MILITARY SITES IN WYOMING 1700-1920

HISTORIC CONTEXT

2012

MARK E. MILLER, PH.D.

With Contributions By
Danny N. Walker, Ph.D.
Rebecca Fritsche Wiewel, M.A.

ARTS. PARKS. HISTORY.
Wyoming Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources

Dept. 3431 1000 E. University Ave., Laramie, Wyoming 82072

Cover Photo

The cover image portrays the Fetterman Massacre Monument erected on that battlefield in July 1905, one of the earliest commemorative markers for military sites in Wyoming. The federal government appropriated $5,000 for the 20-foot monolith, constructed by E. C. Williams of Sheridan (Jording 1992:165). General Henry B. Carrington, who had commanded nearby Fort Phil Kearny during the first Plains Indian Wars, gave an address at the dedication ceremony on Independence Day 1908. Someone stole the eagle emblem from the face of the monument in 2008…it has not been returned.

MILITARY SITES IN WYOMING 1700-1920

HISTORIC CONTEXT

Hide painting by Charles Washakie (Wo-ba-ah) of combat episodes in the life of Chief Washakie. ETHN-1962.31.189, Wyoming State Museum, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the presence and diversity of military sites in Wyoming occupied during the period 1700-1920. It identifies individual properties and places them in thematic and chronological context with a brief discussion of each site involved. Broad patterns or trends in human behavior indicated by the sample are addressed during discussion of ten chronological episodes. While some level of armed conflict has been present in the study area for millennia, this context explores the development of military activities beginning with the introduction of the horse and gun into Native American culture. Horses were first traded into Wyoming from a different direction than guns, and once the two overlapped Native American groups developed a more successful means of combat. The Army entered the scene on a more permanent basis when the U. S. Corps of Topographical Engineers initiated military surveying efforts for transcontinental routes, and then the Army purchased Fort Laramie. Cross-cultural contacts escalated dramatically following the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado and simultaneous burgeoning travel on the Bozeman Trail, inaugurating the bloody episode of the first Plains Indian Wars. Construction of the Union Pacific was facilitated in part by conditions set forth in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. A few years later gold was discovered in the Black Hills, which rekindled hostilities and helped instigate the second Plains Indian Wars. After Native American populations were placed on reservations, the military focus shifted toward protecting the country's first National Park in Yellowstone and helping establish the new State of Wyoming's role in the United States' geopolitical influence on the global scene. The final episode of this context explores Wyoming's role in the Spanish American War, the Philippines, Mexico's Revolution, and World War I. A management chapter discusses research implications and preservation concerns.

Acknowledgments

A study of this scope and magnitude could not be accomplished without the generous support of many people. The preparation of this context has been spread out over five years, and I will do my best to acknowledge all of those who helped me in large and small ways. If I miss someone, I apologize because any oversight is mine alone.

First and foremost, I want to thank Dr. Danny N. Walker, Assistant State Archaeologist, who in 2007 generously supplied some of his research for Appendix A. He also found obscure references regarding military sites, which fortified the following discussions. Rebecca Fritsche Wiewel worked with me from 2007-2008 while she was completing her Master's degree at the University of Wyoming. She researched well over 100 sites to prepare the recording forms presented in Appendix B. These forms may be expanded in the future as individual researchers complete more study on each site. Becky also helped conduct a series of queries in the WYCRO Cultural Records database and digitized several military sites to enhance the utility of that database. This context could not have been finished without Danny and Becky's participation.

The entire staff of SHPO Cultural Records under the direction of Mary Hopkins deserves acknowledgement. I especially want to single out Jeff Keahey, Steve Sutter, and Ross Hilman for their tireless assistance when I needed to reconcile my research with information in WYCRO and WYCRIS. Ross also granted me permission to use the photo of an 1876 monument for Camp Cloud Peak that was found on his family ranch. Jeff Keahey prepared the site distribution maps that accompany each of the central chapters, and I am thankful for his skilled effort.

Several other friends and colleagues deserve mention for specific contributions. Dale Wedel of the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist - Archaeological Survey shared his vast knowledge of military sites, and turned me on to several key references that added meat to the bones of this study. Steve Fullmer, a well-informed historian at Fort Laramie sent me valuable information on Indian engagements in that vicinity. Dave McKee of the U. S. Forest Service shared his insights on Custer's 1874 Black Hills Expedition and thoughts on the Sibley Scout. Dave Eckles, former Director of the OWSA Archaeological Survey, spent considerable time discussing with me his field work on the discovery of a seventeenth century horse skeleton in southwestern Wyoming. Rick Weathermon, senior academic professional research scientist in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wyoming, shared his valuable time over the years to debate various locations where the Bannock Battle may have occurred in the Big Horn Basin. Jamie Schoen, archaeologist for the Bridger Teton Forest; Sam Drucker, archaeologist for the BLM in Pinedale; and interested historian Richard Ashburn, have provided their thoughts on a possible 1832 skirmish/burial site on the Hoback River. Dr. Dudley Gardner happily shared his research on Fort Bridger, Camp Pilot Butte, and Rock Springs Chinatown. William Dobak and Joe Wheeler offered valuable insights on various sites. Lavonne Haskins and Ross Hilman aided with copying and binding chores on earlier drafts. Thanks are due Laura Patridge for the final layout of the context.

Marty Rogers, former curator of the University of Wyoming Archaeological Repository (UWAR) and staff member in the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, was an invaluable resource. She frequently pulled old field notes from UWAR records of previous investigations and consulted with me on where certain artifact assemblages were likely curated. The state-of-the-art UWAR facility is a fabulous research tool.

Thanks to every organization and individual who graciously allowed me to use photographs to illustrate this context. Credit lines are listed in each caption. Thanks also to the American Heritage Center at the

University of Wyoming, and the State Archives in Cheyenne, especially Suzi Taylor, for all of their help in finding useful resources. Richard Collier of State Parks & Cultural Resources is gratefully acknowledged for the use of some of his photography. Various members of the Wyoming Archaeological Society offered valuable insights on site locations and information whenever asked.

Thanks are extended to Judy Wolf, Nancy Weidel, Dr. Danny Walker, and Dale Wedel for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this document. Their constructive observations were greatly appreciated, and they helped improve the final manuscript. Likewise Dr. Douglas D. Scott and John D. McDermott served as peer reviewers and their suggestions make the context a more effective research and management tool. Thank you all.

Thanks finally to Judy Wolf again, Chief of Planning and Context Development for the Wyoming SHPO program. Judy's knowledge of context matters drove the organization of this document. Her wise counsel over the years helped keep my primary goal in focus.

Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

Figure 1.1. Grand Tetons, Central Rocky Mountains in northwestern Wyoming, in the Jackson Hole area where periodic military activity occurred. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Purpose

Armed conflict is a nearly universal tendency in human societies around the world. Groups who organize their membership through various methods to establish military readiness can better counteract hostility from opposing factions whenever the need arises. Preparations for war, measures taken for community or national defense, and coercive territorial expansion are all activities which may generate physical evidence on the landscape. When analyzed as part of a larger behavioral system, these data help illuminate trends in the evolution of warfare and inform us about the role of armed aggression in cultural adaptation.

Diverse systems of military preparedness have been present throughout New World cultures to differing degrees for thousands of years. Although subtle at times, they even have been evident across the vast geography of Wyoming during the past few centuries. In spite of this truculent history, the casual twenty-first century traveler cannot help but marvel at the otherwise peaceful splendor of Wyoming's majesty conveyed by its abundant natural wonders. Wyoming is a living environmental mosaic that forms the backbone of North America, whose location and resources have been priceless to a variety of peoples for a variety of reasons for a very long time (Figure 1.1).

Modern day explorers driving through the state will notice widely dispersed farms, ranches, and sparse population centers separated from each other by immense tracts of open terrain. If they pay close attention, they are likely to observe vestiges of long abandoned sites of past human activity partially hidden in the open spaces through which they pass. Sites in the countryside, and sometimes within city limits, retain important clues to earlier patterns of human settlement. They are the physical signatures of people no longer living there.

To the keenest observers it becomes obvious that certain parts of the state were more densely populated in the past than they are today. Indeed, Wyoming is more than a collection of physical wonders, it is a complex landscape owing its existence to a series of events embracing both its natural and cultural history; the product of a developmental chronology punctuated by violent periods of continental upheaval and, at times, equally violent periods of human conflict.

This document is a historic context that addresses military sites in Wyoming dating from A.D. 1700-1920. Such sites are tangible evidence of how the region's occupants dealt with military issues and with the fact of warfare. But warfare was not the only concern. The U. S. Army in the American West, for instance, also had a major role in providing security to travelers and emigrants, executing peace keeping efforts with Native American tribes, and offering support for social activities and public interaction, among other functions. The physical traces of military sites contribute to the lessons of Wyoming's past that have been written in the land and the literature. Historical and archaeological records contain valuable information for unlocking the mysteries of human settlement patterns and related issues of peace and war. Through these and other disciplines we can begin to better understand our past. According to the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office's Cultural Records (WYCRO), as of February 2009 there were over 92,000 prehistoric and historic sites recorded in the state, even though only about eight percent of the landscape had been systematically inventoried. Military sites are one small but significant part of this growing record.

Military Context

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries human groups in the Wyoming area were engaged in increasingly aggressive combat over control of valuable natural resources. This was an era of

Figure 1.2. Tolar petroglyph site (48SW13775) in southwestern Wyoming. An example of what is probably early eighteenth century Comanche warrior art. Richard Collier, State Historic Preservation Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

armed conflict vividly portrayed by the evolution of military activities practiced by native and emigrant populations alike. This study begins in 1700 when the horse was introduced into Native American culture in the area that would become Wyoming. Horses were followed a few decades later by introduction of the gun. But military conflict did not begin when horses and guns were available; it had existed in the distant past. Trade items only magnified an ongoing cultural process.

The earliest hints of fighting during this era occur in the region's rock art (Figure 1.2), while much later evidence is found in statewide preparations for international warfare as part of the massive growth of United States' armed forces. From 1700-1920, the area was home to hundreds of significant properties and lesser sites related to various types of military activity. Some events covered large spans of time like the colorful decades-long history of Fort Laramie, while others were amazingly brief like the fierce Fetterman Fight lasting mere minutes. Sites and their related activities testify to the important role of the military in profoundly influencing the development and design of our cultural landscape. Military influence can be seen by portions of the emigrant routes surveyed across Wyoming's rugged landscape, by defense of threatened travelers and settlers, the enforcement of federal policies and orders, and the careers of many soldiers who mustered out of service, later contributing to the growth and diversity of settlement and industry. Military properties clearly deserve focused attention in a historic context.

Contexts have been defined as "patterns or trends in history by which a specific occurrence, property, or site is understood and its meaning (and ultimately its significance) within prehistory or history is made clear" (National Park Service 1991:11). Contexts are organized by establishing a theme, geographical area, and chronological period uniting relevant property types (sites) into a common data set, and linking them through descriptive and analytical parameters that assess individual and collective significance. The resulting documentation presents a theoretical framework where the research value, management concerns, and interrelationship of properties are explained to the reader. When successfully prepared, a context synthesizes both historical and archaeological evidence pertinent to scientific research, resource management, and public education.

Robert Rosenberg (1989), a historical consultant from Cheyenne, prepared Wyoming's first military sites context over twenty years ago. His study has been a useful management tool ever since, but it has become somewhat dated because of the proliferation of historical archaeology since Wyoming's Centennial year (Gardner 1994; Miller and Wedel 1991; Miller et al. 2000; Walker 1998). For this reason, it was decided to revise his context by adjusting the chronological scope and incorporating new evidence from the developing perspectives of military sites archaeology and subsequent historical publications. Rosenberg (1989:35) anticipated this trend when he called for establishment of a "working file" containing historical and archaeological information for each property. His recommendation has been

initiated in this document for sites recorded in the Wyoming Cultural Records Office (WYCRO) database discussed later. Periodic revision is the normal course of any context development, and we fully expect having the current study modified by future researchers.

Scope

When Rosenberg (1989) introduced the military theme, he focused on a time frame lasting from the early Historic Period beginning in 1842 to modern times. The present context follows a more extensive chronology synthesizing historical and archaeological evidence for sites related to military operations during a 220-year time span, from the Protohistoric Period (1700) to the end of World War I (1920). This era encompasses several significant events which shaped the character of regional military activity, including the bloody episodes of Indian Wars and the United States' emergence as a world power. Representatives of F. E. Warren Air Force Base contracted to prepare a separate historic context for military sites in Wyoming from 1920 to 1989 (the end of the Cold War) (Toltest 2009a, 2009b), which taken together with this document completes an update of Rosenberg's work.

Readers may wonder what the theme "military sites" really means. The word "military" often conjures up ideas of formal, organized armies complete with generals, uniforms, and manuals for strategy and tactics more characteristic of state level societies. However, the term actually has a broader meaning in the evolution of human behavior referring to the way any given cultural group prepares for armed conflict and executes offensive and defensive maneuvers when engagements unfold. Webster's dictionary provides a broad definition for military as being "of, for, or fit for war" (Webster's 1960:933), a characterization suitable for conflict preparations at any level of social organization including bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states. It is the definition used here. Other important terms in this document are defined in the glossary.

Human groups who compete for resources and defend territory typically will arm themselves to perform strategic maneuvers and achieve common goals. Behavioral patterns reflecting such coercive activity are present in nearly all cultural groups worldwide (Keeley 1996; Secoy1953). While state level societies are more likely to develop organized forces like those characteristic of the nineteenth century U. S. Army, tribal groups may activate a less formal though equally potent military capability.

Military sites, themselves, are those physical manifestations representing the whole gamut of behavior resulting when groups prepare for and participate in warfare. They are locations occupied by regular or volunteer units or individuals from either the U. S. Army, Indian tribes, or both (Native Americans are often referred to in this document as "Indians," since it is the common term used in many relevant historical sources). The earliest military engagements during the Protohistoric Period at the beginning of this context were fought between rival Indian groups, and sometimes depicted in rock art inscriptions. Forts, battlefields, camps, roads and other facilities also can yield information on military organization, accoutrements, strategic maneuvers, and tactical behavior. However, not every military property is eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

Research on Wyoming military sites in the future may expand beyond the cultural parameters used here, which focus on U. S. Army and indigenous populations. Evidence yet to be discovered could inform scholars about early French, British or Spanish military activity also relevant to this context. Furthermore, numerous engagements occurred between military units and civilian populations (native or emigrant), however attempts to quantify all of these have not been made, though a few such encounters are mentioned. Civilian communities and emigrant trails where the military had only an incidental role are not considered military properties. Also omitted are cemetery or grave sites, though many have resulted from warfare. Military cemeteries are best considered as features or property subtypes associated with forts and other garrisoned locations.

Table 1.1. Chronological episodes in the military history of Wyoming.

Episode	Duration
1. Post-Horse, Pre-Gun	1700-1735
2. Occasional Gun	1735-1765
3. Few Guns	1765-1810
4. Horse and Gun	1810-1842
5. Military Exploration & Emigrant Protection	1842-1864
6. First Plains "Indian Wars"	1865-1868
7. Involvement with Transcontinental Railroad	1867-1869
8. Second Plains "Indian Wars"	1869-1876
9. End of the Frontier	1877-1890
10. Expansion and World War I	1890-1920

Fluid geopolitical boundaries in the study area influence any consideration of military sites, and are addressed in each relevant chapter. By 1700, most lands in the trans-Mississippi west had been only minimally explored by Europeans so various territorial claims by distant nations could easily overlap. Citizens from Old World countries did not necessarily inhabit these frontier regions, though their sovereign governments often laid claim to them as absentee owners in spite of resident, indigenous populations.

Although different governments had asserted possession of the Wyoming area for centuries, it was not until large numbers of Euroamerican emigrants passed through in the 1840s that U. S. military occupation became a strategic necessity there. By then the region was mostly claimed by the United States. Infantry and cavalry units, often from volunteer regiments, became the first official government residents of the territory even though they still took orders from distant authority. Garrisoned forts symbolized the established presence of the United States and these outposts typically were circumscribed by an official military reservation declared to be federal property. A sustained Army presence, combined with myriad cultural differences between indigenous and emigrant populations, eventually escalated an ancient pattern of cyclical conquest in the region to a new, more virulent level. Indeed, this context covers one of the most dramatic eras in the development of our young nation, delving into the often mythologized relationship between Indians and the U. S. Army, and laying the groundwork for a demographic pattern that would evolve as Wyoming became the 44th State in the Union.

The context chronology is divided into ten episodes, each of which exhibits historical traits sufficiently different from the others to warrant separation (Table 1.1). They are not mutually exclusive, however, and can overlap with one another through time so divisions between them must remain flexible. Distinguishing characteristics of each are defined primarily by technological and cultural factors that produced changes in military patterns displayed by various groups occupying the region during each episode. These episodes are the fundamental organizing principal for the central chapters of this context; however so many activities were occurring within the study area, a strict chronological organization within each chapter is not possible. Chapter headings follow thematic and chronological topics, even if the internal organization of some chapters occasionally takes the reader back

and forth in time to emphasize key events. Some sites mentioned throughout the text are associated with a Smithsonian site number (e.g., 48CR480), while others are not. Those with sites numbers typically have records on file with the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) WYCRO in Laramie, Wyoming. Sites without numbers more likely show up only in the historical literature.

The first four episodes in the chronology span the Protohistoric Period and part of the Early Historic Period in Wyoming. The Protohistoric is characterized by indirect contact between native and emigrant populations prompted by trade, and dates roughly from 1700-1806. Two major events on the Northwestern Plains define the Protohistoric for purposes here: the introduction of the horse and introduction of the gun to resident Indian populations (Secoy 1953).

Horses as a means of transportation came into the area from the south and west around 1700 and their exploitation had a profound effect on Indian mobility and subsequent equestrian military maneuvers (Gardner 2008a). While accomplished horsemanship in the study area developed after 1700, evidence for the presence of horses during the mid-seventeenth century also exists.

Before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, horses seem to have spread toward the Plains more slowly than they did during later decades when trading and stealing escalated.

Presumably, captive Utes who had escaped from Spanish servitude first spread these horses north of the Colorado River, and by the 1650s they were using them as pack animals before they began riding them (Shimkin 1986:517). Shoshonis may have received the first horses in Wyoming from these Utes.

The earliest horses probably were not used for riding. At archaeological site 48SW8319 in southwestern Wyoming, evidence suggests a young horse may have been slaughtered prior to 1650, having been cut and chopped with metal tools and ritually buried (Eckles et al. 1994:55-68). Since the animal is less than a year old, probably five to nine months of age (Eckles et al. 1984:57), it is considered

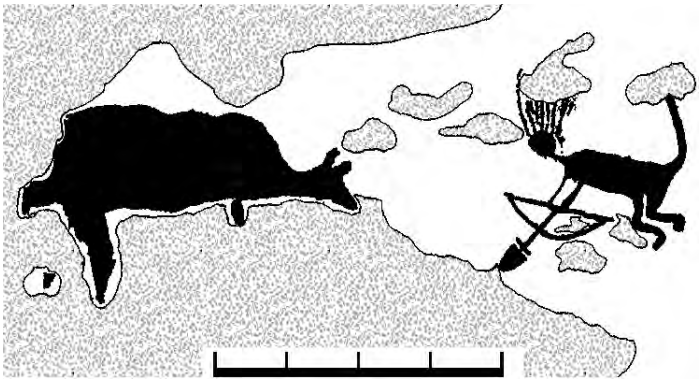

Figure 1.3. No Water petroglyph (48WA2066) depicting what may be an early use of metal tipped projectile in a hunting scene (Keyser and Poetschat 2009:40, 76). Courtesy James D. Keyser.

a foal. The animal may or may not have been weaned from its mother at the time of its death, raising the questions of what happened to the adult mare and how she was exploited. Weaning often takes place between four and six months in modern herds. At any rate, the foal would have been too young to ride even if Indians were riding horses in Wyoming at the time.

Another hallmark of the Protohistoric is the presence of metal trade objects, which includes knives and projectile points (Keyser and Kaiser 2010). Keyser and Poetschat (2009:76) have identified a bow hunter using what they believe to be a metal tipped arrow against a game animal depicted in a Dinwoody style rock art panel at the No Water petroglyph site (48WA2066). The scene has prompted investigators to suggest metal arrowheads may date to the mid-seventeenth century (Keyser and Poetschat 2009:40, 76) (Figure 1.3). Current research, therefore, seems to be moving this period even further back in time, extending the antiquity of horses and metal weapons by at least 50 years earlier than the beginning of this context chronology.

Guns, on the other hand, entered the area slightly later than horses, probably during the second half of the eighteenth century. They arrived from the north and east as a result of trade and population movements involving groups more adapted to the Woodlands east of the Plains. Regional military tactics changed dramatically when the geographic

distribution of horses overlapped with guns in what is now present day Wyoming.

The question of when the Protohistoric transitioned into the Early Historic Period is of interest to chronology development. The Early Historic is represented by direct and sustained contact between native and emigrant populations in Wyoming. It is considered here to have begun around 1806 following the Lewis and Clark expedition and LaRocque's travels in northcentral Wyoming just before Colter's visit in what would become Yellowstone National Park (Ambrose 1996:399; DeVoto 1953; Wood and Thiessen 1985:161). The episodes in the chronology after 1842 largely mimic those presented by Rosenberg (1989), and reflect the expansion of Euroamerican culture in the west (Table 1.1). Significant selected events for each episode discussed in the text are summarized below (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2. Significant events by chronological episode.

Year	Event
	(1700-1735): Post-Horse Pre-Gun Pattern
1700	Shoshonis (Snake) obtain horse, adopt mounted nomadic hunting life
1726-30	Horse used more for bison hunting, not risked too much in battle
	(1735-1765): Occasional Gun Period
Late 1730s	A few guns from Cree occasionally used in battle
1736-40	Horses used in surprise raids and skirmishes, not large battles
1742-43	Shoshonis have many horses, consistently use cavalry raids
	(1765-1810): Few Guns Period
1770-1800	Blackfeet armed, advance to Rockies, push back Snake & others
Final Phase	Western tribes armed, court large battles with armed eastern tribes to secure a military decision regarding territory
	(1810-1842): Horse and Gun Period
1812	Fur trade expansion opens market for pemmican in gun trade
After 1812	Transportation systems improve, traders ship more buffalo hides increasing acquisition of guns and ammunition
1825	First Fur Trade Rendezvous
1832	Fort Bonneville – 1st trading post
	(1842-1864): Military Exploration and Emigrant Protection
1838	Act of Congress creates Corp of Topographical Engineers
1840	Last Official Fur Trade Rendezvous
1842	John C. Fremont maps Oregon Trail west to South Pass
1843	Fremont explores portions of what would become the Overland Trail
1849	U. S. Army buys Fort Laramie

Year	Event
1850	Captain Howard Stansbury explores Cherokee Trail-shorter alternative to Oregon Trail
1850s	Pacific Railroad Surveys conducted by Corps
1854	Grattan Fight near Fort Laramie
1856	Lt. F. T. Bryan establishes Lodgepole Trail
1857	Mormon war
1858	Fort Bridger site becomes military installation
1858	Platte Bridge Station constructed
1858	Camp Walbach constructed
1859	Captain William F. Raynolds maps Powder River region, uses route that later becomes Bozeman Trail in 1863
1859	Camp Walbach abandoned
1862	Fort Halleck and Fort Halleck-Fort Laramie Road established
1863	Overland Trail skirmishes
1863	Fort Bridger treaty
	(1865-1868): First Plains "Indian Wars," Powder River Country
1865	Fort Reno (Fort Connor) established
1865	Battle of Tongue River, Connor Expedition
1865	Platte Bridge fight
1865	Red Buttes fight
1865	Platte Bridge Station renamed Fort Caspar
1865-66	Sawyer fights
1866	Fort Phil Kearny established
1866	Fort Sanders (Fort John Buford) established
1866	Fetterman fight
1866	Crazy Woman battle
1867	Fort Fetterman established
1867	Wagon Box fight
1868	Fort Laramie Treaty
1868	Fort Reno (Fort Connor) abandoned
1868	Fort Phil Kearny abandoned
	(1867-1869): Involvement with Transcontinental Railroad
1867	Fort D. A. Russell established
1867	Cheyenne Depot established (Camp Carlin)

Year	Event
1867	Fort Fetterman established
1867-1868	Building of Transcontinental Railroad
1868	Fort Fred Steele established
	(1869-1876): Second Plains "Indian Wars"
1869	Camp Augur established (renamed Camp Brown 1870)
1870	Camp Stambaugh established
1871	Fort Washakie established
1874	Custer's Black Hills expedition
1874	Bates battle
1875	Call for Sioux to return to agencies
1876	Crook's expeditions from Fort Fetterman
1876	Cantonment Reno established (renamed Fort McKinney 1877)
1876	Sibley scout
1876	Dull Knife battle (Mackenzie)
	(1877-1890): End of Frontier
1877	Flight of Nez Perce
1878	Fort McKinney moved to area near present-day Buffalo
1878	Camp Devin
1879	Pole Mountain Military Reservation established for wood and timber
1885	Camp Pilot Butte established
1886	Camp Sheridan established (renamed Fort Yellowstone 1891)
1879	White River Expedition out of Fort Fred Steele
1885	Rock Springs Chinese Massacre
1886	Fort Fred Steele decommissioned
1890	Ghost Dance Revival and Wounded Knee
1890	Fort Laramie decommissioned
	(1890-1920): Expansion/World War I
1892	Johnson County War
1898	Fort Mackenzie constructed near Sheridan, Wyoming
1898	Spanish American War
1905	Fort D. A. Russell becomes brigade-sized post
1917	Unites States enters World War I

Chapter 2: Theory and Method

Warfare

Military exploits have long been the focus of secular literature in many societies. The theme reflects profound extremes in human behavior and illustrates one of mankind's most brutal attributes -- armed aggression in warfare. Studies of primitive warfare have had a particularly checkered history while anthropologists struggled to explain the causes of global hostility. Ideas have run the gamut from Hobbes' assertion that all humans are warlike to Rousseau's portrayal of the noble savage (Keeley 1996:3-24). Whatever its origin, the institution of war has had a far reaching effect on societies worldwide at every level of social organization. Cross-cultural research notes that "although some societies…did not engage in war or did so extremely rarely, the overwhelming majority of known societies (90 to 95 percent) have been involved in this activity" (Keeley 1996:27-28). Thanks to archaeology, scientists even have begun to recognize evidence for ancient interpersonal conflicts, helping illustrate the time depth for warfare and related activities.

Investigations of armed conflict for each level of social organization surely have been influenced by the social consciousness at the time of research (Fried et al. 1968). Ever since the Vietnam War there has been a tendency to pacify the human past, implying combat was not prevalent in primitive societies, and when combat was present it was more ritualistic in nature. One problem in recognizing armed conflict at "lower" levels of social organization is investigators can disguise violent behavior in other terms like "feuding" or "homicide" (Keeley 1996:29). While expressions of civil unrest may be present, researchers must carefully interpret and attempt to isolate cultural causes that generate physical evidence of armed violence. Death in warfare is a much different cultural practice from civilian feuds or homicides and we need a rigorous theoretical and methodological framework to distinguish between the two in the archaeological record. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to determine the purpose behind traumatic injuries induced by weapons and distinguish whether the cause was precipitated by domestic violence or militaristic aggression. Even so, armed conflict in general has great time depth in the New World so formal and informal military activities probably were not far behind.

Time Depth

Skeletal analyses have shown that homicide likely has been around since modern humans appeared on the scene, while warfare has been present for the last 10,000 years in every well-studied region (Keeley 1996:39). Human skeletal remains can be a major source of indirect information regarding interpersonal conflict. Bones of the famous Kennewick Man found along the Columbia River in Washington State northwest of the study area provide clear evidence that some form of armed conflict occurred in the New World as early as 9,500 years ago (Chatters 2001:136). A Paleoindian spear point of the Cascade type found embedded in the individual's right innominate produced a nonfatal wound that caused pain whenever the victim moved. Initially Chatters (2001:138) was unsure whether the injury was an accident or intentional, but he leaned toward the latter. Further analysis suggests the entry wound was inflicted from the front by an atlatl dart descending on a trajectory from a firing position many meters away, therefore a product of distance fighting rather than a hand to hand domestic struggle (Owsley, personal communication, 2011). There is no doubt the wound was inflicted by someone other than Kennewick Man himself, and most likely was sustained during military combat. Unfortunately, more details of the incident and its aftermath may never be revealed since the rest of the site is no longer available for study.

Figure 2.1. Gurney Peak Bench Site (48LA302), Late Prehistoric Upper Republican site in southeastern Wyoming well suited for defense. Charles A. Reher, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming.

Intergroup warfare has a long and bloody history in North America (Feldman 2008). For example, in central South Dakota east of the study area there is strong evidence for violent death of nearly 500 Native Americans as a result of warfare at Crow Creek Village. About 1325 A.D., two Indian populations fought each other, killing hundreds of men, women, and children. Crow Creek is the largest archaeologically recovered skeletal series of massacre victims in the world (Willey 1990:xxx), with abundant evidence for depressed fractures, scalping, mutilation, and dismemberment.

The Late Prehistoric Period in Wyoming ushered in with the introduction of the bow and arrow around 1,500 years ago (Frison 1991:111). At least one researcher notes increased levels of armed conflict as a consequence of this new weapon technology (Gill 1991:443-445, 2010). Severe skeletal trauma and projectiles embedded in human bone have been detected at a few Wyoming sites such as Robber's Gulch, Bairoil, and Deer Butte 2. Although the cultural context of injuries is unknown, some form of

prehistoric warfare cannot be ruled out. Other sites from the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric reveal evidence for defensive preparations and fortifications further implying that armed conflicts were not uncommon (Schroeder 2006, 2010) (Figure 2.1). Collectively these data show a military response to intergroup conflict likely was in place in Wyoming long before Euroamerican exploration. The historical paths the U. S. Army and Indians took to formalize military readiness would not collide in the study area until the mid-nineteenth century.

Justification

Skeptics may wonder why researchers would even study such a lethal topic. Clausewitz (1993:83) defined war as "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will" and such coercive fighting is not likely to be done in moderation. For better or worse, much of human history is the product of unrestrained coercion. United States expansion in the American West during the nineteenth century is no exception. Historian S.L.A. Marshall asserts, "violence beset the western frontier and lasted and lasted because the fundamental interests of the two sides were so wholly irreconcilable as to leave little or no room for compromise. Due to the absence of any middle ground, there occurred intolerable grievances to white man and red. When these basic conditions are present, war or revolution becomes inevitable" (1972:2).

The study of warfare is integral to understanding the full range of cultural experiences in the American West (Miller et al. 2000:92). Even so, some scholars still disagree with its importance as a subject of academic inquiry. Michno (2003:3) points out, "at a roundtable discussion at the 1999 Western History Association conference, some participants went so far as to suggest that historians should deemphasize violence and warfare in history in the hopes that this might curb the violence in our culture." Such revisionist philosophy is a major intellectual error. Inattention never advances human understanding and the resulting diluted history does nothing to preserve the past. Noted western historian Patricia Limerick offers a more rational look at the importance of studying Indian Wars in the West, arguing we should cease to quarantine the battles and massacres so we can take an essential step toward uniting American history (Limerick 2000:73). She believes we live on haunted land, and the tragedies of the Indian Wars are our national joint property. How we study and manage this troubled landscape where horrendous battles were fought is a test of national unity, of our maturity as a diverse people.

In a sense, one might argue the psychological effects of the nineteenth century Indian Wars have not completely dissipated in all sectors of society. Anthropologist Stanley Diamond points to the relentless conquest of North American Indians and wonders if we could "honestly believe that hate and conflicting interests did not merge here. The Whites may not have hated the Indians whose cultural and human resources they destroyed, but *they* must have hated, and still, in a certain sense, *hate* us" (Diamond 1968:187). For this reason alone, even if Diamond's argument is exaggerated, it is useful to look more critically at such a disruptive episode in our national history.

Historical Sources

The published literature on Indian Wars in the West is voluminous. Hundreds, if not thousands, of scholarly books have been written on the subject. Primary archival records document key attributes of many important sites, including fort construction histories, troop rosters, engagement details, road surveying and engineering, and the opinions of officers regarding wartime experiences. Native Americans retain several oral traditions relevant to particular incidents (Chapman 2004). Many individual sites in this context have had at least one scholarly study performed on them, if not myriad treatments from people with varied qualifications. Perhaps the best single synthesis detailing military events in and around the study area is Utley's (1967, 1973) two volume set on the Indian Wars. Several encyclopedias and comprehensive references also are good sources for general information, though

Figure 2.2. Fork and plate fragment from Company E, Third Cavalry found at Fort Fred Steele. Photo by Dennis Henry, Click Point Ranch, Colorado.

some are more academic than others (Frazer 1972; Goetzmann 1959; Hanson 2007; Hogarth and Vaughan 1993; Hoig 2006; Keenan 1997; McDermott 1998a; Michno 2003; Michno and Michno 2008).

When researchers investigate site specific publications the list of books quickly grows beyond manageable size. Consequently, an exhaustive treatment of the full literature on each location and event was not attempted. Appendix A is a comprehensive bibliographic source for references related to sites of military relevance managed by the Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. A similar bibliographic compilation could be developed for all the military sites in this context, and this option is discussed as a data gap in the management chapter. A first attempt at compiling some bibliographic references is part of the recording form in Appendix B prepared following Rosenberg's (1989) recommendation of a working file.

The present document is a general synthesis of a considerable amount of data, not intending to describe each site in detail. Conducting thorough research on primary archival documents would have been an impossible task for each of the hundreds of properties involved; an undertaking well beyond the time and funding resources available. Instead, research relied extensively on secondary sources by noted scholars who already had conducted archival research.

Archaeology

The study of forts and other military installations has long been a practice in historical archaeology (Fawcett 1981; Hume 1968:184-188; Stone 1974) (Figure 2.2), while battlefield archaeology has lagged behind (Miller et al. 2000:93-95). One reason for this de-emphasis was the pessimistic opinion of an outspoken leader in the field. Hume (1968:188) once argued, "Little can usefully be said about battlefield sites…the salvage of relics becomes the be all and end all." After Stanley South (1977) shared his own optimism with the profession, more innovative thinking led to a greater emphasis on the context and provenience of combat items arrayed over a battlefield landscape.

South (1977:158-160) had introduced the notion of battlefield pattern in historical archeology during his assessment of Ferguson's (1975) work at Fort Watson in South Carolina (Miller et al. 2000:93-95). A 1781 engagement fought there between American and British soldiers produced a high incidence of arms-related artifacts, such as musket balls, gun flints, and gun parts. The greater number of distorted rifle balls (62.2%) suggested projectiles flattened on impact after firing during an extensive fusillade. Fewer undistorted balls (37.8%) could have been dropped during weapon loading or lost from supplies. Investigators used the weight and rifling of lead projectiles to classify American versus British ammunition. Lead balls shot by Americans were found concentrated along two sides of the fort interior, which helped investigators locate a previously unidentified sharpshooter position (South 1977:79). This evidence prompted South (1977:160) to suggest the assemblage represented a "Revolutionary War Military Battle Pattern."

Battlefield archaeology was greatly expanded when Fox and Scott (1991) modeled a "Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern" to characterize artifact distributions in the archaeological record of Custer's

final fight in 1876 on the Little Big Horn River in southern Montana. These authors identified two levels of pattern recognition, gross and dynamic, both of which assume site formation processes have not significantly altered artifact distributions. Gross patterning derives from a relatively coarse grained analysis that identifies combat positions and battle episodes at fixed locations on the landscape. It is predominantly synchronic and seeks to correlate evidence for events by comparing the archaeological record to the historical record. Dynamic patterning is finer grained and tracks specific individual, unit, or firearm movements through time across the landscape by using firearms identification analysis. It attempts to identify distinctive ammunition attributes such as firing-pin, extractor, and land-and-groove marks to trace movements or trajectories of specific firearms over the battlefield. This type of analysis requires the expertise of firearms and ballistics specialists commonly employed by federal, state, or private forensic crime laboratories.

Haecker and Mauck (1997) later applied the theoretical framework of battlefield pattern to the 1846 engagement at Palo Alto fought during the Mexican War. They emphasized obvious differences between pre-Civil War and post-Civil War armaments, such as smooth bore versus rifled barrels, paper cartridges with round lead balls versus metallic cartridge cases with conical lead bullets, and the relative importance of small arms versus artillery at individual engagements. Archaeological patterns were shown to be clearly influenced by weapons technology. Such technological differences prompted their description of the battlefield pattern at Palo Alto as one typical of the "smooth bore period," and more reflective of eighteenth-century European warfare than of the American Civil War (Haecker and Mauck 1997:9). Their terminology emphasizes weapons technology rather than warfare chronology, underscoring the influence different armaments has had on artifact distributions.

The Wagon Box Fight in northern Wyoming is another example where investigators have pointed to several important variables in pattern recognition including weapons technology, number and arrangement of firing positions, number and arrangement of target positions, and marksmanship of combatants (Miller et al. 2000:115). Each variable can change horizontally across a battlefield and temporally as sequential episodes of combat unfold. Resulting configurations can be influenced by factors like terrain, tactical shifts, military branch, duration of engagement, and involvement of noncombatants, among many others. Archaeological recognition of these characteristics allows investigators to model different battlefield patterns relevant to the Indian Wars (Fox and Scott 1991).

More recently, battlefield archaeology has been used to locate the Sand Creek Massacre site in Colorado (Greene and Scott 2004). Historical records had been unclear about the actual site location, so archaeology was integrated with a study of early maps and Native American oral traditions. The site location eventually was found and verified as a result of collaboration among landowners, Cheyennes, and researchers from the fields of history, ethnohistory, geomorphology, and archaeology. Methodology developed at the Little Big Horn (Fox and Scott 1991) also has been used in recent investigations of the battles of the 1874 Red River War in Texas (Cruse 2008), and at the 1865 battle at Mud Springs in Nebraska (Bleed and Scott 2009). Results from the most recent studies have broadened the theoretical approach into an area now recognized as conflict archaeology, where the theory of nineteenth century warfare on the High Plains focuses on military levels of planning and execution such as strategy, operations, and tactics (Bleed and Scott 2011).

In the past few decades, archaeology has demonstrated the robust interpretive potential of combat related artifacts on battlefields and their patterns of dispersal. Archaeological evidence for different types of engagements still needs to be quantified if the post-Civil War battlefield pattern is to survive as a vigorous analytical model, and investigators must develop opportunities for problem-oriented fieldwork to critically assess each variable that influences site formation histories.

Interdisciplinary research like that conducted at Sand Creek is needed on a regular basis to advance military sites archaeology. Greene (1998) has discussed several relevant battlefields in the region, which would benefit from similar interdisciplinary investigations.

The research potential of military sites archaeology also is expanding on a worldwide scale. The *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* was inaugurated in 2005, and it grew from such diverse influences as fieldwork conducted at the Battle of the Little Big Horn in the early 1980s, and the growing public awareness of cross-cultural conflict exemplified by destruction of the Twin Towers on 9/11 (Pollard and Banks 2005). The publication has tremendous interdisciplinary potential. For example, Nolan (2009:81-104) demonstrates in one journal article the utility of Geographic Information Science in battlefield interpretation.

The extensive geographic and chronological scope of conflict research is also present in occasional submissions to the *Journal of Archaeological Research.* One recent article by Keeley and others (2007:55-95) shows how different types of military fortifications around the globe can correlate with certain types of arms and armor, effectively integrating feature and artifact analyses on military landscapes. Clearly, the robust growth of military sites archaeology provides a ripe field of research for Wyoming and the region.

Geography

A major goal of this context is to pull together some of what is currently known about each historically documented military site in Wyoming, and synthesize data in such a way to help investigators generate research questions and resource managers improve stewardship of the military landscape. To do so, the geography of the study area needs to be defined.

Scope

This context focuses on the region delineated by the present-day borders of the State of Wyoming established in the Organic Act of July 25, 1868 when Wyoming Territory was formed. Boundary lines intersect to form a rectangular area defined by 104° 03' west longitude to the east, 111° 03' west longitude to the west, 41° north latitude to the south, and 45° north latitude to the north (Erwin 1974:50; Larson 1965:2). Today, Wyoming is subdivided into twenty-three counties, which constitute important geopolitical jurisdictions influencing the research, preservation, and management of military sites (Figure 2.3). Yellowstone National Park is superimposed over portions of Park and Teton Counties. State and county boundaries are frequently used as reference points to allow readers to visualize the geographic relationship of site locations.

Wyoming underwent a series of political changes through treaties and congressional action during the time frame covered here. Each modification affected the nature of military activities as well as the disposition of relevant historic records. When researching a given subject, it is important to know what period of time and what part of Wyoming the subject covers. Early political boundaries are particularly important to understand, because different governments were responsible for portions of the area at different times and their military records may be archived under diverse geographic or political place names at different locations. We can expect, for example, that records pertinent to Wyoming in 1867 may be found in archival documents for Dakota Territory, because the area at that time was administered through that territorial government. Earlier military activities may be mentioned in obscure Spanish, British or French records of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries though searching these is a major task beyond the scope of this study. Changing political boundaries in Wyoming are described below for each relevant chronological episode.

Environment and Ecology

Wyoming encompasses an area of 97,914 square miles (Larson 1965:2). It is home to some of the most spectacular landscapes on the continent; the place

Figure 2.3. Wyoming county map. Letter abbreviations are those used for each county when a Smithsonian site number is issued. Courtesy of Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Department of State Parks and Cultural Records, Laramie.

where the rugged Rocky Mountains meet the rolling High Plains and circumscribe vast intermountain basins (Figure 2.4). Elevations range from a high of 13,804 feet (4,207 m) on Gannett Peak along the Continental Divide in the Wind River Mountains, to a low of 3,125 feet (952 m) on the Belle Fourche drainage in the northeastern corner of the state, topographic relief representing a drop in elevation of more than two miles. Wyoming's environmental diversity is expressed by several contrasting zones including riparian landscapes, plains, intermountain basins, foothills, and mountains (Knight 1994), each of which influenced the nature of military activity.

In spite of a rich and diverse natural bounty, perhaps no other resource in the American West has been as important to human survival as a reliable water supply. A network of major streams, rivers and riparian zones "connect the landscapes of the region" (Knight 1994:44), and many watercourses originate in Wyoming's high country.

Some channels flow through lower elevations on the short grass rangeland of the High Plains, then course north and east before joining other waters to empty into the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic Ocean. Rivers east of the Continental Divide include the Yellowstone, Clarks Fork, Big Horn, Little Big Horn, Tongue, Powder, Little Missouri, Belle Fourche, Cheyenne, Niobrara, North Platte, and South Platte, many of which are in Wyoming (Knight 1994:44). One of these, the Big Horn River, drains a large

Figure 2.4. Physiographic map of Wyoming showing topographic diversity of Rocky Mountains versus interior basins to the southwest and High Plains to the northeast. Major river drainages also depicted. County boundaries are delineated but names have been omitted to increase visibility of physiographic variation. ArcGIS Online, Natural Earth Physical Map US National Park Service, courtesy of Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Department of State Parks and Cultural Records, Laramie.

intermountain basin before opening onto the plains. Across the Continental Divide, rivers flow through other intermountain basins before connecting with water courses ultimately emptying into the Pacific Ocean, including the Little Snake, Green, Bear, and Snake. The Continental Divide through south-central Wyoming splits into two pathways that encircle the Great Divide Basin, a semi-arid region within which no streams escape to either ocean.

This network of waterways covers Wyoming like veins on a leaf, providing sustenance to lush riparian habitats for wildlife, rich forage for horses, and thick pasture for livestock. River valleys were preferred village sites for Indians and desired fort locations for the U. S. Army. Wide, meandering river channels also charted pathways into the west for migrating game, native hunters, fur trappers, Euroamerican explorers, and emigrants. Their importance to sustaining human settlement was clear and their control strategic. Many river valleys figured prominently in the military history of Wyoming.

Extensive, High Plains grasslands occur east of the Continental Divide where rolling shortgrass prairies together with the river systems and riparian vegetation supported abundant herds of buffalo (*Bison bison*) during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Common short grasses include blue grama and buffalograss in the southeastern portion of the state, while needle-and-thread grass, western wheatgrass, threadleaf sedge, and others increase to the north (Knight 1994:67). Elevations on these grasslands range from the low valley of the Belle Fourche River to about 7,185 feet (2,190 m) in the Shirley and Laramie Basins (Knight 1994:67). Rich bison grasslands were hotly contested territory throughout most of the period under study.

Plant phenology was an important variable in the grazing behavior of bison, horses, and livestock, and it could influence seasonal distributions of herds. Cool season grasses (C_3 plants) like junegrass, threadleaf sedge, and western wheatgrass, green-up early in the year and tend to be better adapted to cooler elevations near the mountains. They are ideal for spring grazing. Warm season grasses (C_4 plants) like blue grama, buffalograss, and little bluestem, green-up later and therefore reach greater forage potential in lower elevations into summer (see Knight 1974:72-73). Knowledge of plant physiology would have been a factor in selecting preferred grazing ranges, positioning campsites, and planning strategic maneuvers during equestrian military operations. It was on these High Plains where Indian groups competed with each other for bison range and early militant encounters occurred with the U. S. Army.

In contrast to the plains, intermountain basins to the west are characterized by sagebrush steppe vegetation. Various shrubs are found, including sagebrush, greasewood, and saltbush. Grassland plant species occur too, particularly those adapted to cool temperatures and shallow soil. However, the vegetative ecology of intermountain basins is more suited to browsing animals like pronghorn and domestic sheep than to grazing species like bison and cattle. Bison probably never populated these basin areas in the same numbers they achieved on the short

grass plains. For pronghorn and sheep, intermountain basins of south-central and southwestern Wyoming represent exceptional winter range. Horses also winter well in this elevated steppe environment.

Playa lakes and dune fields dot many intermountain basins, adding important microenvironments to the ecological mosaic (Knight 1994). Wyoming basins include the Wind River, Green River, Great Divide, Washakie, Hanna, and Shirley. The latter joins the shortgrass plains in the North Platte River Valley. The Laramie Basin actually seems more similar ecologically to the Plains. These basins are separated topographically from the High Plains by the Casper Arch stretching almost imperceptibly between the southern tip of the Big Horn Mountains and northern tip of the Laramie Mountains. The ecotone between plains and basin vegetative communities is a gradual merging of the two zones into each other, and the transition is apparent when one travels across southern Wyoming on U. S. Highway 30.

Intermountain basins form a low rolling topography traversing the Continental Divide, and separating the Central Rocky Mountains from the Southern Rocky Mountains like a corridor between vertical walls. Much of this area is known collectively as the Wyoming Basin (Fenneman 1931:133-149). Since basin landscapes exhibit more moderate relief compared to surrounding mountains, this region became a primary trade and transportation sphere for Indian populations moving east and west (Wood 1972), and for the Euroamericans who followed. It is primarily because of this unique landscape that game trails, Indian trails, emigrant trails, mail routes, telegraph lines, railroads, highways, and even fiber optic cables cross the Continental Divide where they do, making transportation and communication major themes in the prehistory and early history of southern Wyoming. Relative ease of east-west transportation virtually assured the intermountain basins would figure prominently in the region's military history (Figure 2.5).

Wyoming has been the scene of dramatic geological events for millions of years, many of which generated huge faults, massive anticlines, and rugged topographic relief. The most obvious of these phenomena are mountain ranges comprising the Central and Southern Rockies, ascending thousands of feet above the surrounding foothills, basins, and plains. More than fifty Wyoming peaks rise above 12,795 feet (3,900 m) (Knight 1994:153). The Central Rocky Mountains, north of the Wyoming Basin, include the Madison-Gallatin, Beartooth, Absaroka, Washakie, Owl Creek, Big Horn, Tetons, Gros Ventre, and Wind River ranges. The Southern Rocky Mountains, south of the Wyoming Basin, include the Laramie, Medicine Bow, and Sierra Madre. Other uplifted landscapes are the Overthrust Belt in southwestern Wyoming, the Rock Springs and Rawlins uplifts in the south, and the Hartville and Black Hills uplifts in the east. The elevated Yellowstone Plateau is ringed by mountain ranges in the northwestern corner of the state. Mountains are vital to ecological stability in the region. They contain the most abundant forests, provide catchments for winter snowfall that feeds river systems, support diverse wildlife habitats, and yield bedrock resources that attracted both Native American and Euroamerican exploitation. These vast mountain ranges also greatly influence the morphology of foothill and lowland landscapes by providing sediments for development of alluvial fans and rain shadows in adjacent areas (Knight 1994:153).

Mountain ranges have a rich and diverse vegetation mosaic. Knight (1994:159) notes "foothill grasslands, shrublands, and woodlands grade into forests dominated by ponderosa pine and Douglas-fir at lower elevations, lodgepole pine at mid-elevations, and Engelmann spruce and subalpine fir at higher elevations." The elevational range of these tree species overlaps considerably and their ecotones are important habitats for humans and animals. He further observes "Ponderosa Pine is not found in western Wyoming, where Douglas-fir forests usually border the foothill vegetation" (Knight 1994:159).

The Rocky Mountains are a formidable obstacle to human mobility, but they also are sanctuary for game, a rich source of timber for lodge poles and

Figure 2.5. Oregon (Emigrant) Trail ruts near Guernsey Wyoming. Richard Collier, State Historic Preservation Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

fort stockades, and a provider of warm weather forage to fatten horses. Had the mineral wealth of these geological uplifts not been discovered by Euroamericans when it was, the course of manifest destiny might have changed dramatically, altering the patterns of human behavior discussed in this context.

A Cautionary Note

Sometimes it is difficult to determine if a given site should be discussed as military or not. The dividing line is not always clear, so an explanation for classification is offered when this situation occurs. In one case, a militaristic name was given to a particular trail when a military purpose for the designated route did not exist. The naming of the Sand Creek Massacre Trail has prompted members of the public to ask how it was related to military sites in Wyoming. The trail is not a military property, but a recent memorial route commemorating the Arapahos who left Colorado after the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864 and settled around Ethete several years later. In 2004, a Senate Joint Resolution in the Wyoming Legislature was passed to support relations with the Arapaho Tribe and tourism (http://legisweb.state.wy.us/2004/Introduced/sj0001.pdf, accessed on August 17, 2009). The resolution designated the trail in Wyoming to follow State Highway 287 from the Wyoming/Colorado border to Medicine Bow; State Highway 487 from Medicine Bow to State Highway 220; State Highway 220 from State Highway 487 to Casper; State Highway 26 from Casper to Riverton; State Highway 138 from Riverton to Arapahoe; State Highway 137 from Arapahoe to State Highway 132; and State Highway 132 from State Highway 137 to Ethete.

Tribal members joined state officials to designate the entire 600-mile route from the Colorado massacre site to headquarters of the Northern Arapaho tribe on the Wind River Reservation. It has been characterized as a ceremonial link for the tribe, providing educational awareness, historical remembrance, and spiritual healing (http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=312x479, accessed on August 17, 2009). Additional information is available in a public brochure (Nowlin 2011).

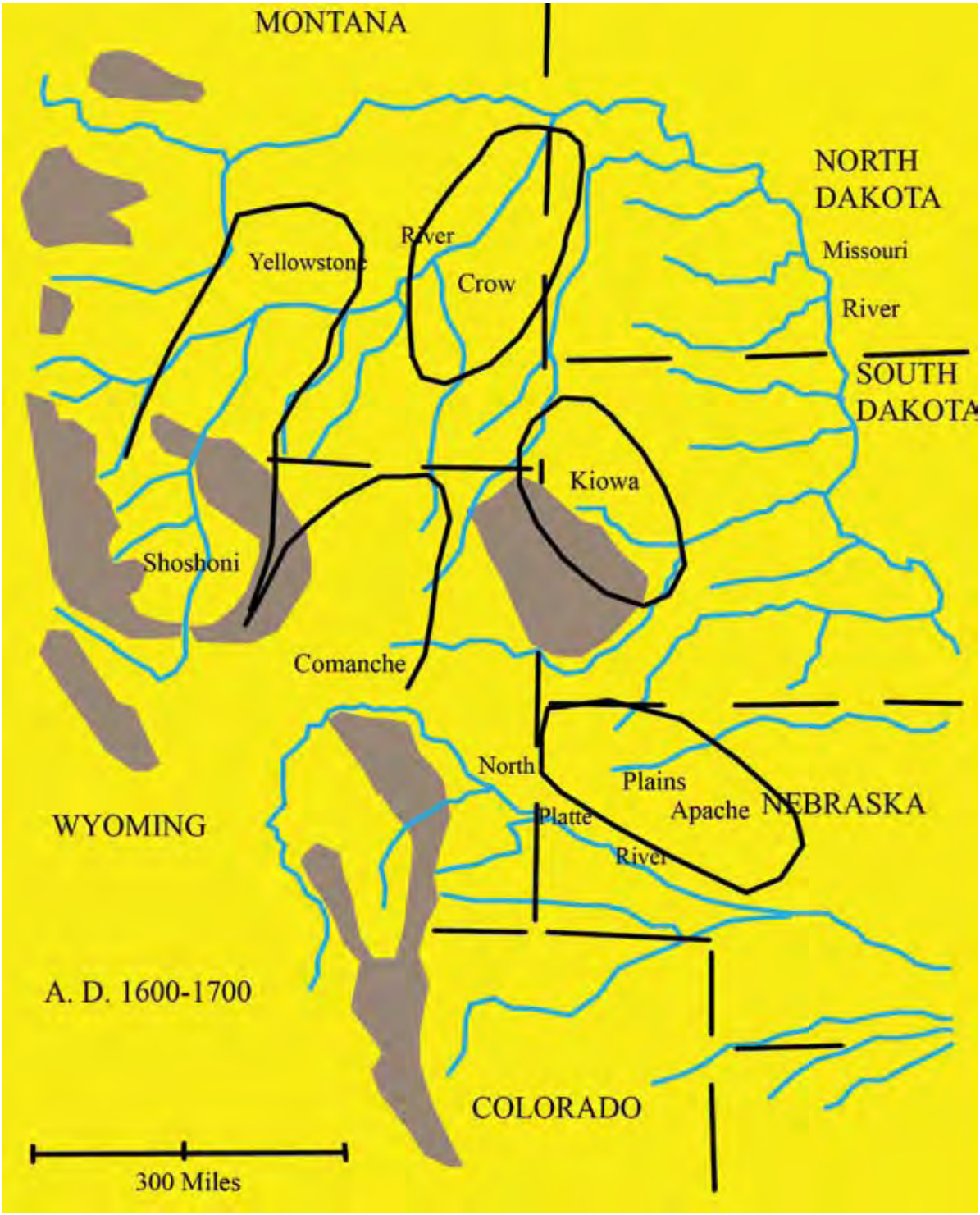

Figure 3.1. Tribal distribution map of the Wyoming area from 1600-1700, based on Reher (1979:99). Brown shading depicts mountain ranges. Redrawn by author.

Chapter 3: Native Americans and the U. S. Army (1700-1842)

Tribal Distributions and Cultural Parameters

Native American tribal groups already had been active in the Wyoming area for generations when the period under study begins. Many of these populations represent separate, highly mobile ethnic groups who competed with each other for use of the rich, bison plains east of the Rocky Mountains. Bison populations had increased in the area during the moist period of the Little Ice Age from about 1450-1880 A. D. and vast herds attracted many hunting tribes, particularly after Indians acquired the horse (Reher 1979:91-92). Mounted buffalo hunting groups would become an integral component in the dynamic ecology of the High Plains, and this equestrian subsistence strategy was in its formative stage during the earliest episode of this context.

Pedestrian and equestrian native groups were culturally diverse in many respects and warfare tactics represents only one example of this diversity (Mishkin 1940; Secoy 1953). Their population movements, competition over resources, and the resulting frequency of intertribal contacts reflect a cycle of territorial conquest throughout the area well before sustained Euroamerican influence. Indirect, and later direct, Euroamerican contact contributed greatly to the patterns of tribal distribution through availability of the horse, acquisition of the gun, and eventual colonization of the continent.

Tribal group size increased following acquisition of the horse, and so did the incidences of competition over hunting grounds (Reher 1979:95). Reher notes the "wide ranging ability of the horse aggravated this competitive situation, as did continued in-migration of other peoples. Eventually this stress changed elaboration to evolution --groups became more highly integrated, labor cooperation was formalized with highly developed kinship structures, and warrior societies began to gain life-and-death authority. Cultures evolved from a 'band-level' society to 'tribal-level'" (Reher 1979:95). These cultural changes in turn were reflected in the evolution of military tactics.

Fluctuations in tribal distribution are modeled through time in this study based on data from Reher's (1979) research in the western Powder River Basin, and Reher and Frison's (1980) work at the Vore Site (Figure 3.1). Wyoming in 1700 was occupied by several groups (Reher 1979:99; Reher and Frison 1980:32-35), and the "boundaries" between each were ephemeral. The Shoshonis (Snake) were distributed throughout the western half of the study area as far east as the western edge of the High Plains. Northeastern Wyoming was a region of periodic contacts between Shoshonis and the Crows who had been moving into the area from the northeast. Kiowas occupied much of the Black Hills and Comanches roamed the Shortgrass Plains. Shoshonis expanded rapidly to the north and east in this area once they acquired the horse around 1700 and this expansion sets the stage for the beginning of this study.

By 1700 the study area already had undergone a series of population shifts that only intensified with the introduction of the horse and gun. Later Euroamerican exploration and eventual settlement precipitated even more rapid changes. The cycle of territorial conquest that had begun before emigrants arrived escalated dramatically and would not be resolved until prolonged and bloody warfare ended. The Shoshonis, Crows, Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Utes would play major roles in numerous engagements with the U. S. Army.

Military events in Wyoming before the U. S. Topographical Engineers became active in 1842 consist predominately of armed exchanges between and among Native American tribes. In the absence of written historical accounts, most of this evidence

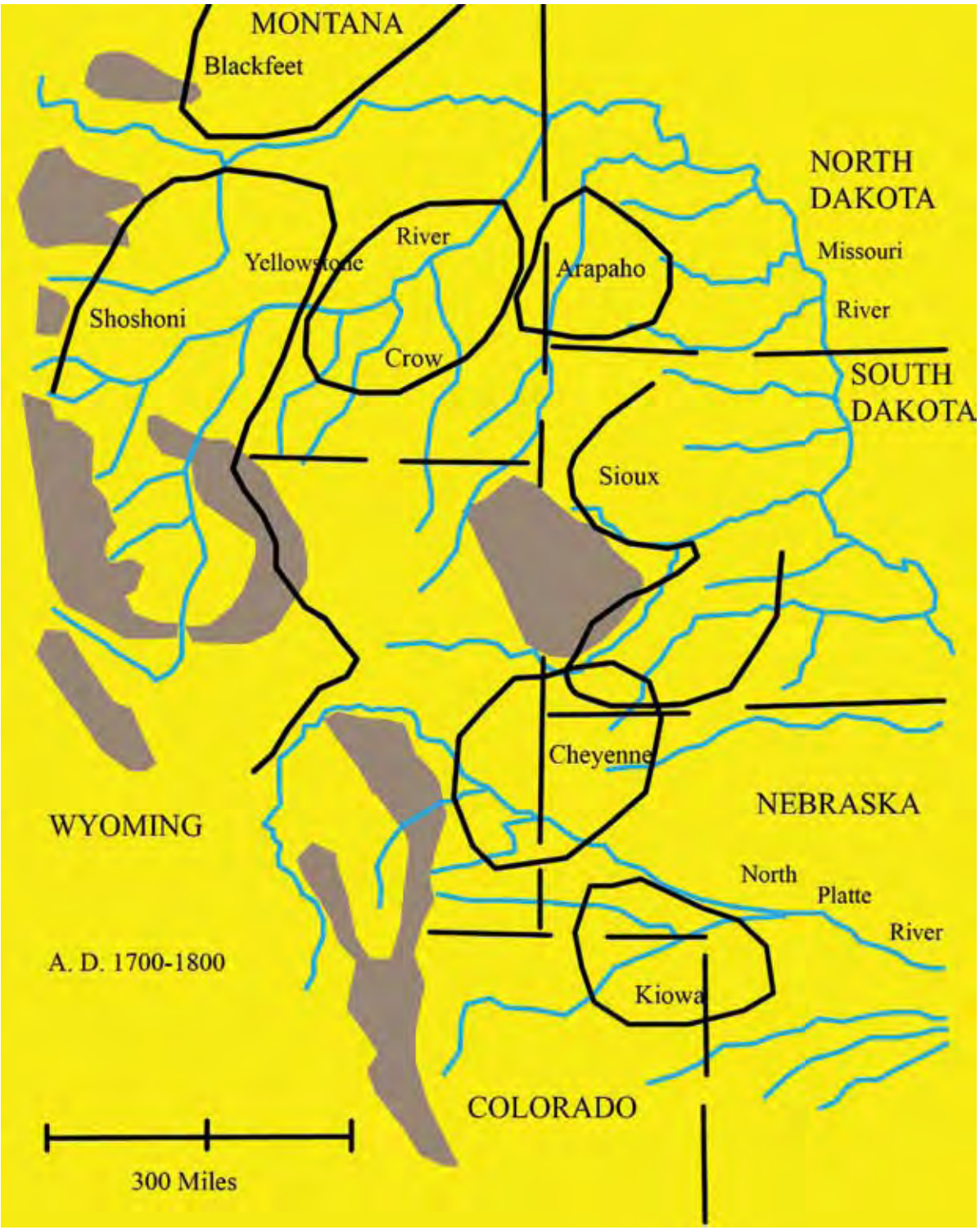

Figure 3.2. Tribal distribution map of the Wyoming area from 1700-1800, based on Reher (1979:99). Brown shading depicts mountain ranges. Redrawn by author.

comes from the archaeological record or is taken from oral histories and ethnography (Keyser et al. 2006). Tribal movements and concomitant changes in strategic alliances, coupled with various territorial claims by Old World governments, all played a role in the developing patterns of military activity.

Secoy's (1953) monograph on the horse and gun in Indian warfare provides a chronology of events that has been used with some success by archaeologists attempting to interpret the relative ages of military sites during this period, particularly stone inscriptions (Keyser 1979). Horses and weapons depicted in warrior art on panels throughout Wyoming represent the first indirect evidence for military events, and relevant images show up in several pictograph and petroglyph panels. Other writings in stone, such as inscribed names of soldiers or U. S. Army military units also are pertinent to this study, but these most likely post-date 1842 after the Army developed a regular presence in the area. Secoy's (1953) episodes are used to divide the first 142 years of the context chronology.

Post-Horse, Pre-Gun Pattern (1700-1735)

Ethnic distributions during the eighteenth century are increasingly well known for the study area compared to earlier periods but they also are more complex (Reher and Frison 1980:33) (Figure 3.2). Shoshonis acquired the horse about 1700 through trade with the Utes and/or Comanche, and began to adopt a mounted nomadic hunting way of life in the Rocky Mountains (Gardner 2008a:181-182; Secoy 1953:33). The horse as a means of transportation increased mobility and allowed equestrian groups to advance onto the High Plains in search of better bison hunting grounds, bringing them into contact with cultural groups still subsisting as pedestrian hunters. Once the Shoshonis had acquired a sufficient number of horses, they began to use them in small military raids and skirmishes against their less mobile enemies, waging pitched battles with the Blackfeet and Piegans north of the study area (Secoy 1953:34-35). Their raids were widely feared because opposing forces on foot without guns stood little chance against mounted offensives.

Leather horse armor that protected animals from arrows and other edged weapons still had not diffused up from the south, so sustained engagements were considered too risky by the Shoshonis (Secoy 1953:36). Bows, spears, clubs, and leather shields comprised the mainstay of weapons and armament at this time. Such implements of war actually dated back to the pre-horse pre-gun era when military engagements usually had consisted of large pedestrian forces surprising smaller ones, or roughly equally sized forces where infantry lines faced off. Once horses became available, shields alone were insufficient to protect combatants from incoming projectiles.

Occasional Gun Period (1735-1765)

The Shoshonis on the Northwestern Plains had become well established mounted warriors by the mid-eighteenth century. They now used the lance, bow, war club, trader's knife, small leather shield, and had added multi-layered leather cavalry armor for both horse and rider (Secoy 1953:37). Regular skirmishes and infrequent cavalry battles took place when tactical engagements were initiated against enemies who typically had fewer horses. Shoshonis were still strong and greatly feared during this episode, and were able to influence a broad area by virtue of abundant horses, strategic geographic position and proximity to the southern source of horse supply (Secoy 1953:38). The primary commodity of exchange used to maintain this equestrian advantage was acquisition and trade of war captives, a real motivation for engaging an enemy. Raiding for horses from other groups also was a principal method of acquiring animals, since so-called "wild horse" herds never were a primary source of supply to tribes (Mishkin 1940:6).

At the same time Shoshonis were dominating the study area as a manifestation of the post-horse/pre-gun military pattern, the post-gun/pre-horse military pattern was advancing toward Wyoming from the north and east (Secoy 1953:38). Guns already had developed as a weapon of military advantage in

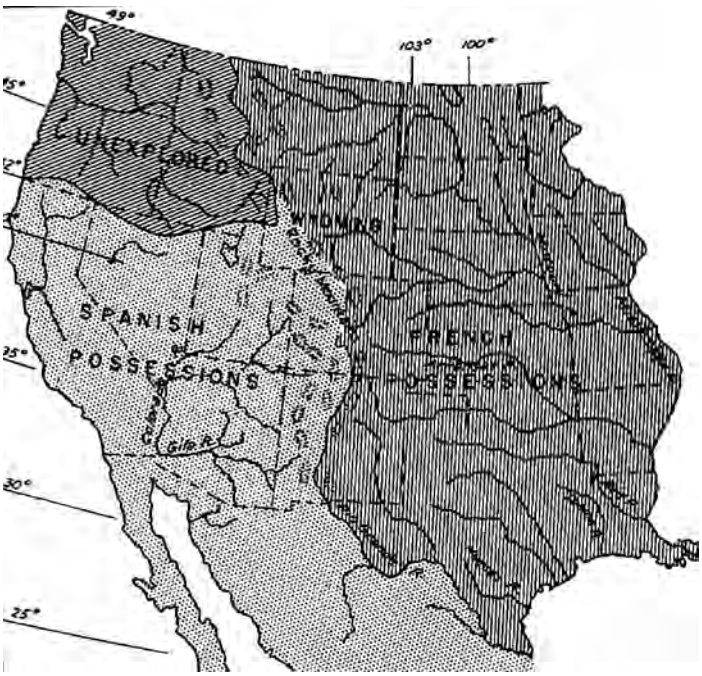

Figure 3.3. Wyoming as a French possession, Spanish possession, and unexplored territory, 1682-1763. Figure adapted from Erwin (1974:6). Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

eastern forested areas where the Cree were among early beneficiaries due to their proximity to beaver pelts that were desired as trade goods. Armed tactical maneuvers favored small pedestrian groups who hunted down enemies during winter campaigns in forested terrain less conducive to mounted engagements. More sizable expeditionary forces in the spring were employed when fighting large eastern groups like the Sioux.

Ecological differences between the high plains and eastern woodlands helped prevent the two major military patterns from significantly overlapping in the study area until the early nineteenth century when important changes took place in the fur trade (Secoy 1953:43). Since early tactical developments with firearms had evolved from use as an infantry weapon in cloistered forest environments, their effectiveness in open plains engagements was yet to be realized. Nonetheless, a loose coalition among the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Atsina, Assiniboin, and Plains Cree formed to fight the Shoshonis and defend territory against mounted raids from that sector (Secoy 1953:47).

Equestrian Comanches, relatives of the Shoshonis, continued expanding southward during this episode and by 1740 they controlled a wide region from the Platte River tributaries into New Mexico (Reher and Frison 1980:33). As other tribal groups acquired the horse, some early territorial losses were regained and groups like the Crows developed a stronger hold on the short grass plains portion of the study area. The Arapahos also may have established their presence in extreme northeastern Wyoming by now (Reher 1979:99).

At the same time, Old World governments had been eyeing this region for purposes of their own. As far as foreign countries were concerned, no definite boundaries existed between Spanish and French possessions from 1700-1763, because the Rio Grande River and Continental Divide formed a natural boundary the two claimants had agreed upon (Erwin 1974:6). France took possession of the Wyoming area northeast of the Rocky Mountain chain and Spain the area southwest of the Continental Divide, except for a portion of the region near Yellowstone and the Tetons that remained unexplored (Erwin 1974:6) (Figure 3.3). In the 1763 Treaty of Paris, written after the French and Indian Wars, France ceded to Spain the western portion of the Mississippi River Basin, including possessions in what would become Wyoming. No evidence of military engagements between Indians and either French or Spanish in Wyoming has been found to date.

Few Guns Period (1765-1810)

The number of guns available to native warriors multiplied when contacts increased between European traders and Indians. Tribes that merely had held their own against the Shoshonis previously could now mount offensive operations themselves, sustaining large-scale pitched battles against their poorly armed mounted enemies and turn the tide of combat. The Blackfeet were very active in military operations during this period, conceivably retaining their infantry line of battle formation so they could use guns more efficiently during engagements (Secoy 1953:52-

55), especially with open fields of fire. In contrast, equestrian attackers often had to dismount to fire weapons more accurately against such onslaught, and when they did so their arrows and lances were no match for guns.

Once guns and an ample supply of ammunition were consistently available for use in battle, this episode eventually formed the transition to the full-blown Horse and Gun Period (Secoy 1953:51). More and more pitched battles were avoided because of the growing number of guns and potential lethality of any sustained engagements, so combat maneuvers began to shift in the study area toward a guerrilla type of warfare, spawning tactics that would prove quite useful when warriors faced the well equipped U. S. Army in later years.

Tribal movements and territorial adjustments continued during this episode as the ebb and flow of tactical advantage shifted. The Sioux entered the Black Hills during the second half of the eighteenth century, having been forced westward as a result of persistent attacks by Chippewas. Cheyennes moved through the Powder River Basin and became established in southeastern Wyoming, edging the Kiowas southward. The Sioux eventually allied with the Northern Cheyennes, but "continued to dispute their border with the Crow, along the Powder and Tongue rivers, until their final defeat by American forces" (Reher and Frison 1980:34).

Foreign governments continued their interest in the region during the Few Guns Period. From 1763-1800, Wyoming was entirely a Spanish possession except for the unexplored portion of its northwestern border (Figure 3.4). Spain secretly returned to France all the territory west of the Mississippi by treaty in 1800 (Erwin 1974:7). The United States then acquired most of this land by treaty with France in 1803 as the Louisiana Purchase, which unfortunately did not include all the southwestern boundary of the Wyoming area as it was intended to do (Figure 3.5). This omitted parcel remained as Spanish Mexico whose boundary was established by treaty with Spain in 1819. Oregon Country was organized north of this boundary and west of the Louisiana Purchase, which

Figure 3.4. Wyoming as a Spanish possession and small unexplored territory, 1763-1800. Figure adapted from Erwin (1974:7). Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

gave Great Britain claim to a slice of Wyoming as well (Figure 3.6). To date, no evidence of military engagements between Indians and Great Britain in Wyoming has been found.

Horse and Gun Period (1810-1842)

The primary factor signaling the full-blown Horse and Gun Period was "an increase in the number of guns from a supply sufficient to equip only a few men in each group to an arsenal capable of outfitting fifty percent or more of the warriors in the tribe" (Secoy 1953:60). This threshold was reached as more guns became available through increased demand for pemmican by members of the fur trade, a commodity widely used in exchange for weapons. The Early Historic Period in Wyoming beginning about 1806 witnessed a significant growth and expansion of fur trappers and traders, thereby enhancing exchange

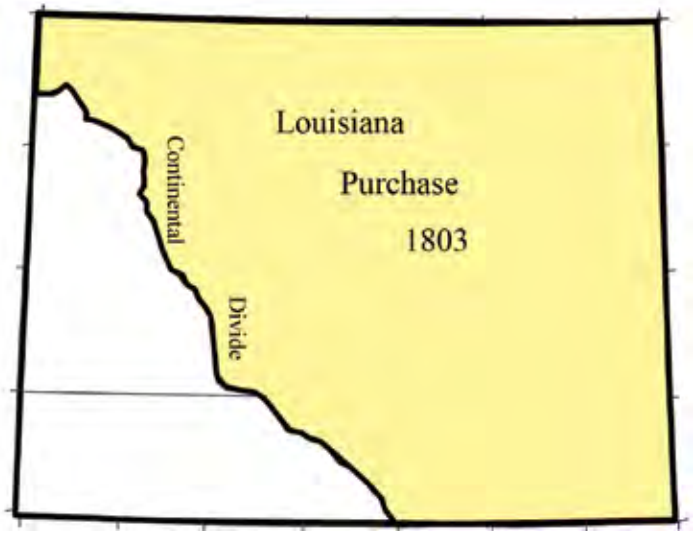

Figure 3.5. Wyoming in 1803 showing the Louisiana Purchase. Information obtained from Erwin (1974:38). Redrawn by author.

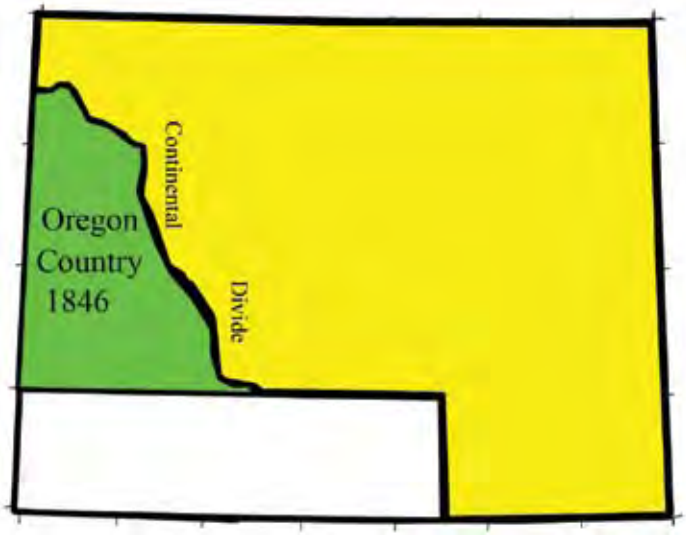

Figure 3.6. Great Britain's claim to a portion of Wyoming, known in 1846 as Oregon Country. Information obtained from Erwin (1974:43). Redrawn by author.

networks with native groups. Transportation systems also improved to the extent heavy buffalo hides eventually could be more successfully traded, further increasing the number of valued commodities that Indians could barter for firearms.

Guns during this period continued to have a profound effect on mounted military tactics. The penetrating capability of lead bullets quickly rendered leather armor useless so it was abandoned and the lance was used less frequently as well. Once fighting with lances decreased there was a concomitant decrease in use of the high pommel, high cantle Spanish saddle, which warriors eventually replaced with a stuffed leather pad (Secoy 1953:61), providing the rider greater mobility and acrobatic maneuvering. Indians also developed effective ways to fire their weapons while mounted and use their horses as cover from counter fire, now that replacement animals were more abundant and widespread in the region.

The gun proved to be such a powerful weapon that it had a great effect on the development of distance killing, enhancing the individual's role in combat even further. A tactical shift toward individual performance proved very useful in the evolution of guerrilla warfare on the high plains, and effective combat groups became smaller in size. There also was a decrease in specialization of combat roles and subordination to centralized control (Secoy 1953:62). Other innovations and individual creativity accommodated the use of guns by mounted warriors, such as short barreled, smoothbore muzzleloaders. These weapons were handled most efficiently when mounted marksmen used lead bullets hammered into diameters smaller than the barrel bore so they could be dropped into the muzzle instead of ramroding, thus speeding up the reloading process while on the move (see Secoy 1953:99). Of course other weapons also were used, giving many warriors a comprehensive arsenal by the time the U. S. Army arrived (see Hanson 2001).

As seen by the trading networks that developed, the first half of the nineteenth century opened with intensified Euroamerican exploration that dramatically increased cross-cultural contacts with regional Indian populations and their fluid equestrian mobility. The Sioux had become well established around the Black Hills by this time and pressed into the Shortgrass Plains, while the Crows held onto the Yellowstone River country (Figure 3.7). Northern Cheyennes roamed the North Platte River country in southeastern Wyoming. The Arapahos overlapped with the Sioux and Cheyennes, but had a "core area" somewhere west of the Cheyennes (Reher and Frison

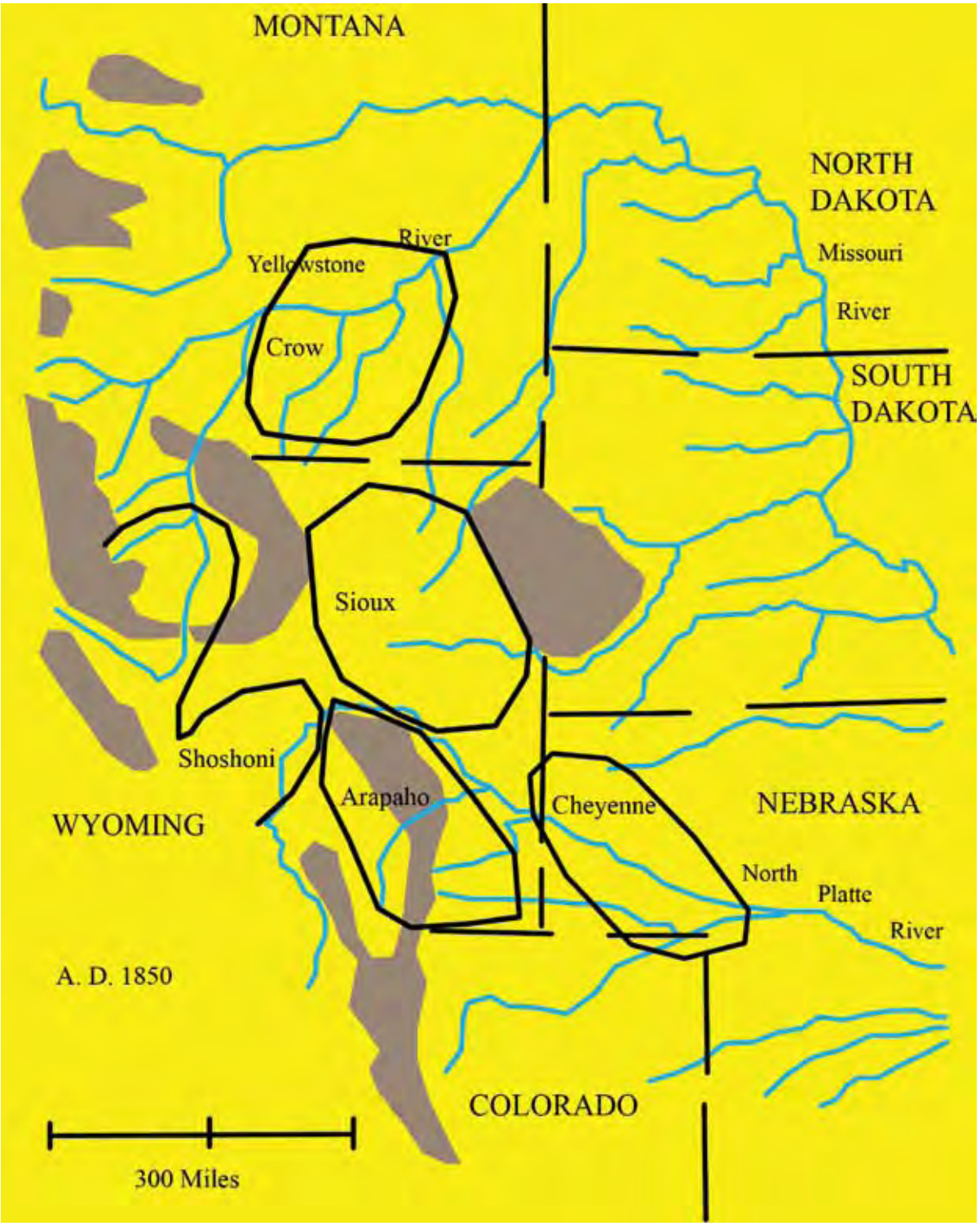

Figure 3.7. Tribal distribution in Wyoming area by 1850, based on Reher (1979:99). Redrawn by author.

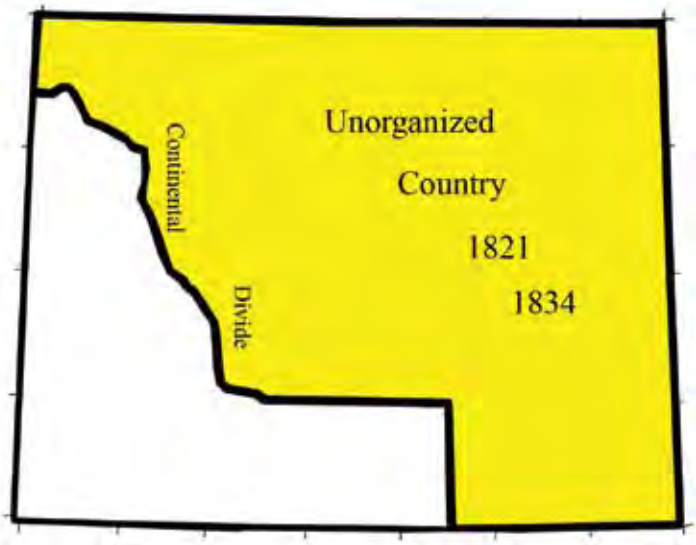

Figure 3.8. Unorganized country under military supervision of U. S. Army, 1821-1834. Information obtained from Erwin (1974:40). Redrawn by author.

1980:34). The Shoshonis had been pushed back west by other mounted groups, and now occupied the Wind River and Sweetwater country as well as lands eastward into the Laramie Basin.

Euroamerican geopolitical boundaries remained fairly stable from 1803-1848 except for a few changes. Mexico seceded from Spain in 1821 and the new Republic of Mexico maintained most of southwestern Wyoming from 1821 to 1848 when the area was ceded to the United States. The eastern segment of this Wyoming strip became part of Texas in 1845 during annexation, and in 1850 it was purchased and the boundary of the State of Texas was located farther south (Erwin 1974:9). The southern part of Oregon Country was under the United States in 1819, including most of Sublette County and parts of Lincoln and Sweetwater Counties.

The names of these geopolitical units changed often through time. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 became the District of Louisiana in 1804 and attached to the Territory of Indiana (Erwin 1974:38). The district became the Territory of Louisiana from 1805-1812 when it was granted its own territorial government. From 1812-1820, this area was the Territory of Missouri, then from 1821-1834 it was considered Unorganized Country under military supervision of the Western Department of the U. S. Army (Figure 3.8). A number of frontier forts were established in other portions of this department so the military could reconnoiter lands in the West and garrisons could help protect settlers and traders from Indian attacks (Erwin 1974:40-42). Fur trappers in particular were populating the Rocky Mountain West.

Beaver pelts were the preferred commodity sought by these trappers throughout the northern Plains (Wood and Thiessen 1985:56-57), and each year they would sell their pelts to traders at the annual rendezvous held along major rivers like the Green in western Wyoming. Traders would then haul the pelts in wagons back to cities in the east where they were sold again for use in stylistic attire worn by urban residents. Commercial competition notwithstanding, the fur trade was a lucrative enterprise through the 1830s, disrupted for a time only by onset of the War of 1812. These Rocky Mountain fur trappers gained an intimate knowledge of the landscape while they worked their trap lines and it was this knowledge that helped bring images of the west to a young nation.

To date, no evidence of military engagements between Indians and the U. S. Army in Wyoming has been found for this episode, but two skirmishes with fur traders are documented below, an 1832 encounter near Hoback and one in 1841 involving trapper Henry Fraeb.

The U. S. Army (1700-1842)

While many military developments among Indian tribes took place in and around the study area during this period, such was not the case with the U. S. Army. The growth and development of the army is intimately linked with the growth and development of the United States itself, so many early changes took place in the colonies back East. This section is a brief summary of the evolution of the U. S. military from 1700 to 1842, taken primarily from a single historical synthesis (Center of Military History 1989).

Colonists had to deal with many of the same environmental constraints on combat that Indians faced early in the eighteenth century. The eastern New World was heavily forested and sparsely

populated, so recent immigrants adopted Indian methods of warfare that placed a premium on individualism and self reliance. Surprise and stealth became critical tactical choices in combat, and scouts were typically employed to reconnoiter in advance of any main force to avert disaster. The large, closed military formations more typical of Europe were less useful in these forested zones. If massed soldiers maneuvered through timber, enemies were likely to disperse, hide behind trees, and fire on the easy target provided by a column. Individual courage and marksmanship proved more useful in this type of warfare than the structured discipline, command and control of a large clustered unit (Center of Military History 1989:26-27).

The earliest military forces during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century were colonial militias responsible for protecting individual colonies while supplying their own arms, equipment and sustenance. Separate colonial governments could neither form nor fund a unified professional army. At the same time, several European wars were being fought over control of the North American Continent, including King Williams' War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1701-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1756-1763). Colonial militia fought with the British against Spain in Florida, South Carolina and elsewhere. Though the engagements were largely indecisive, under certain circumstances the more sparsely manned colonial guerrilla forces could overcome a substantial body of regulars. However, only troops who possessed good organization and discipline could seize and hold important objectives to achieve lasting and decisive results, so good arguments also existed for the use of regular troops. The choice of what type of force to employ depended on each unique set of conditions being faced (Center of Military History 1989:28-38).

Another important development was the Kentucky rifle in Pennsylvania and elsewhere near the end of the French and Indian War. Its barrel rifling proved a major advantage over previous smooth bore muskets, increasing both firing range and accuracy. A marksman could use a relatively light model of this weapon to hit an enemy in the head at 200 yards. For nearly a hundred years, warfare in America would depend largely on rifled, flintlock weaponry, which gave the militia some advantage in guerrilla warfare (Center of Military History 1989:38).

The American Revolution produced important changes in military structure on the continent, including birth of the Army. Growing unrest over British occupation and taxation without representation had generated a colonial revolt against the distant authority. The first Continental Congress met in 1774 and a year later hostilities opened at Lexington and Concord. In 1775, the Continental Army was established with George Washington as its Commander-in-Chief. The small army was a regular force paid by Congress, though resource shortages were frequent. Many times the colonial militia and minutemen were called in to help the regulars. Joint efforts at defensive maneuvering lasted until Washington's command was reinforced by the French alliance in 1778 and victory at Yorktown ensued (Center of Military History 1989:40-57).

