

# TEACHER'S GUIDE

## All Primary Source Documents

### MISSION 3: "A Cheyenne Odyssey"

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#### George Catlin, *Buffalo Hunt*

*In the 1830s, George Catlin, a lawyer turned painter, traveled across the Great Plains recording the appearances and customs of the Plains Indians. This color print came from the publication Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio: Hunting Scenes and Amusements of the Rocky Mountains and Prairies of America, from Drawings and Notes of the Author, made during Eight Years' Travel amongst Forty-Eight of the Wildest and Most Remote Tribes of Savages in North America.*



Source: Wikimedia Commons, [http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George\\_Catlin\\_-\\_Buffalo\\_hunt.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Catlin_-_Buffalo_hunt.jpg).

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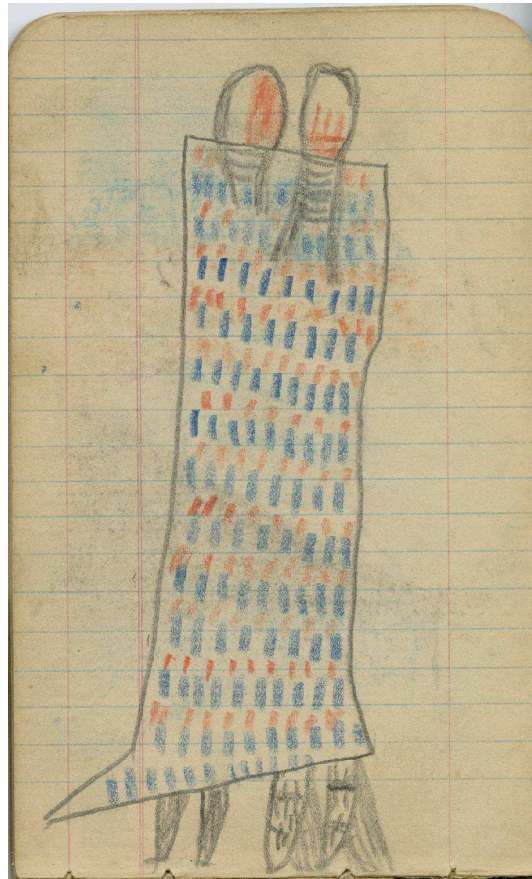
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#### Ledger Art, *Courting Couple* - Porcupine

As the Plains Indians came into contact with European and American traders they gained access to new tools for creating art. Painting on buffalo hides slowly gave way to drawings on paper, muslin, or canvas. As bound paper ledgers and color pencils became accessible, Plains Indians adapted their painting and recording keeping forms to these new materials, but often kept some traditional aspects of buffalo hide paintings. This drawing is from a ledger book sketched by Porcupine, a Northern Cheyenne leader, while in the Dodge City jail in 1879. It depicts a courting couple wrapped in a blanket. The man's braids show at the bottom of the blanket and both the man and the women have painted faces.



COURTSHIP: Courting Couple in Decorated Blanket. Porcupine Ledger, Plate 23, Pages 42---3, courtesy of The Schøyen Collection. London and Oslo. View the complete book at [plainsledgerart.org](http://plainsledgerart.org).

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#### Ledger Art, *Courting Couple* – Wild Hog

As the Plains Indians came into contact with European and American traders they gained access to new tools for creating art. Painting on buffalo hides slowly gave way to drawings on paper, muslin, or canvas. As bound paper ledgers and color pencils became accessible, Plains Indians adapted their painting and recording keeping forms to these new materials, but often kept some traditional aspects of buffalo hide paintings. This drawing is from a ledger book titled: "Pictures drawn by Wild Hog and other northern Cheyenne Indian Chiefs while in the Dodge City jail May 1879." It depicts a courting couple. The water bucket on the left is an example of a convention of icons or glyphs in ledger art that represent a shared meaning. The chore of drawing water was one of the few times that proper Cheyenne girls were not chaperoned so it was often an occasion for young couples to meet and court. Water buckets therefore symbolize courtship.



Source: Wild Hog: "Courting: Couple with Water Bucket" (No. 6 of 61), [kansasmemory.org](http://kansasmemory.org), Kansas State Historical Society.

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#### Wooden Leg Describes His Childhood

*Wooden Leg was a Northern Cheyenne warrior who lived during the nineteenth century. He witnessed the transition from traditional life on the plains to life on reservations. He participated in several famous battles including the Battle of the Little Big Horn, which the Cheyenne called the Battle of the Greasy Grass. In 1903, Wooden Leg was interviewed extensively by Thomas B. Marquis, a former agency doctor for the Cheyenne. In this excerpt, he describes his childhood.*

As a little boy I used to ride in a travois basket when the tribe moved camp. Two long lodgepoles were crossed over the shoulders or tied to the sides of a horse. Thus they were dragged over the country. Buffalo skins were used to stretch across between the widely gaping poles behind the horse. Upon or into these bagging skins were placed all of the family property, in rawhide satchels or as separate loose articles. The smaller children also rode there. I have fond recollections of this kind of traveling/ Many an hour I have slept in that kind of gentle bed. Roads were not needed for this kind of vehicle. A travois can be taken anywhere a horse will go, and there never is any jolting. The spring of the poles and the skin takes up all of the shocks.

When I was six years old I asked my father: "Will you give me a horse?" "Yes, you may have any horse of mine that you want, but you must catch him," he replied. He gave me a rawhide lariat rope. He and my mother and some other older people laughed about it, but I took the matter seriously. With the lariat looped and coiled I went out among the herd to search for horses belonging to my father. I selected a small pony as being my choice. I maneuvered a long time before I could get the loop about its neck. It struggled, but I hung on. When it quieted down I followed carefully along the line, talking soothingly, until it allowed me to pat its neck. After a while I got into its mouth and around its lower jaw a loop of the rawhide, according to the old Indian way of making a bridle. When it had calmed after this new advance I began to make strokes upon its back. Then I tucked the long coil into my belt, the same as I had seen men do, and I climbed quickly upon the little animal. It shied, and I fell off. But I still had my rope, this uncoiling from my belt as the pony moved away. I seized the tether and followed again its guidance to the coveted mount. More petting and soothing talk. Another attempt at riding. Off again. Before making a third try I spent a long time at the gentle taming procedures. Nevertheless, the pony shied and then bucked after I mounted it. But I grabbed its mane and stuck to my seat. Within minutes I had control. I rode to my father's lodge.

"Yes, that is your pony, to keep," he told me.

Bands of us boys went out at times on horseback to hunt wolves. We had only the bows and arrows. We killed many wolves with the arrows. My father had given me a good bow and a supply of arrows when I was nine or ten years old. We then were in the Black Hills country.

Source: *Wooden Leg A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, Interpreted by Thomas B. Marquis, University of Nebraska Press, 2003, pages 5-7.

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#### Iron Teeth on Training Horses

*Iron Teeth was a Northern Cheyenne woman born in 1834. She was 95 years old when Thomas B. Marquis, a former doctor for the Cheyenne agency interviewed her in 1929. Her memoir is a valuable source of information on Northern Cheyenne life on the Great Plains before the reservation system. In this excerpt she describes her childhood.*

My first rising alone on horseback was when I was about 10 years old. My father gave me a yearling colt. When we were traveling, my mother would put packs upon the colt with me. Usually I had behind me and swinging down the colt's sides two badger skins filled with dried chokeberries. Boys teased me by riding up close and lashing my colt, to make it jump. At first, I was frightened, and they laughed at me. But I soon got used to it, and after a little while I became a good rider.

After I grew older I liked to break horses. When I became a woman I never asked any man to tame my horses for me. My sister and I used to take the wild animals to a sandy place beside the river before trying to ride them. Sometimes we would lead on out into deep water before mounting it. A horse cannot buck hard in deep water. One time, a bucking horse threw me into a deep and narrow ditch, but I was not hurt. I never was hurt badly in this way or in any other way. I never had a broken bone. I have been shot at many times, but no bullet nor arrow ever hit me.

Lots of wild horses used to be running loose on the plains to the southward. I had a good running horse when I was a young woman, and I carried always with me a lariat rope made of spun and plaited buffalo hair. As a girl I played a romping game we called "wild horses," in which some children would run here and there while others would try to throw lariats about their bodies. In this way I learned to toss the rope. One time, after my marriage, when I was riding with me baby strapped to my back, I saw some wild horse. I put the baby in its board cradle upon the prairie and got after the herd. That day I caught two horses.

Source: Iron Teeth, from *Cheyenne and Sioux: The Reminiscences of Four Indians and a White Soldier*. Compiled by Thomas B. Marquis, edited by Ronald H. Limbaugh, 1973.

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#### Saukamappee's Recollections, Part I (1730s)

*In 1787, David Thompson, a Welsh employee of the Hudson Bay Company, visited a Piegan Village on the Canadian Plains. He recorded stories recounted by a 75 year old Cree warrior who had been adopted into Piegan society. Saukamappee's account of Plains Indian life provides insights into the impact of guns and the arrival of horses on hunting and warfare.*

There were a few guns amongst us, but very little ammunition, and they were left to hunt for the families; Our weapons was a Lance, mostly pointed with iron, some few of stone, A Bow and a quiver of Arrows; the Bows were of Larch, the length came to the chin; the quiver had about fifty arrows, of which ten had iron points, the others were headed with stone. . . Our spies had been out and had seen a large camp of the Snake Indians on the Plains of the Eagle Hill, and we had to cross the River in canoes, and on rafts, which we carefully secured for our retreat. . . . By this time the affairs of both parties had much changed; we had more guns and iron headed arrows than before; but our enemies the Snake Indians and their allies had Misstution (Big Dogs, that is Horses) on which they rode, swift as the Deer, on which they dashed at the Peeagans, and with their stone Pukamoggan knocked them on the head, and they had thus lost several of their best men. This news we did not well comprehend and it alarmed us, for we had no idea of Horses and could not make out what they were.

