

Choke Creek, by Lauren Small
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About the Author

A native of Denver, Colorado, Lauren Small earned a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature from the Johns Hopkins University. She has published in academic journals such as *Statement: The Journal of the Colorado Language Arts Society*, *MLN*, and *German Quarterly*. Her fiction has appeared in literary magazines such as *Fiction*, *The Monocacy Valley Review*, *Partisan Review*, *Willows Wept Review*, and *StoryQuarterly*. Her short story "Livia," a precursor to *Choke Creek*, was nominated for a Pushcart Prize. She has published essays in *Driftwood*, *Finding Change*, and *HaZ'man*, and has presented her work at readings in New York, Florida and Colorado, as well as at the Miami Book Fair International, the Sanibel Island Writers Conference, Florida Gulf Coast University, the annual conference of the Colorado Language Arts Society, and NCTE. She lives in Baltimore, where she is an adjunct professor of creative writing at the Community College of Baltimore County.

About *Choke Creek*, Lauren Small writes:

I grew up in Denver, about one hundred and fifty miles from Sand Creek. At school I learned the history they taught me, which meant I knew virtually nothing about the Indian Wars. I certainly never heard anything about Sand Creek. When I became a writer, I became interested in the place I had come from, and began reading about it. I was horrified to discover that one of the worst atrocities in U.S. history had taken place in Colorado—and I was filled with outrage when I realized I had been told nothing about it.

I decided to write about Sand Creek, not just what had happened there, but how such a pivotal event could become so distorted in the historical record. I created two families, both of whom traced their roots to the Indian Wars. Fifteen-year-old Evie Glauber is descended from the man who first reported on what I call "The Battle of Choke Creek," while Eason Swale, the boy she loves, is the great-grandson of one of the cavalymen who condemned the event as a massacre.

In writing my novel, I hewed as closely as possible to the truth, but for the purposes of my story, I made two major changes. The first was locating the massacre site in the outskirts of "Danvers" so that Evie could ride her horse to the Swale ranch, just as I once rode my horse from Denver to the outlying prairie. The second was having the soldiers send their letters directly to Asa Glauber, Evie's great-great-grandfather. The letters and newspaper reports that Evie discovers in her family's archives are, with minor changes, word for word actual documents from 1864.

To learn more about Lauren Small, please visit her website, www.laurensmall.com.

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The Sand Creek Massacre

On a cold November morning in 1864, in what is now southeastern Colorado, a mixed band of federal and volunteer troops, led by Colonel John M. Chivington, descended on a sleeping village of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. Only a few weeks earlier, the Indians had been in Denver, concluding a peace agreement with the government. A major army campaign against the plains Indians was underway, and these Indians wanted no part of it. Army officials directed them to set up camp some thirty miles north of the Arkansas River on the banks of the Big Sandy, otherwise known as Sand Creek. There they would wait out the war in peace.

Nevertheless, some hours after Chivington's arrival at the campsite, over one hundred and fifty Indians, mostly women and children, had been killed. Afterwards soldiers remained at the site, scalping, mutilating, and desecrating the bodies of the dead. A few days later, when Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* reported on the event, there was no mention of atrocities. Instead the "Battle of Sand Creek," as editor William Byers called it, was hailed as a great victory: "All acquitted themselves well, and Colorado soldiers have again covered themselves with glory."

Two of Chivington's officers told a different story. Horrified by what they had witnessed at Sand Creek, Lieutenant Joseph Cramer and Captain Silas Soule wrote letters about the massacre, which they sent to Major Edward Wynkoop, one of the officers who had negotiated the peace agreement with the Sand Creek Indians. Wynkoop was now in Washington, DC. In their letters, Soule and Cramer detailed how Chivington directed the slaughter of the Indians. If the killings were gruesome, the actions of the soldiers afterwards were even more so, as scalps were taken and the bodies of the dead horribly mutilated. In Cramer's words, "Things that Indians would be ashamed to do."

