

**AMACHE OCHINEE PROWERS:  
THE ARCHAEOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHEYENNE WOMAN**

---

**A Thesis**

**Presented to  
the Faculty of the Social Sciences  
University of Denver**

---

**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts**

---

**by  
Bonnie J. Clark**

**June 1996**

©Copyright by Bonnie J. Clark 1996

All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

The Archaeobiography of Amache Ochinee Prowers is an exploration of the life of a woman with a foot in two worlds: the Cheyenne world of her birth, and the Victorian world of her marriage. This research is a case study of historical archaeology, a discipline that requires the use of tools and theories from a wide range of fields including history, anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, architectural analysis, and material culture studies. It is a broadly eclectic approach that uses different skeins of data to weave a single narrative.

This thesis utilizes many sources of data on Amache Ochinee Prowers to present an account of her life. Background data includes an overview of the history of southern Colorado during the 1800s, as well as an outline of Cheyenne culture as it existed at the time Amache was born. The study goes on to present various accounts of Amache's life as found in the archival records. Those narratives are compared to the information retrieved from excavations at Boggsville, Colorado, where Amache, her husband John Prowers, and their growing family lived from 1866 to 1874. Not only are the artifacts from the site analyzed, but the architecture as well.

The life of Amache Ochinee Prowers exemplifies several themes in the history of the American West. First, she is a cultural innovator--someone who bridged the gap between two of the competing factions of the Plains. The material culture of Boggsville is presented as an example of what cultural

innovation looks like. Secondly, Amache is identified as an alternative to our view of the "typical" woman of the Santa Fe Trail. Historian Peggy Pascoe envisions the West as a crossroads with women of color at the center. Amache Ochinee Prowers is just such a woman.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Prologue .....	1
<b>I. Introduction</b>	
Historical Archaeology .....	3
Material Culture and Society .....	4
Material Culture and Interpersonal Relations .....	6
New Western History .....	8
Bringing History and Archaeology Together .....	10
<b>II. Southern Colorado History</b> .....	
The Conflict Starts Early .....	15
The Cheyenne .....	16
The Santa Fe Trail .....	17
Bent's Fort .....	19
The Mexican-American War and Kearny's Army of the West .....	23
<b>III. Traditional Cheyenne Culture</b> .....	
The Horse-Buffalo Complex .....	27
Material Culture of the Cheyenne .....	29
Religion of the Cheyenne .....	31
Women's Status in Cheyenne Life .....	34
The Life of a Cheyenne Woman--Amache Ochinee Prowers .....	35
<b>IV. Boggsville, Colorado</b> .....	
El Rio de las Animas en Purgatorio .....	39
Southern Colorado in Conflict .....	39
Spanish Land Grants .....	44
"A Well-filled Ranche" .....	47
<b>V. The Archaeology of Boggsville</b> .....	
A History of Work .....	53
Findings at the Prowers House .....	57
<b>VI. Historic Documentation of Amache</b> .....	
The Creation of Self .....	68
Victorian Culture .....	69
Narrative One: Amache as Victorian Wife and Mother .....	71
Narrative Two: Amache as Cheyenne Woman .....	74

VII. Material Culture of Amache .....	83
The Architecture of Home: An Analysis of the Prowers House .	83
The Artifactual record .....	92
Lithics at the Prowers House .....	96
Amache and Lithics .....	102
VIII. Learning from Amache .....	105
The Archaeobiography .....	105
Archaeological Implications .....	109
A Woman of Her Time .....	112
References Cited .....	116

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Title	Page Number
1	Boggsville Location . . . . .	40
2	Boggsville Regional Map . . . . .	48
3	Historic Boggsville Site Layout . . . . .	50
4	Prowers House Excavations . . . . .	55
5	1888 Sketch of Prowers House . . . . .	56
6	Distribution of Early and Late Glass . . . . .	62
7	Front of Prowers House . . . . .	84
8	Mantels in Prowers House . . . . .	87
9	Cheyenne Camp Circle . . . . .	91
10	Ida May Prowers' Wedding Announcement . . . . .	106



## LIST OF PLATES

Plate	Title	Page Number
1	Early Occupation Artifacts, Fall 1993 Excavations . . . . .	59
2	Projectile Point, Fall 1993 Excavations . . . . .	65
3	Painting of Amache Prowers . . . . .	72
4	Photograph of Amache Prowers . . . . .	75
5	Prowers Family Monument . . . . .	76
6	Amache Prowers Keesee . . . . .	80
7	Dan Keesee . . . . .	81
8	Front of Boggs House . . . . .	85
9	Courtyard of Boggs House . . . . .	89
10	Native American Artifacts, Spring 1993 Excavations . . . . .	93
11	Sherd, 1994 Excavations . . . . .	95
12	Mural in Las Animas, Colorado . . . . .	113

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Title	Page Number
1	Bottle Glass Distribution .....	61
2	Nails Distribution .....	63
3	T-Test of Lithic Debitage .....	99
4	Discriminant Analysis of Lithic Debitage .....	100

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people without whom this work would have been impossible. Dean Saitta expertly walked that fine line of mentorship--knowing when to push and when to stand back. His scholarship informs much of what follows. Richard Carrillo opened his home, his library, and his site to my sometimes prying inquiry. Working with Richard, I learned how "borderlands archaeology" is practiced. Phil Petersen, the ultimate source of information on land ownership for Boggsville, let me dig through his files saving me countless hours of archival research. Others helped me sort through the archaeology, including Sarah Nelson, who guided me through the statistical forest and Kevin Gilmore, who forced me to think about formation processes when I didn't want to. Susan Spencer-Wood led me to important sources about Victorian women and made me think about the choices that women make in their lives. Other researchers lent their expertise including Ann Student, a Colorado historian, and Priscilla Elwood, Colorado's premier ceramicist. All the members of my committee put concerted effort into giving me feedback, especially Richard Clemmer-Smith. A special thanks goes out to historian Monys Hagen, who served as a last minute pinch-hitter on the committee. Finally, I'd like to thank Kathleen Corbett for being the best copy-editor money can't buy. Of course the one who was absolutely critical to this thesis was Amache Ochinee Prowers Keese herself. It is to her and to all the women of the west that this volume is dedicated.

## PROLOGUE

There are certain days in one's professional life that are never forgotten. On just such a day, in 1993, I began work on my first excavation at Boggsville, Colorado. Boggsville, like other sites along the Santa Fe Trail, represents a crossroads--geographically, culturally, economically. For ten years, from 1863 to 1873, this settlement served as a way station for travelers, headquarters for local ranchers, the post office, the market, a polling place and even the county seat. Hundreds of travelers crossed the Purgatory River at Boggsville. Those who passed through after 1868 came out of the river bottoms to view a burgeoning little settlement:

On crossing the river we found a well-filled ranche on the opposite side, which has only just been built by two enterprising Yankees. Here we could buy everything-- cloths and candles, bowie-knives and groceries, canned fruits and Mexican saddles, powder and shot, boots and shoes, caps and crinolines, Worcestershire sauce, whiskey, and drinks without end. (Bell 1965:83).

The wide array of merchandise mirrored the diversity of Boggsville's settlers. At the time of the above account, three households comprised Boggsville: the Boggs, the Prowers and the Ritcs. The male heads of household, Tom Boggs, John Prowers, and Charles Ritc, were all of European stock. Boggs and Prowers had both moved west from Missouri at a young age, each working

for a time at Bent's Fort. Ritc was German, a recent immigrant to the states. Each of these men was married to a woman of color, Boggs and Ritc to Taoseñas (Hispanic women from Taos, New Mexico) and Prowers to Amache, a Cheyenne woman.

Before I excavated at Boggsville, I was acquainted with the major players in its history. I had seen the photo of Amache Prowers after she had been to Missouri. She sat straight-backed for the camera, dressed in Victorian finery. But on that day in 1993 a new Amache came to life for me. Because that was the day I dug underneath the floorboards in her living room and pulled out a stone knife. On that day Amache Prowers, assimilated, devoted wife became Amache Ochinee, Cheyenne woman.

This thesis is her story.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### Historical Archaeology

In 1964 Ivor Noel Hume called archaeology the "handmaiden to history." Historical archaeology, of which this study is an example, hopes instead to promote the handmaiden to full partner. By definition, historical archaeology is the study of remains that date to a period of time about which written records are also available. Although prehistoric archaeology often utilizes ethnographic analogy, historical archaeologists can often take an artifact and look it up in the Sears Roebuck catalogue.