Source: David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812 (pp.328-332). <http://segonku.unl.edu/~ahodge/saukamappee01.html>



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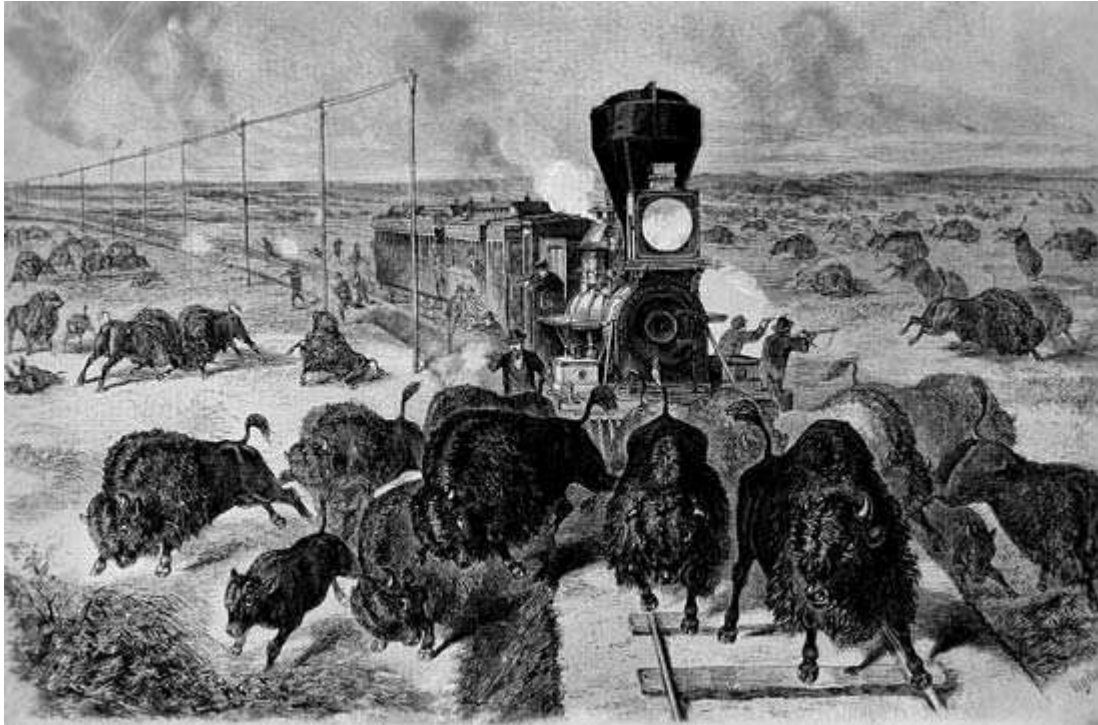
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#### **Buffalo hunting from a train: *On the Kansas-Pacific Railroad* print**

*While the Federal government never officially sanctioned a policy regarding deliberate destruction of buffalo, there were many who noted that the elimination of the buffalo would also eliminate the "Indian problem." In 1874, the Secretary of the Interior stated, "The buffalo are disappearing rapidly, but not faster than I desire. I regard the destruction of such game as Indians subsist upon as facilitating the policy of the government, of destroying their hunting habits, coercing them on reservations, and compelling them to begin to adopt the habits of civilization." The railroads encouraged the slaughter of the buffalo as a way to force the Plains Indians onto reservations and allow the expansion of railroad lines. In the 1870s and 1880s as many as sixty million buffalo were killed, reducing their population to approximately 1,000 by 1889.*



Source: *On the Kansas-Pacific Railroad*, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 3, 1871, Library of Congress.



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#### The Buffalo Harvest

*In this posthumous memoir, Frank Meyer recounts the widespread slaughter of the American bison---commonly referred to as the buffalo---in the early 1870s. Mayer describes the "still-hunt" method of buffalo hunting in which hunters positioned at a distance shot and killed entire herds by targeting the female cow leader.*

#### Methods

Early hunters used to run the buffalo down on horseback, following the example of the Indian, who always hunted that way. It was fun. But it wasn't profitable. Then some unnamed genius discovered the professional way to harvest the buffalo....He probably made his discovery by accident. His discovery was simply this: if you wounded the leader, didn't kill her outright, the rest of her herd, whether it was three or thirty, would gather around her and stupidly "mill" -- which means poke her with their horns, strike at her with their hooves, and just generally lose their heads when they smelled her blood. When they were milling they didn't think of anything else. Buffalo, as I have indicated, were not notorious for their ability to think clearly on any subject. Now they were completely bewildered.

And all you had to do, as a runner, was pick them off one by one, making sure you made a dropping kill at every shot, until you wiped out the entire herd. Then you went to another and repeated the process. Do you see anything sporting about that? It was sheer murder. Yet that is the way we did it, we brave and glorious runners, who swaggered into frontier shipping towns and made boardwalks ring with the sound of our leather heels and the tinkle of our spurs.

#### Buffalo Runners

Buffalo running as a business got started around 1870; I got into it in 1872, when the rampage was at its height. The whole Western country went buffalo-wild. It was like a gold rush or a uranium rush. Men left jobs, businesses, wives and children, and future prospects to get into buffalo running. They sold whatever they had and put the money into outfits, wagons, camp equipment, rifles and ammunition. I needn't talk. I did it myself. And why not? There were uncounted millions of the beasts -- hundreds of millions, we forced ourselves to believe. Their hides were worth \$2 to \$3 each, which was a lot of money in 1872. And all we had to do was take these hides from their wearers. It was a harvest. We were the harvesters.

Source: Mayer, Frank w. and Charles B. Roth, *The Buffalo Harvest*, Sage Books, 1958.

<http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/five/buffalo.htm>

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#### Sentiments and Views of the Western Pioneers

*These two letters from whites living in the West were published in the summer of 1867 during the so-called "Red Cloud's War" between Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho tribes and the United States. The first letter advocates a militant Indian policy aimed at wiping out Plains Indians. The second letter calls for a combined strategy of war and forced removal onto reservations where Indians could be assimilated.*

St. Nicholas Hotel, New-York,  
Tuesday, July 2, 1867

*To the Editor of the New York Times:*

I wish you would be kind enough to allow me a few words on the Indian war of the Plains....I...am sorry to note that Eastern sentiment generally sides with the Indian against the white. In your issue of Monday there is an article devoted to the "Chivington massacre" of the Cheyennes in 1864. Admitting for a moment that the article is true—that it correctly represents the origin of the Indian war, is the Government to stand idly by and see the wild savages of the buffalo plains drive out the settlers of the West—the men who, through every conceivable hardship and privation, are extending our empire in the wilderness? Suppose Chivington killed 125 or 150 Indians at Sand Creek, is that good reason why innocent women and children crossing the Plains three years afterward should be tomahawked and scalped? Did not the first settlers here, on the Connecticut, Delaware, and Susquehanna, have the same trial to go through? When and where did water and oil, or white and Indian ever mix?....

The Indian war on the Plains has been just as inevitable from the year 1492 as any other Indian war....The fact remains that whites and Indians cannot live together....It is war, and only war until the Plains Indians are wiped out. They are thoroughly aroused, like a nest of hornets invaded, and have to have some evidence of their Great Father before they will be quiet. I want you and the Eastern people to exculpate the Western pioneers from blame in this matter. They are only fulfilling their destiny, superseding an inferior race the same as you did.

O.J. Hollister

Jefferson Barrache, MO,  
June 10, 1867

*Hon. Jno. B. Henderson, Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs United States Senate:*

....whenever the thriftless savage stands in the way of advancement and civilization, killing all who come in his way, justice requires his removal, forcibly if necessary. If left at large he fights

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and kills as many as he can of his disturbers. We are told that the Indian is cheated by the agents sent out to look after his interests; and the white men generally, by duplicity and unfairness, drive him to all the crime he commits against us. This may be all true, and if so we must accept the fact, and deal with it in making a new Indian policy....

The plan I desire to recommend is as follows: Place the Indians in the hands of that branch of Government that shall give the greatest guarantee for trusty and honest administration. I would recommend the Freedmen's Bureau....I would assign to each family of tribes a reservation of proper dimensions, and require the Indians to live upon them, and prohibit white people going there unauthorized. This should be commanded in a proclamation by the President, and vigorous war made upon such tribes as refused to obey...I would provide for them such religious and other instruction, such implements for agriculture, such domestic animals, and rations, and clothing as might be found necessary. The regular annuities due them would go far to provide all these.

An Indian war would then have a fixed and definite purpose (which is the first requisite in all successful war), understood by the Indian, and its justice acknowledged by our friends in the East.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
W.B. Hazen  
Colonel Thirty-eighth Infantry, Bvt. Major-General

Source: "Western Indians—Sentiments and Views of the Western Pioneers," *New York Times*, July 5, 1867.

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#### Wooden Leg Recalls Trips to the Trading Post

*Wooden Leg was a Northern Cheyenne warrior who lived during the nineteenth century. He witnessed the transition from traditional life on the plains to life on reservations. He participated in several famous battles including the Battle of the Little Big Horn, which the Cheyenne called the Battle of the Greasy Grass. In 1903, Wooden Leg was interviewed extensively by Thomas B. Marquis, a former agency doctor for the Cheyenne. In this excerpt, he describes two separate visits to a white man's trading post:*

The only trading post I ever saw during [my childhood] was someone on the Geese river.\* The trader was known to us as Big Nosed White Man. I was twelve years old the first time I went there, and I never was at any other trading place during those times. My father got me a rifle at this place. It used powder and bullets and caps, not cartridges. I learned how to make bullets for it.

...when I was about thirteen years old, Wolf Medicine and other men loaded their pack horses with buffalo robes and other skins and went to the trader post at the southward (Fort Laramie) for buying some supplies. They got tobacco, caps, powder, lead, sugar, and goods of that character. Wolf Medicine brought a sack of flour. Our women were just then learning how to make bread. Wolf Medicine's wife knew how to make it so it tasted good. He was a little chief of the Elk warriors, and he wanted to give them a feast. He said to his wife:

"Make plenty of bread. I shall invite all Elks to come."

"How," she assented, and she went immediately at mixing flour and water. Then: "Oh, I have no soda."

