrich Coate (summer address)
street & number: 4992 West 129th Place **telephone:**
city or town: Leawood **state:** KS **zip code:** 66209

name/title: Suzanne Tresko
street & number: 2410 S. Inland Empire Way **telephone:** 509-624-7068
city or town: Spokane **state:** WA **zip code:** 99224

name/title: Carmen Gard
street & number: 2509 Valley Park **telephone:**
city or town: Wichita **state:** KS **zip code:** 67204-4105

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section Property Owners Page 48

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

Property Owner(s) - continued

name/title: Jack and Eunice Dixon
street & number: 14445 CR 38 **telephone:** 719-438-5717
city or town: Eads **state:** CO **zip code:** 81036

name/title: Burl and Catherine Scherler
street & number: 21899 CR 59 **telephone:** 719-729-3367
city or town: Sheridan Lake **state:** CO **zip code:** 81071

name/title: Melva Thompson Stockstill
street & number: 463 Pamela **telephone:** 316-722-1824
city or town: Wichita **state:** KS **zip code:** 67212

name/title: Alberta Gwen Thompson McKibben
street & number: 4101 Panorama **telephone:** 316-663-4558
city or town: Hutchinson **state:** KS **zip code:** 67502

name/title: H.S. Tennell
street & number: 909 Velray Drive **telephone:** 806-298-2463
city or town: Abernathy **state:** TX **zip code:** 79311

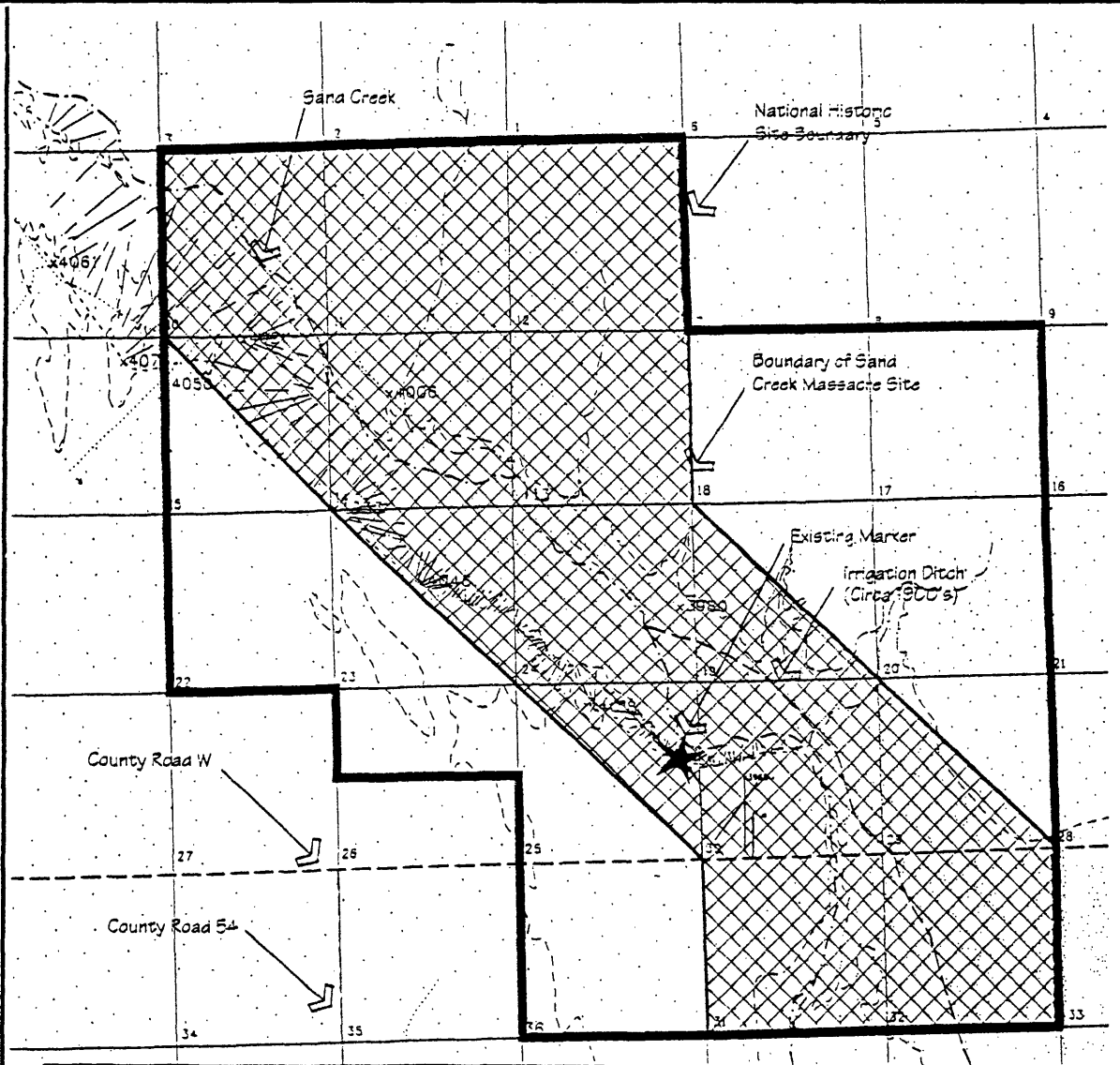
name/title: Kiowa County Commissioner
street & number: PO Box 100 **telephone:** 719-438-5810
city or town: Eads **state:** CO **zip code:** 81036

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Section: Map Page 49

Sand Creek Massacre Site
Kiowa County, Colorado

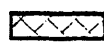


Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site

Sand Creek Massacre
Special Resource Study

US Department of the Interior
National Park Service

LEGEND



Sand Creek Massacre Site
National Register Boundary



Sand Creek Massacre National Historic
Site Boundary



0 1/4 1/2 1 mile

Scale of Distances