As first practiced, historical archaeology was little more than historical supplementation (Little 1994). As more historical archaeologists claimed intellectual lineage from anthropology rather than history, the emphasis of the discipline began to change. It was argued that material remains, rather than just supplementing history, could provide insights not available through the written record. Historical archaeologists began to use the remains of everyday life to construct what could be called historical ethnographies. A prime example of such a work is In Small Things Forgotten, written by James Deetz in 1977. His

book traced the shift in the U.S. from a medieval to a Georgian lifeway and worldview using such disparate evidence as architecture, trash disposal patterns, headstones and ceramics. Medieval patterns, organic and group oriented, gave way to Georgian ones, influenced by rising industrialism and emphasizing symmetry and individualism.

Studies like Deetz (1977) and Glassie (1975) laid the groundwork for historical archaeology that is increasingly concerned with the "science of material culture" (Little 1994:8). Indeed, this study relies upon the science of material culture as well. However, as each archaeologist utilizes that term in a slightly different fashion, what follows is an outline of my understanding of material culture, a concept that underlies all of my research at Boggsville.

### Material Culture and Society

In general, people who use the term "material culture" mean the study of individual, tangible artifacts. As material culture studies have developed, the definition has been broadened to emphasize "how profoundly our world is the product of our thoughts" (Deetz 1977:24). A new standard definition would include anything that falls into "that sector of our physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior" (1977:24-25). This definition would include "food, plates, houses, gardens, and the arrangements of villages, farms, and cities" (Little 1991:27).

In "The City as Material Culture," Dell Upton (1992) claims that we need to extend our definition of material culture even further than Deetz does.

Material culture studies must include not only the planned manipulations of our world, but the unintended consequences of our behavior. Intentional creation is only one element of the human landscape. An example would be our multisensory relationship with the material world; certainly the smell of rotting garbage and the roar of traffic have as much to do with the urban experience as the layout of streets.

Critical to an understanding of material culture is a concept of not only what it is, but what it does. Material culture often functions as a form of communication. Indeed it is not uncommon for researchers to discuss material culture using categories derived from linguistics (Tilley 1991). In particular, the relationship of individual pieces of material culture to overall style is similar to the relationship between language (*langue*) and individual speech acts (*parole*) (Tilley 1991). However, material culture communicates in a much less explicit way. The relationship between an object's production, style, intended use and actual function creates a multivalent expression which is both conscious and unconscious, obvious and abstract. A Ferrari is a car, but it is also a statement about money and power. A Ferrari can express, for its owner, messages that would be hard to convey in language. As Isadora Duncan said, "If I could tell you what it meant, there would be no point in dancing it" (Lechtman 1977:13).



Material culture is "a particular type of expression which, through its ambiguity and subtlety, is powerful and effective" (Hodder 1982:214).

However, material culture mediates beyond being a form of communication. Many anthropologists who study material culture claim that culture is a constitutive process geared toward the production of meaning (Conkey 1989). If we think about culture this way, it is helpful to reference Louis Althusser's concept of ideology. For Althusser ideology is a filter through which the perceived world is made into concrete reality (Parker Pearson 1982). If we accept ideology as the "givens, taken-for-granted, and obviousnesses of a culture" (Leone 1981:309) then material culture does not merely reflect ideology or cultural meanings, it helps create them, for it creates the physical environment in which people live.

#### Material Culture and Interpersonal Relations

Martin Wobst (1977) has claimed that the style of material culture functions to maintain boundaries between socially distant groups, particularly along ethnic and religious lines. The immediate household and extended relatives are not a target for stylistic behavior, because those messages of larger affiliation are known or can be communicated directly. Yet several case studies seem to indicate that a great deal of mediation through material culture occurs on an interpersonal level. Divisions occur in every family based on gender, age and

kinship, thus we should not be surprised to see material culture used in such a way.

The dwelling, be it a tipi or a Victorian mansion, is a ubiquitous piece of material culture. As a very intimate portion of our built environment, it should play a prominent role in the creation and reflection of self. A number of ethnographic studies have elucidated circumstances where social constructs are naturalized and the contradictions inherent in them denied by both domestic architecture and artifacts. Material culture studies are a powerful tool for understanding how ideology starts at home.

A good example of this can be seen in Yates' (1989) analysis of Lapp tents. The Lapps split their domestic space into a series of divisions which reference their cosmology. Different members of the family are assigned to their particular place in the tent based on gender and age. Lapp society is both patriarchal and stratified by age. Through the structure of the tents these hierarchies are "legitimated and thus reproduced through a transposable system of structures which act together metaphorically" (Yates 1989:259). These divisions, which are cultural and contradictory, are made to seem natural and inevitable.

## New Western History

Research at Boggsville is so appealing, in part, because it brings into high relief traditional and "new" western history. Traditional western history should be familiar to anyone who has sat through a U.S. history course in high school, watched an episode of Bonanza or visited a local history museum. At the center of that narrative sits the concept of Manifest Destiny. Even if traditional historians have eschewed the idea that the west "belonged" to the U.S., the rationalizations that shored up Manifest Destiny are still in place.

One of those rationalizations is the idea that the west was a cultural wasteland, a vacuum waiting to be filled. This idea continues to hold credence for the American public. An article on evolution in a 1995 issue of Time magazine uses the West as just such a metaphor. "The biosphere in which the Cambrian explosion occurred, in other words, was like the American West, a huge tract of vacant property that suddenly opened up for settlement" (Nash 1995:73). The authors of the new western history continue to remind us "that western land was neither empty nor free and that the white Americans who moved westward were never its only inhabitants" (Pascoe 1991:46).

Traditional western history is not just Eurocentric, it is also androcentric. Although written about the Humboldt Trail, the following passage could just as easily have been written about the Santa Fe Trail. "The Humboldt was a man's trail. The Humboldt is a man's world today. The spreading ranches, the farms,

and the mines are male, and the mark of the frontier is on them" (Morgan 1943:342). This piece is more blantant than most, but certainly not out of line with much of western history.

In 1991, Patricia Limerick wrote "the most fundamental mission of the New Western History is to widen the range and increase the vitality of the search for meaning in the Western past" (Limerick 1991:88). That mission requires a reconfiguration of the western frontier. As Peggy Pascoe writes, "we need to learn to see the frontier as a cultural crossroads rather than a geographic freeway to the west" (1991:46). It is helpful, and perhaps critical, to remember that Santa Fe was first established in the 1500s, adjacent to a bustling Pueblo Indian town, that trails "blazed" by Euroamericans had been utilized by native peoples for thousands of years, and that the first white fur trappers "relied on Indian wives both as laborers and as essential liaisons in their first contacts with Native American society" (West 1991:106). The New Western History, rather than a testament to white man's triumph, is, as Elliot West describes it, "a longer, grimmer, but more interesting story." (1991).

With this new perspective, the cross-fertilization of cultures becomes a key to understanding the character of the west. That cross-fertilization, both figuratively and literally, required women. Social workers at the turn of the century understood that women were crucial in intercultural relations, especially in their capacity as wives, mothers and thus "guardians of the hereditary culture"

(Deutsch 1987). Craver's in-depth study of Mexican-Anglo intermarriage in New Mexico between 1821 and 1846 indicates that most of the successful immigrants were married to local New Mexico women (Craver 1982). Peggy Pascoe states the situation succinctly: "As women's western history evolves, scholars are beginning to tell a different story of intercultural contact, one in which women in general--and women of color in particular--are at the center" (1991:53-54). Boggsville is just such a place.

#### Bringing History and Archaeology Together: An Archaeobiography

Material culture studies coincide with social history in a number of ways. Both are concerned with behavior. Social history aims to be more democratic, a history that includes the "commoners." It is concerned with those who "while dominant numerically, leave little or no written record of existence and whose activities do not produce a self-conscious literary record" (Schlereth 1985:157). Yet these people can often be found in the material record which by its nature is democratic; everyone can contribute. Those who didn't leave a written history used and produced material culture which may be discovered archaeologically, in photographs, or in museums and pawn shops.

My thesis, like most historical archaeological studies, was aimed at bringing documentary and material information together. I wanted to look at how (or whether) the ethnicity of the women of Boggsville shows up in the

documentary sources and how I might relate that to the archaeological record. I was also interested in how their ethnicity did (or did not) influence the rearing of their children.

What I discovered in the documentary record could be considered an "embarrassment of riches." I found photographs, letters, interviews, obituaries, birth, marriage and death certificates, as well as the probate records for two of the Boggs children. In light of the specific information I was able to glean from these records, my original emphasis seemed to be rather simplistic. The maintenance of ethnicity comes across in numerous records. These include Rumalda Boggs rearing her daughter Minnie to be "an aristocrat--Spanish style" (Thompson n.d.:35) and Amache Prowers making buffalo candy every year for Christmas (Hudnall 1945). The detail of such accounts took me by surprise. Somehow ranking artifacts on a scale of "ethnic loading" seemed to pale in comparison with the richness of the written accounts.