A young woman there said: "My mother has soda. I will go and get some." She went to her home lodge and rummaged among her packages, looking into one after another. "Here it is," she finally announced. The young woman took the white powder to the wife of Wolf Medicine. As the good cook proceeded with her work, her proud husband went out to the front of his lodge and stood there calling:

"All Elk warriors, come. Wolf Medicine has a feast of bread....When the food was being eaten everybody said: "Wolf Medicine's wife can make good bread."....After a while somebody said: "I feel sick. My stomach pains me." Just then the neighbor woman came running and screaming:



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"I gave you the wrong powder! It is the wolf poison!"

The commotion aroused and brought the whole population of the camp. The victims were wallowing and groaning: An old man herald went among them calling out: "Make yourselves vomit." ...[All] got relief soon after the gagging and vomiting....The woman who had provided the supposed soda was not punished. On the contrary, she was for a long time afterward so distressed in mind that people sympathized with and tried to console her."

Source: *Wooden Leg A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, Interpreted by Thomas B. Marquis (University of Nebraska Press, 2003) 7, 111-13.

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#### Soldier Accounts of the Coming of Red Cloud's War

*In these two accounts—one a letter written in 1866 and the other a reminiscence years later—U.S. army soldiers describe the escalating tensions between whites and Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapahoe Indians that soon would erupt into Red Cloud's War (1866-68). The U.S. army had recently built forts to protect white settlers along the Bozeman Trail, a path used to reach mines in Western Montana. Army officials were sent to Fort Laramie in Summer 1866 to persuade Indian leaders to sign a treaty but met with unexpected resistance from Indians who were angry that whites had trespassed onto their land without asking permission first.*

#### Letter from Hervey Johnson to his sister:

Fort Laramie [Dakota Territory]  
June 14th 1866

Sister Abi:

As this is probably the last chance I shall have to mail a letter I thought I would improve it by writing a letter home. The new Major of the 18th Infantry arrived and took command of Fort Laramie yesterday. We moved out of the post this morning, and are camped about a mile below on the [Platte] river....The Indian treaty has not met since it adjourned. A messenger who was sent out to bring in the Cheyennes, came back with his head and face all bruised up having barely escaped with his life. It seems that the old men and most of the Chiefs are in favor of peace, but the young men are in favor of war, this is why the messenger was handled so roughly. An old Chief who was with the messenger told him when they attacked him to shoot as many as he could and then run, I don't think he retaliated at all. The general opinion is that there be war again this summer. All I ask is for them to keep civil till we get to Kearney, I won't feel safe this side of there.

Hervey

#### Reminiscence of William Murphy, an enlisted soldier in the 18th Infantry:

Our expedition reached Fort Laramie on June 13, in time for Colonel Carrington to participate in the council being held with Red Cloud, Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, [sic] and other Indian chiefs to secure the Indian's consent to the construction of a road and the erection of promised forts, the Indians protesting vigorously against this.

Red Cloud made a dramatic and effective speech. He claimed that the Peace Commissioners were treating the assembled chiefs as children; that they were pretending to negotiate for a

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country which they had already taken by Conquest. He accused the Government of bad faith in all its transactions with Indian tribes.

In his harangue to the Indians he told them that the white men had crowded the Indians back year by year and forced them to live in a small country north of the Platte and now their last hunting ground, the home of their people, was to be taken from them. This meant that they and their women and children were to starve, and for his part he preferred to die fighting than by starvation.

Red Cloud promised that if the combined tribes would defend their homes they would be able to drive the soldiers out of the country. He said it might be a long war, but as they were defending their last hunting grounds they must in the end be successful. The powwow continued for some time, until finally the hostile Sioux under Red Cloud withdrew, refusing to have any further counsel or accept any presents.

Source: William Unrau, ed. *Tending the Talking Wire: A Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country, 1863-1866*. William Murphy shared his experiences with Frances Carrington, who wrote a memoir about her life as an army officer's wife stationed on the Plains. Cited in James Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (University of Nebraska Press, 1936).

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#### Visit to a Trading Post, 1850

*Thaddeus Culbertson was a natural scientist who went on an expedition to gather fossils and other natural specimens in a region of the northern Great Plains known as the Badlands. In this excerpt, he describes a reception for the Blackfeet Sioux held at the Fort Pierre, a fur trading post in present day South Dakota.*

They had just arrived with about fifty lodges, and while squaws were putting up these, the "Braves" came to announce themselves. They dismounted and entered the reception room with a friendly shake of the hand to most of the whites present. A feast was ordered for them. In the middle of the room were placed four (five gallon) kettles, filled with the most tempting mush, and beside these...were two others, equally large, filled with equally tempting coffee, already sweetened, while on the floor were fifty large hard crackers (pilot bread), and about one-hundred plugs of very common tobacco....an old palefaced warrior came forward, shook hands with us, and remaining on his feet began a speech....He stood erect, with his left hand holding his blanket, and with his right making gestures continually. Never did I listen to a more ready flow of language, or to a more self composed dignified speaker, whether he addressed us or turned to the Indians on either side of him. His speech was also a complimentary one, and was short, as the dinner was getting cold....It was pleasing to observe the quiet and decorum throughout the whole scene; each one waited patiently until his turn came, and then modestly received his cracker, meat or coffee...As they drank their coffee nearly everyone, especially the old man, made their compliments to us, as we do in drinking wine. The feast went on cheerfully, and towards the conclusion, our old man started a song, or rather a howl of thanks, which was caught up and echoed by several....The tobacco was then distributed, two plugs being given to each; but the young men, being able to kill buffalo and buy tobacco, gave their portion to some of their friends too old for the hunt. I noticed quite a number passing their pans, well filled with mush, to their squaws who were standing about the door, which indicated generous and kind feeling.

Source: Culbertson, Thaddeus A. *Journal of an Expedition to the Mauvaises Terres and the Upper Missouri in 1850*, 81-83.



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#### Plains Indian Quotes about Railroads

*Plains Indian warriors in the 19th century attacked the various people and institutions that threatened their way of life on the Great Plains. In these speeches to federal agents during the Indian Wars of the 1860s, Indian leaders attempt to explain the sources of conflict.*

"You chiefs that are here today, and all you soldiers that are here, listen unto me, for there is no fund in what I have to say. My Great grandfather [President Andrew Johnson] did not send you here for nothing, therefore we will listen unto you. He has made [railroads] stretching east and west, the country in which we live is overrun by whites and all our game is gone. This is the cause of our troubles. We have no objection to this road (U.P.R.R.), but I object to the Powder River and Smoky Hill roads. We all object to them. Let my Great grandfather know this -- you can read and write -- be sure and let him know this. I have been a friend of the whites. I am now. The country across the river (Platte) belongs to the whites; this belongs to us; when we want game we want the privilege of going over there and kill it. I want these two roads stopped just where they are or turned over to some other direction. We will then live peaceably together. . . ."

*--Spotted Tail, chief spokesman of the Brule Tetons at a conference with U.S. Indian Commissioners, 1867 as reported in the New York Times September 19, 1867.*

"We will not have the wagons [steam locomotives] which make a noise in the hunting grounds of the buffalo. If the palefaces come farther into our land, there will be scalps of your brethren in the wigwams of the Cheyennes. I have spoken."

*--Roman Nose, chief who led his fellow Cheyenne against homesteaders and railroad workers on what he considered traditional Native American lands in Kansas, 1866*

"Fathers, your young men have devastated the country and killed my animals, the elk, the deer, the antelope, my buffalo. They do not kill them to eat them; they leave them to rot where they fall. Fathers, if I went into your country to kill your animals, what would you say? Should I not be wrong, and would you not make war on me?"

*--Bear Tooth, a Crow chief, 1867*

"You said that you wanted to put us on a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born upon the prairie where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls."

*--Ten Bears, a Comanche warrior chief, 1871*

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#### US Government and Military Quotes about Plains Indians

*Plains Indian warriors in the 19th century attacked the various people and institutions that threatened their way of life on the Great Plains. As these reports from various federal agents, including the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and General Custer, show, white leaders agreed with the Plains Indians on two points: the railroads would destroy Native American communities and Plains Indians could not survive independently without buffalo.*

"The progress of two years more, if not another summer, on the Northern Pacific Railroad will of itself completely solve the great Sioux problem, and leave ninety thousand Indians ranging between two transcontinental lines as incapable of resisting the Government as are the Indians of New York or Massachusetts. Columns [of soldiers] moving north from the Union Pacific and south from the Northern Pacific, would crush the Sioux and their confederates as between the upper and nether millstone."

--Francis A. Walker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872

"The rapid construction of railroads branching into every section of the country is a matter of very serious import to the Indians generally. The grants of land given by Congress in aid of roads in the West must inevitably and unavoidably interfere with many Indian reservations. A diversity of opinion exists among the various tribes of the Indian territory by reason of projected roads north, south, east, and west through that Territory. Other roads in the South aiming to reach the Pacific will of a necessity pass through immense tracts on Indian country or country claimed by them. So with the Northern Pacific, which road must necessarily pass through several reservations, the quiet possession of which is guaranteed to the Indians by the solemn faith of treaties. Other roads are projected through the great Sioux districts. The Sioux are the most powerful and warlike tribe of Indians in the United States, and their persistent and determined opposition to the railroads is well known. Any attempt, therefore, to penetrate the country in this way must produce a collision. These are matters which should receive the attention of the authorities of the government and Congress, and such steps be early taken as will avoid all difficulty."

Source: "From Washington. The Annual Reports. The Report of the Indian Bureau," Cincinnati Daily Gazette, November 30, 1870.

"The experience of the past, particularly that of recent years, shows that no one measure so quickly and effectually frees a country from the horrors and devastations of Indian wars and Indian depredations generally as the building and successful operation of a railroad through the region overrun... So earnest is my belief in [its] civilizing and peace giving influence... [A]

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railroad established and kept in operation [in Indian Country] would have forever preserved peace with the vast majority of tribes infesting [the Great Plains]."

--General George Custer, shortly before the Battle of Little Bighorn, 1876

"The buffalo are disappearing rapidly, but not faster than I desire. I regard the destruction of such game...as facilitating the policy of the government, of destroying [the Indians'] hunting habits, coercing them on reservations, and compelling them to adopt the habits of civilization."