The army launched an investigation and the following spring took testimony in Denver from Chivington and his men. But the inquiry drew no conclusions and made no recommendations. Chivington went unpunished, and the only man who paid for Sand Creek was Silas Soule, who was murdered in the streets of Denver, gunned down by a fellow cavalryman.

In the years following the massacre, most people in Colorado continued to maintain there had been no wrongdoing at Sand Creek. When a war monument to Colorado soldiers who fought during the Civil War era was erected at the State Capitol Building in downtown Denver, Sand Creek was included on the battle list. The letters of Soule and Cramer had been lost, their testimony long discredited and forgotten.

Then in September of 2000, the letters were re-discovered, hidden in a trunk in the attic of a local rancher. At the end of that year, Congress finally declared Sand Creek a national historic site. In 2007, the site was opened by the park service, and for the first time, visitors were free to come there and pay their respects.

Documents

1. *The Rocky Mountain News*, 8 December 1864
2. *The Rocky Mountain News*, 17 December 1864
3. *The Rocky Mountain News*, 3 December 1995
4. The Sand Creek Letters

The Rocky Mountain News

8 December 1864

Great Battle with Indians!

The Savages Dispersed!

500 INDIANS KILLED

Our loss 9 Killed, 38 Wounded.

Full Particulars.

Headquarters, District of Colorado.

Denver, Dec. 7, 1864

Editor's News: ---The following dispatch has been received at this office and forwarded to Department Headquarters:

Headquarters District of Colorado,

In the field, Cheyenne country,

South Bend, Big Sandy, Nov. 29th

To Major General S. R. Curtis, Fort Leavenworth:

GENERAL: ---In the last ten days my command has marched three hundred miles—one hundred of which the snow was two feet deep. After a march of forty miles last night, I, at daylight this morning, attacked a Cheyenne village of one hundred and thirty lodges, from nine hundred to one thousand warriors strong. We killed Chiefs Black Kettle, White Antelope, and Little Robe and between four and five hundred other Indians: captured between four and five hundred ponies and mules. Our loss is nine killed and thirty eight wounded. All did nobly. I think I will cross some more of them about eighty miles on Smokey Hill. We found a white man's scalp, not more than three days old, in a lodge.

J. M. CHIVINGTON,
Col. Com'g District of Colorado,
and First Indian Expedition.

The Rocky Mountain News
17 December 1864

The Battle of Sand Creek

Among the brilliant feats of arms in Indian warfare, the recent campaign of our Colorado volunteers will stand in history with few rivals and none to exceed it in final results. We are not prepared to write its history, which can only be done by someone who accompanied the expedition, but we have gathered from those who participated in it, and from others who were in that part of the country, some facts which will doubtless interest many of our readers.

The people of Colorado are well aware of the situation occupied by the Third regiment during the great snow storm which set in last October. Their rendezvous was in Bijou Basin, about eighty miles southeast of this city and close up under the foot of the Divide—That point has been selected as the base for an Indian campaign. Many of the companies reached it after the storm set in, marching for days through the driving, blinding clouds of snow and deep drifts . . .

On the afternoon of the 28th the entire command reached Fort Lyon; a distance of *two hundred and sixty miles in less than six days*, and so quietly and expeditiously had the march been made that the command at the Fort was taken entirely by surprise. When the van-guard appeared in sight it was reported that a body of Indians were approaching, and precautions were taken for their reception. No one upon the route was permitted to go in advance of the column, and persons who it was suspected would spread the news of the advance were kept under surveillance until all danger from that source was past.

At Fort Lyon the force was strengthened by about two hundred and fifty men of the First regiment; and at nine o'clock in the evening the command set out for the Indian village. The course was due north and their guide was the Polar star. As daylight dawned they came in sight of the Indian camp, after a forced midnight march of forty-two miles in eight hours, across the rough unbroken plain. But little time was required for

preparation. The forces had been divided and arranged for battle on the march, and just as the sun rose they dashed upon the enemy with yells that would put a Comanche army to the blush. Although utterly surprised the savages were not unprepared, and for a time their defense told terribly against our ranks. Their main force rallied and formed in line of battle on the bluffs beyond the creek, where they were protected by rudely constructed rifle pits from which they maintained a steady fire until the shells from company C's (Third Regiment) howitzers began dropping among them, when they scattered and fought each for himself in genuine Indian fashion. As the battle progressed the field of carnage widened until it extended over not less than twelve miles of territory. The Indians who could, escaped or secreted themselves, and by three o'clock in the afternoon the carnage had ceased. It was estimated that between three and four hundred of the savages got away with their lives. Of the balance there were neither wounded nor prisoners. Their strength at the beginning of the action was estimated at nine hundred.