Debates continued over the relative advantage of a well-trained militia subject to national service versus a congressionally funded peoples' army. In 1792, congress called for every able bodied male citizen between the ages of 18-45 to enroll in a militia, but the maneuver resulted in little more than federal recognition of militia. However, the attention did help preserve the concepts of citizen soldier and a voluntary force, elements that eventually would evolve into the National Guard. With the threat of foreign invasion reduced, the government looked to using the U. S. Army to address the growing security problem in the West where settlers sought protection from Indians. In 1803, after Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States, concern for security in the West grew even more (Center of Military History 1989:109-118).

Rising unrest with Britain resulted in the War of 1812 and three years of renewed conflict included the burning of public buildings in Washington. In spite of some military disasters, the militia and regulars performed well until victory was achieved (Center of

Military History 1989:122).

Thirty years of relative peace lasted from 1815-1845, while ongoing debates favored the support of professional soldiers in a peacetime army to avoid mistakes encountered during the War of 1812. The recent Napoleonic wars revived discussions over the tactical merits of a column versus a line. The French had used a massed column unsuccessfully against Britain's thin red line, prompting military historians like Clausewitz to write theories about the proper conduct of army warfare (Center of Military History 1989:148; Clausewitz 1993), adding to the body of thought on war that dated back to Sun-Tzu's work in China (Sawyer 1994). Various European military tactics would survive in modified forms during countless engagements of the American Civil War, and their success or failure would influence officers who later took part in the Indian Wars out West.

There were some engagements in spite of this relative peace. When the second Seminole War was fought in 1836, the Army found that logistics and transportation for a Regular Army force could become a real problem, and Regulars were not well equipped to fight a guerrilla war. New tactics needed to be considered. Also in 1836, Texas earned independence from Mexico after years of unrest, but the relationship between the United States and Mexico remained tenuous.

Mounting concern over security in the West during this episode prompted an increase in army exploration on the frontier and eventual construction of military outposts that could supply troops to the region. In the 1830s, Captain Benjamin L. E. Bonneville of the 7th Infantry provided valuable observations about the area while he was on four years leave of absence (Center of Military History 1989:157). Due to his civilian status, some question exists whether his activities, like establishment of Fort Bonneville, should be considered military, but there is little doubt that the United States Army benefited greatly from Bonneville's observations.

Field reconnaissance also made the Army more aware that Plains Indians were accomplished horsemen and might be a formidable light cavalry if skirmishes with them were to occur. To counter this threat, the first battalion of mounted rangers was organized in 1832. Later it was expanded into a regiment of dragoons, becoming the first cavalry to appear in the Regular Army since 1815 (Center of Military History 1989:157).

By the late 1830s and early 1840s, the Army clearly had taken an increasingly greater interest in Western exploration, eventually sending out large expeditions to assist expansion into the frontier (Center of Military History 1989:159-161). The composition, organization, and armament of the U. S. Army that evolved through these growing pains comprised the force that would face Indian tribes in Wyoming by the middle of the nineteenth century (Heitman 1903).

Inscription Chronology

The earliest evidence of military activity in Wyoming following introduction of the horse turns up in numerous rock inscriptions. Rock art research in and around Wyoming has increased significantly over the past twenty-five years, and it has added to the growing record of sites (Francis and Loendorf 2002; Keyser and Poetschat 2005, 2008; Keyser et al. 2005; Walker and Francis 1989; Walker 1994). Individual glyphs and panels relevant to this context include images of horses, guns, metal tipped weapons, combat scenes, and company/regimental inscriptions.

Inscriptions may occur on cliff faces, loose boulders or other bedrock outcrops. Their method of manufacture, thematic representations, stylistic portrayals, and datable organic deposits all might yield clues about their antiquity and meaning (Francis and Loendorf 2002; Keyser and Poetschat 2005). Some manufacturing techniques seem to change through time such as early pecked figures and later finely incised line figures. The morphology of horses changes as well, with representations evolving from rather rigid individualistic ceremonial styles to more sophisticated biographical styles that depict events (Keyser 1987).

Horse glyphs occur throughout Wyoming and a detailed synthesis of these data eventually may

Table 3.1. Correlation of Keyser's (1987, 1996) art styles with Secoy's (1953) horse and gun periods and archaeological periods mentioned in this context.

Keyser Dates AD	Keyser Art Style	Secoy Periods	Archaeological Time Period
1000-1700	Ceremonial	Pre-Horse Pre-Gun	Late Prehistoric
1625-1775	Protohistoric	Post-Horse Pre-Gun Occasional Gun Few Guns	Protohistoric
1750-1830	Early Biographical	Occasional Gun Few Guns Horse and Gun	Early Historic
1830-1885	Late Biographical	Horse and Gun	Historic
1860-1900+	Ledger Art	Horse and Gun	Historic

illustrate the movement of animals chronologically among tribal territories during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Native American oral histories also may be useful in deciphering the meaning of Protohistoric and Early Historic inscriptions (Keyser et al. 2006). Some early historic inscription sites like Madison Creek (48FR3847) indicate that metal tools were used in carving though no horses or guns were depicted to suggest a military theme, so WYCRO sites like these were not included in the analysis.

James Keyser attempted to develop a stylistic chronology for the Late Prehistoric through early Historic Periods that documents significant changes in rock art representations of regional military activity (Keyser 1979, 1987, 1996). He proposed five periods of artistic development that eventually may allow researchers to group inscriptions containing images of horses and guns into more tightly dated episodes. His categories are Ceremonial, Protohistoric, Early Biographical, Late Biographical, and Ledger art. As research continues, the geographic array of relatively dated sites may begin to yield clues regarding the sequential dispersal of the horse and gun across space and time as well as the evolving role of armed combat in a cross-cultural context. As of this writing horses occur more frequently in Wyoming rock art sites, while guns are less common (Greer and Greer 2008).

To organize his research, Keyser (1979) compared combat scenes at the famous Writing-on-Stone site in Alberta to Secoy's (1953) post-horse/pre-gun and occasional gun periods discussed earlier. He then added data from Wyoming and elsewhere to help expand his rock art chronology (Keyser 1987, 1996), using his five categories to denote stylistic changes from Late Prehistoric Ceremonial art to Historic ledger art on the Northwestern Plains (Table 3.1).

His ceremonial art period dates from 1000-1700 A.D. and is typified by shield-bearing warriors, v-neck human figures, and boat-form zoomorphs (Keyser 1987:45-46), which predate the scope of this study. This period is followed by Protohistoric art from approximately 1625-1775 with increased emphasis on action scenes added to the previous style. Early Biographical art dates from approximately 1750-1830, exhibiting mature style horses, weapons, and detailed action events (Keyser 1987:45-46, 1996:30-34). Late Biographical art lasts roughly from 1830-1885 and contains glyphs with more realism reflecting possible influence from contact with early white artists as well as independent artistic developments. Full-bodied horses and detailed anatomy are components of this style. Some of these biographical images also have shown up on robe art from 1800-1860 (Keyser 1996:34). Keyser's (1987, 1996) final period covers Ledger art (circa 1860-

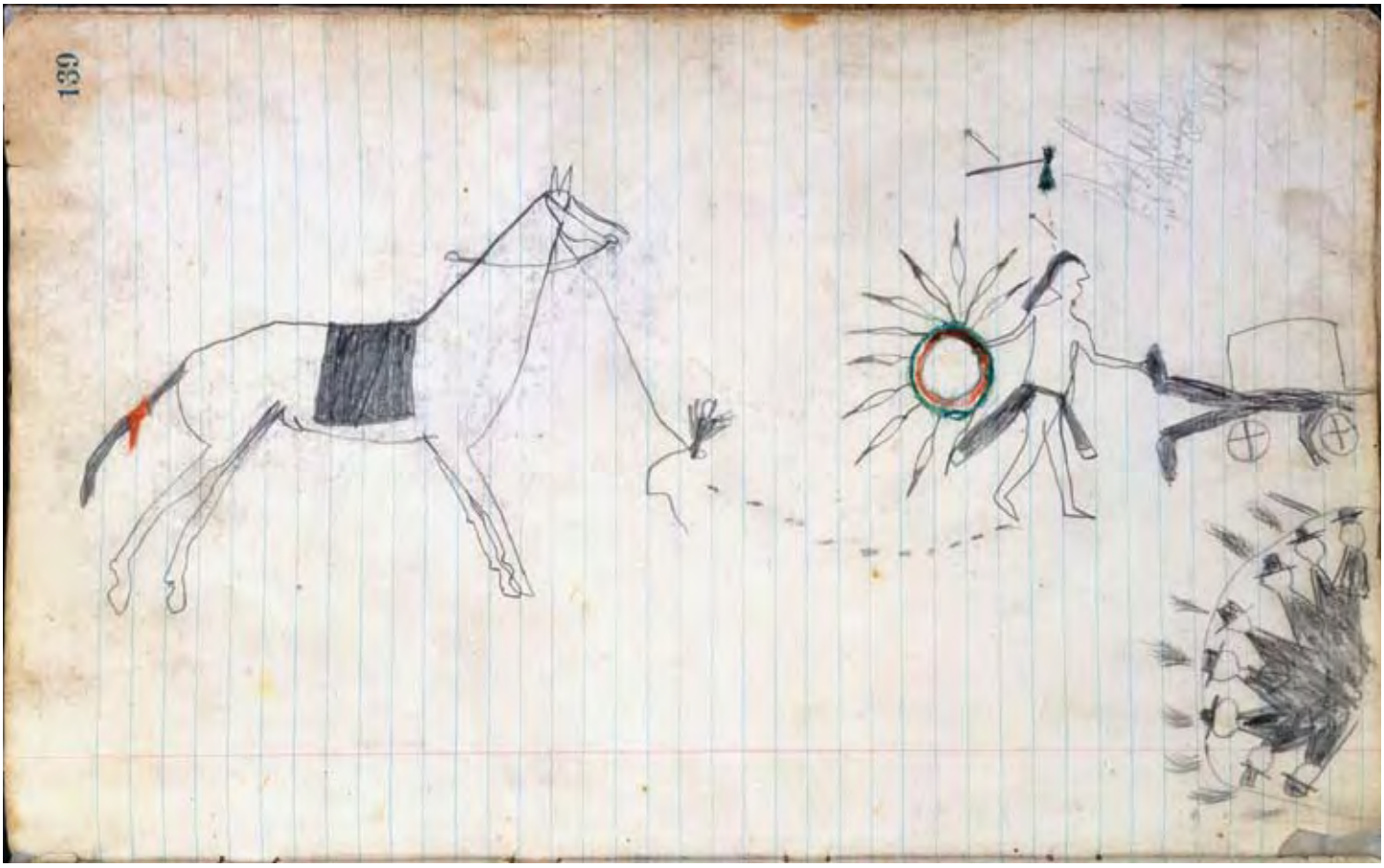

Figure 3.9. Ledger art of Tomahawk counting coup at the Red Buttes fight 1865. Colorado State Historical Society.

1900), which depicts various combat scenes on other surfaces like pages of a document (e.g., Afton et al. 1997). As such, ledger art is comparable to many portable historical records that periodically reference specific sites (Figure 3.9).

A preliminary sample of 23 sites from the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office database (WYCRO) was compared to Keyser's chronology. Each is listed below and more information is available on them in Appendix B prepared by Rebecca Wiewel.

The rock art chronology sample:

1. Powder Wash (OAS-20) (48SW16699) consists of charcoal pictographs drawn on the north side of the entrance to a sandstone rockshelter that include horses and riders, stick figure humans, a stemmed projectile point and a big horn sheep (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:31-32).

2. Trapper Creek (48BH303) includes four series of petroglyphs published in *The Wyoming Archaeologist* (Sheridan Chapter 1960, 1961). Images contain an owl-like bird, grooves and lines, horse and rider, and possible Fremont glyphs.

3. Medicine Lodge Creek (48BH499) is a National Register site with a downstream locality containing a few relevant pictograph images that include a horse and rider (Francis 2007:221-223).

4. Inyan Kara (48CK57) contains an inscription, "74. Custer", reportedly from the Custer Expedition to the Black Hills in 1874 (Junge 1971).

5. Boysen Reservoir Inscription (48FR88) was studied by Stewart, see Walker (1994). Among the images are bison, horses and riders, human torsos and heads.

6. Site 48CO2245 (Wagon Hound Creek #4) is listed in WYCRO with only a general legal description, and it appears to have a military

inscription for Company L of the 11th Ohio volunteer cavalry dated 1864, studied by James Stewart (2009).

7. Little Popo Agie #5 (48FR2509) was studied by Stewart (2009). Images include horses and riders, coup sticks, rifles and spears, among others.

8. Names Hill (48LN39) contains both Euroamerican inscriptions and Native American rock art, with one panel depicting a row of 39 guns, a horse and rider, a row of tipis, and warriors counting coup (Keyser and Poetschat 2005:87).

9. La Barge Bluffs (48LN1640) is an extensive rock art site located along almost 300 meters of cliff face (Keyser and Poetschat 2005:17). Nine clusters of rock art occur. Glyphs range from single images to an area with over 170 drawn figures. Trains, horses and riders, combat scenes, and coup count scenes are depicted.

10. Arminto Petroglyphs (48NA991) contains three panels of rock art with a total of five identifiable features, and it is heavily eroded (Keyser et al. 2005). At least one depiction is a rider on a horse with leather armor (Figure 3.10).

11. Dodd Site (48PA401) once contained pictographs on trees, but they were removed before the mid-1960s (Connor 1966). Images had included mounted riders with buffalo horn headdresses, and a tipi.

12. Oregon Trail Inscriptions (Register Cliff West) (48PL132) contains historic signatures left by emigrants and Native American pictographs (Brown 2004; Reiss personal communication 2008).

13. South Piney (48SU5331) consists of three panels of rock art on a sandstone cliff (WYCRO database). The site was recorded in May 2004 by James Keyser, George Poetschat, Dave Vlcek, Sam Drucker, and Terri Milner. Scenes of warfare with mounted and pedestrian combatants are included.

14. White Mountain (48SW302) is an extensive site with at least 37 rock art panels containing more than 425 individual images (Bozovich and Bozovich 1968; Hilman 2002). Figures include horses and mounted warriors, one wielding a sword.

15. Pine Canyon (48SW309) contains 11 panels of rock art (Keyser 1987:44; WYCRO database). Protohistoric horses are present, one of which is armored.

16. Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #30 (48SW9438) contains approximately 20 charcoal pictographs and incised petroglyphs. The images depict horse stealing (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:10-11).

17. Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #29 (48SW9440) contains about 50 distinct panels of petroglyphs and charcoal pictographs. This is the largest concentration of rock art in the Powder Wash area. Images include humans, horses, tipis, bears and bison (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:13-14).

18. Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #25 (48SW9532) consists of two small rockshelters about 15 meters apart with charcoal pictographs (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:16-17). Depicted are a combat scene, bison, horses and elk.

19. Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #26 (48SW9533) consists of a charcoal pictograph drawn on the roof of a small rockshelter. Glyphs include two mature style horses, a stick figure human and

Figure 3.10. Arminto petroglyph (48NA991) depicting a horse with leather armor. Photo by R. B. Eckerdy, courtesy of Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. A second glyph is just to the left and not completely visible. Site was reported by Keyser et al. (2005).

Table 3.2. Inscription sites in WYCRO tentatively assigned to chronological categories.

Ceremonial	Protohistoric	Early Biographical	Late Biographical	Euroamerican
48SW302	48WA2066	48FR88	48LN39	48CK57
48BH303	48SW302	48SW302	48LN1640	48CO2245
	48NA991	48SW9438	48PA401	48PL132
	48SU5331	48SW9440	48SW302	
	48SW309	48SW9532	48BH499	
	48SW13775	48SW9533	48FR2509	
	48SW14715	48SW13775	48SW9533	
	48SW16693	48SW14715	48SW14715	
	48SW16699	48WA2066	48WA2066	
	48BH303			

a crude animal pierced by an arrow (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:17-18).

20. Tolar Site (48SW13775) consists of 33 panels of petroglyphs likely associated with the Comanche (Olson and Loendorf 2003). The dominant image is a mounted Comanche warrior. A second horse and rider also is present.

21. Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #41 (48SW14715) has six distinct rock art areas of charcoal pictographs. Horsemen, bears, bison, elk and a large anthropomorph are present (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:18-20).

22. Powder Wash Rock Art (OAS-9) (48SW16693) consists of two small rockshelters each with a single charcoal horse pictograph (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:25-26).

23. No Water Petroglyphs (48WA2066) occur in the Big Horn Basin and contain significant amounts of warrior art complete with humans, horses and weapons, most of which is believed to be Crow (Keyser and Poetschat 2009).

These 23 sites, comprising 33 chronological placements, were tentatively grouped in Keyser's scheme though future research could dramatically alter their assignment (Table 3.2). Current chronological estimates do not constitute a complete listing, but they may help future investigators pursue a more substantive study. In some cases, individual panels from one site actually group into more than one time period. Only two of these sites (48SW302, 48BH303) have been categorized in the Ceremonial Period, while ten are considered Protohistoric, nine Early Biographical, nine Late Biographical, and three Early Historic Euroamerican. Sweetwater County is the best represented with 17 of the 33 occurrences (51.5%). Rock art sites in Sweetwater County are expected to produce the earliest representations of horses since it lies in the center of the region from which initial horse acquisition probably occurred.

A particularly interesting Protohistoric site example is the Arminto Petroglyphs (48NA991) depicting horses with leather armor (Keyser et al. 2005:23-30), which is consistent with Secoy's (1953:37) Occasional Gun Period from 1735-1765 (Figure 3.10). Unfortunately this glyph, like so many in Wyoming, is threatened by ongoing erosion and vandalism. Another good example of horses is a Late Biographical image from La Barge Bluffs (48LN1640) (Figure 3.11). This glyph depicts a mounted warrior taking possession of what may be a military horse by touching it with a coup stick (Keyser and Poetschat 2005:37).

A recent publication discusses the important rock art panels known as the No Water Petroglyphs

(48WA2066) in the Big Horn Basin (Keyser and Poetschat 2009).

Most of the inscriptions there are believed to be Crow. Numerous examples occur of military themes depicted in individual glyphs, and they include images of horses, guns, metal projectile points, and combat encounters. One warrior art glyph portrays a Late Biographical scene where a mounted warrior engages in combat with a person on foot (Figure 3.12). The mounted warrior has head adornment and a shield, and appears to have thrust a metal tipped lance at his foe. The horse wears what appears to be an ornate Spanish-style bit with lightning reins. The pedestrian is wielding a rifle that is pointed at the mounted warrior. The actual age of this glyph is unknown, but it is tempting to suggest it represents a scene more toward the end of the Few Guns Period when pedestrian warriors sometimes engaged mounted enemies who still used the lance. A line drawing of this scene also is provided along with a second warrior combat scene from the same site (Figure 3.13).

Inscription sites, like other archaeological properties, are difficult to date to exact periods of use or occupation. Unlike historic sites with written records that chronicle events by calendar days, various absolute and relative dating techniques are needed at archaeological sites just to establish a possible chronological range. Even this can be difficult if carbon-based material is not available to sample. Nonetheless, attempts like Table 3.2 to place sites in proper chronological position are an important step in any synthesis.

Stewart Sites

Jim Stewart has done a tremendous amount of documentation on rock art sites, particularly in the Fremont County area of Wyoming (Stewart personal communication March 2008). He has filed copies of handwritten field notes in the WYCRO database, although not all of these sites have had complete cultural properties forms filled out. Six discoveries have been given Smithsonian site numbers and are believed to contain images of horses and/or guns.

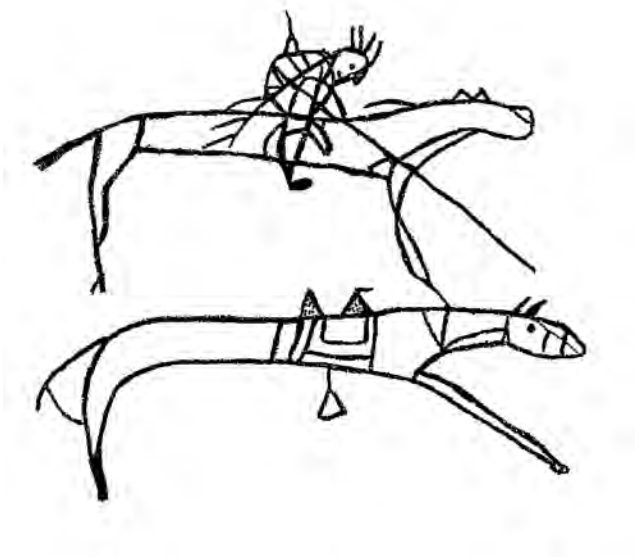

Figure 3.11. Line drawing of La Barge Bluffs (48LN1640) glyphs that depict capture of a possible cavalry horse (Keyser and Poetschat 2005:37). Note the saddle, blanket, stirrup and bridle on the captured animal. A saddle horn appears on top of the pommel, which usually is more indicative of civilian saddles, but the possibility exists that this is a military mount. Illustration courtesy of James D. Keyser.

Figure 3.12. Panel at No Water (48WA2066) that depicts a mounted warrior with metal tipped lance engaging a person on foot with a rifle (Keyser and Poetschat 2009:18). Photo courtesy of James D. Keyser.

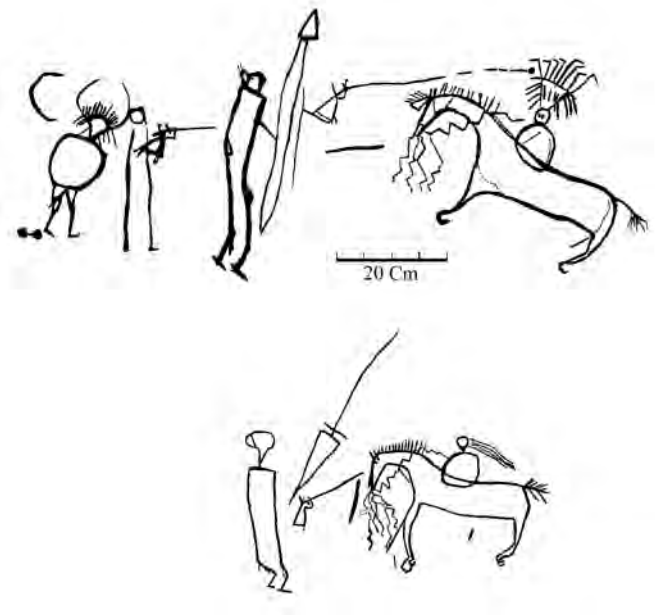

Figure 3.13. Line drawings of two different combat scenes from No Water (48WA2066) (Keyser and Poetschat (2009:17-26). Illustration courtesy of James D. Keyser.

Their ages have not been determined, but they include Beaver Creek East (48FR2460), Little Popo Agie #4 (48FR2508), Weiser Creek (48FR2676), Sweetwater River #1 (48FR3310), Beaver Creek West #2 (48FR3643), and North Fork Popo Agie Canyon (48FR5668-C). Many of these probably date between 1700 and 1842. Additional work is needed on these and other important Stewart localities.

Other Rock Art Discoveries

Ongoing research across the state continues to identify sites relevant to this property type and contextual theme. In fact, other sites in the WYCRO database deserve mention though they were not included in the chronology sample above. Shuler Park Site (48SH65) contains pictograph figures from a high elevation site in the Big Horn Mountains. Castle Gardens (48FR108) may have a horse inscription (Stewart personal communication 2008). Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #31 (48SW9439) exhibits more than two dozen painted and incised images on 14 separate rock art panels (Keyser and Poetschat 2008:11-12). Wind River Agency Block House (48FR714) contains inscriptions that probably date after 1871. Recent discoveries at Legend Rock (48HO4) (Walker and Bies 2008) include several horse glyphs on the Bureau of Land Management portion of the site. Since parts of Legend Rock lie on private, state, and federal land, there is some thought that three Smithsonian site numbers eventually may be needed, but at this point all the discoveries are treated by researchers as 48HO4.

In addition to these, sites located during previous River Basin Survey (RBS) work along Boysen Reservoir were revisited several years ago (Walker 1994), and at least five additional rock art sites with horse glyphs deserve mention. These are 48FR12, 48FR15, 48FR34, 48FR86, and 48FR99, all in the WYCRO database. Unfortunately many of these have been destroyed over the past half century by fluctuating water levels. Site 48FR88 from this study is listed above in the chronology, but the others are not. Ross Hilman (personal communication 2009) has indicated that these RBS sites are not on the Wind River Indian Reservation, but on U. S. Bureau of Reclamation land now under a reservoir used for recreational purposes in Boysen State Park. Sites that actually are on Wind River Reservation lands also can add important information, but they are restricted from certain research efforts so limitations must be kept in mind.

Several other sites and individual panels important to this theme have neither been given site numbers nor entered into the WYCRO database with completed site forms. They are known from various types of studies or personal communication. Locations for five of these have been identified to county and added to a statewide distribution map of 39 inscription sites (Figure 3.14).

Mahogany Buttes

Mahogany Buttes is located in the southern Big Horn Basin. Francis and Loendorf (2002:181-182) describe one representational glyph painted in white as being a horse with long arched neck, small head, lean body, and muscular thighs conveying a sense of

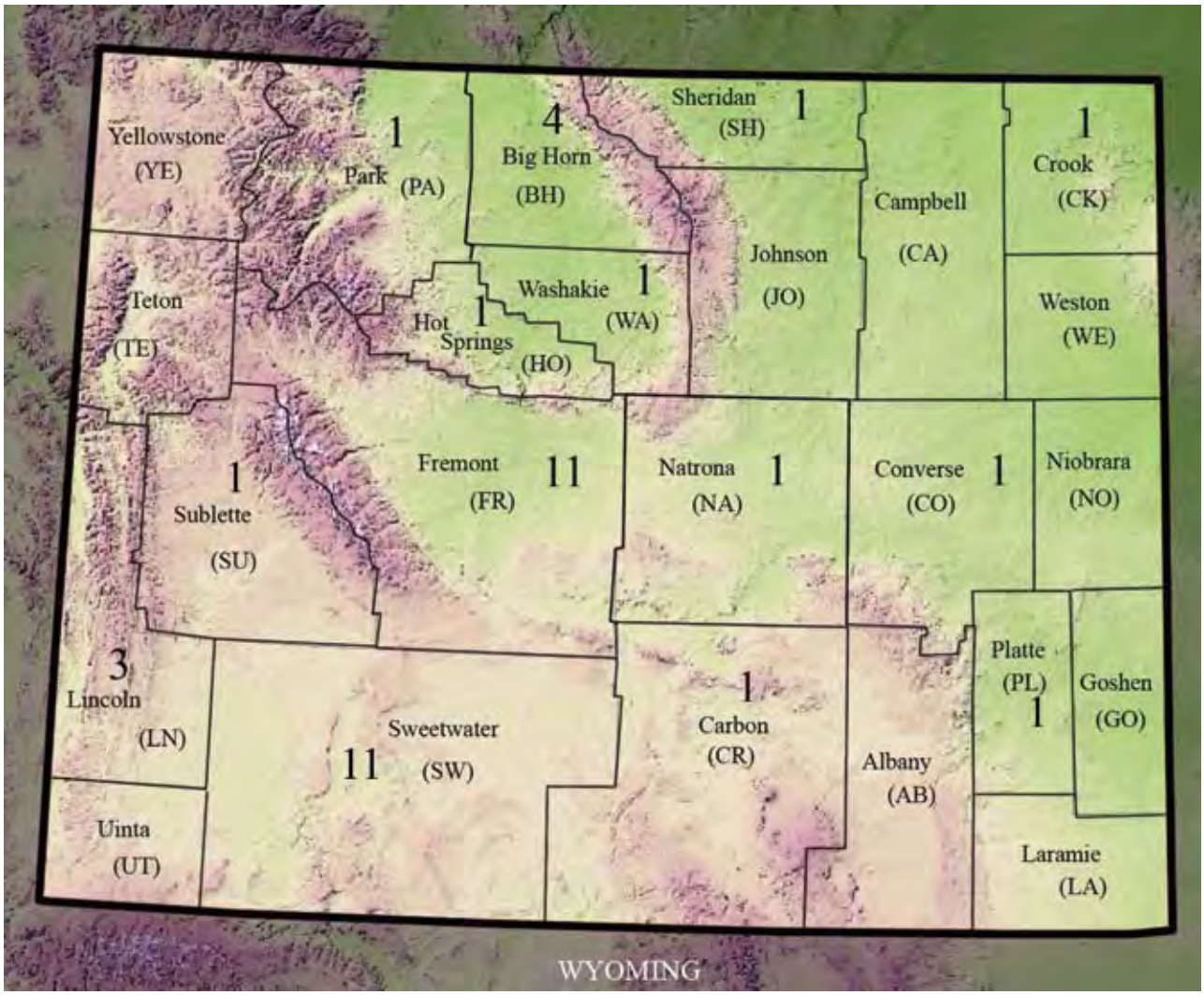

Figure 3.14. Distribution by county of 39 rock art sites with horses, guns, or military themes in Wyoming. Base map from Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

motion. The rider sits astride the horse rather than being projected on top of it. White painted dots and a horizontal linear figure occur above him. This pictograph is possibly Late Biographical in style and is the same one from private property recently depicted on the cover of the Medicine Lodge Creek volume (Frison and Walker 2007).

Military Creek Area

Francis and Loendorf (2002:181-182) describe three mounted, shield-bearing warriors among incised glyphs at this site in the Big Horn Basin near Tensleep. Riders are stick figures visible through shields and are atop crude horses. A visual awkwardness results from the humans appearing in frontal view while the horses are in profile. These glyphs may be Protohistoric style.

Unknown Site

A biographical rock art site with unspecified locality occurs in central Wyoming and illustrates a horse with a decorated halter. This horse, with long neck and torso, appears to be Late Biographical style. Scalps may be hanging from the horse's bridle or lower jaw (Keyser 1987:57).

Red Canyon

This site lies in the Wind River Basin. While the biographical element is clear in much imagery in the area, some is suggestive of altered states of consciousness. Francis and Loendorf (2002:181-182) describe a possible example of this in a Red Canyon horse glyph with a rectangular body and bird tracks pointing toward the horse's back, which might imply mystical qualities. Chronological age is unknown.

Spur Canyon

Keyser (1996:33) illustrates two riders on horses in motion with long bodies and necks. Each warrior appears armed with a lance or similar weapon and they may be chasing an individual on foot. One rider is clearly astride the horse while the other may be off to the side holding onto the neck. These are part of the Late Biographical art style Keyser (1996:32). Keyser has pointed out that Spur Canyon is La Barge Bluffs (48LN1640), and the original investigator simply used a different name (personal communication 2009).

Unknown Site

Keyser (1987:49) illustrates a rock art glyph from an unknown site in Wyoming. The image is a realistic horse and rider of the Late Biographical style. The human figure is astride the horse and appears to have a weapon and quirt. The horse has a long neck and torso, and hair is depicted in its mane, tail, and fetlock.

Bill Junction

An Early Biographical style horse and rider is represented in a glyph near Bill Junction in east-central Wyoming (Keyser 1987:44, 53). The rider's legs are not astride the horse, and he may be wearing some sort of head gear with bison horns.

Military Inscriptions

The author knows of a locality near Fort Halleck in Carbon County where soldiers inscribed their names and company affiliation on a sandstone outcrop in the early 1860s.

The lettering was in an excellent state of preservation 10 years ago, since the panel has been well protected from prevailing winds. It is believed to be on private property. Brown (2004:346) has documented inscriptions near Fort Halleck that may be the same property. He records at least two names with regimental identifiers on a bluff near the fort, Private Franklin A. Bostwick Co. F, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, and Private Franklin Mahanna, Co. F, 11th Ohio Volunteer Cavalry, both inscribed in 1864.

Brown (2004) actually has compiled historic inscriptions over great distances along the various emigrant trails, and his research reveals likely military engravings at several locations in the study area. In addition to the Fort Halleck area, his work indicates soldiers may have inscribed bedrock at Guernsey East, Register Cliff, Guernsey West, Guernsey, Deer Creek, Independence Rock, Point of Rocks, and Point of Rocks Station in Wyoming. All of these are not considered as military sites in this context due to their primary role in emigrant travel, but they certainly are relevant to the theme.

Skirmishes during the Horse and Gun Period (1810-1842)

Although Fort Bonneville was built in 1832 during this episode, no indisputable military forts were present in Wyoming at this time. While Fort Bonneville may have been established in part to keep an eye on the region in the event of international conflict with Britain, Bonneville himself was on leave of absence from the military at the time the post was built (Gardner et al. 1991:22-28).

At least two skirmishes did occur, however, and they are among the few documented engagements that took place before a sustained Army presence in the study area. These engagements involved Indian bands and different groups of trappers. The life of a Rocky Mountain trapper was fraught with danger and Indian encounters were not uncommon (Russell 1955), however no attempt was made in this context to chronicle every incident.

Hoback (Summer 1832)

Independent researcher Richard Ashburn (personal communication 2009) believes he has identified the burial site of two trappers by the name of More and Foy who were ambushed by Blackfeet somewhere above where the Hoback River empties into the Snake River in Jackson's Hole. Although accounts differ, the engagement may have taken place in the latter part of July or early August, 1832. A party of seven trappers had been coming from Pierre's Hole just before the ambush. Two of them, More and Foy, were killed in the skirmish and buried nearby a year later. A third member died later of his wounds. Ashburn has found rock piles that may indicate where the two men were interred.

Fraeb's Fight (August 1841)

Henry Fraeb may have had a structure or post of some sort on the Little Snake River near present day Savery, Wyoming from 1839-1841 (48CR1184) at a time he was in partnership with Jim Bridger (Wyoming Recreation Commission n.d.1). Barnhart 1969:34-39) describes it as a trading post on what would become known as Savery Creek. By 1841, the mountain man era was nearly past and beaver trapping was no longer as profitable as it once was. In early July of that year, Fraeb, Jim Bridger and Joe Walker had been trading with the Bidwell-Bartleson party on the Green River, which was the first large emigrant train (Michno and Michno 2008:59-60). Later that summer, Fraeb and some other trappers moved back toward the Little Snake country. A small detachment of these men was attacked by Indians and a warning was sent to Fraeb and others who were away from the group hunting bison. Fraeb's party gathered their weapons and successfully helped fight off another assault by about 500 Sioux, Cheyennes and Arapahos on August 21 due to their excellent marksmanship, killing about a dozen warriors.

As the gun smoke cleared, four trappers were dead out of approximately 25 who had taken part, including Fraeb himself whom Jim Baker remembered as never having fallen but died in a sitting position braced up against a stump (Michno and Michno 2008:60). The other dead trappers were Ephrain Brown, Desplaines, and Contouire (Baker 1983:47). Barnhart states that the fortified position of the trappers during the attack was in "the corral attached to the trading post" (1969:38). Presumably, this means the engagement occurred near site 48CR1184 and the Wyoming/Colorado border. However, guide Jim Baker indicated the fight took place at the mouth of Battle Creek in Colorado about half a mile south of Wyoming (Hafen 2001:139). Another source indicates the battle may have taken place on August 7 or 8, because news of Fraeb's death showed up in a journal on August 14 (Alter 1962:197-198). Battle Creek and Battle Mountain take their name from this engagement. Neither the location of the fight nor the presence of a trading post has been verified with archaeological fieldwork.

Fraeb's Fort is a name occasionally associated with this property (Whiteley 1999:115). If Fraeb ever constructed a building in this area, it would have been done at a time he also was in partnership with Jim Bridger and planning construction of Fort Bridger #1 to the northwest.

Roads and Trails

Four roads/trails are mentioned here though none are considered military. They are listed only to provide a context for the role of Euroamericans in Wyoming during this period that eventually required military surveys and armed security.

The Hunt route (Astorians) was used by a fur exploration expedition commanded by Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey in 1811, with Donald McKenzie second in charge. They crossed the Big Horn Mountains and the Wind River Mountains near Union Pass. Reaching the Green River, they crossed the divide to Henry's Fork of the Snake River and went down the Snake. This was the fourth crossing of the North American Continent and the second by an American (Goetzmann 1959:30), not counting Native Americans of course. The undated USDI, Bureau of Land Management map of *Wyoming Historic Trails* available at the Wyoming State Office in Cheyenne, shows an Astorian Camp along the upper Green River

in Sublette County.

The return journey after Hunt's activity was led by Robert Stuart in 1812-1813 and the Stuart route (Astorians) followed the Bear River north to the Henry branch of the Snake, and then over to the Green River. Stuart traveled the southern margin of the Wind River Mountains instead of returning over Union Pass, going instead through South Pass. His route trailed down the Sweetwater and the North Platte (Goetzmann 1959:30-31), and he eventually built a log structure near Bessemer Bend as a winter camp.

James Ohio Pattie traveled north from the Grand Canyon in 1826 across the central plateau country between Utah and Colorado to South Pass, and on to the Big Horn River area and Yellowstone. The information is based on Pattie's *The Personal N*arrative *of James Ohio Pattie* edited by R. G. Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, No. 18, Cleveland, 1905. The exact route of his exploration and travels is conjectural, and there is no mention in Goetzmann (1959:45-47) of it having been used for military purposes.

Under orders from Major B.L.E. Bonneville, Joseph Walker took 40 men from Fort Bonneville in 1833 heading south to Bear River, crossing over the Sierras on to the Humboldt River, tracing what would become the most important emigrant route to California. Bonneville, a protégé of General Lafayette, took credit for discoveries made by the trapper he sent, including a map that received much publicity (Goetzmann 1959:46, 52-53). The lack of a clear military role at Fort Bonneville already has been mentioned.

The period 1700-1842 came to a close with rapidly developing interest in the region's resources that had been observed during the early period of exploration. Interest also was high in transcontinental travel and westward emigration across the vast open spaces of the High Plains and intermountain basins. Since Indian groups were well entrenched in their territorial hunting grounds on the same landscape and had become well versed in horsemanship, knowledgeable about firearms, and skilled in guerrilla warfare tactics, emigrants would need security and safe passage. This precipitated an increased role for the U. S. Army in conducting topographical surveys on transportation routes and protecting emigrant wagon trains. The sustained movement of people through Wyoming eventually brought about a more permanent need for an Army presence in the area, which would lead to establishment of several garrisoned forts.

Chapter 4: Military Exploration and Emigrant Protection (1842-1864)

The 1840s was a significant decade in the geopolitical evolution of what would become Wyoming, and in the capability of the U. S. Army to deal with unrest throughout the vast western territories. Mexico and Great Britain yielded their claims to portions of the study area, placing Wyoming under the federal jurisdiction of the United States. Following the annexation of Texas in 1845 and the peace settlement at Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 at the close of war with Mexico, the American West was ripe for the frenzied claim of Manifest Destiny (Utley 1967:3). Many expansionists wanted the United States to occupy the entire continent between Canada and Mexico, and such zealotry fueled even greater apprehension among Indian tribes already residing there.

The fur trade had been a going concern in the Rocky Mountains for decades by the beginning of this period, having reached its zenith during the 1830s with perhaps 200 trappers in Wyoming (Larson 1965:9). Now its influence was waning. By the 1840s, it was heavy emigrant travel that began passing through this uncharted region made known to citizens from stories passed on by trappers and explorers who had ventured into its immense frontier. Most of the United States' population was unaware of the West's environmental diversity or complex cultural demography and contemporary press outlets were fundamentally uninformed as well. Yet, tens of thousands of people began journeys through Indian occupied lands having been seduced by the allure of new life adventures, growing commercial opportunities, settlement speculation, and the discovery of gold. They followed long wagon routes through Wyoming and braved the mysterious Great American Desert on their way to California, Oregon, and elsewhere. Such public interest in westward travel and settlement precipitated the need for a greater military presence (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Lieutenant John Charles Fremont surveyed early routes through what would become Wyoming. Shown here as a Major General. Sub Neg 27657, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

More information was required on the best routes for travel, including details of the terrain, vegetation, water, and other resources that would be needed by droves of emigrants. The earliest regular occupation of the U. S. Army in the study area therefore resulted from extensive military exploration and survey of suitable transportation routes. This effort was authorized after Congress established the Corps of Topographical Engineers on July 5, 1838 (Rosenberg

1989:2). The Corps at that time consisted of one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, four Majors, ten Captains, ten First Lieutenants, and ten Second Lieutenants. Topographical engineers actually had been active in the War Department as early as 1813 to conduct surveys for military purposes and to explore routes for troop movements. Their role eventually included civil engineering surveys for rivers, harbors, and railroads (Beers 1995). By 1838 the Corps had the resources and manpower needed to begin investigating westward emigrant routes.

Several roads and trails were assessed by the Corps for use by civilian travelers, military troops and the transport of commercial goods, and these trails bisected what were the established territories of various Native American tribes who had lived there for generations. For example, John C. Fremont (Figure 4.1) mapped the Oregon (Emigrant) Trail west to South Pass in 1842, and the following year explored portions of what would become the Overland Trail (Rosenberg 1989:2). His efforts helped fuel the engine of emigrant travel for the next several decades. Subsequent surveys found shorter trail segments and more efficient routes that soon were depicted on maps whose strategic value would enhance the execution of military maneuvers against Indians. Surveyed routes during the early decades of this episode also included possible railroad courses and other means of transportation and communication. Most of these figured prominently in connecting key sites discussed elsewhere in this chapter with other portions of the region in a transcontinental network that forever changed the cultural dynamics of the American West (Figure 4.2).

Routes

Fremont (1842)

Lieutenant John Charles Fremont participated in some of the earliest reconnaissance trips for the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. Beginning at the forks of the Platte River in Nebraska, Clement Lambert led the main group of one party along the regular trail to Fort Laramie, while Fremont and several others went south toward Long's Peak and Fort St. Vrain, assessing the land for strategic locations of military posts to connect settlements with South Pass. Rejoining the main party at Fort Laramie, Fremont and the others trailed up the North Platte and Sweetwater via Red Buttes, Independence Rock, and Devil's Gate to South Pass from which they investigated the Wind River Mountains before returning home (Goetzmann 1959:71-82). The area they mapped in Wyoming became part of the Oregon (Emigrant) Trail. Several years later in 1849, the U. S. Army Mounted Riflemen would establish a number of military posts along the entire trail for emigrant protection, and bypass Fort Bridger via the Sublette Cut-off (Frazer 1972:181; Rosenberg 1989:6; Settle 1989:129, 324).

Fremont (1843-1844)

Fremont traveled again to tie in his earlier reconnaissance with the efforts of other surveyors, thus developing an interconnected investigation of the continent's interior. His route entered Wyoming from Fort St. Vrain in Colorado, passed through the Laramie Mountains and over to the North Platte River. Eventually he followed the Sweetwater, went through South Pass and traversed the Green River. Fremont passed the Muddy fork of the Ham River and presently reached Bear River, which eventually runs into Great Salt Lake (Goetzmann 1959:71, 85-90). Portions of the Cherokee Trail were a precursor of the Overland Trail upon which Ben Holladay eventually established his Overland Stage line in 1862, and parts of this route were followed by Fremont in 1843 (Rosenberg 1989:6).

Kearny (1845)

Colonel Steven Watts Kearny went into the region leading five companies of the First Dragoons, a force considered strong enough to deter Indians from any outbursts in case war erupted with England or Mexico. Part of his duty was to protect emigrants on the Oregon Trail as far west as South Pass (White 1998:115-133). On his return to what would become known as Fort Laramie, Kearny met with Brule and

Figure 4.2. Selected sites discussed in Chapter four. Map prepared by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Oglala bands after which the Indians agreed to refrain from attacks on emigrant wagon trains. Kearny's column then left Fort Laramie, trailed down the Chugwater branch of the Laramie Fork and on to Bent's Fort in Colorado (Goetzmann 1959:112-116).

Stansbury (1850)

Captain Howard Stansbury utilized a regiment of Mounted Rifles on an expedition to Great Salt Lake guided in part by the legendary Jim Bridger. Their route initially followed the Oregon Trail from Fort Laramie through South Pass, then south to Fort Bridger before exiting Wyoming (Goetzmann 1959:25, 215, 219-225; Madsen 1989). It was Stansbury in 1850 on his return trip that officially recognized the Cherokee Trail/Overland Trail as a

valuable emigrant route (Rosenberg 1989:6).

Lander Route-Pacific Railroad Survey (circa 1853)

There was a strong desire by this time that a railroad have its Pacific terminus in Washington Territory. Frederick West Lander, a civilian engineer, followed the Oregon Trail from Fort Laramie through South Pass and then crossed the Green River valley to Fort Hall, Idaho. He made a favorable report regarding the Puget Sound-South Pass bifurcation route in the *Pacific Railroad Reports* that seriously undermined the notion of a separate Far Northern route. Topographical officials looked unfavorably upon construction along a northern route as a consequence of this study (Goetzmann 1959:276, 283), and the Union Pacific would end up being the first transcontinental railroad built.

Williamson Route-Pacific Railroad Survey (circa 1853)

Lieutenant Robert Williamson undertook an expedition that left the Fort Bridger area and passed into Utah and Nevada on the way to California (Goetzmann 1959:276). Only a small segment of his route is in Wyoming.

Bryan (1856)

In March 1855, Congress made funding available for construction of a military supply road from Fort Riley in Kansas to Bridger's Pass through the Medicine Bow Range of the Rocky Mountains, which also would provide settlers greater access to this part of the territory. Lieutenant F. T. Bryan was appointed for the survey. He and his team followed the South Platte River to Lodgepole Creek, trailed along that creek into the Medicine Bow Mountains, and then crossed the Laramie River and North Platte River. Unable to locate Bridger's Pass, Bryan ended up discovering a pass of his own that was named after him (Goetzmann 1959:349, 368-370). The Cherokee Trail/Overland Trail was gradually improved by the military during Bryan's expedition and others (Rosenberg 1989:6) at a time of growing tension between the United States government and the Mormons.

Warren (1857)

Lieutenant Warren traveled from Fort Laramie to Inyan Kara, then into South Dakota to examine the Black Hills and look for a route to link between two major east-west roads in the territory. Accompanying him were F. V. Hayden and J. H. Snowden, other assistants, and 30 men of the 2nd U. S. Infantry under Lieutenant James McMillan. Splitting his expedition in two, one group proceeded down the Niobrara River while the other went north to Inyan Kara where they met a large force of Indians that threatened any further advance. Consequently, the expedition skirted south of the hills (Goetzmann 1959:408, 413-415).

Simpson (1858-1859)

Captain James H. Simpson conducted reconnaissance of Timpanogos Canyon in Utah, the Great Basin, the area around Camp Floyd in Utah, and searched for a pass through the Uinta Mountains to the Green River. Much of his work was accomplished to enhance military supply lines. During these travels, Fort Bridger was used as a supply depot. He eventually returned to Fort Leavenworth (Goetzmann 1959:385, 397-403).

Raynolds' Yellowstone Expedition (1859-1860)

The Yellowstone Expedition was the last major exploration in the West conducted by the Topographical Engineers. Captain William F. Raynolds was placed in charge with orders to explore the Yellowstone and Powder River Country, the Big Horn Mountains, and to ascertain the numbers, habits and disposition of Indians in the region. Part of his responsibility was searching out routes for possible wagon roads to connect the region with Fort Laramie and other locations. Jim Bridger was the guide. Their route took them through the northeast corner of Wyoming near the Black Hills, then into Montana, and eventually returned to Richard's Trading Post back in central Wyoming on the North Platte River. In 1859, the Raynolds' expedition used what

would soon be known as the Bozeman Trail route (Rosenberg 1989:7).

In May 1860 Raynolds' command was split into two parties with Lieutenant Maynadier leading one up the Big Horn River to the Greybull River and west to Clark's Fork of the Yellowstone. Maynadier followed Clark's Fork to the Yellowstone and crossed over the mountains into Gallatin Valley where he awaited arrival of Raynolds' detachment. Raynolds had headed west toward Wind River but was unable to cross through what is today Yellowstone National Park because of mountain ridges and deep snow. Instead, he went through Jackson's Hole to Pierre Hole in Idaho before turning north to meet up with Maynadier (Goetzmann 1959:408, 417-421). The Raynolds' expeditions helped lay the foundation for military maps and expeditions well into the 1870s (Earle 1998; Rosenberg 1989:7).

The prestige of the Topographical Corps began to lessen after 1855 when the role of road building transferred from the Secretary of War to the Department of Interior, a civilian agency (Rosenberg 1989:3). Military functions on the frontier therefore shifted to protection of emigrant travel along surveyed routes using troops garrisoned at established forts from which detached duty assignments could be made. Military efforts in the region became somewhat diluted in 1861 for a brief time due to the outbreak of Civil War and subsequent transfer of units to the eastern theater. Treaties were signed with tribes during this period and annuities promised to their people, but the problem of logistics related to annuity distribution and the frequent clash of cultures prevented any sustained peaceful coexistence.

Tribal Distributions and U.S. Geopolitical Boundaries

A treaty negotiated on Horse Creek near Fort Laramie in 1851 formally recognized tribal territories that involved the Sioux, Gros Ventre, Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Crow, Cheyenne and Arapaho (Kappler 1972:594-595). Euroamerican expansion was impacting tribal distributions to the extent some native groups were being displaced from portions

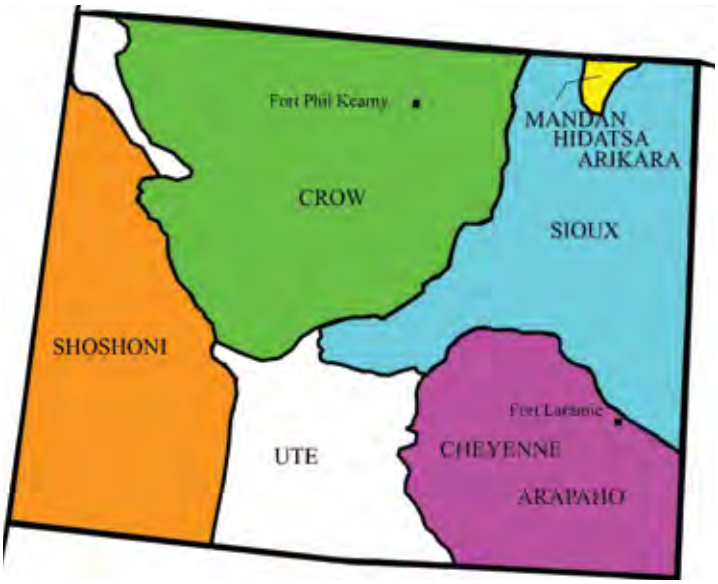

Figure 4.3. Tribal territories in Wyoming for the second half of the nineteenth century, based on map of Indian Land Areas Judicially Established, 1978 (USGS 1993). Redrawn by author.

of their traditional lands. Although tribal boundaries were specified in the treaty, it was not until the twentieth century that Indian land claims attempted to resolve through litigation many of the injustices that developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Judicial settlements from these legal disputes generated a tribal claims map (USGS 1993) that helps reflect pre-reservation boundaries (ca. 1850-1890) recognized to some extent both by Indian groups and U. S. courts (Figure 4.3).

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the Northern Cheyennes and Northern Arapahos claimed all of Wyoming south and east of the North Platte River loop. The Sioux occupied the area north of the loop, north of the Sweetwater River, and east of the Powder River except for a small strip of land east of the Little Powder River in northeastern Wyoming claimed by the Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras. Crows claimed the area west of the Powder River, north of the Sweetwater River, and east of the Continental Divide except for an unclaimed strip in Yellowstone National Park. The Shoshonis occupied the Green River Basin and the area north and east toward the Continental Divide where they bordered

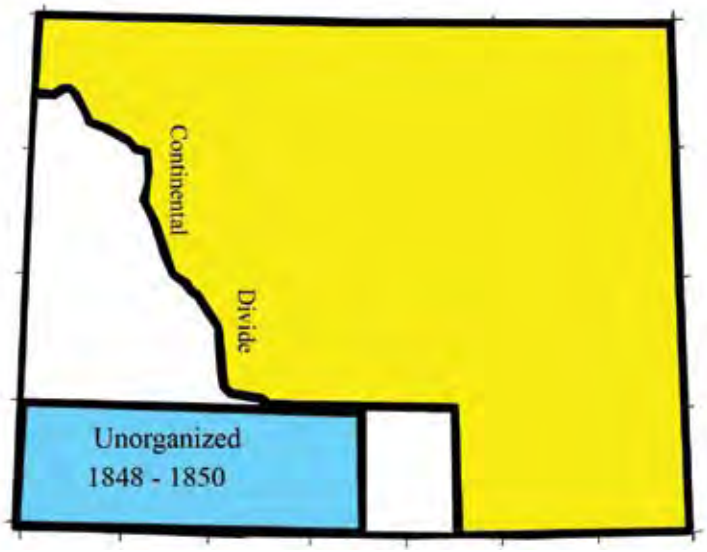

Figure 4.4. Various jurisdictions that make up present day Carbon County in south central Wyoming. The yellow is part of the Louisiana Purchase, the white rectangle was part of the State of Texas in 1850, and the blue Unorganized territory was part of the Mexican cession that became Utah Territory in 1850 (Erwin 1974:48). Redrawn by author.

the Utes in the Great Divide Basin.

U. S. geopolitical boundaries during the episode of military exploration and emigrant protection also were rather fluid and clearly ignored the territorial claims of Indian tribes. In 1848, the Louisiana Purchase encompassed much of Yellowstone National Park and all of what would become the counties east of the Continental Divide except for a portion of Sweetwater and Carbon. The political subdivision of Carbon County would be formed by lands comprised of the Louisiana Purchase, the State of Texas in 1845, and the Mexican Cession of 1848 (Figure 4.4). The southern portion of Lincoln and all of Uinta were included in the Mexican Cession as well. Sweetwater County east of the Continental Divide was made up of the Louisiana Purchase and Mexican Cession. Remaining segments of Wyoming were considered Oregon Country, which included Teton County, some of Yellowstone National Park, and parts of Sublette and Lincoln counties under Great Britain as of 1846.

This same area was identified by the United States as Indian Country from 1834-1854, and then the Territory of Nebraska between May 30, 1854 and March 2, 1861. On March 2, 1861 that part of the Territory of Nebraska within Wyoming was cut in half along 43° north latitude extending west to 110° west longitude, the northern part becoming Dakota Territory from 1861-1863 and the southern portion remaining Nebraska Territory. The entire area was combined again on March 3, 1863 when Dakota and Nebraska were removed from Wyoming, and the region became Idaho Territory from 1863-1864. Idaho was redefined on May 26, 1864 and this bit of Wyoming was re-established as Dakota Territory from 1864-1868 (Erwin 1974:40-42).

The Oregon Country slice in west central Wyoming also underwent various permutations (see Figure 3.6). In 1846, its northern portion was under British claim and the southern under United States claim. When Oregon was admitted to the Union on February 14, 1859, the old Oregon Territory in Wyoming became the eastern limit of Washington Territory and remained so until 1861 (Erwin 1974:44). It was reduced somewhat by establishment of Nebraska Territory in 1861 and totally subsumed into Idaho Territory in 1863. This part of Idaho Territory east of 110° west longitude became Dakota Territory in 1864, but a little sliver of Idaho Territory remained until Wyoming Territory was created in 1868.

The Republic of Texas was annexed to the United States on March 1, 1845 and admitted to the Union on December 29 that year. The northern limit of the Texas panhandle in Wyoming extended into what is Carbon County, and was part of the State of Texas until September 9, 1850 when it was purchased by the United States. The former panhandle area east of the Continental Divide became part of Indian Country and transferred along with the rest of that territory into subsequent jurisdictions. The part west of the Divide was included in Utah Territory from 1850-1861. All of the panhandle area in Wyoming was subsumed under Nebraska Territory in 1861, Idaho Territory in 1863, and Dakota Territory in 1864, where it remained until it became part of Wyoming Territory in 1868 (Erwin 1974:46-48).

That portion of Mexico lying within southwestern Wyoming was unorganized until 1850 when it became Utah Territory (Erwin 1974:48-49). It remained as such until Nebraska Territory included the segment east of 110° west longitude in 1861, which became Idaho Territory in 1863, Dakota Territory in 1864, and Wyoming Territory in 1868. The small portion of the Mexican cession to the west remained part of Utah Territory until Wyoming Territory was established.

United States military geography is as important to understand as either Native American territorial claims or the evolution of U. S. civilian boundaries. The Adjutant General's Office recorded frequent and often complex changes in the boundaries of military districts, divisions and departments. Those organizational units believed to have encompassed all or a portion of the geographic area of what would become Wyoming are presented here, however further research is required to fine tune the analysis.

Thian (1979) has compiled detailed records of U. S. military geography from 1813-1880. The area of interest here is not explicitly mentioned in any of the early military districts between 1813 and 1815, but it is possible the area came under Military District Number 8 when it was considered part of Indiana Territory and Missouri Territory. Districts were then discontinued and merged into various military departments. From 1815-1821 the area may have been part of Military Department Number 5 (Thian 1979:42). Then on May 17, 1821, the Western Department included all the country west of a line drawn from Florida to Lake Superior (Thian 1979:106), and it is possible the present study area was included.

Beginning May 19, 1837 the region becomes explicitly addressed, and its geography witnessed a few changes in division assignments (Table 4.1), and several changes in department assignments (Tables 4.2 and 4.3). These mergers and transfers continued through 1880 and beyond, although Thian's (1979) compilation concludes in December 1880.

The summit of the Rocky Mountains (Continental Divide) typically was a dividing line for much of this time, as were various territorial boundaries that comprised early "Wyoming." Additional shifts might be expected after 1880, but they were not covered in Thian's (1979) work. For example, the U.S. Army established a camp on the little Snake River following the White River Expedition and battle of Milk Creek, Colorado. They used Rawlins as the supply depot for the camp, and for a time in the early 1880s this part of southern Wyoming was transferred from the Department of the Platte to the Department of the Missouri (Miller 1997:148). Most of Wyoming was in the Department of the Platte by 1891 after the Division of the Missouri had been abolished, but Fort Yellowstone was in the Department of Dakota (Chun 2004:46). The Department of the Platte itself was discontinued on January 1, 1898 (Thian 1979:193).

This complex pattern of Native American and United States claims involved the same landscape so inevitable disputes led to many armed conflicts between Indians and the Army. Clashes were exacerbated when individual territorial governments would lobby the federal government for military support to accomplish regional goals of settlement, transportation, and commerce, thus aggravating the tenuous balance of power forged in various federal treaties. For a time, tribes responded relatively peacefully when contacts increased with emigrants and settlers, but land trespass, threats to economic stability, and fear for life and limb eventually contributed to a growing scale of violence.

Early Armed Conflicts

Heightened emigrant travel, the addition of new trails, and ongoing commerce with the fur trade and other frontier entrepreneurs prompted the need to garrison camps and stations at designated intervals along major transportation corridors. Some 75,000 Native Americans occupied lands of the Louisiana Purchase by this time (Utley 1967:4, 19). Warriors were only a fraction of this population, but they were firmly established in the military capability of the Horse and Gun Period, their riding skills widely recognized as characteristic of a great light cavalry, and their tactical maneuvers in combat more individual than unit based. In contrast, the U.

Table 4.1. Divisions relevant to Wyoming's geographic area 1837-1880.

Dates	Divisions and Comments
May 19, 1837 to July 12, 1842	Western Division. Country west of the Mississippi River. Discontinued July 12, 1842.
April 20,1844 to October 31, 1853	Western Division. Discontinued October 31, 1853.
January 30, 1865 to June 27, 1865	Division of the Missouri. Discontinued June 27, 1865.
June 27, 1865 to August 6, 1866	Division of the Mississippi. Discontinued August 6, 1866.
August 6, 1866	Division of the Missouri.
December 18, 1880	Still Division of the Missouri.

S. Army in 1848 was freshly back from a two year engagement with Mexico, still suffering from limited congressional appropriations and lacking valuable intelligence about the nature and capability of Indian warfare. The entire U. S. Army by the early 1850s included 10,417 men (Utley 1967:19).

Armed engagements occurred even before there were established military forts in the territory. It is unknown how many skirmishes had taken place between emigrants or trappers and the Indian tribes, but several undoubtedly have been lost to history. Others may yet be rediscovered through archival research or archaeological investigations. A few such encounters are known.

Madsen (1989:644) mentions that the Stansbury Expedition discussed earlier passed a spot on Muddy Creek in southcentral Wyoming where in 1845 Vasquez with 14 men had forted and skirmished with about 40 Oglalas. That engagement lasted four hours with Vasquez's group successfully defending their position (Stansbury 1988:240). Madsen (1989:644) also discusses an earlier 1843 incident where Bridger and Vasquez battled a war party of Cheyennes, resulting in one warrior killed. It is possible these two skirmishes were the same incident with dates confused, but the earlier incident also may be a variable date for an engagement where trader Henry Fraeb was killed, discussed in the previous chapter. Although only sketchy information is available on these engagements, the U.S. Army was not involved in them.

Non Military "Forts"

Some civilian facilities that might be used in defense of occupants took on the name of "fort," particularly in the years before formal military garrisons were established in the area. These facilities were not army forts. For example, Fort Bernard (48GO31) was a trading post that burned in 1846 (McDermott 2001a:52-53). Only a rudimentary site form detailing its history is available in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office database. While no archaeological work had been recorded in SHPO cultural records at the time of this writing, Goshen County archaeologist, George Zeimens, conducted field work at the site in 2009-2010 as part of a multi-year investigation of trading posts along the North Platte River (George Zeimens, personal communication 2010).

Fort Aspen Hut in Fremont County is an example of the effort to improve the Oregon Trail in the late 1850s and bypass Utah Territory that was under a strong and militant Mormon influence (McDermott 1991[II]:114). It was built as a fortified base camp

Table 4.2. Departments relevant to Wyoming's geographic area 1821-1880.

Dates	Departments and Comments
May 17, 1821 to May 19, 1837	Western Department. Unclear Division status if any.
May 19, 1837 to July 12, 1842	Military Department No. 1.
July 12, 1842 to August 31, 1848	Military Department No. 3.
August 31, 1848 to October 31, 1853	Military Department No. 7?
October 31, 1853 To March 27, 1858	Department of the West.
March 27, 1858 to May 16, 1859	Department of the Platte. The line of communication as passes through Territory of Nebraska, headquarters at Fort Laramie.
May 16, 1859 to July 3, 1861	Department of the West. Absorbed.
July 3, 1861 to November 9,1861	Western Department. Merged
November 9, 1861 to March 11, 1862	Department of Kansas.
March 11, 1862 to May 2, 1862	Department of the Mississippi.
May 2, 1862 to September 6, 1862	Department of Kansas. Territories of Nebraska and Dakota.
September 6, 1862 to October 11, 1862	Department of the Northwest. Territory of Dakota stays.
October 11, 1862 to January 1, 1864	Department of the Missouri. Territory of Nebraska transferred here.
January 1, 1864 to February 17, 1865	Department of Kansas. The Territory of Nebraska transferred.
February 17, 1865 to March 26, 1866	Department of the Missouri. Includes the Territories of Dakota and Nebraska.
March 26, 1866 to August 11, 1866	Department of the Missouri. South of Platte & Sweetwater Rivers (includes Fort Caspar).
March 26, 1866 to August 11, 1866	Department of the Platte. North of Platte & Sweetwater Rivers (no Fort Caspar).
August 11, 1866	Department of the Platte. The Territories of Nebraska And Dakota.
July 25, 1868	All of the Territory of Wyoming Territory assigned to Department of the Platte.
December 30, 1878	Department of the Platte. No change to 1880.

Table 4.3. Departments and Divisions west of the continental divide.

Dates	Department, Division and Comments
November 3, 1846 to August 31, 1848	Military Department No. 10. Oregon Territory. Oregon Territory put in Military Department No. 11.
August 31, 1848 to May 17, 1851	Military Department No. 11. Oregon Territory. May 17, 1851 merged into Pacific Division.
May 17, 1851 to October 31, 1853	Pacific Division Discontinued October 31, 1853.
October 31, 1853 to September 13, 1858	Department of the Pacific. Merged into the Department of Oregon.
January 1, 1858 to July 3, 1861	Department of Utah. Discontinued. Merged into Western Department.
September 13, 1858 to January 15, 1861	Department of Oregon. Includes Washington Territory. Merged into Department of the Pacific.
January 15, 1861 to February 17, 1865	Department of the Pacific. Idaho Territory 1863-1864. Part of Utah transferred to Department of the Missouri.
June 27, 1865	State of Oregon, Idaho Territory transferred to Department of the Columbia from Department of the Pacific.

and blockhouse for a survey crew working for the Department of the Interior to establish a road to Oregon and California that shortened the previous route of the Oregon Trail. The crew was composed of civilians appointed as a "Company of Volunteers" so they would qualify for military rations. It apparently was not a military installation (Todd Guenther personal communication May 2008), but is considered eligible to the National Register under criteria A and D.

Military Installations

Fort Laramie (1849-1890)

Fur traders established another of these stockaded civilian facilities in 1834 along the Laramie River, a location often frequented and easily accessible by the trappers and traders of the time. Their structure was known as Fort William, apparently named for three people, William Sublette, William Anderson, and William Patton (Frazer 1972:181). Indisputable physical evidence for the short-lived trading post has not yet been found (Davenport et al. 1988; DeVore 1990; Walker 2004), but eventually its original location may be rediscovered even if only scanty physical evidence remains. A more durable facility called Fort John was constructed nearby in 1841, and it actually did evolve into a military installation by the end of the decade. The name Fort John was retained at the time of the U. S. military purchase in 1849, but most nineteenth century visitors typically referred to the trading post area as Fort Laramie after the nearby river. It is the name that eventually was adopted (Figure 4.5).

The dates of military ownership of Fort Laramie are June 26, 1849 to March 2, 1890 (Hafen and Young 1938:153), and it was the first garrisoned military outpost in Wyoming. During its use life the garrison

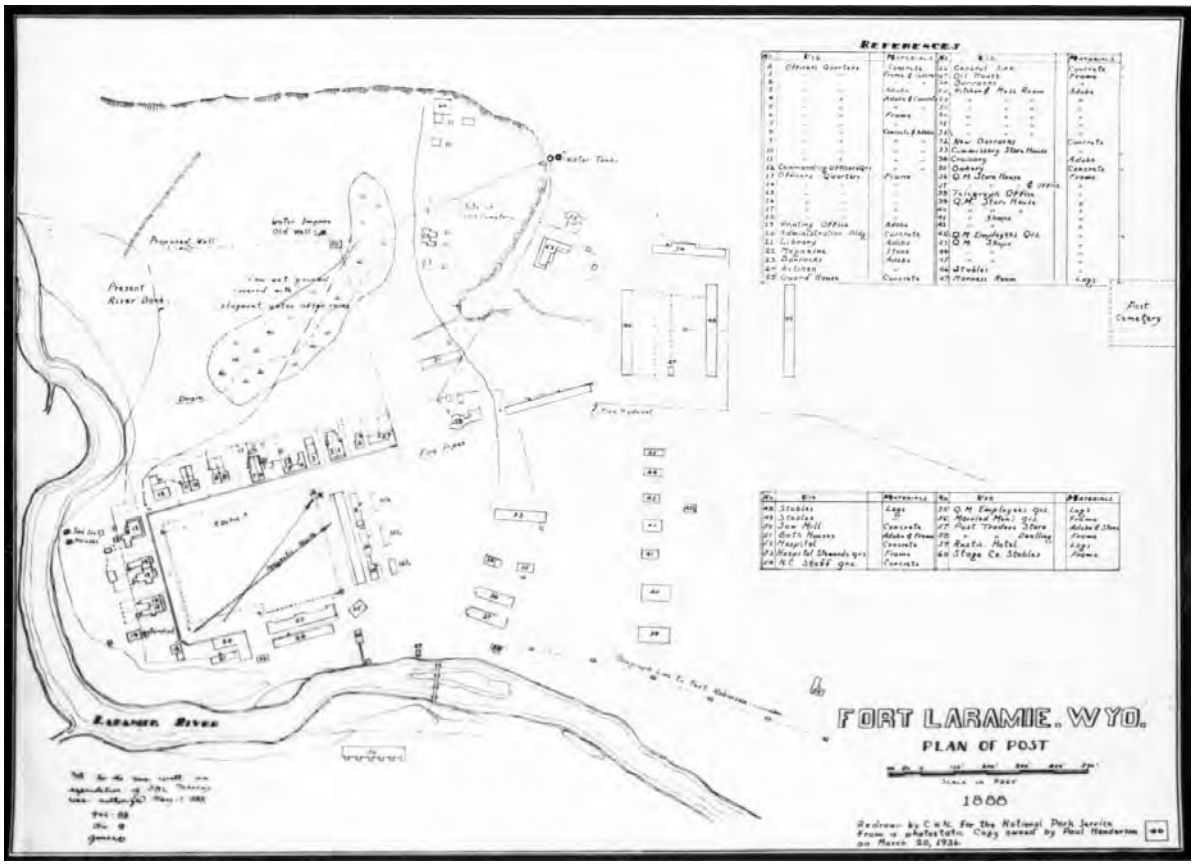

Figure 4.5. An 1888 map of Fort Laramie Wyoming Territory. National Park Service (NPS) Photo.

faced a myriad of dangerous and mundane duties. For one, access to adequate timber for architectural construction of outposts was a concern that often plagued building efforts on the High Plains, and Fort Laramie was no exception. In fact, from 1849 through 1866 troops at Fort Laramie had to travel increasingly farther distances to construct sawmills and acquire their lumber supply, initially only 12 miles away but later up to 55 miles away (Hoagland 2004:73). The fort mitigated this raw material deficiency somewhat by making extensive use of adobe as a building material, whose ingredients were readily available nearby and which was easily handled by the relatively unskilled workforce of soldiers. The harsh weather, however, took its toll on adobe bricks so regular repairs were needed.

One of the more significant events in the early history of Fort Laramie was the Treaty Council of 1851 with several Indian tribes from the region, precipitated by dramatic changes to their way of life as a result of the growing tide of emigrants (Hafen and Young 1938:177-196). Treaty negotiations took place near the mouth of Horse Creek some 35 miles downriver from Fort Laramie (McChristian 2009:55). Eight articles were agreed upon, including provisions for establishing roads, protecting Indians, resolving depredations, tribal territories, and annuities. The annuity clause required the United States to deliver to the Indians the equivalent of $50,000 per year for ten years in the form of provisions, merchandise, livestock, and agricultural implements (Kappler 1972:594-596). Living up to treaty obligations would be a major obstacle that helped bring about armed conflict during this and later periods.

More books probably have been written about Fort Laramie than any other outpost in the region. Robert M. Utley hailed a recent volume on the subject authored by Douglas McChristian as setting the

standard among historic accounts for this property (McChristian 2009: dust jacket). McChristian argues that of the two hundred or more forts in the American West during the period 1850-1890, Fort Laramie stands as the "quintessential frontier army post, ranking as the most historically significant of them all" (2009:18). Few will argue against his assertion. The site and its occupants were witness to many of the salient events that shaped what would become the western United States (McChristian 2009:33). Among these was the westward migration of tens of thousands of emigrants on the Oregon Trail, gold rushes, major peace treaties, and transport of the overland mail to California. The fort's garrison also participated in several of the storied engagements during the Plains Indian Wars.

The networks of communication and transportation between the East and West Coasts were of critical national importance. Not only were emigrant trails in need of protection, so too were the Pony Express route in 1860 and the first transcontinental telegraph line in 1861 (Larson 1965:11). While a puzzling phenomenon to the Indians, the telegraph or so-called "talking wire" enabled instantaneous communication between people who were separated geographically by thousands of miles, and it was a critical strategic development in military and civilian occupation of the West (Unrau 1979). Fort Laramie was central to the defense of this communication system.

The outpost would prove its continued value once again in 1876 during the second Plains Indian Wars discussed later. Campaigns against Indian tribes that year regularly involved members of the fort's garrison. Its role during that pivotal time on the plains, and its long history in general, have helped establish it as one of the "seven most important and representative historic sites in the whole of the American West" (Hedren 1988:xi), a potent characterization for any property.

Beginning with the Army's purchase of Fort John (Fort Laramie) in 1849, garrisoned outposts would become a regular feature on Wyoming's southern landscape where the principal east-west transportation corridor served a growing nation. Fort Laramie's strategic location near the hunting territories of various tribes also had made the outpost an important source of manpower in trying to keep the peace and in executing military maneuvers during the Indian Wars. Nonetheless, by 1868 Wyoming would begin to witness a strategic shift with the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad across the southern reaches of the territory and establishment of new forts adjacent to the tracks, an improved transportation network that attracted population centers and commerce away from Fort Laramie and the Oregon Trail.

However, in the 41 years of its existence, military occupation at Fort Laramie significantly influenced the social and cultural development of the region (Cassity 2001). Far more than being just a fighting force, as "harbingers of civilization" the army offered "schools, chapels, and hospitals open to civilian participation, undertook agricultural experiments; delivered federal mails; protected national parks; collected scientific data; created an artistic and cartographic record; published vital primary records of western life; provided stable revenues to attract settlers and businessmen; extended relief to destitute civilians; acted in concert with civilian officials to enforce the law; and frequently championed Indian rights" (Tate 1999:x). Officers that had been trained at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point brought to the frontier an intellectual and social perspective not previously seen. Their interactions with civilians and native peoples alike helped create a diversity that survives today in the region's cultural heritage. When soldiers mustered out they often took up civilian roles in towns near their former garrisons and helped those places grow.

The demographics of the Fort Laramie region were impacted this way. Between 1849-1890, companies from seven regular cavalry regiments served at the outpost, as did others from 10 regular infantry regiments, 12 volunteer cavalry regiments, and two volunteer infantry regiments (McChristian 2009:419-420). Class, gender, and ethnicity played significant roles in military life here and throughout the west (Adams 2009; Coffman 1986), and the influx

of men from different nationalities, age groups, and social status helped carve the cultural landscape of southeastern Wyoming. The colorful social history that flourished at outposts like Fort Laramie and during various campaigns has lent itself to important works of popular fiction that reveal much about military frontier life (Knight 1978). The often arduous requirements of campaigning also survived in the memories of veterans who took the time to recall their years of service (Greene 2007). Even patterns of homesteading, recreation and politics were affected by proximity to and intercourse with the dynamic garrisons at military outposts. Alcoholism and other vices were well known in the regiments as well (Rickey 1963:159), and a location popularly known as the Fort Laramie Hog Ranch (48GO11) attests to extracurricular activities soldiers shared with certain females in the area (McDermott 1965:96-99). McDermott (personal communication 2011) notes that the Hog Ranch received Historic American Building Survey (HABS) recording in the 1930s.

The military abandoned Fort Laramie and the last troops left on March 2, 1890. Some buildings were sold at public auction, but the fort today has been partially restored to a first-class National Park Service property so those interested in the military history of the West can visit and learn (Frazer 1972:182) (Figure 4.6). Areas around some of the long-standing buildings have received archaeological attention as well (Scott et al. 1992).

Due to Fort Laramie's historical importance and the public interest in its preservation, the site has had a colorful legacy of research and investigation. Historical references on the outpost alone are too numerous to mention (see McChristian 2009). Confirming its public appeal, Fort Laramie National Historic Site was the featured location on Wyoming Archaeology Awareness Month's 2009 poster (Figure 4.7). The image depicted there is a watercolor of the fort made by artist Anton Schonborn sometime between 1863 and 1868. Schonborn's rendition of this and other Wyoming forts in the 1860s have proven a valuable historic record of military presence in the American West (Stenzel 1972).

Figure 4.6. Overview of a portion of Fort Laramie with Old Bedlam, built in 1849, in the center of photo. Danny N. Walker, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources.

Each building at Fort Laramie and at other National Park Service areas has a historic structures report, a photographic and narrative discussion of the history of the feature and how it was restored (McDermott, personal communication, 2011). Historical resources in all NPS areas have the same requirements, and furnishings reports contain information about the building as well as its present contents and the occupants associated with it. Individual reports should be available at the relevant NPS property.

Fort Laramie (48GO1) probably has received the most extensive geophysical survey of any military site in the region (Walker 1998; Walker and DeVore 2008; Wassil 2009) (Figure 4.8), not to mention its long record of archaeological research (Armstrong et al. 1998) that continues today. Results from these studies have yielded further clues to the likelihood of buried structural remnants, human interment practices, defensive preparations, and other military facilities. The archaeological record, combined with extensive historical documentation, makes Fort Laramie one of the most significant research opportunities in this context. In addition, tens of thousands of cultural

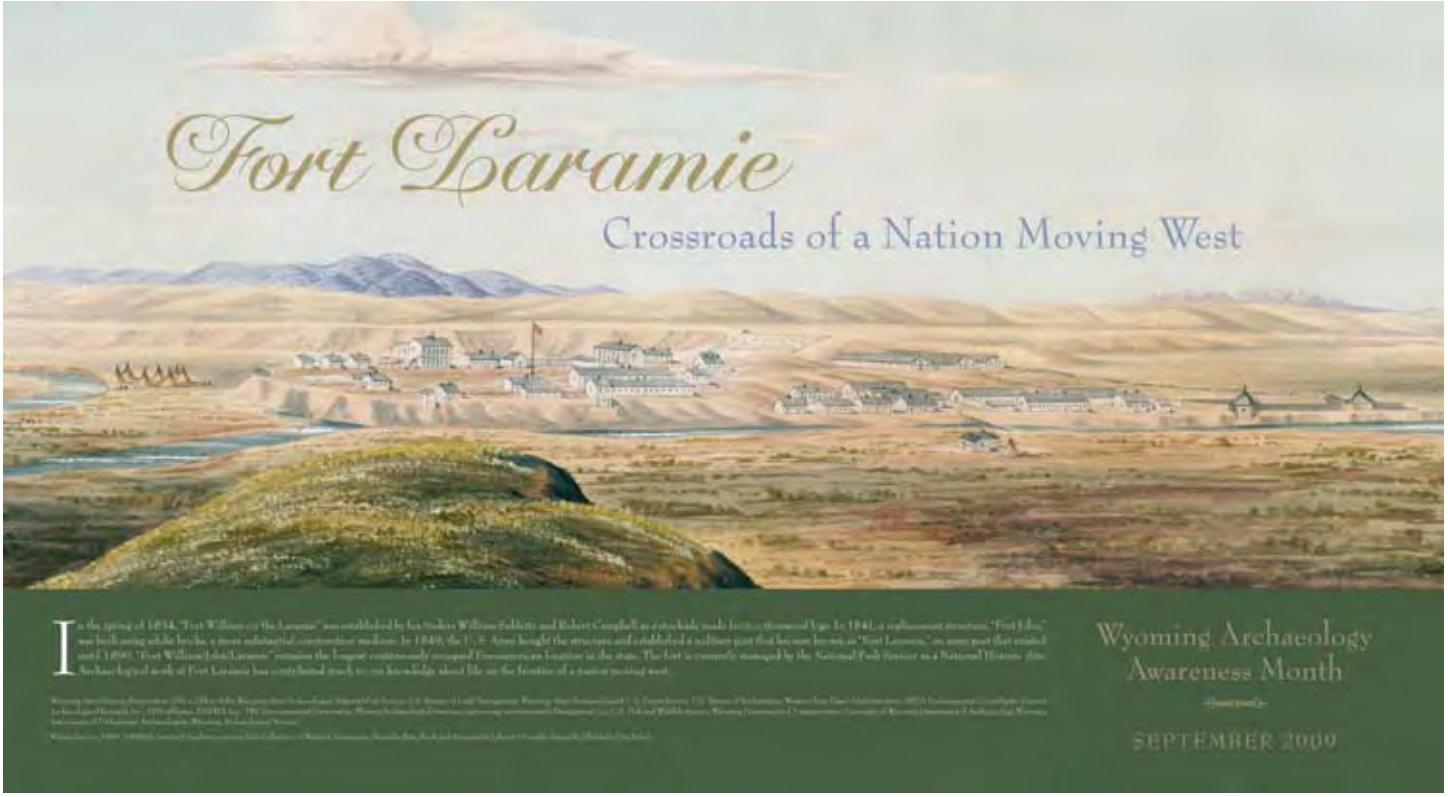

Figure 4.7. This image of an Anton Schonborn watercolor of Fort Laramie circa 1863-1868 was used on the 2009 Wyoming Archaeology Awareness Month poster, courtesy of Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

heritage tourists travel to the property every year, tour through its restored buildings, view archaeological evidence, visit the museum, and purchase books from the site's store.

With the establishment of permanent outposts like Fort Laramie during the period of military exploration and emigrant protection, regular army garrisons could more easily be assigned to varied detached duty missions. Each detachment of soldiers would generate numerous temporary camps that were used while on assignment. Not surprisingly, some early camp locations occur in the Fort Laramie area and elsewhere along the southern Wyoming transportation corridor. Each may retain an archaeological signature if ever investigated.

Camp Maclin (1849)

Camp Maclin was a dragoon camp initially used in 1849 about four miles above Fort Laramie on the opposite side of the river (Lowe 1965:56-62; McChristian 2003:32). While it is mentioned historically, archaeological evidence has not yet been located.

Camp on North Fork of the Platte River (1855)

National Archives microfilm M617, Roll 1527 contains post returns from an unnamed Camp on the North Fork of the Platte River for August 1855. It is not known at this time whether or not this is a Wyoming site (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1985:206). The microfilm has not been reviewed by this author.

Camps Near Fort Laramie (1856-1859)

National Archives microfilm M617, Roll 1519 also contains post returns from camps near Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory for May 1856-September 1859 (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1985:203).

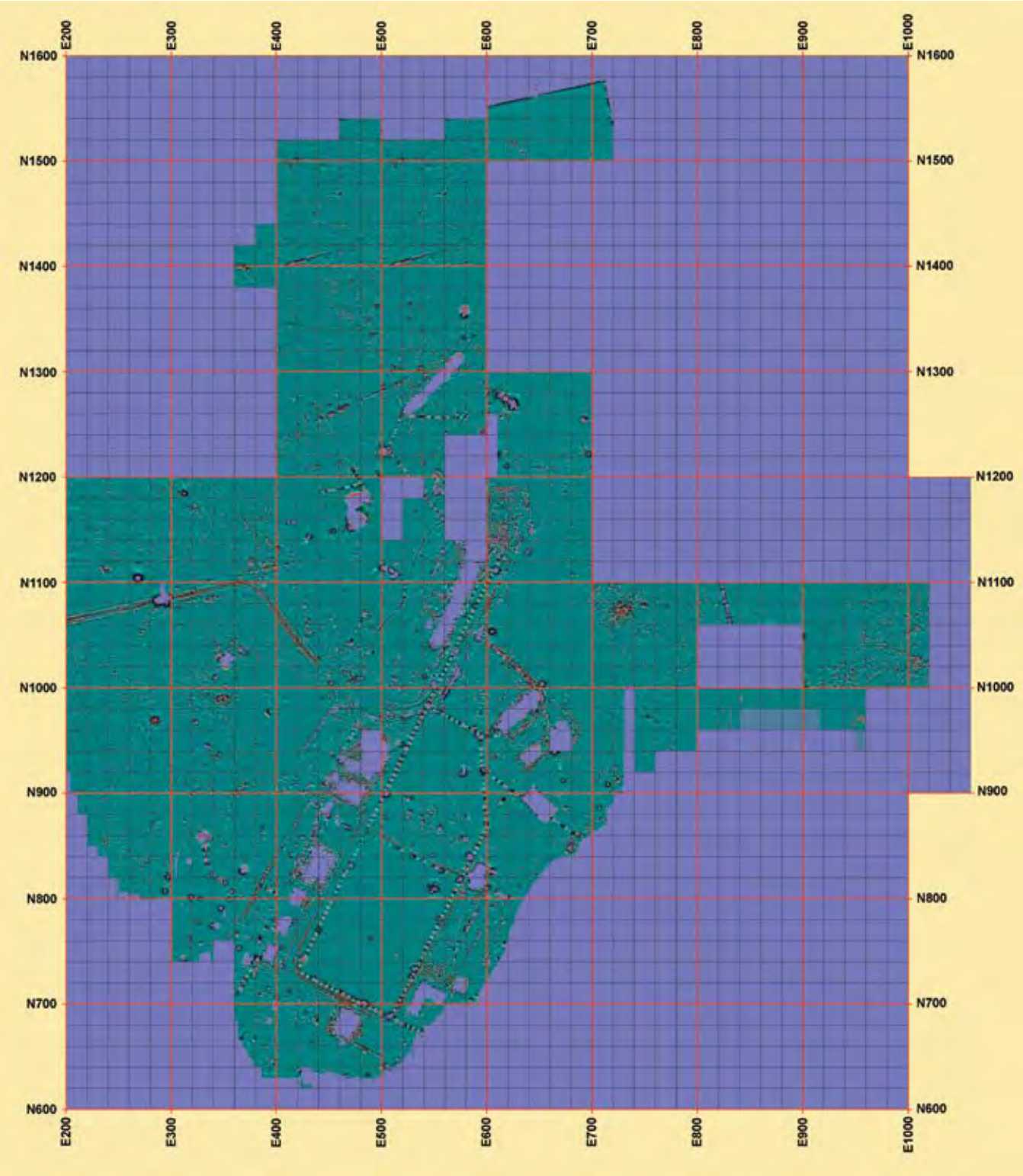

Figure 4.8. Composite geophysical map of Fort Laramie showing various anomalies based on survey work reported in Walker and De Vore (2008). Parade Ground is in lower half of grid inside the green perimeter of surveyed squares. Danny N. Walker, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources.

These also have yet to be investigated to this writer's knowledge.

Bitter Cottonwood (1856)

Hart (1963:185) lists a camp on Bitter Cottonwood, 22 miles west of Fort Laramie, which probably places the locality in Platte County.

Dragoon Camp

A Dragoon Camp (48UT649) near Fort Bridger shows up in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office database, but no additional information is available. The site is listed from an early Wyoming Recreation Commission study and possibly relates to activities during the so-called Mormon War of 1857-1858 discussed later.