--Columbus Delano, President Grant's Secretary of the Interior, 1874

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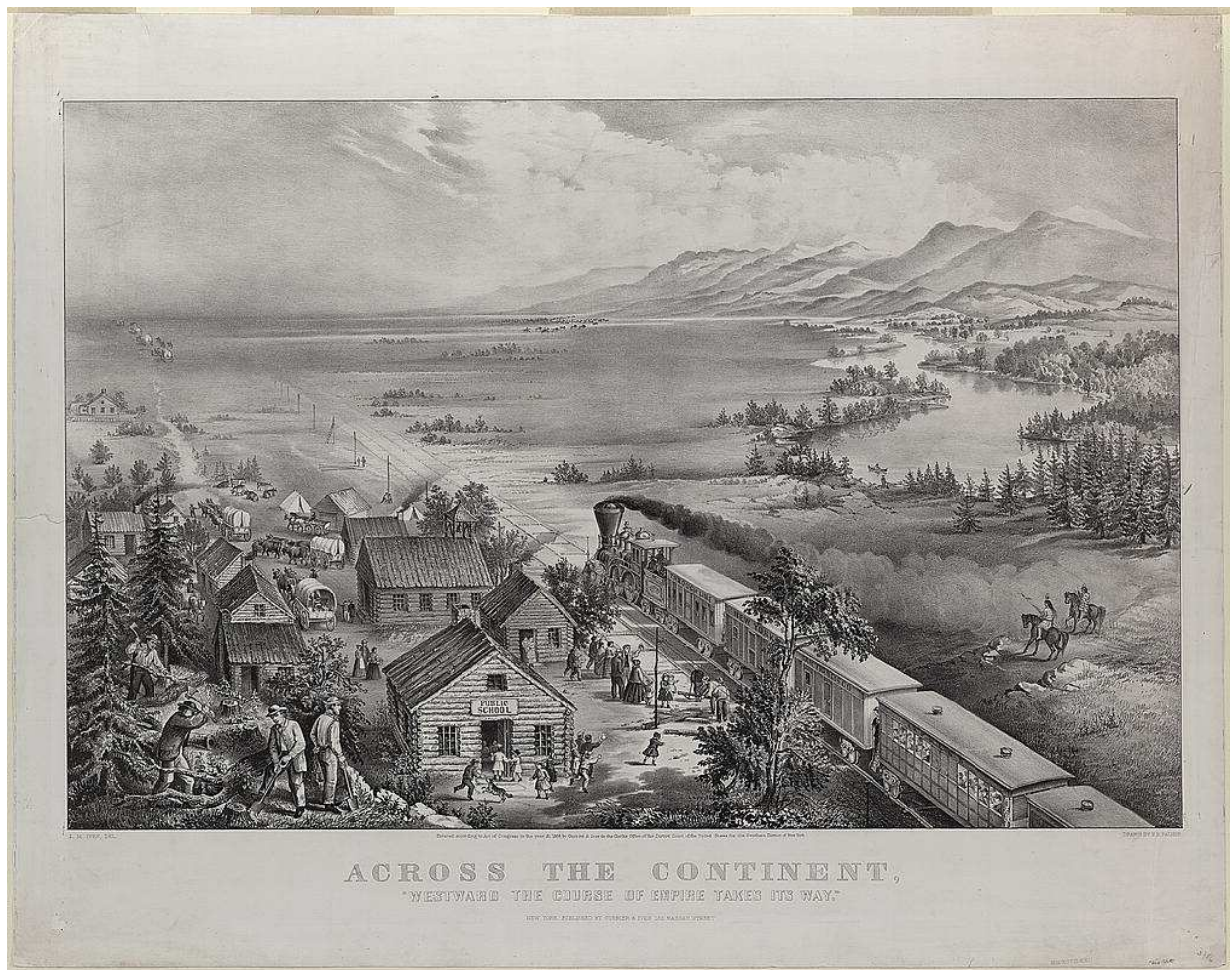
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#### **Across the Continent: 'Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way,'** print (New York: Published by Currier & Ives, c. 1868)

*From 1835 to 1907, the Currier & Ives printmaking company produced over a million lithograph illustrations of events, portraits, and scenes from American life. In the era before photography and the widespread use of illustrations in newspapers, people could buy these inexpensive and widely available images of events and places they had never seen. This 1868 illustration shows an idealized version of the transcontinental railroad expanding into the West.*



Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division,  
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.03213>



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#### Eyewitness Accounts of the Sand Creek Massacre

*After a series Southern Cheyenne raids on ranches, Chief Black Kettle met with army officers at Fort Weld outside Denver. He agreed to lead his people back to their reservation and to maintain peace in the area. While camped peaceably a short distance from Fort Lyon on the Sand Creek, a large military unit led by John M. Chivington, attacked the Cheyenne encampment at dawn. The soldiers killed over two hundred men, women and children. Later Congressional and military investigations condemned the massacre.*

#### **Congressional Testimony of Mr. John S. Smith Witness to Sand Creek Massacre Washington, March 14, 1865**

Question. What is your occupation?

Answer. United States Indian interpreter and special Indian agent.

Question. Will you state to the committee all that you know in relation to the attack of Colonel Chivington upon the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians in November last?

Answer. Major Anthony was in command at Fort Lyon at the time. Those Indians had been induced to remain in the vicinity of Fort Lyon, and were promised protection by the commanding officer at Fort Lyon. The commanding officer saw proper to keep them some thirty or forty miles distant from the fort, for fear of some conflict between them and the soldiers or the traveling population, for Fort Lyon is on a great thoroughfare. He advised them to go out on what is called Sand creek, about forty miles, a little east of north from Fort Lyon. Some days after they had left Fort Lyon when I had just recovered from a long spell of sickness, I was called on by Major S.G. Colley, who asked me if I was able and willing to go out and pay a visit to these Indians, ascertain their numbers, their general disposition toward the whites, and the points where other bands might be located in the interior.

Question. What was the necessity for obtaining that information?

Answer. Because there were different bands which were supposed to be at war; in fact, we knew at the time that they were at war with the white population in that country; but this band had been in and left the post perfectly satisfied. I left to go to this village of Indians on the 26th of November last. I arrived there on the 27th and remained there the 28th. On the morning of the 29th, between daylight and sunrise - nearer sunrise than daybreak - a large number of troops were discovered from three-quarters of a mile to a mile below the village. The Indians,



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who discovered them, ran to my camp, called me out, and wanted to me to go and see what troops they were, and what they wanted. The head chief of the nation, Black Kettle, and head chief of the Cheyennes, was encamped there with us. Some years previous he had been presented with a fine American flag by Colonel Greenwood, a commissioner, who had been sent out there. Black Kettle ran this American flag up to the top of his lodge, with a small white flag tied right under it, as he had been advised to do in case he should meet with any troops out on the prairies. I then left my own camp and started for that portion of the troops that was nearest the village, supposing I could go up to the m. I did not know but they might be strange troops, and thought my presence and explanations could reconcile matters. Lieutenant Wilson was in command of the detachment to which I tried to make my approach; but they fired several volleys at me, and I returned back to my camp and entered my lodge.

Question. Did these troops know you to be a white man?

Answer. Yes, sir; and the troops that went there knew I was in the village. . . . After I had left my lodge to go out and see what was going on, Colonel Chivington rode up to within fifty or sixty yards of where I was camped; he recognized me at once. They all call me Uncle John in that country. He said, "Run here, Uncle John; you are all right." I went to him as fast as I could. He told me to get in between him and his troops, who were then coming up very fast; I did so . . .

By this time the Indians had fled; had scattered in every direction. The troops were some on one side of the river and some on the other, following up the Indians. We had been encamped on the north side of the river; I followed along, holding on the caisson, sometimes running, sometimes walking. Finally, about a mile above the village, the troops had got a parcel of the Indians hemmed in under the bank of the river; as soon as the troops overtook them, they commenced firing on them; some troops had got above them, so that they were completely surrounded. There were probably a hundred Indians hemmed in there, men, women, and children; the most of the men in the village escaped.

By the time I got up with the battery to the place where these Indians were surrounded there had been some considerable firing. Four or five soldiers had been killed, some with arrows and some with bullets. The soldiers continued firing on these Indians, who numbered about a hundred, until they had almost completely destroyed them. I think I saw altogether some seventy dead bodies lying there; the greater portion women and children. There may have been thirty warriors, old and young; the rest were women and small children of different ages and sizes.

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The troops at that time were very much scattered. There were not over two hundred troops in the main fight, engaged in killing this body of Indians under the bank. The balance of the troops were scattered in different directions, running after small parties of Indians who were trying to make their escape. I did not go so see how many they might have killed outside of this party under the bank of the river. Being still quite weak from my last sickness, I returned with the first body of troops that went back to the camp.

The Indians had left their lodges and property; everything they owned. I do not think more than one-half of the Indians left their lodges with their arms. I think there were between 800 and 1,000 men in this command of United States troops. There was a part of three companies of the 1st Colorado, and the balance were what were called 100 days men of the 3rd regiment. I am not able to say which party did the most execution on the Indians, because it was very much mixed up at the time.

We remained there that day after the fight. By 11 o'clock, I think, the entire number of soldiers had returned back to the camp where Colonel Chivington had returned. On their return, he ordered the soldiers to destroy all the Indian property there, which they did, with the exception of what plunder they took away with them, which was considerable.

Question. How many Indians were there there?

Answer. There were 100 families of Cheyennes, and some six or eight lodges of Arapahoes.

Question. How many persons in all, should you say?

Answer. About 500 we estimate them at five to a lodge.

Question. 500 men, women and children?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Do you know the reason for that attack on the Indians?

Answer. I do not know any exact reason.

Source: <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/four/sandcrk.htm>

Excerpts from Soldiers' Letters

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From Lt. Joseph Cramer to Maj. Edward Wynkoop, Dec. 19, 1864:

"This is the first opportunity I have had of writing you since the great Indian Massacre, and for a start, I will acknowledge I am ashamed to own I was in it...It is no use for me to tell you how the fight was managed, only I think the Officer in command should be hung...After the fight there was a sight I hope I may never see again...Bucks, woman and children, were scalped, fingers cut off to get the rings on them...little children shot, while begging for their lives...I told the Col. I thought it was murder to jump them friendly Indians. He says in reply; Damn any man or men who are in sympathy with them."