The village consisted of one hundred and thirty Cheyenne, and eight Arapahoe lodges. These with their contents were totally destroyed. Among their effects, were large supplies of flour, sugar, coffee, tea &c. Women's and children's clothing were found; also books and many other articles which must have been taken from captured trains or houses. One white man's scalp was found which had evidently been taken but a few days before. The chiefs fought with unparalleled bravery; falling in front of their men. One of them charged alone against a force of two or three hundred, and fell pierced with balls far in advance of his braves . . .

Whether viewed as a march or as a battle, the exploit has few if any parallels. A march of 269 miles in but a fraction more than five days, with deep snow, scanty forage and no road, is a remarkable feat, whilst the utter surprise of a large Indian village is unprecedented. In no single battle in North America, we believe, have so many Indians been slain.

It is said that a short time before the command reached the scene of the battle an old squaw partially alarmed the village by reporting that a great herd of buffalo were coming. She heard the rumbling of the artillery

and tramp of the moving squadrons, but her people doubted. In a little time the doubt was dispelled but not by buffaloes.

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

Editorial from *The Rocky Mountain News*
3 December 1995

Siding with the Killers the Issue:
Newspaper's Attitude Toward Sand Creek Massacre Our View:
Biggest Blot on William Byers' Career

Since you've reached this point in today's paper, you undoubtedly know that we have devoted a great deal of space to a report on the Sand Creek Massacre of Nov. 29, 1864, and its aftermath, which reverberates through history to this day.

Our interest in the massacre goes beyond the normal concerns of a major frontier tragedy and its meaning to today's descendants of Indian survivors. It so happens that the Rocky Mountain News played a prominent role in setting the political and social climate of the era. Indeed, the development of Colorado, Denver, and the News are inextricable, and it is no exaggeration to say that without the News—or perhaps we should say without the indefatigable William Byers, who owned and personified the paper back then—local history simply would not have been the same.

As historian Duane Smith has observed, Denver owes much of its very prominence to the boosterism of Byers and the News. Towns such as Boulder and Canon City were also gateways to the mountains, after all, but “the key difference if you want the nitty gritty,” says Smith, “was the Rocky Mountain News and editor William Byers.”

So how did Byers and the News behave during the runup to Sand Creek and through its aftermath, in this key test of moral character among the territory's settlers?

Abominably.

True, the News did once flirt with a somewhat highminded attitude (for the time) towards Indians, stipulating in 1861 that ‘we must not forget

that the whites are in a measure responsible for the commission of Indian outrages” and even protesting against “recent efforts in certain quarters to influence the public mind against the Indians.” But the paper rapidly abandoned all hint of restraint in the years that followed.

By 1862, indeed, the News’ rhetoric had achieved a blood-soaked hue. “Shall we not go for them, their lodges, squaws and all?” the paper asked. How about “a few months of active extermination against the red devils,” it suggested. The Indians, the News now believed, were “paving the way for extermination faster than nature requires, and need another General Harney to ‘regulate them’”—the reference being to a soldier who led to a slaughter of Sioux in 1855.

Given such words, the News predictably applauded the Sand Creek Massacre in early reports, then defended the behavior of Col. John Chivington and his troops as horrified reaction to the slaughter began to settle in back East.

“Bully for the Colorado boys,” exulted the News on Dec. 7, adding the next day that they had earned “the eternal gratitude of dwellers of these plains.” “All acquitted themselves well,” the paper concluded eight days later.

By month’s end and with controversy beginning to build, the News adopted an arch tone to ridicule reports reaching Washington that Indians had been killed while trying to surrender, and that substantial numbers of women and children had been slaughtered.