Camp Jenney (1857, 1875-1876)

Camp Jenney (48WE61) was a location in the Black Hills that received limited military attention in 1857, and again in 1875-1876 when a stockade was built (WYCRO; Hart 1980a, 1980b:16-17 & 22).

Satellite Features

Military camps were only one type of feature that may be associated with garrisons from a large fort like Fort Laramie. Activities also generated other properties that were needed to sustain military readiness, such as timber reserves and sawmills, stone quarries, target ranges, and other construction facilities. For example, the WYCRO database lists an 1849 Lime Kiln (48PL154) reported by an old Wyoming Recreation Commission study that may relate to the early period of Fort Laramie's use of the region. Two additional lime kilns (48PL1511, 48PL1418) are known from eastern Wyoming and may date to this period, though their actual age is unknown (Reiss 2005). The Cold Springs Rifle Pits (48PL124) may date to this episode as well, and relate to the U. S. Army defense of emigrants on the Oregon Trail (Haines 1981:151-153; Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976:214). Five pits occur about 1,000 feet east of the springs (Reiss 2000:34).

Fort John-Fort Pierre Road (48GO165)

Transportation networks were particularly essential around forts to facilitate the movement of troops and supplies. Both military and civilian travel was important during this period in addition to regular emigrant use of the Oregon Trail corridor. The Fort John-Fort Pierre road between Wyoming and Nebraska began as an early fur trade route that later was improved by the military. Although it doesn't have a specific age, it probably was in use during this episode. One investigator lists it for the period of the first Plains Indian Wars (see Rosenberg 1989:12). Fort Robinson and the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska were later established along this route. It also became known as the Fort Laramie-Camp Robinson or New Red Cloud Agency Road (Rosenberg 1989:22). The Wyoming SHPO cultural records database lists the Pratt-Ferris N. Horse Camp (48GO51) that was used along this trail.

Skirmishes, Battles, Encampments and Maneuvers

Regular encounters among the army, emigrants, and Native Americans periodically erupted into acts of armed aggression. While numerous incidents undoubtedly took place between Indians and civilians during emigrant travels, many of these were not permanently recorded. Those involving the U. S. Army, however, often received at least a measure of historical attention in official reports.

Platte Ferry (June 15, 1853)

The first real skirmish in Wyoming between the U.S. Army and Indians took place near the ferry at Fort Laramie approximately fifty yards upstream from the location of a later army iron bridge that still stands today. The ferry itself is where the first shots were fired. In June 1853, eighty to one hundred lodges of Miniconjou Sioux (not party to the 1851 treaty) led by Little Brave occupied the north side of the river against the hills, roughly three-quarters of a mile from the ferry. Unlike the Oglalas and Brules, this village had not had as much contact with white traders around the fort. Some warriors began harassing immigrants and taking control of the ferry

boat, actions that by the afternoon of June 15 led to a warrior's shot being fired at Sergeant Raymond (McChristian 2003:49, 2009:51-68).

Second Lieutenant Hugh B. Fleming was ordered to gather the necessary men needed to go to the village and take into custody the offending individual(s) (Michno 2003:19). Fleming, 23 soldiers of G Company 6th Infantry, and an assistant surgeon left the post about 8:00 PM. The lieutenant ordered the village surrounded after he was unable to secure a surrender, and this led to a brief engagement resulting in about 30 shots being fired (McChristian 2003:51). Indians fled toward a nearby ravine. At least two of them fell and two others were taken prisoner, but they were released a few days later after Commanding Officer Richard Garnett held a conference with Little Brave. While this engagement predates the Grattan fight, it was more of a skirmish than a pitched battle.

McChristian (2003:53-54, 2009:67-68) discusses two details that he believes were made clear by this initial hostile encounter between the U. S. Army and the Sioux. First, the Indians realized that soldiers could and would react with deadly force even if prompted by minor provocation. Second, the incident established a false notion in the minds of Fort Laramie soldiers that a small contingent of troops could take an aggressive posture to intimidate larger numbers of Sioux into submission. Both of these factors would be manifest in the events resulting in the 1854 Grattan debacle, and the battle's aftermath would influence Indian-government relations on the Plains for decades. McChristian (2003, 2009:64) places the ferry engagement on June 15, 1853, while volume two of Heitman (1903:401) lists it as June 17.

Grattan Fight (August 19, 1854)

The Platte Ferry incident notwithstanding, a larger and more consequential battle between the U. S. Army and Native Americans in the study area was the 1854 Grattan fight several miles downriver from Fort Laramie (McCann 1956; McChristian 2009; Paul 2004) (Figure 4.9). The engagement seems to have been precipitated by disagreement over the loss of a crippled cow being herded along the emigrant trail.

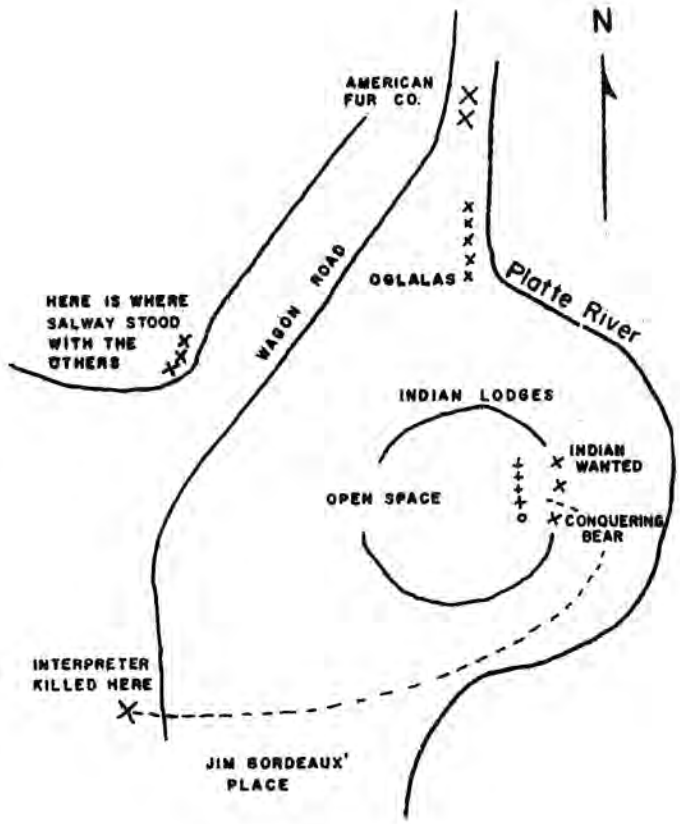

Figure 4.9. Grattan fight adapted from an eye witness sketch by Frank Salway, and recorded by Judge E. S. Ricker in 1906. Courtesy of Nebraska State Historical Society.

Indians killed the straggling animal, most likely out of hunger because promised annuity goods had not been forthcoming. While annuities were stored in the nearby Gratiot Houses, the Indian Agent responsible for their distribution had not yet arrived (Seven Elk 1997:3). It is rather ironic that the government was responsible to provide a reasonable amount of domestic animals and other goods to the tribes in a timely manner according to the 1851 treaty, and not having done so may have motivated the Indians to fend for themselves by killing another person's livestock.

The battle produced a disastrous result for the army not only in substantial loss of life but in exposing many weaknesses in tactical measures and armament capabilities. To the Indians, it may have been a small retribution for the Platte Ferry action the

year before.

The Grattan fight is sometimes referred to as a massacre because all of the soldiers lost their lives (McCann 1956). It occurred on August 19, 1854 near the Bordeaux Trading Post below Fort Laramie. Naïve about Indian military tactics and eager to establish himself as a skilled officer, Lieutenant John Grattan had enthusiastically gone to bring in the Indian who killed the cow. When he arrived at the village, he deployed his men in a single rank along with two artillery pieces about sixty yards from a cluster of Indian lodges, unaware that concealed warriors were gathering in a nearby dry slough along the river in a flanking maneuver (McChristian 2009:77-78). Negotiations to arrest the Indian failed so Grattan ordered a volley fired from two howitzers and the infantry's muzzle-loaded rifles. Indians immediately closed on the outnumbered detachment before many soldiers could reload. The battle soon resulted in the deaths of the impetuous Grattan, his entire command of 29 men, and one inebriated interpreter who may have significantly contributed to the tension during negotiations (McCann 1956:8). Conquering Bear, a Brule Lakota, also was killed in the action. Portions of the fight were observed by Mr. O. Allen and others who had managed to view the scene from the roof of Bordeaux's Trading Post and subsequently provided testimony (U. S. Senate 1855:8-10). The military debacle created a strong desire in the Army for retribution against the Lakotas that culminated the following year in an engagement on Blue Water Creek in Nebraska (Paul 2004).

The general location of the Grattan fight is known historically and depicted by a nearby monument. Some archaeological evidence for the Bordeaux Trading Post also has been found. Although the battlefield on private land has not been systematically surveyed with either pedestrian transects or geophysical equipment, Hedren (personal communication 2011) notes that military artifacts have been collected on a two acre area around a burial marker about halfway between the road and river. Soldiers had been disinterred from the battlefield and moved long ago, but there still may be a remnant of the original communal grave.

According to McDermott (personal communication 2011), the most complete study of the Grattan Fight, with over 100 eyewitness and contemporary accounts, is nearing completion. It is authored by John D. McDermott, R. Eli Paul, and Sandra Lowry, and is to be published through the Arthur H. Clark Company with the title: *Grattan's Last Stand: How a Brash Lieutenant, Drunken Interpreter, Mormon Cow, and a Thousand Lakota Warriors Started the First Sioux War.*

Warren Route (1855)

General William H. Harney was ordered to lead a punitive expedition against the Sioux in 1855 following the Grattan fight, hoping to stop the Indians before they could unite as one nation against settlers. The actual battle of Blue Water Creek that ensued occurred in Nebraska, but part of the army's expeditionary route cut through Wyoming. Lieutenant G. K. Warren accompanied the expedition as an engineer and unofficial diarist, hence the name of the route (Paul 2004:123). The command briefly crossed into Wyoming from Nebraska and then returned (Goetzmann 1959:408).

Attack on Fort Laramie (August 28, 1854)

This obscure engagement involved Company G of the 6th Infantry and took place less than two weeks after the Grattan fight. The garrison had been on a heightened state of alert after the loss of Lieutenant Grattan's command and was expecting a show of force in retribution for the village attack. Henry (1970) mentions there is no other record of this incident except that it is listed in Heitman (1903:Vol. II). McDermott (personal communication 2011) notes that Second Lieutenant Fleming was wounded, and suggests further investigation into Letters Received in National Archives Records may shed additional light on the subject.

Horse Creek (November 13, 1854)

Red Leaf, brother to Brule chief Brave Bear (Conquering Bear) who had died of wounds received

in the Grattan fight, sought revenge for his loss. He and four others (including Spotted Tail) rode to a place on Horse Creek near present day Torrington and attacked a mail stage bound for Utah. The warriors killed three men and robbed the coach of $20,000 in gold that was never recovered (Hyde 1937:77, 1974:68; Michno 2003:30).

Camp Walbach (1858-1859)

Camp Walbach (48LA108) was a short-lived outpost established in the fall of 1858 on Lodgepole Creek to protect the nearby emigrant route. It was abandoned in the spring of 1859 after a rather uneventful use life (Frazer 1972:186). The location is between present-day Laramie and Cheyenne.

Camp Walbach-Fort Laramie Road (1858)

Since Camp Walbach was only used from 1858-1859, the significance of this road is negligible. A portion of the route was later used for the Cheyenne and Northern Railroad built in 1886-1887. Stansbury probably had established this route in 1850 when he was guided by Jim Bridger. It followed a portion of Chugwater Creek and then cut across country to Fort Laramie. According to Rosenberg (1989:12-13), it is marked on the *Map of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers* explored by Captain Raynolds in 1859-1860, revised by Major G. L. Gillespie in 1876, and appears in *A. J. Johnson's Nebraska, Dakota, Idaho, and Montana Map* circa 1867.

Crowheart Butte (48FR1264) (1858-1859)

Even though several engagements were fought between the U. S. Army and Indians during this period, intertribal warfare also continued. Crowheart Butte is a prominent landform on the Wind River Reservation, and according to one authority a battle over supremacy of prime hunting grounds was fought in the vicinity by a group of Shoshonis and Bannocks against a group of Crows (Trenholm and Carley1964:171-173). Most of the battle actually occurred several miles to the north near what is known as Black Mountain, close to the head of Crow Creek. Crowheart Butte (Figure 4.10) was so named because the victorious Shoshoni Chief Washakie allegedly displayed the heart of Big Robber, one of his slain enemies. Some stories relate that Washakie ate the heart while others say he dangled it on the end of his lance during the war dance following the battle. This conflict is thought by some to have taken place in March 1866, which is unlikely because the Indian Agent that year reported no hostilities.

Oregon Trail Military Activity (1862-1867)

McDermott (1997:iv) lists twelve stations along the Oregon Trail in Wyoming that were not necessarily all military but which played a role in military security for emigrant travel. These stations from east to west are Fort Laramie, Horseshoe Creek, La Bonte (Camp Marshall), La Prele, Deer Creek, Richard's (Reshaw) Bridge, Camp Dodge, Platte Bridge, Sweetwater, Three Crossings, St. Mary's (Rocky Ridge), and South Pass (Burnt Ranch). Some are known by multiple names.

Pacific Springs Station also was on the Oregon Trail, and McDermott (1991[II]:131-133) mentions it was originally believed to have been occupied by the military during the period 1862-1876, however his research did not confirm this status.

The only general reference to the site regarding troop activity was that a headquarters for detachments of the 11th Ohio Volunteers was established for a time nearby. It is possible that a thorough investigation into the military records of the Department of Utah and others (the Department of the Platte ended at South Pass in the 1860s) will resolve the status of Pacific Springs.

Camp Davis (1855-1856)

Camp Davis (48NA866) is the location of Richard's Trading Post in present day Evansville (Eckles 1983; Murray 1986:12-13; Scott 1985:12). It was known as Fort Clay in 1855 (see Camp Payne), and was adjacent to Richard's Bridge (48NA553).

Camp Payne (1856-1859)

Camp Payne (48NA867) is also known as Camp on Platte Bridge, Fort Clay, and Fort Payne, and it

Figure 4.10. Crowheart Butte. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

was the second post at Richard's Bridge (Murray 1986:15-16). Counting Camps Davis and Payne, the military had a presence at the bridge location from 1855-1859 (Eckles 1985; Scott 1985).

Deer Creek Station (1857-1866)

Deer Creek Station (48CO178) was an active, early location along the Oregon Trail. Events there predated some of the other stations and involved Indian Agency activities, Bissonette's trading post, Mormon mail contracts, military garrison duty and other historic incidents (Glenrock Historical Commission 1990).

Camps on Laramie River (1858-1873)

National Archives microfilm M617, Roll 1519 contains post returns from camps on Laramie River, Nebraska Territory for July-September 1858, and for a camp on the Laramie River, Wyoming Territory for May-September 1873 (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1985:203). These likely were associated with military activity in the Fort Laramie area.

Camp Horseshoe (1862-1866)

Thirty-eight soldiers and a lieutenant were assigned to guard travelers and the telegraph at this point, the first stage stop north out of Fort Laramie. It was used from 1862-1866, and the stockade became a ranch building in 1868. Occupants once fired on a group of Indians led by Crazy Horse, killing two of them. The rest of the warriors attacked and burned the place down. The location is identified by a

historical marker about 2.5 miles south of Glendo on the east side of I-25 (Hart 1980b:16-17, 22).

Platte Bridge Station (1862-1865)
(Fort Caspar 1865-1867)

Fort Caspar (48NA209), known before 1865 as Platte Bridge Station was the northernmost outpost during this episode and it occupied a strategic river crossing of the North Platte River. This was a very active area during emigrant travel since it bordered the vast Indian territory of the Powder River Country to the north. Several military camps occurred in this portion of the North Platte River Valley and it can be difficult sorting them out from obscure and sometimes conflicting historical sources (Murray 1986).

Technically, this outpost was not known as Fort Caspar during the period of military exploration and emigrant protection (Figure 4.11). Located on the south bank of the North Platte River in present day Casper, this place has been known by multiple names (Frazer 1972:179-180; Murray 1986). In June of 1847, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established a ferry downriver from the site, and that nearby location was known as Mormon Ferry until 1858. Troops stationed there from the summer of 1858 to spring of 1859 protected emigrant trains and communication lines to Salt Lake City. In 1859, Louis Guinard completed a substantial bridge above the Mormon Ferry for stagecoach and emigrant traffic. His bridge was located at the future site of Platte Bridge Station. When the stage line moved to the Overland Trail in 1862, abandoned buildings at Guinard's crossing were occupied as part of the Station (Murray 1986:20-21). Even "Galvanized Yankees" served there during the Civil War when the regular army was otherwise committed. These men were former Southern soldiers recruited to serve in the 3rd U. S. Infantry Volunteers (Vaughn 1963:20).

According to the Fort Caspar Museum and Historic Site, the first permanent Euroamerican occupation was this 1859 bridge and the trading post of Louis Guinard. Then from 1862-1865, Platte Bridge Station was outfitted as a one company military post. It played a pivotal role in the protection

Figure 4.11. Reconstructed portion of old Platte Bridge near Platte Bridge Station that became known as Fort Caspar in 1865. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

of the telegraph line across country and the passage of emigrants on the Oregon Trail. It also was a center of attention during the early part of the first Plains Indian Wars (McDermott 1997). By Special Order number 49 of November 21, 1865, Major General John Pope renamed the post Fort Caspar in honor of First Lieutenant Caspar W. Collins who had been killed nearby in an engagement with Indians on July 26 that year. Caspar seemed the appropriate name because Fort Collins already had been established in Colorado and named after Caspar's father (McDermott 1997:81). Fort Caspar was abandoned in 1867 when it was replaced by Fort Fetterman downriver.

The most thorough treatment of the history of Fort Caspar is McDermott's (1997) book entitled *Frontier Crossroads*. Colorful events and personalities related to the site are well portrayed in his volume. Some of these actions appear below when specific engagements are discussed. The two best known battles related to the outpost are the Platte Bridge Fight where Collins was killed, and Battle of Red

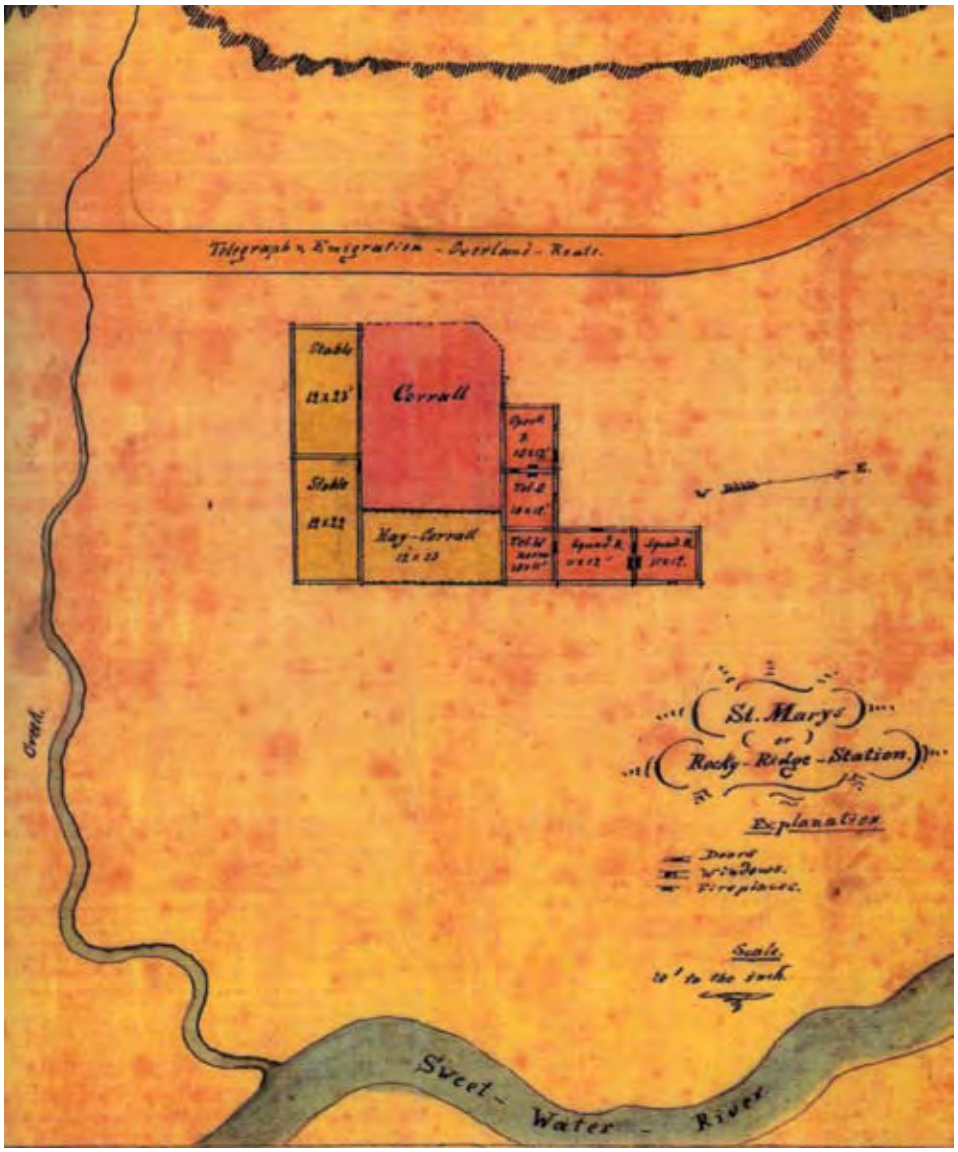

Figure 4.12. Map of Rocky Ridge Station, 1927, Colorado State University, University Archive, Archives and Special Collections.

Buttes, both discussed in the next chapter.

Today the site contains reconstructed buildings, an excellent bookstore and a museum managed by the City of Casper. Archaeological investigations have been employed in recent years to better understand the material remains and historic significance of the fort (DeVore 1998; Miller 2000).

Camp Stillings (1862-1866)

This site was also known as the Detachment at Sweetwater Station (Hart 1980b:16-17, 27). Only holes in the ground are left to depict where buildings once stood. Arapahos attacked this garrison in June 1865, but were defeated by a 14 member garrison.

Sweetwater Bridge (April 3, 1863)

Wyoming was part of Idaho Territory in the summer of 1863 when Colonel Patrick Edward Connor campaigned in the region. Because of Connor's presence, central Wyoming was relatively quiet except for a skirmish with warriors near Sweetwater Bridge (Sweetwater Station). When

Indians attacked the nearby station, Private Ira Grossman of Co. B, 11th Ohio Cavalry was mortally wounded (McDermott 1997:31), and died three days later on April 6 (Jones 2005:336).

Three Crossings (1862-1867)

Three Crossings (48FR231) was used by the military from 1862-1867, and witnessed Indian encounters (McDermott 1991[II]:120-124).

St. Mary's (Rocky Ridge) (1862-1867)

St. Mary's (48FR230), also known as Rocky Ridge, had a military presence at times from 1862-1867. Soldiers were detached there to guard emigrants on the Oregon Trail and protect the telegraph line, and they too came under attack (Jones 2005:81-84; McDermott 1991[II]:125-127). Several plan maps and illustrations of the stations along the Overland Trail in Wyoming have been attributed to Caspar Collins. One of them (Figure 4.12) depicts St. Mary's/Rocky Ridge Station (Service 2000:illustration #9), and such data are valuable for generating archaeological research designs for site investigations.

South Pass Camp (1862-1867)

South Pass camp (48FR244) was another station from which troops operated in 1862-1867. It also was known as Camp Highland, Burnt Ranch, Last or Ninth Crossing, and Gilbert's Ranch (see McDermott 1991 [II]:127-131, 1993).

Townsend Wagon Train (July 7, 1864)

Indian encounters also occurred north of the Oregon Trail corridor during this period. The Townsend Wagon Train (48JO1613) came under attack by Sioux in early July 1864 several miles east of present day Kaycee, and it reflects the beginning of more aggressive Indian resistance to travelers in the Powder River Country of northeastern Wyoming. Members of the train had superior weapons to those of the Indians, but they still suffered some loss of life (Weaver 1917:283-293). McDermott (personal communication 2011) notes that an eyewitness account was printed in *Montana Post* on September 17, 1864. According to Michno and Michno (2008:201-202), the Townsend Wagon Train was the only one attacked of four wagon trains that took the Bozeman Trail to Montana in 1864. About twelve Indians and four emigrants were killed. The Bozeman Trail route figures prominently in the first Plains Indian Wars discussed in the next chapter.

Kelly Wagon Train (July 12, 1864)

As the Josiah S. Kelly wagon train crossed Little Box Elder Creek four miles west of LaPrele Station, over 200 Oglala Sioux attacked shortly after having shared some pleasantries with the travelers. Kelly and two others were wounded, but escaped. Four other men were killed and some women and children taken captive (Michno 2003:143).

Brown Springs (48CO103) (July 19, 1864)

Captains Jacob S. Shuman, Co. H, 11th Ohio, and Captain Levi G. Marshall, Co. E, 11th Ohio took approximately 160 men from Deer Creek Station in search of the Indian warriors in the aftermath of the Kelly Wagon Train fight. Lieutenant John A. Brown of Co. E was shot by an arrow in the neck during an attempt to halt his soldiers who had been retreating in the face of the enemy. The next morning Brown was found alive, although he soon died of his wounds (McDermott 1997:36; Unrau 1979:154-155). The site where he was shot became known as Brown Springs (Brown's Spring) (Junge 1975; Michno and Michno 2008:202-203).

Overland Trail Military Activity (1862-1867)

McCauslan (1961:324-328) discusses 31 stations in Wyoming along the old Overland Trail route. Like those on the Oregon Trail, many of these witnessed skirmishes during their use life but not all are considered military. The Wyoming stations and distances between them are, from east to west in Albany County: Willow Springs 15 miles from Virginia Dale, then 15 miles to Big Laramie, 14 miles to Little Laramie, and 17 miles to Cooper Creek. Carbon County contains: Rock Creek (Arlington) 11

miles from Cooper Creek, then 17 miles to Medicine Bow (Elk Mountain), 8 miles to Elk Mountain (Fort Halleck), 14 miles to Pass Creek, 16 miles to North Platte, 14 miles to Sage Creek, 10 miles to Pine Grove, 9 miles to Bridger's Pass, 10 miles to Sulphur Springs, and 11 miles to Washakie (Washie). Sweetwater County contains: Duck Lake 13 miles from Washakie, then 12 miles to Dug Springs, 15 miles to Fort La Clede (La Clede), 12 miles to Big Pond, 14 miles to Black Buttes, 14 miles to Rock Point (Point of Rocks), 14 miles to Salt Wells, 14 miles to Rock Springs, 15 miles to Green River, 14 miles to Lone Tree, and 18 miles to Ham's Fork. Uinta County contains: Church Buttes 12 miles from Ham's Fork, then 8 miles to Millersville, 14 miles to Fort Bridger, 12 miles to Muddy, 10 miles to Quaking Aspen Springs, 10 miles to Bear River. From Bear River it is 10 miles to Needle Rock, Utah.

Regular violent contacts with Indians along the Oregon Trail had helped prompt a move of the stage route to the Overland Trail in 1862, but this southern route was not immune to attack either. Military attention now had to be directed toward protecting transportation and communication along both the Overland Trail and Oregon Trail, which spread available troops over much more territory. Garrisoned forts in southern Wyoming were needed for this task, as was detached duty at various trail stations along the way.

Fort Halleck (1862-1866)

The location for Fort Halleck (48CR428) was selected for trail defense and its construction was completed under the command of Major John O'Ferrall of the 11th Ohio Cavalry (Frazer 1972:181), a volunteer regiment. A battalion of this regiment had been sent to Fort Laramie in 1862, even though the men had enlisted to fight the Confederates back east (Jones 2005:22). Some of these troops participated in Oregon Trail skirmishes mentioned above; some found their way to Fort Halleck and by the end of the Civil War their battalion had helped protect both the Oregon and Overland Trail routes.

Fort Halleck was situated at the north foot of Elk Mountain west of the Medicine Bow River, with the intent that its garrison would protect travelers and mail on the Overland Trail and other routes through southern Wyoming. Numerous skirmishes took place in the area during the short life of this post. The archaeological remains of the outpost are on private land inside the main corral areas of a large livestock operation. One standing structure may relate to military use of the site and remnants of the post cemetery are nearby. A refuse dump from the fort period may be located adjacent to a nearby stream.

The fort was abandoned on Independence Day 1866 and the military reservation transferred to the Department of Interior in 1886 (Frazer 1972:181). Much of the government property at the site was transported by a company under Captain Mizner of the 18th Infantry to the Laramie River area where Fort Sanders was to be built (Mattes 1960:52-53).

The Fort Halleck to Fort Laramie Road (1862-1866) was a minor military road that connected these two named outposts (Rosenberg 1989:7). It has two Smithsonian Site Numbers, one for Albany County (48AB355) and one for Carbon County (48CR7227), which is not an uncommon management practice for documented roads that traverse multiple counties.

Fort LaClede (48SW1832) (1863-1869)

According to McAuslan (1961:327), this fort was built to guard the Overland Trail and was the scene of military engagements with Indians. However, military scholar, William Dobak, has investigated the status of the site and informed this writer that LaClede does not show up as an army post in official records such as Heitman (1903), nor were monthly post returns ever filed from that location (Dobak, personal communication, 2011). Proulx (2008:269) agrees it is not a military fort however there is little doubt that detached military units traveled the Overland Trail in this general area to help protect emigrants and the U. S. mail (Erb et al. 1989:94). Of anecdotal interest, the remains of a door to the building were found lying on the ground before 1961, with an arrowhead embedded in the wood on the down side of the door. It is entirely possible that an important archaeological

record exists at this location. LaClede is not tabulated as a military fort in this context.

LaClede Station (1862-1869)

LaClede Station (48SW941) was located on the Overland Trail near Fort LaClede (McAuslan 1961:327).

Pass Creek (February 20, 1863)

Occasional skirmishes erupted even with an increased military presence in the south. In this particular engagement, Utes attacked the Pass Creek stage station near the confluence of Pass Creek and the North Platte River in present day Carbon County, driving away stock and destroying station equipment. The harassment prompted Lieutenant Henry Brandley to pursue the Indians with a 20 man detachment of Company B, 9th Kansas Cavalry from nearby Fort Halleck. A few raiders were killed when the unit caught up with the perpetrators and Brandley was wounded in the arm (Erb et al. 1989:60; Michno 2003:111; *War of the Rebellion* 1901 v. 22(1):234).

The Pass Creek site (48CR3939) and Pass Creek Stage (48CR433) are listed as historic sites in the WYCRO database. The battle began at the stage station so it could be considered an event related to 48CR433 (if this number refers to the station) and not given a separate Smithsonian Number.

Grand Pass (July 7, 1863)

A summer expedition from Fort Halleck was sent in search of raiding Utes who had pestered mail coaches all year. About 70 men were detached from the 1st Colorado Cavalry and Company B of the 9th Kansas Cavalry along with Lieutenants Henry Brandley and Hugh W. Williams. They overtook some Indians in a pass through the Medicine Bow Mountains about 25 miles south of Fort Halleck, in the vicinity of present day Ryan Park. When troops rode up, about 250 Utes fired at them with Hawken rifles from the timber and brush. Soldiers dismounted and charged up the slope. They reached the crest of the pass after two hours of fighting, which prompted the Indians' departure. One soldier was killed and six wounded, while the Utes supposedly left 20 dead on the battlefield and carried other casualties away, thus ending major hostilities in the Fort Halleck region. The post commander at Fort Halleck, Captain Asaph Allen, later attributed minimal army casualties to the fact that the Utes "in firing down the steep hill-side … invariably fired too high" (Michno 2003:117-118; Utley 1967:282).

Muddy Creek (August 1863)

Moulton (2010:128) recalls a fight that took place between Cheyenne and Lakota warriors and emigrants on the Overland Trail between Bridger's Pass and Sulphur Springs. Apparently the Indians attacked while stock were being watered and the sound of gunfire prompted a relief force from Sulphur Springs comprised of troops from Companies A, C, and D of the 1st Kansas Volunteer Cavalry (V.C.) under command of Major R. J. Morse. Twenty-nine emigrants supposedly were killed, and 90 Indians killed or wounded (Erb et al. 1989:78-79). This engagement, if it occurred, deserves further research but it is not listed in Heitman (1903).

The Mormon War (1857-1858)

One of the major episodes of emigrant travel through the Wyoming study area involved members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who settled in Utah Territory following their exodus from Nauvoo, Illinois. Joseph Smith Jr. had been a prophet of the Mormon faith and published *The Book of Mormon* in 1830, tolerating such potentially divisive doctrines as polygamy. Not long after the founding of the church, the Mormon people moved from New York to Kirtland, Ohio, then relocated their fundamentalist congregations to a land of promise in Missouri. Unfortunately, the new faith found persecution there from resident groups unsympathetic to Mormon beliefs. Difficulties continued throughout the 1830s.

Citizens of Quincy, Illinois had watched the dangerous events unfold in Missouri and invited the Mormons to settle in Illinois (Bagley 2002:8-17). Smith escaped a Missouri jail where he had

been incarcerated and when he arrived in Illinois he named his new Mormon village, Nauvoo. By the mid-1840s, Nauvoo was a virtually independent city-state growing to several thousand men. Resentment of Mormon power eventually grew in Illinois too, and Smith slipped out of Nauvoo in June 1844 leaving his followers panicked. Smith later surrendered to authorities in Carthage and on the 27th of the month a mob of 200 men stormed the jail killing Smith and a small party of fellow Mormons who were with him.

One of Smith's most ardent converts was Brigham Young who had joined the faith in 1832. Hearing of Joseph Smith's martyrdom, Young traveled to Nauvoo determined to carry on the legacy, assuming command of the Nauvoo Legion as lieutenant general (Bagley 2002:18-19). In order to avoid a civil war, Young recognized that the Mormons would have to leave the United States to survive, so the western territories in the Rockies became their desired destination. Their travels overland began in 1845.

By 1857 a series of further political conflicts and disagreements had arisen. Mormon authorities who had settled in Utah and desired independence argued bitterly with the Federal government in Washington D.C. who desired union of states and territories (Bagley 2002:75-94). The year before (1856) Governor Brigham Young had sought reinforcements for his State of Deseret via handcart emigration from the east (Roberts 2008a:2), and later placed his military Nauvoo Legion on alert as unfolding events in Utah escalated in opposition to the desires of President James Buchanan. Buchanan called for the U. S. Army to intervene, anticipating that circumstances might erupt into violence if they remained unchecked. Such military support also was needed to help soften the growing anti-Mormon prejudice in the country, ease tense political issues, and preserve the economic interests of the War Department (Carroll 2000:7).

In an effort to debilitate the United States' military expedition sent against them, and fearing annihilation, the Mormon government called for a halt to travel along the Oregon Trail. Mormon intervention also stirred up Indian sentiment and several stations were burned along the transportation route.

Figure 4.13. General Albert Sydney Johnston who led the Utah Expedition in 1857-1858. JVA Carter 178 crop, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

The Utah Expedition sent against the Mormon resistance eventually was placed under command of Colonel Albert Sydney Johnson (Figure 4.13), who had been ordered to escort civilian authorities to the Mormon stronghold. Johnson had taken six companies of the 2nd Dragoons and other military elements that were scattered along the Oregon Trail clear to South Pass. After arriving at South Pass, the expedition traveled to Fort Bridger and nearby Camp Scott (Figures 4.14, 4.15), then into Utah through Echo Canyon, passed Salt Lake City, and on to Camp Floyd (Carroll 2000:9; Roberts 2008b).

Figure 4.14. Fort Bridger in June 1858. Sub Neg 14163, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 4.15. Camp Scott. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.

Figure 4.16. Excavations adjacent to the Mormon Wall at Fort Bridger. Courtesy of Dudley Gardner, Western Wyoming College.

Johnson's command was characterized as the largest concentration of United States' troops deployed in the intervening years between the Mexican War and American Civil War (Carroll 2000: 6).

Brigham Young considered the expedition an invasion force and took several steps to prevent their entry into Utah Territory. In addition to other defensive measures, he ordered the burning of Fort Bridger where the Mormons had recently finished building a stone wall that partially stands today (Figure 4.16). In spite of all these aggressive maneuvers, there were no pitched battles in Wyoming and only a few minor encounters characterized primarily by the destruction of property.

In his Foreword to MacKinnon's (2008) comprehensive treatise on the Mormon War, Will Bagley (2008) makes some interesting observations about these hostilities that also have been labeled the Utah War and Mormon Rebellion. The war appeared to produce only a few guerrilla raids on U. S. Army supply trains plus the appalling atrocity of the Mountain Meadows incident (Bagley 2002, 2008:12). Mountain Meadows generated the greatest loss of life during this conflict when about 120 California-bound travelers were killed. Even with such a violent, premeditated incident, Mormon resistance was seen by residents in Utah simply as a way to protect their homeland from invasion. In contrast, the U. S. Army had suffered through a frustrating expedition fraught with political restraint and discipline issues. At one point, Captain Randolph Marcy, a West Point graduate, led a detail from Camp Scott near Fort Bridger to New Mexico and back just to bring replacement mules and horses to the stalled expedition (White 1998:183-212). After the entire episode drew to a close, authority in Utah eventually was transferred to a non-Mormon Governor and peace was restored. Several sites in Wyoming relate to this war.

Simpson's Hollow (October 4-5, 1857)

On October 4, a group of Mormons under command of Lot Smith traveled to the Green River and at midnight burned 51 wagons from a military company (MacKinnon 2008:348). The location of this incident has not been identified. On the 5th, the Mormons rode up Big Sandy to another group of wagons, this time in Simpson's Hollow (48SW1818). Very little has been documented for the Simpson's Hollow site as well, which has been characterized as a military skirmish where Mormon militia harassed U. S. Army troops on their way to Utah in 1857, capturing and burning 22 army supply wagons. According to another source, Simpson's Hollow is the name given to the location where, on Monday, October 5, 1857, 22-24 wagons of the Lewis Simpson train were burned by Lot Smith and other Mormons to prevent them from falling into the hands of the army (MacKinnon 2008:348-349). This and similar acts were considered responsible for reduced emigrant traffic that year (National Park Service 2007:67-68).

The specific landscape on which this incident occurred along Big Sandy has not been systematically recorded. For that matter, little is known about the archaeological record of the entire 1857 Mormon War, even though it was a major event in southern Wyoming that witnessed the participation of such notable military leaders as Colonel Albert Sidney Johnson, who later became a noted Confederate

General early in the Civil War before he bled to death beneath a tree on the Shiloh battlefield in 1862.

Camp Winfield (1857)

Camp Winfield was located on Ham's Fork of the Green River and used in October 1857 by Colonel E. B. Alexander of the 10th Infantry while awaiting the arrival of the rest of the expeditionary force gathering to contest the Mormons in Utah Territory.

Alexander would rendezvous with Colonel Albert S. Johnston on November 2, 1857 where Ham's Fork joins Black's Fork (Gowans & Campbell 1975:94-97).

Camp Scott (1857-1858)

Camp Scott (48UT249) mentioned above was located two miles south of Fort Bridger, and was in use during the Mormon War (see Carroll 2000:6-24).

Fort Supply (1853-1857)

Fort Supply (48UT252) in Uinta County was built by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1853 as a stockaded civilian agricultural settlement, not a military garrison. It held supplies for travelers to the Salt Lake Valley. In 1857, Mormons burned the site to prevent it from falling into the hands of the U. S. Army (MacKinnon 2008:340-350).

Camp McGraw (1857-1858)

Camp McGraw (48FR1293), also known as Fort Thompson, was established to protect federal supplies belonging to a survey crew working on an overland route to bypass Utah due to the unrest there. Under the guise of the U. S. Military, a Volunteer Company was formed from civilian contractors (McDermott 1991 [II]:117). William M. F. Magraw (McGraw), a survey crew leader, became captain of the volunteers (McDermott 1993:14-15). A roadside sign commemorating this site occurs next to a hay field between present-day Lander and Hudson. The associated Fort Thompson Road (48FR1283) was used by the military from 1857-1867 and investigated in 1991 by Western Public History Associates (Waddell 1991).

Fort Bridger (1858-1890)

One of the most significant locations in southwestern Wyoming during the Mormon War and later was Fort Bridger (48UT29) (see Figure 4.14). This is another location that began as a trading post. Gowans and Campbell (1975:10) note that Jim Bridger and Henry Fraeb originally had built a fort for trading purposes on the Green River between the mouths of Black's Fork and Big Sandy in midsummer 1841, which the authors consider to be the first Fort Bridger (48SW4074). The buildings were not all completed before Fraeb was killed by Indians in the Little Snake River country. Bridger then moved into the Black's Fork region in early summer 1842 and built some structures on a bluff overlooking Black's Fork, which became the second Fort Bridger (48UT1091). It was abandoned less than a year later. In the spring of 1843, Bridger constructed the third fort in the river bottom with his partner Louis Vasquez and this is the location that is best known historically (48UT29). Fort Bridger came under Mormon ownership from 1853-1857, and was burned in 1857 along with Fort Supply in anticipation of U. S. Army occupation during the Mormon War. The military took it over in 1858. A remnant of the so-called Mormon Wall completed just before the war has survived destruction and is present today at the site (Gardner et al. 2010).

Fort Bridger served as an important supply location for several military trail surveys through the west, and for travelers along the emigrant trails. Originally abandoned by the Army in 1878, it was reoccupied in 1880 following the Ute uprising in northwestern Colorado (Frazer 1972:178; Miller 1997). Fort Bridger also was the site of the July 2, 1863 treaty signing with the Eastern Shoshonis officially recognizing their territory from the mountains north of Snake River south to the Uintah Mountains and Yampa River, and as far east as the North Platte River (Kappler 1972:848-850). The fort finally was abandoned by the military and the reservation transferred to the Interior Department in late 1890, the year Wyoming became a state. This National Register site has received extensive

historical and archaeological work (see Appendix A; Gardner 1994; Gowans and Campbell 1975). The Fort Bridger Coal Reserve (48UT661) relates to this outpost.

The second Fort Bridger (48UT1091) also occurs in the Wyoming Cultural Records Office database. As mentioned earlier, it is likely that this is the trading post built by Bridger on the bluff overlooking Black's Fork. Consequently, it did not serve as a military garrison.

The outbreak of Civil War in 1861 near the end of this episode had sorely taxed U. S. Army troop strength at a time it also needed to keep open these western emigrant trails, mail routes and telegraph service (Utley 1967:215-218). The Sioux uprising of 1862 in Minnesota placed even further demands on the Army (Keenan 2003). With the loss of regular troops to the war effort in the East, many western outposts were supported by units from volunteer state regiments like those garrisoned at Fort Laramie and Fort Halleck. By the middle of 1862, the transition to volunteer regiments as a replacement for lost regulars was largely complete and the strength of garrisons sustained. Utley notes for the western frontier that, "at the close of 1862 some fifteen thousand soldiers were available for Indian duty, about five thousand more than in 1860" (1967:216). Then on November 29, 1864, units from two of these volunteer regiments under the leadership of Colonel John M. Chivington attacked a peaceful village of Cheyennes and Arapahos along Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado (Greene and Scott 2004), causing a massacre that would help trigger the most violent period of Indian fighting ever to occur in the Wyoming study area.

Chapter 5: First Plains Indian Wars (1865-1868)

Two pivotal events of the 1860s sparked the first Plains Indian Wars; one happened in Powder River Country and the other in southern Colorado. The discovery of gold in southwestern Montana in 1862 quickly set off a scramble of fortune-seekers to the area (Hebard and Brininstool 1922:205). By the following year the Bozeman Trail became the preferred route to these gold fields, its path leaving the Oregon Trail along the North Platte River at Deer Creek before heading north. Travel on the Bozeman was cheaper and less time consuming than on alternative routes through Idaho or up the Missouri River (Johnson 1971:56-57; Smith 1984:17-18), and it was favored over Bridger's Trail through the Big Horn Basin (Lowe 1999). Unfortunately, the Bozeman followed well-used Indian routes through their prime hunting grounds, so increased Euroamerican traffic intruded on Sioux territory thought to be guaranteed them under the 1851 treaty, even though one treaty article had provided for construction of roads (Kappler 1972:594-596). This invasion of travelers was sure to be contested, as in the case of the Townsend Wagon Train discussed in the last chapter. McDermott (2010:1-20) has provided a comprehensive account of the tense situation that prevailed along the Bozeman Trail by 1866-1867.

Elsewhere in southeastern Colorado at dawn on November 29, 1864, Colonel Chivington and over 700 United States volunteer soldiers attacked a peaceful village of Cheyennes and Arapahos along Sand Creek, using small arms and howitzers (Greene and Scott 2004:3). This unprovoked assault continued for seven hours and resulted in the deaths of 150 Indians, primarily the old, young, and weak that could not easily flee the onslaught. The attack was caused in part from the whites' overreaction to the 1862-1863 Sioux uprising in Minnesota and its aftermath. Sand Creek quickly became a catalyst that galvanized Indian alliances and spurred their military offensive against Euroamerican occupation along the Oregon Trail and elsewhere in the study area. The massacre at Sand Creek has since become one of the most emotionally charged incidents in the history of the American West. It also has received an intensive archaeological and interdisciplinary study that focused on the site location, special resources, and an environmental assessment in a two volume compendium (National Park Service 2000a and 2000b).

Military maneuvers during this episode can be broken down into two phases based on these events. The first is the Indian War of 1865 that ignited major battles along emigrant trail routes in Wyoming in the aftermath of Sand Creek. The second is Red Cloud's War in the Powder River Country from 1866-1868 in response to Bozeman Trail intrusions (McDermott 2003:169; 2010). Collectively these two phases generated the most intensive military engagements ever fought within the borders of present-day Wyoming (Rosenberg 1989:7), making it one of the bloodiest four year periods in the history of the region.

Several additional factors increased the violence and lethality of these actions. Construction of forts along the Bozeman Trail ensured a sustained Army presence with sufficient arms and ammunition to protect droves of people headed for Montana gold fields, so considerable military activity was constantly observed between Fort Caspar on the North Platte River and Fort Phil Kearny near present day Story. The Army also benefited from a major change of weaponry in 1867 when muzzle-loaders were replaced with breach loading rifles, dramatically increasing fire power and accuracy over greater distances. Combined with the proven success of guerrilla fighting by the Indians, these factors influenced tactical shifts in combat on both sides. The aggressive offensive maneuvers Indians employed early in this episode (McDermott 2003)

were modified when the need for greater stealth was prompted in part by the Army's improved fire power. Indian tactics even changed to accommodate their own adoption of new weaponry (Gibbon 1994:229-238). Two famous engagements during this period, the Fetterman debacle and the Wagon Box fight, also taught some army veterans they could no longer underestimate the military cunning and skill of their adversary. Indian combatants hereafter would be looked upon with a greater degree of admiration (Carrington 1884:5-14).

The Indian War of 1865

The impetuous blood lust at Sand Creek perpetrated by John M. Chivington, a Methodist minister turned Colonel of volunteers, unleashed a fury of Indian retribution never seen before or since in the study area. After Chivington's attack, northern bands of Cheyennes and Arapahos found safety in an alliance with Red Cloud's Oglalas and Spotted Tail's Brules, two bands of Sioux that occupied portions of Wyoming. Southern Cheyennes joined as well, as did Miniconjous and Sans Arcs Sioux. McDermott (2003:7-14) places the total population of this new coalition somewhere around 11,400. The first target of these avengers was Julesburg, Colorado in January 1865, but violence quickly spilled over into Wyoming. Detachments of soldiers had been spread out strategically at various camps and stations over the long line of Oregon Trail so they could protect travelers, guard the mail, and repair telegraph lines (McDermott 2011). Several skirmishes along the trail early in the year would culminate in major engagements later that summer.

Fort (Camp) Mitchell was one such garrisoned location occupied in February 1865 and situated near Wyoming some fifty miles from Mud Springs, Nebraska. Troops stationed there involved at least 1st Lieutenant William Ellsworth and thirty-six men of Company H, 11th Ohio V.C. Ellsworth and his men were sent under orders from Fort Laramie to thwart the Indian offensive at Mud Springs during the month, only a few weeks after the initial attack on Julesburg (Bleed and Scott 2009; McDermott 1997:40-41). An archaeological record of the site is believed to still exist.

On February 13, 1865, a smaller skirmish at LaParelle Creek (sic) (probably a misspelling for La Prele Creek) involved units of the 11th Ohio V.C. Captain Levi N. Rinehart of Company G was killed in the fight by Indians (Henry 1970).

Six weeks later, on March 28, a skirmish near Camp Marshall also involved units of the 11th Ohio V. C. Indians killed Private Patrick Holmes of Company E (illegible) in this action (Henry 1970). Camp Marshall also is known as Camp La Bonte (48CO179) and La Bonte Station, depicted on the site distribution map at the end of this chapter. Apparently the site had a cottonwood stockade about 150 feet to a side, and graves were nearby, both features that could retain an archaeological record (Wyoming Recreation Commission n.d.2). The site was in military use in 1865 west of Fort Laramie (McDermott 1997), and it is the likely location for the skirmish. The tribe(s) involved was not mentioned in the source material, but they undoubtedly were part of the large alliance.

Units of the 11th Kansas V. C. were involved in an engagement on Sage Creek on April 22, 1865. Major N. A. Adams, commanding the 2nd Battalion, wrote a report about the skirmish to Lt. Colonel Preston B. Plumb, commander of the regiment at Deer Creek, Dakota Territory. Adams and 35 men had attempted to overtake a party of Indians who were conducting depredations along La Prele Creek. In the evening near Sage Creek, the command was attacked by 50-100 Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. No wounds were reported although it was believed that the Indians, who had occupied higher ground, suffered considerable loss. Some of the army's horses were stampeded. The next day the Indians scattered into small groups and headed north (Henry 1970). The Sage Creek Fight site is numbered 48CO184 though no details are given on the form, and Sage Creek Station is 48CO104.

A second engagement near Camp Marshall, this time on April 23, involved units of the 11th Ohio V. C. Private L. E. Timmons of Company E was killed in action with the Indians (Henry 1970). The Indian

tribe(s) involved was not identified.

Camp Dodge was a tent camp established in late April 1865 on the east bank of the west fork of upper Garden Creek, which was approximately six miles from Platte Bridge. It served for several months as the regimental headquarters of the 11th Kansas V.C. under command of Lieutenant Colonel Preston B. Plumb (McDermott 1997:43-45, 132-133; Sun 2008). Troops here were engaged in various encounters during the Indian War of 1865. An archaeological record is expected if the site is ever more fully investigated.

Camp Plumb was located on Mud Creek about ten miles west of Deer Creek Station (Connelley 1913:197; Michno 2003:170-171; Vaughn 1963:14-15). Lieutenant Jacob Van Antwerp and at least 24 men from Company L, 11th Kansas V.C. garrisoned the camp. On May 20, 1865, two skirmishes occurred near Deer Creek Station located just east of present-day Glenrock. Both were Indian attacks on nearby military camps, and they involved troops from Camp Plumb. At the time, the garrison of Deer Creek included Companies D and L of the 11th Kansas Cavalry. One engagement was three miles above the camp of Lieutenant W. B. Godfrey and three soldiers of Company D, 11th Kansas. The other was an attack of the camp of Sergeant Smythe and six men of Company L, 11th Kansas. A contingent under Lt. Jacob Van Antwerp of Company L left Camp Plumb in an effort to intercept the warriors. He tracked them to the North Platte River and noticed about 100 Indians on the other side of the channel, which was flowing too high to ford (Connelley 1913: 197; Michno 2003:170-171; Vaughn 1963:14-15). The Indian tribe(s) involved is not specified, but the warrior force was likely one or more of the allied groups that spearheaded the 1865 offensive. Since tribes fought together during this period, it might have been difficult at times to segregate specific bands in official reports. The potential locations for each of the military camps and engagements along tributaries of the North Platte River during this period deserve more intensive archaeological scrutiny.

Eight days later on May 28, a skirmish known as Elkhorn involved units of the 11th Ohio V. C. Private Alfred Curless of Co. E was killed in action with the Indians (Henry 1970). The exact location of the Elkhorn fight has not been determined.

On June 3, Lt. Colonel Preston Plumb took about 20 men from companies of the 11th Kansas V. C. and 11th Ohio V. C. to intercept Indians who had fired on Platte Bridge Station earlier that afternoon. He chased the attackers five miles before some of the troopers' horses began to play out. About the time he fired on the Indians they turned back toward him, proving to be a decoy to a larger party hidden in a channel of Dry Creek, hence the name of the skirmish. Just as Plumb's party was about to be cut off from the station and his stragglers, reinforcements arrived from the Kansas regiment. Seven troopers were ambushed during the subsequent chase, two of whom were killed before firing ceased. One Indian had been killed and about five wounded (Connelley 1913:197-198; Michno 2003:171-172; Unrau 1979:253-254; Vaughn 1963:15). According to Michno (2003:382), Unrau incorrectly places this action at Deer Creek.

This engagement signals the growing aggression of Indians in the Platte Bridge Station area that culminated in two major engagements the following month.

While most of the fighting during the Indian War of 1865 took place along the Oregon Trail, hostilities also spread south to the Overland Trail route and its stations. Considerable emigrant travel and the mail transport had shifted to this route in 1862 in an effort to avoid ongoing contacts with Indians on the Oregon Trail. However, events that followed Sand Creek made every emigrant route a dangerous trail to follow. On June 8, 1865 about 100 Cheyennes and Lakotas attacked Sage Creek Station when it was guarded by five men of Company K, 11th Ohio V. C. and two civilians. Short of ammunition, the troopers and civilians made a desperate attempt to reach Pine Grove Station eight miles west, but several were killed or captured along the way. Corporal Caldwell and Private Wilson made it to Pine Grove and joined the detachment there during a retreat to Sulphur

Springs. The next morning, the bodies of two troopers and one civilian were found, but the others were thought to have been burned at Sage Creek Station (Michno 2003:172). Sage Creek Stage station and road (48CR463) in Carbon County are listed as a historic site in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records database. The battle began at the stage station so it could be considered an event related to 48CR463 and not given a separate Smithsonian Number when it is more fully documented. Artifacts found during a 1959 State Historical Society investigation at Sage Creek Station are housed at the Carbon County Museum in Rawlins, Wyoming.

A second engagement on the Overland Trail during the Indian War of 1865 occurred west of Fort Halleck and is known as the Heenan fight. This skirmish involved an attack on the mail coach in June 1865 later recalled by participant Joel J. Hurt who interviewed with the *Saratoga Sun* on November 24, 1892. The day long engagement had taken place when eight men and a woman were riding three mail coaches between Pine Grove Station and Sulphur Springs Station. Hurt estimated 500 Indians took part in the attack that began while the coaches were rolling along the route and ended that night after the wagons had been circled on a prairie at the head of a canyon. Most of the day's fighting occurred at the circled wagons. Three or more passengers were killed as were several Indians. The woman passenger worked bravely all day hauling ammunition to combatants and reloading weapons. Heenan had been in charge of the defense perimeter and ordered everyone to hitch the horses for a night time race to Sulphur Springs (Daily Times 1962:17). The group reached the next station and no further fighting occurred.

Following these Indian attacks on the Overland Mail Company stage line, owner Ben Holladay telegraphed the Secretary of War urging appointment of Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor to stop the depredations (Hafen and Hafen 1961:23-24). Connor had been hailed as a successful Indian fighter following his victory the year before against the Shoshonis and Bannocks at the Battle of Bear River along the Utah-Idaho border. By mid-June 1865, Colonel Preston Plumb and Companies A, B, F, L, and M of the 11th Kansas also had been ordered from Camp Dodge to Fort Halleck as protection for the mail and stage on the Overland Trail (McDermott 1997:51). A systematic archaeological inventory of relevant Overland Trail segments might uncover physical evidence for military involvement protecting that route of commerce and transportation.

Fighting also escalated back on the Oregon Trail just as troops were redeploying to cover the widening theater of war. Both emigrant routes had become simultaneous targets of the Indian offensive. On June 21, the first day of summer, about fifty Arapahos attacked a telegraph repair party nine miles east of Sweetwater Station where Co. E, 11th Ohio V. C. was garrisoned (Michno and Michno 2008::214-215). Private Edgar Gwynn and two other troopers were killed during the day long engagement. The Indians outnumbered the party five-to-one. By July, fighting along the trail would reach its zenith of violence.

Platte Bridge (July 26, 1865)

The garrison at Platte Bridge Station was in the thick of things by mid-summer with almost daily sightings of Indians and regular harassment of the telegraph line. Brigadier General Patrick Connor had arrived at Fort Laramie from Julesburg to complete organization of a major expedition into the Powder River Country against marauding Indians, but violence along the Oregon Trail did not wait for his intervention. On July 2, Major Anderson at Fort Laramie ordered troops from Companies D, H, and K of the 11th Kansas V.C. to reinforce Captain Greer at Platte Bridge Station. On July 12, Captain Bretney and a detachment of Company G of the 11th Ohio V.C. joined the command and an immediate argument ensued as to which Captain was in overall command of the station (McDermott 1997:55). Green and the Kansas regiment won out, but animosity festered.

Major Anderson himself arrived at Platte Bridge Station on July 16 along with forty men of Company K of the 11th Kansas. His first order sent Captain Bretney and all but four of Bretney's men to occupy Sweetwater Station. The detachment left Platte

Bridge on July 21 accompanied by a supply train of five wagons commanded by Commissary Sergeant Amos Custard with 24 men of Companies G and H of the 11th Kansas (McDermott 1997:55).

By 1:00 PM on July 25, soldiers back at Platte Bridge Station noticed about 20 warriors gathering on the bluffs overlooking the North Platte River. A detachment of the 11th Kansas rode out to drive them off, but more Indians kept coming out of ravines. The command returned safely so the Indians went after some loose livestock instead. By 4:00 PM, a mail ambulance arrived at the station escorted by about 10 men of Company K, 11th Kansas and 2nd Lieutenant Caspar Collins. Collins had been commissioned with Company G of the 11th Ohio V. C. and already had seen service on the Oregon Trail (Service 2000). About the same time the mail arrived, some troops engaged the Indians who had been raiding the livestock and killed High-Backed Wolf, a Cheyenne chief (McDermott 1997:58).

The area around Platte Bridge Station seemed alive with roving Indians by daybreak on Wednesday, July 26. Sergeant Custard had left Sweetwater Station the day before for his return trip and troops at Platte Bridge were expecting him back by noon. Worried that Custard's men would ride directly into an Indian trap, it was decided to send out a detachment from Platte Bridge to relieve the command and help bring in the wagon train (Vaughn 1963:55). Lieutenant Caspar Collins and twenty-five men of Companies I and K of the 11th Kansas V. C. rode out from the post to intercept Custard's wagon train expected in from the west. Shortly after Collins' relief force crossed the wooden bridge over the North Platte River they were attacked by perhaps 1,000 Sioux and Cheyennes. The Indians had sent a decoy to lure the small detachment of mounted troops north of the river before attempting to encircle them with concealed warriors.

A second contingent from the fort opened the way back to the bridge for the retreat of Collins' command, but the fight was almost shoulder to shoulder. When Collins dismounted to help a wounded comrade both troopers were overwhelmed by the warriors. Four men died with Collins and eight more were wounded, but the command remnant made it back across the bridge to the relative safety of the station.

One recent researcher has compiled maps of the battlefield that were prepared and reviewed by George Bent who fought there in 1865 with the Southern Cheyennes (Haack 2010:3-20). Today the battlefield landscape has largely been obscured by commercial businesses in the City of Mills (Figure 5.1). Caspar Collins, the dead officer, has been immortalized in the name of the City of Casper that grew up nearby. An additional study suggests that at least one army casualty of the Platte Bridge fight, Private George Camp of Company K 11th Kansas V.C., probably was buried at Platte Bridge Station and not lost to the ravages of time (Weathermon 2008:143-159). This bioarchaeological research seeks to connect the archaeological record of Platte Bridge Station with the nearby battlefield, since the battlefield has been largely compromised by urban development.

Another skirmish later that same day occurred during a telegraph line detail. Six soldiers were killed and nine wounded. Howitzer blasts from Platte Bridge Station held the Indians at bay so the soldiers could complete their retreat (Michno 2003:178-179; Powell 1981:342; Spring 1967:82-89; Vaughn 1963:55-70, 75-76, 101).

The Platte Bridge (48NA2165) is listed as a historic bridge in the WYCRO database. Since the battle began at some distance from the bridge and station it probably should be given a separate Smithsonian Number when it is further documented.

Red Buttes (Custard's Wagon Train) (48NA293 and others) July 26, 1865

Since Collins' relief detachment was unable to support the returning wagons from Sweetwater Station, Custard's command continued toward Platte Bridge Station without reinforcements. His detachment encountered the full fury of the Indians on its return trip, and the disastrous result has been called the Red Buttes battle (more accurately identified as Custard's Wagon Train). It was fought on the

Figure 5.1. General area of the Platte Bridge Fight across the North Platte River on the skyline where buildings have been constructed. The City of Mills occupies the battlefield landscape. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

afternoon of July 26, 1865 approximately 4-5 miles west of Platte Bridge Station, but the battlefield has never been relocated.

Actual battle events are largely obscure because there were no Army survivors of the fight at the wagons. However, the following scenario is based on what records are available. Lieutenant Henry Bretney and his command of Company G, 11th Ohio V. C. left Platte Bridge Station on July 21, 1865 under orders to occupy Sweetwater Station near Independence Rock. They were accompanied by Sergeant Amos Custard and 24 men of Companies D and H, 11th Kansas V.C. driving five wagons of supplies for the command (Vaughn 1963:23). Each wagon was unloaded at Sweetwater Station except for their contents of bedding and some grain. Custard's detachment then left Sweetwater Station on July 25 for their return journey to Platte Bridge Station with perhaps five troopers mounted on horseback while the rest rode in wagons.

Details of specific activities leading up to the fateful hour may help shed light on the actual location and unfolding maneuvers of the battle. An in depth time-motion study has been applied with some success to the battle of the Little Big Horn (Gray 1991), and a similar approach is used here to model the activities of Custard's command. The timing of battlefield events and their prelude is an important tool to help calculate the position of the engagement between Sweetwater Station and Platte Bridge Station, so they are tabulated (Table 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). A few assumptions must be made before these calculations will make sense. First, the wagons probably were the 1858 style six-mule military version, and noted historian Tom Lindmier (personal communication 2008) agrees they could easily travel 3-5 miles per hour and faster if necessary. Since Custard was not on a forced march, four miles per

Table 5.1. Estimated time line for the events of July 26, 1865 involving the Custard detachment until they were first seen by individuals at Platte Bridge Station.

Distance	Event	End Time	Elapsed Time
July 25	Leave Sweetwater Station for return trip	9:00 AM	0.00 hours
11 mi.	Stop at Horse Creek	11:45 PM	2.75 hours
0 mi.	Rest stock and have lunch	1:00 PM	1.25 hours
10 mi.	Descend to Willow Springs, water stock	3:45 PM	2.75 hours
3 mi.	Lower Willow Springs (night camp)	4:30 PM	0.75 hours
0 mi.	Command makes camp in meadow	7:00 PM	2.50 hours
0 mi.	Bretney's command shows up and rests	9:00 PM	2.00 hours
July 26	Custard leaves camp to resume travel	5:00 AM	8.00 hours
4 mi.	Cross Poison Creek on Alkali Flats	6:00 AM	1.00 hours
2 mi.	Travel through Rock Avenue	6:30 AM	0.50 hours
2 mi.	Reaches Telegraph/Emigrant roads branch	7:00 AM	0.50 hours
5 mi.	Seen on Telegraph road near Red Buttes	8:15 AM	1.25 hours
0 mi.	Discussion with 11th Ohio patrol in camp	9:30 AM	1.25 hours
3 mi.	Pulls up long ridge until out of sight	10:30 AM	1.00 hours
3 mi.	Pulls up to saddle gap in sight of post	11:30 AM	1.00 hours
43 mi.	Totals		26.50 hours

Table 5.2. Corporal Shrader and the advance squad retreat toward Platte Bridge Station.

Distance	Event	End Time	Elapsed Time
0.00 mi.	Custard orders Corporal Shrader forward	11:30 AM	0 min.
0.25 mi.	Shrader's squad rides forward	11:35 AM	5 min.
0.50 mi.	Shrader's squad dashes for river	11:45 AM	10 min.
0.10 mi.	Swim across, Summers and Ballau shot	12:00 PM	15 min.
0.20 mi.	Shrader runs to catch other two men	12:10 PM	10 min.
2.00 mi.	Encounter Indians halfway to post	1:30 PM	1 hr. 20 min.
0.00 mi.	Left Hand killed in brief skirmish	1:45 PM	15 min.
2.00 mi.	Troops reload behind brush in ravine	3:15 PM	1 hr. 30 min.
0.50 mi.	Men from fort arrive and escort to post	4:00 PM	45 min.
5.55 mi.	Totals		4 hr. 30 min.

Table 5.3. Custard's wagon train fight after being separated from advance squad.

Distance	Event	End Time	Elapsed Time
0.25+ mi.	Wagons move forward and corral	11:40 AM	10 min.
0.00 mi.	Soldiers cut loose mules	11:45 AM	5 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians charge from east	12:00 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Men pile bedding and sacks for cover	12:15 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians surround and charge again	12:30 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians move in circle around wagons	12:45 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians concealed for long distance siege	1:15 PM	30 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians dig trenches to get closer	2:45 PM	1 hr. 30 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians erect moveable breastworks	3:00 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Troops look to Platte Bridge Station for aid	3:10 PM	10 min.
0.00 mi.	Indians fire a volley and charge close	3:15 PM	5 min.
0.00 mi.	Hand-to-hand fighting near wagons	3:30 PM	15 min.
0.00 mi.	Burning wagons seen from post	4:00 PM	30 min.
0.25+ mi.	Total		4 hr. 20 min.

hour is used as an average speed.

Second, standard time calculations are used since daylight savings was not employed in the United States until 1918 and time zones were not established until the railroad did so in 1883. Data from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association (NOAA) web site indicate sunrise on July 26 is calculated at 4:51 AM without daylight savings (as it likely would have been in 1865). The activities tabulated for Custard's return trip are taken mostly from Vaughn's (1963) and McDermott's (1997) analyses of primary source data. Map information of the Oregon Trail route was adapted from Franzwa (1982:122-135). George Bent, who fought in the battle with the Cheyennes and was an eyewitness to some events, recorded information from the Indian viewpoint (Haack and Bjorklund 2008:6).

A great deal of additional research is needed on these data, but they are provided here as an example of the type of information that should be gathered to evaluate the likely location of Red Buttes and other unknown locations of military battlefields. The possible details of Custard's return trip to Platte Bridge Station and the subsequent battle are provided as separate entries in the tabulated time-line sequences, including movements of an advance squad that Custard ordered out in front of the wagons.

When the dust settled on the Custard Wagon Train fight, only three men from the advance detachment had survived. These were Corporal James W. Shrader, Private Henry C. Smith, and Private Byron Swain, all of Co. D, 11th Kansas V. C. (McDermott 1997:68-69; Vaughn 1963:80). Two others of Shrader's party did not survive, Private Edwin Summers (Co. D, 11th Kansas V. C.), and Private James Ballau (Co. H, 11th Kansas V. C.). All of the troopers who had stayed with Sergeant Custard at the wagons died there with him and were buried nearby. Fatalities at the wagons are presented in Table 5.4, providing information that might help generate expectations as to what evidence could be found when searching for the battlefield landscape.

The battle at Custard's Wagon Train is one of the greatest enigmas for military sites research in

Table 5.4. Casualties believed to be buried at Custard Wagon Train battlefield on July 29, 1865.

Name	Unit	Age	Born/From
1. Commissary Sgt. Amos J. Custard	Co. H, 11th Kan.	37	Pennsylvania
2. Pvt. Jesse E. Antram	Co. H, 11th Kan.	24-25	Pennsylvania
3. Pvt. William Brown	Co. H, 11th Kan.	31-32	Illinois
4. Pvt. George Heil	Co. H, 11th Kan.	??	New York
5. Pvt. August Hoppe	Co. H, 11th Kan.	31-32	Germany
6. Pvt. John Horton	Co. H, 11th Kan.	26-27	South Carolina
7. Pvt. William B. Long	Co. H, 11th Kan.	23-24	Ohio
8. Pvt. Ferdinand Schafer	Co. H, 11th Kan.	22-23	Germany
9. Pvt. Samuel Sproul	Co. H, 11th Kan.	37-38	Ireland
10. Pvt. Thomas W. Young	Co. H, 11th Kan.	37-38	Indiana
11. Pvt. William West	Co. H, 11th Kan.	37-38	North Carolina
12. Teamster Martin Green	Co. H, 11th Kan.	23-24	Indiana
13. Pvt. William D. Gray	Co. H, 11th Kan.	19-20	Delaware
14. Pvt. William H. Miller	Co. H, 11th Kan.	18-19	Pennsylvania
15. Pvt. Thomas Powell	Co. H, 11th Kan.	30-31	Ohio
16. Pvt. Samuel Tull	Co. H, 11th Kan.	19-20	Kansas
17. Pvt. Jacob Zinn	Co. H, 11th Kan.	19-20	Illinois
18. Pvt. John R. Zinn	Co. H, 11th Kan.	19-20	Kansas
19. Pvt. Rice B. Hamilton (Teamster)	Co. I, 11th Ohio	??	Ohio
20. Pvt. Adam Culp (Teamster)	Co. I, 11th Kan.	??	Kansas

Wyoming. It involved fewer than two dozen troopers against an overwhelming force of Cheyennes and Sioux just a few hours after Collins' fight and within sight of the Platte Bridge Station garrison. Casualties with Custard were buried in a mass grave near the battlefield somewhere in the hills west of Casper and north of the North Platte River. The battlefield and grave site were never relocated when the military left the area a few years later. A comprehensive review of the historical literature and more detailed archaeological and geophysical investigations are needed to relocate the site if it still exists.

Over the years, considerable speculation has developed regarding the battlefield location for the Custard Wagon Train and a few historians have conducted extensive research on the matter. The convoluted history of the event and aftermath has created a sometimes heated debate regarding its whereabouts. Several site numbers have been given to different landscapes believed by various investigators to have been the actual scene of combat. Unfortunately, when military battlefields receive site numbers before the actual location has been found it creates a management problem that complicates record keeping and field research. This has happened on more than one battle landscape in Wyoming through the decades.

One problem with the Red Buttes fight (Custard

Figure 5.2. Monument near the Red Buttes landscape in the vicinity of Bessemer Bend, believed to be site 48NA294. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 5.3. Oregon Trail marker near Red Buttes landscape. Originally believed to be site 48NA294, but now it has been identified as 48NA3623. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Wagon Train) lies in the fact that the actual Red Buttes is a topographic prominence near the Oregon Trail about ten miles southwest of Casper, quite some distance from where the battle likely occurred. In 2004, Steve Sutter of the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office (letter in WYCRO files, personal communication 2008) briefly discussed five localities that one investigator or another has theorized might be the battle site. His analysis and others are summarized here.

The Wyoming Recreation Commission (WRC) recorded site 48NA294 as the Red Buttes Battle Monument near the Red Buttes landscape as depicted on USGS topographic maps. This is the topography approximately 10 miles southwest of Casper in the general vicinity of Bessemer Bend, too far from Platte Bridge Station to have been the actual engagement. A monument at Bessemer Bend labeled Red Buttes likely depicts the area where the buttes can be seen by emigrants camping along the river (Monuments and Markers # NA0016.92) (Figure 5.2), but this location is identified as site 48NA206. Another monument actually identified as 48NA294 is, or was, located somewhere in section 11 east of Bessemer Bend. One known monument in that section is inscribed for the Oregon Trail 1841, but it is unlikely the WRC labeled a site form for this feature as the Red Buttes Battle Monument (Figure 5.3). The discrepancies among

these monuments have not yet been resolved. The actual battlefield monument may still be in section 11, but it needs to be located and confirmed. A recent field trip along an abandoned part of the highway in this vicinity failed to turn up any battle memorial stone.

WRC also recorded site 48NA562 as a battlefield/corral much nearer the city of Casper, and this is the area labeled Custard Massacre Site on the 1978 Goose Egg quadrangle. Vaughn (1963:106-120) advocated this spot as the battlefield. More recently a gravel pit destroyed the area and workers did not report any evidence for a mass grave or battlefield related artifacts when the ground was disturbed. This site also seems too close to Platte Bridge to have been the 1865 engagement based on distances obtained from accounts of eyewitnesses at the Station.

Thirty acres of land near Casper, administered by State Parks, Historic Sites & Trails (a division of the Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources), contains a cenotaph (commemorative cemetery) and monument in an area recorded by WRC as the Red Buttes battlefield (State Parks and Historic Sites 2008). This location was promoted in 1931 by Robert Ellison (Vaughn 1963:107). The monument location, if not the cenotaph as well, has been recorded as site 48NA559. This is the location for the Battle of Red Buttes monument recorded in the Wyoming SHPO monuments and markers program (Monuments and Markers # NA0015.92) (Jeff Keahey, personal communication, 2009). No bodies are buried here and the location is well north of where the engagement probably occurred (Figure 5.4).

Then in 1960, unidentified individuals recovered a human skull eroding from the bank of the North Platte River, and some speculated the skeletal remains could have eroded from the mass trooper grave at the battlefield. However, many nineteenth century emigrants and others who died in the area were buried along this stretch of the river, so no connection to the battle can be confirmed. This location was given site number 48NA864.

Other unnumbered locations also are possible battlefield sites. Wolf (2002) identified one likely

Figure 5.4. Cenotaph (top) adjacent to monument (48NA559) (bottom) in an area promoted as the battlefield in 1931 by Robert Ellison (Vaughn 1963:107), well north of where the engagement probably occurred. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 5.5. Monument south of Maxon, Mockler, and Haack localities that commemorates the 1865 battle, located adjacent to the northern edge of State Highway 220. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

landscape approximately 4-5 miles west of Platte Bridge Station based on his reading of eyewitness accounts. The topography there and evidence for Oregon Trail ruts matched historic accounts of the spot where the battle took place. He and an archaeological crew did a brief survey of the area, but no period artifacts were found. This is the general location advocated by local historian John R. Maxon (John R. Maxon collections, 89.9.1, Fort Caspar Museum, visited 2008).

In June 2008, the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist and volunteers from the Wyoming Archaeological Society conducted a geophysical survey of the Maxon locality in an effort to locate battlefield items or features. A report on these investigations is being prepared (Walker 2012). While the battlefield location was not found, several subtle Oregon Trail ruts and period artifacts were located. A single site number associated with a nearby segment of the Oregon Trail has been assigned to this Red Buttes Fight project report.

Part of the 2008 field effort also focused on a nearby ridge where Mockler (1939) believed the battle to have taken place. It too did not provide definitive evidence. A third area southeast of the Maxon and Mockler localities was investigated near the end of the 10-day field session. This location has been advocated by historian Steve Haack (Haack 2009; Haack and Bjorklund 2008) based on testimony taken from a visit to the landscape in 1926 by Robert Ellison and battle veteran James Shrader. In 1927, two other veterans, John Buchanan and John Crumb, also visited the area and identified a nearby spot that they believed to be the site of the mass grave. The Haack locality like the Maxon and Mockler localities produced period artifacts, but currently there is insufficient context and association to confidently identify any as the battlefield landscape. A battlefield monument (Figure 5.5) south of these three localities commemorates the event, and is located adjacent to the northern edge of State Highway 220 (Monuments and Markers # NA0011.92) (Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976:163-164).

More fieldwork is clearly needed in the area west of Casper, and an American Battlefield Preservation Grant application is being considered for a second field season in the future. Until unambiguous archaeological evidence for the Custard Wagon Train (Red Buttes) battlefield is found, the historical record will remain murky. Close coordination is being maintained with the Natrona County Coroner's office due to the expected nature of the battlefield remains and soldiers' grave.

The Powder River Expedition

By mid-summer 1865, the coordinated Indian offensive clearly called for a response by the Army to execute a major campaign of its own in an attempt to restore order and punish offenders (Hafen and Hafen

1961:24-25). The Army decided to take the fight into Indian country north of the Platte River, and Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor, Commander of the new and short-lived District of the Plains (Wagner 2010), developed a three-pronged offensive for Powder River country. Colonel Nelson Cole would lead the right column up the Loup Fork, around the Black Hills, and reach a rendezvous point on Rosebud River. His force consisted of eight companies of his own Second Missouri Light Artillery regiment equipped as cavalry, and eight companies of the 12th Missouri Cavalry, numbering a total of 1,400 men with 140 six-mule wagons. Colonel Samuel Walker, 16th Kansas Cavalry would take 600 officers and men as the center column of the three-pronged offensive. He would leave north out of Fort Laramie through the Black Hills and then head northwesterly to Powder River on his way to the rendezvous.

General Connor directed the left column, which he had divided into two sections. Connor would go with the main body commanded by Colonel J. H. Kidd of the 6th Michigan Cavalry along with 200 men of his regiment, a company of 7th Iowa Cavalry, one of 11th Ohio Cavalry, and 95 Pawnee scouts, totaling 475 officers and men. This main column would go up the North Platte River to Horseshoe, north to Powder River, then head downriver. A wagon supply train and 195 teamsters and wagon masters would accompany Connor. The west section detached at Horseshoe and was commanded by Captain Albert Brown, Second California Cavalry, composed of 116 officers and men, and 84 Omaha scouts. Separating from Connor, they would proceed up the North Platte to Platte Bridge, then northwestward to Wind River, and eastward to meet up with Connor at his new post on Powder River (Fort Connor). All told, the entire offensive involved over 2,500 officers and men, 180 scouts, and 300 wagons.

Connor's columns were plagued by slow arriving supplies, a late start, poor guides, some incidents of mismanagement, and the tactical cleverness of Indians. As a result, the objectives to restore order and punish the offending tribes were not achieved. The campaign was summarily terminated, Connor removed from command and sent to Utah. The whole affair, in fact, had minimal effect on the Indians (Hafen and Hafen 1961:26). Even so, Cole's division had survived heavy fighting in early September in Montana (Wagner 2009:177-190), and other encounters occurred in Wyoming.

A small engagement at Crazy Woman's Fork on August 13 involved the Powder River Expedition's left column under Connor against the Cheyennes and Lakotas. While troops had been looking for a location to build a post, Captain Frank North and 94 Pawnee scouts encountered a war party near the river fork that North himself chased on horseback. When his horse was shot from under him, scout Bob White rode to his rescue and together they fought off the warriors until other scouts arrived to end the skirmish (Michno 2003:182; Rogers 1938:179-180). Van De Logt (2010:68) mentions this incident as occurring on August 19.

The command eventually did find a suitable fort location. Fort Connor (48JO94) was established by Brigadier General Patrick E. Connor on August 14, 1865 on a terrace overlooking Powder River near present-day Sussex (Figure 5.6). Originally named after the general, it was officially designated Fort Reno on November 11 that same year. The outpost was intended to protect travelers on the Bozeman Trail and serve as a supply base for expeditions into Indian Country. Reno became one of the forts abandoned in 1868 (August 18) as a result of terms in the Fort Laramie Treaty discussed later. Later in 1876, Cantonment Reno (Fort McKinney #1) would be established nearby (Frazier 1972:183-184). A heavily vandalized archaeological record exists at Fort Reno, and more systematic investigations are likely to uncover addition evidence for its architectural history and military use.

Another engagement with Indians took place on Powder River on August 16, 1865 during fort construction. It involved Frank North's Pawnee scouts, soldiers and civilians, who caught up with some Cheyennes about 50 miles north of Fort Connor. The one-sided affair resulted in great loss to the Cheyennes, including Yellow Woman who was

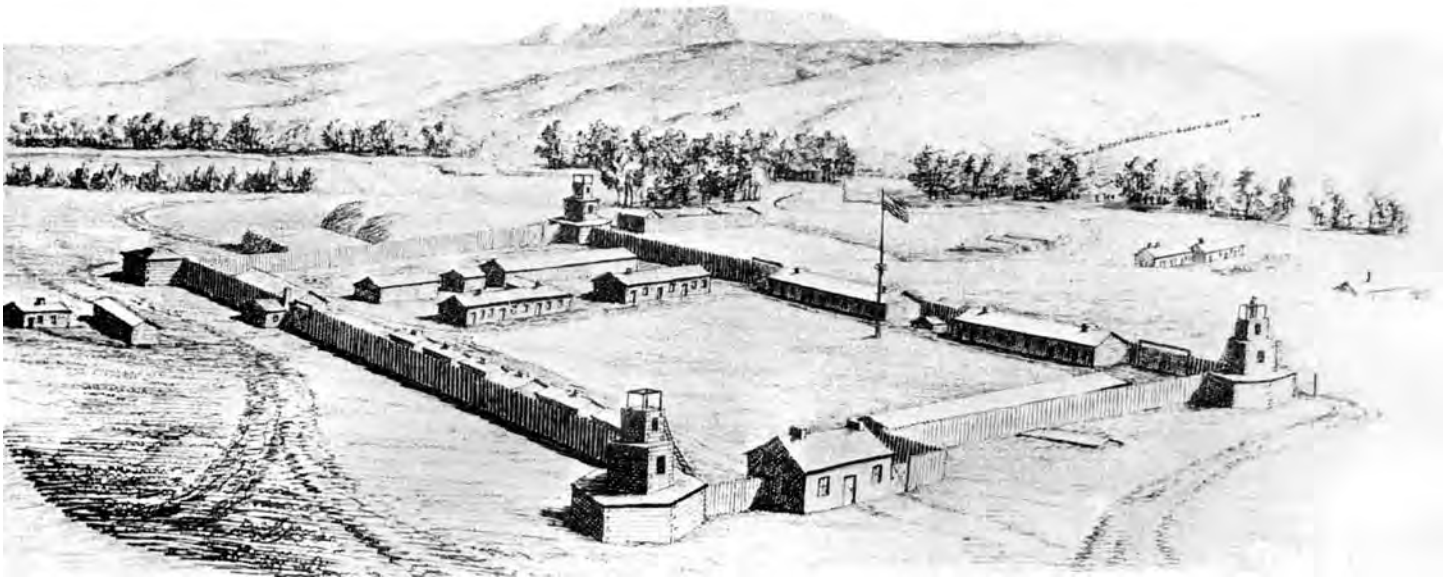

Figure 5.6. Fort Reno (Fort Connor) in 1867 by Anton Schonborn. Sub Neg 5377, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

George Bent's stepmother, and the recovery of several horses with government brands that presumably had been taken at the Platte Bridge fight the month before (Hafen and Hafen 1961:117-121; Hyde 1968:227; Michno 2003:183-184; Rogers 1938:180-181).

General Connor and a portion of the left column of his expedition attacked Black Bear and David's Arapaho village near present-day Ranchester, Wyoming on August 29, 1865. This engagement is known as the Connor (Tongue River) fight (48SH120). The Indians had been dismantling their large camp when they came under fire by a rifle volley from the soldiers and discharge of a howitzer battery. Women and children attempted to flee the village. After briefly following the escapees, Connor backtracked to the Indian camp and destroyed the physical remains before heading back to his wagon train (Michno 2003:184-185). Today part of the area is a State Historic Site, but the physical boundaries of the engagement are not known and little systematic archaeological investigations have been performed (Figure 5.7).

The Sawyers' Wagon Road Expedition (48CA1570)

The Sawyers' Expedition and Road were prompted by public interest over mineral developments in Montana and the desire to find better routes to the gold fields there (Hafen and Hafen 1961:219-223). The Secretary of Interior had appointed James A. Sawyers of Sioux City, Iowa to conduct an expedition that would leave the mouth of the Niobrara River and head west toward Virginia City, Montana establishing a route along the way. Their efforts would become closely associated with Connor's Powder River Expedition, intersecting the military parties maneuvering through Powder River country. Sawyers' group consisted of 53 men and 15 wagons, escorted by Captain George Williford and 143 men of the 5th U. S. Volunteers and Dakota Cavalry. A train of five wagons and 36 freight wagons owned by C. E. Hedges & Company also joined them (Michno 2003:182-183). Provisions and escorts were not quite what Sawyers had anticipated he would need (Hafen and Hafen 1961:219-286). Even so, the party reached Virginia City on October 12, 1865, and in the summer of 1866

Sawyers retraced his route to develop additional improvements. This road was subsequently used for military travel in 1876.

The Sawyers' Expedition traveled relatively unmolested until mid-August 1865. The subsequent number of skirmishes faced by this contingent and their locations has been a matter of discussion for years. On August 13, the expedition was camped on Bone Pile Creek when a band of Cheyennes killed Nathaniel D. Hedges some distance from the wagons. The rest of the party in the train moved a few miles down the creek and corralled. Indians made a dash at the wagons on the 14th, but were repulsed. Five hundred warriors showed up on the 15th and were turned back again. Gifts were given to end hostilities, but two Dakota Cavalry men, Rawze and Nelson, probably from Fort Connor, were killed before the fighting ended (Michno 2003:182-183). Five Lakotas had been wounded, two mortally. The site of this engagement is known as Bone Rifle Pits (48CA270)

The Caballo Creek Rifle Pits (48CA271) are related to the same wagon train mentioned for the Bone Rifle Pits, which passed through the area during August 8-9 and 16-20, 1865. Nineteen rifle pits probably were constructed here on August 18 when the expedition was expecting further Indian raids (Schneider and Lowe 1997:13) (Figure 5.8). Events that transpired amounted to simple intimidation tactics by both sides, nobody was killed and little gunfire exchanged. The site has been determined eligible for the National Register of historic Places under Criteria A, B, C, and D (Schneider and Lowe 1997:75).

The Sawyers' Expedition came under attack by Indians once again when it forded Tongue River on September 1st. Sawyers discharged his artillery after warriors began shooting at his column, dispersing the Indians until late afternoon. At that time the warriors declared they thought they had been firing on the Connor expedition. In spite of this mistaken identity, Sawyers' group became trapped at his wagons for almost two weeks until reinforcements arrived (McDermott 2003:124-128; Michno and Michno 2008:219-220).