While doing my research, I discovered some very interesting information regarding these women's land and political ties. Rumalda Jaramillo Luna was one of the best-connected women in Taos at the young age of fourteen when Thomas Boggs met her. Her stepfather was Charles Bent of Bent's Fort, soon to be the first U.S. governor of New Mexico. Her uncle was Cornelio Vigil, the prefect of Taos, and her godfather was Ceran St. Vrain, Bent's partner and joint claimant with Cornelio Vigil to the Las Animas Land Grant of over four million acres.

Surely Lavender is missing the point when he writes of Rumalda, "Though by no means as handsome as her mother, Rumalda looked good to lonely Tom" (1954: 268). Rumalda would have looked good to anybody with ambition.

The Boggs' relationship is mirrored in that of John and Amache Prowers. When Prowers came out to the west, he was a penniless teamster. When he died before the turn of the century, his estate was worth nearly a million dollars. He made his money raising cattle, cattle he often ran on lands formerly owned by Amache's relatives. Of the 31 "beefsteak" claims given out after the Sand Creek Massacre, Prowers eventually controlled over 10 (Petersen, n.d.).

I do not mean to imply that these men were merely mercenary in their choice of marriage partners. However, these women's rights to land most certainly affected their husbands' decisions and their relationships with their wives. Most importantly, it affected the location, inhabitants, and structure of the town of Boggsville. Without Rumalda Boggs and Amache Prowers that town would never have existed.

I started to see class, power and land rights as equal in importance with ethnicity to the understanding of Boggsville. In that light, I reoriented my research goals to provide a fuller picture of all that was occurring at the site. This was especially true of an analysis of site composition. For example, most accounts explain Kit Carson and his family's residence at the site by referencing Carson's business ties to Boggs. But Kit's wife, Josefa Jaramillo, was Rumalda's

first cousin. They were very close in age and had lived together in Taos. Certainly the desire of these two women to live near one another strongly influenced the Carson's decision to move.

Despite my reorientation, I was still dissatisfied and overwhelmed by trying to attack such huge research goals. A continuing source of frustration was the lack of good stratigraphy exposed in the major excavations at the Prowers house. After the Prowers moved to Las Animas in 1874, the house was intermittently reoccupied until the 1930s. Very few artifacts found there are definitively datable to the earliest occupation. In addition, those artifacts that precede others based on general manufacture dates (for example, lime green glass vs. sun-colored amethyst glass) are represented in similar ratios throughout the excavated levels (Carrillo, et al. 1994). What this meant was that broad statistical analyses of artifacts would be nearly impossible. I couldn't compare different types of ceramics, for example, because I couldn't distinguish those from the first occupation of Boggsville from later ones. It is just these kinds of statistical analyses--the consumer choice model (Spencer-Wood 1987), ceramic economic scaling (Miller 1980), and others (South 1977)--that have been used to assess class and ethnicity on historic archaeology sites.

During one of my more sleepless nights at this stage in my research, I tried to reach back to why I had begun all of this work in the first place. Why did any of this matter? I realized that I had discovered a story I wanted to tell, a



story that didn't talk about class or ethnicity in the abstract, but rather would examine them through the lived experience of real people. Although I wanted to research all of the women of Boggsville, that net was too wide. So I chose Amache Ochinee, born in a tipi and buried next to the largest headstone in the Las Animas Cemetery under the name Amy Prowers. It was her story I found the most fascinating. Doing archaeology both above the ground and below the ground (to paraphrase Glassie (1977)), I have been able to piece together something of her life. The product is an *archaeobiography*, a narrative that uses documentary records, material culture and excavated artifacts to tell the story of a specific person during a specific time.

Although it was not my plan at the time, this course of research coincides with Mary Beaudry's call to reinvent historical archaeology (1991). We must recognize, she claims, that "the details of human life are as important as broad generalizations" (Beaudry 1991:3). In fact, she goes on, the greatest potential of historical archaeology is "to help us bring to light and to understand the life history of one site and its inhabitants" eventually creating "a more and more complex mosaic" (1991:20), thus shifting the attention of the field from "totalizing frameworks...to cultural actors" (1991:21).

## CHAPTER 2

### SOUTHERN COLORADO HISTORY

#### The Conflict Starts Early

At the turn of the 18th Century, the region that now makes up Colorado was contested territory. The Arkansas River served, at least provincially, as the boundary between Spain's New World empire and that of France. After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, France's territory was controlled by the United States. However, the boundary of those provinces was unclear until the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 officially established the Arkansas River as the northern boundary of New Spain (Carrillo 1995a). With clear title to the area of northern Colorado, the U.S. was quick to send out exploratory parties, the first being Major Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819 and 1820.

Despite the posturing of world powers, at the turn of the eighteenth century it was very clear the real owners of this region were the Native Americans. Although individual fur traders and companies like the American Fur Company had carved out territory, it was only possible with the cooperation of the Ute and Comanche, without whom trading was impossible and against whom

trespassing was deadly. The Ute controlled the western half of what would later become Colorado to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. The Comanche possessed the Plains. The Ute had practiced a hunting and gathering lifestyle extending back to 7500 BP (the beginning of the Archaic Period). However, they became embroiled in the workings of the Spanish Empire, and some members of the tribe were enslaved. When the Spanish retreated south after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Ute headed north, returning to their homeland and taking a good portion of the Spanish horses with them. The Ute were critical to the spread of horses through the Rocky Mountain region. By supplying horses to the Comanche who lived further north, the Ute were able to join with them in driving out the Apache, who occupied the Plains of Colorado until about 1700. By 1750, the Apache had moved south (Cassells 1983).

### The Cheyenne

Today the Cheyenne reside on two separate reservations, one in Montana, the other in Oklahoma. They are an Algonquian-speaking group, like the Arapaho. The first historic records of the Cheyenne place them in the vicinity of Lake Superior. Near the end of the seventeenth century they migrated westward to the Red River which forms the boundary between Minnesota and the Dakotas. There they are known to have lived in sedentary villages, practicing agriculture much like their neighbors, the Mandans and Arikaras. It was from these groups

that the Cheyenne learned to make pottery. Grinnell (1962) likens their subsistence to the Pawnees. The Cheyenne planted and cultivated corn in the spring and then left to hunt buffalo on foot. They would return in the fall to harvest their crops and settle down for the winter.

Sometime in the mid to late 1700s, the horse was introduced to Cheyenne territory. Like that of many of their neighbors, the Cheyenne way of life was revolutionized by their use of this animal. Hunting bison was much easier and safer on horseback, and as a result, the Cheyenne focussed a greater share of their time and energy on hunting. As they followed the herds onto the Plains, the Cheyenne's territory changed. Although they lived near the Black hills, by the early 1800s the Cheyenne had begun to winter in the Plains along two different rivers, the South Platte and the Arkansas (Hoig 1989). A mixed camp of Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, Kiowa-Apaches, and Cheyenne was reported by Major Long during his 1819-1820 expedition to the Rocky Mountains.

### The Santa Fe Trail

Spain did not take kindly to strangers trading with the inhabitants of her empire. Although a number of traders and trappers made forays into Spanish territory, most were detained and stripped of their wares. This does not mean that trading did not occur in the region. From the 1600s through the end of the 1800s, this area was crisscrossed by New Mexican groups known as ciboleros

and *commancheros*, who traveled to the Plains to hunt bison and trade with nomadic groups such as the Apache, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Ute (Kenner 1969). Beginning in the late 1700s, Taos served as the center for fur trading in the region. The yearly Taos trading fair, a tradition linked to prehistoric Pueblo and Plains Indians, was an event that often tempted foreign traders. It also served as a source of horses for the nomadic tribes of the region (Boyle 1994).

The exile of New Spain changed radically in 1822, when Mexico declared itself an independent nation on the heels of its 1821 revolution. Traders who had recently been rebuked by Spain were welcomed with open arms by Mexico. The Santa Fe Trail, established earlier by New Mexican trader Pedro Vial and utilized by *ciboleros*, *commancheros* and Native Americans for centuries, saw an unprecedented rise in traffic (Boyle 1994). The first trader to legally enter the city of Santa Fe, William Becknell, turned a very handsome profit. Fanny Marshal, an investor in Becknell's first expedition, reported receiving \$900 for her \$60 share (Taylor 1963:37).

Accounts of riches made on the Santa Fe Trail abound; in 1846, one of the busiest trade years, it is estimated that goods worth well over a million dollars were hauled into Mexico along the trail (Moorhead 1958). It is important to realize, however, that the traders who came into Santa Fe entered a society established over 200 years prior to their arrival. New Mexico was never well

connected to Spain. The culture that was created represented a blending of Spanish, Puebloan and Plains Indian traits. The subsistence patterns and material culture of New Mexico were ideally suited to the region. This does not mean that material goods brought into Santa Fe and Taos were not snatched up. However, it is estimated that by 1826, only four years after trade was opened, the Santa Fe market was saturated. Indeed, by the 1830s over half of the goods on the Santa Fe trail continued on to Chihuahua and beyond (Weber 1982). The situation was well summarized by Josiah Gregg, in his classic 1844 treatise

Commerce of the Prairies:

The immense expense attending the purchase of suitable furniture and kitchen-ware, indeed, the frequent impossibility of obtaining these articles at any price, caused the early settlers of Northern New Mexico to resort to inventions of necessity, or to adopt Indian customs altogether, many of which have been found so comfortable and convenient, that most of those who are now able to indulge in luxuries, feel but little inclination to introduce any change (Gregg 1962:109).