Those intent on defending Byers usually argue that he was merely a man of his time in his lust to clear the plains. The point is true in a general sense, but it misses a vital fact regarding Sand Creek. Some “men of their time” recognized at once that what Chivington & Co. were all about was cold-blooded murder of a largely defenseless village. Capt. Silas Soule was so revolted by the attack that he refused to order his squadron to take part. At least five other officers either tried on Nov. 28 to talk Chivington out of attacking or supported efforts to dissuade him. And when Major Wynkoop

heard of the affair, he immediately dubbed Chivington an “inhuman monster.”

In the nation’s capital, a House investigating committee’s conclusion was only slightly less harsh. In short, while most whites of the time were indeed unsympathetic to Indians, some nonetheless were aroused to speak out against the Sand Creek atrocity.

Even Byers, who led a remarkably full and vigorous life, was not personally immune to the train of bitterness and violence that he and others helped to set in motion. Indians did not submit meekly to the brand of treachery revealed at Sand Creek, or to the incessant encroachments on their land. In September 1879, in the last major Indian uprising in Colorado, Byers’ good friend Nathan Meeker and 29 other white men were slaughtered near the present town of Meeker—proving that those who call for bloodshed often find it spilled in the most unexpected and unwanted ways.

The Sand Creek Letters

From the archives of The Rocky Mountain News. The letters were reprinted in The News on the fifteenth of September 2000. The first letter is from Lieutenant Joseph Cramer to Major Edward Wynkoop, his commanding officer. The second letter is also to Wynkoop, from Captain Silas Soule. Both Soule and Cramer witnessed the Sand Creek Massacre, and the letters were written a few weeks after the event.

First Letter

Ft. Lyon, C.T. [Fort Lyon, Colorado Territory]

December 19, 1864

Dear Major:

This is the first opportunity I have had of writing you since the great Indian Massacre, and for a start, I will acknowledge I am ashamed to own I was in it with my Co. Col. Chivington came down here with the gallant third, known as Chivington Brigade, like a thief in the dark throwing his Scouts around the Post, with instructions to let no one out, without his orders, not even the Commander of the Post, and for the shame, our Commanding Officer submitted. Col. Chivington expected to find the Indians in camp below the Com—but the Major Comd'g told him all about where the Indians were, and volunteered to take a Battalion from the Post and Join the Expedition.

Well Col. Chiv. got in about 10 a.m. Nov. 28th and at 8 p.m. we started with all of the 3rd parts of "H" "O" and "E" of the First, in command of Lt. Wilson Co. "K" "D" and "G" in commanding of Major Anthony. Marched all night up Sand, to the big bend in Sanday, about 15 or 20 miles, above where we crossed on our trip to Smoky Hill and came on to Black Kettles village of 103 lodges, containing not over 500 all told, 350 of which were women and children. Three days previous to our going out, Major

Anthony gave John Smith, Lowderbuck of Co. "G" and a government driver, permission to go out there and trade with them, and they were in the village when the fight came off. John Smith came out holding up his hands and running towards us, when he was shot at by several, and the word was passed along to shoot him. He then turned back, and went to his tent and got behind some Robes, and escaped unhurt. Lowderbuck came out with a white flag, and was served the same as John Smith, the driver the same. Well I got so mad, I swore I would not burn powder, and I did not. Capt. Soule the same. It is no use for me to try to tell you how the fight was managed, only I think the Officer in command should be hung, and I know when the truth is known it will cashier him.

We lost 40 men wounded, and 10 killed. Not over 250 Indians, mostly women and children, and I think not over 200 were killed, and not over 75 bucks. With proper management they could all have been killed and not lost over 10 men. After the fight there was a sight I hope I may never see again.