Figure 5.7. Connor Battlefield area near Ranchester. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Skylar Scott, a former historian with the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, conducted some early investigations for another location known as the Sawyers (T-7) Rifle Pits (48CA272) (Scott 1983). This is a set of pits once thought to be related to the various skirmishes encountered by the Sawyers' Expedition in the summer of 1865.

In another portion of Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, it is even suggested that Nelson, who was one of the Dakota Cavalrymen killed near the Bone Rifle Pits, may be buried nearby. If that is the case, it might suggest this site is associated with the Bone Rifle Pits several miles to the northwest. The association is unlikely, however. The site was never systematically investigated although it would have warranted such work because it seemed eligible at the time for nomination to the National Register. Unfortunately the site has been obliterated (Rosenberg 1987:3). Rosenberg (1987:25) suggests these rifle pits may be the result of a later Sawyers' skirmish that took place on July 12, 1866 during his return trip.

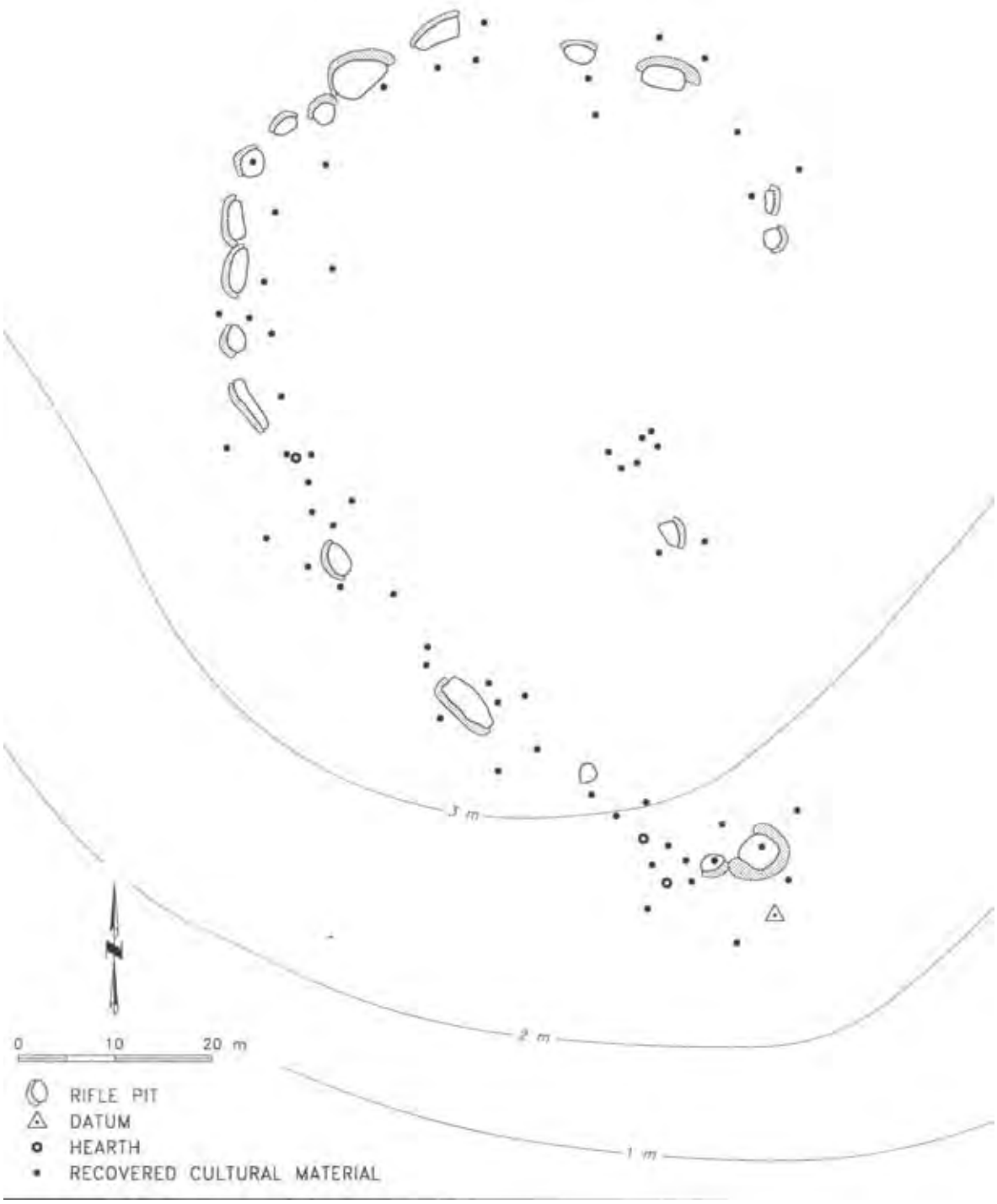

Figure 5.8. Distribution of Caballo Creek Rifle Pits and cultural items (48CA271) (Schneider and Lowe 1997:61). Image courtesy of TRC Mariah Associates, Inc.

Hostilities continued along the North Platte River even as Connor's failed military offensive in Powder River Country was coming to an end. One skirmish near Fort Laramie occurred on September 27, 1865 with units of the 11th Ohio V. C. Private William H. Lorance of Company I was killed by an unidentified group of Indians during the engagement (Henry 1970).

In spite of increasingly cold weather, warriors also attacked a small contingent of cavalry and civilians during November at a saw mill near Laramie Peak. Every man was killed and the mill burned to the ground (McDermott 1997:82). The Indian War of 1865 drew to a close as winter finally set in.

According to historian John D. McDermott (2003:166-169), the War Department had spent over 20 million dollars to suppress Indian hostilities throughout the turbulent year of 1865. This would be the last time that the Brules, Arapahos, and both branches of Cheyennes would ally to disrupt travel on the Oregon Trail and Overland Trail and effectively engage thousands of U.S. troops in Powder River Country. Had General Connor been given the opportunity to reorganize after his expedition and carry the battle to the Sioux, he might have succeeded. Instead, he was sent to Utah. New Indian coalitions would form, but never again would the Sioux and their allies take the offensive as they did in 1865 to right the injustices of Sand Creek. In the future, Indian tactical maneuvers and engagements would be more the product of defending their homeland from the onslaught of manifest destiny.

Fort Sanders (1866-1882)

Military plans for garrisoning the region continued after the Indian War of 1865. In the summer of 1866, Colonel Henry B. Carrington and his 18th U.S. Infantry Regiment moved west into Wyoming under orders to establish forts along the Bozeman Trail for protecting travelers in that quarter (Carrington 1990:46). One detachment under a Colonel Lewis split from the main party on Lodgepole Creek and traveled through southern Wyoming toward Fort Bridger. Major Andrew Burt with Company F, 1st Battalion was part of this southern detachment and he would become the first regular Army officer to resume command at Fort Bridger (Mattes 1960:3). Captain Henry R. Mizner, also of this 18th Infantry detachment, used some materials from the abandoned Fort Halleck to establish Fort Sanders (48AB147) on July 10, 1866. He had chosen a suitable location near the Laramie River (Figure 5.9).

Mizner built the fort on a gentle rise several miles east of the stage route, arguing that the site's proximity to Spring Creek and year-round water was a preferable location for men and livestock. He also established a larger land reservation than expected so settlers would not divert water upstream from the fort (Wheeler 2009:4). The garrison at Fort Sanders would be expected to protect the Overland and Lodgepole Creek emigrant routes and later construction crews on the Union Pacific Railroad. Originally named Fort John Buford, it was designated Fort Sanders on September 5, 1866. It also supplied troops to numerous engagements during the Indian Wars until abandoned on May 22, 1882 (Frazer 1972:185).

The site currently is undergoing comprehensive historical and archaeological research by Joe Wheeler for his master's thesis in Anthropology at the University of Wyoming (Wheeler 2009). A complex pattern of land ownership has developed within the Fort Sanders reservation ever since Albany County residences and businesses began encroaching over the ruins and Wheeler has successfully negotiated permissions to investigate the bulk of the military property. His site testing, geophysical survey and pedestrian inventory will add significant information to the archaeological record of the site and its National Register significance.

Red Cloud's War (1866-1868)

After splitting from Colonel Lewis on Lodgepole Creek, Colonel Henry B. Carrington and the rest of the 18th regiment proceeded north to Fort Laramie on their way to Powder River Country (Carrington 1884:29-32). Carrington arrived at Fort Laramie

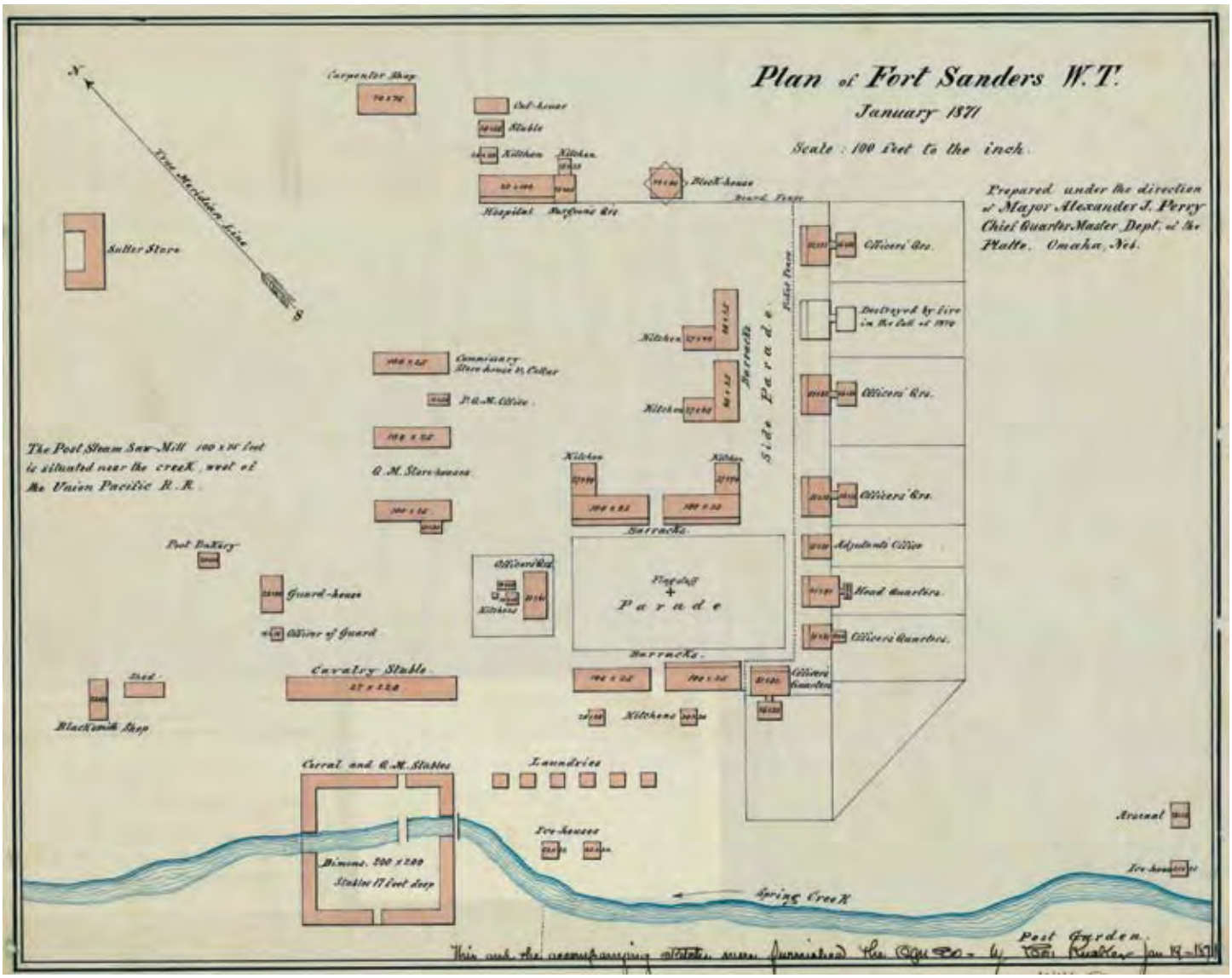

Figure 5.9. Fort Sanders in 1871. Map from National Archives. Courtesy of Joe Wheeler.

amidst peace commission proceedings that followed the brutal year of 1865. Not all of the militant Indians had come in from Powder River Country, but some important leaders were there. Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux was present, and when he saw Carrington's column he commented that the "Great Father sends us presents and wants us to sell him the road, but White Chief goes with soldiers to steal the road before Indians say Yes or No" (Utley1973:99). The Powder River Indian leaders broke off talks and led their people north vowing to fight anyone who tried to use the Bozeman Trail.

Carrington continued on his mission and left a garrison at Fort Reno with orders to conduct repairs then headed north to set up two more outposts, one in Wyoming (Fort Phil Kearny) and one in Montana (Fort C. F. Smith). Fort Phil Kearny (48JO70) was established by Colonel Carrington on July 13, 1866 and strategically located at the foot of the Big Horn Mountains between Big and Little Piney Creeks. Initially called Fort Carrington, it was one of three forts, along with Reno and C. F. Smith, intended to protect travel along the Bozeman Trail. It and Fort Reno were among the few stockaded outposts in

the West (Figure 5.10). Some of the most violent battles fought during the first Plains Indian Wars took place in the vicinity of this fort. In addition to those engagements mentioned below, Heitman (1903 [2]:426-431) lists eleven actions near the fort between August 9, 1866 and July 18, 1868, which are tabulated in Chapter 10 of this context. Like Fort Reno, Phil Kearny would be abandoned on July 31, 1868 due to conditions of the Fort Laramie Treaty (Frazer 1972:183). Archaeological investigations have been utilized to expose remnants of the fort's blockhouse and stockade architecture (Fox 1992). Similar investigations eventually led to reconstruction of a portion of the log defense perimeter (Larson and Penny 2001).

On July 17, 1866, only four days after Fort Phil Kearny was established, the wagon train of traders Peter Cazeau and Henry Arrison was attacked by Oglalas while encamped on Peno Creek near present-day Banner, Wyoming. Both men were killed along with three hired laborers. Cazeau's Oglala wife and their four children escaped into the brush and made it back to the fort (Michno 2003:188-189).

Scarcely a week after the fort was established, 29 soldiers of the 18th U. S. Infantry under Lieutenant George Templeton were attacked near Crazy Woman Creek. Templeton and a Lieutenant Daniels were first jumped by 50 warriors while scouting ahead, and Daniels was killed in the Crazy Woman battle. The Indians then chased Templeton back to the Infantry and wagons. The command was rescued the next day and returned to Fort Reno. Two men were killed and six wounded, but the Indian casualties are unknown (Michno 2003:189-190). This July 20 engagement is known as Crazy Woman (48JO93), and it has been thoroughly discussed by McDermott (2010:97-108) in his seminal work on Red Cloud's War.

Then on July 24, the Templeton party from the Crazy Woman fight and two other civilian wagon trains moved as a group toward Fort Phil Kearny.

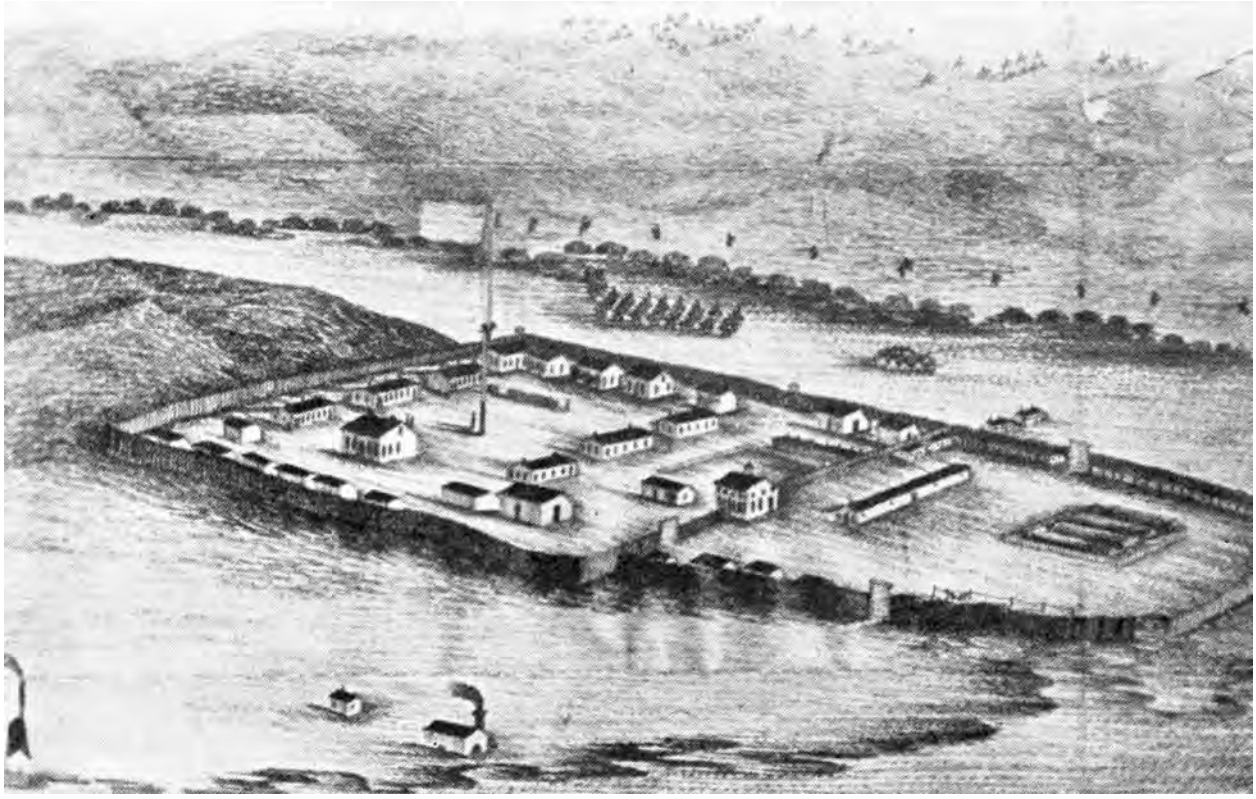

Figure 5.10. Fort Phil Kearny sketched in 1867 by Bugler Antonio Nicoli. P71-60_2b, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 5.11. Red Cloud of the Oglala Lakota who was influential in the first Plains Indian Wars. Indian Neg 183, Print 183, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

As the first travelers reached Clear Creek at present-day Buffalo, wagons were put into corral due to an attempt by Indians to run off the mules. Others came under attack by Indians when they went back to see what was keeping the rest of the train. Reinforcements from Fort Phil Kearny arrived the next morning after one fatality at the wagons and the loss of two Lakotas (Johnson 1971:208-209; Michno 2003:190).

On the same day as the Clear Creek engagement, Indians attacked Floyd's train of 36 wagons between Brown Springs Creek and the Dry Fork of the Cheyenne River (Michno and Michno 2008:236-237). Nathan Floyd, who had been riding ahead of the train was surprised and immediately killed. Thirteen men, some with Spencer rifles, rode to the scene and eight of them were killed in a matter of minutes. The wagons corralled for two days before hostilities ceased.

Hart (1980a:196-197) mentions some activity along the North Platte River about this time, demonstrating the far reaching effects of the war. Troopers of Company I, 11th Ohio V.C. spent the summer of 1866 south of Orin near Bridger's Ferry in a field camp while guarding Benjamin Mills' ferry across the North Platte River. There was a 21-man unit and Howitzers at the site. The detachment successfully stopped any raids so the ferry could be used to supply and reinforce the new posts in the north.

That fall there was a skirmish near LaBonte Creek on the North Platte River. It occurred on September 28, 1866 and no other record of this engagement has been found to exist except that it is listed in Heitman (1903) as cited by Henry (1970). The skirmish involved Company E of the 2nd Cavalry.

Back in Powder River Country on December 6, Lakotas attacked a wood-cutting train near Fort Phil Kearny that had been gathering timbers for fort construction. Colonel Henry B. Carrington of the 18th Infantry and Lieutenant George W. Grummond led 25 mounted infantry north of Lodge Trail Ridge. A separate detachment of mounted infantry and about 30 troopers from Co. C, 2nd Cavalry, followed Captain William J. Fetterman and Lieutenant Horatio S. Bingham to the wood wagons that had come under attack (Michno 2003:191-192). However, miscommunications prevented the two separate units from locating and pinching the Indians between them as they had intended. Instead, the soldiers barely escaped with their lives (Monnett 2008:113). Lieutenant Horatio S. Bingham and Sergeant G. R. Bowers were killed. The most complete historical account is McDermott (2010:183-199). Kevin O'Dell of ACR Consultants, Inc. has been involved in a Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) grant to perform an archaeological reconnaissance of the site, which he considers eligible for inclusion in the

National Register (O'Dell personal communications 2008). The battle site is known as Peno Creek (48SH1387).

The Fetterman fight (48SH127), or massacre as some have called it, is one of the better known Indian Wars battles in Wyoming. It occurred on December 21, 1866, and is a classic example of the guerrilla tactic of sending a small party of warriors to decoy a large enemy force into an ambush too far from immediate reinforcement. After an Indian feint at attacking a wood train, Colonel Henry Carrington at Fort Phil Kearny ordered Captain William Fetterman and an 80 man force of infantry, cavalry, and two civilians to intercept the hostiles. According to some accounts he also ordered the detachment not to cross Lodge Trail Ridge this time (Brown 1962:173-183). In addition to Fetterman, the officers in the detachment included Captain Frederick Brown and Lieutenant George Grummond. Fetterman and his force chased the decoys over the ridge and continued down toward Peno Creek where over a thousand concealed Indians came out from hiding to encircle the soldiers. Warriors wiped out the entire command. According to Bill Tall Bull of the Cheyennes, whose grandparents had been at Sand Creek, the warriors carried away a considerable amount of ammunition and weapons after the fight (Tall Bull 1989). These armaments would help strengthen their capability for future engagements.

Carrington's official report on the engagement was written January 3, 1868 and it provided in gruesome detail the carnage found on the battlefield when additional soldiers arrived (Carrington 1884:21-28). Recent scholarly research on the battle has questioned the specific roles of Crazy Horse and Captain Fetterman among others (Monnett 2008). McDermott (2010:201-230), on the other hand, argues that Fetterman disobeyed orders and that eyewitnesses document that Crazy Horse was present and led the decoy party. While the exact unfolding of events that fateful day may never be known, the sequence of events is clearly detailed in McDermott's (2010) work. Other scholars have revealed the influential nature of women telling the story of the Fetterman Fight (Smith 2008).

Figure 5.12. Historical marker on the Fetterman battlefield near Fort Phil Kearny. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Red Cloud was a prominent Lakota who may have played an important role in the engagement (Figure 5.11). A century old monument commemorating the battle now stands at a prominent point on the field (Figure 5.12). O'Dell has worked to integrate the artifact mapping efforts of several decades of different battlefield investigators. He and Powers also have

Figure 5.13. Volunteers helping survey the Wagon Box battlefield above Fort Phil Kearny. Danny N. Walker, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

conducted archaeological reconnaissance on this battlefield in recent years through a Fort Phil Kearny/ Bozeman Trail Association ABPP grant (O'Dell and Powers 2008).

Smaller skirmishes continued throughout the study area as warm weather returned, keeping everyone's guard heightened. On May 1, 1867, there was a skirmish at LaPrelle Creek to the south near the Oregon Trail. No other record of this engagement has been found to exist, except that it is listed in Heitman (1903) as cited in Henry (1970). The skirmish involved a detachment from Company E of the 2nd Cavalry.

On May 23 another obscure skirmish broke out near Bridger's Ferry. No other record of this engagement has been found to exist either, except that it too is listed in Heitman (1903) as cited in Henry (1970). This skirmish also involved Company E of the 2nd Cavalry.

At the same time Red Cloud's war was unfolding in the north, Union Pacific Railroad surveying crews were traveling through southern Wyoming in search of the best route for railroad construction. On June 23, 1867, a surveying party under Percy T. Browne took an eight man escort of 2nd Cavalry through the Red Desert and came under attack near Bitter Creek. Browne was wounded in the abdomen and then cared for by the detachment while they fought off a group of 300 Lakotas for an entire day. He eventually died of his wounds (Michno and Michno 2008:250-251). This skirmish notwithstanding, the bulk of military activity continued to take place in Powder River Country to the north.

In fact, another major engagement was about to

open near Fort Phil Kearny. The Wagon Box fight (48SH129) took place on August 2, 1867 at the foot of the Big Horn Mountains a few miles west of Fort Phil Kearny (Keenan 2000:1-89; McDermott 2010:407-437; Miller et al. 2000:89-128). In contrast to some battlefields in Wyoming, the actual location of the Wagon Box incident is well known both historically and archaeologically, and these authors have synthesized considerable data from earlier research and accounts. The Wagon Box Fight and the Fetterman fight probably are the two most systematically investigated Indian Wars battlefields in the study area (Figure 5.13). The archaeological record at the Wagon Box Fight clearly argues that the U. S. Army's defensive perimeter was located in present-day Sheridan County (Miller et al. 2000).

Captain James Powell had been placed in command of Co. C, 27th Infantry on the day of the Wagon Box fight, with John C. Jenness as his Lieutenant. They were ordered to protect wood cutting operations in the mountains. Powell assessed the situation upon arriving at the wagon box corral the end of July. Fourteen wagon beds had been removed from their running gear to serve as a makeshift corral for holding draft animals after teams were unhitched from wood train vehicles. Wooden kegs and other accoutrements were placed nearby, as was a wagon still on its axles. Powell divided his command to address all of the defensive needs that wood cutting operations required. He sent 14 men to escort wood trains back and forth from the fort, 13 men to guard the woodcutting camp at the pinery along the edge of the forest, and kept 24 men with Jenness and himself at the corral (Keenan 2000:25).

A huge force of Indians launched multiple attacks on the wagon box corral and its small detachment of military and civilian defenders on the morning of August 2, and also harassed occupants at the pinery. Soldiers at the Wagon Box recently had been armed with the new .50 caliber Springfield trapdoor rifles that fired metallic cartridges and allowed for much more rapid reloading than the earlier muzzleloaders used the winter before when Fetterman met his fate. This sophisticated weaponry surprised the Indians and gave them pause in their tactical advances toward the corral, suggesting to some scholars that the new rifles and a strong defensive position are what saved the day for the defenders. In his seminal book on the subject, Jerry Keenan (2000:46) noted that the successful defense at the Wagon Box Fight became as much a tonic to the U. S. Army as the Fetterman Fight had been to the Indians.

The upper and lower pineries were the camps that served soldiers and contractors involved in cutting timber for construction and maintenance of Fort Phil Kearny (Keenan 2000:20-21). Timber was hauled from the forest near these locations via wagon running gears pulled by draft animals. Their haul road passed the area of the corral, and all these locations are relevant to military activities at the Wagon Box fight.

Hostilities continued into the colder months elsewhere in the region. On November 4, 1867 the Goose Creek (Shurly's) Fight occurred when a detachment under Lieutenant Edmund R. P. Shurly of the 27th Infantry was leading a Wells Fargo supply train toward Fort C. F. Smith. On that morning the train was crossing a divide into Goose Creek Valley east of present-day Sheridan when it was attacked in front and behind by about 300 Indians. The detachment had become separated from its ammunition supply but was able to fight off the attack by the use of a howitzer and hastily corralled wagons. Shooting ended at twilight so two men rode to Fort Phil Kearny for a relief force. Indians lost ten warriors killed or wounded, while three of the detachment died (Michno and Michno 2008:257-259). The relief force on November 5 found upturned wagons, dispersed contents, and a wagon load of arrows that were taken back to the fort (McDermott 2010: 463-466). Additional skirmishes that month occurred at Crazy Woman's Fork of the Powder River (November 13), Lake De Schmidt (De Smet?) (November 22), and on Shell Creek (November 29) (Peters 1966).

Another battle occurred on the often contested landscape of Crazy Woman Creek, this time on December 1-2, 1867. A small detachment of Co. C

Figure 5.14. Fort Fetterman State Historic Site. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

18th Infantry under Sergeant George T. Gillaspy was attacked by Lakota and Cheyenne warriors when they were leading a supply train into the creek valley. The party fortified themselves behind a defensive corral for two days until hostilities ceased. One soldier was killed and others wounded, but no Indians were reported hit (Michno and Michno 2008:260). Heitman (1903 [2]:429-430) mentions three additional actions in the Crazy Woman vicinity that had taken place between August 13 and November 13, 1867, which are tabulated in Chapter 10 of this context.

The area around Fort Reno witnessed six additional actions during Red Cloud's War. These occurred between February 27 and August 16, 1867 (Heitman 1903 [2]:427-429), and also are tabulated in Chapter 10. Nine other actions occurred near Fort Phil Kearny between August 9, 1866 and December 14, 1866 (see Chapter 10 tabulations).

Fort Fetterman (1867-1882)

In spite of being regularly involved in skirmishes with Indians, the Army also needed to establish a stronger garrison along the North Platte River since Fort Caspar was being decommissioned. Fort Fetterman (48CO10) was established by Major William McEntire Dye of the 4th Infantry on July 19, 1867 along a broad plateau overlooking the North

Platte River near the mouth of La Prele Creek. The fort was named for Captain Fetterman who had been killed by Indians near Fort Phil Kearny the previous December. The fort location essentially secured the southern terminus of the Bozeman Trail (Lindmier 2002:23).

The Fort Fetterman reservation encompassed a sixty-square-mile rectangle, six miles north to south and ten east to west with the fort centered one mile south of the northern boundary (Lindmier 2002:26). This outpost would become a major staging area for General Crook's columns that traveled north during the second Plains Indian Wars. The military ceased custody of the site on November 6, 1882, though some buildings still stand (Frazer 1972:181). Today Fort Fetterman is a State Historic Site under the jurisdiction of the Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources and it has received intensive archaeological surface inventory documenting scores of structural remains and artifact distributions (Eckles and Wedel 2008) (Figure 5.14).

Several features related to Fort Fetterman deserve mention since they appear in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records files. The Cheyenne to Fort Fetterman Road (48PL178) was used by the army between 1867-1882 as a regional military freight and transportation line, and it also is known as the Fort Fetterman-Camp Carlin Road. The Fort Fetterman to Fort Pierre Road (48CA1568) also is known as the Deadwood Road. It supposedly was used between 1867 and 1882, though further investigation is needed of military records (Rosenberg 1989:12). The Fort Fetterman Hay Road (48CO1770) was used from 1867-1882. The Fort Fetterman-Medicine Bow Road (1867) was used after Fort Fetterman was established and until 1877 when it was replaced by the Rock Creek and Fort Fetterman Stage Road. This last road was a little over 85 miles long, traversing rough country in the Laramie Hills where canyons were filled with snow half the year, four river crossings, and woodless areas with poor grass. It appears on GLO maps surveyed in the early 1880s as the Medicine Bow-Fort Fetterman Wagon Road (Rosenberg 1989:20). Finally, a cairn (48CO1784) probably is related to a corner of the Fort Fetterman military reservation (1867-1882).

By 1868, Indian fighting during Red Cloud's War came very close to the newly established Fort Fetterman. On March 18, a nearby engagement involved a detachment of Company K of the 18th Infantry. According to Henry (1970), General Wessells, commander at Fort Fetterman reported that the skirmish resulted in the death of one enlisted man while the Indians captured 29 mules belonging to a train at the sawmill. The encounter is mentioned in Heitman (1903) as cited in Henry (1970).

Two days later, on March 20, there was an encounter at Horseshoe and Twin Springs Ranches, and a detachment of Second Cavalry was involved early on (McDermott 2010:486-488). A few civilians became greatly outnumbered and as their ammunition continued to run low, they offered a great deal of stores to Crazy Horse in exchange for their freedom. Henry (1970) reported that the skirmish is listed in Heitman (1903). April 3, 1868 was the date of a separate action at Rock Creek, Wyoming (Heitman 1903 [2]:430). A Union Pacific Train was then attacked about 70 miles outside of Laramie on June 27, 1868 (McDermott 2010:520).

Back north in Powder River Country, a skirmish near Fort Reno on July 19, 1868 resulted from some warlike Lakotas who did not wait for the U. S. Army to abandon Bozeman Trail forts in compliance with the Fort Laramie treaty earlier that year (Michno and Michno 2008:264-265). Units of Co. B and Co. F of the 27th Infantry engaged the Indians around the fort during the day. A Private George F. Peach was cut off from the other soldiers and killed; his body being recovered later in the day. Another occurred near the fort on July 26, 1868, and the post would be abandoned the following month, August 18, 1868 (McDermott 2000:525). Meanwhile four additional actions took place near Fort Phil Kearny between July 4, 1868 and July 18, 1868, and it was burned that August (Chapter 10 tabulations). McDermott (2010:520-525) notes additional conflicts between Fort Laramie and Fort Fetterman on July 23, 1868, between Fort Fetterman and Fort Reno in mid- to late

Table 5.5. Battles and casualties in Wyoming (1850-1890), from Michno (2003:368).

Year	Number of Battles	Number of Casualties
1850	0	0
1851	0	0
1852	0	0
1853	1	5
1854	2	38
1855	0	0
1856	0	0
1857	0	0
1858	0	0
1859	0	0
1860	0	0
1861	0	0
1862	0	0
1863	3	70
1864	1	11
1865	17	235
1866	10	296
1867	18	139
1868	4	7
1869	8	35
1870	3	32
1871	0	0
1872	2	2
1873	0	0
1874	3	60
1875	0	0
1876	5	121
1877	1	3
1878	1	8
1879	0	0
1880	0	0
1881	0	0
1882	1	2
1883	0	0
1884	0	0
1885	0	0
1886	0	0
1887	0	0
1888	0	0
1889	0	0
1890	0	0
Totals:	80	1,064

August 1868, and north of Cheyenne on August 28, 1868.

Other Forts

Other possible outposts may have been in use during this episode. Blair's Stockade (48SW4008) apparently was occupied from 1866-1870 near Killpecker Creek, but military involvement in the property is uncertain. It is listed as a trading post by Hart (1980b:16-17, 18) in his publication on military forts. Two additional forts are mentioned here even though their dates of service are unidentified. They are Fort McHenry and Fort Piney. Nothing is known about them except they are mentioned as forts in Hart (1963:185). The names may refer to other existing outposts, to nonmilitary properties, or perhaps have been mislabeled. Future research might resolve these questions.

The Treaty of 1868 and Organic Act

Researcher Gregory Michno (2003:368) documented 80 of the Wyoming battles fought during the four decades from 1850-1890, which is a large sample of the total (see Chapter 10). Of his sample,

49 (61.3%) occurred during the four year period of the first Plains Indian Wars 1865-1868 (Table 5.5). Six hundred and seventy-seven (63.6%) of the total 1,064 casualties over the 40 year span were sustained during this brief, bloody episode, including military personnel, civilians, and Indians (Michno 2003:353). For the four years between 1865 and 1868, Wyoming had been at the center of one of the largest military offensives ever undertaken by either side in the Indian Wars, and occupants of the area paid a high price for the conflict.

Engagements between Indian warriors and the U. S. Army in the study area were significant enough events that the Lakota chronicled at least three years in their winter count with depictions of specific Wyoming battles (DeMallie 1982:142-145). The first of these was 1854 identified by some as the year "thirty soldiers were killed." The scene features the Grattan Fight discussed in the previous chapter, and shows three uniformed soldiers holding rifles. Presumably each figure represents ten men. The other two winter counts are for 1866 with the Fetterman fight identified as "one hundred white men were killed," and 1867 with the Wagon Box fight identified as "they surrounded the white tents." The 1866 image depicts a soldier and a saber, while the 1867 image shows one soldier with a rifle inside a three-sided enclosure along with what appear to be horse tracks and other peripheral elements. The rifle is stylistically similar to the one drawn for the 1854 count (Figure 5.15). These winter count images illustrate the profound influence combat with the U.S. Army had on Native cultures in the study area, and are relevant to the ledger art concept (Keyser 1987, 1996).

The first Plains Indian Wars came to a close with the signing of the Treaty of 1868 at Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory. That document named numerous Indian tribal participants, including Sioux bands of Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee; and the Arapahos (Kappler 1972:998-1003). Seventeen treaty articles were agreed to addressing such things as reservation boundaries, education, census keeping, livestock, hunting rights, and

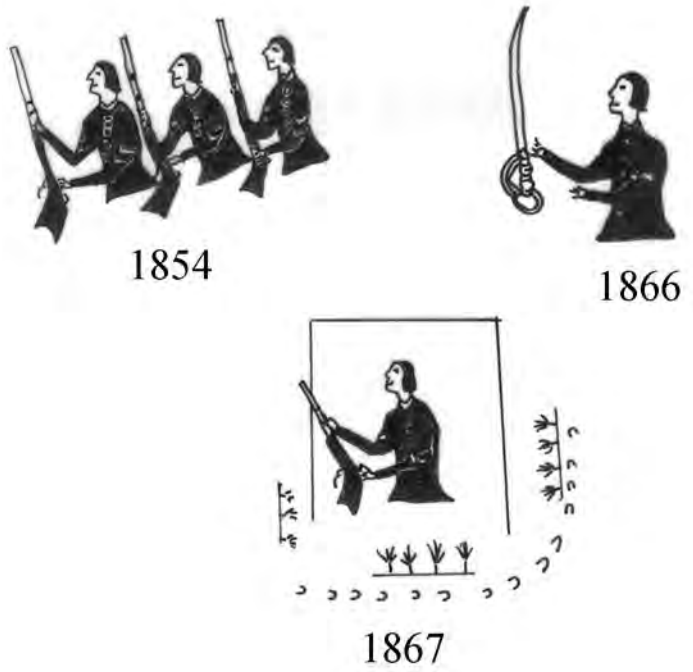

Figure 5.15. Lakota winter counts for 1854 ("Thirty Soldiers Were Killed" – Grattan Fight); 1866 (One Hundred White Men Were Killed" – Fetterman Fight); and 1867 (They Surrounded the White Tents" – Wagon Box Fight). After the original drawings in Short Man's winter count (DeMallie 1982). Redrawn by author.

appropriations for 30 years. The Indians also agreed not to oppose either construction of the Union Pacific Railroad currently being built or any military forts south of the North Platte River. Article 16 of the treaty closed the Bozeman Trail to Euroamerican travel and established a time line for the United States to abandon outposts along the trail, including Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearny and Fort C. F. Smith. On its face, it seemed the allied tribes had won major concessions when the U. S. Army instituted a strategic withdrawal from Powder River Country, leaving behind a battle-scarred landscape (Figure 5.16). However, the largely uncontested building of the railroad became a tremendous advantage to the U. S. Army. The United States had won a larger strategic victory with the signing of the document (McDermott 2010:441-538). U. S. Army strength also had grown from a total of 43,246 men in 1865 to 52,922 in 1868,

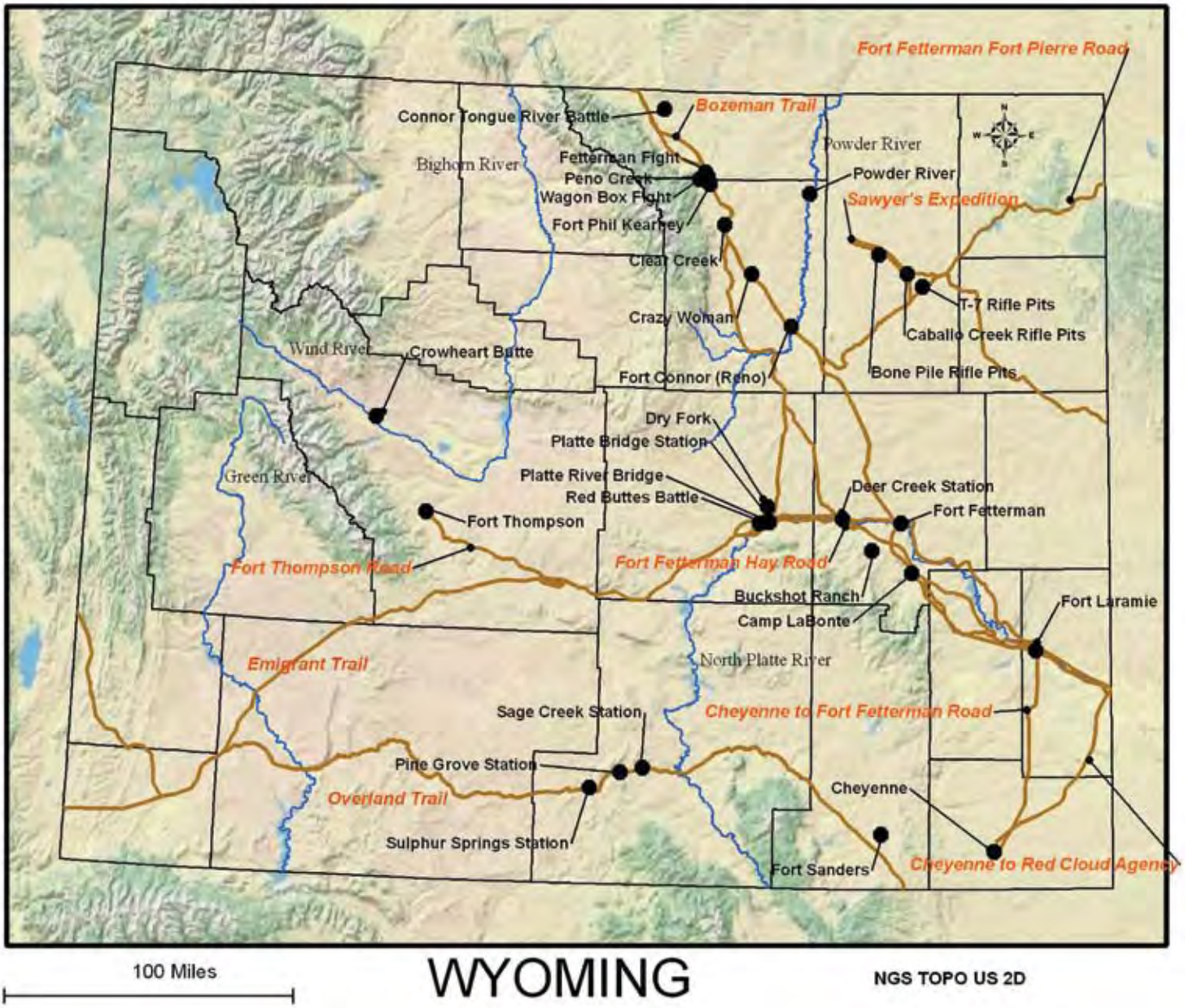

Figure 5.16. Selected sites from the episode of the first Plains Indian Wars. Map by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

though much of the duty was in the Reconstruction South (McDermott 1998a:27, 2010:1-20).

That same summer, passage of the Organic Act on July 25, 1868 established all of present-day Wyoming as a new Territory, but it still faced decades of turmoil over the so-called Indian question. Wyoming's geopolitical boundaries would remain the same when it became a state in 1890 at the close of the frontier.

Chapter 6: Involvement with the Transcontinental Railroad (1867–1869)

In the *Wyoming Almanac*, Adams and Sodaro (1986) acquaint readers with what they consider to be the 10 most significant events in Wyoming history (Roberts et al. 2001:188). Their first two entries deal with transportation. The number one occurrence is the discovery of South Pass in 1812, which became a crucial crossing of the Rocky Mountains during the Oregon (Emigrant) Trail years. The second event is construction of the transcontinental railroad that passed through southern Wyoming. Completion of this railway system was perhaps the greatest national accomplishment of the mid-nineteenth century, second only to the Union victory in the Civil War (Murray 1972a:140). The Union Pacific Railroad was the company responsible for construction through Wyoming Territory.

Transportation had always been a major theme in Wyoming's culture history due to the region's juxtaposition with the Rocky Mountains, High Plains, and Great Divide Basin. Southern Wyoming, in particular, probably was an important east-west travel corridor throughout the entire 13,000 years of human history in the New World. Game trails crisscrossed the area and connected routes with vital sources of water. Prehistoric hunters followed these trails in search of the animals that used them. Later these paths connected intertribal trade networks in an important interaction sphere, followed closely by trapper routes and then the emigrant roads, Pony Express, mail routes and telegraph lines. Not surprisingly, the southern Wyoming landscape in the twenty-first century is still used to move people and information across the continent, maintaining corridors like the Lincoln Highway, U.S. 30, Interstate-80 and even buried fiber optic lines.

During the late 1860s the Union Pacific became the most important transportation system enabling Euroamerican population growth in Wyoming, influencing the distribution of permanent towns and expanding transcontinental commercial traffic between the Central and Southern Rocky Mountains. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 helped ensure a relatively quiet period for building the rail line and consolidating regional settlement. In that treaty, the Sioux and Arapahos had reserved the right to hunt north of the North Platte River in return for withdrawing all opposition to construction of the railroad. The reduction in skirmishes for a period after fall 1868 reflects the lack of hostilities initiated by these treaty signatories. Following the skirmishes in July-August 1868 during abandonment of the Bozeman Trail forts (Chapter 5), there were several months of relative quiet before a brief skirmish near Fort Fred Steele in late March 1869 (Chapter 7).

Railroad construction also facilitated a shift in military strategy from the Powder River country in the north to the southern part of the study area collectively known as the Wyoming Basin. Trains along the railroad not only would prove to be a more efficient means of emigrant travel, but also an improved way to transport military goods and personnel to various staging areas for offensive maneuvers. Forts constructed along the rail line also were more easily supplied than distant outposts accessible only by wagon, lessening the cost for punitive expeditions organized against roving Indians. It was under the capable leadership of General William T. Sherman, in command of the Division of the Missouri, that the Union Pacific was put to strategic military use beginning in this episode. In his memoirs, Sherman eventually wrote about the value of railroads in warfare (Sherman 1990:889-891). The significance of the railroad to the U. S. Army more than offset the loss of Bozeman Trail forts in the overall plan for defending settlers in the territory.

Rosenberg (1989:13) points out that construction of the road bed and tracks for the rail line also hampered buffalo migration. In fact, it effectively

Figure 6.1. Colonel Stevenson who developed plans for Fort D. A. Russell and Fort Fred Steele. Sub Neg 3075, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

split the gregarious animals into northern and southern herds (Haines 1970:174), imposing a major negative impact on the primary economic resource of Plains Indian tribes particularly in the North Platte River valley. Growing railroad towns and the increasing presence of permanent settlers in the hinterland further transformed southern Wyoming from a vast open frontier into a sparsely settled network of fledgling communities in need of military support.

In response to the situation, Congress had enacted legislation after the Civil War that intended to fix the number of units in the Army. By 1868, the actual strength was 2,835 officers and 48,081 men (McDermott 1998a:27 lists a total of 52,922), over three times the size of the army in 1860 (Coffman 1986:218). After the Civil War, the effective fighting force was reduced due to new duties related in part to enforcing Reconstruction in the South (McDermott, personal communication, 2011). While relative peace ensued during this episode, the U. S. Army was busy becoming a well established fixture in Wyoming Territory capable of improved and expedited mobilization. Military activities also diversified to accommodate a variety of evolving civilian needs, helping to protect railroad workers from occasional Indian probes and from harassment by nefarious characters that frequented the territory after the Civil War. Troopers also assisted with law enforcement and interacted with communities in the preparation and enjoyment of various cultural events. Other active pursuits included building and expanding a network of forts along the rail line.

The Union Pacific Railroad was constructed through Wyoming in 1868, but it did not connect with the Central Pacific at Promontory, Utah until 1869, which completed the transcontinental system. This context episode ends in 1869, therefore, but some military events that took place in Wyoming that year are not listed until the next chapter. Rather than being a mutually exclusive episode in the military history of Wyoming, this is more a transitional time between the first and second Plains Indian Wars.

Forts

Combined with the evolving use of existing Fort Bridger and Fort Sanders, Forts D. A. Russell and Fred Steele were built and garrisoned to provide security along the Union Pacific corridor. Together, these outposts afforded a formidable defense against any depredations that might be unleashed on the railroad or towns that sprung up nearby.

Many forts in Wyoming actually survived as garrisons for decades and underwent a series of growth spurts related to their adaptive use before they finally were decommissioned. Diverse activities at the more enduring outposts generated a tremendous

Figure 6.2. Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin). Sub Neg 13648, H55-28, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

archival record of official documents, often available through the National Archives or its satellite facility in Denver (e.g., National Archives Trust Fund Board 1985). Larger military sites like Fort Laramie and Fort D. A. Russell have well developed archives of their own, complete with maps and documents that illustrate the evolution of building construction and other features. Data may relate to architectural changes at outposts, personalities in residence, muster rolls, post returns, letters sent/received, medical reports, general orders, and a variety of other topics. Primary source documents and photographs may come in the form of hard copies, microfilm, microfiche, or even digital records in recent years. Time and resources make it impossible to research the primary records for each of the forts listed in this context, so the abbreviated descriptions offered often have relied on other researchers who already studied some of them.

Fort D. A. Russell (48LA71) (1867-present)

Fort Laramie may be the quintessential army fort, but Fort D. A. Russell has been the most enduring in Wyoming. Established by Colonel John D. Stevenson of the 30th U.S. Infantry (Figure 6.1) on July 21, 1867, this fort was located on the north bank of Crow Creek, originally three miles west of the railroad town of Cheyenne that became the capitol of the territory (Frazer 1972:184-185). Today the fort is adjacent to the growing city.

Designed to protect railway workers on the Union Pacific line, the fort immediately became part of an important provisioning station in conjunction with Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin) (Figure 6.2). Cheyenne Depot (48LA106) was a major supply point for the frontier army in the region, located

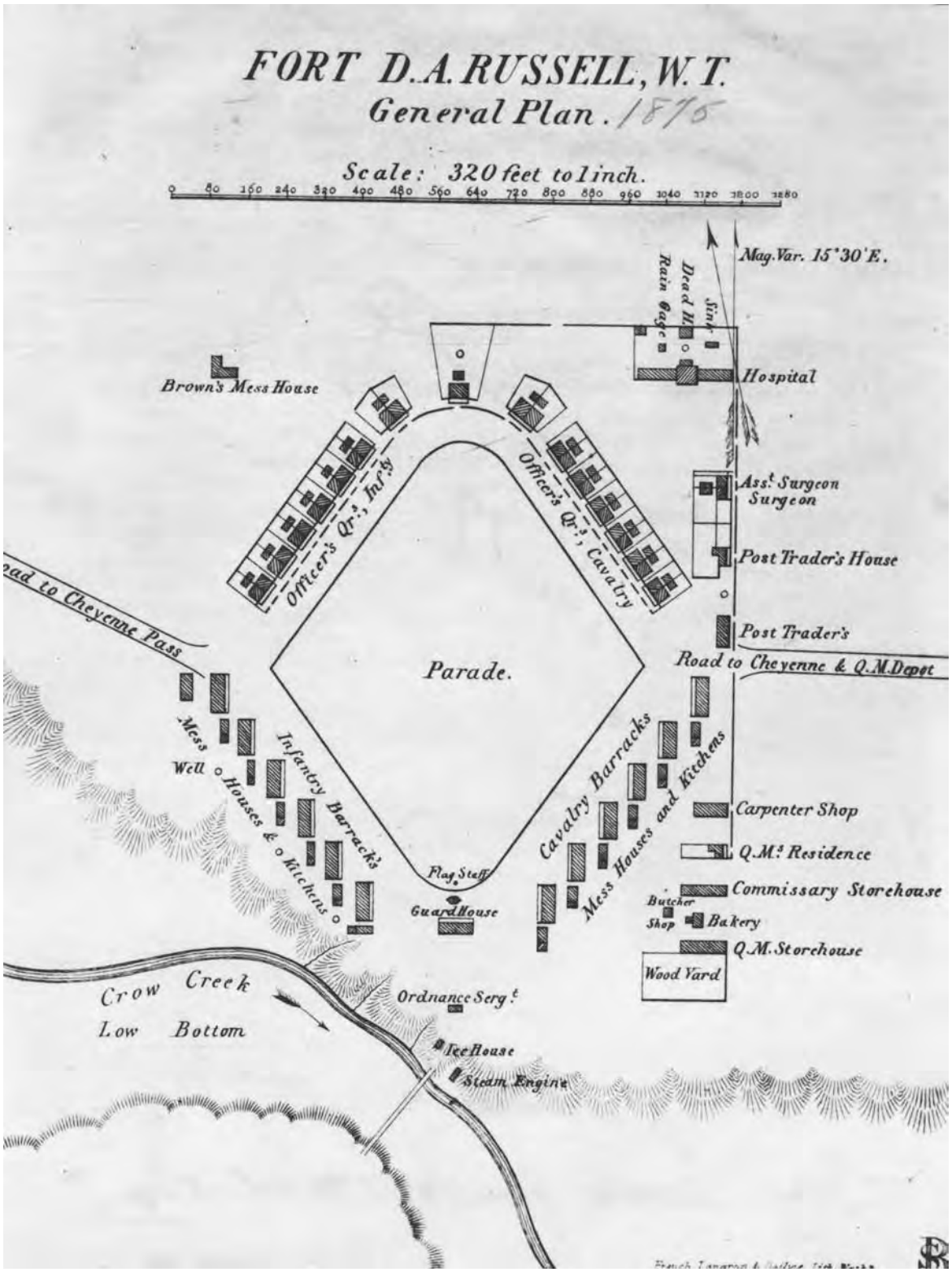

Figure 6.3. General plan of Fort D. A. Russell on Crow Creek west of Cheyenne 1875. Surgeon General's Office, Circular No. 4, Description of Military Posts. Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

adjacent to Fort D. A. Russell on the Union Pacific Railroad between the fort and the community of Cheyenne. Very little physical evidence of the depot remains. In fact, former F. E. Warren archaeologist, Rick Bryant seems to think much of the evidence was removed when construction activities occurred during preparation of the nearby I-25 highway corridor (personal communication 2007). Nonetheless, some archaeological and historical investigations have been conducted (Tetra Tech, Inc. 1985).

The general plan of Fort D. A. Russell was made by Colonel Stevenson and it showcased a diamond shaped parade ground for appearance and practicality (Figure 6.3) (Alden 1974:342). In the early years, Infantry and Cavalry Officer's quarters lined the northern half of the parade ground while Infantry and Cavalry barracks lined the southern half. Additional structures were built behind and east of this configuration. In 1868, the outpost had a mean strength of nearly 590 men and in 1869 about 435 men (Alden 1974:345).

Twenty-five years ago, Tetra Tech, Inc. (1987) completed a comprehensive study of the cultural resources at Fort D. A. Russell/F. E. Warren, documenting well known locations, long forgotten features, and even addressing the issue of unexploded ordnance. Historical study, archaeological research, and collections management at the site continue today with an on site professional staff member. The Wyoming military sites context for 1920-1989 is an outgrowth of F. E. Warren Air Force Base's commitment to historic preservation (Toltest 2009a).

The proximity of Fort D.A. Russell and Cheyenne Depot to the capitol city made it a strategic location for routes of transport and commerce to other areas throughout the territory. Several roads led from this complex to important locations of military interest elsewhere. The Cheyenne to Red Cloud Agency Road (48GO169, 48LA443), for example, has a military use date of 1867 and beyond, connecting the agency with supplies at Cheyenne Depot (Rosenberg 1989:22). The Cheyenne to Black Hills Stage Road (48LA448) was used by the military from approximately 1867-1890, and it helped connect Fort Laramie and Fort D. A. Russell (Rosenberg 1989:20). This was principally a civilian transportation route though the military used it frequently. The Cheyenne to Fort Laramie Freight Road came into use under this name in 1867. According to Rosenberg the "majority of this route is the same as the Taos/Denver to Fort Laramie Road, which had its origins in the early fur trapping era. … According to cultural resource investigations conducted by Tetra Tech, Inc. for the Peacekeeper Missile Program, there was a single primary route from the Cheyenne area to the Horse Creek crossing near today's JHD Ranch. The road then divided and one segment continued down Bullwacker (sic) Draw, eventually reaching the Red Cloud Indian Agency. The second segment was part of the Taos/Denver to Fort Laramie Road and headed north-northwest from the Hillsdale area. … The route is depicted on R. Blackstone's *Sectional Map of the Southeastern Part of the Wyoming Territory, 1878* and *Holt's Map of Wyoming, 1883*" (1989:20).

Fort D. A. Russell and its garrison were involved in many engagements of the Indian Wars (Adams 1989), and it is one of a small handful of Wyoming military sites that endured well into the twentieth century. Fort D.A. Russell was renamed Fort Francis E. Warren in 1930 following the death of Wyoming's famous statesman who had been the outpost's champion. It still is an active military post today known as F. E. Warren Air Force Base.

The storied relationship between Senator Francis E. Warren and his son-in-law, Captain John J. Pershing is recounted in some detail in the companion military context to this volume (Toltest 2009a, 2009b). Thanks to this personal connection, Pershing was a somewhat frequent visitor to Cheyenne and Fort D. A. Russell in the early twentieth century, around the time he was in charge of United States Expeditionary Forces in World War I.

Fort Fred Steele (48CR480) (1868-1886)

This outpost was established June 30, 1868 on a terrace along the west bank of the North Platte River at a bend where the Union Pacific Railroad crossed the flowing channel (Frazer 1972:186). Fort Fred

Figure 6.4. Death of Major Thomas T. Thornburgh, commanding officer of Fort Fred Steele, at the Battle of Milk Creek, Colorado in 1879. Courtesy, the Denver Public Library, Western history Department (F10364).

Steele was also built to protect the railroad and its travelers, and was originally designed by Colonel Stevenson, the same officer who made the original plan for Fort D. A. Russell a year earlier. The first General Order from the fort illustrates the impact the U. S. Army would have on civilian settlement patterns in the district. In that document, Major Richard I. Dodge proclaimed a military reservation three miles in each direction from the parade ground, prohibiting citizens from living within that perimeter except at Benton, which was placed under military authority (Murray 1972a:149). Not surprisingly, lands within the military reservation exhibit little evidence of homesteading or other residential activity prior to 1886 when the military left.

Soldiers at Fort Fred Steele took part in a variety of campaigns during the Indian Wars, the most notable being the White River Expedition of 1879 where the commanding officer, Major Thomas T. Thornburgh of the 4th Infantry lost his life (Miller 1997) (Figure 6.4). Many other well known personalities were commanding officers at the post at various times (Miller and Wedel 1992:4). In addition to Thornburgh, such notables as Brevet Brigadier General J. D. Stevenson (Colonel 30th Infantry) was in charge in 1868 and Colonel Philippe R. De Trobriand (13th Infantry) was in charge in 1871-1873. Even Captain Arthur MacArthur (father of Douglas MacArthur) was stationed there for a time in the 1870s and was briefly commanding officer. The last troops left Fort Steele on November 3, 1886 after the military reservation transferred to the Interior Department.

Fort Fred Steele was placed on the National Register in 1969, and in 1972 Carbon County residents invited the Wyoming Recreation Commission (now the Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources) to consider making it a State Historic Site (Mahoney 1990:32). Western Interpretive Services prepared a detailed planning study that involved considerable archival research (Murray 1972b), and generated the best historical publication available on Fort Fred Steele (Murray 1972a). Subsequent planning documents have relied extensively on this initial research (Babcock 1982; Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site Steering Committee 2008).

The site has benefited from an equally extensive set of archaeological investigations that integrated details from primary historical sources with material evidence on the landscape (Drucker 1996; Fawcett 1981; Latady and Darlington 1983; Miller and Wedel 1992, 1996, 2000; Wedel et al. 2001). Even remote features like target ranges have been documented archaeologically (Hanson 2001, 2005; Miller and Wedel 1991). Target ranges are important features, and since they typically lie on the outskirts of military bases, they often were overlooked when early National Register nominations established vague site boundaries.

Fort Fred Steele is a typical open fort with no stockade, not unlike most of the Wyoming outposts of the time (Figures 6.5, 6.6.). A series of plan maps of the outpost was collated when archaeological investigations resumed in 1990, and many were redrawn to a similar scale for comparative purposes of the layout through time. The earliest plan map dates to November 1870 (Figure 6.7). It was furnished through a C. Rucker (sic) on January 31, 1871, and prepared under the direction of Major Alexander J. Perry, Chief Quarter Master for the Department of the Platte in Omaha, Nebraska. The original may be in the National Archives, but a copy is available at

Figure 6.5. Fort Fred Steele looking southwest circa 1869. Artwork by Anton Schonborn. Courtesy Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, WY, purchased with funds from Ann and Al Simpson.

State Archives in the Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne (file numbers 462-60, H71-109). The arrangement of structures at the post is around a roughly square parade ground. Officer's Quarters occupy the western margin and Enlisted Men's barracks occupy the eastern margin. Sinks, guard house and stables are outside the perimeter of these main buildings. The Union Pacific runs east-west through the fort and just south of the parade ground. The Quartermaster/Commissary structures are south of the tracks. A Bridge Warden's house (still standing today) is situated on the west bank of the river adjacent to where the original tracks crossed the North Platte. Not all of the buildings illustrated on the map necessarily were built, however. In particular, the easternmost Officer's Quarters on the northern and southern margins of the parade ground were not constructed.

The January 8, 1880 plan of the post shows considerable growth in the architectural development of the site over the previous decade (Figure 6.8). This rendition was done to accompany a report of Lieutenant Silas A. Wolf to the Chief Engineer,

Figure 6.6. Officers' Row at Fort Fred Steele. Note proximity to the Union Pacific Railroad. Probably taken circa 1868-1870. Miller Neg 5372, H65-122, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

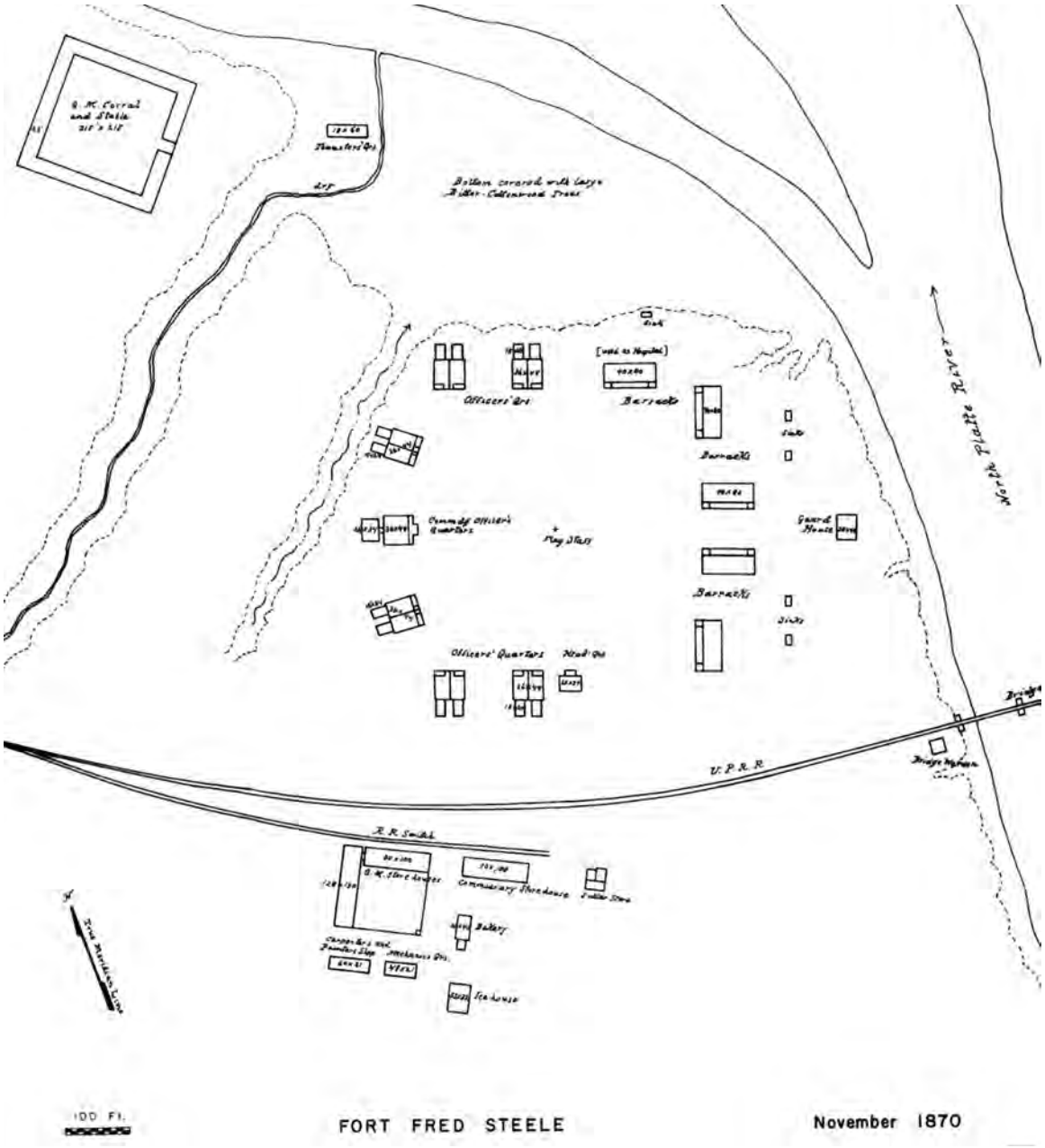

Figure 6.7. Fort Fred Steele plan map of November 1870 furnished through a C. Rucker (sic) on January 31, 1871 and prepared under the direction of Major Alexander J. Perry, Chief Quarter Master for the Department of the Platte in Omaha, Nebraska. Also in Murray (1972b V.II). Redrawn by the author in 1992.

Department of the Platte under correspondence of the same date. Wolf had just returned to Fort Steele after duty with the White River Expedition against the Utes in Colorado when he was put to work on this report (Miller 1997:151). Thirty-nine numbered features are illustrated. Back yards had been added to the Officer's Quarters by this time, and a sidewalk was added in front. An outlying stone corral was available for livestock and blacksmith chores. Unbuilt structures have been removed from the plan. The Quartermaster/civilian area south of the tracks has grown considerably with the addition of an eating

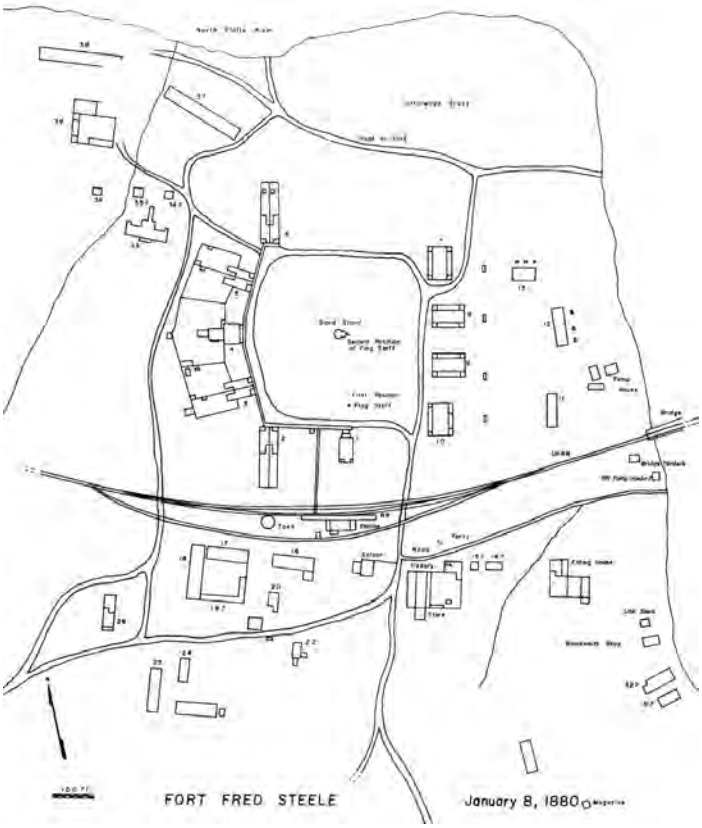

Figure 6.8. Fort Fred Steele plan map from 1880 by Silas Wolf. Also appears in Murray (1972b V.II). Redrawn by the author in 1992.

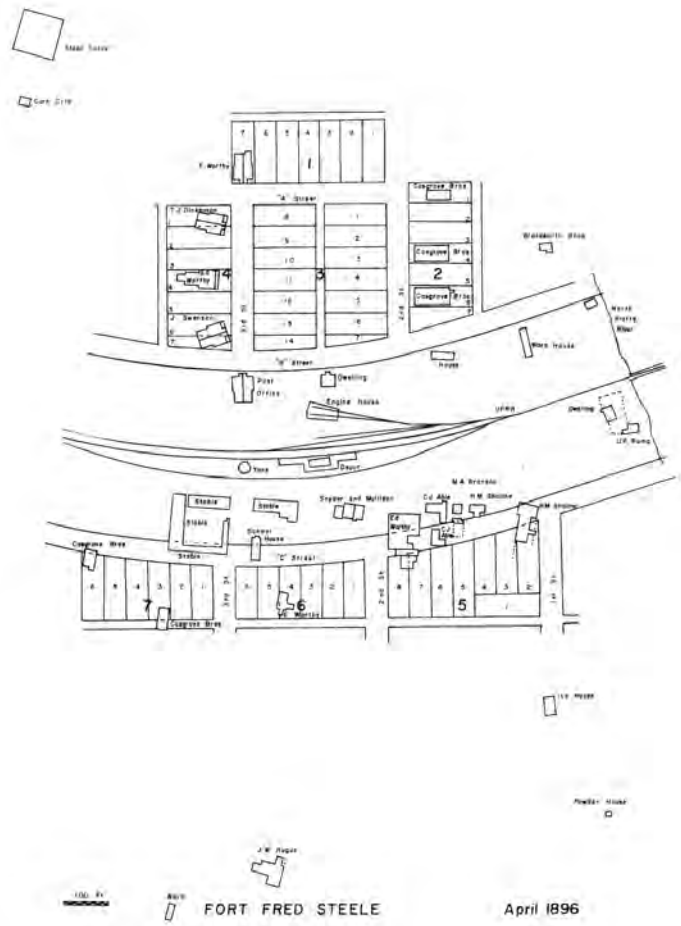

Figure 6.9. Fort Fred Steele plan map from circa 1896 showing design plans for the layout of a civilian community. Courtesy of Carbon County Assessor's Office, Rawlins. Redrawn by the author in 1992.

house, trader's store, saloon and other outbuildings.

The third map, prepared by C. H. Howes, depicts Fort Fred Steele about April 1896 ten years after the military decommissioned the fort (Figure 6.9). The Carbon County Assessor's office found this map in their vault during the early 1990s when the State Archaeologist's Office was conducting research at the site (Miller and Wedel 1992). Apparently, a plat was never filed for incorporation of the Fort Steele community after the military left even though this version implies that civilian community development was anticipated. Former military buildings in 1896 were owned by area stockmen like the Cosgriff brothers. Anticipated north-south streets were numbered and east-west streets lettered. Blocks north and south of the tracks were numbered in groups between streets. Civilians continued to occupy portions of Fort Fred Steele long after the military left.

Fort Fred Steele, like the other railroad forts, played a major role in the transition from communal tribal use of the Wyoming area to U. S. government control of vast resources and development of private land tenure (Miller and Wedel 1993). With more efficient transportation in place and a military force nearby, changes in land use occurred at a dramatic rate during the second half of the nineteenth century. Clearly these outposts were more than military centers; they also would influence pioneering efforts in industry, culture and settlement (Guentzel 1975:389).

Figure 6.10. Selected sites for the period 1867-1869. Map by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

As with most frontier military outposts, several features associated with regular garrison duty occurred outside the main parade ground and quarters. One such property for Fort Fred Steele was its sandstone quarry, which had been used for a few buildings and structural foundations at the outpost. It was located during the 1990 archaeological field season on private land approximately a mile from the fort (Miller and Wedel 1992:27). Mesa Verde Formation Sandstone from the quarry is identical to that found in remnant foundations around the parade ground, and there is a huge void in the bedrock cliff at the quarry where the military has removed stone. Once the quarry is more systematically recorded it probably should be given a separate site number due to its distance from the main fort area. Archaeological investigations at Fort Fred Steele have continued periodically since the 1990 field season (e.g., Wedel and Eckles 2005).

Roads

The growth and proliferation of military forts in Wyoming from the North Platte River southward reflects an effort on the part of the Army to shore up its territorial defenses in the aftermath of the first Plains Indian Wars. Part of this effort was

to connect outposts to the railroad line and other tactical locations thereby enhancing the system of supply and defense. The Fort Laramie to Rock Creek Station Road utilized in 1868 is a good example of this transportation network. Rosenberg (1989:21) states that "this was an early major route in the Laramie Peak area, passing through the southeast portion of the present-day Laramie Peak District of the Medicine Bow National Forest. Sections of the route east and west of the Laramie Hills were reportedly well traveled and good, and were connected by 'an extremely favorable but untraveled pass through the hills.' This route established an easy line of communication between Fort Laramie and the Laramie Plains." It entered the Medicine Bow National Forest near Cottonwood Creek, passing a few miles east of Laramie Peak. Then it crossed the North Laramie River, joining the Rock Creek to Fort Fetterman Stage Road a couple miles from Rock Creek Station near the Union Pacific. The route appears on GLO maps surveyed in the early 1880s near what today is U. S. Forest Service Route #633 to Black Mountain before it heads east at Cottonwood Creek (Rosenberg 1989:21).

Military Strategy

By 1869, the four forts along the Union Pacific were garrisoned and fully functional (Figure 6.10); Fort D. A. Russell, Fort Sanders, Fort Fred Steele, and Fort Bridger. Wyoming Territory at this time was in the military Department of the Platte under Command of General C. C. Auger who saw to the strategic development of these outposts. His counterpart General Alfred H. Terry was commander of the Department of Dakota, and he established a network of forts to the north of the study area. The actions of these two officers successfully encircled the Sioux country with forts garrisoned by units from nine different regiments. The Sioux and Northern Cheyennes were now effectively surrounded by some 5,000 officers and enlisted men strung out at dispersed duty locations along a 2,500 mile perimeter (Utley 1973:121-122). The peace engendered by the 1868 Treaty at Fort Laramie could not last long.

Figure 7.1. Chief Washakie front center and other Shoshoni tribal leaders. Indian Neg 358, Print 4, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Chapter 7: Second Plains Indian Wars (1869-1876)

The period of the second Plains Indian Wars began with renewal of hostilities about a year after two major treaties had been signed between the United States and Native Americans: (1) The Fort Laramie treaty in the spring of 1868 that led to abandonment of the Powder River Country by the United States Army, and (2) A treaty with Shoshonis drawn up at Fort Bridger on July 3, 1868 that established Wind River Indian Reservation (Rosenberg 1989:15). Shoshonis, who had ceded a significant amount of land in exchange for annuities and an agency near the Wind River Mountains, would become valuable allies to the U.S. Army under the capable leadership of Washakie (Figure 7.1). The first year following these treaties had been more or less an uneasy truce with the Plains tribes.

Plains tribes who continued using northeastern Wyoming for hunting trips during this episode also frequented Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies just east of the study area. Because of the Indians' ephemeral camping habits and rapid mobility on horseback, agency officials had difficulty keeping accurate census records of tribal members in residence at these locations, and they needed this information for ordering and dispersing adequate amounts of annuity goods. A tenuous relationship soon developed between agent and Indian regarding these goods and this situation created opportunities for graft and corruption, which further exacerbated any potential for peaceful coexistence. In some areas of the west unscrupulous entrepreneurs went so far as to make large profits from selling contraband goods to the Indians, complicating the fragile relationship between tribes and federal officials even more (Delo 1992:185-196). The overall system of accountability was weak at best.

The second Plains Indian Wars were a pivotal era in the American West. They are broken up here into three general phases, each of which is important in itself. The first is a period of relative quiet interrupted by occasional skirmishes prior to 1874, the second is Custer's Black Hills Expedition of 1874 and related explorations, and the third is the great Sioux War of 1876.

Relative Calm before the Storm 1869-1874

The year 1868 heralded the election of General Ulysses S. Grant as President of the United States, giving the Army cause for optimism that the government would now show greater support for a military solution to the Indian Question. However, multiple political issues were at play that made any clear Indian policy a moving target for bureaucrats. Peace initiatives had sprung up among the citizenry after the Fetterman massacre, and at the same time other interests were lobbying for transfer of the Indian Bureau from the Department of Interior back to the War Department. It seemed the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives couldn't even agree on a suitable direction.

The whole country was divided over how to deal with the western tribes (Utley 1973:188-192), and Wyoming was at the geographic center of the controversy. Indian hunting grounds in the study area overlapped with important U. S. transportation routes and the nation's expanding commercial interests. Oratory and foot-dragging in Washington D. C. only increased the palpable tension felt between cultures out on the High Plains. Hostilities were bound to begin again in spite of well intentioned treaties.

Although livestock losses were reported in the fall of 1868 (McDermott 2010:526-527), perhaps the first documented engagement in Wyoming following abandonment of the Bozeman Trail forts was a brief action near Fort Fred Steele on March 22, 1869 involving detachments from Companies A, B, F, H, and K of 30th Infantry (Heitman 1903 [2]:433). Lieutenant R. H. Young took the detachment in pursuit of Indians who had run off some mules from a government wagon train (Murray 1972b:29-30).

Shortly after, on April 6, 1869, there was a skirmish near LaBonte Creek. Henry (1970) says it involved a detachment of Company A, 4th Infantry, referencing an account from the Fort Fetterman Post Journals. The fight is listed in Heitman (1903 [2]:433) as well. A telegraph party had left Fort Fetterman on April 3rd with Sergeant Rae in charge, and returned on the 6th with Corporal Sanders in charge. The attack resulted in the death of Private Russell B. Emery, of Company I. Sergeant Rae of Company A and Privates Babcock (Company I) and Sullivan (Company C), 4th Infantry were reported missing. A party was sent to find the missing soldiers, but Babcock and Sullivan soon arrived uninjured back at the post. The body of the Sergeant was not reported found. Lindmier (2002:69) also discusses this engagement. The Indians apparently were a band of Arapahos (Michno and Michno 2008:272-273).

Another action near Fort Fred Steele took place on May 21, 1869. Detachments of Companies B and H of 4th Infantry were involved (Heitman 1903 [2]:433). Lieutenant J. H. Spencer took the detachment and skirmished with about 30 Indians who had been observed by other outposts as they moved into the Union Pacific country from the north (Murray 1972b:30).

Then, after the deaths of two individuals near the Little Wind River, Lieutenant Charles Stambaugh took a 28-man detachment of Company D, 2nd Cavalry to investigate the sighting of some Lakotas. He followed the trail for 14 miles before encountering a couple hundred Indians on the Popo Agie. After a three-hour fight on September 14, two soldiers had been wounded, two Indians killed, and ten Indians wounded. Stambaugh had lost too many horses during the skirmish to pursue the warriors any farther (Michno 2003:236; Rodenbough 2000:392).

On September 15, 1869 an action occurred near Whiskey Gap involving detachments of Company B 4th Infantry and Companies B, D, F, and I 7th Infantry (Heitman 1903 [2]:434). No other details were given.

In addition to occasional skirmishes, military garrisons during this phase continued to be dispersed throughout the study area to address an expanding military role that included protection of peaceful Indians as well as taking the offensive against hostiles. Some troop deployments took advantage of these established forts, while others simply involved occupying civilian communities as cantonments or used field camps.

Camp Augur was established June 28, 1869 in the Popo Agie valley near present-day Lander in an attempt to protect peaceful Shoshonis on the Wind River Reservation and workers in the Sweetwater mining district from marauding bands of hostile Indians (Frazer 1972:177-178; McDermott 1993:95-99). The camp was created by First Lieutenant Patrick Breslin of the 4th Infantry and named after Brigadier General Christopher C. Augur who commanded the Department of the Platte at the time. Originally a sub-post of Fort Bridger, it was reorganized as a separate post on March 28, 1870 when the name was changed to Camp Brown (#1). The new name was derived from Captain Frederick Brown of the 18th Infantry who had been killed in December 1866 at the Fetterman Fight (Frazer 1972:178). The original site of the camp was abandoned in 1871 when the Shoshonis agency was moved to Little Wind River, and the new camp then was called Camp Brown (#2) before it was established as Fort Washakie (48FR430).

Camp Brown #2 (Fort Washakie) was established by Captain Robert A. Torrey of the 13th Infantry in January 1871, and located on what today is the Wind River Indian Reservation. A small action occurred in the vicinity on June 26, 1871 (Heitman 1903 [2]:436). The outpost's name was officially changed from Camp Brown and designated as Fort Washakie on December 30, 1878 in honor of Chief Washakie. It was abandoned by the military in March 1909, and turned over to the Interior Department to become headquarters for the Shoshoni Agency (Frazer 1972:186-187). Both the Northern Arapahos and Eastern Shoshonis currently occupy Wind River Indian Reservation.

The Old Wind River Agency Blockhouse (48FR714) is present at this location. Fort Washakie's history is a good example of largely amicable Indian-

white relations and it is one of the few forts named for an Indian on the western frontier (Ferris 1971:386).

While the Wind River Reservation began as a location for the Eastern Shoshoni, the U. S. Government temporarily placed the Northern Arapahos there as well in 1872, but the Arapahos soon moved to Pine Ridge. The Arapahos were more militant than the Shoshonis, so skirmishes between the Arapahos and U. S. Army continued. They needed a home as the Plains Indian Wars came to a close, and in 1878 Washakie agreed to have the starving remnants temporarily placed on the Wind River Reservation. The Northern Arapahos settled there permanently after that (Trenholm and Carley 1964:277-279).

Fort Washakie was connected to commerce along the Union Pacific via the Rawlins to Fort Washakie Road (48CR1214, 48FR415, 48SW886), which more or less follows the same route as portions of the modern highway system between these two locations. The road was used to haul men and supplies from Rawlins to remote Fort Washakie and the Wind River Indian Reservation (Rosenberg 1989:21-22). Remnants of the Lost Soldier Stage Station are found on private land along the route. The trail is considered by SHPO as eligible for the National Register under Criterion A. This also is the general route of the Chief Washakie Trail identified by signage along the highway. This road/trail provided the best travel route between the Railroad Station at Rawlins and Fort Washakie for Shoshonis on the Wind River Indian Reservation. It also is adjacent to an important red ochre source just north of Rawlins.

Like the fort, the Chief Washakie Trail is named for the great leader of the Eastern Shoshonis who helped maintain peace by providing safe passage to wagon train emigrants traveling through their territory. It also honors the tribe for their efforts in helping establish freight and trade from northwestern Wyoming to the railhead in Rawlins. The trail was designated by the Wyoming Transportation Commission in 2002 (Wyoming Tribune-Eagle 2002).

Hart (1963:185) lists an unidentified camp at what he refers to as Snake Indian Reservation in the Wind River District, which would have been somewhere on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Fremont County. It is not listed by the author as Augur, Brown, or Washakie so it may be a separate location.

First Lieutenant Charles Stambaugh had been one of the troopers stationed at Camp Augur in the spring of 1870 before Fort Washakie came into being. On May 4 that year, he responded to a report of alleged Indian depredations near Miner's Delight. The Lieutenant, accompanied Captain David Gordon and troops from D Company 2nd Cavalry, charged some Arapahos who had been driving away stolen stock. Near Twin Creek a little later, Stambaugh and ten soldiers fought more than 60 Arapahos in a heated encounter. Stambaugh and one enlisted man were killed in the affair. Seven warriors were killed and one wounded (Michno 2003:241-242; Sheridan 1882:27).

Camp Stambaugh (48FR436) was established by Major James S. Brisbin of the 2nd Cavalry later that summer, and named after the lieutenant who had been killed in the fight on Twin Creek (Figure 7.2). McDermott (1993:100) gives the establishment date of June 20 and states that it became an independent post on August 20, 1870 with a 156 man garrison. Located between Atlantic City and the Oregon Trail, it was intended to protect miners in the Sweetwater district after the Shoshoni Indian Reservation boundaries were drawn (Frazer 1972:185). A relatively unobtrusive outpost, it was abandoned eight years later on August 17, 1878. Archaeological evidence was recorded at the site in 1991 (Galloway 1991; McDermott 1991). In spite of rather quiet duty at Camp Stambaugh, skirmishes erupted elsewhere in the eastern half of the study area.