Bent's Fort

During the 1820s, fur trading in the southern Rocky Mountains flourished. Santa Fe and Taos, with their new links to a greater market, served as trading centers. A number of traders and trappers, some famous, some infamous, came to the region at the time: Christopher (Kit) Carson, Antoine Roubidoux, Richen L. "Uncle Dick" Wooten, Ceran St. Vrain, and Carlos Baubiean were among them (Mehls and Carter 1984).

The 1830s saw the emergence of trading posts in Southern Colorado. A number of these posts were centered near the confluence of Fountain Creek and the Arkansas River where in 1842 Pueblo would be established (Lecompte 1978). There Bent, St. Vrain, and Company built their first fort, a stockade post. The company was run by two brothers from Missouri, William and Charles Bent, and their trading partner Ceran St. Vrain, a Frenchman. St. Vrain ran the store in Taos, William traded with the Indians, and Charles was in charge of the shipping between Missouri and New Mexico.

The era of fur trapping quickly came to a close for Bent, St. Vrain and Company. By the early 1830s silk hats had become the new fashion rage and the value of beaver plummeted. The rivers in the region were mostly trapped out anyway, and traders struggled for a new foothold. Despite this fact, Bent, St. Vrain planned to replace their wooden stockade on Fountain Creek with an adobe fort. Although the date is unclear (various sources place its founding between 1827 and 1832), the Bents were contacted by a Cheyenne party headed by Yellow Wolf. Yellow Wolf, accurately predicting that trade in buffalo hides was to outstrip that of beaver, suggested they locate their fort further east on the Arkansas River, in buffalo country. If they built a fort there, Yellow Wolf promised to bring his whole clan to trade (Grinnell 1962; Hoig 1989; Lavender 1954).

Before the construction of Bent's Fort (or Fort William as it was originally called), the Cheyenne ventured south only seasonally. However, with reliable trading partners, several bands moved permanently to the Arkansas River, creating the division between the northern and southern Cheyenne. During this period there was an understanding that some groups, like the Sioux, were "American Indians" whereas groups who usually stayed further south, like the Comanche, were "Mexican Indians". The Cheyenne were neither; they were Bent, St. Vrain Indians (Lavender 1954).

Bent's Fort was a sterling example of what historian Peggy Pascoe calls "one of the most distinctive aspects of the American West, its unique mixture of ethnic and racial groups" (Pascoe 1991: 47). All manner of folk showed up to trade at the post, especially members of various Native American groups and Mexican traders who were as numerous on the trail as Americans. Among the over 100 Bent, St. Vrain employees in the 1840s was a "melange of French, Mexicans, Americans, Indian and all degrees of mixture" (Lavender 1954:198).

One of the factors that made this mixture possible was the tendency of Bent, St. Vrain employees to intermarry. William Bent married two Cheyenne women in succession. Charles Bent joined an influential Taos family in about 1831 when he married Ygnacia Jaramillo. In the 1840s two others associated with Bent's Fort would marry into the same family--Kit Carson to Ygnacia's sister Josefa and Tom Boggs to Ygnacia's oldest daughter Rumalda Jaramillo Luna.



Other traders who intermarried were Marcellin St. Vrain, who wed a Sioux woman, and John Simpson Smith, whose wife was Cheyenne.

Bent's Fort served, in many ways, as the vanguard of U.S. expansion into this region. Located on the border with Mexico, it lured many a Missourian further west as the major settlement between Santa Fe and St. Louis (Mehls and Carter 1984). The Fort was the site of many treaty signings and provision exchanges between U.S. government agents and the local Indians. Perhaps most critical to U.S. expansion was the role it played in precipitating the Mexican-American war. In 1840, Manuel Armijo, Governor of New Mexico, wrote the following to Mexico City:

Many years' experience has shown me that the dangers from which this Department suffers result from the various fortresses which North Americans have placed near this Department, the nearest of which is that of Charles Bent...If the President does not remedy this, New Mexico must go to total ruin...these forts are the protection of contraband trade...They are the very ones who supply arms and ammunition to most of the barbarous tribes. They protect robbers...in order that they may profit from the spoils (in Lavender 1954:207).

It bears mentioning that Armijo himself was involved in the Santa Fe trade and probably would have liked to see Bent, St. Vrain go under. In Bent, St Vrain's defense, it should be noted that they mostly supplied Cheyenne and Arapaho who were not as busy raiding as the Comanche, Kiowa, Navajo and Ute.

Still, there is no doubt that Bent's Fort made life more difficult in New Mexico. During the Mexican Era (1821-1846), New Mexico was the site of such

frequent raiding by nomadic tribes that it was tantamount to "constant warfare" (Weber 1982). Towns established during this period were usually quickly abandoned as the inhabitants were in constant fear of losing at least their livestock, if not their lives. Padre Martinez, the curate of Taos, pointed out in his 1843 pamphlet "An Exposition of Things in New Mexico," that traders on the Arkansas and Platte were greatly to blame for the dearth of bison meat upon which Indians and New Mexicans alike relied. He feared an extinction of the bison which would mean "the Indian will be all the more obliged to resort to pillage and robbery" (in Lavender 1954:246). Fray Martinez also pointed out the devastating effects of another aspect of the posts, the whiskey trade. "The traders sold the Indian also liquors and ardent spirits...The result was that these Indian nations became extremely demoralized and were prompted to greater destruction of buffaloes in order to satisfy their appetites for strong drink which they obtained in exchange" (in Lavender 1954:246).

#### The Mexican-American War and Kearny's Army of the West

Raised to a fevered pitch by the 1845 annexing of Texas and fueled by the philosophy of Manifest Destiny, expansionism roared through North America. In the summer of 1846, a group of Cheyenne trading at Bent's Fort witnessed the end of an era. The Army of the West was preparing to invade Mexico. Seventeen hundred troops under General Kearny's charge filled the Arkansas

valley. The sight prompted a number of Cheyenne to remark that they had no idea there were "so many people in the white men's tribe" (Lavender 1954:276). Kearny's troops marched on to Santa Fe, taking the capital without bloodshed. Ironically, Kearny's task was made easier by the hope in New Mexico that the U.S. government would do a better job of protecting them from Indian raids than the Mexican government had.

The Army of the West had seemed a flood of white faces when they arrived, but two things happened in 1848 that assured they were only the first trickle. Within two weeks of each other the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, and gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in California. The increasing emigrant and army trains either slaughtered buffalo or scared them away. The always scarce firewood was depleted along every travel corridor. Worst of all, many travelers took to shooting Indians on sight. The Indians in the area retaliated. Comanches and Kiowas boasted that "whites were easier to kill than buffalo and far more profitable" (Lavender 1954:321).

The Southern Cheyenne, at William Bent's urging, attempted to keep the peace. However, they were tempted to join their comrades, especially when the new Indian agent Tom Fitzpatrick was delayed in Santa Fe and all his goods were dispersed to New Mexican Indians. They were angry that "tribes who plundered the Americans were rewarded with presents, while they who had been good received nothing" (Lavender 1954:324). The Cheyenne's troubles mounted, and

in 1849 it is estimated that approximately half of the Southern Cheyenne were wiped out by cholera (Lavender 1954).

The suffering of the Indians in the region made trading a tricky business. William Bent found that trading at Bent's Fort no longer was profitable. The army had essentially taken over the fort, using it as a way station for traveling soldiers, and a supply point for Indian agents. Perhaps frightened by the specter of cholera, William Bent destroyed Bent's Fort in 1849. Several years later, in 1853, Bent constructed a new fort at Big Timbers. This grove of cottonwoods, located about 35 miles east of Bent's Old Fort, was the original fort location envisioned by Yellow Wolf. Big Timbers was a favorite winter camping spot for Arapahos and Kiowas, as well as the Cheyenne (Berthrong 1963). In the end Bent's New Fort had only limited success. The halcyon days were over.

From the time of his arrival in the area, Tom Fitzpatrick understood the need for new treaties with the resident Indians. Although the Army had established Fort Laramie and Fort Kearny along the South Platte, troops were not enough to keep the peace. A treaty, argued Fitzpatrick, would be much cheaper for the government than a war on the Plains. Indian Superintendent D.D. Mitchell proposed that the tribes be assigned to specific areas marked by geographic boundaries such as rivers and mountains. They were to travel only within their own regions and would be held responsible for any skirmishes that might occur on their land (Berthrong 1963). The Treaty of Fort Laramie, signed

in 1851, recognized the aboriginal possession of the area between the North Platte and the Arkansas by the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The western boundary was made up of the Rocky Mountains, and the eastern edge contained about the western 1/3 of Kansas.