From Lt. Silas Soule to Maj. Edward Wynkoop, Dec. 14, 1864:

"The massacre lasted six or eight hours...I tell you Ned it was hard to see little children on their knees have their brains beat out by men professing to be civilized....They were all scalped, and as high as a half a dozen [scalps] taken from one head. They were all horribly mutilated...You could think it impossible for white men to butcher and mutilate human beings as they did there, but every word I have told you is the truth, which they do not deny...I expect we will have a hell of a time with Indians this winter."

Source: <http://www.colorado.edu/csilw/sandcreekltrs.htm>



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#### Editorial from the Rocky Mountain News (1864)

*After a series Southern Cheyenne raids on ranches, Chief Black Kettle met with army officers at Fort Weld outside Denver. He agreed to lead his people back to their reservation and to maintain peace in the area. While camped peaceably a short distance from Fort Lyon on the Sand Creek, a large military unit led by John M. Chivington, attacked the Cheyenne encampment at dawn. The soldiers killed over two hundred men, women and children. Later Congressional and military investigations condemned the massacre, but many Western newspapers support the military action.*

#### The Battle of Sand Creek

Among the brilliant feats of arms in Indian warfare, the recent campaign of our Colorado volunteers will stand in history with few rivals, and none to exceed it in final results. We are not prepared to write its history, which can only be done by someone who accompanied the expedition, but we have gathered from those who participated in it and from others who were in that part of the country, some facts which will doubtless interest many of our readers. The people of Colorado are well aware of the situation occupied by the third regiment during the great snow-storm which set in the last of October. . . . At the end of a month the snow had settled to the depth of two feet, and the command set out upon its long contemplated march. The rear guard left the Basin on the 23rd of November. Their course was southeast, crossing the Divide and thence heading for Fort Lyon. For one hundred miles the snow was quite two feet in depth, and for the next hundred it ranged from six to twelve inches. Beyond that the ground was almost bare and the snow no longer impeded their march. . . .

At Fort Lyon the force was strengthened by about two hundred and fifty men of the first regiment, and at nine o'clock in the evening the command set out for the Indian village. The course was due north, and their guide was the Polar star. As daylight dawned they came in sight of the Indian camp, after a forced midnight march of forty-two miles, in eight hours, across the rough, unbroken plain. But little time was required for preparation. The forces had been divided and arranged for battle on the march, and just as the sun rose they dashed upon the enemy with yells that would put a Comanche army to blush. Although utterly surprised, the savages were not unprepared, and for a time their defense told terribly against our ranks. Their main force rallied and formed in line of battle on the bluffs beyond the creek, where they were protected by rudely constructed rifle-pits, from which they maintained a steady fire until the shells from company C's (third regiment) howitzers began dropping among them, when they scattered and fought each for himself in genuine Indian fashion. As the battle progressed the field of carriage widened until it extended over not less than twelve miles of territory. The Indians who could escape or secreted themselves, and by three o'clock in the afternoon the carnage had ceased. It was estimated that between three and four hundred of the savages got

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away with their lives. Of the balance there were neither wounded nor prisoners. Their strength at the beginning of the action was estimated at nine hundred. . . .

Among the killed were all the Cheyenne chiefs, Black Kettle, White Antelope, Little Robe, Left Hand, Knock Knee, One Eye, and another, name unknown. Not a single prominent man of the tribe remains, and the tribe itself is almost annihilated. The Arapahoes probably suffered but little. It has been reported that the chief Left Hand, of that tribe, was killed, but Colonel Chivington is of the opinion that he was not. Among the stock captured were a number of government horses and mules, including the twenty or thirty stolen from the command of Lieutenant Chase at Jimmy's camp last summer. . . .

A thousand incidents of individual daring and the passing events of the day might be told, but space forbids. We leave the task for eye-witnesses to chronicle. All acquitted themselves well, and Colorado soldiers have again covered themselves with glory.

Source: <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/four/sandcrk.htm>

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#### Account from Charles Sharman, Railroad Surveyor on the Union Pacific Railroad

*Charles Sharman, an Irish emigrant and Union army veteran, worked as a railroad surveyor for the Union Pacific railroad company. Sharman was hired in 1866, soon after the Union Pacific began laying track in Omaha, Nebraska, and witnessed the completion of the transcontinental railroad in Promontory Point, Utah on May 10, 1869. In 1929, at the age of eighty-eight, he wrote about his experiences, including the following description of an Indian raid that took place in the Spring of 1867 near Lodgepole Creek, Nebraska.*

The sod that had just been ploughed was unusually good so we built an extra good fort. We remarked...that were were in good shape for an Indian attack the next morning—that would be Sunday...[when] work was usually suspended so as to let the stock rest and graze. Sunday was usually a lazy day and an extra nap taken in the morning, but this Sunday morning a sound of horses' feet awoke us just a little before sunrise. It was so unusual that we jumped up and took a look out...and saw an interesting sight. A band of Indians on their ponies, stripped to the waist, decorated with warpaint and feathers, came riding at full speed, emitting that penetrating yell that only an Indian is capable of making.

This stampeded the stock and put them on the run in every direction...and caused a general panic of men and animals. The soldiers were going off guard but stopped to fire off their guns, but did no harm to any of the Indians....

I went to [another railroad construction camp] and told [the supervisor] the country was full of Indians; our camp had been cleaned out...and [I] would advise him to corral his stock at once. He said he thought his men, together with the soldiers, could protect his stock. "Well," I replied, "I have done my duty in a way that might be considered rather foolhardy, so now if anything happens, it is up to you." He thanked me and invited me into the mess tent for breakfast, after which I started my return to my own quarters. I had not gone more than fifty feet when I heard again the same yell ...and in the next ten minutes I saw every head of stock but one mule that belonged to a herder and was tied down, disappear.

Source: Ernest Haycox, "'A Very Exclusive Party': A Firsthand Account of Building the Union Pacific Railroad," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, vol. 51 (Spring 2001): 30-31.

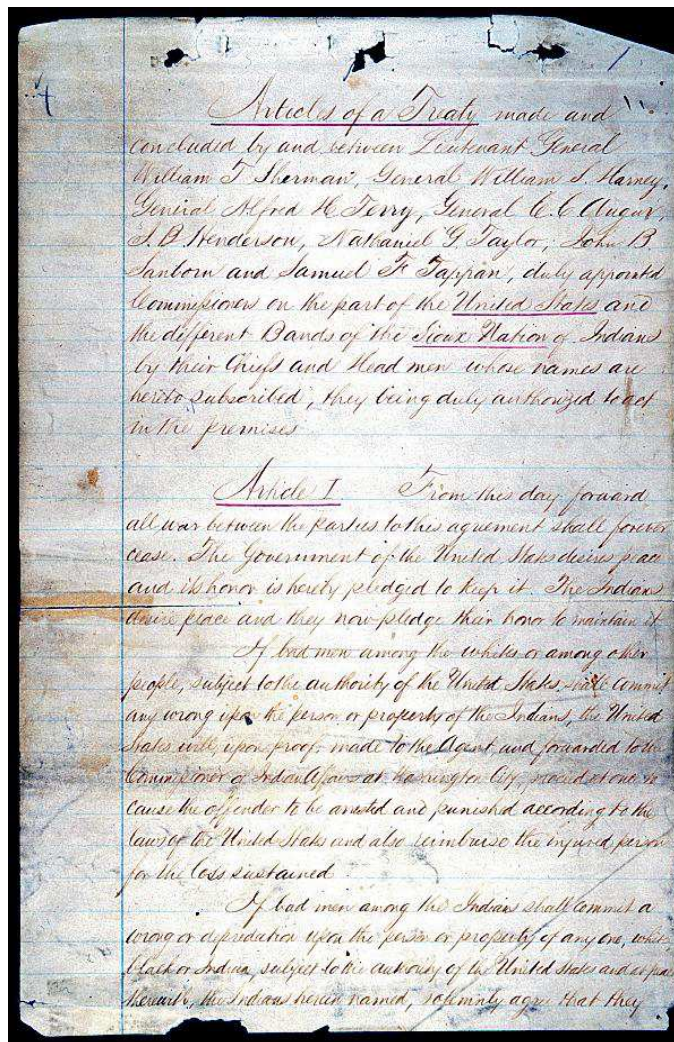
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#### 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty

The Fort Laramie Treaty was negotiated and signed in 1868 as part of President Grant's peace policy. It was one of several treaties that the US government negotiated with American Indian tribes across the Great Plains in order to expand westward. By negotiating treaties, the United States acknowledged that Indian tribes were independent nations who legally owned their land. The 1868 Fort Laramie treaty followed two earlier treaties between the U.S. the Northern Cheyenne and was signed by Lieutenant General William T. Sherman for the U.S., and Chiefs Dull Knife and Little Wolf of the Northern Cheyenne.



Source: National Archives, <http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/sioux-treaty/images/sioux-treaty-1.jpg>

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#### Fort Laramie Treaty, 1868 ARTICLES OF A TREATY MADE AND CONCLUDED BY AND BETWEEN

Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General O. O. Augur, J. B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John G. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and headmen, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

#### ARTICLE I.

From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall for ever cease. The government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent, and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington city, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent, and notice by him, deliver up the wrongdoer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws, and, in case they willfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities, or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States; and the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper, but no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty, or the laws of the United States, shall be reimbursed therefor.

#### ARTICLE II.

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri river where the 46th parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of



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Nebraska to the 104th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the 46th parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations of the east back of said river, shall be and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons, except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

#### ARTICLE III.

If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than 160 acres of tillable land for each person who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct, at some place on the Missouri river, near the centre of said reservation where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to wit, a warehouse, a store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not less than \$2,500; an agency building, for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding \$3,000; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than \$3,000; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer-each to cost not exceeding \$2,000; also, a school-house, or mission building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall not cost exceeding \$5,000.

The United States agrees further to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular saw-mill, with a grist-mill and shingle machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding \$8,000.

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#### ARTICLE V.

The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, as also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded, together with his findings, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

#### ARTICLE VI.

If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "Land Book" as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may in like manner select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land, not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Sioux Land Book."