Laramie Peak is a major prominence at the edge of the High Plains. A skirmish broke out near there on September 12, 1869 involving Indians and an escort to a wagon train. One soldier was killed and another wounded (Sheridan 1882:24). Henry (1970) uses records from Fort Laramie to indicate this engagement involved detachments of Companies D and G, 4th Infantry who had been repairing the road near Laramie Peak. Private Peter Werrick of

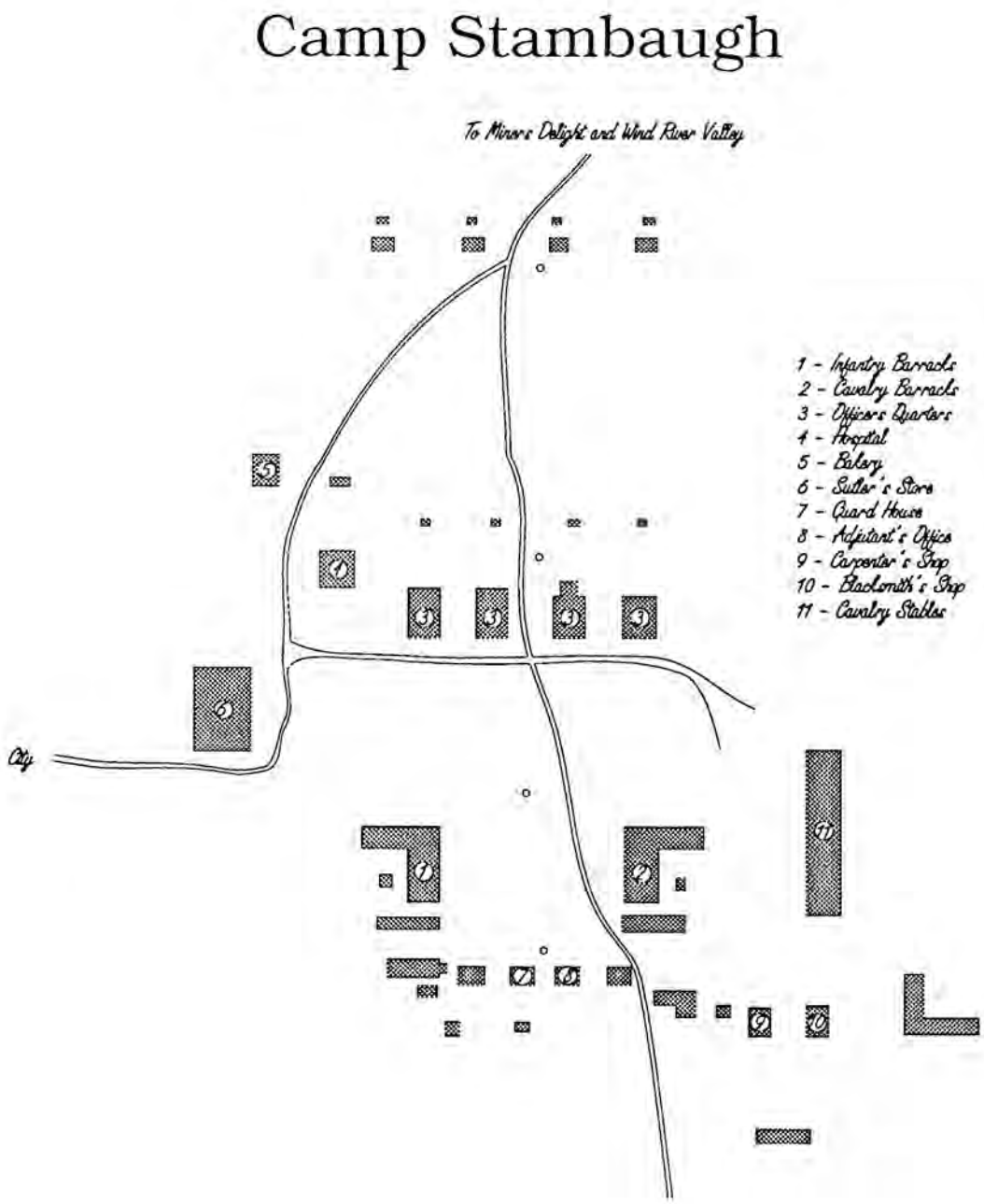

Figure 7.2. Camp Stambaugh in Fremont County. Courtesy, Fremont County Pioneer Museum.

Company G, 4th Infantry was killed, and Private Joseph Axgar of Company I, 4th Infantry received a fracture in his left femur. Werrick apparently was buried September 15 at Fort Laramie. The tribe(s) involved was not mentioned.

On October 29, 1869 an engagement occurred between Fort Fetterman and Fort Laramie that involved Company K of the 2nd Cavalry. Fort Fetterman Post Journals for the month, as cited in Henry (1970), state that a party of three cavalrymen who had been hunting in the Black Hills was attacked by 30 Indians, resulting in the deaths of two troopers and escape of the third that was identified as Wentworth, bugler for Company K.

Captain Egan of Company K brought in the bodies of Privates McKenna and McAllister who were buried at Fort Fetterman on October 31. The dead men had not been mutilated, scalped, or robbed (Lindmier 2002:70). The tribe(s) involved was not mentioned.

Then approximately 150 Lakotas attacked the mail stage on Horseshoe Creek near present-day Glendo when it was on route from Fort Fetterman to Fort Laramie. Sergeant Conrad Bahr of Company E, 4th Infantry and ten soldiers were the escort. Three were wounded before arriving at their destination. Sheridan (1882:25) reports the action as taking place on December 2, 1869 and mentions that one soldier was killed. Henry (1970) also lists this engagement as occurring on December 2, saying that it involved detachments of Companies D, F, G, and K of the 4th Infantry from Fort Laramie, and detachments of Companies A and E of the 4th Infantry from Fort Fetterman. The same day and general vicinity, the mail escort heading back to Fort Fetterman was attacked and two men wounded (Michno 2003:240; Sheridan 1882:25). Several Indians were killed and wounded. Michno (2003:240) places the action on December 1. Lindmier (2002:70) also discusses the engagement. An Upper Horseshoe Stage station (48PL126) and a Lower Horseshoe Stage station (48PL127) are listed as historic sites in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records database. The battle apparently began at some distance from these stations, so it should be given a separate Smithsonian Number when it is documented.

On June 25, 1870 a detachment of I Company, 2nd Cavalry had a fight with Indians in the Medicine Bow country of south central Wyoming. Lieutenant C. T. Hall was in command of the troopers, but no other details were given (Sheridan 1882:28). Medicine Bow Station (48CR3739) and Medicine Bow (48CR3751) are listed as historic sites in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records database though no further information is mentioned. Since the battle only took place in the Medicine Bow area it should be given a separate Smithsonian Number when it is documented.

Two days later, on June 27, Lieutenant R. H. Young of the 4th Infantry led a detachment of Company A, 2nd Cavalry against about 200 Indians up in the mountains near Pine Grove Meadow. One soldier was wounded and perhaps 15 Indians killed. The rest of the Indians escaped because the soldiers were not numerous enough to sustain the attack (Sheridan 1882:28).

These skirmishes and fort developments clearly demonstrate that military activity was prevalent from the Continental Divide eastward in the study area during this phase, and coordinated efforts between fort garrisons were successful during various field maneuvers. One military garrison location is somewhat problematic, however. A site known as Fort Pine Bluffs shows up on the 1870 Census with Company C, 5th Cavalry present. The unit was garrisoned here due to fears over the safety of Chief Red Cloud who was going back east. One of the troopers present was a Christopher Streaks (Streeks). Saban and Saban (2004:15) once mentioned this fort on a web site: http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~sabthomp/wyoming/veterans/wyarmy .htm, but the URL has been disabled since it was accessed by the author on November 14, 2007 and the citation is no longer available. No other information on this site has been located. It is entirely possible that it was not a garrisoned fort but a military occupation as a cantonment in the community of Pine Bluffs.

The year 1871 was another relatively peaceful time, but hostilities erupted again in the spring of 1872. One engagement occurred near LaBonte Creek on May 1, 1872 with detachments from Companies D, E, F, and G of the 14th Infantry. Henry (1970) references Fort Fetterman Post Journals for the month and Letters Sent from Fort Laramie, stating that Sergeant Mularkey of Company E, 14th Infantry was killed by Indians while in charge of a mail party that left the post that morning. Apparently a group of seven Cheyennes from Old Bear's camp conducted the attack. Lindmier (2002:71-72) states that Mularkey went ahead of a mail escort without his weapon for some reason, and when he was shaking hands with one Cheyenne another shot and killed him.

Figure 7.3. Black Coal was with the Arapahos when they were attacked during the Bates battle. Courtesy, Fremont County Pioneer Museum.

Military protection of reservation Indians was not always successful either. In June 1872 Sioux and Cheyenne warriors raided the Eastern Shoshonis at Wind River Indian Reservation on Trout Creek in clear view of civilians on top of the old Wind River Agency Blockhouse (48FR714). The Shoshonis secreted themselves in large pits under the protection of their tipis, and the women and children probably were already in the blockhouse (Dorst et al. 2000). There is a plaque at the building commemorating this engagement, although the above site number is for the blockhouse not the battle.

Company B, 2nd Cavalry and Lieutenant Randolph Norwood took the initiative in September 1872 and attacked a war party of Indians between Beaver Creek and Sweetwater. One Indian was killed in the engagement (Sheridan 1882:33), but no other details or location information were given. During that same general period, July 26-October 15, 1872, a Yellowstone Expedition was undertaken by the Army. Companies A, B, C, F, H, and K 8th Infantry; Companies A, C, and F 17th Infantry; and Companies D, F, and G 22nd Infantry took part, as did Indian Scouts according to Heitman (1903 [2]: 437).

In the summer of 1873 a band of Arapahos engaged in a skirmish with citizens from Rawlins (Rawlins Springs) about 10-12 miles west of that community. The Indians had been on the way to battle Utes when they intercepted some horses and fired on a boy with a team. Four Indians were killed or mortally wounded when the sheriff brought citizens out to confront them after having being warned about the incursion by the boy (Goodwin et al. 1945:161-169). The engagement occurred on June 28.

On September 18, 1873, troops from Companies K and E, 2nd Cavalry, under Captain J. Egan attacked a war party of Sioux along the North Laramie River capturing 18 horses and mules (Sheridan 1882:36). Henry (1970) places the engagement near Fort Fetterman, and Heitman (1903 [2]:439) places it on September 20.

At least one skirmish occurred during the winter of 1873-1874. On February 9, 1874, a lumber train was returning from the government sawmill near Laramie Peak under the protection of First Lieutenant L. H. Robinson, 14th Infantry, and Corporal John Coleman, Company K, 2nd Cavalry when it was attacked by Indians. Both men were killed. Private Nell (Noll) of Company A, 14th Infantry also was involved, but he escaped near Cottonwood Creek (Henry 1970). This episode triggered other trouble at Red Cloud's and Spotted Tail's agencies (Sheridan 1882:39). Henry (1970) presents several references to this incident, also known as Cottonwood Creek, and its fatal outcome was the impetus the following month to name Fort Robinson in Nebraska (Michno and Michno 2008:293-294). McChristian (2009:341-

343) and Buecker (1999:7-8) also discuss this fight.

One of the most intense engagements during this phase was the Bates battle, also known as Snake Mountain and Bad Water, which was fought on Independence Day 1874. Captain Alfred Bates and 63 men of Co. B, 2nd Cavalry left Camp Brown (Fort Washakie) on July 1, accompanied by 167 Shoshonis and a few others, to engage a band of Arapaho Indians who had been creating problems in the Wind River valley (Jackson 1997:33-34; Knoefel 1969; Michno 2003:278-280). The command probably moved up Badwater Creek through the Big Horn Mountains until they found the Indian village below Snake Mountain. Bates ordered a charge and the Indians fled into the nearby rocks from which they opened fire on the troopers in the village below. Two soldiers were killed and others were wounded including Lieutenant R. H. Young. The Shoshonis suffered two fatalities and two wounded. Perhaps 25 Arapahos lost their lives. Black Coal, an Arapaho leader, was wounded during the battle and eventually relocated with his tribe to the Shoshoni Reservation (Figure 7.3).

The Bates battle is listed in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records database under two site numbers. One is 48WA424 from a 1982 Wyoming Recreation Commission inventory form that does not have a legal description (and seems not to be the likely spot of the battle). The other is 48HO46 in Hot Springs County, which is the site number used on the National Register nomination. Unfortunately, there has not been a systematic archaeological survey and inventory of the battlefield landscape so its exact location and boundaries are not recorded. Further work is needed to establish site integrity, even though the battlefield already is listed on the National Register. Former BLM archaeologist Mike Bies (personal communication 2009) believes he has found the exact battlefield landscape and it soon might be verified.

Nine days after the battle, Captain Bates, along with Company B, 2nd Cavalry, struck a war party near the Sweetwater, killing one Indian and capturing seven horses (Sheridan 1882:40). This fight occurred on July 13. Then on July 19, 1874, Company B of the 2nd Cavalry and Indian Scouts participated in an action in the Rattlesnake Hills (Heitman 1903 [2]:440).

The summer of 1874 was growing equally dangerous south and east of the Sweetwater River. A group of 200 or so Sioux warriors attacked the Seminole (Seminoe) City mining community at the foot of Bradley Peak on July 16-17. Bradley Peak is in the Seminoe Mountains of Carbon County, which at times were mislabeled Seminole. About 25 miners had been living and working in this area during the mining season. The engagement lasted two days, resulting in the death of one miner named Ed Daniels. Indian casualties are unknown (Meschter 1977:A17). An 1880 map of Lot No. 37 in the Seminoe Mining District shows "Seminoe Fort" near the southeast edge of the claim (David 1880). It is believed to have been a makeshift brush fort used during the 1874 skirmish, but a visit to the site in the early 1980s failed to produce any visible remains of the structure. The "fort" and adjacent ruins need to be incorporated in a site form.

At 7:00 AM on the same day of the initial attack at Seminoe City (July 16), a party of 25 Indians came within a quarter of a mile of Fort Fred Steele and drove off stock belonging to emigrants camped along the North Platte River. The warriors appeared on three sides of the post while trying to round up loose stock. Soldiers fired at the hostile gathering, which retreated after herding away a few head of livestock. An infantry squad trailed them for about six miles below the fort where the Indians crossed the river and apparently disappeared in a northeasterly direction (Murray 1972a:164). The same month as the Bates, Seminoe City and Fort Fred Steele fights, a major expedition was underway in the Black Hills of Wyoming and South Dakota that would be a catalyst for the most intensive fighting of the second Plains Indian Wars.

Custer's Black Hills Expedition of 1874 (48CK1458, 48WE1152)

In the fall of 1873, General Phil Sheridan and

President Ulysses Grant had discussed the matter of Indian hostilities in the region and contemplated how a resolution might be reached. One topic of conversation was to establish a military fort in the Black Hills in the heart of Indian Country from which the army could generate a rapid response to any transgressions (Utley 1973:244-245). It was decided the army needed an exploratory expedition into the Hills to seek a suitable fort location and investigate the region's mining potential.

Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer was to accomplish this goal by taking ten troops of the 7th U. S. Cavalry and two troops of Infantry, numbering more than 1,000 men. The Black Hills Expedition left Fort Abraham Lincoln on July 2, 1874. They found a suitable fort location near Bear Butte along the northeastern border of the Hills, and the miners who accompanied Custer found traces of gold in the creeks. The Expedition returned to Fort Lincoln by August 30 at which time the press already had fueled the fire of gold fever based on earlier dispatches forwarded from the command.

Custer's sojourn into the Black Hills radically changed the fragile rapport between Indian tribes and the U. S. Army by bringing public attention to the presence of gold in a sacred area under treaty. The discovery "created a tide of emigration into the region that the federal government was powerless to prevent" (Rosenberg 1989:15). Federal officials even attempted to acquire the Black Hills, but the Indians were adamant about their spiritual value and would not relinquish claim. Army detachments met with a little success in temporarily extirpating some gold-hungry miners from the region, but dispute over the area would remain unresolved for two years.

Numerous overnight military camps were associated with Custer's Expedition route and with several other routes that passed through Wyoming during the second Plains Indian Wars. Such camps often are only discussed in contemporary documents that recorded military movements along each trail, but a few have been located archaeologically. A more complete inventory of these ephemeral sites is a clear data gap in this context, although some can be mentioned. The Custer Expedition route was subjected to some survey and testing by Mariah Associates, Inc. (Harding 1992), who considers the property eligible for inclusion in the National Register because the event helped trigger major subsequent hostilities. Five camps related to this 1874 expedition occur in Wyoming. These are, (1) Belle Fourche used on July 18-19; (2) an unnamed camp on July 20; (3) Red Water Valley July 21; (4) Inya Kara Camp July 22-23; and (5) Floral Valley July 24-25 (Grafe and Horsted 2005:x, 280). The possibility that each of these is likely to produce archaeological evidence if further investigated is supported by the recent work of Horsted and Nelson (2009:252-317) who illustrate an extensive artifact inventory from the Expedition found by various individuals and institutions.

The presence of United States citizens wandering around the Black Hills looking for gold continued to be an embarrassment to the government, because such behavior was a clear treaty violation. Under terms of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Black Hills had been reserved for permanent occupation by the Sioux (Kime 1996:3-7), so efforts persisted to keep civilians out. Hart (1980b:21-22) describes a camp at Hat Creek (Sage Creek) used as part of the military perimeter to guard the Black Hills from invasion by civilian miners. It later served as a sub-post of Fort Laramie stockaded to protect the Black Hills stage route in 1876-1877.

The government decided it needed to learn even more about the economic and natural potential of the region, because debate was growing over the accuracy of the 1874 claims of wealth. A scientific study of the Black Hills also might help determine fair value in any trade with the Sioux. Organized under authority of the Office of Indian Affairs, Lt. Colonel Richard I. Dodge led six companies of cavalry and two of infantry as escort to a 17-member scientific expedition through the Black Hills from May-October 1875. Accompanying the entourage was geologist Walter P. Jenny who would direct the survey (Kime 1996:6). Their route crossed into Wyoming and several overnight expedition camps were used from August 22-September 14 (Kime 1996:178-212). Two

named camps in Wyoming include Camp Transfer from August 31-September 4; and Camp Bradley from August 25-29, and September 9.

The Black Hills command returned to Fort Laramie on October 13, 1875 after being absent nearly five months and passing over 795 miles of disputed country. The group had opened up more than 1,500 miles of wagon road and established more than 6,000 miles of horse trail during their scientific wanderings (Kime 1996:23). The presence of gold was confirmed, and the Sioux remained unwilling to negotiate.

Farther west, a brief skirmish along the Little Popo Agie occurred on July 1, 1875, but its impact on military matters in Wyoming was minimal compared with the evolving issues surrounding the Black Hills. In the brief fight, a detachment of Company D, 2nd Cavalry under the command of First Sergeant Mitchell, fought with some Indians and killed two warriors (Sheridan 1882:47). Far more violent events were ahead.

The Sioux War of 1876

A grand council at Red Cloud Agency was convened on the part of the United States but it too failed to secure the cession of the Black Hills from the Indians. President Ulysses S. Grant had to do something else to address growing unrest in that sector, and a White House meeting was assembled. While the government continued to forbid citizens to enter the Hills, it no longer attempted to enforce its own policy (Kime 1996:24). Regarding what to do with the Indians, a report grew out of the White House meeting that was critical of the hunting bands and supportive of military action during the winter. The Interior Department endorsed the report and commended it to the War Department (Hedren 1988:18). Then early in December 1875 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered all Indians within the treaty territory to report to their respective agencies by January 31, 1876. Though Red Cloud and Spotted Tail seemed willing to sell the contested lands (Hedren 1988:16; McDermott 2001b:185-210), many Indians refused and would not come in so the entire matter was turned over to the army, meaning that recalcitrant bands would face the consequence of military action.

Wyoming Territory became one of several staging areas in 1876 from which detachments were sent on expeditions directed to locate hostile Indians and compel them to return to designated locations (e.g., Robinson 2003, 2005). These offensives would culminate with the famous Battle of the Little Big Horn in June 1876 and subsequent efforts to place all Indians on reservations. The war ultimately involved thousands of men and numerous deployments, and has been characterized as America's greatest Indian war (Hedren 2011:14). Eighteen seventy-six was the worst year for the U. S. Army since the close of the Civil War, and some of the political problems it created are with us still (Robinson 1995:xxiii).

Crook's Big Horn Expedition (March 1876)

Indians who hadn't reported to their respective reservations by January 31, 1876 quite simply were considered hostile (Gray 1976:23-34). General George Crook's Big Horn Expedition was the first military effort in Wyoming Territory that attempted to gather in these groups, and it resulted in the Reynold's fight on Powder River just inside Montana. The expedition consisted of five companies of 2nd Cavalry, five of 3rd Cavalry, and two of 4th Infantry along with staff, making a total of 30 officers and 662 enlisted men (Gray 1976:47). Scouts also traveled along. General Crook accompanied the column as an observer, having placed immediate command of the expedition in the hands of Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds of the 3rd Cavalry. Even in this capacity Crook clearly expressed some command decisions.

The force left for Indian country from Fort Fetterman and between March 1 and March 2 they traveled 29 miles northwest before camping for the night on the headwaters of the South Cheyenne River. Unidentified Indians stampeded the beef herd that night effectively reducing meat rations for the expedition in a single raid. By March 5 the column had traveled 60 more miles before camping on the bank of the Powder River near the ruins of old Fort

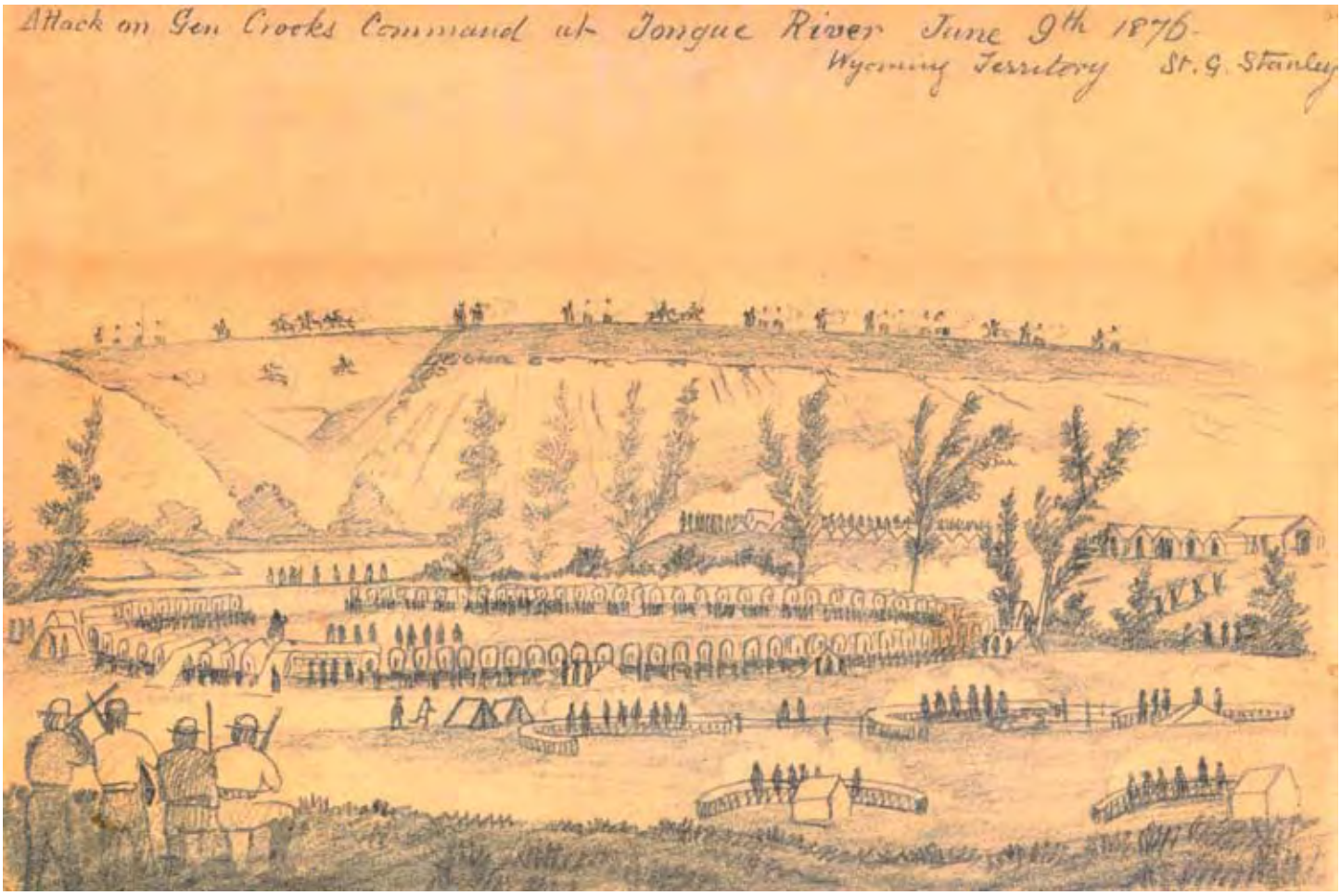

Figure 7.4. Tongue River Heights. A version of this scene appeared in Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, September 1890. Author's possession.

Reno when another small skirmish ensued (Heitman 1903 [2]:442). The next day they crossed Powder River and continued 27 miles northwest to Crazy Woman's Fork. At 7:00 PM on March 7, a stripped down cavalry force split off from the rest and began a northern march hoping Indians would be confused by the return of wagons and Infantry to old Fort Reno. Thirty-five miles later they bivouacked at 5:00 AM March 8 on the Clear Fork of Powder River. March 8 travel produced only five miles of progress to the mouth of Piney Creek due to a snow storm. On the morning of March 9, the column made 14 miles to the head of Prairie Dog Creek where they camped a little north of the ruins of old Fort Phil Kearny.

On March 10, the cavalry force went 22 miles passing east of present day Sheridan and camping four miles from where Prairie Dog Creek joins Tongue River at the Wyoming-Montana border. From there, the expedition entered Montana and a contingent engaged in the Battle of Powder River (March 17, 1876) before re-entering Wyoming later that day. Indians recovered their ponies that had been taken by the Army during the fight but left unguarded overnight. Crook convinced himself that Reynold's had bungled a great opportunity to strike a decisive blow against the hostiles (Gray 1976:57).

On March 18 the expedition camped between Lodgepole Creek (Clear Fork) and Powder River, on March 19 below Crazy Woman Creek, March 20 between Crazy Woman Creek and Powder River, and March 21 at old Fort Reno where they rejoined the wagons and Infantry. On March 26, the expedition of

weary men straggled into Fort Fetterman on foot and riding exhausted horses (Gray 1976:47-57, 376).

Crook's Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition (May 1876)

Crook quickly regretted turning command of his initial expedition over to a subordinate, so when he initiated a second mission into the Powder River country he took full command himself. He even increased the troop roster of what came to be known as the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition (Gray 1976:110-124). Colonel Royall would command ten companies of the 3rd Cavalry and five of the 2nd Cavalry; and Colonel Chambers would command three companies of the 9th Infantry and two of the 4th Infantry. Including command and staff, the total force was 51 officers and 1,000 men, with a pack train, correspondents, and a few scouts. The expedition left Fort Fetterman at noon on May 29, 1876 and traveled ten miles to a camp on Sage Creek. On the 30th they camped where the Indians had stampeded the beef herd during Crook's earlier winter campaign. June 1 they marched through snow to Dry Fork of the Powder River. The expedition reached old Fort Reno on June 2, but the expected Indian allies were not present. Cantonment Reno (48JO91) was established as a supply depot for Crook's expedition a few miles from old Fort Reno. The cantonment later became known as Fort McKinney (#1) for a brief time, then Depot McKinney after Fort McKinney was moved near present-day Buffalo, discussed later.

From June 3-5, 1876, Crook guided the expedition 63 miles along the Bozeman Trail to the abandoned site of Fort Phil Kearny. On June 6, he followed Prairie Dog Creek to the former trail of his winter campaign, actually missing another trail to the area of present day Sheridan. June 7, he moved the column 17 miles down Prairie Dog Creek to its junction with Tongue River at the Wyoming-Montana border where they camped.

A skirmish at Tongue River Heights broke out on June 9, 1876 (Figure 7.4). The Tongue River Heights battle is also known as Prairie Dog Creek/Tongue River. Jerome Greene (1993:20-25) discusses an 1876 account of the fight that was given by Reuben Davenport. Apparently the Indian attack had been meant as a diversion so warriors could raid General George Crook's horse herd (Michno and Michno 2008:299-300). Their plan failed, however as only two soldiers were wounded and several animals hit. Two Indians were reportedly killed. The entire expeditionary force retreated 11 miles up Prairie Dog Creek on June 11 then broke a new trail seven miles southwest to set up a base camp at the forks of Goose Creek, near the site of present day Sheridan. A good treatment of the battle is offered by McDermott (2000:18-20).

Crow allies joined the expeditionary command on June 14. At 6:00 AM on June 16, the command left camp and crossed the Tongue River into Montana. On June 17, Crook's command fought with a large force of Indians in the Rosebud Battle. Then on June 19 they camped south of Tongue River (Vaughn 1994:152) on Little Goose Creek, above the camp site where present day Sheridan is located. They reached the wagon train corralled on Goose Creek and on June 21 sent the battle wounded and an escort back to Fort Fetterman for supplies and reinforcements (Gray 1976:110-124, 380-381). The camp location on Little Goose Creek near present day Big Horn is known historically as Camp Cloud Peak.

Camp Cloud Peak (48SH499) actually was occupied by Crook's command along Little Goose Creek for a considerable length of time after the Battle of the Rosebud, and before his punitive expedition that resulted in the 1876 Battle of Slim Buttes (Finerty 1966:152-16; Gray 1976:198-199). A portion of this site was located on Fred Hilman's old ranch where the family found a stone monument several decades ago commemorating the military encampment (Figure 7.5). Remnants of a cemetery associated with the camp are close by.

General Crook's command actually had several camps in the Goose Creek/Tongue River country of northern Wyoming near present day Sheridan (Bourke 1971:328). During the pivotal year of 1876, the military probably bivouacked at various places all along Little Goose Creek and Goose Creek. One

Figure 7.5. Engraved stone found on the Hilman ranch that identifies Camp Cloud's Peak dated June 23, 1876. Courtesy of Ross Hilman.

of these is known as Crook's Camp 1876 (48SH479), a large area encompassing the landscape around Sheridan likely used for holding supplies while Crook's expedition moved north against hostile Indians just before the Rosebud fight. The Wyoming Recreation Commission identified this site in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office under the Smithsonian Number 48SH479. Another locality is known as Camp at Sheridan (48SH125), which relates to the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, not the Powder River Expedition listed on the site form (Todd 1977; Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976). It lies within the boundaries of 48SH479, and is believed to designate the location of commemorative signs in the city of Sheridan (Wyoming Recreation Commission 1976:234-235). Additional on-site research would help address the number and nature of military camps in the area, which have proven to be confusing due in part to various names used for streams and rivers (Legoski 2000:8).

Crook's Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition (August 1876)

Crook and his command were actually awaiting reinforcements at Camp Cloud (Cloud's) Peak when the Custer disaster occurred on June 25 along the Little Big Horn River in Montana. In fact, Crook and his troopers were camped near there from June 19 to August 1, 1876. He did not receive his first reinforcements until July 11 in the form of 200 Ute and Shoshone scouts under Chief Washakie. On August 1 he moved his command a short distance to Tongue River and united on August 3 with Colonel Merritt and the 5th Cavalry. On August 4, the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition consisted of ten companies of 5th Cavalry, five of 2nd Cavalry, and ten of 3rd Cavalry, three of 4th Infantry, three of 9th Infantry, and four of 14th Infantry. In all the expedition now consisted of 2,200 men. They left camp on August 5 and entered Montana (Greene 1982:3-25). After a lengthy march through Montana and the Dakotas, fighting hostiles in the Slim Buttes battle on September 9, 1876 in South Dakota, the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition disbanded on October 24, 1876 at Camp Robinson, Nebraska (Greene 1982:111). Many Indians still had not returned to their reservations.

Minor skirmishes continued to break out in the study area in spite of these large expeditionary offensives. Sibley's Scout skirmish occurred on July 7, 1876 when Lieutenant Sibley and 25 men had been sent by General Crook with Frank Grouard and "Big Bat" Baptiste Pourier to try to locate the village of victorious Indians who had defeated them at Rosebud and Custer at the Little Big Horn (McDermott 2000:58-72; Michno and Michno 2008:300-301). In 1907 Baptiste Pourier gave an account of this fight (Greene 1993:63-78; Ricker 2005:272-282), the first engagement following Custer's defeat. Indians had been seen near the headwaters of the Little Big Horn so Sibley's command formed a skirmish line that deployed in the timber about 20 miles northwest of present-day Dayton, Wyoming. Slowly the soldiers became engaged with an increasing number of warriors on three sides of their line until Grouard suggested they better leave their tethered horses as bait and move to higher ground on foot. The outnumbered troopers traveled 50 miles through the mountains with only their arms and ammunition until they returned to Crook's camp at Goose Creek on

July 9. Indian participants later indicated that the command would have been wiped out if they had not retreated undetected in the direction they did (Greene 1994:74-77).

The Sibley Scout is numbered 48SH486, while the monument for the engagement is numbered 48SH130. No archaeological survey has been undertaken, but there is growing interest on the part of the U. S. Forest Service in learning more about the actual site location due to cultural values associated with the heritage corridor of the Sioux War of 1876-1877 (Dave McKee, personal communication, 2011). Forest Service personnel have studied the battle and looked at areas near Burgess Junction as possible locations (McDermott, personal communication, 2011)

Another skirmish had occurred on June 22, 1876, three days before the Custer defeat. This fight involved Company K of the 2nd Cavalry led by Captain Egan near Elkhorn Creek. The warriors escaped, but left one man dead on the field near the junction of Elkhorn Creek and the North Platte River. This location was on the Oregon Trail between Fort Laramie and present day Douglas, Wyoming (Henry 1970). Then a separate action occurred at Hat Creek, Wyoming on July 17-18, 1876, involving a detachment of Company K 3rd Cavalry (Heitman 1903 [2]:442).

In another fight, one of Heck Reel's supply trains had been on route from Cheyenne to Crook's camp on Little Goose Creek when it came under attack by 30 Lakotas between North Elkhorn River and La Bonte Creek, near present-day Glendo. The 16-man contingent at the train had .45 caliber revolvers and .44 caliber Winchester rifles. Wagon boss George Throstle was shot dead, and second in command Sylvester Sherman was wounded. The teamsters were able to fight off the attack after the wagons corralled, and it lasted from August 1-2, 1876 (Hedren 1988:140; Michno and Michno 2008:301-303).

Hostilities continued into the fall. On October 14, one soldier was killed during a fight with Indians on Richard Creek that involved Company K, 2nd Cavalry (Sheridan 1882:63). Henry (1970) lists this as a skirmish on Chugwater or Richeau Creek, and cites the Surgeon's Report from Fort Laramie of October 1876 stating the deceased was Private W. C. Tasker of Company K who died from a gun shot wound to the head. Hedren (1988:183) also discusses this engagement.

Powder River Expedition of 1876 and Crook's Scout (48JO2293, 48CA4975)

Prior to the final disbandment of the Big Horn and Yellowstone campaign in late October at Camp Robinson, General Crook had been called to Fort Laramie for a meeting with General Phil Sheridan (Greene 2003:8-9; Kime 1997:3-5). The two agreed that military pressure ought to be sustained against the roving Indians who remained off reservation. While recent experiences indicated direct engagements might not be the solution, persistent disruption of Indians in their hunting grounds might expose greater vulnerability and precipitate capitulation. A plan was set forth to put together a new expedition to search out Crazy Horse's winter camp using two separate columns sent to the field. Troopers would employ two newly established cantonments to supply their efforts, one in Montana to support a body of troops under Colonel Nelson A. Miles of the 5th Infantry, and the other near abandoned Fort Reno (Cantonment Reno) that would support troops under General Crook. Crook was expected to lead a search and destroy mission from Reno into the Indian hunting grounds of Powder River.

Crook's Powder River Expedition of 1876 would leave from Fort Fetterman accompanied by an astonishing array of 365 native scouts and auxiliaries including Pawnees, Sioux, Shoshones, Bannocks, Arapahos, and Cheyennes, a tribal diversity purposefully calculated to help demoralize the enemy. About 300 civilian employees also accompanied the expedition as teamsters and drivers. Eleven companies of cavalry totaling 818 men commanded by Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie of the 4th Cavalry would follow Crook. Colonel Richard I. Dodge of the 23rd Infantry would command 11 companies of Infantry and four companies of Artillery, totaling an

Figure 7.6. Dull Knife (Morning Star) circa 1873. Indian Neg 441, Print 81, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

additional 679 men (Kime 1997:8-9).

The large detachment crossed the North Platte River adjacent to Fort Fetterman on November 14, 1876 on their way toward Cantonment Reno. Several days later, Crook's command was camped along Crazy Woman Creek after leaving the cantonment when one of the Indian auxiliaries brought word that a large Cheyenne village had been discovered hidden in the mountains a couple days' journey away. Crook ordered Mackenzie to take nine cavalry companies and the scouts to destroy the village.

The Dull Knife engagement (48JO92) was fought on November 25, 1876 when Colonel Mackenzie attacked a large Cheyenne winter encampment of 173 lodges above modern day Kaycee with a command of 1,100 men. The Indians under Dull Knife (Morning Star) and Little Wolf fled from the scene into the hills while soldiers destroyed the village (Figure 7.6). Greene (2003:xiii) considers this attack as the most consequential event in the Powder River Expedition of 1876. Michno (2003:300-301) refers to the battle as the Red Fork of the Powder River. Lieutenant John McKinney, Co. A 4th Cavalry lost his life while trying to prevent the Indians from recapturing their pony herd during the melee. Other casualties included about 40 Cheyennes killed and 40 others wounded. Dull Knife lost a son in the fight (Grinnell 1976:351). The Northern Cheyennes eventually surrendered in 1877 after suffering many adverse effects during winter precipitated by the destruction wrought in this fight. Many Lakota allies soon followed suit, eventually including Crazy Horse later that year. Sitting Bull took his Hunkpapas and left for Canada.

McDermott (2000) offers a comprehensive review of this engagement, complete with data from the landowners, a narrative describing the appearance of the site, eyewitness accounts, and relevant preservation concerns. A roadside marker near Kaycee informs the public about their proximity to the Dull Knife battlefield (Figure 7.7). The site itself is ably protected by the landowners and periodic tours are available from them.

The Dull Knife fight was the last major Indian Wars engagement fought within the boundaries of

Figure 7.7. Road side sign regarding the Dull Knife battle near Kaycee, Wyoming. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Wyoming. The returning Powder River Expedition left the Belle Fourche River after searching further for Crazy Horse's camp and reached Fort Fetterman on December 29, 1876 (Greene 2003:167-181). The weary forces were under the command of Colonel Dodge. Crook already had ridden ahead to Cheyenne to attend the court-martial of his subordinates, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and Captain Alexander Moore both of the 3rd Cavalry, who had made mistakes during the Big Horn Expedition earlier in the year (Kime 1997:30). The bloody year of 1876 had come to an end.

The route of part of Crook's Scout during the Powder River Expedition of 1876 has received some archaeological assessment (O'Dell 2004), and it likely follows a portion of Sawyers' road dating back to the mid-1860s. SHPO has considered the property eligible for inclusion on the National Register under Criteria A and B.

Fort McKinney

A new fort in Wyoming was established as the second Plains Indian Wars came to a close. However, the name Fort McKinney has been applied to more

Figure 7.8. Fort McKinney (48JO104). This is the hospital just before restoration. Photo by Scott Burgan 2005. Courtesy of B. J. Earle, and The Wyoming Archaeologist journal.

than one location in Wyoming through the years so some clarification is in order. Murray (1990:110-158) has given perhaps the most comprehensive overview of the naming of Fort McKinney. Cantonment Reno (48JO91), discussed earlier, had been one of the supply bases for at least two of General Crook's 1876 expeditions. Captain Pollock assumed command of that outpost when it was located about three miles south of old Fort Reno (48JO94) and named it Cantonment Reno in October 1876. Then in August 1877, on Pollock's recommendation, Cantonment Reno was renamed Fort McKinney in honor of Lieutenant John McKinney who had been killed during the Dull Knife fight. Hence, old Cantonment Reno became Fort McKinney #1 (48JO91).

The old cantonment area was considered unhealthy for garrison use, so Pollock lobbied to move the post in 1878 to a more suitable location on the Clear Fork of Powder River west of present-day Buffalo, Wyoming. Fort McKinney #1 (old Cantonment Reno) became referred to as Depot McKinney after this move (Bollinger 2006:32; Murray 1990:117). Captain Pollock already had taken most of his command to the new location by July 1878, which became the new Fort McKinney, or Fort McKinney #2 (48JO104) for purposes here (Figure 7.8). Lieutenant Colonel James S. Brisbin, who had been involved in the 1876 military convergence on hostile Indians in the Little Big Horn country, was commanding officer at Fort McKinney #2 from 1887-1888 (Bollinger 2006:106). In 1903, it became the State Of Wyoming Soldier's and Sailor's Home (Frazer 1972:182-183). So, the area once known as the first Fort McKinney was initially occupied as a cantonment by October 12, 1876, and the second Fort McKinney was abandoned by the military in November 1894. The Fort McKinney Target site associated with #2 has been given a separate Smithsonian number (48JO780).

The second Plains Indian Wars left their physical mark on the Wyoming landscape. Events had been particularly focused on the eastern part of the territory (Figure 7.9).

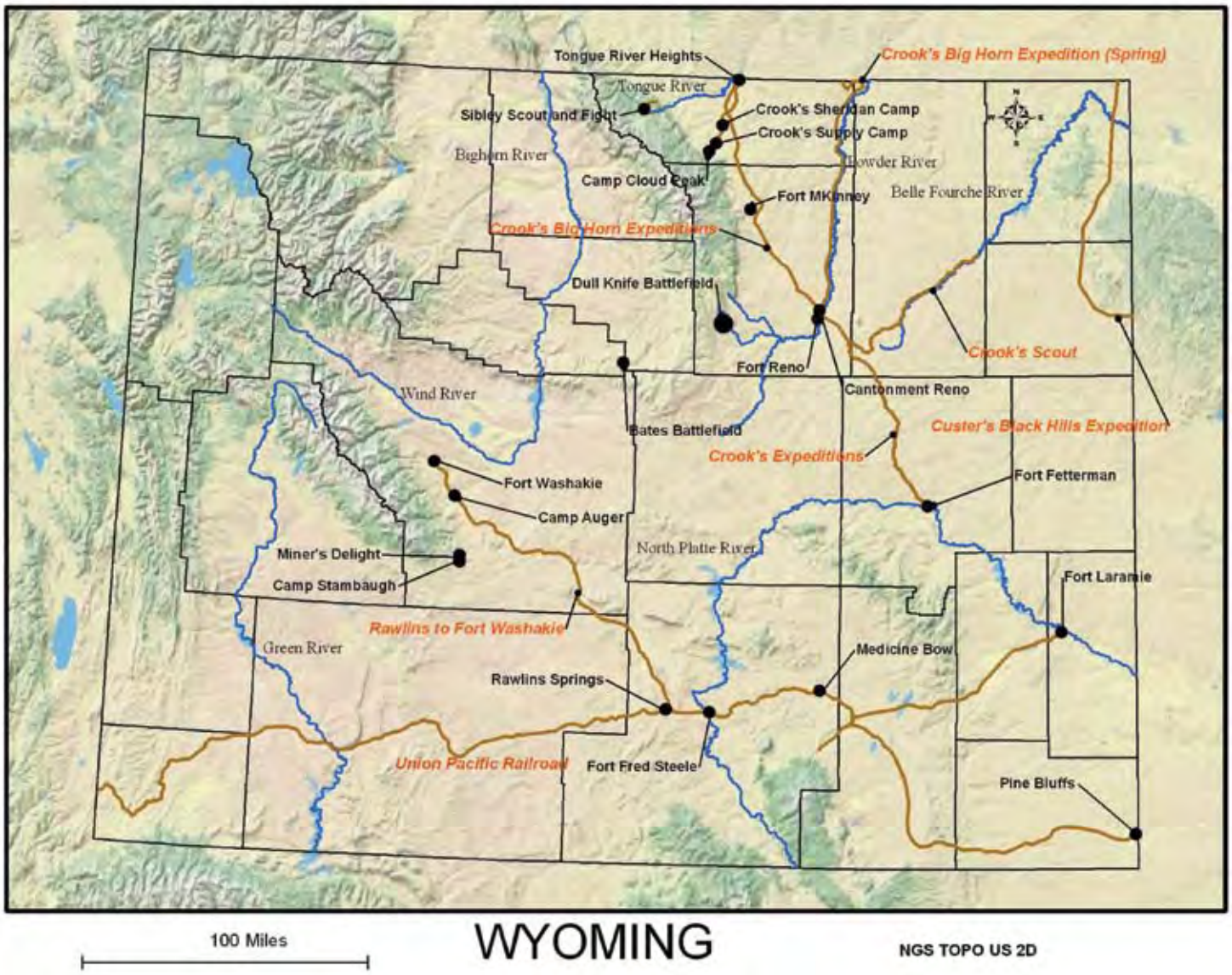

Figure 7.9. Selected sites from the period of the second Plains Indian Wars. Map by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Chapter 8: End of the Frontier (1877-1890)

Major hostilities largely ceased with Indians inside Wyoming by the end of 1876 when the so-called renegade Plains tribes were removed from eastern Wyoming to established reservations. This maneuver inaugurated a more passive role for the U.S. Army in Wyoming Territory (Rosenberg 1989:22). The time range represented in this episode deviates a bit from Rosenberg's (1989) chronology. This chapter ends in 1890, following the Wounded Knee Massacre at Pine Ridge Agency in South Dakota in the aftermath of the Ghost Dance revival, the last major military engagement in the region. Wyoming also became a state in 1890, which was an important development in the evolution of military occupation within its borders.

Wyoming no longer would be perceived as just an unexplored frontier that people crossed to get to more desired locations. It was becoming a major destination in itself, and by the time Indian reservations had gathered in the roving bands, all four corners of the state were being impacted by various national interests. Permanent cities were building up along the railroad and mountain ranges were yielding valuable minerals. Improved transportation networks, irrigation and open public range enhanced the growth of crop agriculture, the livestock industry, and numerous commercial opportunities throughout the territory. Traditional Indian ways of life were rapidly replaced, forever changing the demographics of the region. The role of the military at the close of the nineteenth century would need to accommodate these transformations.

Nonetheless several outbreaks occurred in adjacent states and territories during this time involving soldiers garrisoned at Wyoming forts. For example, the 1879 Milk Creek battle against Utes in Colorado initially was fought by troops from Fort Fred Steele and Fort D. A. Russell (Miller 1997). In addition, the campaign to bring Sitting Bull and his followers back to the reservation peripherally involved the study area (Rosenberg 1989:22-23). It is only the Wyoming properties related to these activities that are the subject here rather than the entire set of maneuvers themselves.

The U. S. Army decommissioned and closed many frontier forts as hostilities with Indian tribes declined. Efforts shifted toward building and improving outposts needed to protect established reservations and the first National Park. In addition, the army would be called in on various matters associated with the growing settlements, including assistance with law enforcement, criminal incarceration, and other functions associated with civilian unrest. Skirmishes with Indians, however, continued.

On January 12, 1877, three soldiers were wounded during a skirmish on Elkhorn Creek between a small detachment of Company A, 3rd Cavalry and a band of 20 warriors (Sheridan 1882:67). Henry (1970) adds that the soldiers in the engagement were Corporal Charles A. Berry (Bessey) and eight privates. The Corporal and a Private William Featherall were wounded. Two horses were killed and one wounded. The Indian tribe(s) involved was not specified.

The Nez Perce War (1877)

The Nez Perce occupied lands in northeastern Oregon and adjacent portions of Idaho Territory along the Snake River to the south and the Clearwater River to the north (Greene 2000:9; Hampton 1994:15). Oregon's Wallowa Valley, an important part of their traditional homeland, had been included in the reservation established under the treaty of 1855 but was omitted in 1863 when the treaty was renegotiated. By late 1876, tensions had arisen in the region between the Nez Perce and white settlers, and the Nez Perce were urged to vacate the Wallowa Valley thereby relinquishing a significant percentage of land included in the 1855 treaty. Joseph of the Nez Perce was among the most vocal and articulate in arguing for retention of their traditional homeland

as it had been theirs long before Euroamericans arrived. On April 20, 1877 tribesmen met with Brigadier General Oliver O. Howard, Commander of the Department of the Columbia, at Fort Walla Walla to discuss once again the government's requirements that people move to the reservation. Joseph did not attend but sent his brother Ollokot. Negotiations ultimately failed and the army demanded the Indians come in to the reservation (Greene 2000:16-21).

On June 14, 1877, General Howard arrived at Fort Lapwai on the Nez Perce reservation to be present when the nontreaty Nez Perce came in. Joseph and about 600 other Indians from Wallowa Valley were camped at Tolo Lake just south of the 1863 reservation line. Joseph was a civil leader in the tribe and descendant of popular chief Old Joseph who had been a signatory to the 1855 treaty. Although Joseph and Ollokot were co-leaders of the large Wallowa band, Ollokot was more highly regarded for his military acumen. Other notable war leaders were White Bird, Yellow Bull, Looking Glass, Toohoolhoolzote, Rainbow and Five Wounds. Additional leaders not present at Tolo Lake would shortly join with White Bird's people (Greene 2000:29). At this same time, several Nez Perce chose to avenge past injustices in the Salmon River country by killing several white miners. These aggressions heightened tension in the large village until anger spread, which resulted in still more attacks on settlers in the area.

When news of the killings was reported to General Howard at Fort Lapwai, he ordered Captain Perry of the 1st Cavalry to take two companies and relieve the besieged citizens. On June 17 the detachment entered White Bird Canyon after a village of about 30 Nez Perce lodges was sighted near the bottom of the canyon. A volunteer with the troopers opened fire on the Nez Perce and the battle began (Greene 2000:34-38). The Army's humiliating defeat at White Bird Canyon made it clear that nontreaty Indians would not go peacefully onto the reservation. In fact, the battle was one of the worst defeats suffered by the U. S. Army during the Indian Wars (McDermott 1978:149).

Nez Perce National Historic Trail (48PA251, 48YE1852) (1877)

After the battle of White Bird Canyon, five bands of nontreaty Nez Perce comprising 700-800 people left their homeland on a nearly 1,200 mile long journey through parts of Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming rather than face reservation life (Eakin personal communication 2010; Janetski 2002:69-80). Those leaders who had been involved with the hundreds of Nez Perce in the fighting near the reservation were part of the exodus, including Joseph, Ollokot, White Bird, Toohoolhoolzote, and Looking Glass. Their flight through Wyoming crossed the recently established Yellowstone National Park, and this part of their trek occurred between the second half of August and early September 1877, five years after the region had been designated the first National Park in the United States. Several Indian camps were utilized during this period, tourists parties attacked, people captured and released, all while the Indians were being pursued by General Howard and the U. S. Army (Janetski 2002:74-82). Later in their exodus the Nez Perce reasoned they might find refuge in Canada with Sitting Bull and his people.

The U. S. Army sent out various detachments from different outposts to try and intercept the Nez Perce, but they were largely unsuccessful. Bannock scouts and Shoshonis under Washakie also helped the Army in their search (Greene 2000:203-206). While Colonel John Gibbon's Seventh U. S. Infantry surprised a Nez Perce camp on the Big Hole River of Montana in a hot skirmish (Scott 1994), the military seldom caught up with the Indians until Chief Joseph's ultimate surrender in Montana after the battle of Bear's Paw just short of the Canadian border (Greene 2000; Hampton 1994). Since 1986, the route of the Nez Perce has been recognized as a National Historic Trail. The trail in Wyoming falls under multiple jurisdictions, including the National Park Service, United States Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management depending on the segments involved.

Since 2008, Dan Eakin, senior archaeologist in the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, has been

Figure 8.1. Helena Party was camped on this forested hill (background) in Yellowstone National Park when it was attacked by Nez Perce in 1877. Dan Eakin, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 8.2. Bannock Ford of the Yellowstone River in Yellowstone National Park. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

conducting a metal detector and pedestrian survey of the likely Nez Perce route in Yellowstone on behalf of the National Park Service (Eakin 2009, 2010). These archaeological investigations, in consultation with the Nez Perce tribe, are an effort to relocate portions of the route and identify sites from the 1877 exodus (Eakin 2009, 2010, 2012). The actual route itself is not well defined so field work is necessary to locate what physical evidence may remain.

Work as of 2010 had found where the Cowan Party who were visiting the park probably abandoned their wagons, the location (48YE1819) where the Nez Perce held a council to decide the fate of the Cowan Party who had been shot up and kidnapped (a spot later occupied by the Army as a bivouac), a possible military camp on the Mary Mountain Road (48YE1773), the wagon road (48YE1853) constructed by General O. O. Howard's army while in pursuit of the Indians, the Helena Party Camp (48YE1783) attacked by the Nez Perce on August 26, 1877 (Figure 8.1), and a possible camp in the Hoodoo Basin area on the eastern Park boundary. Some of these discoveries are so recent that site numbers have not yet been assigned. The third year of fieldwork was only recently completed.

Heitman (1903 [2]:444) reports an action at Index Peak in Yellowstone National Park that occurred on August 29-30, 1878, involving a detachment of 5th Infantry and Indian Scouts. No further details were given.

Bannock Fight (48PA214, 48PA315) (September 4, 1878)

Disgruntled bands of Bannocks scattered throughout Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming after fighting with the U. S. Army in the summer of 1878 (Walpole 1998:5), like the Nez Perce had done the year before. One small band that refused the reservation system took a well-traveled trail through northern Yellowstone National Park into Wyoming's Big Horn Basin, crossing paths with members of the 1878 Hayden expedition and others (Walpole 1999:17). A portion of this route may have been the Bannock Trail (48YE679) that forded the Yellowstone River near where Tower and Antelope Creeks join the main channel in the Park (Anderson and Anderson 2000:37) (Figure 8.2). This had been a favorite route since the 1840s after bison were exterminated

from the Snake River Plain, and was taken when traveling to annual buffalo hunts on the High Plains to the east (Eakin personal communication 2010; Janetski 2002:95-100). It probably was in use from circa 1838-1878. Notice of the moving band of Bannocks during their 1878 trek was brought to the attention of Colonel Nelson Miles, whose family had been planning to vacation in the Park. Miles took immediate action to intercept the band after it left the Big Horn Mountains and headed into the basin.

On the morning of September 3, 1878 troopers saw the Indians riding down the exposed slope of Bald Ridge near the Clark's Fork River where it drains into the Big Horn Basin. Miles carefully positioned his troops in concealment near the unsuspecting Indians after they had made camp in a meander of the river, and waited until the next day to launch his attack. The soldiers were outnumbered so they planned to loudly blow a bugle from various positions along their line to give the illusion of a larger force. They carefully advanced on the location of the unsuspecting Bannocks by maneuvering on foot through thick sagebrush. Once the camp was sighted, Captain Andrew Bennett of the 5th Infantry commanded the soldiers into skirmish line and led a charge. Miles had ordered the Crow scouts to the right flank who then went after the Indian horses.

The brief engagement ended by six o'clock that morning. Bennett had fallen mortally wounded. The Bannocks lost their horses, suffered eleven fatalities, and 31 were captured (Walpole 1999:25). About half of the Bannocks escaped. Lieutenant Colonel Buell later arrived with eight cavalry troops and reinforced Miles command.

The Bannock fight has received considerable attention by historians and avocational archaeologists who have attempted to relocate the battlefield in the absence of definitive military maps (Walpole 1998, 1999). In fact, for such a well-documented skirmish (David 2003:352-355; Janetski 2002:83-94; Wooster 1993:116-117), it is interesting that the exact location of the fight has not yet been determined. Another source of confusion is the fact that multiple site numbers have been assigned.

A site form was filled out by Kenneth J. Feyhl and Stuart W. Connor (1980) for Miling Bend (48PA315) as the possible location. However, the WRC Historical Division places the site farther north along Bennett Creek above its confluence with the Clark's Fork (48PA214) (Wyoming Recreation Commission n.d.3). According to the SHPO Cultural Records site files, no physical remains of the battle were located at either 48PA214 or 48PA315. Walpole (1999:36-37) puts the battle at the mouth of Little Sand Coulee north of Miling Bend, but this location does not have a site number.

The Bannock Fight also is known as the Bennett Butte Fight and Bennett Creek Fight, and it was the largest armed engagement in Wyoming during this episode. Based on additional site visits and map reading by the author and Rick Weathermon, a senior academic professional research scientist at the University of Wyoming, there are two other uninvestigated locations upriver from Miling Bend that also fit military descriptions of the battle landscape. Consequently, no fewer than five locations along Clark's Fork are possible sites for the battlefield, and the historic landscape of the encounter has yet to be verified with on-site interdisciplinary research. We hope to investigate these multiple locations in the future in an effort to resolve the true location.

In researching the Bannock Fight, Rick Weathermon (personal communication 2008) also came across reference to Nelson Miles' military camp on Heart Mountain occupied the day before the engagement. This site also has not yet been investigated.

Fugitive Bannocks were later discovered on a tributary of the Snake River near Jackson's Hole by Lieutenant Hoel Bishop and a 30-man detachment of Company G, 5th Cavalry using Shoshoni scouts. These Indians had escaped following the fight with Colonel Nelson Miles on the Clark's Fork earlier in the month (Bannock Fight). One Bannock was killed and seven captured during a skirmish on September 12, 1878. Eleven mules and three horses also were gathered from the Bannocks (Michno 2003:321;

Sheridan 1882:78).

Minor Events, Properties and Depredations

There is a photograph from the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) entitled "Officers Quarters at Ft. Rawlins, Wyoming, May 7, 1877." Saban and Saban (2004:15) mentioned it on their web site of U. S. Army Frontier Posts in Wyoming: http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~sabthomp/wyoming/veterans/wyarmy .htm (November 14, 2007), however the URL has been broken since the web site was visited. The photo (111-SC-98367) is of two men and a woman holding a baby in front of the crude structure. As of July 27, 2010, it could still be viewed on the National Archives (2010) web site as Photo Number 52. No additional information on Fort Rawlins has been located. It is probable that this was not a garrisoned fort, but simply military occupation in the community of Rawlins and therefore was a cantonment.

Camp Devin (48CK410) resulted from a military expedition under Lieutenant Colonel Luther P. Bradley of the 9th Infantry to create a communications link between the Black Hills and military forts in the region. On the first of June, 1878, 520 men with 60 wagons left Fort Laramie on route to the Little Missouri River country for this purpose (Togstad and Togstad 1989:8). The camp was located along the river on June 30, and troops were instructed to build a telegraph line from Deadwood to Fort Keogh. The command was approved to move camp to accommodate the required work, so another location was selected on Hay Creek. The Little Missouri River camp moved to the Redwater River on September 2 according to Togstad and Togstad (1989:38). Hart (1980b:20) states that old Camp Devin on the Little Missouri was moved to a new Camp Devin on Oak Creek south of the Belle Fourche River on August 10, 1878. None of these locations has been professionally investigated to this writer's knowledge.

Camp O. O. Howard (48LA107) was a temporary instruction camp used in 1885 where troops were trained in field maneuvers, and it was located approximately a mile from the railroad town of Pine Bluffs (Mattison 1954:14-15, 27). Eight companies of Infantry from various regiments occupied the site that September (Hart 1980b:24). Dr. Charles Reher of the University of Wyoming and his colleagues with the High Plains Archaeology Project have looked for remains of the camp in recent years, but the site location has not yet been confirmed (Reher personal communication 2008).

Hart (1963:185) lists a camp on Snake River as being "on Jackson." Perhaps this is a reference to Jackson's Hole in Teton County through which the Snake River flows. Apparently it was occupied from 1879-1883.

Military use of roads continued to be a major factor during this episode. Without a transportation network, troops and supplies could not maneuver from one location to the next in a timely manner. From 1877-1886, the Rock Creek-Fort Fetterman Stage Road (48AB356, 48CO776) was an important transportation and supply connection between Fort Fetterman and the Union Pacific Railroad that passed through Rock Creek. It followed gentler topographic contours than previous trails and had fewer streams to cross (Rosenberg 1989:21).

The Miles City-Deadwood Wagon Road and Telegraph Line of 1878 are somewhat problematical. According to Rosenberg (1989:26), "the route of the Miles City to Deadwood Wagon Road and telegraph line cannot be exactly determined. In Wyoming, it passes through the extreme northeastern corner of Crook County." The route is depicted on the 1883 GLO plat for that township, and it seems that the wagon road approximates U. S. Route 212 from the Colony junction northwesterly to the Montana line. From Colony it followed southward along Kirkpatrick Creek, crossed the Belle Fourche, and sustained a southeastern course. The telegraph line was constructed in 1878 by the military between Deadwood and Fort Keogh, Montana (Miles City).

Companies B and D of the 3rd Cavalry participated in an action on January 20, 1879 near Bluff Station, Wyoming (Heitman 1903 [2]:444). No further details were given, so it is not known if this refers to Pine

Figure 8.3. Ute Jack who was killed at Fort Washakie. Courtesy, Colorado Historical Society, (F40475).

Bluffs.

The White River Expedition Route (48CR5470, 48CR3648) was used by an 1879 military expedition to the Ute Agency in Colorado following the White River Agency road, a portion of which also was referred to as the Rawlins to Baggs road (Miller 1997). In the 1870s it connected the White River Agency in Powell Valley, Colorado with the Union Pacific in Rawlins, Wyoming so annuity goods and other supplies could be delivered to the Ute Indians. The White River Expedition, led by Major T. T. Thornburgh of the 4th Infantry and commanding officer at Fort Fred Steele, left the Wyoming outpost in September 1879 to alleviate unrest on the reservation that had been precipitated by Ute encounters with Nathan Meeker, the zealous Indian Agent (Miller 1997:22-51). An informant from Baggs believes he has discovered Thornburgh's September 25th expeditionary camp site near the Little Snake River, and he has shown it to a member of the Wyoming Archaeological Society who subsequently took the author there. No field work has been attempted, but this may prove to be another military camp relevant to this episode in the context. The battle of Milk Creek was fought along this route just north of Yellowjacket Pass in Colorado.

One of the principal Ute leaders in the late 1870s was a man named Ute Jack (aka Ute John). He had been a scout with General Crook in 1876 and a participant in the Battle of Milk Creek, Colorado in 1879 (Miller 1997:157-158) (Figure 8.3). At Fort Washakie on April 29, 1882, an unpleasant encounter resulted in his death. Word had been received that Jack was visiting at the Wind River Indian Reservation agency in Wyoming, which caused great worry in the Army because he had such a violent reputation. Lieutenant George Morgan took six men of Company K, 3rd Cavalry to arrest the White River Ute. Jack resisted when he was ordered to surrender, dodged into a nearby tepee, grabbed a carbine and killed a sergeant. Major J. W. Mason, 3rd Cavalry, arrived and Jack was killed by the discharge of a mountain howitzer fired into the tepee (Decker 2004:192-193; Michno 2003:344; Sheridan 1882:101-102).

This event took place at Fort Washakie (48FR430), which is listed in the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records database. The location of the incident itself should not be given a separate Smithsonian Number if it is further documented, but rather treated as an event that may or may not contribute to the overall significance of the fort.

Chinese Massacre

The military role in Wyoming broadened significantly during this episode with respect to dealing with civilian unrest. Union Pacific coal mines at Rock Springs had been worked exclusively by white laborers until 1875 when a strike occurred. Many of the strikers were fired at the time and

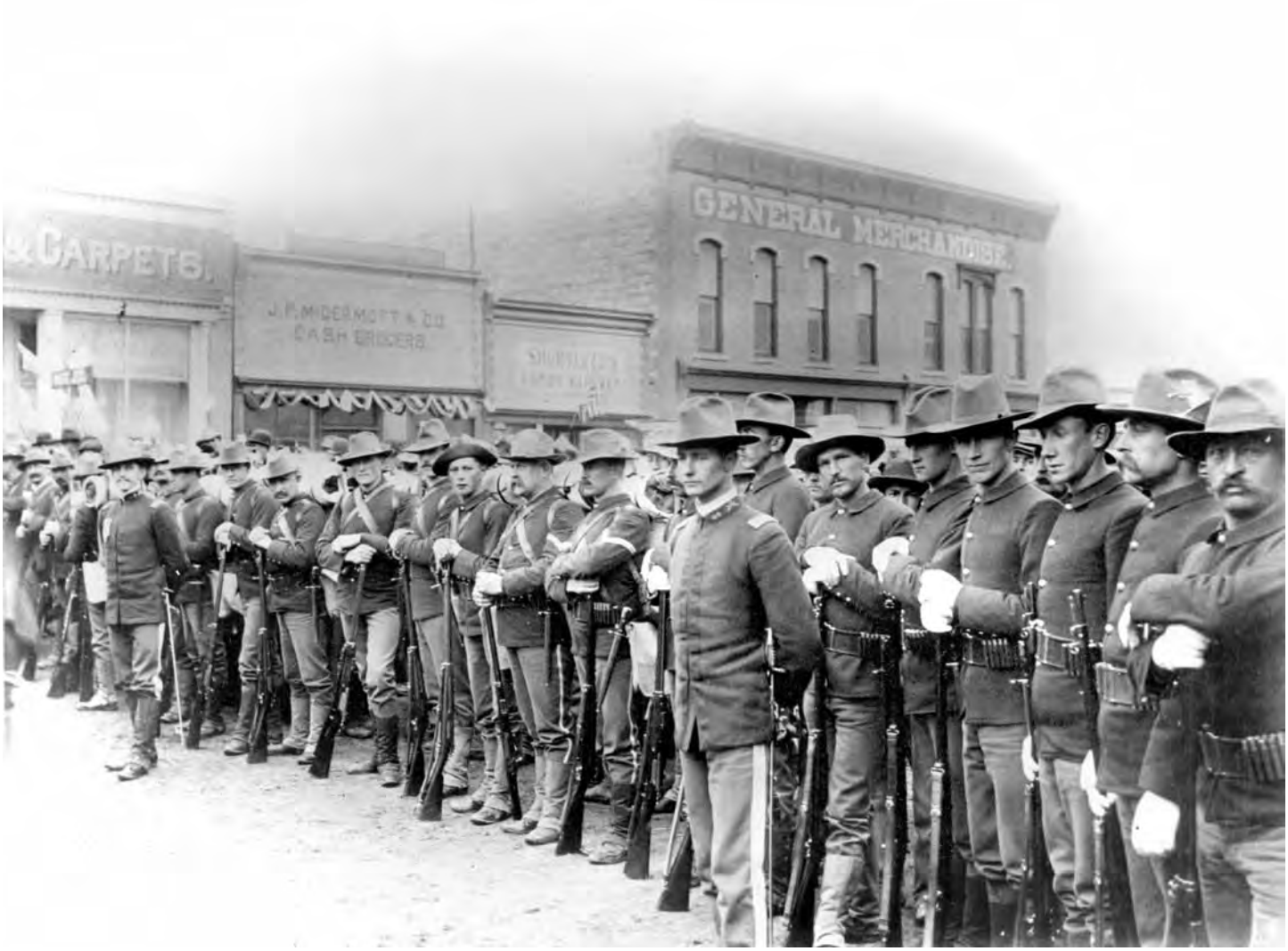

Figure 8.4. Troops called in to the Rock Springs area after the 1885 Chinese massacre. Sub Neg 8442, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Chinese brought in as strike breakers so mining could resume (Larson 1965:141). Animosity and racial prejudice festered after this maneuver. On September 2, 1885 an angry mob of white coal miners took part in a race riot by attacking Chinatown in Rock Springs, killing over 40 Chinese laborers, burning scores of cabins, and driving hundreds of Chinese into the arid countryside without food or water. News of the incident sparked further anti-Chinese demonstrations along the West Coast and even heightened tensions overseas, forcing President Grover Cleveland to intervene. Wyoming Governor Francis E. Warren became active in negotiations as well.

Although labor issues related to mining had been a problem in Wyoming before, this time this incident escalated to a major international case. The Chinese minister argued at the State Department that the U. S. Government was committed under the Chinese-American Treaty of 1880 to protect all Chinese citizens residing in the country. Storti (1991:138) points out that for the "first time in its history, the U.S. government, under a treaty with a foreign power, employed its armed forces to maintain domestic order." Over 500 soldiers from various companies and regiments in the region congregated at Rock Springs to protect the Chinese and help restore peace (Storti 1991:139) (Figure 8.4). Some of the Federal troops ordered to the scene included two companies

Figure 8.5. Mammoth Hot Springs in Yellowstone National Park. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

from Fort Fred Steele and six companies from Fort Bridger and Camp Douglas (Rosenberg 1989:23). Camp Pilot Butte was established nearby as a garrison (Gardner 2008b:276-279). Rock Springs Chinatown (48SW3999) is listed as a historic site in the WYCRO database, and is where the massacre took place, the riot having begun in a room in Union Pacific No. 6 mine (Gardner 2000:239). Western Wyoming College Archaeological services recorded the site and conducted excavations in the vicinity (Gardner 2000:229-231; Johnson 1991).

The so-called Chinese massacre had produced a tremendous public outcry for safety in the area and hundreds of soldiers responded (Storti 1991:139), so various living quarters were required. Camp Pilot Butte (48SW945), mentioned above, was established on the north bank of Bitter Creek near Rock Springs Chinatown and nominated to the National Register

in 1974 (Junge 1974). Also known as Camp Rock Springs (Hart 1980b:24), Camp Pilot Butte housed two companies of soldiers after the bulk of the security force was withdrawn. The military used the location from 1885-1899, and then some of the former Army buildings were put to civilian use.

Camp Medicine Butte in Evanston was occupied from 1885-1887 thanks again to the September 1885 anti-Chinese riot, and garrisoned with a couple companies of Infantry. They also had a Gatling gun. Rioting had spread along the Union Pacific railroad property and this garrison was ordered to protect the U. S. Mail aboard the trains. They also protected numerous Chinese who had fled the massacre in Rock Springs and were picked up by the Union Pacific for safe passage to Evanston (Gardner 2000:242-243). Troops here could reinforce the Camp Pilot Butte garrison as needed (Hart 1963; Hart 1980b:23-24).

Fort Yellowstone (48YE1057)

Fort Yellowstone was the only new fort documented for this episode (Haines 1997; National Park Service 2008). Yellowstone had become the country's first National Park in 1872 and after a brief episode of concern during the 1877 flight of the Nez Perce that drew military attention to the area tourists began to flock to the natural wonders of the region. The military was needed to help protect the Park's resources from increasing vandalism, enforce game laws due to the growing tourist population, and guard the natural wonders from despoliation (Frazer 1972:187). For many years, people had been poaching animals, breaking geological samples away from geysers and hot springs for souvenirs, and using the hot springs for bathing and laundry (Yellowstone National Park 2008).

The initial military garrison organized to combat these violations was established by Captain Moses Harris of the 1st Cavalry on August 17, 1886 along Beaver Creek near the famous Mammoth Hot Springs (Figure 8.5). The military site at the foot of Mammoth Hot Springs originally was called Camp Sheridan after Lieutenant General Phil Sheridan. It had become a cantonment in late 1886 when Captain

Figure 8.6. Fort Yellowstone, front view of Officers' Quarters. Courtesy of Richard Collier, State Historic Preservation Office, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Harris received word that he would be provided temporary shelter to over winter near Mammoth (Haines 1997:6, vol. II). At its peak, the camp consisted of a barracks, warehouse, guardhouse, cavalry stable, quartermaster stable, headquarters, officer's quarters and other facilities.

In 1890 Congress would appropriate $50,000 for a permanent post in the Park, and the garrison would officially be designated Fort Yellowstone on May 11, 1891. The first buildings of Fort Yellowstone were finished by late 1891 and consisted of two duplex officer's quarters, a guardhouse, and a headquarters building on the front row of the grounds, a barracks on the second row, and two non-commissioned officer's quarters in the final row. Several other structures were added through the years of active service (Figure 8.6).

One of the soldiers serving at the fort in 1891 was Private Edwin Kelsey who later became editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle.* His letters home indicated that service in the area was difficult but made for an enjoyable life due in part to the magnificent scenery (Yellowstone National Park 2008). In fact, Haines (1996:162) has argued that duty in the National Park always was a welcome relief to garrison duty on the High Plains or arid southwest, and thus provided

Figure 8.7. Selected sites from the period 1877-1890. Map by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

a more idyllic military service. A Parade Ground (48YE1255) shows up in the Wyoming SHPO cultural records database that is related to Fort Yellowstone.

Yellowstone was turned over to the newly organized National Park Service on October 26, 1916, but troops were sent back during 1917. Wartime levies for World War I eventually took away many of the best soldiers (Haines 1997:207-208), and the military abandoned Fort Yellowstone as of October 31, 1918.

Several soldier stations had been interspersed throughout Yellowstone National Park to facilitate military maneuvers. Haines (1997:183) lists 16 Soldier Stations that were used at various times. Soda Butte Soldier Station (48YE88) and Norris Soldier Station (48YE819) are two that saw activity as early as 1886. Five others are relevant to this episode: Grand Canyon (1886); Riverside (1886); Lower Geyser Basin, or Fountain (1886); Upper Geyser Basin, or Old Faithful (1886); and Lake Outlet (1887). Facilities like these would house soldiers at strategic places in the Park where they could perform duties while away from Camp Sheridan or Fort Yellowstone. Haines has stated that detachments

at these and similar stations, "varied in size from as few as two men to as many as fifteen…. Ordinarily, a detachment consisted of at least four men, under a noncommissioned officer, during the winter season, with as many more enlisted men in summer as the particular station required" (1997:184).

In addition to soldier stations, the Kingman Road (48YE785) played an important military role as early as 1885, allowing more efficient maneuvering through the Yellowstone plateau country. This road in Yellowstone National Park dates to some of the earliest military use in the area and is eligible for the National Register (Cannon 1993). A later portion of the road was believed to have been used in 1893 and it retains potential to address early road construction techniques. The military traveled this road for various duties after Camp Sheridan and Fort Yellowstone were established. Military properties during this episode closed out Wyoming's territorial years (Figure 8.7).

Chapter 9: Expansion and World War I (1890-1920)

Rosenberg (1989) dates the final episode for military sites in Wyoming from 1900 to the present (1989). The final episode in this study begins with 1890 when Wyoming became a state and terminates in 1920 after the end of World War I. Many changes occurred in the military during this time. Around 1900, the Army began to take on a different look, starting to convert its uniforms from the well known blue to a khaki color, but the transition like most conversions of arms and equipment took many years to complete. The National Guard militia grew in Wyoming once it became a state. And the United States in general began to take on a more international role, expanding its influence over the globe and coordinating military maneuvers with allies from different countries.

Much of the military activity in Wyoming had become centered at three principal locations by the end of the nineteenth century: (1) Fort D.A. Russell (eventually renamed Fort Francis E. Warren then F. E. Warren Air Force Base); (2) Pole Mountain Military Reservation between Laramie and Cheyenne; and (3) Yellowstone National Park. Related sites and activities reflect the expanding military role as it advanced beyond the Indian issue and frontier settlement toward a broader world stage. During this episode the influence of the United States as a great global power would be tested by its participation in the Spanish American War and secured by its contribution to World War I.

Yellowstone National Park Soldier Stations

The military continued an active role in helping protect Yellowstone National Park during most of this episode with the garrison at Fort Yellowstone enforcing relevant laws and regulations. However, with over two million acres of wilderness plateau, rugged backcountry, and geothermal wonders it was difficult for the Army to monitor all activities that an adventuresome public might perform. Detachments had to disperse throughout the area to gain a tactical advantage in fulfilling their duty. Haines (1997:183) lists eight soldier stations in Wyoming's portion of the Park used for military occupation during this episode. They are: Snake River (South Entrance) Soldier Station (1892 & 1902), Thumb Bay Soldier Station (1897), Crevice Soldier Station (1901 & 1912), Tower Falls Soldier Station (1901 & 1907), Gardiner Soldier Station (1903), Sylvan Pass Soldier Station (1904), Gallatin Soldier Station (1908), and Bechler Soldier Station (1911). The strategic placement of these stations limited the distance troops might have to travel while on maneuvers. Several soldier stations have received archaeological attention (Karsmizki 1998, 2000, 2001; Sanders et al. 2003; Walker 1999).

Johnson County War (1892)

The Wyoming livestock industry was a growing and viable enterprise by the late 1880s in spite of major winter losses in 1886-1887. While some outfits went out of business at that time, others found ways to sustain herds by better management of livestock numbers, adjudicating water rights to expand irrigated meadows, and using hay to supplement winter feed. The Wyoming Stock Growers Association (WSGA) had become a powerful political tool in the state to advance interests of the range cattle industry, and its influence was rising during this period (Cassity 2007:121-122).

Concurrent with these changes was an increase in the number of small homesteads and settlers occupying the northeastern part of Wyoming in particular. Members of the WSGA had been having trouble with rustling for years due in part to common use of open federal range, and in 1884 the Wyoming legislature passed the Maverick Law in an attempt to remedy the thorny issue of branding any unmarked calf as one's own. Unfortunately the new law did little to stop the unethical practice of mavericking. In reality, the most honest way to operate was to first

mother up a slick (unbranded calf) and then brand the calf the same as the cow, but many on the range didn't take the time to do so. Some unscrupulous individuals even took steps to prevent successful mothering.

The Territory took control of roundups and members of the WSGA were well represented on gathering crews while smaller outfits were not. A clear political imbalance had developed. The growing schism between large cattle operations and small homesteaders was further exacerbated in 1889 when two settlers, James Averill and Ella Watson (aka Cattle Kate), were hanged in a rocky canyon above the Sweetwater River not far from Independence Rock (Larson 1965:268-269).

By 1892 the WSGA was knee-deep in trying to solve the rustling problem. Their 20th annual meeting was held on April 4, 1892 in Cheyenne and it enjoyed the largest attendance in years because of the irrepressible conflict (Larson 1965:273). The next day, April 5, 1892, dozens of cattlemen and Texas gunmen left Cheyenne with a list of rustlers to be dealt with in the northern part of the state (Larson 1965:276-277). The Johnson County War began as a range war between these large livestock operators and smaller outfits in the Powder River country of Johnson, Natrona, and Converse Counties. Festering disagreement over the treatment of slick calves, grazing open range, and other land use practices had precipitated the armed invasion. In fact, a number of issues plagued the western rangelands (Davis 2010; McDermott 1994).

The cattlemen's force surrounded the KC Ranch at the south edge of present Kaycee where they killed Nick Ray and Nate Champion in a shootout. On April 10, the invaders had moved within seven miles of Buffalo when they were warned by friends that a large number of armed settlers were waiting for them. They turned back to the TA Ranch and fortified themselves, while the 200 man force from Buffalo arrived under the leadership of Sheriff Red Angus. The Buffalo contingent then laid siege to the TA.

Acting Governor of Wyoming, Amos Barber received a telegram in Cheyenne informing him of the hostilities and he notified the President of the United States. The federal response called for the intervention in Johnson County of Colonel J. J. Van Horne with a detachment of U. S. Cavalry under orders from President Benjamin Harrison (Larson 1965:278). The invaders were gathered up and escorted to Fort McKinney where they would await further developments. While the armed conflict itself was not a military engagement, troops had been called up to intervene in a civil matter similar to their role in the Chinese Massacre a few years earlier.

The army maintained a presence in the region for a time after the incident in case further problems erupted (Murray 2002:45-62). Camp P. A. Bettens was located near present-day Arvada. Hart (1980b:18) claims that six companies of the 6th Cavalry were temporarily deployed there after being detached from Fort Robinson in Nebraska as a result of the Johnson County War. Their service in camp extended from mid-June to mid-November 1892. The next three summers, soldiers revisited the camp and used the location as a Camp of Instruction, likely for field maneuvers, through 1895.

Companies A and K of the 6th Cavalry also were stationed near Douglas in the fall of 1892 during the aftermath of the War (Hart 1980b:16-17, 20). Another field camp, Camp Elkins was established on June 20, 1892 during the end of the Johnson County War. The cavalry companies were moved into the area to appease political friends of President Harrison, though not to conduct martial law maneuvers as had been desired by prominent cattlemen. Elkins was located between Fort Fetterman and the City of Casper (Hart 1980b:16-17, 20).

Jackson Hole Conspiracy (Summer 1895)

Wight (2007) has written that local citizens in the Jackson Hole area conspired in an effort to deny Bannocks and Eastern Shoshonis their hunting rights that had been provided by treaty, falsely claiming in a news release that local residents had been murdered. The conspirators pressed authorities for greater efforts to enforce game laws. Tensions mounted over their claims until shooting occurred that resulted in the

loss of life and capture of some individuals (Wight 2007:85). Eventually, units of the 9th Cavalry Buffalo Soldiers were called in to restore order and they were stationed for a time in Star Valley.

National Archives Trust Fund Board (1985:202) lists post returns for Jackson's Hole, Wyo., 1895 available in microfilm M617, Roll 1516, though this author has not reviewed their content. The site is considered a military camp, possibly used by the 9th Cavalry Buffalo Soldiers who responded to the so-called Jackson Hole Conspiracy, but its exact location is unknown.

An interesting military experiment occurred in Wyoming about this time. Inspired by the attention of General Nelson Miles, the 25th Infantry Bicycle Corps pedaled about 1,000 miles round trip from Fort Missoula, Montana to Fort Yellowstone in Yellowstone National Park in 1896, testing the value of an outfitted detachment using a relatively quick and silent means of transportation. Additional tests were run for a couple of years until the group had gone about 2,800 miles in 451 hours of travel. These trips continued until 1898 when the sinking of the U.S.S. Maine redirected military interests toward war plans (Lane 2005).

Gillette (September 1906)

Living conditions on the Indian Reservations did not improve much after the end of the Indian Wars. According to McDermott (1998b:43), about 400 disgruntled Utes left their reservation in Utah on route to Pine Ridge, South Dakota in 1906. They killed two cowboys near Gillette, Wyoming during the journey before troops from the 6th Cavalry out of Fort Meade took up pursuit. The Utes settled for a time on the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota, but by 1908 they decided to return to Utah. By now, troubles between Indians and Euroamericans were becoming more a civil matter to be handled by tribal police and law enforcement agencies rather than the military. In fact, just three years earlier, Sheriff William H. Miller of Weston County had died in the Lightning Creek Raid along with five others, four of which were Indians. That raid occurred on October 31, 1903 and involved another encounter with Indians over illegal game hunting (Roberts et al. 2001:235).

Figure 9.1. Officers' Quarters at Fort Mackenzie. From the J. E. Stimson Collection, Stimson Neg 496, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Fort Mackenzie (48SH124) (1898-1918)

This outpost began as early as December 1898 when a small garrison was established in existing civilian buildings at Sheridan before a more permanent fort was built. Mackenzie is the only fort that began its history during this episode, and the last commissioned fort within Wyoming's boundaries (Figure 9.1). Other outposts such as Fort D. A. Russell, Fort Washakie, and Fort Yellowstone continued in service during at least part of this episode.

Difficulties with the Indian tribes lessened dramatically after 1890 so the army began abandoning forts throughout the former frontier. After the last troops left Fort McKinney in 1894 and Fort Custer in 1898, there were no soldiers stationed near the Indian reservations for the Crows and Northern Cheyennes (McDermott 1998b:1). This factor, coupled with civilian unrest in the growing community of Sheridan, led community leaders to argue for a new military post nearby. Perhaps reflecting on the role soldiers had played in civil matters such as the Chinese Massacre and Johnson County War, they requested their political leaders to have the Army establish a fort.

Figure 9.2. The State Militia in camp at the Big Horn County Courthouse in November 1909. Courtesy Washakie Museum and Cultural Center.

Desire became a reality with the powerful influence of Senator Francis E. Warren. President McKinley, acting on advice given in a report by General E. V. Sumner, set aside two tracts of land for military purposes on December 13, 1898. Senator Warren followed up in January 1899 with a bill providing for the establishment of a military post (McDermott 1998b:4), and the City of Sheridan already had offered free municipal water to the garrison as long as the fort was maintained.

Much of the prosperity that developed in Sheridan was due to the proximity of Fort Mackenzie and its role in providing jobs and commercial markets (McDermott 1998b:29). The post boasted several fine buildings, good water, and soon became known as a healthy outpost useful to soldiers recovering from various duties like distant service in the Spanish American War or Philippines. African-American troops, the Buffalo Soldiers, from the 10th Cavalry were garrisoned there for a time along with units of the 11th Infantry, but little opportunity existed any longer for dangerous military service in the state.

Minimal action was seen at the post in later years. In August 1915, the Wyoming militia that had formed after Wyoming became a state camped there for a week. Otherwise only a few soldiers garrisoned the post as caretakers (McDermott 1998b:42). A brief rejuvenation of troop support occurred at the outpost when the United States entered World War I, and in April 1917 Fort Mackenzie garrisoned more troops than it had for years. The men stationed there were from Co. F of the Wyoming National Guard who had been called into federal service.

By 1918 the fort had outlived its military usefulness. It was decommissioned on November 3 that year and left to civilian caretakers. In March 1921, the President signed legislation transferring the grounds from the War Department, and Fort Mackenzie became part of the national health care system for veterans (McDermott 1998b:49; Toltest 2009a:194-199).

More Conflict on the Range

The animosity that had broken out in 1892 between large cattle operators and small settlers was not the only time conflicts over livestock use of the range would occur in Wyoming. Problems between sheep and cattle interests in the Big Horn Basin turned violent in 1909. On April 2, fifteen or more masked men attacked a sheep camp on a branch of the Nowood River near Tensleep and killed three sheepmen, Joe Allemand, Joe Emge, and Joe Lazier. One witness to the crime committed suicide, leaving behind letters implicating prominent cattlemen from the area. Seven men were arrested for the murders, but two turned states evidence (Larson 1965:371).

The incident has become known as the Spring Creek Raid (Davis 1993). A highly volatile trial followed in the Big Horn County Courthouse at Basin after the arrests. Fearing violence and disruption of legal proceedings, Governor B. B. Brooks sent Wyoming's Adjutant General to the scene with full authority to use the state militia (National Guard) to take any necessary steps that would ensure impartial justice prevailed. On October 30, a train brought ten privates, Captain Arthur Parker and Colonel C.Z.A. Zander who pitched their tents on an old campground while they guarded the proceedings, which caused some excitement among the citizenry (Davis 1993:122-123). They were photographed at the Courthouse in November 1909 (Figure 9.2). Similar attention also had been drawn to Cheyenne during November 1903 when the National Guard was called in to protect order during the hanging of notorious

Figure 9.3. Camp and maneuver area at Pole Mountain circa 1912. Courtesy U.S. Forest Service, Medicine Bow-Routt National Forest, Laramie, Wyoming.

stock detective Tom Horn (Krakel 1954:257).

Pole Mountain (48AB1445)

Several features in the Pole Mountain military reserve have unique site numbers, but the number listed above refers to the overall property. Military interest in Pole Mountain began with its establishment in 1879 as a wood and timber reserve for Fort Sanders at Laramie, as well as Fort D. A. Russell at Cheyenne and adjacent Cheyenne Depot. In an undated brochure, the United States Forest Service notes that the Pole Mountain Unit of the Medicine Bow National Forest was also used as a target and maneuver area for military training between 1879 and 1961. Larson and others (2006:2) provide an excellent summary of the military history of the area in their work on Pole Mountain Camp (48AB1759) that dates from 1925. Not surprisingly, the history of the area is closely linked with the development and maintenance of the two nearby forts.

The area would have been good ground for exercises in preparation for the Spanish American War in 1898, so it is possible that some field maneuvers took place at that time. One early mention of maneuvers comes from 1902 when units of the 18th Infantry marched to the area from Fort D. A. Russell to conduct target practice and other activities (Adams 1989:130). Additional military exercises were performed there through the years by Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery units. Even the Wyoming National Guard conducted joint exercises with the Regular Army at Pole Mountain in 1906 (Larson et al. 2006:2).