The 1851 treaty seemed to serve its purpose for a number of years. But the discovery of gold at the confluence of Cherry Creek and the South Platte in 1858 brought a new wave of immigrants into the heart of Cheyenne and Arapaho territory. Mostly in anticipation of problems to come, agents began negotiations in 1860 that led to the signing of the Fort Wise Treaty of 1861. This treaty exchanged the traditional Cheyenne hunting land between the Platte and Arkansas Rivers for a smaller reservation extending from Sand Creek to the Huerfano along the Arkansas River (Royce 1899). Located within the boundary of that reservation was the site that would become Boggsville.

## CHAPTER 3

### TRADITIONAL CHEYENNE CULTURE

#### The Horse-Buffalo Complex

Despite changes wrought by traders, soldiers and emigrants, the Cheyenne were still full participants in the Plains horse-buffalo complex when Amache Ochinee Prowers was born in 1846 (Sanday 1981). This lifestyle was shared by a number of groups who roamed the Great Plains--the Arapaho, the Sioux, the Comanche, the Pawnee, the Gros Vente and others. This nomadic lifeway relied on two essential elements: the horse and the buffalo. The horse allowed groups of various geographical origin to move out onto the Plains permanently. The buffalo, virtually a sea of animals, were their main prey.

Bison provided the backbone of Cheyenne subsistence. The meat was eaten fresh, or dried for later use, often in pemmican. The bones were used for tools, the internal organs for carrying bags. In fact, the Cheyenne word for water container is related to their word for heart, which was the organ used for that purpose (Grinnell 1962). Buffalo robes were used both as blankets and to

cushion furniture. Finally, processed buffalo hides were used to make clothing, footwear, bags and--most important--tipis.

During the period of time Amache lived with the Cheyenne, groups were organized into bands or camps. Each camp was made up of one or more kindreds. The kindreds consisted of the family head, his daughters and their husbands, and other relatives (Hoebel 1960). This matrilineal pattern may have its origins in their time as gardeners and their association with matrilineal groups like the Mandan and the Hidatsa. However, unlike a matrilineal group, the Cheyenne do not have unilineal descent. Brothers and sisters, although they lived apart once they are married, still considered themselves kin. The same held true for one's parents (Hoebel 1960).

Within the family itself there were differentiations. Like most traditional societies, the Cheyenne divided labor based on gender. Men were the hunters; women the gatherers. In addition, men took care of the horses, conducted raids, and defended the village. Women were also the tailors, the architects and the cooks. Because of their familiarity with the botanical stores of the Plains, women also gathered and processed a number of medicinal herbs. Both sexes practiced the healing arts, but medicine women were especially important during birthing; they processed the root of *Balsamorhiza sagittata* for easy delivery, and made a milk medicine from bark that was taken before breast feeding (Grinnell 1962).

### Material Culture of the Cheyenne

At the time Amache was born, she would have lived in a tipi. This dwelling made of tanned buffalo hide drawn over poles, was ubiquitous to the Plains tribes. As Grinnell (1962) points out, during the summer little protection from the elements was needed. However, the rest of the year wind and snow are forces to be contended with, as anyone who has spent a winter on the Plains knows. The tipi, with its fire burning in the center, served as a warm and portable shelter.

The tipis were constructed by women, and they, in fact, owned them. A woman would tan the skins and collect the sinew to sew them together, but groups of women would be called in to assist with the final construction of the lodge. When it was completed, only the woman who owned it was able to pass in and out until it had been dedicated (Grinnell 1962).

Women tanned hides for other tasks, especially for the construction of clothing. The woman's toolkit for tanning hides consisted of a scraper (either metal or stone); a flesher made of an elkhorn with a stone or steel blade in the end; the proximal end of a buffalo humerus (for scraping hides); and a softening rope or buffalo shoulder blade with a hole for softening the tanned hide. Fleshers were often family heirlooms passed from mother to daughter (Grinnell 1962).

Every woman also owned a sewing kit which included awls of catfish spine, thorns, or sharpened bone; thread of either sinew or twisted milkweed



bark; and items for use as decoration such as porcupine quills, dried black grass and fine roots. These were all kept together in a little leather bag that was worn at the waist. Women took great pride in their skill as seamstresses and quillers. In fact, talented women belonged to quilling societies. Like members of the men's war societies, on ceremonial occasions these women were asked to count coup. For the warriors coup meant those taken in battle, for quillers it equalled the number of robes they had quilled (Grinnell 1962).

Other important women's tools included those used to procure and prepare food. Each woman had her own digging stick, which was usually made of wood with a knob to hold onto and a point at the end. The digging stick was given to women by the Great Medicine Spirit and it had sacred aspects. It was one of the pieces of ritual paraphernalia used in the Sun Dance (Hoebel 1960). Stone hammers were also an important part of women's equipment. Large hammers were used to break up firewood and large bones and to drive tent stakes. Smaller hammers were used to crush up bone in order to extract marrow. The smallest resembled mortar and pestles and were used primarily for grinding up chokecherries for pemmican, and in processing herbs (Grinnell 1962).

When the Cheyenne were still sedentary, they made pottery. Other cooking and eating dishes included bowls made from turtle shells or the knots of box elder trees and spoons made from the horns of mountain sheep or buffalo (Grinnell 1962). As the tribe became more nomadic and trade increased on the

Missouri, pottery-making slowed to a halt (Berthrong 1963). Metal kettles and tin cups were popular trade items. They were lighter than traditional items and much less prone to break than the pottery.

One of the distinguishing marks of historic Plains Indian sites is the metal projectile point. In fact, a site in the Comanche National Grasslands near Boggsville has been assigned a Cheyenne affiliation based on the presence of a metal point (Site 5WL1716). Grinnell (1962) claims that, after the introduction of metal, stone tools were abandoned as everyday items, although they took on ritual power. However, he goes on to state that "the Cheyennes, like the Blackfeet and the Pawnees, say that wounds made by the old stone arrow points were more likely to be fatal than those made by the arrowpoints of later time" (Grinnell 1962:183). This statement seems to indicate that in order for them to have known the difference, stone points were still being used, if only rarely.

### Religion of the Cheyenne

The religious practices of the Cheyenne can be divided into two categories: daily rituals and cyclical rituals. The Cheyenne world is a system. The two main spirits are the god of the sky and the god of the earth. In addition, powerful spirits lived at the four cardinal points of the compass. Daily rituals, *niv'stan'y'vo*, were performed to acquire the favor of the spirits of the four directions (Berthrong 1963). For the most part the world was a system that

functioned well by itself. However, the balance of the elements could be thrown off. Performed at certain times of the year, the cyclical rituals functioned to renew the earth and get the parts of the system back into balance (Hoebel 1960).

One example of a daily ritual is the smoking of a pipe. To begin, the pipestem was pointed to the sky, to the ground, and to the four directions, in order. At the same time the smoker would say "Spirit Above, smoke. Earth, smoke. Four cardinal points, smoke." (Grinnell 1962). A prayer for help was then uttered and the pipe smoked. After this, the pipe was passed through the lodge, always going with the sun, from right to left.

When buffalo were plentiful, feasts were held often. Feasts were begun and ended with prayer. Before eating, the participants would take a little from each pot and offer it to the spirits, in much the same way the pipestem was offered before smoking. However, the food was placed on the ground by the fire and swept up later. It was never eaten, as it had been consumed by the spirits (Grinnell 1962).

The Cheyenne maintained two important sacred symbols, the Medicine Arrows and the Buffalo Hat. The Medicine Arrows represented a form of insurance. The two "buffalo arrows," when turned against the buffalo, made them confused and helpless. The "man arrows" had the same effect on an enemy. As long as these arrows were properly maintained, the Cheyenne were assured of a good life (Berthrong 1963). The *is'siwun*, or Sacred Buffalo Hat, was formed

from the scalp of a female buffalo and covered with blue beads. Two carved, painted buffalo horns were then attached (Berthrong 1963). The *is'siwun*, also the word for a herd of buffalo, ensured the beasts would be in plentiful supply. The Buffalo Hat was worn only on two occasions: in times of sickness, and when the Medicine Arrows were renewed. In addition, the Buffalo Hat could be worn to war by the keeper of the hat.