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, Congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indians over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or who shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or territory not included in the tract

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of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the form of the legal subdivisions of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land office when the land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered is not in any land district, then upon said application and proof being made to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements and no longer. And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

#### ARTICLE VII.

In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they, therefore, pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school, and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

#### ARTICLE VIII.

When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars. And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein

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provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

#### ARTICLE IX.

At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal, an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sums as will best promote the education and moral improvement of said tribes.

#### ARTICLE X.

In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house on the reservation herein named, on or before the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to wit:

For each male person over 14 years of age, a suit of good substantial woollen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

For each female over 12 years of age, a flannel shirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woollen hose, 12 yards of calico, and 12 yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woollen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of \$10 for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of 30 years, while such persons roam and hunt, and \$20 for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the 30 years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing, under this article, can be

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appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, Congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes, but in no event shall the amount of the appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named, to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family of persons legally incorporated with the, who shall remove to the reservation herein described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good well-broken pair of American oxen within 60 days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

#### ARTICLE XI.

In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservations as herein defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill river, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains.

2d. That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home, or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. They will never capture, or carry off from the settlements, white women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte river and westward to the Pacific ocean, and they will not in future object



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to the construction of railroads, wagon roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity, which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of the said commissioners to be a chief or headman of the tribe.

7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts or roads now established south of the North Platte river, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

#### ARTICLE XII.

No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in Article VI of this treaty.

#### ARTICLE XIII.

The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths, as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimate of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

#### ARTICLE XIV.

It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually for three years from date shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who in the judgment of the agent may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

#### ARTICLE XV.

The Indians herein named agree that when the agency house and other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will regard said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article XI hereof.

#### ARTICLE XVI.

The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte river

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and east of the summits of the Big Horn mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded. Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians, first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States, that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

#### ARTICLE XVII.

It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect, and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no further.

In testimony of all which, we, the said commissioners, and we, the chiefs and headmen of the Brule band of the Sioux nation, have hereunto set our hands and seals at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, this twenty-ninth day of April, in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight.

Source: <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/four/ftlaram.htm>

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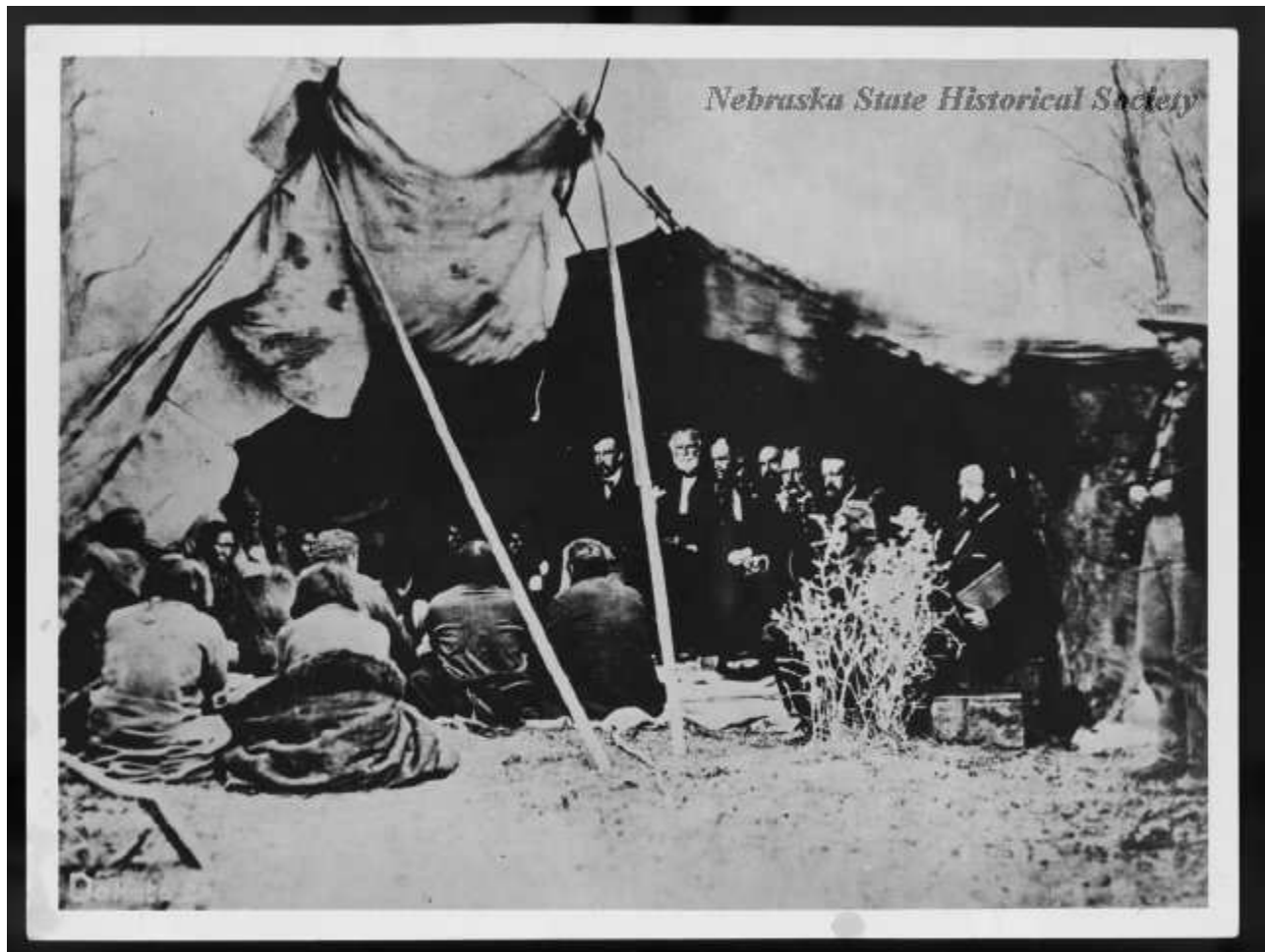
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#### US Peace Commissioners at Fort Laramie, Wyoming

*This photograph of the Fort Laramie treaty negotiations was taken by Alexander Gardner, a photographer best known for documenting Civil War battlefields. It shows US military Peace Commissioners and representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe meeting in a tent at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. The military are seated while Indians are on the ground.*



Source: Nebraska State Historical Society, <http://nebraskahistory.pastperfect-online.com/35987/cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=93CBE653-68A6-402F-8DCD-004824301884;type=102>

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#### Photographs of Custer's Expedition in 1874

*In the summer of 1874 Lt. Col. George Custer led approximately 1200 troops as well as mining engineers and scientists on an expedition through the Dakota Territory to investigate the rumors of gold in the Black Hills and find a suitable location for a new fort. The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty designated the Dakota Territory and the Black Hills as Indian lands and the Black Hills were sacred land to the Lakota and the Cheyenne. The expedition's confirmation of gold and other valuable ores in the Black Hills resulted a massive influx of gold seekers in violation of the treaty and increased tensions with the Plains Indians.*



A panoramic view of the camp at Hidden Wood Creek. By Illingworth, 1874, during Custer's Black Hills expedition.

Source: National Archives, <http://research.archives.gov/description/519425>

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Column of cavalry, artillery, and wagons, commanded by Gen. George A. Custer, crossing the plains of Dakota Territory. By W. H. Illingworth, 1874 Black Hills expedition.

Source: National Archives, <http://research.archives.gov/description/519427>



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#### Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn

*On Sunday, June 25, 1876, 263 U.S. soldiers were killed by a combined force of Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors along a small river called the Little Bighorn, located in present-day Montana. While this particular fact is not disputed, just about every other aspect remains a matter of perspective and interpretation. Even the name of the battle depends on which side is telling the story. Among Indians, the encounter that led to the defeat of Lt. Colonel George Armstrong's entire command and one of the greatest military victories of Indians over the US Army, is called the Battle of the Greasy Grass. Many historians call the encounter the Battle of the Little Big Horn. In popular history, it is often referred to as Custer's Last Stand. These excerpts proved a range of views.*

#### United States Indian Inspector E. C. Watkins

I have the honor to address you in relation to the attitude of certain wild and hostile bands of Sioux Indians in Dakota and Montana that came under my observation during my recent tour through their country, and what I think should be the policy of the Government toward them. I refer to Sitting Bull's band and other bands of the Sioux Nation under chiefs or "head-men" of less note, but no less untamable and hostile. These Indians occupy the center, so to speak, and roam over Western Dakota, and Eastern Montana, including the rich valleys of the Yellowstone and Powder Rivers, and make war on ... friendly tribes on the circumference.

From their central position they strike to the East, North, and West, steal horses, and plunder from all the surrounding tribes, as well as frontier settlers and luckless white hunters or emigrants who are not in sufficient force to resist them. . . .

The true policy, in my judgment, is to send troops against them in the winter, the sooner the better, and whip them into subjection. They richly merit punishment for their incessant warfare, and their numerous murders of white settlers and their families, or white men wherever found unarmed.

Source: Watkins Report cited in letter from J.D. Cameron, Secretary of War to President Grant July 8, 1876, <http://www.littlebighorn.info/Articles/gra8876.htm>

#### Cincinnati Daily Times

The Black Hills fever is at its height all over this section of the country, and reminds me of the times of '49. All along the Union Pacific Railroad men in India rubber coats, high boots, belts, bowie-knives and pistols are to be seen, and the outfitting establishments at Omaha and Cheyenne, and in fact, all along the line, are doing a rattling business.

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The sturdy young farmer, yielding to the pressure and ambitions for sudden wealth. drops his plow, and rushes in with the motley-gang, and shouts "Hurrah, for the Black Hills!"

The war-whoop of the poor Indian is to be heard all along the route, but what cares the modern-built American representative for Indian yelps, while he sniffs the scent of gold in the air. . .

That there is gold can be but little doubt, for the old adage, "Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire," holds good in this case. The Big Horn country and the Black Hills are beginning to swarm....The buffalo is no longer to be seen in this region, except upon very rare occasions, and even on the Yellowstone and the Missouri Rivers, they are indeed a scarcity.

...there is good news here today of the raid made by General Crook upon the Big Horn Indians. You should have heard the cheers that rent the air on the news...that the gallant General Crook had bested the "red devils."