Bucks, women and children, were scalped, fingers cut off to get the rings on them, and this as much with Officers as men, and one of those officers a Major; and a Lt. Col. cut off Ears, of all he came across, a squaw ripped open and a child taken from her, little children shot, while begging for their lives (and all the indignities shown their bodies that ever was heard of) (women shot while on their knees, with their arms around soldiers a begging for their lives.) things that Indians would be ashamed to do. To give you some little idea, squaws were known to kill their own children, and then themselves, rather than to have them taken prisoners. Most of the Indians yielded 4 or 5 scalps. But enough! for I know you are disgusted already. Black Kettle, White Antelope, War Bonnet, Left Hand, Little Robe and several other chiefs were killed. Black Kettle said when he saw us coming, that he was glad, for it was Major Wynkoop coming to make peace. Left Hand stood with his hands folded across his breast, until he was shot saying, "Soldiers no hurt me—soldiers my friends." One Eye was killed; was in the employ of Gov't as spy; came into the Post a few days before, and reported about the Sioux, were going to break out at Learned, which proved true.

After all the pledges made my Major A— to these Indians and then to take the course he did. I think as comments are necessary from me; only I will say he has a face for every man he talks. The action taken by Capt. Soule and myself were under protest. Col. A— was going to have Soule hung for saying there were all cowardly Sons of B—s; if Soule did not take it back, but nary take back with Soule. I told the Col. that I thought it murder to jump them friendly Indians. He says in reply; Damn any man or men who are in sympathy with them. Such men as you and Major Wynkoop better leave the U. S. Service, so you can judge what a nice time we had on the trip. I expect Col. C— and Downing will do all in their power to have Soule, Cossitt and I dismissed. Well, let them work for what they damn please, I ask no favors of them. If you are in Washington, for God's sake, Major, keep Chivington from being a Bri'g Genl. which he expects. I will send you the Denver Papers with this. Excuse this for I have been in much of a hurry.

Very respectfully,

Your Well-Wisher

[signed] Joe. A Cramer

John Smith was taken prisoner and then murdered. One little child 3 months old was thrown in the feed box of a wagon and brought one days march, and there left on the ground to perish. Col. Tappan is after them for all that is out. I am making out a report of all from the beginning to end, to send to Gen'l Slough, in hopes that he will have the thing investigated, and if you should see him, please speak to him about it, for fear that he has forgotten me. I shall write him nothing but what can be proven.

Major I am ashamed of this. I have it gloriously mixed up, but am in hopes I can explain it all to you before long. I would have given my right arm had you been here, when they arrived. Your family are all well.

[signed] Joe. A. Cramer

Second Letter

Ft. Lyon, C.T.

December 14, 1964

Dear Ned:

Two days after you left here the 3d Reg't with a Battalion of the 1st arrived here, having moved so secretly that we were not aware of their approach of until they had Pickets around the Post, allowing no one to pass out! They arrested Capt. Bent and John Vogle, and placed guards around their houses. They then declared their intention to massacre the friendly Indians camped on Sand Creek. Major Anthony gave all information, and eagerly Joined in with Chivigton & Co, and ordered Lieut. Cramer, with his whole Co to Join the command. As soon as I knew of their movement I was indignant as you would have been were you here, and went to Cannon's room, where a number of officers of the 1st and 3d were congregated and told them that any man who would take part in the murders, knowing the circumstances as we did, was a low lived cowardly son of a bitch. Capt. Y.J. Johnson and Lieut Harding went to camp and reported to Chiv, Downing, and the whole outfit what I had said, and you bet hell was to pay in camp. Chiv and all hands swore they would hang me before they moved camp, but I stuck it out, and all the officers at the Post, except Anthony backed me. I was then ordered with my whole company to Major A— with 20 days rations. I told him that I would not take part in their intended murder, but if they were going after the Sioux, Kiowa's or any fighting Indians, I would go as far as any of them. They said that was what they were going for, and I Joined them. We arrived at Black Kettles and Left Hand's Camp at day light. Lieut Wilson with Co's "C", "" & "G" were ordered in advance to cut off their herd. He made a circle to the rear and formed line 200 yds from the village, and opened fire. Poor Old John Smith and Louderback ran out with white flags but they paid no attention to them, and they ran back into the tents. Anthony then [*indecipherable word*] with Co's "D" "K" & "G", to within one hundred yards and commenced firing. I refused to fire and swore that none but a coward would. for by this time hundreds of women and children were coming towards us and getting on their knees for mercy.