Some 17,000 soldiers were ordered to summer maneuvers on the reserve in 1908 (Adams 1989:141). Consequently, several different types of sites and features were established by the military in the area, including large camps for soldiers engaged in numerous exercises (Figure 9.3).

The area was renamed Crow Creek Forest Reserve in 1900. Then it was transferred to the War Department on August 19, 1910 under the name of Fort D. A. Russell Target and Maneuver Range, having been designated as such since 1904 (Bruce 1959:42; Larson et al. 2006:2). The area was later called the Fort Francis E. Warren Target and Maneuver Reserve (Adams 1989:265). What had begun decades earlier as a small reserve of a few thousand acres had grown in 1912 to over 60,000 acres. Aircraft even had begun to participate in maneuvers there in 1920 (Larson et al. 2006:2) at the close of the chronology under study.

Pole Mountain today encompasses approximately 62,448 acres. According to American Technologies Incorporated (2005:1-1), a "Public Land Order terminated all military interests in the Pole Mountain area, and all lands were placed with the National Forest Administration in 1961." While military use ceased over 50 years ago, physical remains still exist of former encampments, target areas, firing positions, structures, and the like. In fact, a variety of unexploded munitions still can be found in the Pole Mountain area, so visitors must be careful in their wanderings (United States Forest Service n.d.). The Target and Maneuver area would lend itself well to a district level National Register nomination if its significance is warranted.

Ambiguous Properties

National Archives microfilm (M617, Roll 1501) contains post returns from Casper, Wyoming Station believed to be a military camp in September 1904 (National Archives Trust Fund Board 1985:206). The purpose and exact location of this station are unknown.

Three other possible military locations in Wyoming have Smithsonian numbers but do not have specific dates of use, so it currently is unknown which episode they belong to. Future research should attempt to establish a firmer site age for each. These are: Historic Foundation (48PL1558), Four Cairn Site (48AB573), and Military? (cairn) (48CO1788). If these features can be associated with known military sites or activities, they could be easily treated as contributing or noncontributing features to the significance of each relevant property.

In another ambiguous situation, a Powder House (48CR4076) is listed as having been in operation from 1914-1950. It is uncertain whether or not the use was military.

Relevant International Events

This episode witnessed the growth and maturation of the United States as a world power whose military capability eventually reached around the globe. Political and economic developments outside the country had begun to strongly influence public opinion and political pressures in the states. America no longer could consider itself an isolated nation capable of protecting its own interests exclusively from the home front and not participate more actively on the international scene. Military decisions made during this formative era helped lay the foundation for the United States to emerge today as the strongest global super power. However, early steps in this process were tentative at best.

Spanish American War – Cuba and the Philippines (1898)

The United States had been suffering from an economic downturn in the 1890s at the same time tensions were growing with the Spanish whose empire encompassed nearby lands in Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and other islands. America was a growing capitalist economy and it needed broader markets to expand trade. By 1894, J. H. Hayford suggested that a foreign war was needed to lift the U. S. out of its depression, an opinion that fed into the hands of such notable editors as William Randolf Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer who encouraged a war with Spain (Larson 1965:310). To some, American imperialism was taking root (Foner 1972:281-310), but humanitarian factors also played a role in the outbreak of war.

The Spanish in Cuba had been mistreating many local residents, and a powerful Cuban insurgency developed to combat the occupation through revolutionary aggression (Foner 1972:98-150). The Cuban liberation force would play an important though often unacknowledged role in the war to come (Foner 1972:339-378), and many Americans were sympathetic with their plight under Spanish rule. As tensions continued to mount, the U. S. battleship Maine sailed into Havana harbor on January 25, 1898 in an unambiguous display of American military superiority. The U. S. Navy also concentrated other war ships into fighting groups at Key West only 90 miles from Cuba (Foner 1972:231-237). Then on February 15, 1898, an explosion ripped through the forward part of the Maine just beneath the sleeping

quarters, killing 264 sailors and two officers. Two months later, on April 25 the United States declared war with Spain. The fighting would be most intense in Cuba and the Philippines.

States were assigned quotas of volunteers to meet the manpower needed for international warfare since no military draft existed. Most of the National Guard regiment in Wyoming was mustered into service and commanded by Colonel F. M. Foote, assembling at Fort D. A. Russell. The regiment left the country and landed in the Philippines in time to fight in the Battle of Manila on August 13 the day after an armistice had been signed, news of which was late reaching the troops. Some tradition holds, but not without dispute, that the first United States flag raised in Manila was that of the Wyoming battalion (Larson 1965:311).

The Alger Light Artillery volunteer unit from Wyoming also participated in the Philippine campaign, but did not arrive until December. Torrey's Rough Riders, the 2nd U. S. Volunteer Cavalry also left Wyoming during the war under the leadership of Colonel Jay L. Torrey, a Big Horn Basin rancher (Larson 1965:311). His troops trained at Fort D. A. Russell and it is possible they conducted some maneuvers in the Pole Mountain area. Unfortunately, due to an accident with the troop train in Tupelo they never made it to the Cuban front.

Not one man from Wyoming served in the navy during the Spanish-American War (Larson 1965:12). The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898, ending the war and the Spanish empire that had encompassed nearby islands. The Philippine archipelago became a United States possession (Young 1994:213).

Philippines (1899-1902)

Annexation of the entire archipelago would include much more area than the U. S. had actually conquered during the war, a zone that largely was restricted to Manila. The proposed conditions of annexation in the Treaty of Paris surprised the Spanish and infuriated the Filipinos who now wished they had driven the Americans out instead of working with them during the war. Unrest in and around Manila grew to a fever pitch by mid-January 1899. The United States still had several capable military leaders stationed in the Manila area, including General Elwell Otis, commander of the army, and senior officers Arthur MacArthur (father of Douglas), Thomas M. Anderson, and George Dewey.

On February 4, soldiers of the 1st Nebraska Volunteers fired on some Filipinos who had violated restrictions by entering a no-man's-land beyond the pickets. An artillery barrage followed soon after, as did a bombardment from Dewey's warships. U. S. soldiers advanced against the overmatched Philippine Republican Army who retreated into the countryside (Young 1994:213-248).

This outbreak occurred about the time the United States Senate was finishing debate on the Treaty of Paris, which was ratified and resulted in the final annexation of the Philippines. United States forces soon conquered central Luzon as combat continued and other engagements unfolded with General MacArthur actively executing war maneuvers to secure strategic rail lines. The defeated Philippine Army dispersed in the countryside, but hundreds of light skirmishes occurred between the United States Army and guerrillas in 1900 (Young 1994:252).

Meanwhile a cavalry troop from Fort D. A. Russell became part of another international expeditionary force sent to China in July 1900 to quell the Boxer Rebellion that had organized in opposition to foreign domination (Toltest 2009b:2). But it was yet another international event in the Philippines that would have a more lasting effect on the Wyoming outpost. On the morning of September 28, 1901, a surprise guerrilla attack in the village of Balangiga on Samar Island in the Philippines resulted in more than 40 American soldiers being killed (Snodgrass 2007). Control of Balangiga was soon recovered by the United States when 55 soldiers of Company G, 9th Infantry, commanded by Captain Edwin V. Bookmiller landed and secured the supplies not carried away by insurgents (Adams 1998:10-11). Fearing another attack by the insurectos, Bookmiller ordered Balangiga burned before the detachment returned to Basey on the S. S. Pittsburg.

Figure 9.4. Bells of Balangiga on exhibit at F. E. Warren Air Force Base. URS-Berger photo, 1983. Courtesy of Richard Collier, State Historic Preservation Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Companies K and L of the 11th Infantry under command of Colonel Isaac D. DeRussy patrolled the Balangiga area for a time after the affair. A battalion of U. S. Marines also took part. Then in 1904 following the Philippine campaign, the 11th Infantry brought war trophies back to Fort D. A. Russell. These included two church Bells of Balangiga that supposedly rang on the fateful September morning in the Philippines to signal the guerrilla attack, and a rare 16th century Falcon cannon (Adams 1989:236-237). While the Philippines have expressed an interest in the return of the bells, and the Tower of London and Smithsonian Institution have shown an interest in the cannon, these artifacts remain on display as war trophies at F. E. Warren Air Force Base (Adams 1998:17-22) (Figure 9.4).

Mexican Revolution (1913-1917)

Fort D. A. Russell had been able to withstand closures that faced many Wyoming forts at the end of the frontier thanks largely to the political efforts of Senator Francis E. Warren. In fact, the post was actually growing. By 1912 more than 150 brick buildings occupied the grounds along tree-shaded streets and they housed some 3,000 officers and soldiers (Hoagland 2004:204). The large size of the post alone would have had made it difficult for the Army to abandon it, and the zeal of Senator Warren earned him a solid reputation as a power broker in Washington. Senator Warren's growing influence also was visible through the bright prospects of Captain John J. Pershing after the captain's marriage to the senator's daughter on January 26, 1905. Warren's son-in-law rose rapidly in the ranks thereafter and in 1912 Pershing was a Brigadier General.

Political unrest and seeds of revolution had been growing in Mexico since 1910 when Francisco Madero, Jr. took up arms against long-time dictator Porfirio Diaz (Eisenhower 1993:xi-xii). The volatile situation was causing great concern to the United States, so in March 1913 President Woodrow Wilson decided to increase troop strength along the United States border with its southern neighbor. He also expanded naval forces in the Gulf and warned Americans to leave Mexico. General Pershing, who had been campaigning with his command along the border, arrived at Fort D. A. Russell for a short leave and visited his family who were quartered there (Adams 1989:158).

Then in 1915, Francisco "Pancho" Villa and his Division of the North unsuccessfully engaged in two major battles at Celaya in the state of Guanajuato in Mexico's central highlands (Eisenhower 1993:175-178). A short time later, the United States recognized Villa's victorious enemy Venustiano Carranza as President of Mexico. Angered by the decision, Villa entered New Mexico on March 9, 1916 and raided the small town of Columbus, raising the ire of the United States Government (Eisenhower 1993:217). General Pershing (Figure 9.5) commanded 10,000 troops sent to bring in Villa and a lengthy pursuit ensued. After nearly a year, Pershing was called off the unsuccessful chase to take command of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I (Adams 1989:161).

World War I (1917-1918)

Austria declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914, one month after the assassination of Austria's Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Yugoslav nationalist. This act helped precipitate World War I, which would involve several imperial powers such as Germany, Russia, Austro-Hungarian, and the Ottoman Empire. The expanded conflict began with Germany's invasion of France, Belgium, and Luxembourg. For the next two and a half years, the war seemed quite remote to Wyoming until Germany announced termination of its *Sussex* pledge on January 31, 1917, which meant that their submarines would now sink all vessels on sight in specified zones. Diplomatic relations broke off when the United States claims of neutral rights were rejected. Several American ships were sunk, and in March 1917 a battalion of Wyoming National Guard was ordered into federal service along with other units. Congress declared war on the Central Powers on April 6, 1917 (Larson 1965:394-395).

Larson (1965:395-396) indicates that some 12,000 men entered service from Wyoming (Figure 9.6). Wyoming National Guardsmen went to France in December 1917 as part of the 41st (Sunset) Division while most of the state's enlisted soldiers joined the 91st Division that landed in France in July, 1918. Two cavalry regiments were stationed at For D. A. Russell for a time, and home-guard companies were proposed to handle trouble in statewide communities while troops were gone. After grueling combat and repeated defeats overseas, German allies Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria surrendered. Germany itself finally gave up and signed an armistice on November 11, 1918, ending the war. A total of 125,500 Americans had lost their lives (Larson 1965:396-404). More than 15 million people had been killed in the conflict.

The end of the 1910s clearly was not the end of military activity in Wyoming (Figure 9.7). A companion context has successfully presented the colorful military history in the state from 1920-1989 at the end of the Cold War (Toltest 2009a). But the 220 year military history in Wyoming before the end of World War I helps show how we arrived where we are today. Humans predictably resort to armed aggression to resolve conflicts that could not be ameliorated with dialog or diplomacy. Patterns of warfare always have been influenced by available technology, the landscape involved, and the cultural biases of participants. From a historical perspective military insurgency never really ends; it only adapts to the current socio-political sphere.

Figure 9.5. Undated photo of General John J. Pershing at Fort D. A. Russell. Sub Neg 22063, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Figure 9.6. Photo of Wyoming troops during World War I. Note Bucking Horse logo. Sub Neg 19250, Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

There is a common bond of armed aggression that is revealed among hundreds of Wyoming sites, from the eroded sandstone of centuries old petroglyphs to the cold, stoic monoliths commemorating twentieth century engagements. Next time you face into the

Figure 9.7. Selected sites from the period 1890-1920. Map by Jeff Keahey, SHPO Cultural Records Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

relentless Wyoming wind, stop for a moment and listen. You just might hear the murmur of turbulent echoes drifting across the landscape, ethereal whispers surviving from the past that have gathered from all of Wyoming's warriors who never yielded ground without rigorous defense of their values.

What Patricia Limerick (2000:73) has argued for the setting of the Indian Wars is equally true for the greater landscape where all military maneuvers have occurred. As Americans, we live on haunted land. Its ghosts are our ancestors, their many stories our joint property, binding the nation as one. How we study and manage our military past will be a measure of our maturity as a diverse nation.

Chapter 10: Management of Military Sites (1700-1920)

Successful research into any poorly known subject typically employs all available lines of scholarly inquiry, and such probative intensity should be the case for military sites as well. The written record is only one valuable source of information, including both primary and secondary references. Archives are full of details pertaining to individual military sites and the activities performed on them. Even interviews with certain Indians are available in documentary form (Ricker 2005b). The physical environment of the site itself also contains potentially useful data if properly studied. Consequently archival work and archaeology both become important methods for investigating historic sites. A whole list of other interdisciplinary scholars can enhance the quality of any research, including Holocene stratigraphers, historic architects, military experts, tribal historians, and others.

The collective results generated from broad-based interdisciplinary investigations yield a much more robust picture of the history for any given location, allowing scholars to more confidently assess an individual property's place in the total spectrum of military activities. Hardesty and Little (2000:119) argue this assertion when they pronounce that military installations are part of a much larger feature system and investigators must understand the whole network in order to comprehend the significance of smaller pieces within it. Connecting individual properties into a larger meaningful system of understanding is the underlying principle of any historic context.

Database Queries

Documentary evidence for military sites is voluminous and multifaceted. One important area of written/electronic records that has proven valuable to this study is the Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office Cultural Records database (WYCRO). An early research goal was to estimate how many military sites might be found in WYCRO files, because sites listed there are generally easier to track for research and management purposes than those mentioned only in general historical references. Sites from WYCRO typically can be identified by the Smithsonian site number associated with them. Sites not found in the database normally do not have a site number, but these latter properties should be added when site forms are completed.

The process of identifying how many military properties might be known in Wyoming began with four file searches conducted in WYCRO between February and July 2007. The total number of sites grouped into any property type is a fluid figure, constantly evolving as new data become available and our understanding matures. The first database query searched each of Wyoming's 23 counties and Yellowstone National Park for sites whose general age in the query format contained the term "Historic" and whose site type contained "Military." This effort produced the largest sample of all four queries. The second attempt searched all counties collectively where the general age was left blank and the site type contained "Historic Native American Inscription." These two queries produced a combined total of 906 records, represented by 430 assigned Smithsonian site numbers (Table 10.1).

The third query covered all counties collectively where the general age was blank and the site type was "Battlefield." It yielded 85 records, but only six of these did not show up on the two previous attempts. The fourth query searched all counties collectively where the general age was blank and the site type was "Military," yielding only two new sites. These four searches generated the initial estimate of how many military sites may have been recorded in the WYCRO database and how many known rock inscription sites may contain evidence for horses, guns, or army regimental designations. With over 900 returned records, a more critical assessment was needed to determine the actual size of the military site sample.

Table 10.1. WYCRO Database Search (27-28 February 2007) for: (1) County is individually named; general age contains Historic; Site Type contains Military; and (2) County is All; general age is blank; and Site Type contains Historic Native American Inscription.

County	Returned Records	Smithsonian Nos. Assigned
Albany = AB	104	11
Big Horn = BH	0	0
Campbell = CA	85	1
Carbon = CR	12	4
Converse = CO	33	12
Crook = CK	4	3
Fremont = FR	9	5
Goshen = GO	38	24
Hot Springs = HO	2	1
Johnson = JO	26	7
Laramie = LA	411	299
Lincoln = LN	1	1
Natrona = NA	75	5
Niobrara = NO	1	1
Park = PA	3	1
Platte = PL	21	20
Sheridan = SH	14	7
Sublette = SU	32	2
Sweetwater = SW	4	3
Teton = TE	1	1
Uinta = UT	7	6
Washakie = WA	0	0
Weston = WE	1	1
Yellowstone N.P. = YE	22	11
ALL	4	4
TOTALS	906	430

The relevance of certain tabulated fields populated by queried data deserves explanation so investigators can better use WYCRO as a research and management tool. For instance, the "Returned Records" field actually refers to the number of separate lines of data for a specific query, which can simply reflect the number of different cultural resource projects that took place at a single site

or even the number of features recorded there. A returned records field can be quite large and it does not equate with the actual number of sites represented. Likewise, "Smithsonian Site Numbers Assigned" refers to the count of unique site numbers given by SHPO to archaeological and historical manifestations. This total is closer to, but still larger than, the actual number of sites present. For example, separate Smithsonian numbers were given to hundreds of individual buildings at F.E. Warren Air Force Base (formerly Fort D. A. Russell) (Figure 10.1). In the present study, however, military buildings are considered features so only a single site number (48LA71) is assigned to Fort D. A. Russell. The number "48" in this system refers to the alphabetical order of the State of Wyoming prior to admittance in the Union of Alaska and Hawaii. The remaining alpha-numeric portion denotes county and the sequential number issued to a specific site in that county. Hence, Fort D. A. Russell is identified as 48LA71, where LA refers to Laramie County and 71 is the number for that site.

Other factors also affect the total number of unique sites identified from queried fields. Encoding errors sometimes inadvertently place non-military sites within searches or omit military sites from them. Data transfer from old to new programs and other technical problems commonly associated with database management also can account for discrepancies. In addition, many military sites in the database post-date 1920 and are therefore beyond the chronological scope of this study.

Properties also are sometimes known by more than one name, which confuses database research. When this occurred in the present study, efforts attempted to ensure that appropriate names were combined with each other if they were known to refer to the same site, eliminating tabulation of two properties when only one was involved. Names of properties were drawn from primary and secondary sources, and from records in the database.

While initial file searches conducted in WYCRO identified scores of relevant properties (some of which have multiple Smithsonian site numbers),

Figure 10.1. Officers' Quarters at Fort D.A. Russell. Wyoming State Archives, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

many others were found mentioned only in the historical/archaeological literature. To ensure these sites were not previously assigned site numbers and just overlooked when initial queries were run, additional database queries utilized very general search parameters to identify any site that may have been encoded incorrectly. Only the fields "County" and "Site Name" were used while others were left blank.

A query was performed for each site found in the relevant literature using various iterations of the site name and including a specific county if it could be determined from information provided. For example, a search for the Cazeau Wagon Train battle site identified in Michno (2003:188-189) was performed by entering County is "Sheridan" and Site Name contains "Cazeau Wagon Train." Since the site name may have been abbreviated during original data entry, additional queries were performed in which the field "Site Name" contained only "Cazeau," only "Wagon," and only "Train."

While most military sites included in WYCRO were identified during initial file searches, a few were located using these additional queries. Fort Thompson, for example, was not identified in the initial search but was found during a subsequent query. It had been encoded as an "Urban Building,"

Table 10.2. Known military sites in Wyoming, both numbered and unnumbered, believed to date between A.D. 1700-1920.

Property Type	Count
Inscription (not counting Stewart field notes)	36 (12.0%)
Battlefield	133 (44.2%)
Fort	19 (6.3%)
Camp/Cantonment/Station	74 (24.6%)
Road/Trail/Route	39 (12.9 %)
TOTAL	301 (100.0%)

which explains why it was not identified during the earlier search. Encoding has since been changed and Fort Thompson is now listed as an alternative name for Camp McGraw (48FR1293) in WYCRO. When database errors or inconsistencies were encountered, SHPO cultural records staff was consulted to help determine if changes were necessary either in this context or in the database.

Appropriate adjustments were made to the sample as a result of all these factors. As of January 2012, 301 sites had been categorized into five property types (Table 10.2) and these constitute the data set used here. A total of 118 of these (39.2%) were found during queries of the WYCRO database. Several additional localities were found with Smithsonian numbers that actually were associated as a subtype with one of the above properties. Twenty-six sites already had been listed on the National Register of Historic Places and three are National Historic Landmarks (Table 10.3). Portions of every major Wyoming fort already have been enrolled on the National Register (N=16), as have a few well-known battlefields (N=4). Besides forts and battlefields, only six other relevant properties have been given National Register distinction, Medicine Lodge Creek, Inyan Kara Mountain, Names Hill, Cantonment Reno, Jenney Stockade, and Wind River Agency Blockhouse. Six of the total 26 enrolled sites are from Johnson County (23.1%). Carbon, Goshen, Fremont, and Sheridan counties have two each. Albany, Big Horn, Converse, Crook, Hot Springs, Laramie, Lincoln, Natrona, Park, Sublette, Uinta, and Weston have one each.

The three National Historic Landmarks are Fort Phil Kearny (48JO70) and its associated sites, Fort D. A. Russell (48LA71), and Fort Yellowstone (48YE1057). The only battlefields with NHL designation are Fetterman (48SH127) and Wagon Box (48SH129) by virtue of their connection to Fort Phil Kearny (State Historic Preservation Office 2008). Vague boundary documentation exists for many sites with National Register and National Historic Landmark status that were recorded in the 1960s and 1970s. This problem constitutes an important data gap to be addressed by future research as time and funding permit.

Less than half the known properties discussed in this context have been investigated to the point a Smithsonian site number was assigned, and even fewer have been studied archaeologically to generate detailed physical evidence for activity areas and property boundaries. This situation is understandable, however, because historic preservation and site management often lag behind research because some level of knowledge about a property and its significance is required to develop appropriate stewardship goals. A quandary that can evolve from this lag is when site numbers are issued to locations that have yet to produce any physical evidence of their existence. In contrast, management sometimes

Table 10.3. Military Sites on the National Register of Historic Places as of May 31, 2007. Three National Historic Landmarks are designated NHL under site name.

No.	Type	Site Name	County	Site # 48-
1.	Inscription	Medicine Lodge Creek Site	Big Horn	BH499
2.	Inscription	Inyan Kara Mountain	Crook	CK57
3.	Inscription	Names Hill	Lincoln	LN39
4.	Battlefield	Bates	Hot Springs	HO46
5.	Battlefield	Dull Knife	Johnson	JO92
6.	Battlefield	Connor	Sheridan	SH120
7.	Battlefield	Crazy Woman (+ Features)	Johnson	JO93
8.	Fort	Sanders – Guardhouse	Albany	AB147
9.	Fort	Fred Steele	Carbon	CR480
10.	Fort	Fetterman	Converse	CO10
11.	Fort	Laramie	Goshen	GO1
12.	Fort	McKinney	Johnson	JO104
13.	Fort	Phil Kearny (+assoc. sites) (NHL)	Johnson	JO70
14.	Fort	Reno (Connor)	Johnson	JO94
15.	Fort	D. A. Russell (NHL)	Laramie	LA71
16.	Fort	Caspar	Natrona	NA209
17.	Fort	Washakie	Fremont	FR430
18.	Fort	Mackenzie	Sheridan	SH124
19.	Fort	Bonneville (probably nonmilitary)	Sublette	SU209
20.	Fort	Bridger	Uinta	UT29
21.	Fort	Halleck	Carbon	CR428
22.	Fort	Laramie Hog Ranch	Goshen	GO237
23.	Fort	Yellowstone (NHL)	Park	YE1057
24.	Cantonment	Reno (Depot McKinney)	Johnson	JO91
25.	Camp	Jenney Stockade	Weston	WE61
26.	Other	Wind River Agency Blockhouse	Fremont	FR714

leads research as demonstrated by the fact that ten percent of military sites in Wyoming are enrolled on the National Register even though many have received only cursory study. This is a surprisingly high percentage compared to only one percent enrollment of all recorded sites in the state (Wolf 2007:53). As history, archaeology, and historic preservation become more integrated through context development and interdisciplinary research, increasingly accurate site information will better serve the public's desire to learn about the military landscape and the state's ability to protect it.

A caveat is in order. This context does not purport to identify or list every property in Wyoming that may be pertinent to military activity from 1700-1920. Sites not mentioned in this context may exist in more obscure records, may lie buried beneath the landscape, or simply were missed during research. More sites will be added through the years and this is expected due to the dynamic nature of context development (Figure 10.2). In addition, the WYCRO database structure can be periodically revisited to evaluate its utility as a research tool through time as new data emerge. Categories may need to be modified or added to reflect the changing nature of data collection and our evolving perspective on military sites in Wyoming.

Property Types

Military sites can be categorized into several property types for purposes of research and management. A property type is "a grouping of properties defined by common physical and associative attributes" (National Park Service 1995:53). Significant properties are categorized as buildings, sites, districts, structures, or objects (National Park Service 1995:4). In this context, the property category employed for analysis is "site," defined as the "location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure" (National Park Service 1995:5). Every known location in this study meets this site definition.

If the buildings and structures on individual sites were still standing, then one could argue such locations should be considered a district comprised of a concentration of buildings, structures and objects worthy of individual property status. Such was the methodology employed for issuing individual site numbers to each building and structure on Fort D. A. Russell (F. E. Warren Air Force Base). However, most military sites in Wyoming are not nearly this well preserved; most have only foundation remnants to represent any architectural integrity. Consequently, standard archaeological terminology is more appropriate to classify the present study sample, focusing on site locations identified by an array of features, artifacts and other material residue. This terminology is wholly consistent with National Park Service procedures.

In its guidelines for developing contexts, Wyoming SHPO treats property types as a classification linking physical remains on the landscape with a specific historical theme (State Historic Preservation Office 2006). Property types are developed through theory building and research that organizes thematically related site classes in space and time. Five property types were defined for this context and they are listed with other military terms in the glossary. Although future research may demonstrate the need to include additional property types, those used here are: Inscription, Battlefield, Fort, Camp, and Road.

Inscriptions

Inscription properties include pictographs and petroglyphs containing elements suggesting the use of horses, guns, or metal tipped weapons. Panels exhibiting regimental or other designations of the U. S. Army also are included. Some military inscriptions occur at emigrant sites like Independence Rock, but these locations have their primary contextual association with transportation and trails.

Forty-two inscription sites were identified. Twenty-eight (66.7%) have site forms in WYCRO (Table 10.4), six (14.3%) others are recorded in WYCRO with field notes provided by James Stewart (Tables 10.5), and eight (19.0%) were referenced elsewhere (Table 10.6). The six Stewart sites were not tabulated in the total property counts (Table 10.2) since they await final site form preparation. WYCRO properties typically were recorded in the database as Historic Native American Inscriptions and they are the earliest sites relevant to this context. More detail on all sites found in WYCRO is available on Individual Property Forms initiated for each type (Appendix B).

Table 10.4. The Inscription category for sites listed in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-
1.	Trapper Creek Petroglyphs	BH303
2.	Medicine Lodge Creek (downstream)	BH499
3.	Inyan Kara Mountain	CK57
4.	Military Inscription	CO2245
5.	Boysen Reservoir Rock Art	FR88
6.	Castle Gardens	FR108
7.	Old Wind River Agency Blockhouse	FR714
8.	Little Popo Agie #5	FR2509
9.	Legend Rock	HO4
10.	Names Hill	LN39
11.	La Barge Bluffs	LN1640
12.	Arminto Petroglyphs	NA991
13.	Dodd Site	PA401
14.	Oregon Trail Inscriptions (Register Cliff West)	PL132
15.	Shuler Park	SH65
16.	South Piney	SU5331
17.	White Mountain	SW302
18.	Pine Canyon	SW309
19.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #30	SW9438
20.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #31	SW9439
21.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #29	SW9440
22.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #25	SW9532
23.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #26	SW9533
24.	Tolar Site	SW13775
25.	Upper Powder Spring Rock Panels #41	SW14715
26.	Powder Wash Rock Art (OAS-9)	SW16693
27.	Powder Wash Rock Art (OAS-20)	SW16699
28.	No Water	WA2066

Battlefields

Farrow (1918:64) defines battle as "an encounter between two armies, resulting from an attempt of one of the armies to attain an object while the other opposes the attempt." A battlefield is the entire landscape on which such encounters occur. It can include staging areas, reserve locations, offensive and defensive positions, combat zones, areas of attack,

Table 10.5. Selected Inscription sites recorded by Jim Stewart (personal communication 3/08) in WYCRO field notes, but without formal site forms.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-
1.	Beaver Creek East	FR2460
2.	Little Popo Agie #4	FR2508
3.	Weiser Creek	FR2676
4.	Sweetwater River #1	FR3310
5.	Beaver Creek West #2	FR3643
6.	North Fork Popo Agie Canyon	FR5668-C

Figure 10.2. Granite Mountains near Oregon (Emigrant) Trail in central Wyoming. Several military activities took place in this region, so additional sites are likely to be found. Mark E. Miller, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

Table 10.6. The Inscription category for sites not found in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	County
1.	Mahogany Buttes (southern Big Horn Basin)	Big Horn
2.	Military Creek area (near Tensleep)	Big Horn
3.	Military Inscriptions circa 1864	Carbon County
4.	Site Unknown	Central Wyoming
5.	Red Canyon (Wind River Basin)	Fremont
6.	Spur Canyon (tabulated in 10.4 as La Barge)	Lincoln
7.	Site Unknown	Unknown
8.	Bill Junction	Unknown

paths of retreat, temporary field hospitals, and the like. Combat episodes may range from relatively small scouts or patrols that prompted brief skirmishes, to larger expeditions under a coercive leader or field grade officer that produced sustained engagements. One hundred thirty-three battlefields/actions have been identified. Twenty-two of these (16.5%) were found in WYCRO (Table 10.7) and 111 (83.5%) were not (Table 10.8). One problem in quantifying the number of battles is that scores of engagements were either not named or their names never survived into historical records to the extent their locations have been recorded. More skirmishes undoubtedly occurred than are listed here and they await future discovery.

Multiple site numbers are a real concern for this property type. Three battlefields in WYCRO each have at least two different Smithsonian site numbers: Bates, Red Buttes, and Bannock. The exact locations for these engagements have not been confirmed, which helps account for the issuance of multiple numbers. In the distant past, numbers were infrequently given to sites before their locations were verified due to a variety of management practices that evolved over the years. Today ground-truthing is needed to establish each specific site location prior to receiving a site number.

Forts

Farrow defines fort as "a strong or fortified place, usually surrounded with a ditch, rampart and parapet; a fortification" (1918:241). Hart adds that a fort is "a relatively permanent installation, though this term was used loosely to describe many non-military defended stockades, trading posts, or blockhouses" (1963:182). Most Wyoming military forts were open without ditches or fortifications, though Fort Reno and Fort Phil Kearny are notable exceptions. Also, in 1858 the Army added two lunettes to opposite corners of the stockade at Fort Bridger that had been abandoned by the Mormons (Hoagland 2004:35). Typically a military fort was officially commissioned, garrisoned by army units, and then decommissioned when it no longer served a strategic purpose. Forts are considered more formal military installations than camps, cantonments, or stations.

Nineteen locations have been mentioned as forts either in WYCRO (15 sites, 79%) or the relevant literature (4 sites, 21%) (Tables 10.9 and 10.10). Features within a given fort boundary like dumps, target ranges, and individual structures typically are considered contributing, noncontributing, or unevaluated property subtypes (features) under a single Smithsonian site number.

Many trading posts and civilian fortifications were not regularly defended by the military so they are not

Table 10.7. The Battlefield category for sites listed in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-	Date
1.	Fraeb Fight	CR1184	August 1841
2.	Grattan	GO34	Aug. 19, 1854
3.	Simpson's Hollow	SW1818	October 5, 1857
4.	Townsend Wagon Train	JO1613	July 7 or 9, 1864
5.	Brown Springs	CO103	July 19, 1864
6.	Red Buttes (Custard's Wagon Train)	NA294,559,562	July 26, 1865
7.	Sage Creek	CO184	April 22, 1865
8.	Bone Rifle Pits (Bone Pile Creek)	CA270	Aug. 13-15,1865
9.	Caballo Creek Rifle Pits	CA271	Aug. 1865
10.	Connor (Tongue River)	SH120	Aug. 29, 1865
11.	Crowheart Butte	FR1264	March 1866
12.	T-7 Rifle Pits/Sawyers' Wagon Train	CA272	July 12, 1866
13.	Crazy Woman	JO93	July 20 or 21, 1866
14.	Dec. 6, 1866 (Peno Creek)	SH1387	Dec. 6, 1866
15.	Fetterman (Fort Phil Kearny)	SH127	Dec. 21, 1866
16.	Wagon Box	SH129	Aug. 2, 1867
17.	Bates (Snake Mountain, Bad Water)	HO46/WA424	July 4, 1874
18.	Tongue River Heights	SH951	June 9, 1876
19.	Sibley (monument SH130)	SH486	July 7, 1876
20.	Dull Knife (Red Fork Powder River)	JO92	Nov. 25, 1876
21.	Bannock/Bennett Butte/Bennett Creek	PA214,315	September 4, 1878
22.	Cold Springs Rifle Pits	PL124	Unknown

considered military sites. At least nine of these have been referred to as forts in the literature. These are Fort William (48GO161) (Walker 2004); Fort Platte (48GO33) (WYCRO); Fort Seminoe (aka Cimineau) (48NA288) (Walker 2009); Fort Bonneville (48SU29) (Gardner et al. 1991:22-28); Portuguese Houses (Grey 1966; Todd 1965:247-263); Aspen Hut (McDermott 1991[II]:118-119); Fort LaClede (McAuslan 1961); and Fort Bridger #1 (48SW4074) and # 2 (48UT1091) (Gowans and Campbell 1975). Fort Supply (48UT252) (Table 10.9) is a candidate here as well.

Camps/Cantonments/Stations

Camps, cantonments, and stations are subsumed into this category due to their similar function in military maneuvers. Farrow defines camp as "the ground or spot on which tents, huts, etc., are erected for shelter, especially for an army or body of troops" (1918:100). Hart adds that a camp is a semi-permanent fort, or even an overnight stop, though the ups and downs of Army policy and Congressional budgets sometimes shifted forts to camps and vice versa" (1963:182). Consequently, forts and camps are not always mutually exclusive categories. When

Table 10.8. The Battlefield/Action category for sites not found in the WYCRO database.*

No.	Site Name	County?	Date
1.	Hoback	Jackson	Summer 1832
2.	Skirmish on Muddy Creek	Carbon	1845
3.	Platte Ferry	Goshen	June 15, 1853
4.	Attack on Fort Laramie	Goshen	August 28, 1854
5.	Horse Creek	Goshen	November 13, 1854
6.	Pass Creek	Carbon	February 20, 1863
7.	Sweetwater Bridge	Fremont	April 3, 1863
8.	Grand Pass	Carbon	July 7, 1863
9.	Muddy Creek	Carbon	August 1863
10.	Kelly Wagon Train	Converse	July 12, 1864
11.	LaParelle Creek (sic)	Converse?	February 13, 1865
12.	Camp Marshall	Converse?	March 28, 1865
13.	Camp Marshall	Converse?	April 23, 1865
14.	Deer Creek Station	See CO178	May 20, 1865
15.	Elkhorn	Platte?	May 28, 1865
16.	Dry Creek	Natrona?	June 3, 1865
17.	Sage Creek Station	See CR463	June 8, 1865
18.	Heenan Fight	Carbon	June 1865
19.	Sweetwater Station	Natrona	June 21, 1865
20.	Platte Bridge	See NA209	July 26, 1865
21.	Crazy Woman's Fork	Johnson	August 13, 1865
22.	Powder River	Johnson?	August 16, 1865
23.	Sawyers' Wagon Train	Sheridan	September 1, 1865
24.	Near Fort Laramie	Goshen	September 27, 1865
25.	Laramie Peak	Converse?	November 1865
26.	Cazeau Wagon Train	Sheridan	July 17, 1866
27.	Crazy Woman's Fork	Johnson	July 21, 1866
28.	Clear Creek	Johnson	July 24, 1866
29.	Floyd's Wagon Train		July 24, 1866
30.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	August 9, 1866
31.	Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson	Sept. 10-16, 1866
32.	Fort Phil Kearny/Peno Creek	Sheridan?	Sept. 13-16, 1866

No.	Site Name	County?	Date
33.	Tongue River	Sheridan?	September 21, 1866
34.	Near LaBonte Creek	Converse?	September 28, 1866
35.	Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson	September 29, 1866
36.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	October 6, 1866
37.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	February 27, 1867
38.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	April 26, 1867
39.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	April 27, 1867
40.	Near LaPrelle Creek	Converse?	May 1, 1867
41.	Near Bridger's Ferry	Converse?	May 23, 1867
42.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	May 30, 1867
43.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	June 12, 1867
44.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	June 18, 1867
45.	Bitter Creek	Sweetwater?	June 23, 1867
46.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	June 30, 1867
47.	Crazy Woman's Fork/O'Connor Spr.	Johnson?	August 13, 1867
48.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	August 14, 1867
49.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	August 16, 1867
50.	Crazy Woman's Fork	Johnson?	October 20, 1867
51.	Goose Creek/Shurly's Fight	Sheridan?	November 4, 1867
52.	Crazy Woman's Fork	Johnson?	November 13, 1867
53.	DeSchmidt Lake (sic)	Johnson	November 22, 1867
54.	Shell Creek	Big Horn	November 29, 1867
55.	Crazy Woman Creek	Johnson	December 1-2, 1867
56.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	December 14, 1867
57.	Near Fort Fetterman	Converse	March 18, 1868
58.	Horseshoe/Twin Springs Ranches		March 20, 1868
59.	Rock Creek	Albany?	April 3, 1868
60.	UP Train 70 miles outside Laramie	Carbon?	June 27, 1868
61.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	July 4, 1868
62.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	July 5, 1868
63.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	July 16, 1868
64.	Near Fort Phil Kearny	Johnson?	July 18, 1868
65.	Fort Reno	Johnson	July 19, 1868
66.	Between Forts Laramie and Fetterman	?	July 23, 1868

No.	Site Name	County?	Date
67.	Near Fort Reno	Johnson	July 26, 1868
68.	Fort Phil Kearny burned	Johnson	First half August 1868
69.	Between Forts Fetterman and Reno	?	Mid-late August 1868
70.	North of Cheyenne	Laramie?	August 28, 1868
71.	Near Fort Fred Steele	Carbon	March22, 1869
72.	Near LaBonte Creek	Converse?	April 6, 1869
73.	Near Fort Fred Steele	Carbon	May 21, 1869
74.	Laramie Peak	Converse?	September 12, 1869
75.	Popo Agie	Fremont	September 14, 1869
76.	Little Wind River	Fremont	September 14, 1869
77.	Near Whiskey Gap	Carbon?	September 15, 1869
78.	Point of Rocks	Sweetwater	September 17, 1869
79.	Twin Creek	?	September 17, 1869
80.	Between Forts Fetterman & Laramie	?	November 6, 1869
81.	Horseshoe Creek	Platte	December 1 or 2, 1869
82.	Head of Sweetwater	Fremont	April 2, 1870
83.	Miner's Delight	Fremont	May 4, 1870
84.	Medicine Bow	Carbon?	June 25, 1870
85.	Pine Grove Meadow	Carbon	June 27, 1870
86.	Camp Brown	Fremont	June 26, 1871
87.	Near LaBonte Creek	Converse?	May 1 or 2, 1872
88.	Trout Creek	Fremont	June 1872
89.	Between Beaver Creek & Sweetwater	Fremont	September 1872
90.	Rawlins Springs	Carbon	June 28, 1873
91.	Near Fort Fetterman	Converse	Sept.18 or 20, 1873
92.	Laramie Peak Sawmill, Cottonwood	Converse?	February 9, 1874
93.	Sweetwater	Fremont?	July 13, 1874
94.	Seminole (sic) City	Carbon	July 16-17, 1874
95.	Fort Fred Steele	Carbon	July 16, 1874
96.	Rattlesnake Hills	Natrona	July 19, 1874
97.	Little Popo Agie	Fremont	July 1, 1875
98.	Dry Forks of Powder River	Johnson?	March 5, 1876
99.	Near Elkhorn Creek	Which one?	June 22, 1876
100.	Near Hat Creek	Natrona?	July 17-18, 1876

No.	Site Name	County?	Date
101.	Heck Reel's Wagon Train	Platte	August 1, 1876
102.	Richard Creek	Park/Platte?	October 14, 1876
103.	Elkhorn Creek	Which one?	January 12, 1877
104.	Index Peak	Yellowstone	Aug. 29-30, 1878
105.	Snake River	Teton	September 12, 1878
106.	Near Bluff Station	?	January 20, 1879
107.	Near Ft. Washakie, Shoshone Agency	See FR430	April 29, 1882
108.	Chinese Massacre	See SW945	September 2, 1885
109.	Johnson County War	Johnson	April 1892
110.	Jackson Hole Conspiracy	Teton	Summer 1895
111.	Gillette	Campbell	September 1906

* Sources particularly valuable for listing these engagements include Sheridan's (1882) *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868 to 1882;* Heitman's (1903, volume 2, pp. 388-474) section on *Chronological list of battles, actions, etc., in which troops of the Regular Army have participated, and troops engaged, September 1789 to July 4, 1902;* Floyd's (1979) reproduction of *Chronological List of Actions, &c., With Indians from January 15, 1837 to January, 1891;* Peters' (1966) *Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier 1790 -1895* (which includes some of the above sources); Henry's (1970) work near Fort Laramie; and McDermott's (2010) two volume publication on *Red Cloud's War.*

discrepancies occurred, the particular site involved was described in a single property type category.

A cantonment is a "town or village or part of same, occupied by a body of troops; a shelter or place of rest for an army" (Farrow 1918:103). Cantonments are "a more temporary place, many times the ancestor of a fort" (Hart 1963:182). A station is simply "a locality chosen for the rendezvous of troops" (Farrow 1918:585). Each of these property types holds a less permanent status than a fort as an area occupied by troops. The camp property type also has a broader geographic distribution than contemporary forts, because they were more ephemeral and developed during various detached duty expeditions beyond the confines of the main garrison.

Seventy-four sites fall into this type, with 34 (45.9%) found in WYCRO and 40 (54.1%) not found there (Tables 10.11 and 10.12). Two other sites deserve brief mention. Pacific Springs (48FR1270) is a station on the Oregon Trail used for various purposes from 1862-1876. Military units were nearby during this period, although the site itself does not seem to have been garrisoned, so it is not considered military (McDermott 1991[II]:131-133). Another "camp" (48YE17) shows up in the WYCRO database, but data are inconclusive to demonstrate its function as a military location.

Roads/Trails/Routes

Many significant Wyoming roads and trails during the period under study are emigrant routes guarded at times by military detachments, but they are not considered military roads. The Oregon Trail and Overland Trail are two examples. Such properties are best documented in transportation contexts focusing specifically on that theme. Several of these already

Table 10.9. The Fort category for sites listed in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-	Dates
1.	Laramie	GO1	June 26, 1849-March 2, 1890
2.	Supply (not military)	UT252	1853
3.	Bridger	UT29	June 7, 1858-November 6, 1890
4.	Caspar	NA209	May 1862-October 19, 1867
5.	Halleck	CR428	July 20, 1862-July 4, 1866
6.	Reno (Connor)	JO94	August 14, 1865-August 18, 1868
7.	Phil Kearny	JO70	July 13, 1866-July 31, 1868
8.	Sanders	AB147	July 10, 1866-May 22, 1882
9.	Fetterman	CO10	July 19, 1867-November 6, 1882
10.	D. A. Russell	LA71	July 21, 1867-present
11.	Fred Steele	CR480	June 30, 1868-November 3, 1886
12.	Washakie	FR430	January 1871-March 30, 1909
13.	McKinney #2	JO104	October 12, 1876-November 9, 1894
14.	Yellowstone	YE1057	August 17, 1886-1918
15.	Mackenzie	SH124	December 14, 1898-November 3, 1918

Table 10.10. The Fort category for sites not found in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	County	Dates
1.	McHenry	?	Unknown
2.	Piney	?	Unknown
3.	Pine Bluffs	Laramie	1870
4.	Rawlins	Carbon	1877

are listed as National Historic Trails (National Park Service 2007). Military engineers often surveyed portions of these roads and trails, and it was the military effort that deserved mention in this context.

Thirty-nine roads/trails/routes are tabulated as having some direct relevance to a military context. Eighteen (46.2%) were found in WYCRO and 21 (53.8%) were not (Tables 10.13 and 10.14). Other military routes may come to light as research progresses.

Impacts and Threats to Resources

A number of impacts occurred to many military sites shortly after their period of significance ended. Most military reservations surrounding decommissioned forts were transferred from the War Department to the Department of the Interior, thus opening large tracts of public land to homesteading, community development, and other activities impacting the landscape. Fort buildings and

Table 10.11. The Camp/Cantonment/Station category for sites listed in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-	Dates
1.	Dragoon Camp	UT649	Unknown
2.	1849 Lime Kiln	PL154	1849
3.	Camp Davis (Richard's Trading Post)	NA866	1855-56
4.	Camp Payne (Camp on Platte Bridge, Fort Clay, Fort Payne)	NA867	1856-1859
5.	Camp Scott	UT249	1857-1858
6.	Camp McGraw (Fort Thompson)	FR1293	1857-1858
7.	Deer Creek Station	CO178	1857-1866
8.	Camp Jenney (Jenney's Stockade)	WE61	1857, 1875-1876
9.	Camp Walbach	LA108	1858-1859
10.	South Pass Camp (Rocky Mts.1845; Highland; Burnt Ranch)	FR244	1862-1867
11.	St Mary's (Rocky Ridge)	FR230	1862-1867
12.	Three Crossings	FR231	1862-1867
13.	LaClede Station	SW941	1862-1869
14.	Camp La Bonte (Camp Marshall, La Bonte Station)	CO179	1865
15.	Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin)	LA106	1867-1889
16.	Camp Augur (Camp Brown #1)	FR718	1869-1871
17.	Camp Stambaugh	FR436	1870-1878
18.	Cantonment Reno (Depot McKinney)	JO91	1876-1879
19.	Crook's Camp at Sheridan	SH125	1876
20.	Crook's Supply	SH479	1876
21.	Camp Cloud Peak	SH499	1876
22.	Camp Devin	CK410	1878
23.	Pole Mountain	AB1445	1879-1961
24.	Limestone Kiln	PL1511	Mid-1800s
25.	Soda Butte Soldier Station	YE88	1884-end
26.	Camp O. O. Howard	LA107	1885
27.	Camp Pilot Butte	SW945	1885-1889
28.	Norris Soldier Station	YE819	1886-1918
29.	South Entrance Soldier Station (Snake River Soldier Station)	TE616	1892 & 1902
30.	Camp P. A. Bettens	SH257	1892
31.	Tower Fall Soldier Station	YE163	1901 & 1907
32.	Bechler River Soldier Station	YE235	1911-1916
33.	Pratt-Ferris N. Horse Camp	GO51	Unknown
34.	Limestone Kiln	PL1418	Unknown

Table 10.12. The Camp/Cantonment/Station category for sites not found in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	County/Nat. Park	Dates
1.	Camp Maclin	Goshen	1849
2.	Camp on North Fork of the Platte River	Wyoming?	1855
3.	Bitter Cottonwood	Platte?	1856
4.	Camps near Fort Laramie	Goshen	1856-1859
5.	Camp Winfield	Lincoln	1857
6.	Camp on Laramie River	Albany/Platte?	1858,1873
7.	Camp Horseshoe	Platte	1862-1866
8.	Camp Stillings	Natrona	1862-1866
9.	Camp Plumb	Converse	1865
10.	Camp Dodge	Natrona	1865
11.	Detachment at Bridger's Ferry	Converse	1866
12.	Pineries Near Wagon Box Fight	Sheridan/Johnson	1866-1868
13.	Snake Indian Reservation Camp	Fremont	1869
14.	Belle Fourche	Crook	July 18-19, 1874
15.	Unnamed Camp	Crook	July 20, 1874
16.	Red Water Valley	Crook	July 21, 1874
17.	Inya Kara	Crook	July 22-23, 1874
18.	Floral Valley	Crook	July 24-25, 1874
19.	Camp Transfer (Aug. 31-Sept. 4)	Crook?	1874
20.	Camp Bradley (Aug. 25-29, Sept. 9)	Crook	1874
21.	Camp at Hat Creek (Sage Creek)	Niobrara	1876-1877
22.	Miles' Camp on Heart Mountain	Park	1878
23.	Snake River Camp	Teton	1879-1883
24.	Camp Medicine Butte	Uinta	1885-1887
25.	Camp Sheridan (See Fort Yellowstone)	Yellowstone	1886-1891
26.	Grand Canyon Soldier Station (S.S.)	Yellowstone	1886
27.	Riverside S.S.	Yellowstone	1886
28.	Lower Geyser Basin S.S. (Fountain)	Yellowstone	1886
29.	Upper Geyser Basin S.S. (Old Faithful)	Yellowstone	1886
30.	Lake Outlet S.S.	Yellowstone	1887
31.	Camp Douglas	Converse	1892
32.	Camp Elkins	Converse/Natrona?	1892
33.	Jackson's Hole WY	Teton	1895
34.	Thumb Bay S.S.	Yellowstone	1897
35.	Crevice S.S.	Yellowstone	1901 & 1912
36.	Gardiner S.S.	Yellowstone	1903
37.	Sylvan Pass S.S.	Yellowstone	1904
38.	Casper, Wyo. Station	Natrona	1904 (September)
39.	Gallatin S.S.	Yellowstone	1908
40.	Big Horn County	Big Horn	1909

Table 10.13. The Road/Trail/Route category for sites listed in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Site # 48-	Dates
1.	Fort Halleck-Fort Laramie Road	AB355	1862-1865
2.	Fort Halleck-Fort Laramie Road	CR7227	1862-1866
3.	Fort John-Fort Pierre Road (Fort Pierre-Fort Laramie Trail)	GO165	Unknown
4.	Sawyer's Expedition	CA1570	1865
5.	Fort Thompson Road	FR1283	1857-1867
6.	Cheyenne-Red Cloud Agency Road	GO169, LA443	1867
7.	Cheyenne-Fort Fetterman Road (Camp Carlin-Fort Fetterman Road)	PL178	1867-1874 (Army use)
8.	Fort Fetterman-Fort Pierre Road	CA1568	1867?-1882
9.	Cheyenne-Black Hills Stage Road	LA448	1867-~1890 (Army use)
10.	Fort Fetterman Hay Road	CO1770	1867-1882
11.	Rawlins-Fort Washakie Road	CR1214; FR415; SW886	ca. 1869-1906
12.	Custer's Black Hills Expedition	CK1458, WE1152	1874
13.	Crook's Scout, Powder R. Expedition	JO2293, CA4975	1876
14.	Rock Creek-Fort Fetterman Stage Road	AB356, CO776	1877-1886
15.	Nez Perce Trail	PA251	1877
16.	Bannock Trail	YE679	1838-1878
17.	White River Expedition (Agency Road)	CR5470/3648	1879
18.	Kingman Road	YE785	1885?

structures often were auctioned off and removed from the site when the Army left. Transfer of a property from one branch of service to another, as in the case of F. E. Warren Air Force Base, also can generate impacts to historical significance.

While some military routes were abandoned, portions of others became ranch roads and were modified to accommodate different types of vehicles using them. A substantial part of the transportation corridor of southern Wyoming has been paved multiple times further obscuring evidence for military use of the best passage between the Central and Southern Rocky Mountains.

Camps and battlefields were so ephemeral that permanent structures generally weren't built at each for military use. Consequently their physical evidence often melts back into the natural landscape fairly quickly and they might not be relocated without careful archaeological investigation. Agricultural practices such as plowing and irrigation also impacted these properties through the years, disturbing object proveniences and contributing to the buildup of organic rich soil over physical remains.

Some impacts are more recent in nature and these deserve attention as well. The perception of threats to military properties as listed in Appendix B was briefly assessed although data are incomplete for some entries. Several threat criteria were developed

Table 10.14. The Road/Trail/Route category for sites not found in the WYCRO database.

No.	Site Name	Dates
1.	Fremont Route	1842
2.	Fremont Route	1843-1844
3.	Kearny Route	1845
4.	Stansbury Route	1850
5.	Lander Route-Pacific Railroad Survey	Circa 1853
6.	Williamson Route-Pacific Railroad Sur.	Circa 1853
7.	Warren Route	1855
8.	Bryan Route	1856
9.	Warren Route	1857
10.	Simpson Route	1858
11.	Camp Walbach-Fort Laramie Road	1858
12.	Raynolds Yellowstone Expedition	1859-1860
13	Cheyenne-Fort Laramie Freight Road	1867
14.	Fort Fetterman-Medicine Bow Road	1867
15.	Fort Laramie-Rock Creek Station Road	ca. 1868
16.	Yellowstone Expedition	July 26-Oct. 15, 1872
17.	Dodge Black Hills Expedition	1875
18.	Crook's Big Horn Expedition	March 1-26, 1876
19.	Crook's Big Horn/Yellowstone Expedition	May 28-July 19, 1876
20.	Crook's Big Horn/Yellowstone Expedition	Aug. 5, 1876
21.	Miles City-Deadwood Wagon Road & Telegraph Line	1878

from WYCRO site forms that might be relevant to each property, including community expansion, recreational impacts, heavy visitation, unscientific collecting, ground disturbance, and different types of land use. These are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories.

A sample of records for 25 sites with stone inscriptions was reviewed and like all other properties most have multiple threats associated with them. Wind was specifically identified as a factor at seven sites, water at eight, rock spalling at nine, and general erosion at 10 sites. Vandalism was noted at 11 sites, including one occurrence where inscriptions actually had been removed. Four sites were threatened either by vehicular traffic, visitation, construction, or oil and gas development. One site was considered threatened by grazing and one by swallow nests. Not surprisingly, natural erosion and vandalism are the biggest threats to rock inscription sites.

Records for 20 battlefields also were assessed. Artifact collecting and metal detecting were identified as threats a combined 13 times. Development activities for private interests, energy, or city needs were identified five times. Recreational use and visitation was noted four times, erosion three times, and ranching/grazing use 10 times.

Of 18 forts or related property subtypes, ten identified artifact collecting and metal detecting as threats. Five noted visitation, five construction/development, three continued use, and two ranching activities. One threat each was classified as dismantled structures, highway construction, recreation, vandalism, and railroad construction/maintenance.

Of 30 military camps, there were 20 instances where development was identified as a threat. The next highest category was 15 instances of collecting or metal detecting. Nine threats were identified as agricultural activities, six as visitation, two as rodent burrowing, two as structural decay, and one each for wind, erosion, traffic, natural deterioration, and extreme weather.

Seventeen records were assessed for threats to roads and trails, and there were 11 cases where erosion was listed. Development was identified eight times, agricultural activities six times, vehicle traffic five times, and blading/excavation four times. Continued use was noted twice. Deflation, buried telephone cable, existing highway, construction, and visitation were each identified once.

In general, natural erosion, collecting, and vandalism were the most frequently occurring types of threat. There is little remedy that site managers or preservation specialists can offer to limit the threat of natural forces on cultural resources. Some precautions can be taken, but nature will continue to operate. A higher priority might be to work toward eliminating the threats of collecting, vandalism, and metal detecting. The recent stewardship initiative in the Cultural Resources Division of the Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources is a good step toward educating the public about the fragile nature of our cultural landscape. Existing federal and state laws and regulations are equally important and they need to be more effectively communicated to a broader public. However, a stronger commitment to protecting significant sites through law enforcement probably will be required before vandalism is significantly reduced. Finally, tourism specialists can focus on the potential impact that increased statewide visitation can have on sites and resources. Historic preservation specialists and site management staffs can work with tourism to develop plans for anticipating and minimizing impacts that may be generated through cultural heritage tourism so sites are preserved intact for future generations.

The record of military sites in Wyoming from 1700-1920 is an important chapter in the history of our state. Our cultural landscape was shaped in the past by violent events that unfolded when competition over natural resources and national defense were critical factors, much as they are today for that matter. Ongoing exploration and development of Wyoming's energy reserves, coupled with the growth of heritage tourism, is constantly bringing people into contact with the fragile physical evidence of our past. Hopefully this context will help future planners better integrate the reality of resource development with the needs of historic preservation.

Some Data Gaps and Research Strategies

This study has illustrated the need to develop several research goals pertaining to military sites in Wyoming ranging from general research domains with broad themes and chronology to site-specific issues involving spatial analysis and assemblage classification. Each goal requires specific investigative strategies to answer pertinent questions. Several data gaps and potential research strategies illustrate this process.

One major data gap is that scholars do not yet know where the military landscape is for all of the sites mentioned in historic records. Three basic research questions guide resolution of this issue: (1) how many military sites occur in Wyoming for the period under study, (2) where are they located, and (3) what property types are represented? A finite number of military sites were occupied during this period and investigators already know something about many of them. However the list of known sites from the historic literature is longer than the list of recorded sites in WYCRO, so much more archival research and field work are required.

A good example of the information potential for a single obscure event comes from Joe Wheeler's recent

work on military activities related to Fort Sanders. He spent a week at the National Archives and discovered several references relevant to this property (personal communication July 2010). In Post Special Order No. 169 written in September 1868, Wheeler found that First Lieutenant Norwood of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry took available troopers in his company on a scout after hostile Indians. The command carried four days rations on pack mules and at least one hundred rounds of carbine ammunition per man, implying the detachment was gone several days. Sergeant J. Parker and six privates apparently set up a supply camp near Rock Creek Station to support the scout. In other words, a single 4-day expedition probably left a physical footprint on the landscape of five separate camps, the military scout route itself, and any minor encounters with hostiles or others that may never have warranted a detailed report.

This is only one scout detached from one fort that lasted less than a week. Hundreds of similar situations undoubtedly occurred throughout the state. Future field investigations may discover properties related to these events, perhaps a small camp or brief skirmish area long forgotten in historical documents. Scholars must be vigilant and not expect that every military site has a well-documented record in the historic literature. Unless the archaeological integrity of these smaller sites is spectacular, it is unlikely any of them will rise to the level of National Register eligibility.

Most of the records that relate to nineteenth century military structures and events may be found in the National Archives in Washington, D. C. Records of the Quartermaster General and of the Chief of Engineers, along with their administrative units, are good examples of records for military structures (McDermott, personal communication 2011). Inspector General Reports and Cartographic Records, along with the Still Photo Division, contain drawings and maps. Hill (1981) offers one guide to the use of these records.

Another data gap is the lack of meaningful boundaries around many military sites already enrolled on the National Register of Historic Places. Early researchers often paid minimal attention to the physical limits of properties, yet today boundaries are a critical component in any nomination form. Future investigations could be directed to re-evaluating vague boundaries on enrolled sites as time and funding permit. Gathering such information would help preservation and management of these properties, and generate a more robust record for ongoing research.

Boundaries of some fort properties for example, might be expanded to include peripheral features like cemeteries, dumps, target ranges, and other activities that commonly occur outside the main parade ground area. However, more distant features of related interest, such as stone quarries or sawmill locations, may warrant their own site number. Boundaries are, in part, a management tool and they should take into consideration an agency's ability to properly manage an enrolled site. The important point is that boundaries should accurately reflect the geographic relationship of contributing and noncontributing features of a property and not be developed without detailed investigation. Limited evidence is not uncommon at other sites being considered for National Register status, such as certain battlefield locations elsewhere on the Plains (e.g., Banks and Snortland 2010).

Many potentially contributing features might be omitted from the boundaries of National Register sites without completion of comprehensive archaeological surveys. Class III inventories should be conducted at each of these properties to identify and amend boundaries if they have not already been done, and this likely will require renewed consultation with adjacent landowners. In doing so analysts might consider defining a discontiguous historic district to encompass relevant features on a particularly large and significant landscape, which would allow greater management flexibility in less sensitive areas. Field investigators should work closely with site managers to develop the best boundary designation to fit the reality of the resource under study as well as any management implications.

A third data gap pertains to the uncertainty

generated when multiple site numbers are issued for a single property whose location is unknown. Historical documentation includes several important sites that have yet to produce compelling physical evidence of their location and this circumstance complicates management practices. In cases where the historical record is well documented, scholars know these sites existed and what property types they were, but investigations still should verify a physical location before seeking a site number. This data gap is particularly evident for certain battlefields. Red Buttes (48NA294, 48NA559, 48NA562) is one of the best examples. The Bannock Fight (48PA214, 48PA315) and the Bates Battle (48HO46, 48WA424) are two others. Detailed landscape survey like those initiated at Red Buttes in 2008 is needed to confirm actual locations if they can be found at all. A welcome trend in recent decades is the requirement that sites submitted for Smithsonian numbers must be accompanied by specific location information and boundaries, which should minimize issuance of duplicate numbers. Researchers wishing to acquire a site number for a known military property should query the site name in WYCRO as well as the legal coordinates to be sure a number hasn't already been assigned.

Another data gap is the lack of a comprehensive catalog for each military property in the state. Filling this void can be started by completing each site category in Appendix B, a process that will generate more uniform data recording and a more comparable record of properties. For example, most sites have not yet been evaluated for their GIS integrity, list of military personnel, or specific structures present. In addition, HABS/HAER imagery is available for several military sites listed in Appendix B and hard copies acquired from the NPS web site could be kept on file with other cultural records in Laramie if desired (National Park Service 2010).

A related research domain for battlefield sites is the need for a standardized recording methodology and format so multiple site assemblages may be compared with one another to quantify variation inherent in the post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern. Systematic recovery of items and their provenience is needed to conduct detailed pattern recognition studies relevant to answering the question, how did military tactics change through time beginning with the earliest encounters between Native Americans and the U. S. Army? Past research suggests this may be a very productive avenue to strengthen the interpretive potential of sites and give the public a better understanding of historical events. Remote sensing methodologies, standardized attribute-based artifact analyses, use of public volunteers, correlating historic records with archaeological evidence, and testing research implications posed by earlier work, all can enhance our current state of knowledge. In 2000, Dr. Douglas Scott, National Park Service archaeologist, and the author chaired a military sites symposium at the Joint Midwest Archaeological & Plains Anthropological Conference in St. Paul, Minnesota. A similar symposium could be offered in the near future to promote the pursuit of theory building, common regional research goals, and identification of other important data gaps.

Each property discussed in this context also would benefit from a more comprehensive bibliography. Dr. Danny Walker has spent part of several years compiling such a record just for properties in the State Historic Sites system, and those that might have a military connection are listed in Appendix A. A similar effort is needed for all military sites to enable more efficient comparisons and syntheses of property type data, but the time and resources for such an undertaking are not yet available. Rebecca Wiewel began a very preliminary effort to compile site specific references for some of the properties in WYCRO, based largely on references mentioned in that database (Appendix B).

A related data gap is the lack of a comprehensive index of primary archival records available for military sites in Wyoming. These data, properly researched and indexed, would assist in helping resolve where sites should be located and what might be expected for the physical remains of each. Investigators would have to determine how and where primary records can be accessed, which necessarily

involves extensive archival research at local, state and national levels, including records from multiple territorial jurisdictions. Joe Wheeler, the graduate student at the University of Wyoming who spent a week at the National Archives researching primary documents on Fort Sanders, reviewed letters sent and received, general and special orders, post returns, and other War Department records, and still only studied a fraction of the available information for a single site. Multiply this by a few hundred sites and the scope of archival research quickly becomes evident. Studies also may involve international work in Spanish, French, and British archives for the period before each part of Wyoming was annexed into the United States. Armed with such information, scholars could then develop a more comprehensive file for each military site, further enhancing their value for problem oriented research and accurate public interpretation. Interdisciplinary efforts with historians, archivists and others would help in addressing this need.

Geographic trends in the database also deserve further investigation. Certain patterns within and among the various chronological periods suggest the center of military activity shifted through time in Wyoming. The first four periods prior to 1842 relate to Native American acquisition of the horse and gun, and scholars might one day attempt to refine the inscription chronology to show movement through time of guns from northeastern Wyoming and horses from southwestern Wyoming. It is tempting to suggest that early inscription sites with gun glyphs in northeastern Wyoming should be older than similar glyphs in southwestern Wyoming due to the direction and rate at which firearms entered the study area. Similarly, early horse glyphs in southwestern Wyoming should be older than horse glyphs in northeastern Wyoming (Figure 10.3). Individual images depicting both the horse and gun might be the most recent in the chronology. Unfortunately, the accuracy and precision of our dating techniques may not be refined enough to discriminate among glyphs separated by 50 years or less in dates of manufacture. Nonetheless, it is an interesting research direction that can be considered in the future.

The need to identify and interpret other possible geographic trends constitutes a related research domain. The time period 1842-1864 primarily involves events that took place in the southern half of the study area where topography was conducive to east-west travel through the Rocky Mountains. This is where emigrants passed over the Oregon and Overland Trails, and where the Mormon War threatened peace. In contrast, the first Plains Indian Wars were fought primarily in northeastern Wyoming in the Powder River country and northern valley of the North Platte River loop. Attention shifted south once more with construction of the transcontinental railroad. The second Plains Indian Wars involved northeastern Wyoming again, but except for the Dull Knife fight the area was more of a staging ground for battles fought outside the study area. It wasn't until near the end of the frontier that northwestern Wyoming figured prominently in military maneuvers with establishment of Yellowstone National Park. By the period leading up to World War I, sites throughout Wyoming had become part of a larger international effort of military readiness. If these geographic patterns hold, researchers may expect certain portions of Wyoming to be more likely than others to contain military properties from specific time intervals.

Other areas of research interest only briefly touched on here could be expanded with future investigations. For instance, questions of ethnicity are particularly relevant. How did diverse cultures involved in warfare express their military capability? Native Americans had a much different approach to armed conflict than the structured U. S. Army, with their warrior societies, counting coup, and defense of their homeland. What of the different ethnicities and nationalities represented within the U. S. Army itself? How did these variations affect artifact assemblage patterns and other physical properties relevant to this study?

Gender is another worthwhile area for study, and one that may be reflected in the archaeological record. Officers' wives played a pivotal role in helping chronicle events of the Indian Wars. Laundresses

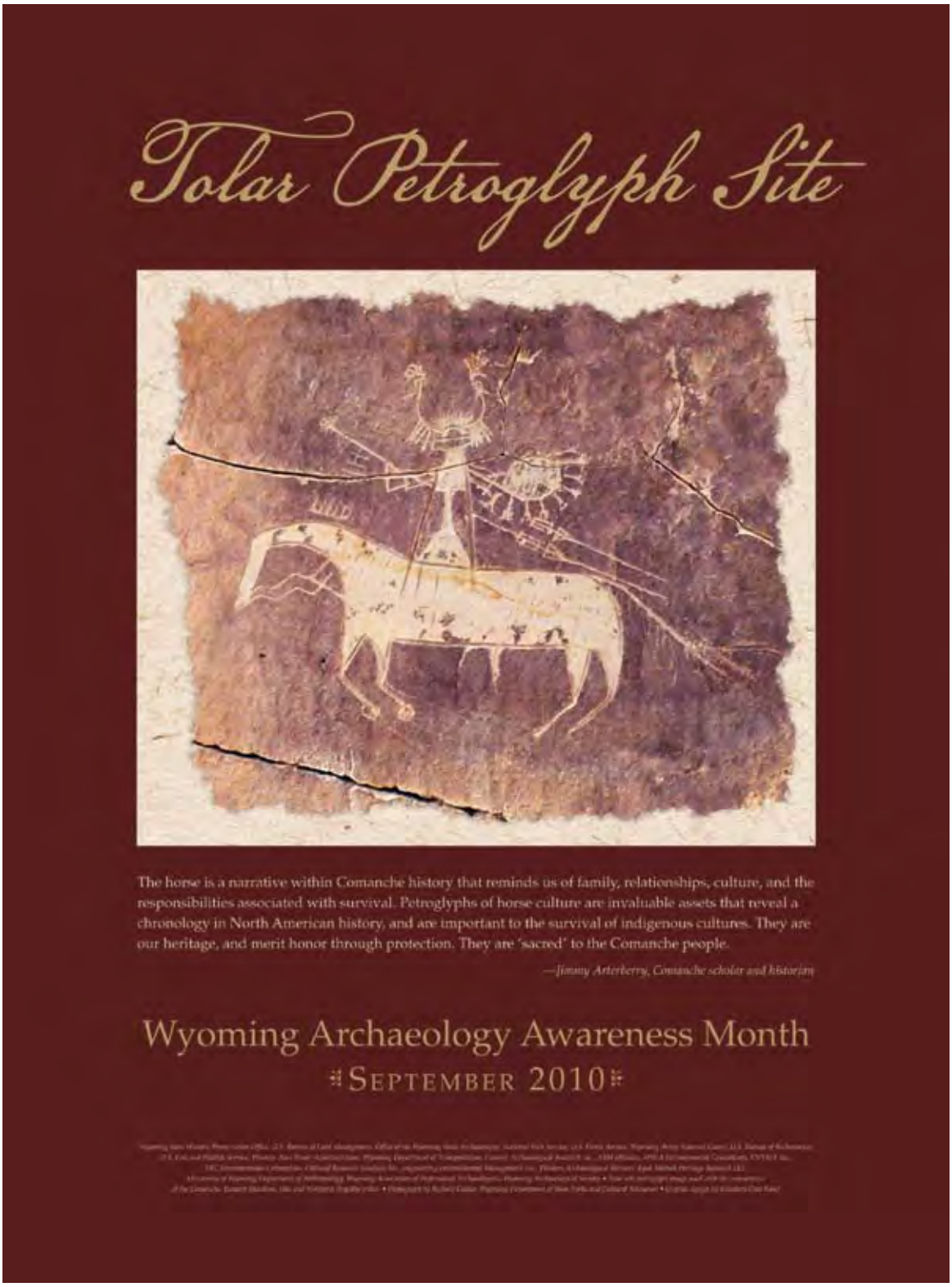

Figure 10.3. Wyoming Archaeology Awareness Month 2010 poster depicting the Tolar petroglyph site. Richard Collier, State Historic Preservation Office, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources.

were important to the overall pattern of settlement at frontier outposts. Women also were active in the social events around military outposts.

Military diet is expected to have changed through time and been affected by remoteness of outposts. An interesting comparative study would be the differential proportions of wild game and domestic animals in garrison diets at isolated outposts versus those along the railroad. Transportation, livestock contracts and hunting practices are expected to have influenced the diversity of dietary stores (Drucker 1996). Another important factor was the ability to irrigate vegetable gardens at certain forts.

There was so much violence between the U. S. Army and Native Americans for the period 1842-1890 that it becomes difficult today to comprehend meaning from all the chaos. Jerry Keenan (1997) has offered an interesting perspective. He argues that many "of the so-called Indian wars were not really wars per se but simply continuations or extensions of campaigns or battles temporarily ended by weather or lack of necessary resources. For America as a whole, it might be thought of as one war with a great many smaller splinter wars and campaigns that lasted nearly four centuries" (Keenan 1997:ix). Keenan's perspective is thought-provoking and accurate, and it explains an overall trend for the times. Even so, major hostilities in the study area occasionally did cease at least temporarily with signed treaties, as in the case of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 ending the first Plains Indian Wars. Had all parties abided by provisions in that declaration the path of western history may have tracked very differently.

Site Digitizing

A major research and management issue concerning military sites is development of a more comprehensive understanding of the landscape on which properties are found. What are the legal coordinates of each property? What is the ownership status? How has the site environment affected integrity? These are only a few of the questions that need to be addressed during detailed site inventories. With the advent of electronic imaging, managers have acquired more tools to improve their record keeping. Many sites in the WYCRO database have been digitized, but this study determined that more military properties needed similar treatment.

To remedy this, Rebecca Wiewel digitized the locations for a sample of sites in this study into the "Map Searches" portion of the Wyoming Cultural Resource Information System (WYCRIS) database (Table 10.15). Interested researchers may now access these data by obtaining a username and password from the Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office. Once a site has been digitized into WYCRIS, researchers can zoom to its location on the Wyoming map and see sites recorded for a given area of interest. While several military sites had been digitized prior to this study, available information regarding site location also was evaluated for those not previously digitized. If a property's location was known only to a general degree the site was digitized as a point. Sites whose boundaries are better known were digitized as polygons on their exact location.

Strategies for Site Assessment

There can be little intellectual value to military sites if certain analytical steps are not taken in their study. First, they must be properly identified, analyzed, and documented. Second, they should be subjected to rigorous criteria to establish their eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. Third, results of proper research and eligibility determinations should enhance more sustainable preservation management practices at sites, their ongoing research potential, and their value for public education.

One important consideration in this process is determining the landownership of any property under study, whether it is private, state or federal. Since the surface owner of a landscape actually owns the archaeological record therein, investigators must be cognizant of various jurisdictions under which they operate. Laws, regulations and policies that guide field investigations often vary according to jurisdiction and there are several different land managing entities in Wyoming. While most individual sites are likely to come under one owner, linear properties like the Nez Perce Trail cross

Table 10.15. Military sites in Wyoming and selected properties discussed in text and digitized by Rebecca Wiewel.

Inscription	Comments
1. Wagon Hound Creek #4 (48CO2245)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
2. Madison Creek Inscription (48FR3847)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
3. Arminto Petroglyphs (48NA991)	Map
4. Inscription (48SH65)	Map
Battlefield	**Comments**
1. Bates (48HO46;48WA424)	Note two site numbers. Site digitized as HO46 from the National Register nomination form. While a portion of the site may lie in Washakie Co., the site form for WA424 only provides a verbal description of the battle's location as evidence.
2. Dull Knife (48JO92)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
3. Connor (48SH120)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
4. Fetterman (48SH127)	Map
5. Wagon Box (48SH129)	Map, digitized as point at state marker
6. Tongue River (48SH951)	Map drawn from historical references and digitized as such
7. Crazy Woman (48JO93)	Digitized as point at state marker
8. Sawyer's Wagon Train (48CA272)	See CR271, no map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
9. Townsend Wagon Train (48JO1613)	Map with probable location
10. Simpson's Hollow (48SW1818)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by BLM)
11. Bone Rifle Pits (48CA270)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
12. Caballo Creek Rifle Pits (48CA271)	Sawyer Wagon Train, map
Fort	**Comments**
1. Sanders (48AB147)	Basic map; note: legals on WRC form incorrect
2. Fetterman (48CO10)	Digitized from map (note: boundary on map different from legal location)
3. Halleck (48CR428)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
4. Steele (48CR480)	Map
5. Laramie (48GO1)	Map
6. Phil Kearny (48JO70)	Basic map
7. Reno (Connor) (48JO94)	No map, only general legals; digitized as point at location of historical marker
8. McKinney (#2) (48JO104)	Map

Fort	Comments
9. D. A. Russell (48LA71)	Map
10. Caspar (48NA209)	No map, only general legals
11. Mackenzie 48SH124)	Basic map
12. Laclede (48SW1832)	Map
13. Bridger (48UT29)	Map
14. Aspen Hut (48FR2823)	Map
15. Supply (48UT252)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
16. Bonneville (48SU29)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
17. Platte (48GO33)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
18. Washakie (48FR430)	Map
Camp/Station, etc.	**Comments**
1. Deer Creek Station (48CO178)	Map
2. Camp Stambaugh (48FR436)	Map
3. Camp Augur (Camp Brown) (48FR718)	Map
4. Cantonment Reno (Depot McKinney) (48JO91)	No map—previously digitized as boundary of military reservation
5. Cheyenne Depot (Camp Carlin) (48LA106)	Map
6. Camp Payne (Camp at Platte Bridge) (48NA867)	Basic map
7. Camp Pilot Butte (48SW945)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
8. Camp P. A. Bettens (48SH257)	No map, only general legals (previously digitized by SHPO)
9. Soda Butte Soldier Station (48YE88)	Map
10. Tower Falls Soldier Station (48YE163)	Map
11. Bechler River Soldier Station and Quarters (48YE235)	Map
12. Norris Soldier Station (48YE819)	Map
13. Camp Sheridan (48YE486)	Note: site number is for Fort Yellowstone/ Mammoth Hot Springs Historic District, map
14. Camp Devin (Old and New) (48CK410)	Previously digitized by SHPO
15. Camp Davis (Fort Clay)	Map (aka Richard's Trading Post) (48NA866)

Camp/Station, etc.	Comments
16. Camp Jenny (Jenny's Stockade)	Previously digitized by SHPO
17. South Pass Camp (Rocky Mts. 1845; Highland; Burnt Ranch) (48FR244)	Previously digitized by SHPO
18. Three Crossings (48FR231)	Previously digitized by SHPO
19. Pratt-Ferris N. Horse Camp, Fort Laramie to Fort Robinson Trail (48GO51)	Map
20. Pole Mountain (48AB976; others)	Map
Other Examples	**Comments**
1. Powder House 1914-1950 (48CR4076)	Map (nonmilitary?)
3. Old Wind River Agency Blockhouse (48FR714)	Map (associated with Fort Washakie)

multiple jurisdictions. Landowner's permission to investigate is important not only for research purposes, but also for nomination to the National Register.

Significance Criteria

This context has synthesized considerable information on the research value of military sites in Wyoming, which is the first step toward building a greater understanding of their importance. Much more can be done to advance site assessments and that is why several data gaps were discussed. The second step in the process is to establish whether or not a given property rises to the level of significance necessary to be considered for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. While all sites may be considered important to the resolution of selected research questions, they may not all be considered significant from a management viewpoint. Sites also may seem significant to some investigators for one reason and not so to others. Significance can be a difficult concept to grasp (Hardesty and Little 2000:xi), therefore a definition is in order based on the content of federal laws and regulations.

Historical "significance is the importance of a property to the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, or culture of a community, State, or the Nation" (National Park Service 1991:3). Significance in this study refers specifically to the quality ascribed to properties that possess exceptional value for illustrating or interpreting the cultural heritage of military sites in Wyoming. To be significant, properties must possess a high degree of integrity and be demonstrably representative of at least one of four significance criteria: (A) an event, a series of events, activities or patterns of an area's development; (B) association with the life of an important person; (C) a building form, architectural style…or method of construction; or (D) information content of a property that can address a valid research topic (National Park Service 1995:7-10). Conversely, if a property cannot be determined significant using one of these, it is not going to be eligible for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

Data categories that may be relevant to areas of military site significance include several possible entries (National Park Service 1991:40-41). Archaeology as the study of the physical remains of these properties is a category particularly relevant to Criterion D. Criteria A, B and D could reflect the categories of ethnic heritage (the history of Native American and Euroamerican peoples) and social

history, while architecture and engineering clearly pertain to Criterion C. The Military category, or the system of defending territory, should be apparent in any of the significance criteria applicable to this context.

Any property qualifying for eligibility to the National Register under these criteria also must retain some, if not most, of seven aspects of integrity. These are: (1) location, (2) design, (3) setting, (4) materials, (5) workmanship, (6) feeling, and (7) association. Each significance criterion and aspect of integrity is briefly discussed below as it relates to military sites in Wyoming. Investigators wishing to nominate military sites to the National Register of Historic Places must consider how a property reflects these attributes. A strong nomination should be able to address at least one significance criterion and several of the aspects of integrity outlined here.

Criterion A: Military sites eligible under this criterion should exhibit clear significance for the event they represent, provided they retain a reasonable level of integrity (National Park Service 1995:12-13). The specific event or pattern of events should be considered significant for the contribution it makes to the military history of the local region, Wyoming, or the nation. A given property must be well documented, shown to have existed at the time of the event(s) and to have been associated with the event(s). From the standpoint of battlefields, several significant incidents come to mind. Although preceded a year earlier by a brief skirmish, the Grattan fight was the first major battle between the U. S. Army and Plains Indians. In some ways, it and the Platte Ferry incident inaugurated the era of warfare in the region even though they preceded the first Plains Indian Wars episode by more than a decade. The Grattan fight might be considered significant under this criterion if the battlefield landscape is ever fully documented. The Dull Knife fight was the last large engagement in the study area before all tribes were placed on reservations, so it too might fit. Others are important for different reasons and may be considered eligible with proper documentation. Routes surveyed and engineered by the military may be considered as significant trail segments under this criterion in the context of emigrant travel. Even some biographical rock art may be significant under this criterion. Unfortunately, early National Register nominations seldom specified the criteria under which they were nominated so they are not ideal examples to guide future recommendations.

Criterion B: This criterion refers to significant persons (National Park Service 1995:14-16). If a property is eligible under this category, the person associated with it must be individually significant within the historic context and must have gained importance in his/her productive life during the military use of the property. The individual's association with the property must be well documented and not speculative.

Cassity (2007:370-371) has addressed the demanding nature of this criterion because a property must pass two major tests of evaluation for it to apply. He states that the first test is the "significance of the individual (that) can be measured in some form of recognition that the person attained, either during or after his or her life, for accomplishments during the period of historic significance…. The second test … is that the historic property, when compared to other properties associated with the individual, is the most appropriate one for demonstrating that person's contribution" (Cassity 2007:370-371).

These requirements set the bar high for significance under Criterion B. Most of the individuals associated with military sites in Wyoming achieved much of their significance elsewhere or for reasons other than military service in the study area. An exception might be Captain William Judd Fetterman who died in the Fetterman Fight on December 21, 1866 near Fort Phil Kearny. He clearly is associated with that property, and his tactical decisions were largely responsible for the deaths of his entire command. Those deaths were significant to both the Lakota who commemorated the event in their winter count and the U. S. Army who named a fort after the fallen officer. The battlefield also is part

of the Fort Phil Kearny National Historic Landmark. It already has been enrolled under Criterion A (Currit 2001), and is the location of one of Wyoming's earliest commemorative monuments.

The question is, was Fetterman significant enough to the military history of Wyoming for the battlefield to warrant eligibility under Criterion B? He did not attend West Point, had been a bank teller before the Civil War, served extensively and was brevetted in that war, and then came west to Fort Phil Kearny (Heitman 1903 [1]:418; Monnett 2008:99-101). The most remarkable event in his military career clearly was his failed command of the force that perished above Peno Creek in the winter of 1866.

Properties under Criterion B typically are associated with a person's productive life, and they should illustrate rather than commemorate that person's important achievements (National Park Service 1995:14). Those achievements can be intellectual, economic, artistic, political, social or otherwise (Cassity 2007:370). Leadership, even when failed as in the case of Fetterman, is one of these categories.

It is equally important to be able to demonstrate that the property in question is directly related to the significance of a person. The Fetterman battlefield certainly holds up under this requirement. Having said this, a case also might be made for personalities like General George Crook, Colonel Nelson Miles, Red Cloud, and Dull Knife (Morning Star) who participated in or influenced specific pivotal battles in Wyoming during the Plains Indian Wars. The careers of these and other individuals gained significance due in part to these roles. However, it would be necessary to demonstrate that a property associated with a significant person "directly reflected or shaped their influence—that it was not peripheral or tangential to the activities for which the person became significant" (Cassity 2007:373). That is the difficult threshold researchers must cross in making a successful nomination, so detailed research is needed to make this criterion apply.

Criterion C: This criterion focuses on architectural design and construction, so most of its properties are likely to contain buildings or structures that have survived the ravages of time (National Park Service 1995:17-20). Significant properties must show distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction; represent the works of a master; or possess high artistic value. Several buildings and structures at Fort D. A. Russell and Fort Laramie have been identified as having significant architecture in WYCRO, so they may be candidates for this criterion. In fact, architecture is a recognized area of significance for buildings and structures on the National Register nomination form for Fort D. A. Russell (F. E. Warren Air Force Base) (Frost 1969). The 1881 powder magazine at Fort Fred Steele may be another example because it is one of the few standing structures of its kind (Community Services Collaborative 1990; Murray 1972a:180-182). However, all of these forts already are enrolled on the National Register.

Buildings and structures in this context are considered property subtypes, because the vast majority of them have not survived intact. They are represented primarily by foundations and other debris that characterize them more as archaeological features than architectural properties. It is the sites on which these features are found that are therefore identified as the property type.

Criterion D: Criterion D refers to properties that are likely to yield or have yielded information that contributes to our understanding of human history or prehistory, and the information must be considered important (National Park Service 1995:21-24). Information content of sites must be valuable enough to test well conceived hypotheses about events, groups, or cultural processes; to corroborate or amplify existing information and ideas; and to help reconstruct the sequence of cultural continuity and change in a region. Battlefields studied under the prevailing theories of pattern recognition would qualify, such as Wagon Box, Dull Knife and others. Forts and other property types containing an

archaeological record also would qualify, and most examples in Wyoming have physical remains. The same is true for military camps, certain roads/trails, rock inscriptions, or other small property subtypes of each if they retain physical evidence and integrity.

In fact, most of the military sites in Wyoming mentioned in this context probably will only have archaeological evidence remaining when investigated in the future. Consequently, significance criterion D may be the most important one to consider. It is through problem oriented archaeological investigation that the nature and diversity of material assemblages are determined; their behavioral contexts established; and the association among artifact classes, manuports, features, remains of natural resources, and the landscape in general are evaluated.

According to Little and others (2000:29), there are five primary steps in evaluating a property under Criterion D, and these are relevant to the study of any military site. Each is briefly discussed here.

1. Identify relevant data sets or categories of archaeological, historical, or ecological information. For military sites, these categories could include weapons and accoutrements from the U.S. Army and its allies and adversaries. Relevant features could be the built environment at outposts, modified landscapes at battlefields, Indian villages, or the remnants of engineered roads for emigrant or military travel. Historic data sets include archived military records, civilian records, Native American oral traditions, maps, and other primary sources. The search for ecological information could lead the archaeologist to undertake interdisciplinary study of past climates, hydrology, dendrochronology, geomorphology, and other sources of information that may inform about a site's occupation and activities.

2. Identify the appropriate historical and archaeological framework in which evaluation will occur. This is the historic context that guides field and laboratory assessments. In the present case, the analytical framework is military sites in Wyoming from A.D. 1700 to 1920. The theme, geography and chronology are fixed to allow investigators to focus on a manageable data set.