...The boys wanted to get a "Sitting Bull," he's the chief they are after, and if they get him it must be in better weather than they have had—and they won't find him this side of the Yellowstone.

...There is one great consolation in all this; even if there is but little gold, it will serve to open up the country and drive the fiendish, treacherous red devils still further back. . .

Source: "The Black Hills Excitement," *Cincinnati Daily Times*, April 7, 1876

#### **Elizabeth Bacon Custer**

Our women's hearts fell when the fiat went forth that there was to be a summer campaign, with probably actual fighting with Indians.

Sitting Bull refused to make a treaty with the Government, and would not come in to live on a reservation. Besides his constant attacks on the white settlers, driving back even the most adventurous, he was incessantly invading and stealing from the land assigned to the peaceable Crows. They appealed for help to the Government that had promised to shield them.

We heard constantly at the Fort of the disaffection of the young Indians of the reservation, and of their joining the hostiles. We knew, for we had seen for ourselves, how admirably they were equipped. We even saw on a steamer touching at our landing its freight of Springfield rifles piled up on the docks en route for the Indians up the river. There was unquestionable proof that they came into the trading-posts far above us and bought them, while our own brave 7th Cavalry troopers were sent out with only the short-range carbines that grew foul after the second firing.

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While we waited in untold suspense for some hopeful news, the garrison was suddenly thrown into a state of excitement by important dispatches that were sent from Division Headquarters in the East. We women knew that eventful news had come, and could hardly restrain our curiosity, for it was of vital import to us. Indian scouts were fitted out at the Fort with the greatest dispatch, and given instructions to make the utmost speed they could in reaching the expedition on the Yellowstone. After their departure, when there was no longer any need for secrecy, we were told that the expedition which had started from the Department of the Platte, and encountered the hostile Indians on the head-waters of the Rosebud, [this refers to the Battle of Rosebud Creek or Girl who Saved Her Brother] had been compelled to retreat.

All those victorious Indians had gone to join Sitting Bull, and it was to warn our regiment that this news was sent to our post, which was the extreme telegraphic communication in the Northwest, and the orders given to transmit the information, that precautions might be taken against encountering so large a number of the enemy. The news of the failure of the campaign in the other department was a death-knell to our hopes. We felt that we had nothing to expect but that our troops would be overwhelmed with numbers, for it seemed to us an impossibility, as it really proved to be, that our Indian scouts should cross that vast extent of country in time to make the warning of use.

Source: *Boots and Saddles*, the memoir of Custer's widow Elizabeth B. Custer

#### The New York Times

"... they were overwhelmed by superior numbers, and were all slaughtered. The precise particulars of that horrible catastrophe will never be known. There are no survivors. The course of the detachment, after it began the attack, is traced only by the bodies of the slain. How gallantly these poor fellows fought can only be surmised. The Indians carried off some of their dead and wounded; others were concealed, or cached, with Indian cunning, in order that the white man should not know how much damage they had suffered.

Source: *New York Times* editorial, July 7, 1876.

<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9A06E2DC143FE23BBC4F53DFB166838D669FDE>

#### Harper's Weekly - 1

Close upon the intelligence of the check to General Crook's command on Rosebud river comes the news of a disaster on the Little Horn River so terrible and ghastly in its details that at the first announcement it was considered incredible or grossly exaggerated...

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At the Rosebud, General Custer with twelve companies of cavalry, left Terry to make a detour around by the Little Horn. This was on the 22d of June. On the 25th he struck what was probably the main camp of Sitting Bull. He had pushed forward with greater rapidity than his orders directed, and arrived at the point where a junction of the forces was intended, a day or two in advance of the infantry. Without waiting for the rest of the troops to come up, General Custer decided upon an immediate attack. The Indians were posted in a narrow ravine, about twenty miles above the mouth of the river... The Indians poured a murderous fire upon them from all sides, and not one of the detachment escaped alive. General Custer himself, his two brothers, his brother-in-law, and his nephew were all killed...

A survey of the disastrous battle-ground disclosed a dreadful slaughter. Two hundred and seven men were buried in one place, and the total number of killed is estimated at three hundred and fifteen, including seventeen commissioned officers. The bodies of the dead were terribly mutilated. The Indians are supposed to have numbered from 2500 to 4000, and all the courage and skill displayed by our troops was of no avail against such overwhelming odds...

Source: The Montana Slaughter, *Harper's Weekly*, July 22, 1876, 598

#### Harper's Weekly - 2

The fate of the brave and gallant Custer has deeply touched the public heart, which sees only a fearless soldier leading a charge against an ambushed foe, and falling at the head of his men and in the thick of the fray. A monument is proposed, and subscriptions have been made. But a truer monument, more enduring than brass or marble, would be an Indian policy intelligent, moral, and efficient. Custer would not have fallen in vain if such a policy should be the result of his death. It is a permanent accusation of our humanity and ability that over the Canadian line the relations between Indians and whites are so tranquil, while upon our side they are summed up in perpetual treachery, waste, and war...

Source: A National Disgrace, *Harper's Weekly*, August 5, 1876, 630

#### Kate Bighead, Cheyenne

Little Big Horn was not the first meeting between the Cheyennes and Long Hair [General Custer]. Early in the winter of 1868 Long Hair and the Seventh Cavalry attacked our camp on the Washita River, killing Chief Black Kettle and his band, burning their tipis, and destroying all their food and belongings.

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In the spring Long Hair promised peace and moved the Cheyenne to a reservation. When gold was discovered, white people came and the Indians were moved again. My brothers and I left for the open plains where our band of Cheyenne was again attacked by white soldiers in the winter of 1875. We were forced to seek help from a tribe of Sioux. We joined Sitting Bull and the Sioux and decided to travel and hunt together as one strong group. As conditions on the reservations became worse, more and more Indians moved west joining our group. Six tribes lived peacefully for several months, hunting buffalo, curing the meat for the winter months, and tanning buffalo hides. In the early summer, 1876 we set up camp near Little Big Horn River. Soldiers were spotted by some hunters to the south of the camp. Some young men went off to fight them and when they returned the next day they carried the bodies of several dead warriors with them. The chiefs then decided the group should move to the mouth of the river where there was plenty of game. On the first day of camp the peace was shattered when two boys ran into camp warning of soldiers. Then shooting could be heard. Women and children went to hide in the brush, some women carried away tipis and their belongings, others just ran with their children. Old men helped the young men to put on their war paint and dress. War ponies were brought into camp from the herds and the warriors mounted them and galloped away.

Source: Kate Bighead, a Cheyenne Indian, told this story to Dr. Thomas Marquis in 1922. Dr. Marquis was a doctor and historian of the Battle of Little Bighorn in the 1920s. He interviewed and photographed Cheyenne Indians.

#### **Iron Teeth, Cheyenne**

"Soldiers built forts in our Powder River country when I was about thirty-two years old. The Sioux and the Cheyennes settled at the White River agency, in our favorite Black Hills country. This was to be our land forever, so we were pleased. But white people found gold in our lands [in 1874]. They crowded in, so we had to move out. My husband was angry about it, but he said the only thing we could do was go to other lands offered to us. We did this.

Many Cheyennes and Sioux would not stay on the new reservations, but went back to the old hunting grounds in Montana. Soldiers were there to fight them. In the middle of the summer [1876] we heard that all of the soldiers [led by General George A. Custer] had been killed at the Little Bighorn River. My husband said that we should go and join our people there. We went, and all of our people spent the remainder of the summer there, hunting, not bothering any white people nor wanting to see any of them. When the leaves fell, the Cheyenne camp was located on a small creek far up the Powder River..."



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Source: Thomas B. Marquis, "Red [P]ipe's Squaw: Recollections of a Long Life," *Century Magazine*, 118 (June, 1929), 201-201, 206-207. Found in *Who Built America? Volume One: To 1877*.

#### **Sitting Bull, Lakota**

In a recent interview with Major Crozier, Sitting Bull said: "During the Summer previous to the one in which Custer attacked us, he sent a letter to me telling me that if I did not go to an agency he would fight me, and I sent word back to him by his messenger that I did not want to fight, but only to be left alone. I told him at the same time that if he wanted to fight that he should go and fight those Indians who wanted to fight him. Custer then sent me word again, (this was in the Winter.) 'You would not take my former offer, now I am going to fight you this Winter.' I sent word back that said just what I said before, that I did not want to fight, and only wanted to be left alone, and that my camp was the only one that had not fought against him.... I then saw that it was no use, that I would have to fight, so I sent him word back. 'All right; get all your men mounted and I will get all my men mounted: we will have a fight; the Great Spirit will look on, and the side that is in the wrong will be defeated.'"

Source: Interview with Sitting Bull. "The Death of General Custer." *New York Times*. May 7 1881.  
<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=950CE7DA133CEE3ABC4F53DFB366838A699FDE>

#### **Sitting Bull, Lakota**

"Custer is not in this division; he is in the other." I then ordered all my men to come on and attack the other division. They did so, and followed me. The soldiers of this division fired upon us as soon as we got within range, but did us little harm. When we had got quite close, and we were just going to charge them, a great storm broke right over us; the lightning was fearful, and struck a lot of the soldiers and horses, killing them instantly. I then called out to my men to charge the troops, and shouted out: "The Great Spirit is on our side; look how he is striking the soldiers down." My men saw this, and they all rushed upon the troops, who were mixed up a good deal. About 40 of the soldiers had been dismounted by the lightning, killing and frightening their horses, and these men were soon trampled to death. It was just at this time that we charged them, and we easily knocked them off their horses, and then killed them with our 'coup sticks.'

In this way we killed all this division with the exception of a few who tried to get away, who were killed by the Sioux before they could get very far. All through the battle the soldiers fired very wild and only killed 25 Sioux.

Interview with Sitting Bull. "The Death of General Custer." *New York Times*. May 7 1881.

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<http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=950CE7DA133CEE3ABC4F53DFB366838A699FDE>

#### Two Moons, Cheyenne

I got on my horse, and rode out into my camp. I called out to the people all running about: "I am Two Moons, your chief. Don't run away. Stay here and fight. You must stay and fight the white soldiers. I shall stay even if I am to be killed."....