As opposed to daily rituals, the cyclical rituals of the Arrow Renewal, the Buffalo Hat, the Sun Dance, and the Massaum were led by priests. The Arrow Renewal ceremony centered around the Medicine arrows. The Arrow Renewal was performed to prevent evils befalling the tribe or sometimes as an atonement for a crime or death. Unlike the other tribal ceremonies, the Arrow Renewal was performed only when deemed necessary. The Sun Dance was held each year at the summer solstice. The entire tribe would gather together to participate in the ritual, which lasted eight days. The Sun Dance consisted of a number of dances and rituals culminating in the torture dance, during which a number of the men would skewer their bodies, sometimes hanging from the pole in the center of the Sun Dance lodge. Whether or not the torture portion of the Sun Dance was central has been debated, but the most important effect of the entire ritual was the renewal of the earth for another year (Berthrong 1963).

### Women's Status in Cheyenne life

After a ride of two hours, we stopped, and the chiefs fastening their horses, collected in circles, to smoke the pipe and talk, letting their squaws unpack the animals, pitch the lodges, build fires, arrange the robes...I was provoked, nay angry to see the lazy, overgrown men, do nothing to help their wives; and, when the young women pulled off their bracelets and finery, to *chop wood*, the cup of my wrath was full to overflowing (Garrard 1955:55-56).

Lewis Garrard, who observed the moving of a Cheyenne camp, was not alone when he denounced the workload of Plains Indian women. To many Euro-Americans, the hard physical labor performed by Plains women was abominable (Hoig 1989). Middle to upper class white women worked hard, but their role was to be "the light of the home," as a Victorian magazine called it (Green 1983). Undeniably, Cheyenne women worked hard, but they also possessed great influence. Grinnell called women "the rulers of the camp...If the sentiment of the women of the camp clearly points to a certain course as desirable, the men are quite sure to act as the women wish" (1961:128-129). Their influence was felt in matters such as camp movement, the decision to go to war, and in tribal councils.

The respect garnered by Cheyenne women is evident in courtship and marriage. Women could reject a suitor, or even elope, although these were not common occurrences. Polygyny was practiced by some men, but care was taken in choosing a second wife in order to avoid jealousy. Usually the second wife was related to the first, often a sister. The concern was that a disgruntled first

wife was likely to leave. Divorce, initiated by either party, occurred in the case of incompatible marriages. Finally, a widow controlled her remarriage, often stipulating that her new husband help support and care for her children (Berthrong 1963).

Despite, or perhaps in part due to the flexibility of marriage patterns, Cheyenne marriages were often very happy. Husbands and wives were partners and tended to bear deep, lifelong affection one for another. Grinnell eloquently writes of such marriages:

I have seen many examples of such attachment, seldom expressed in words, but shown in the daily conduct of life, where in all his occupations the man's favorite companion was the wife he had courted as a girl and by whose side he had made his struggle for success and now at last had grown old (1962:128).

#### The Life of a Cheyenne Woman - Amache Ochinee Prowers

It was into this society that Amache was born in 1846. She was the daughter of Ochinee or Lone Bear (*Nah'ku'uk'ihu'us*), a Cheyenne subchief. Ochinee is often referred to as One-eye, a name many whites used for him. Amache was close to her mother, who lived with her intermittently until the end of her life. Two other relatives of Amache are found in family records, Little Elk, a half brother, and White River, a male cousin. Little Elk himself became a sub-chief (Boyd n.d.).

In 1856, John Prowers, then eighteen years old, arrived at Bent's New Fort. Born in Missouri, Prowers arrived with Robert Miller, the Indian Agent for the upper Arkansas. Once at the Fort, Prowers began working for William Bent, running wagon trains between Missouri and the fort. During this time he made the acquaintance of Ochinee (Hurd 1948).

According to C.W. Hurd's account, Prowers met Ochinee in about 1859 at Camp Supply, which was near Bent's New Fort. Prowers and Ochinee became friends and Prowers was invited into Ochinee's lodge. There Prowers met Amache, when she was only thirteen and he was twenty-one. The account goes on to say that Amache, which means "lovely one", was the most beautiful girl he had ever seen. Still a girl, however, she was too busy playing with her dolls to care that Prowers had taken a shine to her (Hurd 1948, Hurd 1957).

About a year later, presumably after Amache had reached adolescence and was therefore marriageable, Prowers began his courtship in earnest. Courtship among the Cheyenne was a formal affair, and could take up to three years (Grinnell 1962). Prowers began the series of gift exchanges that needed to occur to make the courtship legitimate. Whether by misunderstanding or by misrepresentation, an acquaintance of Prowers claimed that he had purchased his wife with a herd of cattle (Kansas City Star 1905).

In 1861, John Prowers married Amache in a Cheyenne ceremony at Camp Supply. The ceremony was attended by "a few of Prowers' white friends and a

great number of Indians, some of them from distant regions" (Hurd 1948).

According to Hurd the elaborate ceremony was intended to impress upon Prowers that "forevermore he was a member of the great tribe of the Cheyennes" (Hurd 1957).

After their marriage, Amache, then fifteen, moved into the commissary at Bent's New Fort. That same year Amache gave birth to her first child, a daughter named Susan. In the winter of 1862, Prowers made his customary trip to Westport, Missouri. He took Amache and Susan with him. When he returned to the Fort, he left them with his aunt. Mary, the second child, was born there in Westport during the summer of 1863. Several months later, they all headed back to Colorado (Hudnall 1945).

Apparently, while Amache was in Westport, Prowers introduced her to Missouri society. Hurd (1957) recounts a story of a party held in Amache's honor. Amache, dressed in fine Victorian manner, attempted to exit her carriage. She caught her foot in her bustle and tumbled to the ground. Hurd goes on to claim that she did not ever wear a bustle again, and was none too fond of corsets either. Unfortunately Hurd's is the only account of Amache's time in Westport. Because his book contains no references, it is difficult to ascertain how much of his narrative is anecdotal. Regardless, one would imagine that the time Amache spent with her husband's aunt involved a great deal of tutoring in how white Missourians behaved.



Early in 1864, the Prowers settled at the former Caddo Reservation at Big Timbers<sup>1</sup>. There Prowers focused on the business that would make him rich: raising cattle. In 1861, the same year he married Amache, Prowers had gone to Missouri and purchased 100 head of cattle. The ratification of the Treaty of Fort Wise early that year enabled Prowers to run his cattle on Cheyenne territory set aside in that treaty.

The Fort Wise Treaty, unlike most early treaties, included provisions for the allotment of land to individual members. However, unlike the later allotments that were snatched up by investors, the Fort Wise tracts could not be sold, unless to other tribal members (Berthrong 1963). In 1863 John Prowers sent a letter to his brother and sister that described the division of those lands:

U.S Surveyors are at work now laying out the Indian land into 40 acres to each and every one, my squaw and baby will get their share and her parents want me to select the whole together which will make about 600 acres of which I can have the use of as much as I want, and I think of going to work (Prowers 1863).

Soon thereafter, whether or not the surveyors completed that task became a moot point.

---

<sup>1</sup> This reservation was never actually occupied by the Caddo. For a discussion of this site see Carrillo and Petersen 1996.

## CHAPTER 4

### BOGGSVILLE, COLORADO

#### El Rio de las Animas Perdidas en Purgatorio

The remains of Boggsville sit on the west bank of what is now known as the Purgatory River (Figure 1). The original name of the river, above, serves as a reminder of early Spanish forays into the area. Boggsville is located on a terrace about two miles southwest of the confluence of the Arkansas and Purgatory rivers. The terrace exhibits a steppe type of semiarid vegetation known as shortgrass prairie. Down in the floodplain of the river the vegetation is riparian, with cottonwoods, cattails, and other water-hungry plants.

The location of Boggsville harkens back to struggles over control of this region. Those who settled Boggsville came under two very different auspices: Spanish Land Grants, and various treaty provisions.