Anthony shouted, "Kill the sons of bitches" Smith and Louderback came to our command, although I am confident there were 200 shots fired at them, for I heard an officer say that Old Smith and any one who sympathized with the Indians, ought to be killed and now was a good time to do it. The Battery then came up in our rear, and opened on them. I took my Com'y across the Creek, and by this time the whole of the 3d and the Batteries were firing into them and you can form some idea of the slaughter. When the Indians found that there was no hope for them they went for the Creek, and buried themselves in the Sand and got under the banks and some of the bucks got their Bows and a few rifles and defended themselves as well as they could. By this time there was no organization among our troops, they were a perfect mob—every man on his own hook. My Co. was the only one that kept their formation, and we did not fire a shot.

The massacre lasted six or eight hours, and a good many Indians escaped. I tell you Ned it was hard to see little children on their knees have their brains beat out by men professing to be civilized. One squaw was wounded and a fellow took a hatchet to finish her, she held her arms up to defend her, and he cut one arm off, and held the other with one hand and dashed the hatchet through her brain. One Squaw with her two children, were on their knees, begging for their lives of a dozen soldiers, within ten of them all firing—when one succeeded in hitting the squaw in the thigh, when she took a knife and cut the throats of both children, and then killed herself. One old Squaw hung herself in the lodge—there was not enough room for her to hang and she held up her knees and choked herself to death. Some tried to escape on the Prairie, but most of them were run down by horsemen. I saw two Indians hold one of anothers hands, chased until they were exhausted, when they kneeled down, and clasped each other around the neck and were both shot together. They were all scalped, and as high as half a dozen taken from one head. They were all horribly mutilated. One woman was cut open and a child taken out of her, and scalped.

White Antelope, War Bonnet and a member of others had Ears and Privates cut off. Squaws snatches were cut out for trophies. You would think it impossible for white men to butcher and mutilate human beings as they did there, but every word I have told you is the truth, which they do

not deny. It was almost impossible to save any of them. Charly Autabee saved John Smith and Winsers squaw. I saved little Charley Bent. Geo Bent was killed. Jack Smith was taken prisoner, and murdered the next day in his tent by one of Denn's Co. "E". I understand the man received a horse for doing the job. They were going to murder Charlie Bent, but I run him into the Fort. They were going to kill Old Uncle John Smth, but Lt. Cannon and the boys of Ft. Lyon, interferred, and saved him. They would have murdered Old Bents family, if Col. Tappan had not taken the matter in hand. Cramer went up with twenty (20) men, and they did not like to buck against so many of the 1st. Chivington has gone to Washington to be made General, I suppose, and get authority to raise a nine months Reg't to hunt Indians. He said Downing will have me cashiered if possible. If they do I want you to help me. I think they will try the same for Cramer for he has shot his mouth off a good deal, and did not shoot his pistol off in the Massacre. Joe has behaved first rate during the whole affair. Chivington reports five or six hundred killed, but there were not more than two hundred, about 140 women and children and 60 Bucks. A good many were out hunting buffalo. Our best Indians were killed. Black Kettle, One Eye, Minnemic, and Left Hand. Geo. Pierce of Co. "F" was killed trying to save John Smith. There was one other of the 1st killed and nine of the 3d all through their own fault. They would get up to the edge of the bank and look over, to get a shot at an Indian under them, and get an arrow put through them. When the women were killed the Bucks did not seem to try and get away, but fought desperately. Charly Autabee wished me to write all about it to you. He says he would have given anything if you could have been there.

I suppose Cramer has written to you, all the particulars, so I will write half. Your family is well. Billy Walker, Col. Tappan, Wilson (who was wounded in the arm) start for Denver in the morning. There is no news that I can think of. I expect we will have a hell of a time with Indians this winter. We have (200) men at the Post—Anthony is in command. I think he will be dismissed when the facts are known in Washington. Give my regards to any friends you come across, and write as soon as possible.

Yours sc.