While I was sitting on my horse I saw flags come up over the hill to the east. Then the soldiers rose all at once, all on horses.... They formed into three bunches with a little ways between. Then a bugle sounded, and they all got off horses, and some soldiers led the horses back over the hill.

Then the Sioux rode up the ridge on all sides, riding very fast. The Cheyennes went up the left way. Then the shooting was quick, quick. Pop-pop-pop, very fast. Some of the soldiers were down on their knees, some standing. Officers all in front. The smoke was like a great cloud, and everywhere the Sioux went the dust rose like smoke. We circled all round him--swirling like water round a stone. We shoot, we ride fast, we shoot again. Soldiers drop, and horses fall on them. Soldiers in line drop, but one man rides up and down the line--all the time shouting. He rode a sorrel horse with white face and white fore-legs. I don't know who he was. He was a brave man.

Indians kept swirling round and round, and the soldiers killed only a few. Many soldiers fell. At last all horses killed but five. Once in a while some man would break out and run toward the river, but he would fall. At last about a hundred men and five horsemen stood on the hill all bunched together. All along the bugler kept blowing his commands. He was very brave too.

Next day four Sioux chiefs and two Cheyennes and I, Two Moons, went upon the battlefield to count the dead. One man carried a little bundle of sticks. When we came to dead men, we took a little stick and gave it to another man, so we counted the dead. There were 388. There were thirty-nine Sioux and seven Cheyennes killed, and about a hundred wounded.

Some white soldiers were cut with knives, to make sure they were dead; and the war women had mangled some. Most were left just where they fell."

Source: Two Moons. *McClure's Magazine*. September, 1898.

[http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=706](http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=706)

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#### Wooden Leg, Cheyenne

There was no dancing or celebrating of any kind in any of the camps that night. Too many people were in mourning, among all of the Sioux as well as among the Cheyennes. Too many Cheyenne and Sioux women had gashed their arms and legs, in token of their grief. The people generally were praying, not cheering. . . . Mourning families abandoned and left behind their meat, robes, cooking pots and everything else they owned, as well as their vacated or destroyed lodges. That was a custom among all of the Sioux tribes the same as with the Cheyennes. I saw several Sioux tepees left standing. I supposed there were dead warriors in some of them, or perhaps in all of them. Some Cheyenne tepees were left standing. These had belonged to families wherein a member had been killed. But, except the lodges and property abandoned by mourning people, all of the possessions of the Indians were taken with us. . . . Charcoal Bear, the medicine chief, had kept possession of the sacred buffalo head through all of our distress. We had now as good a medicine lodge for it as we ordinarily had. This lodge was at its usual place at the back part of the space within our horseshoe camp circle. All of the people had good lodges. In every way we were living yet according to our customary habits. We were not bothering any white people. We did not want to see any of them. We felt we were on our own land. We had killed only such people as had come for driving us away from it. So, our hearts were clean from any feeling of guilt.

Source: Marquis, Thomas B. Interpreted. *Wooden Leg: A Warrior Who Fought Custer*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962, p. 256, 270, 294.

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#### Iron Teeth on the Escape from Oklahoma and Fort Robinson

*Iron Teeth was a Northern Cheyenne woman born in 1834. She was 95 years old when Thomas B. Marquis, a former doctor for the Cheyenne agency interviewed her in 1929. Her memoir is a valuable source of information on Northern Cheyenne life on the Great Plains during the transition to reservation life. She was a survivor of the Northern Cheyenne trek north from Darlington Agency and the Fort Robinson escape, which she describes in this excerpt.*

On Oklahoma we all got sick with chills and fever. When we were not sick we were hungry. We had been promised food until we could plant corn and wait for it to grow, but much of the time we had not any food. Our men asked for their guns to given back to them, so they might kill game, but the guns were kept from them. Sometimes a few of them would take their bows and arrows and slip away to get buffalo or other meat, but soldiers would go after them and make them come back to the agency. The bows and arrows were used at times for killing cattle belonging to white men. Any time this happened, the whole tribe was punished. The punishment would be the giving of less food to us, and we would be kept still closer to the agency. We had many deaths from both the fever sickness and starvation. We talked among ourselves about the good climate and plentiful game food in our northern country hunting lands. After about a year, Little Wolf and Morning Star, our principal old men chiefs, told the agent:

"We are going back North."

The agent replied: "Soldiers will follow you and kill you."

My two sons joined the band determined to leave there. I and my three daughters followed them. I think that altogether, there were about five hundred Cheyennes in this band. The white soldiers chased us. They came from every direction. Some of the Indians were back as soon as the bullets began to fly. But my older son kept saying we should go on toward the North unless we were killed, that it was better to be killed than to go back and die slowly.

Only one buffalo, a calf, was killed by our men during the long flight back to the old home country. A few cattle belonging to white people were killed. Our chiefs told the young men not to do this, but our people were very hungry, and no other food could be found. I have heard it said they killed some white people who started the fight. At that time all of us were trying to stay entirely away from all other people, so we could travel without interruption.

Chills and fever kept me sick all along the way. We had not any lodges. At night, when we could make any kind of camp, my daughters helped me at making willow branch shelters. Day after day, through more than a month, I kept my youngest daughter strapped to my body, in front of me, on my horse. I led another horse carrying the next-youngest daughter. The oldest daughter managed her own mount. The two sons stayed always behind, to help in watching for soldiers. . . .

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We dodged the soldiers during most of the way of our long journey. But always they were near us and trying to catch us. Our young men fought them off in seven different battles. At each fight, some of our people were killed, women or children the same as men. I do not know how many of our grown-up people were killed. But I know that more than sixty of our children were gone when we got to the Dakota country.

We separated into two bands when we got near to the old home regions. The two bands were led by Little Wolf and Morning Star, or Dull Knife. I and my family stayed with the Morning Star band. At Salt Creek, as we got to the old Red Cloud Agency, my younger son and the oldest daughter set off with some other Cheyennes to go forward to the agency. Some of our friends warned them not to do this, that the Pawnees and Arapahos who belonged to the soldiers would kill them along the way. But they were determined to go. It turned out they did what was best. They got through without serious trouble. I and my three remaining children and the other people with us had before many days of hard trail.

Morning Star said we should be contented, now that we were on our own land. He took us to Fort Robinson, where we surrendered to the soldiers. They took from us all of our horses and whatever guns they could find among us. They said then that we must go back to the South, but our men told them it was better to die by bullets. After a few weeks of arguing, our men were put into a prison house. We women and children were told we might go to the agency. Some of them went there, but most of us went into the prison with the men. In the one room, about thirty feet square, were forty-three men, twenty-nine women and twenty or thirty children.

"Now are you willing to back to the South?" the soldier chiefs asked us.

Nobody answered them. The quantity of food given to us became less and less every day, until they gave us none at all. Then they quit bringing water to us. Eleven days we had no food except the few mouthfuls of dry meat some of the women had kept in their packs. Three days we had no water.

Guns had been kept hidden in the clothing of some of the women. One day, a woman accidentally dropped a six-shooter upon the floor. Soldiers came and searched us again, taking whatever weapons they could find. But we kept five six-shooters, with some cartridges for them. I had one in the breast of my dress. We hid all of these under a loose board of the floor. My family blanket was spread over this board.

The men decided to break out of this jail. The women were willing. It was considered that some of us, perhaps many of us, would be killed. But it was hoped that many would escape and get away to join other Indians somewhere. Women cut up robes to make extra moccasins. I made extra pairs for myself and my three children. We piled our small packs by the two window and the one door, or each woman help her own pack ready at hand. The plan was to break out just after the soldiers had to bed for the night. I gave to my son the six-shooter I had. He was my oldest child, then twenty-two years of age.

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# TEACHER'S GUIDE

## All Primary Source Documents

### MISSION 3: "A Cheyenne Odyssey"

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After the night bugle had sounded, my son smashed a window with the gun I had given him. Others broke the other window and tore down the door. We all jumped out. My son took the younger of the two daughters upon his back. The older daughter and I each carried a little pack. It was expected the soldiers would be asleep, except the few guards. But bands of them came hurrying to shoot at us. One of them fired a gun almost at my face, but I was not harmed. It was bright moonlight, and several inches of snow covered the ground. For a short distance all of the Indians followed one broken trail toward the river, but soon we had to scatter. My son with the little girl on his back ran off in one direction. We had not any agreed plan for meeting again.

I and the daughter with me found a cave and crawled into it. We did not know what had become of the son and his little sister. A man named Crooked Nose came also into our cave. We could hear lots of shooting. The next day we still heard shots, but not so many. Each day after that there was some further firing of the guns. We stayed in the cave seven nights and almost seven days. More snow kept falling, it was very cold, but we were afraid to build a fire. We nibbled at my small store of dry meat and ate snow for water. Each day we could hear the horses and the voices of soldiers searching for Indians. Finally, a Captain found our tracks where had gone out of and back into the cave. He called to us. I crept out. He promised to treat us well if we would go with him. He and his soldiers then took us back to Fort Robinson.

My toes and fingers were frozen. Others who had been caught and brought back were in the same condition, some of them in worse condition. A soldier doctor told us to rub snow on the frozen parts. I did this. At first there was great pain and burning, but this soon passed away. The frozen parts continued sore, but finally they got entirely well. . . .

All of us were put again into the prison house, a day or two later. The number now was only about half what it had been. The soldier chief at the fort came and talked to us through an interpreter. He said he pitied us and did not want to kill any more of our people. He then asked if we were willing now to go back to Oklahoma, so that no more of us would be killed. But we were mourning for our dead, and we had no ears for his words. Everybody said: "No, we will not go back there."

We expected then that the soldiers would come at once into the prison and shoot all of us. But they did not. Instead, a few days later we were taken to the Pine Ridge Agency and were put among the Oglala Sioux. Little Wolf and his small band, who had separated from us in coming from Oklahoma, went to Fort Keogh and then were put upon lands by the Tongue River, in Montana. Other Cheyennes were with us in association with the Oglalas on Pine Ridge Reservation. Finally, after twelve years, all of us were brought together on this Tongue River Reservation.

Source: *Cheyenne and Sioux: The Reminiscences of Four Indians and a White Soldier*. Compiled by Thomas B. Marquis, edited by Ronald H. Limbaugh, 1973.

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