#### Southern Colorado in Conflict

The Treaty of Fort Wise was flawed much like all such agreements. The few Cheyenne who signed it misunderstood just what they had given away. Not

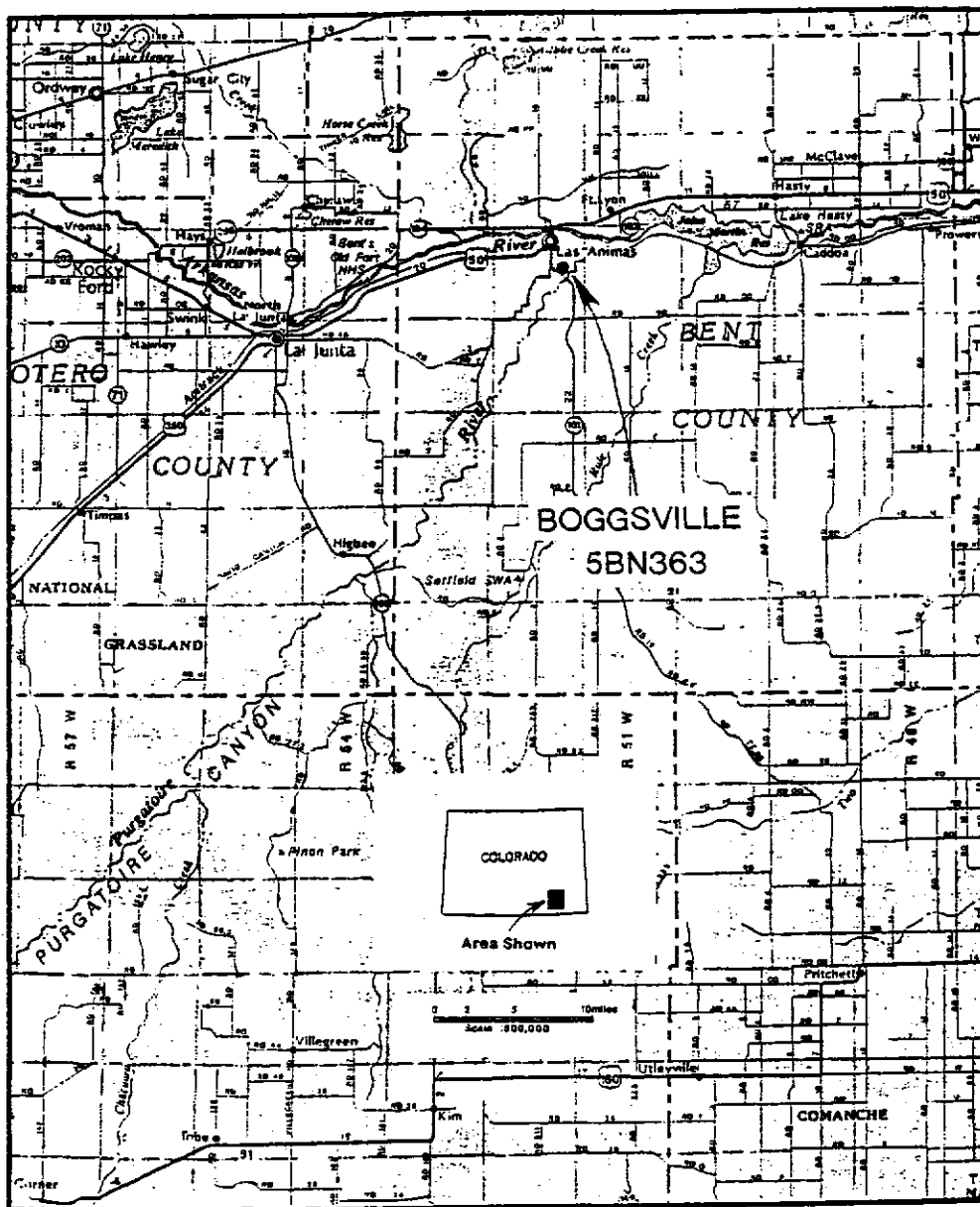


Figure 1 - Map of southeastern Colorado showing location of Boggsville and surrounding area (from Carrillo, et al. 1994)

one of the warrior Dog Soldiers were among the few Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs who signed it. None of the Northern groups were included and thus they still claimed all of the land in the Fitzpatrick treaty (Utley 1984). This situation made Colorado politicians very nervous. In fact, in 1863, the burgeoning community of Denver stopped allowing the filing of land claims, as all of the region was legally Indian land (Berthrong 1963).

The situation in Colorado became more and more untenable. The Arapaho refused to abide by the Fort Wise Treaty and took up residence at the headwaters of the Cache La Poudre River, their traditional wintering grounds. Members of the various Plains groups took to raiding ranches and travelers whom they considered trespassers on their native ground. Governor Evans tried to convene all of the Cheyenne and Arapaho to sign the treaty, but they refused to sign another treaty. The general consensus was that they had been swindled and wanted to be left to hunt buffalo on the Plains. To add to the tension, the killing of a Cheyenne chief, Little Heart, left them wary and angry. Little Heart, one of the Plains chiefs taken to Washington, D.C., had been shot and killed when he approached a group of soldiers riding near his camp. He had ridden outside of camp to show the approaching soldiers his medal from the President of the U.S. as a way to prove the camp's desire to remain peaceful (Berthrong 1963).

Fighting between Indians and whites escalated on the Plains during 1863 and 1864. Troops were sent out to patrol the Plains, at least in theory to protect travelers and residents of outlying settlements. In fact, the troops stirred up more trouble than they quelled. Donald Berthrong, who made an in-depth study of this time period, indicates that Governor Evans picked fights with the Indians as a way to finally clear title to Colorado land (1963). The number of battles motivated by retribution spiraled. Although usually only a minority of any tribe was engaged in raiding and warfare, all Indians were suspect. This was especially true of the Cheyenne, upon whom a number of "depredations" had been blamed. In 1864, Colonel John Chivington wrote, "the Cheyennes will have to be soundly whipped before they will be quiet. If any of them are caught in your vicinity kill them, as that is the only way" (in Berthrong 1963:189).

There were still officials in Colorado who thought that peace was possible. Black Kettle, a powerful Southern Cheyenne chief, sent a delegation to Denver to plead for peace. That group was headed by Ochinee, Amache's father, who presented a written message to officials in Denver. The delegation brought prisoners to exchange and were welcomed by both Major Wynkoop and Indian Agent Colley. After the council, the chiefs left, assured of peace and unafraid of soldiers (Berthrong 1963).

Colonel Chivington had other plans. Throughout the fall of 1864 the Southern Platte area had been relatively quiet, but occasional raiding had

occurred outside of Fort Lyon. Chivington headed down south, determined to attack Cheyenne villages he thought were on the Smoky Hill. In the end he found Black Kettle's encampment on Sand Creek.

The details of the Sand Creek Massacre are still being argued by historians and Native Americans alike. The general consensus is that about 700 of Colonel Chivington's troops attacked Black Kettle's camp early in the morning, on a day when the young men were off on a buffalo hunt. Black Kettle, realizing what was happening, raised both a white flag and a U.S. flag over his tipi, but to no avail. By the end of the day, about 200 Cheyenne lay dead: two-thirds of them women and children, and the rest old men. Among the dead was Amache's father, Ochinee. After helping his family to safety, he deliberately returned to the battle to die with the others (Hudnall 1945).

One of the participants in the investigation of Sand Creek was John Prowers. Just before the attack, soldiers had come to the Prowers' ranch at Caddo, disarmed everyone and held them prisoner. At the time there was no explanation of the arrest, but as news arrived of massacre, it was plain that Chivington was afraid someone from the ranch would warn the Cheyenne at Sand Creek. As a survivor, Ochinee's wife was held hostage at Fort Lyon in an attempt to make the Cheyenne and Arapaho keep the peace (Hudnall 1945).

After the Sand Creek Massacre, making peace with the Cheyenne was more difficult than ever. When old time trader Jim Beckworth tried to calm

down the Cheyenne chief, Leg-in-Water, the chief replied, "the white man has taken our country, killed our game; was not satisfied with that, but killed our wives and children. Now no peace...We have now raised the battle-axe until death" (in Berthrong 1963:224).

Even in an era of campaigns against Indians, Sand Creek stood out as a massacre. A year later, the Treaty of the Little Arkansas was signed. Among the articles of the treaty was one that granted 640 acres to every Cheyenne who had lost a parent or spouse at Sand Creek (Berthrong 1963). The treaty provision was not really an attempt to appease the Cheyenne, who at this point were past such an effort, but was more likely an attempt to appease the collective conscience of the Colorado and U.S. governments. In all, 31 of these grants were given out. The survivors were allowed to choose their allotments from within the old Fort Wise Reservation, most were along the Arkansas River. The Ochinee and Prowers families received at least four claims: one for Amache's mother; one for Amache herself; and two for her daughters, Susan and Mary (Hudnall 1945; Petersen n.d.).

### Spanish Land Grants

After the Mexican Revolution, the Mexican government made an attempt to lure settlers into the northern reaches of their county by giving out vast land grants. Some of the first grants were given out in Texas, many to foreigners.

The granting process succeeded in populating the area. However, the overwhelmingly U.S. born immigrants were largely responsible for the revolt of Texas in 1836 (Weber 1982).

Attempting to learn from their mistakes, Mexican officials made Congressional approval necessary to grant land to foreigners after 1828. However, as land opened up in New Mexico, a land rush failed to materialize. *Nuevomexicanos*, well aware of the aridity and strong Indian presence in the north, were loathe to snatch up the claims. Thus, in the 1840s, Governor Manuel Armijo opened up land claims to *estranjeros*, foreigners. Armijo felt the grants were necessary to create a buffer between New Mexico and what he perceived as threats to its citizenry: Texans, nomadic Indians, and *norteamericanos*. Still, most of the foreign grantees had New Mexican cogrants or were naturalized citizens (Weber 1982).