[signed] S. S. Soule

Annotated Bibliography

Books

For a general introduction to the history of the plains, see *The Contested Plains: Indians, Goldseekers, and the Rush to Colorado*, by Elliot West.

Elliott West 's *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* offers an excellent discussion of the role of Westerns in American culture. See especially chapter four, "Stories."

Stan Hoig's *The Sand Creek Massacre* gives good, solid background to the event.

For the opposing view, read William R. Dunn's "*I Stand by Sand Creek*": *A Defense of Colonel John M. Chivington and the Third Colorado Cavalry*.

An account of the massacre by one of the Cheyenne survivors appears in George E. Hyde's *Life of George Bent: Written from his Letters*.

In *Denver: Mining Camp to Metropolis*, Stephen J. Leonard and Thomas J. Noel provide a straightforward history of the city of Denver.

Loretta Fowler's *The Arapaho* gives a good introduction to the plains tribe.

Newspaper reports from the era have been compiled by Scott C. Williams in *Colorado History Through the News: The Indian Wars of 1864 through The Sand Creek Massacre*.

Robert L Perkin's *The First Hundred Years: An Informal History of Denver and the Rocky Mountain News* details the history of the newspaper.

It's interesting to look at the book William Byers wrote with John H. Kellom to direct Easterners to the Colorado gold fields: *Hand Book to the Gold Fields of Nebraska and Kansas*. Reprint editions are available.

Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States: 1492 to Present* considers American history from a perspective often left out of traditional textbooks.

Vine Deloria offers an insightful view of the Indian perspective in *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*.

In his novel *A Very Small Remnant*, Michael Straight offers a fictionalized version of Sand Creek.

The Native American poet Simon J. Ortiz grapples with the legacy of Sand Creek in his collection *From Sand Creek*.

Articles

The following are available through the online archives of the *Rocky Mountain News*:

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Dumas, Alan. "The Agony and the Infamy: Historians Re-Evaluate the Civil War Hero Who Led the Bloody Raid on Sand Creek." *Rocky Mountain News*, October 12, 1997.

Frazier, Deborah. "The Echoes of Sand Creek: Indian Massacre of 1864 Burns Deep in the Psyche of Cheyenne, Arapaho Tribes." *Rocky Mountain News*, December 3, 1995.

Frazier, Deborah. "Sins of Sand Creek: Letters from Eyewitness Army Officers Detail 1864 Massacre of American Indian Women and Children." *Rocky Mountain News*, September 15, 2000.

"Sand Creek Landowner Battles Massacre Legacy: Rancher Whose Land History Hallowed in 1864 Says Conflict Closer to Clash than Slaughter." *Rocky Mountain News*, January 26, 1992.

There are still people who claim Sand Creek was a justifiable battle. These articles expressing that viewpoint are available online:

Michno, Gregory F. "Sand Creek Massacre: The Real Villains." *Wild West* (December 2003). <http://www.historynet.com/sand-creek-massacre-the-real-villains.htm>.

Myers, Jay J. "Sand Creek Massacre." *Wild West* (December 1998). <http://www.historynet.com/sand-creek-massacre.htm>.

Websites

Choke Creek website: www.chokecreek.com. Contains a photo gallery useful links and other supplemental materials.

Author website: www.laurensmall.com.

Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site. <http://www.nps.gov/beol>. A reconstructed fort from the fur trading era in the Sand Creek region.

Documents on the Sand Creek Massacre. <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/resources/archives/four/sandcrk.htm>.

Official Site of Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes. <http://www.cheyenne-arapaho.org/>.

Sand Creek Massacre National Historical Site. <http://www.nps.gov/sand>.

Reconnecting the Circle. <http://www.reconnectingthecircle.com/> Contains useful information about Native American culture, past and present, for teachers and students.

Vietnam War Timeline:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/vietnam/timeline/> From PBS American Experience: Vietnam Online.

<http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/timeline.htm> This timeline is an abbreviated version of the more detailed timeline posted on PBS.

Sand Creek Timeline.

<http://www.kclonewolf.com/History/SandCreek/sctime-01-1800-1859.html>