3. Identify the important research questions that can be addressed by the chosen data sets. Several research questions and data gaps are addressed throughout this chapter, and need not be reiterated here. The point to be made is that data collection and analysis need to be structured in a manner influenced by explicit research questions and design. That is not to say additional observations and new research directions cannot be addressed, but that the significance of sites should be evaluated in the context of relevant research domains. Clearly, field and laboratory research are dynamic processes and popular interpretations can be challenged by new data acquisitions.

4. Take archaeological integrity into consideration and evaluate data in terms of their potential to answer research questions. The archaeologist must plan his/her investigation to be able to deal with the reality of an incomplete archaeological record. However, the research questions chosen should be broad and flexible to allow some focus of research on sites that have been compromised by erosion or vandalism. The strongest interpretive potential probably will lie in the investigation of sites whose integrity allows detailed spatial analysis of artifact and feature distributions.

5. Identify the important information that an archaeological study of a given property has yielded or is likely to yield. This step prompts the archaeologist to do a comprehensive history of investigations at sites that already have been studied before new investigations are undertaken. It also focuses the research design on the nature of the archaeological record at the site, and compels the investigator to address the aspects of site integrity listed below.

Aspects of Integrity

Eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places also relies on assessments of seven aspects of integrity. Significant sites must demonstrate preserved integrity. The importance of each aspect varies depending on the significance criteria under consideration and the nature of the property. For

example, Little and others (2000:35-36) have argued that location, design, setting, and materials generally are the most relevant aspects of integrity under Criterion D. Ideally, investigators will first determine the purpose, place and time period under which a property is significant in order to address appropriate aspects of integrity.

Location is the actual place where a historic property was constructed or an historic event occurred (National Park Service 1995:44). It is the most important aspect of integrity for military sites, since it is highly unlikely that a fort, battlefield or other site will meet National Register criteria of significance if it is mentioned only in historical records and cannot be found on the landscape. Without an archaeological signature, there is no physical evidence to evaluate, no sense of integrity, and therefore no tangible property to proclaim as significant.

Field investigators must take special care to accurately record the legal coordinates of a discovery, document GPS readings if possible, verify what site they have found, define its horizontal and vertical boundaries, and file information with appropriate agencies. Without accurate, verifiable location data, it is tenuous at best to assign Smithsonian site numbers to a historic site. A few instances exist in Wyoming where investigators know that a particular Indian Wars battle took place but the actual battlefield has not been located or verified. Until field work is complete, such sites should not be evaluated for National Register significance. Furthermore boundary information is fundamentally impossible to obtain without an assessment of the archaeological evidence, and boundaries are a crucial attribute for a strong nomination.

Eligible sites should retain unambiguous evidence on the landscape where they were located, and intact archaeological remains typically are the best example of this connection. Historic maps and documents also can be used to establish integrity of location. Native American oral traditions can narrow research possibilities. Often times, multiple lines of research are brought to bear on establishing the location of a significant military site. One of the best examples in recent years is Greene and Scott's (2004) work on the Sand Creek Massacre site of 1864 in eastern Colorado. Investigators there looked for clues in historic records to generate hypotheses about location that were tested with interdisciplinary fieldwork.

Design is the aspect that involves a combination of elements creating the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property (National Park Service 1995:44). It deals with the spatial relationships between major features (property subtypes) on a site. Consequently, design can be manifest at forts by the arrangement of different buildings and structures, roadways, activity areas, trash dumps, target ranges, and other facilities. Battlefields exhibit design in the array of combat positions, staging activities, and offensive or defensive maneuvers. Military roads and trails might exhibit design characteristics in the original routes chosen, rifle pits, camping locations, or other associated features.

Design is almost as important as location but it focuses on a finer grained analysis of the historical and archaeological records. The requirement of the first aspect of integrity has been met once physical remains confirm a property's <u>location</u>. For <u>design</u>, however, researchers need to look at the association of features and artifacts on the landscape to interpret activity patterns that may have developed within the site. Fox and Scott's (1991) recognition of gross patterning on battlefields is akin to the level of investigation required for establishing property location and the synchronic design of battlefield activities. Their dynamic patterning is finer grained and more useful for a detailed description of the diachronic design of battlefield activities.

Design elements require an understanding of feature function and various artifact types in an assemblage along with the provenience of each. Design at forts might be established by analyzing the relationship between enlisted men's quarters and officer's quarters, the parade ground and flag staff, civilian areas versus military quarters, and patterns of waste disposal, among others. Battlefield design may be represented by known positions of the U. S. Army versus Indians during an engagement,

configurations of the attack landscapes and defense perimeters, skirmish lines, and the movement of particular weapons across the battlefield. Detailed data recovery is needed to establish the design aspect of integrity, so well preserved sites become the most likely candidates for National Register eligibility.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property (National Park Service 1995:45). While location is the place a site is situated, setting refers to the place's character. It involves *how* a property is situated where it is, reflecting the physical conditions under which the site existed. Physical features that comprise setting can be natural or manmade, such as topography, paths, and the relationship between features and open space. The selection of a fort to occupy a river meander is an example of setting. A battlefield utilizing particular topographic relief for offensive maneuvers and defensive perimeters is another. Roads surveyed to take advantage of ridge tops where winter snow blows away is a third. The scale of setting involves the area inside a property's boundaries as well as the immediate environment surrounding it.

Setting is a useful aspect of integrity that helps investigators understand design attributes of a property and helps the public better enjoy an educational visit, so design and setting are complementary. Historic setting can be inferred from maps, photographs, and contemporary descriptions of properties. Fort and camp locations often were selected because of vantage points, access to water, proximity to timber, and strategic positions related to trails or other cultural features. Indian villages also required water, good ground for camping, fuel for fires, and forage for horses. Battlefields often exhibit competition for high ground and cover while seeking tactical advantage during an engagement. If physical and cultural features remain on the landscape, then setting of a significant property will have greater integrity. If military roads have evolved into other transportation networks or urban subdivisions have encroached on historic landscapes then setting can suffer. The National Park Service has evaluated Civil War sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and established an integrity rating for GIS purposes that recognizes good integrity as those locations that retain at least 51 percent of their natural or agricultural setting (National Park Service 1992:119). While integrity of setting can be highly variable and needs to be evaluated in each circumstance on its own merits, a similar classification system for Wyoming military sites might be a useful research and management tool.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property (National Park Service 1995:45). This aspect deals with construction materials in buildings or structures and with the physical attributes of objects. Materials include archaeological assemblages from military sites comprised of artifacts and feature components. As already mentioned, the unambiguous occurrence of artifacts in definable context and association on the landscape demonstrate the true location of a military property in the first place. Without artifacts, features, and their recorded provenience, no physical evidence would demonstrate that a property even existed at a specific place. Without integrity of materials, it also would be difficult to argue the architectural significance of a given building or structure.

The arrangement of combat materials on the landscape has allowed for recognition of the post-Civil War battlefield pattern for particular Indian Wars engagements (Fox and Scott 1991). Detailed spatial studies and artifact analyses can be used on materials at such properties to enhance our understanding of historic integrity. Conservation and long-term care of these objects is important for the overall treatment of historic properties, so proper curation at a suitable repository is a major consideration. Materials as an aspect of integrity are best evaluated using standard scientific methods of identification, classification, analysis, and interpretation, whether they are portable objects or architectural elements in a building or structure.

Workmanship is physical evidence for the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period (National Park Service 1995:45). This aspect may be

important if remnants of a military fort or a Native American camp retain architectural integrity or the artifact assemblage exhibits details of manufacture. Foundation architecture at many forts is still well preserved though the structures are gone, and details of manufacture on various weapons and ammunition offer important information if artifact assemblages are properly analyzed. In addition, partially restored outposts with living history such as Fort Laramie exhibit period crafts and architecture that help convey to the visitor the nature of military life in the nineteenth century. While not original workmanship, accurate reconstruction or restoration can inform the public about historic technology (Jameson 2004).

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time (National Park Service 1995:45). For feeling to be significant, the combination of other integrity aspects with the historic landscape must retain the appearance of character that was present when important events occurred. Community developments or other intrusions often encroach on historic landscapes and the feeling of place can be lessened. The Wagon Box fight near Story, for example, lost some of its integrity of feeling and setting as new homes and roads were built nearby. However, large portions of the site are protected from further impacts so much of the feeling and setting is preserved, as are other aspects of integrity. In contrast, a significant amount of Fort Sanders architecture was lost when buildings were auctioned off and disassembled shortly after the post was decommissioned. Then with the expansion of homes in Laramie over the military landscape, its integrity of feeling and setting as a frontier outpost was seriously compromised.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property (National Park Service 1991:45). Many military sites in Wyoming are associated with important historic events at the national level, so they may be eligible under Criterion A, especially if their locations are known and properties sufficiently intact. In fact, A and D probably are the most used criteria for military sites in Wyoming during the time period covered in this study. In contrast, the high standard of association between a property and a significant person under Criterion B already has been discussed. Such associations require detailed research and careful analysis of how a person achieved his/her significance. The National Park Service also warns that, like "feeling, association requires the presence of physical features that convey a property's historic character. …Because feeling and association depend on individual perceptions, their retention *alone* is never sufficient to support eligibility of a property for the National Register" (National Park Service 1991:45).

The Concept of Multiple Property Nominations

Quite often several military sites in a particular region may be related to one another through the execution of specific campaigns or other strategic maneuvers. Consequently, their collective significance may be more important than their individual significance. Part B of National Register Bulletin 16 (National Park Service 1991) discusses how investigators can complete a National Register multiple property documentation form, which often is used in the nomination of groups of related properties to the National Register that have been identified as significant on the basis of common theme, trend, and shared pattern of history (National Park Service 1991:2). For example, Bleed, Scott, and Bilgri (2011) have been working on a multiple property listing for sites related to warfare in the North and South Platte valleys of Nebraska, 1864-1865. A similar effort could be undertaken in Wyoming for sites related to the Indian War of 1865 for example.

Multiple property documentation can be developed for use in establishing registration requirements or guidelines for properties nominated to the National Register in the future. A military sites context like the present study can serve as a body of data to help guide a nomination of individual properties as they relate to a shared theme, chronology, and geographic setting. Should cultural resource managers eventually wish to inaugurate a multiple property submission for military sites, four

useful outline sections are discussed here. More information is provided by the National Park Service (1991:2-3).

Multiple Property Listing Name

The name of a comprehensive multiple property listing could be *Military Sites in Wyoming 1700-1989,* which specifies the theme, geographic area, and chronological period. Individual sites could be nominated in their own right and linked to this multiple property name. If only a portion of the record was to be nominated, investigators could focus on some narrower topic like the sites of the Indian War of 1865, Red Cloud's War 1866-1868, or the military campaigns of 1876.

Associated Historic Contexts

Two historic contexts are associated with the multiple property name suggested above encompassing the period 1700-1989. The present study, *Military Sites in Wyoming (1700-1920)* is one. *Wyoming Military Historic Context, 1920-1989* is the other (Toltest 2009a, 2009b). Either document could be used in preparing a nomination depending on the chronological placement of the properties in question.

Associated Property Types

The description of military property types, suggestions for their significance, and consideration of their National Register potential have been discussed throughout this document, including reference to National Register criteria, aspects of integrity, historical descriptions, and archaeological insights. Associated property types for the period 1700-1920 include inscriptions, battlefields, forts, camps/cantonments/stations, and roads/trails/routes. Toltest (2009a:215-218) used a slightly different classification for the period 1920-1989, listing as property types the individual structures found at many military sites, seven historic districts, National Historic Landmarks, and major training/activity complexes. Also included in that study were structures or features related to administration, safety and security, communications, education/armories, health care, industrial, food service, housing/residential, personnel support, transportation, aircraft facilities, base infrastructure, storage, and field training facilities and equipment. This methodology makes perfect sense, because their site sample contains a large majority of buildings and structures that retain significant architectural integrity, in contrast to archaeological manifestations more typical of sites prior to 1920 in the present study.

National Register Nomination Forms

This section would list all of the various nomination forms relevant under the multiple property name. It could incorporate forms for each of the 26 sites already listed on the National Register of Historic Places (see Table 10.3). As part of a multiple property nomination, efforts could tabulate what eligibility criteria each of the existing sites have been listed under. However, such information is neither readily available for all National Register properties listed on the internet, nor specified on some of the older nomination forms on file with WYCRO (Kara Hahn personal communication 2009). Consequently, existing nomination forms could be brought up to date as an element of a multiple property nomination. Part of this process also could be resolution of site location issues for properties like the Bates Battle that are listed but not clearly located on the landscape.

New nominations also could follow documentation guidelines offered in this context, especially by addressing the gaps in data fields listed in Appendix B. The more consistent recording becomes for military sites, the easier it will be to compare results and fortify efforts to synthesize the vast and growing body of data. A viable alternative, or complement, to multiple property listing is the idea of registering historical and archaeological districts comprised of several military sites (National Park Service 1993), whether they are contiguous or discontiguous.

Conclusion

Over 20 years have passed since Wyoming's first military sites context was prepared (Rosenberg 1989),

and considerable research has been accomplished in the meantime. Toltest's (2009a) context for military sites from 1920-1989 was the first attempt to update a portion of this cumulative record. The present context completes the revised chronology by adding 220 years of additional evidence (1700-1920). Military history in Wyoming has great time depth and literally hundreds of sites are involved in telling the story. Only when investigators look at these properties in proper context does a series of patterns emerge that makes more sense of the individual function and collective dispersal of sites over the entire landscape.

This study has attempted to connect military properties to the evolving system of armed aggression within the boundaries of present-day Wyoming. In doing so, a number of research questions and data gaps have emerged that, when addressed, will help focus the overall picture for scholars and the general public. Historic themes and chronological episodes used here are intended to help guide the reader through this long evolution of combat behavior. After all, it is through the careful linkage of properties to their relevant theme and time period that individual and collective significance ultimately are revealed.

Glossary

Army

An armed force composed of two or more field armies under regular military organization, employed for purposes of national offense or defense (Farrow 1918:33).

Barracks

1) A barracks from which troops were deployed for action elsewhere (Hart 1963:182).

2) From the Spanish *barraca*, are buildings erected by Government for lodging troops (Scott 1864:79). Permanent military quarters (Scott 1864:132).

Battalion

1) The administrative unit of infantry, consisting of headquarters, four companies, and machine-gun section (Farrow 1918:62).

2) (704) The battalion is usually composed of four companies, but may be composed of a lesser number, or a greater number not exceeding seven (Upton 1874:271).

Battle

1) A fight, especially a large-scale engagement, between armed forces (Webster 1960:126).

2) An encounter between two armies, resulting from an attempt of one of the armies to attain an object while the other opposes the attempt (Farrow 1918:64).

3) Battles are either *parallel* or *oblique*, and they are *strategic* when, in consequence of a plan of campaign, they are fought upon a given and objective point (Scott 1864:84).

Brigade

1) A body of troops, consisting of two or more regiments, under the command of a brigadier general (Farrow 1918:87).

2) (1039) The brigade is composed of three regiments (Upton 1874:395).

3) Two regiments of infantry or cavalry constitute a brigade (*Act* March 3, 1799) (Scott 1864:121).

Camp

1) The ground or spot on which tents, huts, etc., are erected for shelter, especially for an army or body of troops (Farrow 1918:100).

2) A semi-permanent fort, or even an overnight stop, though the ups and downs of Army policy and Congressional budgets sometimes shifted forts to camps and vice versa (Hart 1963:182).

3) Is the temporary place of repose for troops, whether for one night or a longer time, and whether in tents, in *bivouac*, or with any such shelter as they may hastily construct (Scott 1864:132).

Cantonment

1) A town or village or part of same, occupied by a body of troops; a shelter or place of rest for an army (Farrow 1918:103).

2) A more temporary place, many times the ancestor of a fort (Hart 1963:182).

3) Troops are *cantoned* when distributed at any time among villages, or when placed in huts at the end of campaign (Scott 1864:132). Troops are said to be in cantonments when detached and quartered in the different towns and villages, lying as near as possible to each other (Scott 1864:145).

Company

1) A body of men, usually 100, commanded by a captain who is responsible for the theoretical and practical instruction of his officers and noncommissioned officers. The company is divided into two, three, or four platoons, each consisting of not less than two nor more than four squads. A company so depleted as to made division into platoons impracticable is led by the captain as a single platoon; and aliquot part of a battalion or regiment. The war strength of a company in the U.S. army is 6 officers and 250 men (Farrow 1918:136).

2) The company is divided as nearly as possible into two equal parts, called platoons (Upton 1874:73).

3) (532) The company is formed in single rank, and is divided into two, three, or four platoons, according to its size (Upton 1874:202).

Corps

(1150) Corps formed of divisions (Upton 1874:431).

Depot

A military station where stores and provisions are kept, or where recruits are assembled and drilled (Farrow 1918:170).

Division

1) A unit of army organization, the smallest which includes all branches of the service. In the United States it has war strength of about 27,000, and includes infantry, cavalry and field artillery, and the necessary special troops such as engineers, signal, medical and sanitary, etc., with the requisite wagon or motor support (Farrow 1918:183).

2) (1147) Division formed of brigades (Upton 1874:429).

3) In the ordinary arrangement of the army, two regiments of infantry or cavalry shall constitute a brigade, and shall be commanded by a brigadier-general; two brigades, a division, and shall be commanded by a major-general. Provided always that it shall be in the discretion of the commanding general to vary this disposition whenever he shall judge proper; (*Act* March 3, 1799; Sec. 8) (Scott 1864:248).

Economy of Force

Skillful and prudent use of combat power will enable the commander to accomplish the mission with minimum expenditure of resources. This principle is the corollary of the principle of mass. It does not imply husbanding but rather the measured allocation of available combat power to the primary task as well as secondary tasks such as limited attacks, the defense, deception, or even retrograde action in order to insure sufficient combat power at the point of decision (Center of Military History 1989:6-7).

Encounter

A combat or fight between two persons. It is not infrequently used to describe a battle or attack by large or small bodies of troops (Farrow 1918:202).

Encounter Battle

A battle brought about by the unexpected meeting of two forces, and when there is not time for the deliberate reconnaissance and preparation which precedes an attack on an enemy position (Farrow 1918:202).

Fort

1) A strong or fortified place, usually surrounded with a ditch, rampart and parapet; a fortification (Farrow 1918:241).

2) A relatively permanent installation, though this term was used loosely to describe many non-military defended stockades, trading posts, or blockhouses (Hart 1963:182).

3) An enclosed work of the higher class of field-works. The word, however, is loosely applied to other military works (Scott 1864:310).

Maneuver

Maneuver is an essential ingredient of combat power. It contributes materially in exploiting successes and in preserving freedom of action and reducing vulnerability. The object of maneuver is to dispose a force in such a manner as to place the enemy at a relative disadvantage and thus achieve results which would otherwise be more costly in men and materiel. Successful maneuver requires flexibility in organization, administrative support, and command and control. It is the antithesis of permanence of location and implies avoidance of stereotyped patterns of operation (Center of Military History 1989:7).

Mass

Superior combat power must be concentrated at the critical time and place for a decisive purpose. Superiority results from the proper combination of the elements of combat power. Proper application of the principle of mass, in conjunction with the other principles of war, may permit numerically inferior forces to achieve decisive combat superiority (Center of Military History 1989:6).

Massacre

1) The indiscriminant, merciless killing of a number of human beings …; wholesale slaughter (Webster 1960:903).

2) To kill indiscriminately where little or no resistance can be made; contrary to the usages of civilized people (Farrow 1918:370).

Military

1) The whole body of soldiers; soldiery; troops; militia; the army; pertaining to soldiers; to arms or to war; engaged in the service of soldiers or arms... (Farrow 1918:381).

2) Of, for, or fit for war (Webster 1960:933).

Military Post

1) A place where military duty is performed or stores are kept or distributed, or something connected with war or arms is kept or done (Farrow 1918:385).

2) Permanent military posts in the United States, including Alaska, are established with the express authority of Congress. Posts in the insular possessions of the United States are established under the direction of the Secretary of War. Permanent posts are styled "forts" and points occupied temporarily by troops "camps" (Farrow 1918:385-386).

Objective

Every military operation must be directed toward a clearly defined, decisive, and attainable objective. The ultimate military objective of war is the destruction of the enemy's armed forces and his will to fight. The objective of each operation must contribute to this ultimate objective. Each intermediate objective must be such that its attainment will most directly, quickly, and economically contribute to the purpose of the operation. The selection of an objective is based upon consideration of the means available, the enemy, and the area of operations. Every commander must understand and clearly define his objective and consider each contemplated action in light thereof (Center of Military History 1989:6).

Offensive

Offensive action is necessary to achieve decisive results and to maintain freedom of action. It permits the commander to exercise initiative and impose his will upon the enemy; to set the pace and determine the course of battle; to exploit enemy weaknesses and rapidly changing situations, and to meet unexpected developments. The defensive may be forced on the commander, but it should be deliberately adopted only as a temporary expedient while awaiting an opportunity for offensive action or for the purpose of economizing forces on a front where a decision is not sought. Even on the defensive the commander seeks every opportunity to seize the initiative and achieve decisive results by offensive action (Center of Military History 1989:6).

Platoon

1) The quarter of an infantry company, and usually consisting of four sections or squads of eight men each, with two sergeants and a leader, usually a lieutenant (Farrow 1918:455).

2) (464) The platoon is a subdivision of a company, is formed in single rank, and is usually composed of not less than three nor more than six fours (Upton 1874:173).

3) The half of a company (Scott 1864:464).

Post

1) A military station, the place at which a soldier or a body of troops is stationed... (Farrow 1918:464).

2) A short-term installation, usually for the defense of a certain thing, such as a railroad junction, telegraph station, or stage stop (Hart 1963:182).

3) Synonymous with position (Scott 1864:467).

Principles of War

Despite differences over their precise number and meaning, principles of war are taught in military schools throughout the world. Some cautions are usually attached to the American Army set. The principles are not absolute and have been successfully violated at times for special reasons that have been carefully considered beforehand. The principles are interrelated. They do not operate with equal force under all circumstances. In particular cases they may reinforce each other or be in conflict. They are applied in combination to specific situations. The combinations will vary according to the factors that influence operations, such as the nature of the terrain, the relative strength of the opposing forces, the effect of weather, and the mission of the command. The art of generalship, consequently, is to be found in the proper application of the principles. The nine principles are objective, offensive, mass, economy of force, maneuver, unity of command, security, surprise, and simplicity (Center of Military History 1989:6). They are listed individually in this glossary.

Regiment

1) A body of men, either horse, foot or artillery, commanded by a colonel and consisting generally of about 1000 men. The war strength of a regiment in the United States Army is 103 officers and 3,652 men, made up as follows: 12 rifle companies, 1 headquarters and headquarters company, 1 supply company, 1 machine gun company, 1 medical detachment (Farrow 1918:501).

2) (880) ...the regiment is supposed to consist of three battalions, each battalion consisting of four companies (Upton 1874:340).

Security

Security is essential to the preservation of combat power. Security is achieved by measures taken to prevent surprise, preserve freedom of action, and deny the enemy information of friendly forces. Since risk is inherent in war, application of the principle of security does not imply undue caution and the avoidance of calculated risk. Security frequently is enhanced by bold seizure and retention of the initiative, which denies the enemy the opportunity to interfere (Center of Military History 1989:6).

Simplicity

Simplicity contributes to successful operations. Direct, simple plans and clear, concise orders minimize misunderstanding and confusion. If other factors are equal, the simplest plan is preferred (Center of Military History 1989:6).

Skirmish

1) A slight fight in war; a light combat between detachments from armies which are yet at a considerable distance from each other or between detached and small parties (Farrow 1918:562).

2) A brief fight or encounter carried on between small groups, usually part of a battle or war (Webster 1960:1367).

3) A loose, desultory engagement (Scott 1864:562).

Skirmish Interval

(610) The habitual interval between skirmishers is five yards. It can be changed by captain (Upton 1874:243).

Squad

1) "Fours" a group (squad) of four men (Upton 1874:110). (645) The troopers of each four keep within supporting distance of each other (Upton 1874:251).

2) A small party of men assembled for drill, inspection or other purposes; especially 4 files, or 7 men and a corporal (Farrow 1918:580).

3) A small party of men. A company should be divided into squads, each under a responsible officer or non-commissioned officer (Scott 1864:565).

Squadron

1) Two troops of cavalry. It is the unit by which the force of cavalry with an army is always computed. Three or four squadrons constitute a regiment. The actual strength of a squadron varies with that of the component troops, usually from 120 to 200 sabers (Farrow 1918:580).

2) Two companies or troops of cavalry (Scott 1864:565).

Station

A locality chosen for the rendezvous of troops (Farrow 1918:585).

Strategy

1) The science of military command, and directing military movements; the use of stratagem or artifice for the carrying out of any project; the application of the broad fundamental principles of the art of war (Farrow 1918:590).

2) The science of planning and directing large-scale military operations (Webster 1960:1441).

3) Is the art of concerting a plan of campaign, combining a system of military operations determined by the end to be attained, the character of the enemy, the nature and resources of the country, and the means of attack and defense (Scott 1864:574).

Surprise

Surprise can decisively shift the balance of combat power. By surprise, success out of proportion to the effort expended may be obtained. Surprise results from striking an enemy at a time, place, and in a manner for which he is not prepared. It is not essential that the enemy be taken unaware but only that he becomes aware too late to react effectively. Factors contributing to surprise include speed, deception, application of unexpected combat power, effective intelligence and counterintelligences, to include communication and electronic security, and variations in tactics and methods of operation (Center of Military History 1989:7).

Tactics

1) The science of arranging and maneuvering military (Webster 1960:1483).

2) The methods employed in handling troops in battle or in immediate preparation (Farrow 1918:603).

3) As distinguished from strategy, is the art of handling troops (Scott 1864:601).

Troop

1) A small body of cavalry, light horse or dragoons, consisting usually of about 60 men commanded by a captain; the unit of formation of cavalry, corresponding to the company in infantry... (Farrow 1918:632).

2) A company of cavalry (Scott 1864:638).

Trooper

A term applied either to the horse of a cavalryman or to the cavalryman himself; any private or soldier in a body of cavalry (Farrow 1918:632).

Unity of Command

The decisive application of full combat power requires unity of command. Unity of command obtains unity of effort by the coordinated action of all forces toward a common goal. While coordination may be attained by cooperation, it is best achieved by vesting a single commander with the requisite authority (Center of Military History 1989:7).

War

Open armed conflict between countries or between factions within the same country (Webster 1960:1645).

Wing

1) The right or left division of an army, regiment, etc. The battalion is the smallest body which is divided into wings (Farrow 1918:666).

2) (704) In whatever direction the battalion faces, the companies to the right of the centre of the battalion in line constitute the right wing; those to the left of the centre constitute the left wing (Upton 1874:272).

3) Wings are the right and left divisions of an army or battalion (Scott 1864:672).

References Cited

Adams, Col. Gerald M. (USAF Retired)

1989 *The Post Near Cheyenne: A History of Fort D. A. Russell, 1867-1930*. Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder.

1998 *The Bells of Balangiga*. Lagumo Corp., Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Adams, Kevin

2009 *Class and Race in the Frontier Army: Military Life in the West, 1870-1890.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Adams, Randy, and Craig Sodaro

1986 *Frontier Spirit: The Story of Wyoming.* Johnson Books, Boulder.

Afton, Jean, David Fridjof Halaas, and Andrew E. Masich, with Richard N. Ellis

1997 *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers: A Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat*. University Press of Colorado, Niwot.

Alden, C. H.

1974 Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory. In *Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts:* War Department Surgeon General's Office Circular No. 4, December 5, 1870, by John S. Billings, pp. 340-345. Sol Lewis, New York, reprinted in 1974.

Alter, J. Cecil

1962 *Jim Bridger.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Ambrose, Stephen E.

1996 *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West.* Simon and Schuster, New York.

American Technologies Incorporated

2005 *Final Historical Research Report: Ordnance and Explosive Engineering Evaluation/Cost Analysis former Pole Mountain Target and Maneuver Area, Albany County, Wyoming.* Report prepared by American Technologies Incorporated, Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Submitted to U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Omaha District.

Anderson, Roger, and Carol Shively Anderson

2000 *A Ranger's Guide to Yellowstone Day Hikes*. Updated edition 2005. Farcountry Press, Helena, Montana.

Armstrong, Anne K., Laura Niven, and Danny N. Walker

1998 Previous Archeological Investigations. In, *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996*, edited by Danny N. Walker, pp. 27-71. Cultural Resource Selection Series Number 13. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado.

Babcock, William A.

1982 Interpretive Plan and Sign Texts for Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming. Report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. Prepared by Historical Research Associates, Missoula, Montana.

Bagley, Will

2002 *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

2008 Foreword. In *Kingdom in the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier, Volume 10: At Sword's Point, Part I, A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858*, edited by William P. MacKinnon, pp. 11-15. Arthur H. Clark, Company. Reprinted by University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Baker, Leighton L.

1983 *Jim Baker: The Redheaded Shoshoni.* Leighton L. Baker, Mount Dora, Florida. Printed by Golden Lifestyle Books, Tavares, Florida.

Banks, Kimball, and J. Signe Snortland

2010 When Is a Battlefield Not a Battlefield; When Is a Battle Not a Battle? The Whitestone Hill National Register Nomination. Paper presented at the 68th Annual Plains Anthropological Conference, Oct. 6-9, 2010. Bismarck, North Dakota.

Barnhart, William R.

1969 *The Early History of Carbon County Wyoming*. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming.

Beers, Henry P.

1995 *A History of the U. S. Topographical engineers, 1818-1863.* U. S. Corps of Topographical Engineers. Web source: http://topogs.org/History.htm, accessed May 13, 2010.

Bleed, Peter, and Douglas D. Scott

2009 Archeological Interpretation of the Frontier Battle at Mud Springs, Nebraska. *Great Plains Research* 19:13-25.

2011 Contexts for Conflict: Conceptual Tools for Interpreting Archaeological Reflections of Warfare. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6(1):42-64.

Bleed, Peter, Douglas Scott, and Benjamin Bilgri
2011 *Conflict and Warfare in the North and South Platte Valleys of Nebraska, 1864-1865.* National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form. Manuscript on file with the authors, Department of Anthropology, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Bollinger, Gil
2006 *Fort McKinney 1877 to 1894: A Wyoming Frontier Post*. Jim Gatchell Memorial Museum Press, Buffalo, Wyoming.

Bourke, John G.
1971 *On the Border with Crook*. Originally published in 1891 by Charles Scribner's Sons. First Bison Book Printing 1971. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Bozovich, Joseph, and Joseph F. Bozovich
1968 The White Mountain Petroglyphs. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 11(2):10-23.

Brown, Dee
1962 *The Fetterman Massacre*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Brown, Randy
2004 *Historic Inscriptions on Western Emigrant Trails*. Oregon-California Trails Association, Independence, Missouri.

Bruce, Robert K.
1959 *History of the Medicine Bow National Forest: 1902 – 1910.* MA thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Buecker, Thomas R.
1999 *Fort Robinson and the American West, 1874-1899.* Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Cannon, Ken P.
1993 Intermountain Antiquities Computer System site form for Kingman Road segment, 48YE785. On file at Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Laramie.

Carrington, Frances C.
1990 *My Army Life: A Soldier's Wife at Fort Phil Kearny.* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder.

Carrington, Henry B. (General, U.S.A.)
1884 *The Indian Question: Including a Report by the Secretary of the Interior on the Massacre of Troops near Fort Kearny, December 1866*. J. M. Carroll & Company, Mattituck, N. Y. (Reprinted, Boston, 1909).

Carroll, Murray L.
2000 The Wyoming Sojourn of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1858. *Annals of Wyoming* 72(1):6-24.

Cassity, Michael
2001 *A Social History of Fort Laramie, 1849-1890.* Special Historical Report prepared for Fort Laramie National Monument. On file at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.

2007 *Stock-Raising, Ranching, and Homesteading in the Powder River Basin: Historic Context Study.* Submitted to Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Laramie.

Center of Military History
1989 *American Military History*. Army Historical Series. Center of Military History, United States Army, Washington, D.C., 720 pp. On line version read 14 October 2008: http://www.history.army.mil/books/AMH/amh-toc.htm.

Chapman, Serle L.
2004 *Promise: Bozeman's Trail to Destiny.* Pavey Western Publishing, Park City, Utah.

Chatters, James C.
2001 *Ancient Encounters: Kennewick Man and the First Americans.* Touchstone Book. Simon & Schuster, New York.

Chun, Clayton K S
2004 *US Army in the Plains Indian Wars 1865-1891*. Battle Orders 5. Osprey publishing, Oxford, United Kingdom.

Clausewitz, Carl Von
1993 *On War*. Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Coffman, Edward M.
1986 *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784-1898.* Oxford University Press, New York.

Community Services Collaborative
1990 Fort Steele Powder Magazine: Historic Building Evaluation, Carbon County, Wyoming. Report prepared for Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Connelley, William Elsey
1913 *The Life of Preston B. Plumb, 1837-1891*. Brown & Howell Company, Chicago.

Connor, Stu
1966 The Dodd Site (48PA401) Form. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Cruse, J. Brett
2008 *Battles of the Red River War: Archeological Perspectives on the Indian Campaign of 1874.* Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

Currit, Richard
2001 Review and Federal Consultation Database for 48SH127. Maintained by Wyoming SHPO, Cheyenne.

Daily Times, The
1962 Story of Indian Encounter Retold. *The Daily Times* (newspaper), June 15, 1962, page 17. Rawlins, Wyoming.

Davenport, G. Clark, John B. Gilmore, and John W. Lindemann
1988 *Ground Penetrating Radar & Geophysical Investigation for Archaeological Purposes: Fort William Site, Goshen County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resources management project report prepared for National Park Service by Geo-Recovery Systems, Inc. On file, National Park Service, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

David, Edw. C.
1880 Survey No. 37, Mineral District No. 6. Plat of the Deserted Treasure Mining Claim upon the Deserted Treasure Lode. Seminoe Mining District, Carbon County, Wyoming. Map surveyed by William O. Owen. Surveyor General's Office, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

David, Robert Beebe
2003 *Finn Burnett, Frontiersman*. Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA.

Davis, John W.
1993 *A Vast Amount of Trouble: A History of the Spring Creek Raid*. University Press of Colorado, Niwot.

2010 *Wyoming Range War: The Infamous Invasion of Johnson County.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Decker, Peter R.
2004 *"The Utes Must Go!" American Expansion and the Removal of a People.* Fulcrum Publishing, Golden, Colorado.

Delo, David Michael
1992 *Peddlers and Post Traders: The Army Sutler on the Frontier.* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

DeMallie, Raymond J. (editor)
1982 *Lakota Society* by James R. Walker. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

DeVore, Steven L.
1990 Ground Penetrating Radar as a Survey Tool in Archaeological Investigations: an Example from Fort Laramie National historic Site. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 33(1-2):23-36.

1998 *Geophysical Investigations of the Western Part of Fort Caspar Park, Natrona County, Wyoming*. National Park Service Report on file with Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

DeVoto, Bernard (editor)
1953 *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. A Mariner Book. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York.

Diamond, Stanley
1968 War and the Dissociated Personality. In, *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*, edited by Morton Fried, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy, pp. 183-191. Doubleday & Company, Inc. The Natural History Press, Garden City, New York.

Dorst, John D., Theresa L. Kay, Mark Kucera, and James J. Stewart
2000 National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for the old Wind River Agency Blockhouse (48FR714). On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Laramie.

Drucker, J. D. "Sam"
1996 Fort Fred Steele (48CR480): Faunal Analysis of the 1996 Field Excavations. Submitted in fulfillment of the paper requirement for Anthropology 5550, Faunal Analysis, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming.

Eakin, Daniel H.
2009 *Report of 2008 Cultural Resource Investigations Along Three Sections of the Nez Perce National Historic Trail Yellowstone National Park.* Prepared for the Yellowstone Park Foundation and the National Park Service. On file at the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

2010 *Report of 2009 Cultural Resource Investigations Along Four Sections of the Nez Perce National Historic Trail Yellowstone National Park.* Prepared for the Yellowstone Park Foundation and the National Park Service. On file at the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

2012 *Report of 2010 Cultural Resource Investigations Along Five Sections of the Nez Perce National Historic Trail Yellowstone National Park.* Prepared for the Yellowstone Park Foundation and the National Park Service. On file at the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Earle, B. J.
1998 What the Army Knew in 1859--The Context for the Raynolds Expedition. Paper presented at the Island in the Plains Conference, Belle Fourche, South Dakota, February 14, 1998.

Eckles, David
1983 *Report of Archeological Investigations at Richard's Trading Post, 48NA866, Near Evansville, Wyoming*. Unpublished report prepared for the City of Evansville, Wyoming. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist.

1985 The Archaeology of Camp Payne, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist*, 28(3-4):20-96.

Eckles, David, Jeffrey Lockwood, Rabinder Kumar, Dale Wedel, and Danny N. Walker
1994 An Early Historic Period Horse Skeleton from Southwestern Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 38(3-4):55-68.

Eckles, David, and Dale Wedel
2008 A Class III Cultural Resource Survey Fort Fetterman State Historic Site Property Converse County, Wyoming. Prepared for Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file at the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Eisenhower, John S. D.
1993 *Intervention! The United States and the Mexican Revolution 1913-1917.* W. W. Norton & Company, New York.

Erb, Louise Bruning, Ann Bruning Brown, and Gilberta Bruning Hughes
1989 *The Bridger Pass, Overland Trail, 1862-1869 through Colorado and Wyoming and Cross Roads at the Rawlins-Baggs Stage Road in Wyoming.* Journal Publishing Company, Inc., Greeley, Colorado.

Erwin, Marie
1974 Wyoming Historical Blue Book, Volume I, edited by Virginia Cole Trenholm. Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne. Reprint of Part One.

Farrow, Edward S.
1918 *A Dictionary of Military Terms*. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Fawcett, William, Jr.
1981 *Archeological Investigations at Fort Fred Steele (48CR480), Carbon County, Wyoming: An Archeological Research Plan and the Barracks Excavation of 1979.* Prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. Report on file with Wyoming Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.

Feldman, George Franklin
2008 *Cannibalism, Headhunting and Human Sacrifice in North America: A History Forgotten.* Alan C. Hood & Co., Inc., Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Fenneman, Nevin M.
1931 *Physiography of the Western United States.* McGraw-Hill Book company, Inc., New York.

Ferguson, Leland G.
1975 *Archeology at Scott's Lake, Exploratory Research, 1972, 1973.* Research Manuscript Series No. 68. Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 1975.

Ferris, Robert G., Series Editor
1971 *Soldier and Brave: Historic Places Associated with Indian Affairs and the Indian Wars in the Trans-Mississippi West*. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Feyhl, Kenneth J., and Stuart W. Connor
1980 Archaeological site Survey Form for Bannock Battlefield (48PA315) (Miling Bend). On file in SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Finerty, John F.
1966 *War-Path and Bivouac: The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. Bison Book Edition.

Floyd, Dale E.
1979 *Chronological List of Actions, &c., with Indians from January 15, 1837 to January, 1891.* Reproduction of lists compiled by the War Department, Adjutant General's Office. The Old Army Press, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Foner, Philip S.
1972 *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism.* Monthly Review Press, New York. Two Volumes.

Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site Steering Committee
2008 Report of Recommendations for the Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site. Prepared for Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.

Fox, Richard A., Jr.
1992 *Results of the 1991 Archaeological Investigations at the Southwest Blockhouse Locality, Fort Phil Kearny State Historic Site (48JO70).* Report submitted to the Bozeman Trail/Fort Phil Kearny Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Fox, Richard A., Jr. and Douglas D. Scott
1991 The Post-Civil War Battlefield Pattern: An Example from the Custer Battlefield. *Historical Archaeology* 25(2):92-103.

Francis, Julie E.
2007 *Imagery of Medicine Lodge.* In, Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming, Volume I, edited by George C. Frison and Danny N. Walker, pp. 209-226. Clovis Press, Mark Mullins.

Francis, Julie E., and Lawrence L. Loendorf
2002 *Ancient Visions: Petroglyphs and Pictographs of the Wind River and Bighorn Country, Wyoming and Montana.* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Franzwa, Gregory M.
1982 *Maps of the Oregon Trail*. The Patrice Press, Gerald, Missouri.

Frazer, Robert W.
1972 *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Fried, Morton, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy (editors)
1968 *War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression*. Doubleday & Company, Inc. The Natural History Press, Garden City, New York.

Frison, George C. (editor)
1991 *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains.* Second Edition. Academic Press, Inc., San Diego.

Frison, George C., and Danny N. Walker (editors)
2007 *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming, Volume I.* Clovis Press, Mark Mullins.

Frost, Nedward M.
1969 National Register of Historic Places Nomination form for Fort D. A. Russell (48LA71). On file in SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Galloway, Winifred
1991 Intermountain Antiquities Computer System site form for Camp Stambaugh, 48FR436. McDermott and Associates. On file at Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Laramie.

Gardner, A. Dudley
1994 Environmental Change at Fort Bridger. Paper presented by A. D. Gardner and D. E. Johnson at Society for Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Vancouver, B.C., January 6, 1994.

2000 *Two Paths, One Destiny: A Comparison of Chinese Households and Communities in Alberta, British Columbia, Montana, and Wyoming.* Ph.D. Dissertation in History, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

2008a Horses Come to the Red Desert. In *Red Desert: History of a Place*, edited by Annie Proulx, pp. 181-187. University of Texas Press, Austin.

2008b Fort Bridger and Camps Stambaugh and Pilot Butte. I n *Red Desert: History of a Place,* edited by Annie Proulx, pp. 271-281. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Gardner, A. Dudley, David E. Johnson, and David Vlcek
1991 *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Bonneville.* Cultural Resource Management Report No. 51, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College.

Gardner, A. Dudley, David E. Johnson, and Martin Lammers
2010 Test Excavations along the Mormon Corral Wall: Fort Bridger Wyoming. Manuscript submitted for consideration to *The Wyoming Archaeologist*, Laramie.

Gibbon, Major General John
1994 *Adventures on the Western Frontier*, edited by Alan and Maureen Gaff. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Gill, George W.
1991 Human Skeletal Remains on the Northwestern Plains. In *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains*, by George C. Frison, pp. 431-447. Second Edition. Academic Press, Inc., Sand Diego.

2010 *Advances in Northwestern Plains and Rocky Mountain Bioarchaeology and Skeletal Biology*. In, Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers of the High Plains and Rockies, edited by Marcel Kornfeld, George C. Frison, and Mary Lou Larson, pp. 531-552. Third Edition. Left Coast Press, Inc., Walnut Creek, California.

Glenrock Historical Commission
1990 *Deer Creek: Frontiers Crossroad in Pre-Territorial Wyoming*. Glenrock Historical Commission, Glenrock.

Goetzmann, William H.
1959 *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Goodwin, E. P., J. A. Campbell, and S. R. Hosmer
1945 Rawlins Springs Massacre. *Annals of Wyoming* 17(2):161-169.

Gowans, Fred R. and Eugene E. Campbell
1975 *Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness*. Brigham Young University Press, Provo.

Grafe, Ernest, and Paul Horsted
2005 *Exploring with Custer: The 1874 Black Hills Expedition.* Golden Valley Press, Custer, South Dakota.

Gray, John S.
1976 *Centennial Campaign: The Sioux War of 1876*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1991 *Custer's Last Campaign: Mitch Boyer and the Little Bighorn Reconstructed*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Greene, Jerome A. (compiler and editor)
1982 *Slim Buttes, 1876: An Episode of the Great Sioux War*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1993 *Battles and Skirmishes of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1994 *Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877*. University of Oklahoma Press: Norman.

1998 *Reconnaissance Survey of Indian-U.S. Army Battlefields of the Northern Plains.* Report prepared for the National Park Service, Cultural Resources and National Register program Services, Intermountain Support Office, Denver, Colorado.

2000 *Nez Perce Summer1877: The U. S. Army and the Nee-Me-Poo Crisis.* Montana Historical Society Press, Helena.

2003 *Morning Star Dawn: The Powder River Expedition and the Northern Cheyennes, 1876*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

2007 *Indian War Veterans: Memories of Army Life and Campaigns in the West, 1864-1898.* Savas Beatie, LLC, New York.

Greene, Jerome A., and Douglas D. Scott
2004 *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology and the 1864 Massacre Site.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Greer, Mavis and John Greer
2008 *Weaponry in Wyoming and Montana Rock Art*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Wyoming Archaeological Society, April 25-27, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

Grey, Don
1966 Unpublished Field Notes. On file in University of Wyoming Archaeological Repository, Laramie.

Grinnell, George Bird
1976 *The Fighting Cheyennes.* Corner House Publishers, Williamstown, Massachusetts. Reprint of 1915 Charles Scribner's Sons edition.

Guentzel, Richard
1975 The Department of the Platte and Western Settlement, 1866-1877. *Nebraska History* 56(3):389-417.

Haack, Steven C.
2009 The Lost Men of the 11th Kansas Cavalry. *On Point: The Journal of Army History* 15(1):34-41).

2010 "This Must Have Been a Grand Site": George Bent and the Battle of Platte Bridge. *Great Plains Quarterly* 30(1):3-20.

Haack, Steven C., and Randy Bjorklund
2008 The Battle Remembered: Veterans Return Six Decades after the Battle of Red Buttes. *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal* 80(4):2-14.

Haecker, Charles M. and Jeffrey G. Mauck
1997 *On the Prairie of Palo Alto: Historical Archaeology of the U. S.--Mexican War Battlefield*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

Hafen, LeRoy R.
2001 *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West, Volume III.* The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington.

Hafen, LeRoy R., and Ann W. Hafen (editors)
1961 *Powder River Campaigns and Sawyers Expedition of 1865*. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.

Hafen, LeRoy R., and Francis Marion Young
1938 *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison book printing 1984.

Haines, Aubrey L.
1981 *Historic Sites Along the Oregon Trail.* The Patrice Press, St. Louis, Missouri.

1997 *The Yellowstone Story: A History of Our First National Park.* Volume 2. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Haines, Francis
1970 *The Buffalo: The Story of American Bison and Their Hunters from Prehistoric Times to the Present.* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Hampton, Bruce
1994 *Children of Grace: The Nez Perce War of 1877*. Henry Holt & Company, Inc., New York.

Hanson, James A.
2001 *Metal Weapons, Tools & Ornaments of the Teton Dakota Indians.* Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, Nebraska. Originally published in 1975 by the University of Nebraska Press.

Hanson, Mark D.
2001 Metallic Cartridge Cases and Lead Slugs from Wyoming's Fort Fred Steele: An Analysis of Possible Firing Range Localities and Associated Cartridge Case Crushing. Master's of Arts Thesis submitted to Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 Target Architecture of a Suspected Firing Range at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming. *Historical Archaeology* 39(4):45-58.

Hanson, Shannon L. W.
2007 *Hitting the Military History Trail: VFW's Guide to Battlefields, Museums & Historic Sites.* Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Publications Department, Kansas City, Missouri.

Hardesty, Donald L., and Barbara J. Little
2000 *Assessing Site Significance: A Guide for Archaeologists and Historians.* Altamira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Harding, William
1992 Intermountain Antiquities Computer System Site Form for 48CK1458. Mariah Associates, Inc. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Hart, Herbert M.
1963 Old Forts of the Northwest. Superior Publishing Company, Seattle, Washington.

1980a *Tour Guide to Old Western Forts: The Posts & Camps of the Army, Navy & Marines on the Western Frontier, 1804-1916.* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, Colorado and the Old Army Press, Ft. Collins, Colorado.

1980b *Tour Guide to Old Forts of Montana, Wyoming, North & South Dakota*. Pruett Publishing Co., Boulder and the Old Army Press, Ft. Collins, Colorado.

Hebard, Grace Raymond, and E. A. Brininstool
1922 *The Bozeman Trail.* Volume I. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing, 1990.

Hedren, Paul L.
1988 *Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2011 *Great Sioux War Orders of Battle: How the United States Army Waged War on the Northern Plains, 1876-1877.* The Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma.

Heitman, Francis B.
1903 *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from its Organization, September 29, 1879, to March 2, 1903.* Volume 2. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.

Henry, B. William, Jr.
1970 Record of Skirmishes That Took Place Between Soldiers, Both Regular Army and State Militia, and Indians Within a 70 Mile Radius of Fort Laramie, June 1849-March 1890. No pagination used. Manuscript on file at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.

Hill, Edward E. (compiler)
1981 *Guide to Records in the National Archives Relating to American Indians*. Washington: National Archives and Record Service, General Services Administration.

Hilman, Ross
2002 Wyoming Cultural Properties Form for White Mountain Petroglyphs (48SW302). On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Hoagland, Alison K.
2004 *Army Architecture in the West: Forts Laramie, Bridger, and D. A. Russell, 1849-1912*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Hogarth, Andrew, and Kim Vaughan
1993 *Battlefields, Monuments, and Markers: A Guide to Native American & United States Army Engagements From 1854-1890.* Andrew Hogarth Publishing, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Hoig, Stan
2006 *A Travel Guide to the Plains Indian Wars.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Horsted, Paul, and Jon Nelson
2009 Outfitting an Expedition. In, *Crossing the Plains with Custer*, by Paul Horsted, Ernest Grafe and Jon Nelson, pp. 252-317. Golden Valley Press, an imprint of Dakota Photographic LLC, Custer, South Dakota.

Hume, Ivor Noel
1968 Historical Archaeology. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. (Fifth Printing 1980).

Hyde, George E.
1937 *Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1968 *Life of George Bent: Written From His Letters*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1974 *Spotted Tail's Folk: A History of the Brule Sioux*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Jackson, Lloyd N.
1997 Captain Robert H. Young -- Indian Fighter: His Career and Weapons of War. *The Gun Report*, September 1997:26-39.

Jameson, John H., Jr. (editor)
2004 *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*. AltaMira Press, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham MD.

Janetski, Joel C.
2002 *Indians in Yellowstone National Park.* The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Johnson, David
1991 Intermountain Antiquities Computer System Site Form for Rock Springs Chinatown, 48SW3999. Western Wyoming College Archaeological Services. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Johnson, Dorothy M.
1971 *The Bloody Bozeman: The Perilous Trail to Montana's Gold*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

Jones, Robert Huhn
2005 *Guarding the Overland Trails: The Eleventh Ohio Cavalry in the Civil War*. Frontier Military Series XXIV. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington.

Jording, Mike
1992 *A Few Interested Residents: Wyoming Historical Markers & Monuments.* Mike Jording, Newcastle, Wyoming.

Junge, Mark
1971 National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for Inyan Kara Mountain (48CK57). On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

1974 National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for Camp Pilot Butte, 48SW945. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

1975 National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form for Brown Springs (48CO103). On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Kappler, Charles J. (editor)
1972 *Indian Treaties 1778-1883.* Amereon House, Mattituck, New York.

Karsmizki, Kenneth W.
1998 *Soda Butte Soldier Station (48YE88): Report of Research and Testing*. Two volumes. Submitted by Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman. National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, CO.

2000 *Tower Falls Soldier Station (48YE163): Historical Archaeology.* Submitted by Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming.

2001 *Fountain Soldier Station (48YE727): Report of Research and Mitigation.* Submitted by Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, CO.

Keeley, Lawrence H.
1996 *War Before Civilization: The Myth of the Peaceful Savage*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Keeley, Lawrence H., Marisa Fontano, and Russell Quick
2007 Baffles and Bastions: The Universal Features of Fortifications. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 15:55-95.

Keenan, Jerry
1997 *Encyclopedia of American Indian Wars: 1492-1890.* W. W. Norton & Company, New York.

2000 *The Wagon Box Fight: An Episode of Red Cloud's War*. Savas Publishing Company, Conshohocken, PA.

2003 *The Great Sioux Uprising: Rebellion on the Plains August-September 1862.* Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA.

Keyser, James D.
1979 The Plains Indian War Complex and the Rock Art of Writing-on-Stone, Alberta, Canada. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 6(1):41-48.

1987 A Lexicon for Historic Plains Indian Rock Art: Increasing Interpretive Potential. *Plains Anthropologist* 32(115):43-71.

1996 Painted Bison Robes: The Missing Link in the Biographic Art Style Lexicon. *Plains Anthropologist* 41(155):29-52.

Keyser, James D., Mavis Greer, and John Greer
2005 Arminto Petroglyphs: Rock Art Damage Assessment and Management Considerations In Central Wyoming. *Plains Anthropologist* 50(193):23-30.

Keyser, James D., and David A. Kaiser
2010 Getting the Point: Metal Weapons in Plains Rock Art. *Plains Anthropologist* 55(214):111-132.

Keyser, James D., and George R. Poetschat
2005 Warrior Art of Wyoming's Green River Basin: Biographic Petroglyphs Along the Seedskadee. *Oregon Archaeological society Publication,* #15.

2008 Ute Horse Raiders on the Powder Rim: Rock Art at Powder Wash, Wyoming. *Oregon Archaeological Society Publication,* #20. Portland, Oregon.

2009 Crow Rock Art in the bighorn Basin: Petroglyphs at No Water, Wyoming. *Oregon Archaeological Society Publication*, #20. Portland, Oregon.

Keyser, James D., George Poetschat, and Michael W. Taylor
2006 *Talking With the Past: The Ethnography of Rock Art.* The Oregon Archaeological Society, Portland.

Kime, Wayne R., (editor)
1996 *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1997 *The Powder River Expedition Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Knight, Dennis H.
1994 *Mountains and Plains: the Ecology of Wyoming Landscapes*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Knight, Oliver
1978 *Life and Manners in the Frontier Army.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Knoefel, Hugh K. (editor)
1969 *Wyoming's Bloodiest Fourth of July*. Northern Wyoming Daily News, Worland, Wyoming.

Krakel, Dean F.
1954 *The Saga of Tom Horn: The Story of a Cattlemen's War.* Powder River Publishers, Laramie, Wyoming.

Lane, Robert
2005 The U. S. Army 25th Infantry Bicycle Corps. In *The 2005 Denver Posse of Westerners Brand Book, Volume XXXIV, A collection of papers presented before the Denver Posse of Westerners from 1995 through 2005*, edited by Jim Krebs, pp. 85-105. Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc., Colorado.

Larson, T. A.
1965 *History of Wyoming*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Larson, Thomas K., and Dori M. Penny (editors)
2001 Archaeological Investigations of the Stockade and Blockhouses, Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming. Report Submitted to Wyoming Department of State Parks & cultural Resources, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Larson, Thomas K., Dori M. Penny, and Charity Summers
2006 *Site Recording of 48AB1759: Pole Mountain Camp: Fort Francis E. Warren Training and Maneuver Reservation.* Report prepared by LTA, Inc., Laramie, Wyoming. Submitted to Tetra Tech, Inc., Seattle, Washington.

Latady, William R., Jr., and Allen D. Darlington
1983 *Test Excavations at the Bridge Tender's House, Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming.* Report submitted to Wyoming Recreation Commission, Cheyenne. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Legoski, Robert J.
2000 *General George Crook's Campaign of 1876: June 5 through August 3, Newspaper Accounts of the Day*. Privately published, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Limerick, Patricia Nelson
2000 *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckonings in the New West.* W. W. Norton and Company, New York.

Lindmier, Tom
2002 *Drybone: A History of Fort Fetterman, Wyoming*. High Plains Press, Glendo, Wyoming.

Little, Barbara, Erika Martin Seibert, Jan Townsend, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl
2000 *Guide for Evaluating and Registering Archeological Properties.* National Register Bulletin, U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

Lowe, James A.
1999 *The Bridger Trail: A Viable Alternative Route to the Gold Fields of Montana Territory in 1864.* The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington.

Lowe, Percival G.
1965 *Five Years a Dragoon ('49 to '54): and Other Adventures on the Great Plains*. New Edition. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

MacKinnon, William P. (editor)
2008 *At Sword's Point, Part 1: A Documentary History of the Utah War to 1858*. Vol. 10 in the series Kingdom of the West: The Mormons and the American Frontier, edited by Will Bagley. The Arthur H. Clarke Company, University of Oklahoma Press imprint, Norman.

Madsen, Brigham D. (editor)
1989 *Exploring the Great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849-1850*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Mahoney, John F.
1990 *Fort Steele State Historic Site.* Master Plan prepared for State Parks and Historic Sites, Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.

Marshall, S.L.A.
1972 *Crimsoned Prairie: The Indian Wars.* Da Capo Press, Inc., New York.

Mattes, Merrill J.
1960 *Indians, Infants and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1988.

Mattison, Ray H.
1954 The Army Post on the Northern Plains, 1865-1885. *Nebraska History* 35(1):1-27.

McAuslan, Edward R.
1961 The Overland Trail in Wyoming. In *Wyoming Geological Association Symposium on Late Cretaceous Rocks, Wyoming and Adjacent Areas*, edited by Gene J. Wiloth, pp. 324-328. Sixteenth Annual Field Conference: Green River, Washakie, Wind River and Powder River Basins.

McCann, Lloyd E.
1956 The Grattan Massacre. Reprinted by Permission from *Nebraska History, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1956.*

McChristian, Douglas C.
2003 *Fort Laramie and the U. S. Army on the High Plains 1849-1890.* National Park Service, Historic Resources Study-Fort Laramie National Historic site. On file at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.

2009 *Fort Laramie: Military Bastion of the High Plains*. Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma.

McDermott, John D.
1965 Six Mile Ranch; Three Mile Ranch; and the Cheyenne-Deadwood Stage Line at Fort Laramie. *Annals of Wyoming* 37(1):96-99.

1978 *Forlorn Hope: The Battle of White Bird Canyon and the Beginning of the Nez Perce War.* Idaho State Historical Society, Boise.

1991 *19th Century Military Sites in Fremont County: A Report.* Prepared by McDermott Associates, Volume II. Copy on file with author.

1993 *Dangerous Duty: a History of Frontier Forts in Fremont County, Wyoming*. Fremont County Historic Preservation Commission, Wyoming.

1994 Writers in Judgment: Historiography of the Johnson County War. *Annals of Wyoming* 64 (Winter 1993-1994).

1997 *Frontier Crossroads: The History of Fort Caspar and the Upper Platte Crossing*. The City of Casper, Wyoming.

1998a *A Guide to the Indian Wars of the West.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

1998b *Fort Mackenzie: A Century of Service 1898-1998*. Fort Mackenzie Centennial Committee, Sheridan, Wyoming.

2000 *General George Crook's 1876 Campaign.* A Report Prepared for the American Battlefield Protection Program. Frontier Heritage Alliance, Sheridan, Wyoming.

2001a Joseph Bissonette. In, *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, Volume IV, pp. 49-60. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington.

2001b Gold Rush: The Black Hills Story. *South Dakota History* 31(3&4):185-210.

2003 *Circle of Fire: The Indian War of 1865*. Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA.

2010 *Red Cloud's War: The Bozeman Trail 1866-1868.* Two Volumes. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma.

2011 Guardians of the Pacific Telegraph. *Annals of Wyoming: The Wyoming History Journal* 83(1):21-31.

Meschter, Daniel Y.
1977 Tales about Ferris and Seminoe Mines Offer History and Color. *The Daily Times* (newspaper), September 30, 1977, page A17. Rawlins, Wyoming.

Michno, Gregory F.
2003 *Encyclopedia of Indian Wars: Western Battles and Skirmishes, 1850-1890*. Mountain Press Publishing Company, Missoula, Montana.

Michno, Gregory F., and Susan J. Michno
2008 *Forgotten Fights: Little-Known Raids and Skirmishes on the Frontier, 1823-1890*. Mountain Press Publishing Company, Missoula, Montana.

Miller, Mark E.
1997 *Hollow Victory: The White River Expedition of 1879 and the Battle of Milk Creek*. University Press of Colorado, Niwot.

Miller, Mark E. (editor)
2000 *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Caspar (48NA209) National Historic Site*. Report submitted to Fort Caspar Museum, on file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Miller, Mark E., Danny N. Walker, and Jeffrey L. Hauff
2000 A Summary of Historical Archaeology at the Wagon Box Site. In *The Wagon Box Fight: An Episode of Red Cloud's War*, by Jerry Keenan, pp. 91-128. Savas Publishing Company, Conshohocken, PA.

Miller, Mark E., and Dale L. Wedel

1991 Behavioral Inferences Derived from Preliminary Analysis of Military Cartridge Cases at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming. Paper presented at the 49th Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas, November 13-16.

1992 *Archaeological Survey and Test Excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site*. (Editors). Report submitted to Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

1993 Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming: Traveling the Corridor and Transforming the Commons. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Kansas City, Missouri, January 6-10.

1996 *Investigations at the Fort Fred Steele Military Dump (Feature 131) and Cemetery (Feature 93).* Report submitted to Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

2000 Continuing Archaeological Investigations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site, Wyoming. Paper presented at the Joint Midwest Archaeological & Plains Anthropological Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 9-12.

Mishkin, Bernard

1940 *Rank & warfare among the Plains Indians*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1992.

Mockler, Alfred J.

1939 *Fort Caspar*. The Prairie Publishing Company, Casper, Wyoming.

Monnett, John H.

2008 *Where a Hundred Soldiers Were Killed: The Struggle for the Powder River Country in 1866 and the Making of the Fetterman Myth.* University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Moulton, Candy

2010 *Forts, Fights, and Frontier Sites: Wyoming Historic Sites.* High Plains Press, Glendo, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.

1972a Fort Fred Steele: Desert Outpost on the Union Pacific. *Annals of Wyoming* 44(2):139-206.

1972b *A Brief History of Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming*. Three Volumes. Prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. Prepared by Western Interpretive Services, Sheridan, Wyoming.

1986 *Trading Posts, Forts and Bridges of the Casper Area: Unraveling the Tangle on the Upper Platte*. Wyoming Historical Press, Casper, Wyoming.

1990 *Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865-1894*. The Office, Buffalo.

2002 *The Army on the Powder River.* Old Army Press, Inc., Fort Collins, Colorado.

National Archives
2010 Photographs of the American West 1861-1912. Web site: http://www.archives.gov/research/american-west/#index. Photo 52. Accessed July 27, 2010.

National Archives Trust Fund Board
1985 *Military Service Records: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications*. National Archives and Service Administration, Washington, D.C.

National Park Service
1991 *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*. National Register Bulletin 16B. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

1992 *Study of Civil War Sites in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.* U. S. Department of the interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division.

1993 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archeological Sites and Districts.* National Register Bulletin 16. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

1995 *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. National Register Bulletin 15. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D. C.

2000a Volume One: Site Location Study, Sand Creek Massacre Project. Prepared in consultation with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the State of Colorado. Denver, National Park Service, Intermountain Region.

2000b Volume Two: Special Resource Study (SRS) and Environmental Assessment (EA), Sand Creek Massacre Project. Prepared in consultation with the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, the Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the State of Colorado. Denver, National Park Service, Intermountain Region.

2007 *National Historic Trails: Auto Tour Route Interpretive Guide Across Wyoming*. National Trails System, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2008 *Fort Yellowstone Historic District Tour Guide: The Army Years 1886-1918.* Yellowstone Association & National Park Service, Wyoming.

2010 Historic American Building Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/Historic American Landscape Survey. Web site: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009632512, accessed July 29, 2010.

Nolan, Thomas J.
2009 Geographic Information Science as a Method of Integrating History and Archaeology for Battlefield Interpretation. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 5:81-104 (Brill Academic Publishers).

Nowlin, Laura
2011 The Sand Creek Massacre Trail in Wyoming. Brochure prepared for Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cheyenne. Created by the Wyoming Monuments and Markers Tribal Committee.

O'Dell, Kevin C.
2004 *Historic Overview and NRHP Evaluation of the Deadwood Road (48CA1569 and 48CK420), Crook's 1876 Belle Fourche River Scout and the Niobrara to Virginia City road (48CA1570), Johnson, Campbell, and Crook Counties, Wyoming.* Report prepared for Yates Petroleum Corporation. ARC Consultants, Inc. Report No. 123, Sheridan, Wyoming.

O'Dell, Kevin C., and James Powers
2008 *Final Technical Report: Archaeological Investigations at Fetterman Battlefield (48SH127), Sheridan County, Wyoming*. American Battlefield Protection Program Grants #GA-2255-01-005 and GA-2255-03-004. Prepared for Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming. Submitted to American Battlefield Protection Program, Washington, D.C.

Olsen, Linda, and Lawrence Loendorf
2003 Tolar Petroglyph Site. Research report on file with the Wyoming Department of Transportation, Cheyenne. Project No. IM-80-3(115) Rock Springs – Rawlins Road –Point of Rocks East Section.

Paul, R. Eli
2004 *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854-1856*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Peters, Joseph P. (compiler)
1966 Chronological List of Actions &c, with Indians, from January 1, 1866 to January, 1891, Office Memorandum of Adjutant General's Office, 65pp. In *Indian Battles and Skirmishes on the American Frontier 1790-1898.* Published for University Microfilms Inc. Ann Arbor, by Argonaut Press Ltd, New York.

Pollard, Tony, and Iain Banks
2005 Why a Journal of Conflict Archaeology and Why Now. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology 1:iii-vii. (Brill Academic Publishers).*

Powell, Peter John
1981 *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830-1879.* Two Volumes. Harper & Row, San Francisco.

Proulx, Annie (editor)
2008 *Red Desert: History of a Place.* University of Texas Press, Austin.

Reher, Charles A.
1979 The Western Powder River Basin Survey. Vol. I, Report of Survey Results. Report to the Bureau of Land Management by the Office of the State Archaeologist, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Laramie.

Reher, Charles A. and George C. Frison
1980 The Vore site, 48CK302, a stratified buffalo jump in the Wyoming Black Hills. *Plains Anthropologist* 25(88), part 2, Memoir 16.

Reiss, Dave
2000 *Cultural Context of Prehistoric and Historic Sites on Wyoming Army National Guard Lands, Platte County, Wyoming*. Report submitted to the Wyoming Army National Guard. On file in the Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist.

2005 Wyoming Cultural Properties Site Form for 48PL1511. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Ricker, Eli S.
2005a *Voices of the American West, Volume 2: The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919.* Richard E. Jensen, editor. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

2005b *Voices of the American West, Volume 1: The Indian Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919.* Richard E. Jensen, editor. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Rickey, Don, Jr.
1963 *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Roberts, David
2008a *Devil's Gate: Brigham Young and the Great Mormon Handcart Tragedy.* Simon & Schuster, New York.

2008b The Brink of War. *Smithsonian*, June 2008:44-51.

Roberts, Phil, David L. Roberts, and Steven L. Roberts
2001 *Wyoming Almanac*. Skyline West Press/Wyoming Almanac, Laramie, Wyoming. Fifth Edition, revised.

Robinson, Charles M., III
1995 *A Good Year to Die: The Story of the Great Sioux War.* Random House, Inc., New York.

2003 *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke, Volume One, November 20, 1872-July 28, 1876.* Editor. University of North Texas Press, Denton.

2005 *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke, Volume Two, July 29, 1876-April 7, 1878.* Editor. University of North Texas Press, Denton.

Rodenbough, Theophilus R.
2000 *From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry.* New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1875. Reprint, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Rogers, Fred B.
1938 *Soldiers of the Overland: Being Some Account of the Services of General Patrick Edward Connor and His Volunteers in the Old West.* Grabhorn Press, San Francisco.

Rosenberg, Robert G.
1987 Historical Investigations of the Sawyers Wagon Road Expeditions of 1865 and 1866 and Related Rifle Pits. Report prepared for AMAX Coal Company, Campbell County, Wyoming. On file with author.

1989 Military Context and Property Types. Report prepared for Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). On file at Wyoming SHPO, Cheyenne.

Russell, Osborne
1955 *Journal of a Trapper: A Hunter's Rambles Among the Wild Regions of the Rock Mountains, 1834-1843*, edited by Aubrey L. Haines. MJF Books, New York.

Saban and Saban
2004 Web site: http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~sabthomp/wyoming /veterans/wyarmy.htm, page 15. Accessed November 14, 2007. URL is no longer connected and full citation therefore not possible.

Sanders, Paul, Dale. L. Wedel, and Alan Wimer
2003 *Results of the 2001 and 2002 Data Recovery Excavations at the Tower Falls Soldier Station (48YE163), Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming*. Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie. National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Denver, CO.

Sawyer, Ralph D. (Translator)
1994 *Sun-Tzu: The Art of War*. Fall River Press, New York.

Schneider, Edward A., and James A. Lowe
1997 *Rifle Pits on the Plains: Data Recovery Investigations at the Caballo Creek Rifle Pit Site (48CA271), Campbell County, Wyoming*. Report prepared for Amax Coal West, Inc., Belle Ayr Mine, Gillette, Wyoming. On file with TRC Mariah Associates Inc., Laramie.

Schroeder, Bryon

2006 *Bellicose or Benevolent: An Examination of Hunter0Gather Conflict in Wyoming*. Paper presented at the 64th Annual Plains Anthropological Conference, November 8-11, Topeka, Kansas.

2010 Plan of Attack, the Alcova Redoubt: A Protohistoric Fortification in Central Wyoming. Master's Thesis submitted to Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Scott, Douglas D.

1994 *A Sharp Little Affair: The Archeology of the Big Hole Battlefield.* Reprints in Anthropology, Volume 45. J&L Reprint Company, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Scott, Douglas D., W. E. Sudderth, and Christopher Schoen

1992 Archeological Investigations of the 1874 Cavalry Barracks, Fort Laramie NHS, Wyoming. *Midwest Archeological Center, Technical Report No. 16.* National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Scott, H. L.

1864 *Military Dictionary*. D. Van Nostrand, New York. Reprinted in Fort Yuma Press, Arizona, 1984.

Scott, Skylar

1983 Wyoming Inventory Form for Sawyers Rifle Pits (48CA272). On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

1985 Military Camps at Camp Payne. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 28(3-4):9-19.

Secoy, Frank Raymond

1953 *Changing Military Patterns of the Great Plains Indians*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1992.

Service, Alex

2000 *The Life and Letters of Caspar W. Collins*. City of Casper, Wyoming.

Settle, Raymond W.

1989 *The March of the Mounted Riflemen: From Fort Leavenworth to Fort Vancouver, May to October, 1849.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. Bison Book.

Seven Elk, Joe

1997 *The Grattan Massacre.* Local History Series, No. 1. Western History Center, Lingle, Wyoming.

Sheridan Chapter

1960 Trapper Creek Site. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 3(8-9):3.

1961 Additional Work at Trapper Creek. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 4(7):1-2.

Sheridan, Lieutenant General P. H.
1882 *Record of Engagements with Hostile Indians within the Military Division of the Missouri, from 1868-1882*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Facsimile Edition 1972, The Old Army Press, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Sherman, General W. T.
1990 *William Tecumseh Sherman: Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*. The Library of America, New York.

Shimkin, Demitri B.
1986 The Introduction of the Horse. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 11, Great Basin,* edited by Warren L. D'Azevedo, pp. 517-524. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Smith, Shannon D.
2008 *Give Me Eighty Men: Women and the Myth of the Fetterman Fight.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Smith, Sherry L.
1984 "The Bozeman Trail." Manuscript on file at Wyoming SHPO, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Snodgrass, Tom
2007 Counterinsurgency and the U. S. Military. Web site: http://www.intellectualconservative.com/2007/01/31/counterinsurgency-and-the-us-military/ Accessed May 4, 2010.

South, Stanley
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*. Academic Press, New York.

Spring, Agnes Wright
1967 *Caspar Collins: The Life and Exploits of an Indian Fighter of the Sixties.* AMS Press, Inc., New York.

Stansbury, Howard
1988 *Exploration of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake*. Reprinted with an introduction by Don D. Fowler in the series "Exploring the American West." Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

State Historic Preservation Office
2006 *Guidelines for the Development of Historic Contexts in Wyoming*. Unpublished manuscript on file at Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

2008 National Register and National Historic Landmark listings for Wyoming. wyshpo.state.wy.us/National Register/Search.asp , searched on 6 October 2008.

State Parks and Historic Sites
2008 Status of SPHST Managed Area and Landownership Records. Report on file with State Parks and Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.

Stenzel, Franz
1972 *Anton Schonborn, Western Forts.* Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, TX.

Stewart, James
2009 Field Notes on Fremont County Rock Art Sites. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Stone, Lyle M.
1974 *Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1781: An Archaeological Perspective on the Revolutionary Frontier*. Anthropological Series. Publications of the Museum, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

Storti, Craig
1991 *Incident at Bitter Creek: The Story of the Rock Springs Chinese Massacre*. Iowa State University Press, Ames.

Sun, Jeff
2008 *Camp Dodge, Private William T. Boswell, Indian Skirmishes and Homesteading on Garden Creek 1865-1953.* Paper submitted to Carmen Springer-Davis, Casper College, Advanced GIS, GEOG 2480, May 16. On file with author.

Tall Bull, Bill
1989 *We are the Ancestors of Those Yet to be Born: Northern Cheyenne History of the Battle of 100-in-the-Hand (Fetterman Battle).* Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association, Wyoming.

Tate, Michael L.
1999 *The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Tetra Tech, Inc.
1985 *Cheyenne Depot*. Peacekeeper Program Cultural Resources Technical Report 1. Prepared for U. S. Air Force, Norton AFB, California.

1987 *Fort D. A. Russell/F. E. Warren*. Peacekeeper Program Cultural Resources Technical Report 4, Volumes I & II. Prepared for U. S. Air Force, Norton AFB, California.

Todd, Edgeley W.
1965 Antonio Montero. In *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade*, Vol. II, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, pp. 247-263. Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California.

Todd, S.
1977 Wyoming Cultural Sites Inventory Form for Camp at Sheridan, 48SH125. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records, Laramie.

Togstad, Gary, and Carla Togstad
1989 *Camp Devin-Bradley Expedition 1878, Little Missouri, Wyoming Territory*. Published by authors, Sand Creek Printing.

Toltest, Inc.
2009a *Wyoming Military Historic Context, 1920-1989.* Third Draft-Final. Report prepared for F. E. Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne by Toltest, Inc., Maumee, Ohio. On file at Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

2009b *The United States Military in Wyoming: 1920-1989 (End of the Cold War.* Draft 2. Public Document prepared for F. E. Warren Air Force Base, Cheyenne by Toltest, Inc., Maumee, Ohio. On file at Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office.

Trenholm, Virginia, and Maurine Carley
1964 *The Shoshonis: Sentinels of the Rockies.* University of Oklahoman Press, Norman.

United States Forest Service
n. d. Unexploded Military Munitions. Public brochure for the Pole Mountain Unit of the Medicine Bow National Forest. Laramie, Wyoming.

United States Geological Survey (USGS)
1993 Map of Indian land areas judicially established, 1978, U.S. Indian Claims Commission or U.S. Court of Claims. USGS, Denver, Colorado.

United States Senate, Executive Documents
1855 *Report of the Secretary of War.* Senate Executive Documents No. 91, 34th Congress, 1st Session. Relating to the massacre of Lieutenant Grattan and his command. U. S. Government Printing Office.

Unrau, William E.
1979 *Tending the Talking Wire: A Buck Soldier's View of Indian Country 1863-1866*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Upton, Emory
1874 *Cavalry Tactics: United States Army: assimilated to the tactics of infantry and artillery*. D. Appleton and Co., New York. Microfilmed 1984 Library of Congress, photoduplication service, Washington, D.C.

Utley, Robert M.

1967 *Frontiersmen in Blue: the United States Army and the Indian, 1848-1865*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1981.

1973 *Frontier Regulars: the United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. First Bison Book printing 1984.

Van De Logt, Mark

2010 *War Party in Blue: Pawnee Scouts in the U. S. Army.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Vaughn, J. W.

1963 *The Battle of Platte Bridge*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

1994 *With Crook at the Rosebud*. Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, PA.

Waddell, Karen

1991 Intermountain Antiquities Computer System Site Form for Fort Thompson Road, 48FR1283. Western Public History Associates. On file in Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Wagner, David E.

2009 *Powder River Odyssey: Nelson Cole's Western Campaign of 1865*. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma.

2010 *Patrick Connor's War: The 1865 Powder River Indian Expedition.* The Arthur H. Clark Company, Norman, Oklahoma.

Walker, Danny N.

1994 The River Basin Survey Rock Art at Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming. In *40 Something: The River Basin Surveys*, edited by Kimball M. Banks. North Dakota Archaeology, Journal of the North Dakota Archaeological Association, Department of Anthropology, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

1999 *Faunal Remains from Three Military Soldier Stations, Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming.* Report submitted to Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana.

2004 *Searching for Fort William: An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared by Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office and Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. On file at Long Distance Trails Office, National Park Service, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2009 *Archaeological Investigations at Seminoe's Trading Post, 48NA288, Natrona County, Wyoming.* Report submitted to the Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming.

2012 The Archaeology of the Battle of Red Buttes. Manuscript on file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Laramie. In preparation.

Walker, Danny N. (editor)
1998 *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996.* Cultural Resource Selection Series Number 13. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Denver, Colorado.

Walker, Danny N., and Michael T. Bies
2008 Horses at Legend Rock State Petroglyph Site, Wyoming. Paper presented at the 66th Annual Plains Anthropological Conference, October 1-4, 2008. Laramie, Wyoming.

Walker, Danny N., and Steven L. De Vore
2008 *Archeological and Geophysical Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, 2002-2005*. Report prepared for the National Park Service, submitted by University of Wyoming, Department of Anthropology. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist.

Walker, Danny N., and Julie E. Francis (editors)
1989 *Legend Rock Petroglyph Site (48BH04), Wyoming: 1988 Archaeological Investigations*. Report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission, submitted by Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Walpole, Kyle V.
1998 Bennett Butte: "Bivouac of the Dead:" A Narrative of "Miles' Fight on the Clark's Fork" and Analysis of a Monumental Historical Mystery. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1999 'Bivouac of the Dead': The Battle of Bennett Butte, Miles' Fight on the Clark's Fork Re-examined. *Annals of Wyoming* 71(1):17-40.

War of the Rebellion, The
1901 *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1880-1901.

Wassil, Dulce R.
2009 *Near Surface Geophysical Remote Sensing of the Fort Laramie Historic Cemeteries.* Master's Thesis submitted to Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming.

Weathermon, Rick L.
2008 A Bioarchaeological and Historical Analysis of an Indian Wars-Era Casualty from Platte Bridge Station, Dakota Territory. In *Skeletal Biology and Bioarchaeology of the Northwestern Plains*, edited by George W. Gill and Rick L. Weathermon, pp. 143-159. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Weaver, David B.
1917 Captain Townsend's Battle on the Powder River. *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, Volume 8, 1917, pp.283-293. J. S. Canner and Company, Inc. Boston, Mass., 1966.

Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language
1960 College Edition. The World Publishing Company, New York.

Wedel, Dale L., Mark E. Miller, and Danny N. Walker
2001 *Continued Archaeological Investigations at the Bridge Tender's House, Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming.* Report prepared for Wyoming Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Wedel, Dale L., and David G. Eckles
2005 *Archaeological Investigations at the Post Trader's House (Hugus/Chatterton House), Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Report prepared for Wyoming Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources, Cheyenne. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Wheeler, Joseph H.
2009 Fort Sanders: "All the Rich…Lands Along the Creek." Paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Anth 5190:Public Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. December 6, 2009.

White, David A. (compiler)
1998 *News of the Plains and Rockies 1803-1865.* Volume 4. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Spokane, Washington.

Whiteley, Lee
1999 *The Cherokee Trail: Bent's Old Fort to Fort Bridger.* Denver Posse of Westerners, Inc. Johnson Printing, Boulder, Colorado.

Wight, Jermy B.
2007 *The Jackson Hole Conspiracy, 1895*. Timbermill Press, Auburn, Wyoming.

Willey, P.
1990 *Prehistoric Warfare on the Great Plains: Skeletal Analysis of the Crow Creek Massacre Victims.* Garland Publishing, Inc., New York.

Wolf, Dan
2002 *A Class III Cultural Resource Survey of Three Alternative Corridors for the Proposed Casper West Belt Loop, WYCOT Project PREA-0N21-02(084), Natrona County, Wyoming*. Report prepared for Wyoming Department of Transportation. On file at Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Laramie.

Wolf, Judy K. (editor)
2007 *On the Road To Preservation: Wyoming's Comprehensive Statewide Historic Preservation Plan.* Department of State Parks & Cultural Resources. On file with author.

Wood, W. Raymond
1972 Contrastive features of native North American trade systems. In *For the chief: essays in honor of Luther S. Cressman,* edited by Fred W. Voget and Robert L. Stephenson, pp. 153-169. University of Oregon Anthropological Papers No. 4.

Wood, W. Raymond, and Thomas D. Thiessen (editors)
1985 *Early Fur Trade on the Northern Plains: Canadian Traders Among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, 1738-1818.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Wooster, Robert
1993 *Nelson A. Miles & The Twilight of the Frontier Army*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A Guide to Historic Sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming.

n.d.1 Site form for Bridger and Fraeb's Trading Post (48CR1184). Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

n.d.2 Site form for Camp Marshall (aka Camp La Bonte and La Bonte Station) (48CO179). Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

n.d.3 Site form for Bennett Creek Battlefield (48PA214). Wyoming SHPO Cultural Records Office, Laramie.

Wyoming Tribune-Eagle
2002 Web site: http://www.highbeam.com/doc1P2-15844937.html. May 11, 2002. Accessed on August 17, 2009.

Yellowstone National Park
2008 *Fort Yellowstone Historic District Tour Guide: The Army years 1886-1918.* Brochure guide published by Yellowstone Association and National Park Service. Yellowstone National Park.

Young, Kenneth Ray
1994 *The General's General: The Life and Times of Arthur MacArthur*. Westview Press, Inc., Boulder.

APPENDIX A

Excerpts from an Incomplete, but Working, Bibliography of Archaeological and Historical Studies Conducted on Selected Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites*

Compiled by
Danny N. Walker, Ph.D.
Wyoming Assistant State Archaeologist

***** (as of 2007)

ABSTRACT

The following bibliography of archaeological and historic references on Wyoming State Parks and Historic sites has been compiled over the years as a resource for conducting cultural resource management projects on the various state parks and historic sites. The project started by obtaining a listing of all property managed by Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department State Parks and Cultural Resources. Three additional sites (Fort Caspar, Fort Laramie, and Fort Sanders) were added to the list, primarily because of their preservation and development for visitation. These properties range from a fraction of an acre to several thousand acres. Some properties have also had intensive cultural resource studies conducted on them (South Pass City, Fort Bridger, Fort Laramie, Fort Fred Steele) while others have never had any formal archaeological studies (Conner Battlefield, Ft. McKinney, Ft. Reno, LaClede Stage Station).

The project started as a primary listing of cultural resource management reports, e.g., contract archaeology survey reports. Some historic documents and books important to the history of specific sites have also been included. However, the latter are highly incomplete.

This listing should not be considered a formal Class I review of these properties. The archaeological listings are as complete as allowable with information currently available in Laramie. However, there are several project references known to be missing, especially for those state recreation parks on federal reservoirs and associated lands. Many in-house cultural resource surveys have been conducted by the federal land management agencies over the years. Most of those reports were not available in Laramie. Likewise, the historic documents and books on the various historic sites listed here are incomplete. Many additional books and journal articles could be added to the bibliography. This listing includes only those that are most commonly referenced when discussing the history of those sites or have been easily located in the University of Wyoming Library. Also not included are document collections held by the American Heritage Center, Laramie and the Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne. Hopefully, these categories of missing documents and references can be added in the future.

Input for this bibliography was provided by Mike Andrews, Dale Austin, Kimball Banks, Robert Blasing, George Frison, Jeffrey Hauff, Dudley Gardner, Todd Guenther, Marcel Kornfeld, Dave Eckles and Mark E. Miller. Their assistance is appreciated.

BOYSEN STATE PARK (Fremont County)

Bliss, Wesley L.

1948 *Supplementary appraisal of the archeological and paleontological resources of Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Missouri Valley Project, River Basin Surveys. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 20 pp.

1950 Birdshead Cave, a stratified site in Wind River Basin, Wyoming. *American Antiquity* 3:187-196.

Bliss, Wesley L., and Ted E. White

1947 *Preliminary appraisal of the archeological and paleontological resources of Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Missouri Valley Project, River Basin Surveys. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 9 pp.

Eckles, David G., and David Reiss

1989 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey along the Boysen State Park roads, Highway Project SCP-RC-8l27, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 27 pp.

Gebhard, David S., and Harold A. Cahn

1954 Petroglyphs in the Boysen Reservoir area. *University of Wyoming Publications in Science* 18(1):66-70.

Howard, Bryan P.

1989 *An archaeological survey at Boysen Reservoir of four structures to be removed and the surrounding affected areas*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for United States Bureau of Reclamation by United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, United States Bureau of Reclamation, Cody, Wyoming.

Larson, Thomas K., Paul Sanders, and William Tibesar

1978 *Archaeological investigations at 48FR380.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for United States Bureau of Reclamation, Billings, Wyoming. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. ixx + 25 pp.

Mahoney, John F.

1989 *Boysen State Park master plan.* On file, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Mulloy, William T.

1954 Archaeological investigations in the Shoshone Basin of Wyoming. *University of Wyoming Publications* 18(1):1-70.

Reiss, Dave and David Eckles

1992 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Department of Commerce, Boysen State Park, restrooms and waterline, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 34 pp.

Sowers, Ted C.

1940 *Petroglyphs of west central Wyoming, eight sites*. Federal Works Projects Administration, Archeological Project Report, Casper, Wyoming. Original copy on file, Hebard Room, Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

1941 *Final report of the Wyoming Archaeological Survey.* Federal Works Projects Administration, Archeological Project Report, Casper, Wyoming. Original copy on file, Hebard Room, Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming.

Tipps, Betsy L., and Alan R. Schroedl

1985 *The Riverton rock art study, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared by P-III Associates, Inc., for United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N.

1989 *Archaeological investigations at Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming, forty years after the River Basin Survey.* Paper presented to the 47th Plains Conference, Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

1989 *Results of a Class III cultural resource survey, Boysen State Park facilities refurbishment project, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, Uniiversity of Wyoming, Laramie. 15 pp.

1989 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, Bureau of Reclamation property boundary fence, Boysen State Park, Freemont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 11 pp.

1991 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, proposed Poison Creek Road, Boysen State Park, Fremont County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 79 pp.

1991 *The River Basin Survey rock art at Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 77 pp.

1992 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, Bank Stabilization, Boysen Marina, Boysen State Park, Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 11 pp.

1994 Archeological Investigations at Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming, Forty Years After The River Basin Survey," In: 40 Something: The River Basin Surveys, edited by Kimball Banks. *North Dakota Archaeology* 5:117-126.

1994 The River Basin Survey Rock Art at Boysen Reservoir, Fremont County, Wyoming. In: 40 Something: River Basin Surveys, edited by Kimball Banks. *North Dakota Archaeology* 5:127-176.

Walker, Danny N., George M. Zeimens, and Larry Lahren

1976 *Results of an archaeological survey on specific areas of the Bureau of Reclamation Riverton Project, Riverton, Wyoming: (Bureau of Reclamation Purchase Order Number 6-01-01-16370).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 15 pp.

Wedel, Waldo R.

1948 Prehistory and the Missouri Valley Development Program: Summary report on the Missouri River Basin archeological survey in 1947. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 111(2):1-52 + 8 plates.

Welch, James M.

1984 *A Class III cultural resource inventory of Gulf Oil Exploration and Production Company's Waltman Lake Federal Well #1-30-2B, access roads, and an adjacent 40 acre inventory area, Fremont County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for Gulf Oil Exploration and Production Company by Frontier Archaeology for the United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

Wheeler, Richard Page

n.d. *Archeological remains in three reservoir areas in South Dakota and Wyoming: Part III, Boysen Reservoir.* Unpublished manuscript prepared for Missouri River Basin Survey. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xxx + 357 pp.

1997 *Archeological Investigations in Three Reservoir Areas in South Dakota and Wyoming: Part III: Boysen Reservoir*. J&L Reprint Company, Lincoln, NE.

Zeimens, George M., and Danny N. Walker

1976 *A cultural resource inventory of the Muddy Creek Divide and Lost Wells Butte areas near Riverton, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for the United States Bureau of Reclamation. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 286 pp.

CONNER BATTLEFIELD (48SH12O)

Barnhart, Bill

1970 Conner Battlefield. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 6 pp.

Hafen, LeRoy R., and Ann W. Hafen (editors)

1961 *Powder River campaigns and Sawyers Expedition of 1865*. Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.

Rogers, Fred Blackburn

1938 *Soldiers of the overland; being some account of the services of General Patrick Edward Conner & his volunteers in the old West*. Grabhom Press, San Francisco.

Vaughn, Jesse Wendell

1961 *The Reynolds campaign on Powder River*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Wyoming Recreation Commission

1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 230-231.

CUSTER MONUMENT (48CK105)

Wyoming Recreation Commission

n.d. Custer Monument. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp. [sign reads: CUSTER EXPEDITION Camped near here July 22-23, 1874. General George Custer and Officers climbed Inyan Kara Mountain. -- Two soldiers died while in camp and were buried on the mountain side to the east.]

FETTERMAN FIGHT HISTORIC SITE (48SH127)

Anonymous

1987 *Massacre of troops near Fort Phil. Kearney* [sic}. Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Washington.

Brown, Dee

1962 *The Fetterman Massacre.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Carrington, Frances C.

1910 *My army life: A soldier's wife at Fort Phil Kearny: With an account of the celebration of "Wyoming opened."* LB. Lippincott, Philadelphia.

1990 *My army life: A soldier's wife at Fort Phil Kearny: With an account of the celebration of Wyoming opened."* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, Colorado. (reprint).

Eckles, David

1992 *A class III cultural resource inventor, Fetterman Fight Site hiking trail, Sheridan County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 12 pp.

Garber, Vie Willits

1911 *The Bozeman Trail.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

McDermott Associates

1989 *Promoting historical and cultural resources along the Bozeman Trail*. McDermott Associates, Sheridan, Wyoming.

McWilliams, Mary Ellen and Robert C. Wilson

1990 *A self-guided tour: Fort Phil Kearny, Fetterman Battle, Wagon Box Fight.* Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Myers, Patty, and Mary Ellen McWilliams (editors)
1992 *The historical significance of the Fort Phil Kearny sites.* Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 232-233.

1977 Fetterman Fight Historic Site. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

FORT BONNEVILLE (48SU29)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Fort Bonneville. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Current, William
1991 Faunal analysis. Appendix C, In *Archaeological investigations at Fort Bonneville* (by A. Dudley Gardner, David E. Johnson, and David Vlcek). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Sublette County Certified Local Government Board by Archaeological Services. Cultural Resource Management Report No. 51, on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 207 pp.

Francis, Julie E.
1989 *A proposal to conduct archaeological and historical investigations at Fort Bonneville, Sublette County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management proposal. Prepared for Sublette County Historic Preservation Commission. On file, Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 10 pp.

Gardner, A. Dudley, David E. Johnson, and David Vlcek
1991 *Archaeological investigations at Fort Bonneville*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Sublette County Certified Local Government Board by Archaeological Services. Cultural Resource Management Report No. 51, on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 207 pp.

Irving, Washington
1961 *The adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S.A.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Owens, Clyde Meeham
1925 The Fur Traders. *Annals of Wyoming* 2(3):41-46.

Thompson, Craig D.
1991 Glass slag analysis. Appendix B, In *Archaeological investigations at Fort Bonneville* (by A. Dudley Gardner, David E. Johnson, and David Vlcek). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Sublette County Certified Local Government Board by Archaeological Services. Cultural Resource Management Report No. 51, on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 207 pp.

Thompson, Linda W.
1991 Proton Magnetometer survey of Fort Bonneville. Appendix A, In *Archaeological investigations at Fort Bonneville* (by A. Dudley Gardner, David E. Johnson, and David Vlcek). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Sublette County Certified Local Government Board by Archaeological Services. Cultural Resource Management Report No. 51, on file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 207 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 248.

FORT BRIDGER (48UT29)

Barnhart, Bill
1969 Fort Bridger. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

Bartletson, John
1860 Diary of a trip from Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, via Bridger's Bass and Laramie Plains to Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory. pp. 52-56, In *Message of the President . . . to the second session of the 35th Congress,* Washington, D.C.

Current, William
1991 Faunal Analysis. Appendix A, In *The 1990 excavations at the Mormon Compound, Fort Bridger, Wyoming* (by A. Dudley Gardner, David E. Johnson, and Thomas Lindmier). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce and the Wyoming Council for the Humanities by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

Ellison, Robert Spurner
1939 *Fort Bridger, Wyoming, a brief history.* The Historical Landmark Commission of Wyoming, Casper, Wyoming.

1981 *A brief history of Fort Bridger, Wyoming*. Second Edition. Casper, Wyoming. Commercial Printing Co. 80 pp.

Frost, Ned

1971 Goodrick House (Family Officer's Quarters, Fort Bridger). National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

Gardner, A. Dudley

1984 *Results of historic excavations at Fort Bridger, Wyoming*. Paper presented at the Wyoming Association of Professional Archaeologists, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

1990 *Preliminary report for the 1990 excavations within the "Mormon Fort," Fort Bridger State Historical Site, 48UT29, Uinta County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 22 pp.

1990 Preliminary report for excavations at Fort Bridger 1990. Manuscript on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs.

1990 *Data recovery plan for proposed excavations at Jim Bridger Trading Post and the "Mormon Compound."* Manuscript on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs.

1991 *Report for the 1991 excavations within the "Mormon Fort," Fort Bridger State Historical Site, 48UT29, Uinta County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 24 pp.

1991 *Excavation results for the 1990 field seasons, Fort Bridger, Wyoming.* Manuscript on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs.

1992 *Historic excavations at Fort Bridger.* Paper presented at the Colorado Council for Professional Archaeologists, Grand Junction, Colorado.

1993 *Fort Bridger.* Paper presented at the First Annual Rocky Mountain Anthropology Conference, Jackson, Wyoming.

1993 *Fort Bridger and the Native Americans.* Paper presented at the International Society for Historical Archaeology, Kansas City, Missouri.

1993 *The Shoshoni Nation, and the seeds of change along the Oregon Trail.* Manuscript on file, Fort Bridger State Historical Site, Fort Bridger, Wyoming.

1993 *Data sets (1990-1991) and historic overview (1992) for Fort Bridger.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

1994 *Fort Bridger and environmental change from 1843 to 1890.* Paper presented at the International Society for Historical Archaeology, Vancouver, B. C.

1994 *Data Sets (1992) and Paleo-environmental assessment (1993).* Manuscript on file, Fort Bridger State Historical Site, Fort Bridger, Wyoming.

1996 *Report on Fort Bridger excavations.* Manuscript on file, Archaeological Services of Western Wyoming Community College, Rock Springs.

1998 *Annual report of excavations.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

1999 *Interim report for the monitor of ADA construction at the Fort Bridger (48UT29) State Historic Site.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

2000 *Lithic materials and Fort Bridger.* Paper presented at the Joint Midwest Archaeological/Plains Anthropological Conference, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

2000 *Lithic materials and Fort Bridger.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

2004 *Traders, Emigrants, and Native Americans, the Mormons and Fort Bridger.* Presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology 37th Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Saint Louis, Missouri.

2008 Mormon cultural horizon at Fort Bridger. In *Historical Archaeology of the Mormon Domain,* (Benjamin Pykles, editor). In Press, University of Illinois Press.

Gardner, A. Dudley and Martin Lammars

2001 Lithic materials and Fort Bridger. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 45(1):43-46.

2004 *Biscuit root or biscuits? Trappers and Native Americans at Fort Bonneville, Fort Bridger, and Natural Corrals.* Presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology 37th Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Saint Louis, Missouri.

2004 *Preliminary report of monitoring activity at Fort Bridger*. Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

2005 *Picket wall repair on west side of Replica Jim Bridger Trading Post.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

2006 *Preliminary report for test excavations at the New Commissary and Warehouse.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

2006 *Brief overview and archaeological components at Fort Bridger.* Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

Gardner, A. Dudley, and David E. Johnson

1990 *The 1990 excavations at the "Mormon For," Fort Bridger State Historical Site, 48UT29, Uinta County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management data recovery plan by Archaeological Services. Prepared for Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 25+ pp.

1990 *Test excavations along the Mormon Wall, Fort Bridger, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 43 pp.

Gardner, A. Dudley, David E. Johnson, and Patrick W. Bower

1985 *Results of test excavations and archaeological monitoring of the area adjacent to the reconstructed Bridger Trading Post, Fort Bridger, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming iii + 24 pp.

1985 *Results of monitoring the service lines to the Commanding Officer's Quarters at Fort Bridger, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 28 pp.

1985 *Test excavations at the Fort Bridger Commissary.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Archives, Museums, and Historical Department by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 47 pp.

Gardner, A. Dudley, David E. Johnson, and Thomas Lindmier

1990 *The 1990 excavations at the Mormon Compound, Fort Bridger*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce and the Wyoming Council for the Humanities by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

Gowans, Frederick Ross
1972 *A history of Fort Bridger from 1841-1858.* Unpublished PhD dissertation, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Gowans, Frederick Ross, and E.E. Campbell
1975 *Fort Bridger: Island in the wilderness.* Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University Press.

Hauff, Jeffrey
1984 *Archeological investigations at Fort Bridger (48UT29), Uinta County, Wyoming: 1983 field season, footbridge testing*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. ii + 25 pp.

1985 *Historic archeology at Fort Bridger (48UT29), Wyoming: The Old Guardhouse.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vi + 95 pp.

1986 Historical archaeology at Fort Bridger. *Wyoming Heritage and Recreation* 9(2):7.

Hauff, Jeffrey L., and Skylar S. Scott
1984 *Archeological investigations at Fort Bridger (48UT29), Uinta County, Wyoming: 1983 field season, the bandstand.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vii + 85 pp.

Hauff, Jeffrey L., Skylar S. Scott, and Rhoda O. Lewis
1984 *Archeological investigations at Fort Bridger (48UT29), Uinta County Wyoming: 1983 field season, the Old Commissary Building.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vi + 95 pp.

Junge, Mark
1971 Fort Bridger Commanding Officers [sic] Quarters. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Keen, Elizabeth
1956 *Wyoming's frontier newspapers.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of English, University of Wyoming, Laramie.
1961 Wyoming's frontier newspapers. *Annals of Wyoming* 33(2): 135-158.

Korns, J. Roderic
1951 *West from Fort Bridger*. Utah Historical Quarterly 19:192-194.

Lammers, Martin, and A. Dudley Gardner
2005 *Fort Bridger beads data set 2005*. Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

Lammers, Martin, and A. Dudley Gardner
2007 *Fort Bridger State Historic Site, 48UT29, Lincoln Highway motor-court cabin testing program TEAL Project 2007*. Manuscript on file, Western Wyoming Community College, Department of History, Rock Springs.

McMurtrie, Douglas C.
1933 *An early newspaper of Wyoming The "Daily Telegraph" of Fort Bridger, together with facsimiles of the issues of June 26 and July 26, 1863*. Black Cat Press, Chicago.

1933 Pioneer printing in Wyoming. *Annals of Wyoming* 9(3):729-742.

1941 The Fourth Infantry press at Fort *Bridger. Annals of Wyoming* 13(4):347-351.

1942 Early printing in Wyoming. *Papers, Bibliographical Society of America* 36(4):267-304.

Meyer-Hopkins, Mary
n.d. *Flagpole excavation at Fort Bridger, 48UT29, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 14 pp. + 4 figures.

Moore, J. K., Jr.
1955 Post trader and Indian trader tokens. *Annals of Wyoming* 27(2):131-136.

Standing, A. R.
1967 *Through the Uintas: History of the Carter Road.* Utah Historical Quarterly 35(3):255-267.

Scott-Cummings, Linda
1991 *Pollen and floral analysis at Fort Bridger (48UT290, Wyoming).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

1992 *Pollen analysis at Fort Bridger (48UT290) Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

1992 *Pollen analysis from two features at Fort Bridger, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce by Archaeological Services. On file, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, Rock Springs, Wyoming.

Stone, Elizabeth Arnold
1924 *Uinta County: Its place in history.* Laramie, Wyoming. The Laramie Printing Company.

Trevor, Marjorie C.
1954 *History of Carter-Sweetwater County, Wyoming to 1875.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N.
1979 *Report on archeological testing at Fort Bridger, Wyoming, 1977.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 3 pp.

1986 *Faunal remains from sidewalk monitoring, Fort Bridger, Wyoming (48UT29).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 8 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 286-287.

FORT CASPAR (PLATTE BRIDGE STATION) (48NA209)

Anonymous
n.d. Fort Caspar. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Combs, Eric A., George W. Gill, Mark E. Miller, and Carolyn M. Buff
1992 A frontier burial from Fort Caspar, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 36(112):31-41.

DeVore, Steven L.
1998 *Geophysical Investigations of the western part of Fort Caspar Park, Natrona County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office by Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Drew, William Y.
1910 *The Platte Bridge fight, the killing of Lieut. Caspar Collins, the Indian depredations at Ft. Caspar, the destruction of telegraph lines between Ft. Laramie and South Pass, Wyoming*. Typescript, on file, University of Wyoming Library, Laramie.

Fort Caspar Museum Staff
1986 *Bison hunters to black gold: A brief history of the Fort Caspar area from prehistoric times to oil development.* Wyoming Historical Press, Casper, Wyoming.

Hagan, Olaf T.
1955 Platte Bridge Station and Fort Caspar. *Annals of Wyoming* 27(1):3-18.

Miller, Mark E.
2000 *Archaeological Investigations at Fort Caspar (48NA209) National Historic Site* (sic). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Fort Casper, Wyoming. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie

Molder, Alfred James
1939 *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station); comprising a description of the killing of Lieutenant Caspar W. Collins and four soldiers of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry and the massacre of Sergeant Amos J. Custard and twenty of his comrades near the Platte Bridge Station July 26, 1865.* Prairie Publishing Company, Casper, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.
1986 *Trading posts, forts and bridges of the Casper area: Unraveling the tangle on the Upper Platte. In Bison hunters to black gold: A brief history of the Fort Caspar area from prehistoric times to oil development* (Fort Caspar Museum Staff, editors). Wyoming Historical Press, Casper, Wyoming.

Vaughn, Jesse Wendell
1963 *The battle of Platte Bridge*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Weathermon, Rick Laurence
2001 New information from the reanalysis of a frontier burial from Fort Casper, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 45(1):29-41.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 161-163.

FORT FETTERMAN (48CO10)

Barnhart, Bill

n.d. Fort Fetterman. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

Field, Sharon Lass

1970 *Fort Fetterman's cemetery.* Privately published, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Hauff, Jeffrey L.

1984 *Archeological investigations at Fort Fetterman (48COI0), Converse County, Wyoming: The 1983 field season*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vi + 56 pp.

Hooker, William Francis

1988 *The Bullwhacker: Adventures of a frontier freighter.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Murray, Robert A.

1968 *Military posts in the Powder River country of Wyoming.* The Office, Buffalo, Wyoming.

Reiss, Dave

1987 Fort Fetterman. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

Rickey, Don, Jr.

1963 *Forty miles a day on beans and hay: The enlisted soldier fighting the Indian wars.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Robrock, David P.

1975 *A history of Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, 1867-1882*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

The Rowdy West

1886 Newspaper published in Douglas Wyoming, October 24, 1886 to July 17, 1887.

Wyoming Recreation Commission

1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 53-54.

FORT FRED STEELE (48CR480)

Babcock, William A., Daniel F. Gallacher, Christine Amos, and Pamela J. Liggett

1982 *Interpretive plan and sign texts for Fort Fred Steele State Historical Site, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. iii + 121 pp.

Barnhart, Bill

n.d. Fort Fred Steele. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Barnhart, William R.

1969 *The early history of Carbon County, Wyoming.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Brundy, Clyde M.

1971 *Our love affair with Fort Steele.* Empire Magazine, The Denver Post, September 5, 1971, pp. 10-12.

Census Records

1870 *Fort Fred Steele, Carbon County, Wyoming Territory.* Microfilm on file at Historic records Section, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

1880 *Fort Fred Steele, Carbon County, Wyoming Territory*. Microfilm on file at Historic records Section, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

Community Services Collaborative

1990 *Fort Steele powder magazine: Historic Building evaluation, Carbon County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

DeVore, Steven L.

1996 *Geophysical investigations qt Fort Fred Steele State Historic Park, Carbon County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Drucker, J.D. "Sam"

1996 *Faunal analysis of the 1996 field excavations.* Unpublished report prepared for University of Wyoming Zooarchaeology class, fall 1996. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Fawcett, William, Jr.
1981 *Archeological investigations at Fort Fred Steele (48CR480), Carbon County, Wyoming: An archeological research plan and the barracks excavation of 1979.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vii + 209 pp.

Fraissinet, Hugo
1882 *Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming plan of post.* Map on file, Historical and Photographic Research Section, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

Gardner, A. Dudley
1992 Assessments of the standing historic structures within the Fort Steele Historic Site. pp. 313-360, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

Gaumer, Rick
1990 *Geophysical survey at the Fort Fred Steele cemetery.* Unpublished manuscript prepared for Wyoming Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 24 pp.

Hanson, Mark D.
2001 *Metallic cartridge cases and lead slugs from Wyoming's Fort Fred Steele: An analysis of possible firing range localities and associated cartridge case crushing.* Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2002 Target practice and firing ranges at Fort Fred Steele. *Annals of Wyoming* 74(2):28-32.

2004 Target architecture of a suspected firing range at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming. *Historical Archaeology* 39(4):45-58.

Hickman, Barbara J., Kathryn L. Joyner, David J. McGuire, Darryl Newton, and Robert Rosenberg
1986 *Report of cultural resource investigations for the U.S. Telecom fiber optic cable project: Cheyenne, Wyoming to Evanston, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for U.S. Telecom and Beak Consultants, Inc. by Mariah Associates. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Howe, Edgar W.
1886 *Report of interments made in post cemetery at Ft. Fred Steele since its establishment.* Unpublished manuscript. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Larson, Larry, Ken Cundall, Bob Drobish, Pete Lange, and Tom Shaffer
1975 *Fort Fred Steele State Park development plan.* On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 18 pp.

Latady, William R., Jr., and Allen D. Darlington
1983 *Test excavations at the Bridge Tender's House, Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vii + 65 pp.

1993 Archaeological investigations at the Bridge Tender's House, Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 37(1-2):1-12.

Mahoney, John
1990 *Fort Fred Steele Master Plan.* Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Michael, Winifred M.
1992 Ceramic dolls from 48CR480. pp. 471-479, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

Miller, Mark E.
1992 Introduction. pp. 1-13, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1992 History of investigations. pp. 14-25, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1992 Field methods. pp. 26-32, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1992 Features. pp. 33-161, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1997 *Hollow Victory: The White River Expedition of 1879 and the Battle of Milk Creek*. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

Miller, Mark E., Dale L. Wedel, and Danny N. Walker
1990 *Archaeological investigations at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 48th Plains Anthropological Conference, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Miller, Mark E., and Danny N. Walker
1992 Description of test units. pp. 255-279, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

Miller, Mark E., and Dale L. Wedel
1991 *Behavioral inferences derived from preliminary analysis of military cartridge cases at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 49th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.

Miller, Mark E., and Dale L. Wedel
1992 *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1992 Summary and conclusions. pp. 280-296, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

1996 *Investigations at the Fort Fred Steele military dump (Feature 131) and cemetery (Feature 93).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 *Continuing archaeological investigations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Paper presented to the 2000 Plains Anthropological Conference, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Murray, Robert A.

1972 Fort Fred Steele: Desert outpost on the Union Pacific. *Annals of Wyoming* 44(2):139-206.

1972 *A brief history of Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming*. Unpublished manuscript prepared by Western Interpretive Services. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. ii + 123 pp.

1972 *Historic significance [of Fort Fred Steele].* Unpublished manuscript prepared by Western Interpretive Services. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. ii + 56 pp.

1974 *Military posts of Wyoming.* The Old Army Press, Ft. Collins, Colorado.

Perry, Alexander J.

1869 *Military reservation at Fort Fred. Steele, Wy. T., prepared under the direction of Major Alexander J. Perry.* Map on file, Historical and Photographic Research Section, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

Walker, Danny N.

1992 Artifacts and faunal remains. In: *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic Sit*e (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1992 Description of test units. In: *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred. Steele State Historic Site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wedel, Dale L. and David G. Eckles
2005 *Archaeological investigations at the Post Trader's House (Hugus/Chatterton House), Fort Fred Steele State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wedel, Dale L., Mark E. Miller and Danny N. Walker
2001 *Continued archeological investigations at the Bridge Tender's House, Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wedel, Dale L., and Danny N. Walker
1992 Artifacts and faunal remains. pp. 162-254, In *Archaeological survey and test excavations at Fort Fred Steele State Historic site* (Mark E. Miller and Dale L. Wedel, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. xiv + 479 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 37-38.

FORT LARAMIE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE (48GO1)

Anderson, A. B.
1973 *Test excavations in proposed entrance roadway, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 26 pp.

Anonymous
1926 Post Sutler's at Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory. *Annals of Wyoming* 4(2):318.

Anthony, Ross Orlando
1930 *A history of Fort Laramie*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Southern California.

Armstrong, Anne K., Laura Niven, and Danny N. Walker
1998 Previous archeological investigations. Pp. 27-72, In Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996 (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selection*s 13:1-284.

Bach, Daniel R.

2005 Macrofloral analysis of a privy soil sample from near the Hospital Steward's House, Fort Laramie (48GO1), Wyoming. Pp. 103-107 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Bartletson, John

1860 *Diary of a trip from Fort Bridger, Utah Territory, via Bridger's Bass and Laramie Plains to Fort Laramie, Nebraska Territory*. pp. 52-56, In Message of the President . . . to the second session of the 35th Congress, Washington, D.C.

Beaubien, P. L.

1941 *Fort Laramie National Monument, Old Bakery excavations*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 11 pp.

1951 *Preliminary report of the archeological investigations at Fort Laramie National Monument, 1950.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 80 pp.

1951 *Excavation in the area west of the Sutler's Store. Memorandum to Regional Historian, November 5, 1951*. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1953 *Sutler's Store excavation, 1951, Fort Laramie National Monument.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 31 pp.

Boles, Dulce

2005 Preliminary report on an electrical conductivity and magnetic susceptibility survey of the Fort Laramie Cemeteries. Pp. 87-102 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Butler, B. Robert

1998 *Cultural resource survey of non-military historic sites at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Goshen County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Rocky Mountain National Park. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Boyack, Hazel Noble

1949 Historic Fort Laramie, The hub of early western history -- 1834-1849. *Annals of Wyoming* 21(2-3): 170-180.

Canaday, Tami L.

1983 National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. Laramie. 38 pp.

1984 *Resources management plan, cultural and natural components: Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 98 pp.

Cellar, Craig

1976 *Test excavations to locate Ward and Guerrier Trading Post.* Memorandum to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, June 24, 1976. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1978 *Test trenches near Cavalry Barracks.* Trip report to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center, June 26, 1978. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

De Vore, Steven LeRoy

1988 *Archeological investigation of Quarry Tract 01-128 at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1990 Ground-penetrating radar as a survey tool in archaeological investigations: An example from Fort Laramie National Historic Site. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 33(1-2):23-38.

1992 *Magnetic Survey of the Hospital (HS-13) Area.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1996 *Geophysical Investigations of Two Areas within the Fort Laramie National Historic Site*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1997 *Geophysical Investigations of Proposed Maintenance Restroom Facilities, Existing Sewer Treatment Facilities, and the 1995 Plains Conference Addition to the Quartermaster Dump Area.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1999 *Geophysical Investigations of Proposed New Septic System Location.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

2004 Geophysical investigations of the area surrounding "Old Bedlam" (HS-1): A search for the fur-trading post of Fort William. Pp. 28-40 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 Geophysical investigations of the area surrounding "Old Bedlam" (HS-1): A search for the fur-trading post of Fort William. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:25-36.

2004 Conductivity, Resistivity, and Compaction Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Goshen County, Wyoming. In: pp. 73-113, *Preliminary Report on 2003 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming* (Danny N. Walker and Steven L. Devore, editors). Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 Ground penetrating radar survey of the fur trade and early military period cemetery at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming. Pp. 65-86 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Drew, William Y.

1910 *The Platte Bridge fight, the killing of Lieut. Caspar Collins, the Indian depredations at Ft. Caspar, the destruction of telegraph lines between Ft. Laramie and South Pass, Wyoming.* Typescript, on file, University of Wyoming Library, Laramie.

Ehrenhard, John

1972 The Rustic Hotel: Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 103 pp. + 15 plates.

1973 The Rustic Hotel. *Historical Archaeology* 7:11-29.

1973 *Inspection for subsurface features under the floor boards of Enlisted Men's Barracks and determine location of external latrines behind same structure*. Memorandum to Chief, Midwest Archeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Falk, Carl R.
1971 *Archeological investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, 1971: An interim report*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 12 pp. + 3 plates.

Gann, Robert H.
1958 *Survey report: Restoration of the New Guardhouse, Fort Laramie National Monument.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 88 pp.

Gill, George W.
1987 Human skeletons from the Rock Ranch and Korell-Bordeaux sites. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 30(3-4): 103-108.

2005 Analysis of the 2003 Fort Laramie soldier skeletons (DB172). Pp. 124-136 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Hafen, LeRoy R., and Francis Marion Young
1938 *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890.* Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark.

Hedren, Paul L.
1988 *Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a frontier post at war*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Heimmer, D., G. C. Davenport, J. B. Gilmore, and J. L. Lindemann
1988 *Geophysical-ground penetrating radar investigation: Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

Henry, B. William

1975 National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming. Laramie. 17 pp.

Hendron, J. W.

1941 *An introduction to the archaeology of Fort Laramie.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Denver. 97 pp.

1941 *Beads from Old Fort Laramie.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

Hieb, David L.

1954 Fort Laramie National Monument, Wyoming. *National Park Service Historical Handbook Series* 20. Washington.

Hunton, John

1928 *A short history of old Fort Laramie; early days in Wyoming (the cradle of western empire).* The Goshen News, Booklet 1:1-19 (Goshen, Wyoming).

1956 *John Hunton's Diary, Volumes 1-6*. A.H. Clark, Glendale, California.

Husted, W. M.

1964 *Archeological test excavations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming, 1963.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, Denver. 38 pp. + 11 plates.

Husted, W. M., and Jackson W. Moore, Jr.

1970 *Archeological test excavations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming, 1969: Circulatory roads, utilities, and residences.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jessup, Wendy Claire

1992 *Collection management plan for Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.* Unpublished manuscript prepared for National Park Service by Wendy Jessup and Associates. On file, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

Kelly, Robert

2005 Protohistoric/Historic Native American occupations at Fort Laramie. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:127-131.

Korell, Alan
1981 Comments on the Korell-Bordeaux site. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 24(1):28-34.

Krug, Daniel P.
2004 Bottles from the 1880 cellar. Pp. 77-108 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 Bottles from the 1880 cellar. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:72-99.

LaBelle, Jason M.
1998 The distribution of cultural resources as revealed through an auger survey at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump. Pp. 141-158, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

Lavender, D.
1983 *Fort Laramie and the changing frontier.* National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., Official National Park Handbook 1181:162.

Mattes, Merrill J.
1949 *Fort Laramie and the Forty-Niners.* Estes Park, Colorado, Rocky Mountain Nature Association. 36 pp.

1980 *Fort Laramie Park History, 1834-1977*. Rocky Mountain Regional Office, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Denver. 421 pp.

1987 *The Great Platte River Road: The covered wagon mainline via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

1978 The crusade to save Fort Laramie. *Annals of Wyoming* 50(1):5-57.

McCann, Lloyd E.
1956 The Grattan Massacre. *Nebraska History* 37(1): 1-25.

McDermott, John D., and Gordon Chappell
1960 Military command at Fort Laramie. *Annals of Wyoming* 38(1):5-48.

McDermott, John D., and James Sheire

1970 *1874 Cavalry Barracks, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Historic Structures Report*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Office of History and Architecture, National Park Service. On file, Historical Data Section, Office of History and Architecture, National Park Service, Washington.

McFaul, Michael, Karen Lynn Traugh and Grant T. Smith

1998 Fort Laramie geoarcheologic observations, 1994. IN pp. 131-140, *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

2004 Geoarcheological reconnaissance Fort Laramie National Historic Site. In: pp. 114-133, *Preliminary Report on 2003 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming* (Danny N. Walker and Steven L. Devore, editors). Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 Geoarcheological testing at Fort Laramie National Historic site. Pp. 136-149 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

McNutt, C. H.

1958 Fort Laramie National Monument. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 11 pp.

1958 *Excavations at Old Bedlam, Fort Laramie.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 55 pp.

Moore, J. K., Jr.

1955 Post trader and Indian trader tokens. *Annals of Wyoming* 27(2):131-136.

Murray, Robert A.

1968 *Military posts in the Powder River country of Wyoming.* The Office, Buffalo, Wyoming.

1964 Glass trade beads at Fort Laramie. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 7(3):13-19.

1974 *Fort Laramie: Visions of a grand old army post.* Old Army Press, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Nadeau, R.

1982 *Fort Laramie and the Sioux.* Reprint. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. Originally published in 1967 by Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

National Park Service
1965 *Master plan for preservation and use, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Goshen County, Wyoming*. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Ostrander, Alson B.
1932 *The Bozeman Trail forts under General Philip St. George Cooke in 1866.* Privately published, Seattle, Washington.

Rickey, Don
1969 *The cavalry barracks: Fort Laramie furnishing study.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for National Park Service. On file, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, Washington, D.C. 68 pp.

Rogers, Houston, Alan Bartholomew and Anne K. Armstrong
1998 Faunal Remains. Pp. 213-232, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

Samson, Louise
1986 *Salvage archeology of sewer and leach line project Cavalry Barracks, or following the backhoe.* Memorandum to Supervisory Archeologist, Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Lincoln.

Scott, Douglas
1987 *Archeological investigations at the site of the proposed parking lot: Fort Laramie National Historic Site*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1989 *Archeological monitoring of Burt House drainage trenches at Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

1990 *Trench monitoring between the Cavalry Barracks and the Commissary, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Scott, Douglas. D., and Melissa A. Connor
1984 *Archeological investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, July 1984.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Scott, Douglas D., W. E. Sudderth, and Christopher Schoen
1992 *Archeological investigations of the 1874 Cavalry Barracks, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Technical Report 16:1-335.

Sedar, Dena M.
2004 *A Bioarchaeological Analysis of a Fort Laramie Burial.* Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Anthropology University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 A bioarcheological analysis of a Fort Laramie burial. Pp. 108-123 In: *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Smith, G. Hubert
1939 *Archeological report, Fort Laramie National Monument, Summer 1939.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 13 pp.

Somers, Lewis E.
1998 Geophysical remote sensing survey of the Quartermaster Depot Dump at Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Pp. 91-90, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

Sudderth, W. E.
1985 *Trench Monitoring, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Fort Laramie, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska. 21 pp.

Sudderth, W. E., and Carol B. Raish
1990 *A summary of archeological investigations at the site of the proposed Visitor Center,* Fort Laramie National Historic Site. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for National Park Service by Midwest Archaeological Center. On file, Midwest Archeological Center, National Park Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Walker, Danny N.
1994 An archeological mitigation plan for the Stream Bank Stabilization Project, Quartermaster Depot Dump Area, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Goshen County, Wyoming. Prepared for National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1998 *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996.* Prepared for National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1998 *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-28, 1998.

1998 The Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump. Pp. 1-26, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

1998 Descriptions of block excavation areas. Pp. 1549-180, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

1998 Feature descriptions. Pp. 181-212, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

1998 Artifact descriptions. Pp. 233-240, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

1998 Summary and conclusions. Pp. 242-246, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

1999 *Archeological Monitoring Investigations of Parking Lot Kiosk Construction, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for National Park Service, Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1999 *Archeological Monitoring During Stream Bank Stabilization at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area.* Prepared for National Park Service, Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 *Archeological Monitoring of Soil Contamination Testing at the 1911 Chicken Shed Location, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 *Archeological Monitoring of Health and Safety Cleanup of the Commissary Building (HS-9) Crawl Space, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 *Archeological Monitoring Investigations of New Entrance Sign, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 *Archeological Monitoring of Percolation Testing at the Proposed New Septic System Location, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2001 *Archeological Survey and Monitoring of a New Vault Toilet at the Fort Laramie Picnic Area, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2001 *Archeological Monitoring of Contaminated Soil Removal at the 1911 Chicken Shed Location, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2001 *Archeological Monitoring of the New Septic System, Fort Laramie National Historic Site*. Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2002 *Archeological Monitoring of the New Picnic Area vault Toilet Excavations, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2002 *Preliminary Report on an Archeological Survey for Burial of an Overhead Powerline, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2003 *Monitoring Report on Trenching for Burial of an Overhead Powerline, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming*. Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 *Archeological Monitoring of Contaminated Soil Removal from Areas Surrounding "Old Bedlam" (HS-1).* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 Introduction: Searching for Fort William. Pp. 1-22 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 Field and Laboratory Methodology. Pp. 22-27 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 The 1998 Excavations. Pp. 41-76 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 Project Summary. Pp. 136-139 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming. Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:1-202.

2005 Introduction: Searching for Fort William. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:1-19.

2005 Field and Laboratory Methodology. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:20-24.

2005 The 1998 Excavations. Pp. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:37-71.

2005 Project Summary. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 9:132-135.

2005 *Archeological Monitoring of the Picnic Area Waterline Expansion, Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming*. Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 *Archeological Monitoring of the New Maintenance Area Communication Line Trenching, Fort Laramie National Historic Site.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N., Anne K. Armstrong, and Laura Niven
1998 Field and Laboratory Methodology. IN pp. 73-80, *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

Walker, Danny N. and Steven L. De Vore
2002 *Preliminary Report on 2002 Geophysical Survey Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2004 *Preliminary Report on 2003 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2005 *Preliminary Report on 2004 Geophysical Survey and Other Investigations at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming.* Prepared for Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N., Warren Vaughn and Christopher C. Cooper
2004 Preliminary analysis of faunal remains from two cellars behind Old Bedlam. Pp. 109-136 In *Searching For Fort William, An 1834 Trading Post at Fort Laramie National Historic Site, Wyoming,* (Danny N. Walker, editor). Prepared for National Park Service Long Distance Trails Office and Fort Laramie National Historic Site. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N., Warren Vaughn and Christopher C. Cooper
2005 Preliminary analysis of faunal remains from two cellars behind Old Bedlam. Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology 9: 100-126.

Watson, Lodisa Cornelia
1963 *Fort Laramie, 1849-1869.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Warner, Robert C.
1973 *The Fort Laramie of Alfred Jacob Miller: A catalogue of all the known illustrations of the first Fort Laramie*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, School of American Studies, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wilson, Howard Lee
1962 The Bishop who bid for Fort Laramie. *Annals of Wyoming* 34:163-174.

Wilson, Rex L.
1961 Clay pipes from Fort Laramie. *Annals of Wyoming* 33:121-134.

1971 *Clay tobacco pipes from Fort Laramie National Historic Site and related locations.* Unpublished report, on file, Office of Archeology and Anthropology, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Washington, D.C. 80 pp.

1979 *Bottles on the western frontier*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

Woods, William S.
1998 GIS Database generation of spatial-historic structure development at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Pp. 91-131, In *Archeology at the Fort Laramie Quartermaster Dump Area, 1994-1996* (Danny N. Walker, editor). *National Park Service, Intermountain Region, Cultural Resource Selections* 13:1-284.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 97-102.

Zeimens, George M.
1987 The Rock Ranch fauna: A preliminary analysis. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 30(3-4):93-102.

Zeimens, George M., Alan Korell, Don Housh, Dennis Eisenbarth, and Bob Curry
1987 The Korell-Bordeaux and Rock Ranch Protohistoric sites: A preliminary report. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 30(392.

FORT McKINNEY (48J0104)

Murray, Robert A.
1966 The U.S. Army in the aftermath of the Johnson County invasion. *Annals of Wyoming* 38(1):59-76.

1968 *Military posts in the Powder River country of Wyoming, 1865-1894.* The Office, Buffalo, Wyoming.

1975 Fort McKinney. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 8 pp.

Galloway, Eugene
1971 *A general examination of state park potential at Fort McKinney, Wyo.* Unpublished M.A. Plan B paper, Department of Recreation and Park Administration, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Schubert, Frank N.
1870 *The Black Regular Army regiments in Wyoming, 1885-1912.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 118-119.

FORT PHIL KEARNY (48J070)

Brady, James T.
1971 *Indian fights and fighters.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Brown, Dee
1962 *Fort Phil Kearny: An American saga.* G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Carrington, Frances C.
1910 *My army life: A soldier's wife at Fort Phil Kearny: With an account of the celebration of "Wyoming opened."* J.B. Lippincott, Philadelphia.

1990 *My army life: A soldier's wife at Fort Phil Kearny: With an account of the celebration of "Wyoming opened."* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, Colorado. (reprint).

Eakin, Daniel H.
1992 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Wyoming Department of Commerce proposed restroom reconstruction at Fort Phil Kearny, Johnson County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 8 pp.

Fox, Richard A.

1992 *Results of the 1991 archaeological investigations at the southwest blockhouse locality, Fort Phil Kearny State Historic Site (48JO70).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Bozeman Trail/Fort Phil Kearny Association and Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records. Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1994 *1992 Archaeological Investigations at Fort Phil Kearny: The Commanding Officer's Quarters and the Sutler's Store,* Volumes 1 and 2. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Bozeman Trail/Fort Phil Kearny Association and Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records. Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Galloway, Gene

1967 Archaeological salvage at Fort Phil Kearny, 1961. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 10(1):26-42.

Garber, Vie Willits

1911 *The Bozeman Trail.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Jones, Geoffrey

2007 *A geophysical survey of the Fort Phil Kearny cemetery.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Bozeman Trail/Fort Phil Kearny Association and Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records. Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Larson, Thomas K. and Dori M. Penny

2001 *Archaeological investigations of the stockades and blockhouse, Fort Phil Kearny,* Wyoming. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records. Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Lissandrello, Stephen

1976 Fort Phil Kearny. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 26 pp.

Longenecker, Julie G., and Paula E. Rosa

1978 Burials at Fort Phil Kearny. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 21(2):12-14.

Mattes, Merrill J.
1969 The Great Platte River road. *Nebraska State Historical Society, Publications* 25.

1987 *The Great Platte River road: The covered wagon mainline via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

McDermott Associates
1989 *Promoting historical and cultural resources along the Bozeman Trail.* McDermott Associates, Sheridan, Wyoming. Myers, Patty, and Mary Ellen McWilliams (editors)

1992 *The historical significance of the Fort Phil Kearny sites*. Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.
1968 *Military posts in the Powder River country of Wyoming.* The Office, Buffalo, Wyoming.

1969 *The Army on the Powder River.* Old Army Press, Bellevue, Nebraska.

1988 *The Bozeman Trail: Highway of history*. Pruett Publishing, Boulder, Colorado.

Ostrander, Alson B.
1932 *The Bozeman Trail forts under General Philip St. George Cooke in 1866*. Privately published, Seattle, Washington.

Smith, Sherry L.
1981 *The Bozeman Trail.* Wyoming Recreation Commission, Historic Preservation Division, Cheyenne.

Rickey, Don, Jr.
1963 *Forty miles a day on beans and hay: The enlisted soldier fighting the Indian wars*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Spear, Elsa
1939 *Fort Phil Kearny Dakota Territory 1866-1968*. Quick Printing Company, Sheridan, Wyoming.

McWilliams, Mary Ellen and Robert C. Wilson
1990 *A self-guided tour: Fort Phil Kearny, Fetterman Battle, Wagon Box Fight*. Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 118-119.

RORT RENO (48J064)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Fort Reno. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Murray, Robert A.
1968 *Military posts in the Powder River country of Wyoming.* The Office, Buffalo, Wyoming.

1969 *The Army on the Powder River.* Old Army Press, Bellevue, Nebraska.

Ostrander, Alson B.
1932 *The Bozeman Trail forts under General Philip St. George Cooke in 1866*. Privately published, Seattle, Washington.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 120.

FORT RENO CEMETERY (Johnson County)

n.d. Fort Reno Cemetery. (no site number or form available from State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, 11-20-1990, DNW; probably should be considered under same site number as Fort Reno).

FORT SANDERS (48AB147)

Hebard, Grace R.
1914 Fort Sanders monument dedicated. *Wyoming Farm Bulletin*. August 1914.

Homsher, Lola M.
1949 *The history of Albany County, Wyoming to 1880.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1949 History of Albany County to 1880: Setting the stage: Pre-Territorial history. *Annals of Wyoming* 21 (2-3):181-213.

1965 *The history of Albany County, Wyoming to 1880.* Privately published, Lusk, Wyoming.

Revere, Ray
1960 A *history of Fort Sanders, Wyoming*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wyoming State Historical Society
1961 Overland Stage Trail - Trek No. 1. *Annals of Wyoming* 33(1):73-101.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 7.

FORT SUPPLY (48UT252)

Crawford, Jacke Newton
1935 *Fort Supply, or, Wyoming's first agricultural settlement.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Gowans, Fred R., and Eugene E. Campbell
1976 *Fort Supply: Brigham Young's Green River experiment*. Brigham Young University Publications, Provo, Utah.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
n.d. Fort Supply. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp 288.

GRANGER STAGE STATION (48SW939)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Granger Stage Station. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Tanner, Russel L.
The controversy surrounding the Granger Stage Station, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 27(3-4):7-12.

Tanner, Russel L.
1995 *Who built the little rock houses: An ethnoarchaeological study of Overland stage stations in southwestern Wyoming*. Unpublished Plan-B Masters of Art thesis, American Studies Program, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2007 Historic Overview and Archaeological Test Investigations at the Granger Stage Station. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. Prepared by Kyak Marook Heritage Research, LLC, Rock Springs, Wyoming. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N.
1975 *Report of archeological investigations al the Granger Stage Station, May 14 and 15, 1975.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

Wyoming Historical Society
1960 Emigrant Trail Trek No.9. *Annals of Wyoming* 31(2):213-226.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 263.

GUERNSEY STATE PARK (48PLI01)

Adams, Jenny L.
1981 Cultural resource survey report, Limestone Substation, Guernsey State Park, Wyoming. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Western Area Power Administration, United States Department of Energy by Western Area Power Administration. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 11 pp.

Blatchley, Richard
1991 *A class III cultural resource survey of Skyline Road in Guernsey State Park, Wyoming Project SPR-8243, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Transportation. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 21 pp.

Blatchley, Richard and David Eckles
1992 *A class III cultural resource survey of Skyline Road in Guernsey State Park, Wyoming Project SPR-8243, Platte County, Wyoming. (Revised).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Transportation. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 29 pp.

Coffman, J.
n. d. *Scrapbooks, containing record of CCC Camp BR-9, Lake Guernsey Park, 2 volumes. MA#3641*. Available as microfilm at Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Microfilm number H-209.

Eckles, David
1985 *Results of a class III cultural resource inventory, Guernsey Water Line, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 12 pp.

1986 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey on the Guernsey Road project, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

1992 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Department of Commerce Guernsey State Park Long Canyon Telephone Lines, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 15 pp.

1992 *Class III cultural resource inventory of proposed park improvements, Department of Commerce, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 14 pp.

Guernsey, Charles A.
1936 *Wyoming Cowboy Days*. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Hanson, James Austin
1973 *The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains.* Unpublished PhD. dissertation, Department of History , University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Junge, Mark
1978 Guernsey Lake Park (Guernsey State Park Historic District, 48PLl0l). National Register of Historic Places Nominations Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 33 pp.

Kenyon, Jeff
1978 *Inspection of proposed location of Limestone Substation.* Letter to Jan Wilson from Walter R. Terry, Jr., Western Area Power Administration. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

National Archives

n.d. *National Archives Microfilm Record Group 79; Lake Guernsey Park (Camp BR-9), Guernsey, Wyoming*. Available as microfilm at Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, Wyoming. Microfilm number H-209.

Walker, Danny N.

1988 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, Guernsey Small Wastewater Improvement Project, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

1990 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, Black Canyon Point group picnic area, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 36 pp.

1991 *Archaeological and historical investigations at Guernsey State Park, a 1930s Wyoming Civilian Conservation Corps camp*. Paper presented at the 49th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.

1991 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey, Sandy Beach Group Recreation Area, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 26 pp.

1992 *Results of archaeological monitoring, Sandy Beach Group Recreation Area buried powerline, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 21 pp.

1993 *Archaeological mitigation of the Black Canyon Point Dugout: Civilian Conservation Corps features related to explosives at Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 90 pp.

Walker, Danny N., and Richard Blatchley
1992 *Civilian Conservation Corps features along the proposed Skyline road realignment, Guernsey State Park, Platte County, Wyoming (Wyoming D.O.T. Project SPR-8243).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Transportation and Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 58 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 215-216.

INDEPENDENCE ROCK STATE HISTORIC SITE (48NA262)

Eckles, David G.
1989 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Independence Rock haul road and gravel pit, Wyoming Highway project SCP2(63), Natrona County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 19 pp.

1989 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Independence Rock Rest Area, Wyoming Highway Project SCP-021-2(63), Natrona County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 13 pp.

Ellison, Robert Spurrier
1930 *Independence Rock, the great record of the desert.* Natrona County Historical Society, Casper, Wyoming.

Lissandrello, Stephen
1975 Independence Rock. National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Walker, Danny N.
1975 Letter to Tom Shaffer, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Cheyenne, Wyoming, listing features located during Class III cultural survey of Independence Rock State Park. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 3 pp.

Wyoming Board of Land Commissioners
1976 *Independence Rock Park plan.* Wyoming State Land Board, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 169-171.

JENNY STOCKADE (48WE61)

Barnhart, Bill
1969 Jenny Stockade. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 6 pp.

Spring, Agnes Wright
1949 *The Cheyenne and Black Hills stage and express routes.* Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 303.

Wyoming State Historical Society
1966 *Cheyenne Deadwood Trail Trek NO.2.* Annals of Wyoming 38(1):85-103.

LACLEDE STAGE STATION (48SW941)

Junge, Mark
1975 LaClede Stage Station. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nominations Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 20 pp.

Tanner, Russel L.
1995 *Who built the little rock houses: An ethnoarchaeological study of Overland stage stations in southwestern Wyoming*. Unpublished Plan-B Masters of Art thesis, American Studies Program, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wyoming State Historical Society
1961 Overland Stage Trail - Trek No. 1. *Annals of Wyoming* 33(1):73-101.

1961 Overland Stage Trail - Trek NO.2. *Annals of Wyoming* 33(2):194-214.

LEGEND ROCK STATE PETROGLYPH SITE (48H04)

Anonymous

1985 Legend Rock State Petroglyph site. *Wyoming Heritage and Recreation* 8(4):10.

Caquelin, Zola

1947 The archeologist has an interesting profession. *Thermopolis Independent Record*, Thursday, August 21, 1947.

1948 Traces of Yuma Man are found in Lake Creek Indian Crypt. *Thermopolis Independent Record*, Thursday, August 26, 1948.

Eckles, Dave

1983 *A cultural resource investigation of the Legend Rock site, Hot Springs County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 8 pp.

1985 *Analysis of rock art at 48H04: The Legend Rock site.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 14 pp.

Francis, Julie E.

1988 Rock art at Legend Rock. pp. 151-208, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1991 An overview of Wyoming rock art. In *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains* (George C. Frison, editor), 2nd edition. pp. 397-430. Academic Press, New York.

1992 *Cation-ratio dating and chronological variation within Dinwoody Tradition rock art in northwestern Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 57th annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Francis, Julie E.

1988 Rock art at Legend Rock. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:71-96.

Francis, Julie E., and George C. Frison

1990 *Age and chronology of rock art in northwestern Wyoming and implications for its changing role in shamanism.* Paper presented at the 55th annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, Las Vegas, Nevada.

Francis, Julie E., Lawrence Loendorf, and Ronald I. Dorn

1991 *Results of AMS and cation ratio dating of rock art in the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming and Montana:* New advances for rock art studies. Paper presented at the 49th Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.

1993 AMS radiocarbon and cation-ratio dating of rock art in the Bighorn Basin of Wyoming and Montana. *American Antiquity* 58(4):711-737.

Garnsey, Karin

1988 Botanical remains from Legend Rock. pp. 151-208, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

2004 Botanical remains from Legend Rock. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:61-70.

Gebhard, Dave S.

1951 The petroglyphs of Wyoming: A preliminary paper. *El Palacio* 58:67-81.

Gebhard, Dave S., R. F. Bradley, and H. A. Cahn

1949 Studying petroglyphs in Wyoming. *Thermopolis Independent Record*, Thursday, August 25, 1949.

Hendry, Mary Helen

1983 *Rock art depictions, 48H04.* Unpublished cultural resource management report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 10 pp.

1983 Indian rock art in Wyoming. Augstums Printing Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Junge, Mark

1973 Legend Rock Petroglyph site. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

Loendorf, Lawrence, Julie E. Francis, and Ronald I. Dorn

1991 *A rock art chronology for the Bighorn Basin, Wyoming and Montana: Varnish and C-14 dating as an aid to rock art studies.* Paper presented at the 56th annual meeting, Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans, Louisiana.

1992 *Petroglyphs: Are we loving them to death?* Paper presented at the 50th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Loendorf, Lawrence, Julie E. Francis, and George C. Frison

1989 *A proposal to establish a chronology by cation ratio dating for rock art sites on public lands in the southern Pryor Mountains and Big Horn Basin.* On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Renaud, E. B.

1936 Pictographs and petroglyphs of the high western plains. University of Denver. *The Archaeological Survey of the High Western Plains* 8:1-47 + 9 plates.

Schuster, Helen H.

1987 Tribal identification of Wyoming rock art: Some problematic considerations. *Archaeology in Montana* 28(2):25-43.

Stewart, James J.

1988 Distribution analysis of a petroglyph motif from Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Hot Springs County, Wyoming. pp. 209-255, *In Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny) N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

2004 Distribution analysis of a petroglyph motif from Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Hot Springs County, Wyoming. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:97-113.

Taylor, M., T. Buchanan, and S. Bollinger

1984 *Legend Rock Petroglyph site development plan*. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 133 pp.

Walker, Danny N.

1988 Backhoe trenching at Legend Rock. pp. 97-117, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1988 Archaeological investigations at 48HO429. pp. 118-125, *In Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1988 Vandalism at Legend Rock Petroglyph Site. pp. 256-275, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

2004 Archaeological testing results. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:13-44.

2004 Backhoe trenching at Legend Rock. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:45-55.

2004 Archaeological investigations at 48HO429. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:56-60.

2004 Vandalism at Legend Rock. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:114-123.

Walker, Danny N., and Julie E. Francis (editors)

1988 *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1988 Introduction. pp. 1-27, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1988 Summary and recommendations, pp. 276-293, *In Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

1988 *Legend Rock Petroglyph site: Development of a Wyoming Archaeological State Park*. Paper presented to the 46th Plains Conference, Wichita, Kansas. 13 pp.

2004 Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:1-136.

2004 Introduction. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:1-12.

2004 Summary and recommendations. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 8:124-130.

Walker, Danny N., Julie E. Francis, and David Eckles
1988 Archaeological testing results. pp. 28-96, In *Legend Rock Petroglyph site (48H04), Wyoming: 1988 archaeological investigations* (Danny N. Walker and Julie E. Francis, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 308 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 110.

MEDICINE LODGE CREEK STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE (48BH499)

Basgall, Ashly LoBurgio and Marcel Kornfeld
2007 A grinding slab from the Medicine Lodge Creek site. Pp. 251-256, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Cartright, Elizabeth
2007 Crow component fauna. Pp. 283-286, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Eckles, David
1992 *A class III cultural resource inventory, Department of Commerce, Medicine Lodge Creek State Archaeological Site waterline, Bighorn County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 11 pp.

2003 Cultural Resource Investigations, Medicine Lodge Creek Site, 48BH499: Monitoring and Test Excavations Electric Line and Water Systems, Big Horn County, Wyoming. Unpublished cultural resource management report. Prepared by Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist for State Parks and Historic Sites Division, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming SHPO, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Fenner, Jack N.
2007 Avian fauna. Pp. 287-298, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Finley, Judson Byrd
2007 Stratigraphy, sedimentology, and geomorphology. Pp. 133-154, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Francis, Julie E.

2007 Imagery of Medicine Lodge. Pp. 209-226 in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 The Medicine Lodge plaquette. Pp. 275-279, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Frison, George C.

1976 The chronology of Paleo-Indian and Altithermal cultures in the Bighorn Basin, Wyoming. pp. 147-173, *In Cultural change and continuity: Essays in honor of James Bennett Griffin*, (Charles E. Cleland, ed.). Academic Press, New York.

1978 *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains*. Academic Press, New York.

1982 A probable paleoindian flint knapping kit from the Medicine Lodge Creek site, 48BH499, Wyoming. *Lithic Technology* 11(1):3-5.

1991 *Prehistoric Hunters of the High Plains*. Second Edition. Academic Press, New York.

2007 Background of Great Plains and Rocky Mountain archaeology. Pp. 1-10, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 Paleoindian occupations. Pp 33-68, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 Archaic, Late Prehistoric and Early Historic occupations. Pp. 69-106, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Frison, George C., and Danny N. Walker

2007 *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 The Medicine Lodge Creek archaeological project. Pp. 11-32, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 Summary and conclusions. Pp. 227-230, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Frison, George C., and Michael Wilson

1975 An introduction to Bighorn Basin archeology. *Wyoming Geological Association, Annual Field Conference Guidebook* 27:19-35.

Galvan, Mary Beth

1976 *The vegetative ecology of the Medicine Lodge Creek site: An approach to Archaic subsistence problems*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2007 Vegetative ecology. Pp. 155-176, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Hauff, Jeffrey L.

1994 *Results of Construction Monitor for Buried Cultural Resources, 1992/1993 Water System Improvements, Medicine Lodge Cree State Archaeological Site, Big Horn County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management report. Prepared by Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist for State Parks and Historic Sites Division, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1994 *Results of Interpretive Trail Survey and Monitor for Cultural Resources, Medicine Lodge Creek State Archaeological Site, Big Horn County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management report. Prepared by Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist for State Parks and Historic Sites Division, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Hendry, Mary Helen

1983 *Indian rock art in Wyoming*. Augstums Printing Service, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Hinthorn, Jaunita

1962 Turner Ranch pictographs. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 5(4):13-16.

Hughes, Richard E.

2007 Provenance analysis of obsidian. Pp. 231-244, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Knapp, Tom

1983 H.A. Taylor Ranch petroglyphs. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 6(3):15-17

Latady, William R., Jr.

1984 *Report of monitoring at the Wyoming Recreation Commission Dry Fork Bridge, Bighorn County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Page, Michael
2007 Pottery from the Crow component. Pp. 245-250, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Moore, T. Dwane
1973 *General development plan for the preservation and interpretation of the Medicine Lodge Creek Archaeological site*. Unpublished M.S. thesis, Department of Civil and Architectural Engineering, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Schuster, Helen H.
1987 Tribal identification of Wyoming rock art: Some problematic considerations. *Archaeology in Montana* 28(2):25-43.

Walker, Danny N.
1975 *A cultural and ecological analysis of the vertebrate fauna of the Medicine Lodge Creek site (48BH499).* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1989 *Results of a class 1lI cultural resource survey, Medicine Lodge Creek State Archaeological Site, facilities refurbishment project, Big Horn County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 8 pp.

2007 Vertebrate fauna. Pp. 177-208, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Walker, Danny N. and Daniel R. Bach
2007 Two Rockshelters: 48BH331 and 48BH332. pp. 107-132, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Weathermon, Rick Laurence
2007 The other lithic technology: Polished-, abraded, and battered-edged cobbles. Pp. 257-274, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

2007 Historic trade beads. Pp. 279-282, in *Medicine Lodge Creek: Holocene Archaeology of the Eastern Big Horn Basin, Wyoming*, Volume 1. Clovis Press, Albuquerque.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 22-23.

NAMES HILL (48LN39)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Names Hill. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Day, David S., and Kent C. Dibble
1962 A preliminary survey of the Fontenelle Reservoir, Wyoming: an estimate of the historical and archeological resources. *Anthropological Papers, University of Utah* 58:1-43.

Drager, Dwight L.
1986 National register sites found in the Seedskadee Project Area. pp. 135-150, In *The Seedskadee Project: Remote Sensing in non-site archeology* (Dwight L. Drager and Arthur K. Ireland, editors). Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for United States Bureau of Reclamation, Salt Lake City by Branch of Remote Sensing, National Park Service. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. ix + 642pp.

Eakin, Daniel
1990 *A Class III cultural resource inventory, Labarge South section, Kemmerer-Labarge Road, Lincoln County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Wyoming Historical Society
1958 Oregon Trail Trek NO.7. *Annals of Wyoming* 30(2):193-213.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 153.

OREGON TRAIL STATE VETERANS' CEMETERY (Natrona County)

Eckles, David
1985 Introduction to Camp Payne, Wyoming. The Wyoming Archaeologist 28(3-4):5-8. 1985 The archaeology of Camp Payne, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 28(334):20-96.

Randall, Art
1985 Geology of Camp Payne-Richards Trading Post site, Natrona County, Wyoming. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 28(3106.

Reiss, David
1981 *A cultural resource inventory of a proposed cemetery site in Natrona County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Associated Engineers and Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 17 pp.

Scott, Skylar
1985 Military camps at Camp Payne. *The Wyoming Archaeologist* 28(3-4):9-19.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 163.

PLATTE BRIDGE CEMETERY (Natrona County)

Anonymous
n.d. Platte Bridge Cemetery. (site form and number not available, State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, 11-20-1990, DNW).

Jording, Mike
1992 *A few interested residents: Wyoming's historic markers and monuments.* Privately published, Newcastle, Wyoming.

Mokler, Alfred James
1939 *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station); comprising a description of the killing of Lieutenant Caspar W. Collins and four soldiers of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry and the massacre of Sergeant Amos J. Custard and twenty of his comrades near the Platte Bridge Station July 26, 1865*. Prairie Publishing Company, Casper, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.
1986 Trading posts, forts and bridges of the Casper area: Unraveling the tangle on the Upper Platte. In *Bison hunters to black gold: A brief history of the Fort Caspar area from prehistoric times to oil development* (Fort Caspar Museum Staff, editors). Wyoming Historical Press, Casper, Wyoming.

Vaughn, Jesse Wendell
1963 *The battle of Platte Bridge.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 161-163.

PLATTE RIVER CROSSING (48CR432)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Platte River Crossing. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 6 pp.

Hafen, LeRoy R.
1926 *The Overland Mail 1849-1869*. Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Wyoming Historical Society
1961 Overland Stage Trail Trek NO.2. *Annals of Wyoming* 33(2): 194-214.

PORTUGUESE PHILLIP MONUMENT (Johnson County)

Anonymous
n.d. Portuguese Phillip Monument. (site form and number not available from State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, 11-20-1990, DNW)

Barrett, Francis A.
1966 The greatest ride in Wyoming history. *Annals of Wyoming* 38(1):223-228.

Murray, Robert A.
1968 The John Portugee" Phillips legends, A study in Wyoming folklore. *Annals of Wyoming* 40(1):41-56.

1969 *The Army on the Powder River*. Old Army Press, Bellevue, Nebraska.

POWELL EXPEDITION MONUMENT (EXPEDITION ISLAND) (48SW938)

Frost, Ned
1969 Powell - Colorado River Expedition Historic Site. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 16 pp.

Lissandrello, Stephen
1976 Powell - Colorado River Expedition Historic Site. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Powell, John Wesley
1957 *The exploration of the Colorado River*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Watson, Elmos Scott
1954 *The Professor goes west*. Illinois Wesleyan University Press, Bloomington.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 261-262.

RED BUTTES BATTLE (48NA559)

Anonymous
n.d. Red Buttes Battle. (site form not available from State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, 111990, DNW).

Mokler, Alfred James
1939 *Fort Caspar (Platte Bridge Station); comprising a description of the killing of Lieutenant Caspar w: Collins and four soldiers of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry and the massacre of Sergeant Amos J. Custard and twenty of his comrades near the Platte Bridge Station July 26, 1865.* Prairie Publishing Company, Casper, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.
1986 Trading posts, forts and bridges of the Casper area: Unraveling the tangle on the Upper Platte. In *Bison hunters to black gold: A brief history of the Fort Caspar area from prehistoric times to oil development* (Fort Caspar Museum Staff, editors). Wyoming Historical Press, Casper, Wyoming.

Vaughn, Jesse Wendell
1963 *The battle of Platte Bridge*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 163-164.

REGISTER CLIFF (48PL70)

Barnhart, Bill
n.d. Register Cliff. National Register Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Franzwa, Gregory M.
1972 *The Oregon Trail revisited*. Gerald, Missouri, Patrice Press.

Hafen, LeRoy R., and Ann W. Hafen
1976 *Handcarts to Zion: The story of a unique western migration, 1856-1860, with contemporary journals, accounts, reports; and rosters of members of the ten Handcart Companies*. Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark.

Haines, Aubrey L.
1981 *Historic sites along the Oregon Trail*. St. Louis, Patrice Press.

Parkman, Francis
1931 *The Oregon Trail*. New York, Farrar & Rinehart.

Wyoming Historical Society
1955 Oregon Trail Trek No. 1. *Annals of Wyoming* 27(2):163-194.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 220.

SINKS CANYON STATE PARK (Fremont County)

Eckles, David
1983 *A cultural resource investigation of proposed restroom construction at Sinks Canyon, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

1992 *A class III cultural resource survey, Department of Commerce, Sinks Canyon State Park restrooms, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

Stewart, James
1987 *Petroglyph and pictograph sites at Sinks Canyon, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Hauff, Jeffrey L.
1993 *A class III cultural resource inventory: Popo Agie Campground Water Line, Sinks Canyon State Park, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne. 10 pp.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 70.

SOUTH PASS CITY STATE HISTORIC SITE (48FR434)

Adams, Richard
1994 *Results of phase one: The search for South Pass City.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Fremont County Historic Preservation Commission and Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne.

Allen, Dan
1984 The restoration of South Pass City: Past and future. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:127-130.

Andrikopoulos, Basil
1950 *The South Pass Press at the University of Wyoming Library; Its reason for being and doing.* The University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Archaeological Services
n.d. 48FR1275: Bryan-South Pass City Stage Route. Archaeological site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 3 pp.

Barnhart, Bill
1969 South Pass City. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 7 pp.

1970 *Proposals for basic development at South Pass City Historic Site*. Report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Beeler, Henry C.
1907 *Prospecting in the Black Rock-Long Creek vicinity near the Sweetwater River, Fremont County, Wyoming.* S.A. Bristol Company, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Bellar, Jon, Herbert Fisser, Alan Jubenville, Gary Long, Dennis Knight, Robert Righter, and Donald Warder.
1977 *Management suggestions: South Pass Historic Mining Area.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins District by Department of Geography, University of Wyoming. On file, Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins, Wyoming.

Bollinger, Sharon
1984 The fight to save South Pass City. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:13-22.

Chicago Tribune
1897 Esther Morris: Pioneer of woman's suffrage in Wyoming. *Collections of the Wyoming Historical Society.* 1:233-237.

Chisholm, James
1868 *South Pass 1868: James Chisholm's journal of the Wyoming gold rush*. Edited by Lola M. Homsher. Reprinted 1975, University of Nebraska Press.

Chronic, Lucy M.
1983 *Final Report of 1983 excavations at The Cave, South Pass City, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. v + 53 pp.

1983 *Construction and use of a dugout structure in South Pass City, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 41st annual Plains Anthropological Conference, Rapid City, South Dakota.

1984 *The Cave: A dugout structure in South Pass City*. Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology 3: 119-126.

Cundall, Ken, Bob Drobish, Pete Lange, Dave McManamen, Tom Shaffer, Gary Stephenson
1977 *South Pass City development plan*. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 43 pp.

Dobler, Lavinia
1993 *Esther Morris: First woman Justice of the Peace*. Big Bend Press, Riverton, Wyoming.

Drew, William Y.
1910 *The Platte Bridge fight, the killing of Lieut. Caspar Collins, the Indian depredations at Ft. Caspar, the destruction of telegraph lines between Ft. Laramie and South Pass, Wyoming.* Typescript, on file, University of Wyoming Library Laramie.

Eckles, David G., Richard Adams, Dale L. Wedel and Yvette Widman.
2006 *A Class III cultural resource survey of the Carissa Mine purchase area at South Pass city, 48FR434, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources, Cheyenne.

Erickson, Kenneth C.

1982 *South Pass City: An environmental approach to the documentary and oral history evidence.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 93 pp.

Fawcett, William B., Jr., and Thomas K. Larson

1980 *A remote sensing project at South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 38th Plains Conference, Iowa City, Iowa. 10 pp.

1984 A remote sensing project at South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:39-44.

Fox, Michael

1991 *The Duke Dump East: An analysis of artifacts removed during a salvage operation with suggestions relevant to their future interpretation*. Unpublished manuscript, on file, South Pass City State Historic site, South Pass City, Wyoming. 13 pp.

Francis, Julie

1981 *Archaeological investigations in a proposed parking facility at the South Pass City National Historic Place, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 10 pp.

1983 *1982 Excavations at the Black Horse Livery Stable, South Pass City, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vi + 68 pp.

1983 *A data recovery program for site 48FRR1235. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department.* On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. ii + 26 pp.

1983 *A cultural resource inventory of borrow areas and surfacing pit along State Highway 28, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 21 pp.

1983 *Final report of investigations at five sites along State Highway 28, the Farson-Lander Road, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. ix + 126 pp.

1984 *Results of 1983 archeological investigations at the Black Horse Livery Stable, South Pass City, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vi + 53 pp.

1984 *An archeological research design for the South Pass City State Historic Site: Cultural change in a late nineteenth century mining town.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. v + 52 pp.

1984 Archaeological investigations at the Black Horse Livery Stable. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:87-104.

1984 An archaeological research design for South Pass City State Historic Site: Cultural change in a late nineteenth century mining town. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:131-150.

1987 Gold and coal mining camps of Wyoming: Archaeological correlates of Boom Town phenomena. *Arizona State University, Anthropological Research Papers* 38:51-61.

1988 *A data recovery plan for the Carissa Tailings Project, South Pass City, Wyoming (48FR434).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. iv + 30 pp.

1988 *Results of monitoring and preliminary surface survey, Carissa Tailings Project, South Pass City State Historic Site, Freemont County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 30 pp.

1991 *The 1989 archaeological investigations of the Carissa Tailings Project at 48FR434, South Pass City, Wyoming, Wyoming AML Project 9B.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 224 pp.

Francis, Julie, and Karen Bridger

1982 *Archeological investigations at the Miner's Exchange Saloon, South Pass City, Wyoming (48FR434).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. iii + 20 pp.

1982 *Results of 1979 and 1980 excavations at the Sherlock Blacksmith Shop (07440465), South Pass City, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 47 pp.

1984 Archaeological investigations at the Miner's Exchange Saloon. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:45-54.

1984 The 1979 and 1980 archaeological investigations at the Sherlock Blacksmith Shop. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:55-74.

Francis, Julie, and Marcel Kornfeld
1984 South Pass City: General introduction. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:1-12.

Francis, Julie E., Jeanne M. Moe, and John P. Albanese
1985 *Lithic quarry and workshop behavior in the southern Wind river Mountains: 1983 excavations at 48FR1235, Highway Project SCPF-Q14-2(6).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. x + 195 pp.

Francis, Julie E., and Skylar S. Scott
1982 *A cultural resource inventory along State Highway 28, The Farson-Lander Road, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. iv + 108 pp.

Friends of South Pass City, Inc.
1978 *A guide to the South Pass Historic Mining area.* privately published.

Frost, Ned
1971 Sherlock - South Pass City Hotel. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

1971 Grecian Bend Saloon. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

Gardner, A. Dudley, and David E. Johnson
1987 *Historic overview of the wagon roads located along section 1 of the Exxon Bairoil Dakota C02 pipeline.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Exxon Pipeline Company by Archaeological Services. On file, Cultural Resource Management Report 38, Archaeological Services, Western Wyoming College, vi + 70pp.

Guenther, Todd R.

1993 *Results of archaeological monitoring of the South Pass City State Historic Site (48FR434) Septic System Leach Field Repair Project.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 17 pp.

1993 *Results of archaeological mitigation of an unauthorized drainage trench excavation of Federal (BLM) land at South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming (48FR434).* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 35 pp.

Guenther, Todd R., and Danny N. Walker

1991 *Archaeological investigations at the City Hotel-Sherlock cabin, South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming*. Paper presented at the 49th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.

Hakiel, Nicholas E., and Bridget M. Hakiel

1981 *Field evaluation and historic profile of the South Pass-Point of Rocks Stage and Wagon Route in Sweetwater County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Bureau of Land Management. On file, Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, Rock Springs District Office, Rock Springs, Wyoming. 45 pp.

Hausel, W. Dan

1984 Tour guide to the geology and mining history of the South Pass gold mining district, Fremont County, Wyoming. *Geological Survey of Wyoming, Public Information Circular* 23.

1980 Gold districts of Wyoming. *Wyoming Geological Survey, Report of Investigations* 23:1-71.

1989 The geology of Wyoming's precious metal lode and placer deposits. *Wyoming Geological Survey, Bulletin* 86:1-248.

1991 Economic geology of the South Pass Granite-Greenstone Belt, southern Wind River Range, western Wyoming. *Wyoming Geological Survey, Report of investigations* 44: 1-128.

Hausel, W. Dan, and Joseph Hull

1990 Guide to gold mineralization and Archean geology of the South Pass Greenstone Belt, Wind River range, Wyoming. *Wyoming Geological Survey, Public Information Circular* 29:178-191.

Hebard, Grace R.

1920 *How woman suffrage came to Wyoming*. Pamphlet in the Hebard Room, "Woman Suffrage" file, Coe Library, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Huseas, Marion McMillan

1981 *Report on South Pass City research*. Unpublished report prepared for Wyoming Archives, Museums, and Historical Department. On file, Wyoming Archives, Museums, and Historical Department, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 42 pp.

1991 *Sweetwater Gold: Wyoming's Gold Rush 1897-1871*. Cheyenne Corral of Westerners International, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Huseas, Marion and Roger Doherty

1984 Century of decline: A study of the interpretation and restoration of South Pass City, 1867-1967. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:23-28.

Johnson, David E., and A. Dudley Gardner

1994 Results of the 1994 Excavations at South Pass City, Wyoming. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Officer Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Junge, Mark

1971 The Sherlock Store or Smith-Sherlock Store. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

1971 "Carissa Building" and Lots. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory °Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

1971 Exchange Bank and Card Room. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

1971 South Pass City School House. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

1971 Esther Morris Home and Office site. National Register of Historic Places, Inventory - Nomination Form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 5 pp.

Keck, John, Dan Allen, Mike Massie, Darrel Trembly, Gary Stephenson, and Joe Bonds

1987 South Pass City Master Plan. Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 42 pp.

Keen, Elizabeth

1956 *Wyoming's frontier newspapers.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of English, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1961 Wyoming's frontier newspapers. Annals of Wyoming 33(2): 135-158.

Knight, W. C.

1901 *The Sweetwater Mining District, Fremont County, Wyoming*. University of Wyoming, School of Mines, Laramie. On file, Wyoming Geological Survey, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 35 pp.

Kornfeld, Marcel

1983 *Southcentral South Pass City: Archeological investigations south of Grant Avenue - 1982.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. x + 134 pp.

1983 *Archeological resources encountered during the excavation of alarm system trenching at South Pass City.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. vii + 43 pp.

1984 Archaeological resources encountered during the excavations of the alarm system trenches. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:75-86.

1984 Analysis of some residential areas of South Pass City. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:105-118.

Kornfeld, Marcel, and Julie Francis (editors)

1984 South Pass City: Changing perspectives on a nineteenth century frontier town. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:1-163.

Massie, Mike

1983 *After the bust: The South Pass City Mining Area since 1872*. Paper presented at the 41st Plains Conference, Rapid City, South Dakota.

1983 *Proposed plan for the development of the South Pass City State Historical Site through 1990*. On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 19 + pp.

1984 After the bust: The South Pass City Mining Area since 1872. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:29938.

Master Planning Committee

1968 *Old South Pass Historical Preserve preliminary development plan.* Report submitted to the Wyoming State Legislature, Ways and Means Committee, by the Old South Pass Historical Preserve. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

McGowan, Krista I.

1990 *Thermochemical conditions for the formation of Archean lode gold mineralization at Atlantic City-South Pass, Wyoming.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Geology, Iowa State University, Iowa City.

McMurtrie, Douglas C.

1935 *The Sweetwater Mines: A pioneer Wyoming newspaper*. Privately printed, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Malmberg, Peter

1993 *An administrative history of South Pass City*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, School of American Studies, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Murray, Robert A.

1971 *A report on the significance and development of potential of certain sites in the South Pass Historic Mining Area, Freemont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Bureau of Land Management by Western Interpretive Services. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 136 + pp.

1972 Miner's delight, investor's despair: The ups and downs of a submarginal mining camp in Wyoming. *Annals of Wyoming* 44:25-55.

1982 *Miner's Delight, Investor's Despair: The ups and downs of a sub-marginal mining camp in Wyoming*. Piney Creek Press, Sheridan, Wyoming.

1984 Reflections of history, archaeology, and interpretation at South Pass City today. *Occasional Papers on Wyoming Archaeology* 3:151-154.

National Park Service

1969 *General development plan and interpretive guidelines: South Pass City State Historic - Recreational Park.* On file, Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming. 19 pp.

Nickerson, H. G.

1924 Early history of Fremont County. *State of Wyoming, Historical Department, Quarterly Bulletin* 2(1): 1-16.

Ohde, David, and Associates
1990 *South Pass Heritage Area Master Plan.* Wyoming Recreation Commission, Barrett Building, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Old South Pass City Historical Preserve, Master Planning Committee
1968 *Old South Pass City Historical Preserve: Preliminary development plan.* Report submitted to the Wyoming State Legislature, Ways and Means Committee, by the Old South Pass Historical Preserve. On file, 29 + pp.

Pfaff, B.C.
1978 *Atlantic City Nuggets.* Privately published.

Reiss, David
1979 *Preliminary excavations at South Pass City, 48FR434, Wyoming*. Paper presented at the 37th annual Plains Conference, Kansas City, Missouri. 11 pp.

Renfro, Brian
1991 *Tibbal's [sic] and bits: A bottle analysis.* Unpublished manuscript, on file, South Pass City State Historic Site, South Pass City, Wyoming.

Righter, Robert
1977 Historical significance of the South Pass Historic Mining Area. pp. 51-69, In Bellar, Jon, Herbert Fisser, Alan Jubenville, Gary Long, Dennis Knight, Robert Righter, and Donald Warder. *Management suggestions: South Pass Historic Mining Area.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins District by Department of Geography, University of Wyoming. On file, Wyoming Bureau of Land Management, Rawlins, Wyoming.

Rockman, Marcia Helen
1995 *Investigation of Faunal Remains and Social Perspectives on Natural Resource Use in An 1867 Wyoming Gold Mining Town.* Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona

Rosenberg, Robert G.
1984 *Archaeological and historical survey of mine reclamation sites in Fremont County, Wyoming. Volume II: Historical overview.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, Land Quality Division by Cultural Research and Management, Inc. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 48 pp.

Scharff, Virginia J.
1981 *South Pass since 1812: Woman's suffrage and the expansion of the western frontier.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Scott, Skylar
1983 *An historical evaluation of the Bryan-South Pass Road, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Highway Department. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 16 pp.

Sherlock, James I.
1978 *South Pass and its tales*. Vantage Press, New York.

Spenser, A. H.
1916 The Atlantic Gold District, Fremont County, Wyoming. *United States Geological Survey, Bulletin* 626.

Spita, Joyce
1980 *A quick history of South Pass City-Atlantic City: Wyoming ghost towns.* Colorado Springs, Colorado, Little London Press.

Stratton, Fred D.
1950 *Early history of South Pass City, Wyoming, and how women first received the right to vote and hold public office*. Privately published, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Steidtmann, James R.
1990 Laramide and post-Laramide structural history of the Wind River Range. *Wyoming Geological Survey, Public intonation Circular* 29:168-177.

Trevor, Marjorie C.
1954 *History of Carter-Sweetwater County, Wyoming to 1875*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Walker, Danny N.
1991 *Results of a class III cultural resource survey of a proposed willow habitat area, Little Hermit Gulch, South Pass City, Fremont County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 6 pp.

Walker, Danny N., and Julie E. Francis
1990 *A data recovery plan for historic buildings stabilization, South Pass City Historic District (48FR434), Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 31 pp.

1990 *An archaeological mitigation plan for the county road relocation project, South Pass City Historic District (48FR434), Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 44 pp.

Walker, Danny N., Julie E. Francis, Mike Massie, and Marcel Kornfeld
1990 *A data recovery plan for the county road relocation project, South Pass City Historic District (48FR434), Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 27 pp.

Walker, Danny N., and Todd R. Guenther
1992 *1992 archeological investigations at South Pass City, Wyoming: The search for Esther Hobart Morris's Cabin and an 1860s record for urban renewal in Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 50th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Walker, Danny N., and Richard Reider
1990 *Prehistoric archaeology at South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 48th Plains Anthropological Conference, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Warder, Don (assembler)
1977 *Management suggestions: South Pass Historic Mining Area.* Report submitted to the Bureau of Land Management by the Department of Geography and Recreation, University of Wyoming. On file, Lander Resource Area office, Bureau of Land Management, Lander, Wyoming.

Wedel, Dale L., Danny N. Walker, and Mark E. Miller
1990 *Archaeological investigations at an 1860's residence at South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 48th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Wedel, Dale L., Danny N. Walker, and Alan E. Wimer
1991 *Archaeological investigations at Tibbals Cabin, South Pass City State Historic Site, Wyoming.* Paper presented at the 49th annual meeting, Plains Anthropological Conference, Lawrence, Kansas.

Wedel, Dale L., Danny N. Walker, Carmen Clayton, and Davie G. Eckles
2004 Archaeological Investigations at the Sherlock Cabin, South Pass City State Historic Site, Fremont County, Wyoming. Prepared for State Parks Division, Wyoming Department of State Parks and Cultural Resources. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

Whissen, Steven R., and Gregory P. Smith
1986 *Report of class III cultural resource investigations of abandoned mines (Freemont and Hot Springs Counties, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, Land Quality Division by Wyoming Department of Environmental Quality, Land Quality Division. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 239 pp.

Wimer, Alan
1991 *Tibbals' Cabin dump site: A menu from a late 1800's Wyoming gold mining town.* Unpublished manuscript on file, South Pass City State Historic Site, South Pass City, Wyoming.

Writers Program, Works Progress Administration
1941 *Wyoming: A guide to its history, highways, and people.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Wyoming Recreation Commission, Historic Division
n.d. 48FR741: Shields Mine. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

n.d. 48FR731: Masonic Lodge. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

n.d. 48FR725: Franklin Mine. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

n.d. 48FR720: Carissa Mine. Historic site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites.* Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 75-79.

Wyoming State Historical Society
1968 Point of Rocks-South Pass City Freight Road Trek. *Annals of Wyoming* 1968:107-127.

WAGON BOX FIGHT (48SH129)

Anonymous
n.d. Thirty-two against three thousand. *Deeds of Valor* II: 133-134.

Bate, Walter N.
1969 Eyewitness reports of the Wagon Box Fight. *Annals of Wyoming* 41(2):1933202.

Brady, James T.
1971 *Indian fights and fighters*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Deac, Wilfred P.
1990 Bloody assaults repelled. *Wild West* April 1990:17-25.

DeMay, John A.
1993 The Wagon Box Fight. *True West* 40(10):26-30.

Eckles, David
1984 *Continued archeological investigations at the Wagon Box Fight, Sheridan County, Wyoming*. Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 4 pp.

Frackelton, William
1941 Prelude to Fred Newcomer. *Old Travois Trails*, July-August 1941:23-24.

Fry, James B.
1879 Outnumbered but not outdone. pp. 1355153 In *Army sacrifices; or Briefs from official pigeon holes*. Van Nostrand, New York.

Garber, Vie Willits
1911 *The Bozeman Trail*. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

1941 The site of the Wagon Box Fight. *Old Travois Trails*, July-August 1941:17-20.

Geier, George
1941 The Side Camp. *Old Travois Trails*, July-August 1941:13-16.

Grinnell, George Bird
1928 The Wagon Box Fight. *The Midwest Review* IX(2-3):1-7.

Hauff, Jeffrey L.
1993 *Proposed archaeological investigations of the Wagon Box Fight site (48SHI29), Sheridan County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project proposal. Prepared for Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites and Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association. On file, Wyoming State Parks and Historic Sites, Wyoming Department of Commerce, Cheyenne. 20 pp.

Hilman, Fred W.
1941 The Wagon Box monument. *Old Travois Trails*, July-August 1941:22.

Keenan, Jerry
1972 The Wagon Box Fight. pp. 151-174, In *Hostiles and Horse Soldiers: Indian battles and campaigns in the west* (Lonnie White, et al., editors). Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, Colorado.

1988 *The Wagon Box Fight.* 1st edition. Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

1991 *The Wagon Box Fight*. 2nd edition. Lightning Tree Press, Boulder, Colorado

1992 *The Wagon Box Fight.* 3rd edition. Lightning Tree Press, Boulder, Colorado.

2000 The Wagon Box Fight: An episode of Red Cloud's War. Savas Publishing Company, Conshohocken, Pennsylvania.

McDermott Associates
1989 *Promoting historical and cultural resources along the Bozeman Trail.* McDermott Associates, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Miller, Mark E., Jeffrey Hauff, and Danny N. Walker
1997 Historical archaeology at the Wagon Box Battlefield (48SH129), Sheridan and Johnson Counties, Wyoming. Unpublished cultural resource management project report. Prepared for Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association. On file, Office of Wyoming State Archaeologist, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie.

2000 Summary of Archaeological Field Work" Appendix C, In *The Wagon Box Fight: An Episode of Red Cloud's War*, by Jerry Keenan, 4th edition. Pp. 92-128. Savas Publishing Company, Conshohocken, PA.

Murray, Robert A.
1969 *The Army on the Powder River.* Old Army Press, Bellevue, Nebraska.

Myers, Patty, and Mary Ellen McWilliams (editors)
1992 *The historical significance of the Fort Phil Kearny sites.* Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

McWilliams, Mary Ellen and Robert C. Wilson
1990 *A self-guided tour: Fort Phil Kearny, Fetterman Battle, Wagon Box Fight*. Fort Phil Kearny-Bozeman Trail Association, Sheridan, Wyoming.

Murray, Robert A.
1967 The Wagon Box Fight: A centennial appraisal. *Annals of Wyoming* 39(Apr): 104-107.

Reiss, David, and Skylar S. Scott
1984 *Archaeological and historical investigations at the Wagon Box Fight, Sheridan County, Wyoming.* The Wyoming Archaeologist 27(3-4):57-78.

1983 *Archeological and historical investigations at the Wagon Box Fight, Sheridan County, Wyoming.* Unpublished cultural resource management project report prepared for Wyoming Recreation Commission. On file, Wyoming State Archaeologist's Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 40 pp.

Rickey, Don, Jr.
1963 *Forty miles a day on beans and hay: The enlisted soldier fighting the Indian wars.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Schreibeis, Charles D.
1941 *The Wagon Box fight.* Old Travois Trails, July August 1941:4-12, 21.

Shockley, P. M.
1932 The Wagon Box Fight: The last important event of Fort Phil Kearney's short existence. *The Quartermaster Review* Sept-Oct, 1932:33-35.

Smith, Sherry L.
1981 *The Bozeman Trail*. Wyoming Recreation Commission, Historic Preservation Division, Cheyenne.

Triem, Frank
1948 The Wagon Box Fight. *The American Rifleman* January, 1948:13-15.

Wolf, J. Spencer
1970 *Piney Island: A guide to the Story area*. Privately published, Story, Wyoming.

Wyoming Recreation Commission
n.d. Wagon Box Fight. Historical site report form. On file, Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office, Cultural Records Office, Department of Anthropology, University of Wyoming, Laramie. 1 pp.

1976 *Wyoming: A guide to historic sites*. Big Horn Publishers, Basin, Wyoming, pp. 124-125.