The Las Animas Grant, its name derived from the Purgatory River's Spanish name, was given out in 1843. The cograntees were Cornelio Vigil, the *alcade* (mayor) of Taos and Ceran St. Vrain, who had become a naturalized Mexican citizen during his stay in Taos. The boundaries of their grant, like many of what have come to be known as the Spanish land grants, were somewhat vague. It was to encompass the valleys of the Cucharas, Huerfano, and Apishapa rivers. The grant ran approximately from present day Trinidad along the Purgatory up to the Arkansas, over to Pueblo and then southwest to Cuchara



pass and back to Trinidad encompassing approximately four million acres (Mehls and Carter 1984).

Cornelio Vigil, along with Charles Bent and other territorial officials, was killed during the Taos insurrection following the U.S. takeover of New Mexico in 1848. The Las Animas Grant, like all the Spanish land grants, had to be approved by the U.S. congress before the inhabitants could file claims for ownership of their land. It was not until 1860 that Congress approved the Las Animas Grant--and even then they vastly reduced its area. The Mexican Colonization Law of 1824 limited grants to 11 leagues square (approximately 48,000 acres) for each claimant. Although the U.S. congress had ignored the Mexican law in other cases, including the Maxwell and Sangre de Cristo grants, it approved the Las Animas Grant for only 96,651 acres, a 40th of its original area (Westphall 1983:152).

Ceran St. Vrain petitioned Congress on behalf of himself and Cornelio Vigil's heirs. In addition, claims were filed by a number of others who had settled portions of the grant based on a promise of land. The granting of claims against the Las Animas grant hit a number of snags, not the least of which was that the 1861 Fort Wise treaty had promised a large portion of that territory to the Indians. The situation came to a head after 1865, when survivors of the Sand Creek Massacre and settlers hailing from the Las Animas grant filed claims on the same pieces of land (Petersen n.d.).

### "A Well-filled Ranche"

One of settlers who filed a claim against the Las Animas grant was Rumalda Jaramillo Boggs. Her right to a claim came from two different sources: the late Cornelio Vigil was Rumalda's uncle, and Ceran St. Vrain was her *padrino*, or godfather. In 1862 or 1863 Rumalda Boggs, her husband Tom, and their children settled Boggsville. Her claim to 2040 acres was not approved until 1873, with the help of St. Vrain's attorney (Petersen n.d.).

The original Boggsville was located immediately adjacent to the floodplain of the Purgatory. The buildings were made of local timber or adobe. Some of the structures were probably jacal. An early photograph of the original Boggsville shows a very New Mexican looking settlement, complete with *hornos*, outdoor "beehive" ovens. The Boggs were joined by E.R Sizer in the summer of 1864 (Carrillo 1995a). In 1866, they began construction of the new Boggs house.

In 1860 the army leased Bent's New Fort at the Big Timbers, and they built Fort Wise less than a mile to the west. Two years later the name was changed to Fort Lyon. In the spring of 1866, torrential floods tore through the Arkansas Valley, rendering Fort Lyon unusable. The Army decided to rebuild the fort nineteen miles downstream, very near Boggsville (Figure 2). The relocation of the Fort stimulated the growth of Boggsville. The town had been

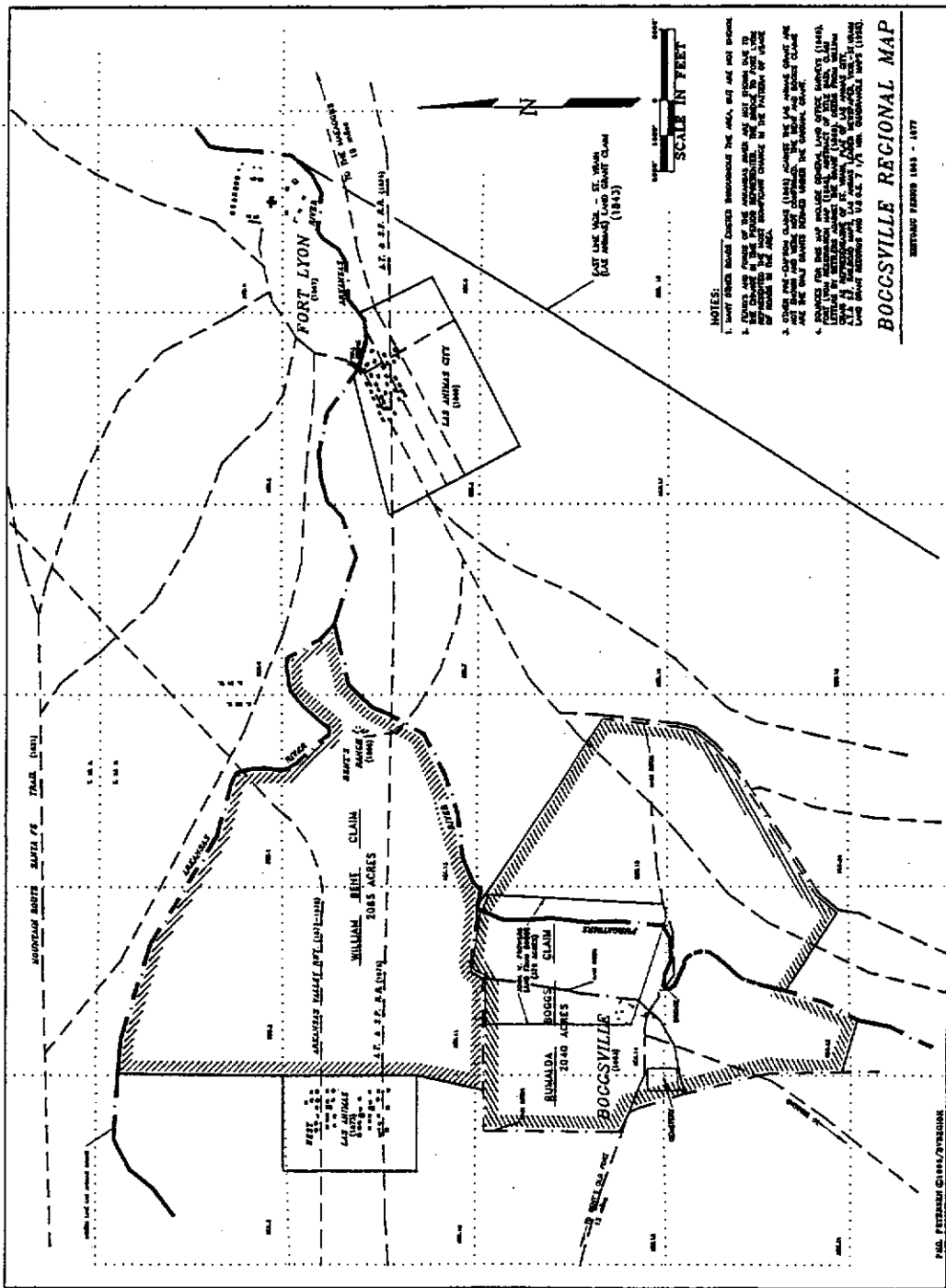


Figure 2 - Boggsville Region Map (from Phillip Petersen)

supplying stock, fodder and food crops for the Fort (Carrillo 1995a). Now that enterprise moved into the backyard.

The move of Fort Lyon brought more than new business, it brought the Prowers family. John Prowers had been expanding his cattle herd at Caddo. He knew that the best market for his stock, feed, wood, and hay was at the Fort. In addition, Boggsville was much closer to the Ochinee Sand Creek claims. Prowers purchased a portion of Rumalda Boggs' claim and began building a new house. The settlement of Boggsville was beginning to look like a town, with two large adobe houses and a tree-lined promenade from the river crossing into town (Figure3) (Carrillo 1995a).

Several other families were to move in and out of Boggsville. In 1867, Kit Carson and his wife Josefa Jaramillo Carson moved into the older portion of the settlement. In 1868, the Carsons shared a house with John Prowers' sister and brother-in-law, Mary Prowers Hough and John Hough. Hough, a merchant from Missouri, went into business with Prowers, opening a mercantile. That same year both Kit and Josepha Carson died, and were temporarily buried at Boggsville, before final internment in Taos. The Houghs stayed on until 1869, when they moved to Trinidad to open a store.

Two developments in the region brought Boggsville into a wider sphere of relations in 1869. The first, Las Animas City, also a claim against the Las Animas Grant, was laid out about three quarters of a mile from Fort Lyon and



about three miles from Boggsville. The second development was a toll bridge over the Arkansas River constructed that summer. The bridge connected the main Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail which ran on the north side of the Arkansas with the roads on the south side leading to The Meadows and Boggsville (Carrillo 1995a).

Las Animas City grew rapidly and had a population of 150 by 1870. That year it was declared the seat of Bent County. But the town, situated so near an Army facility, had a reputation for being wild. The next year, in the 1871 elections, Boggsville was named the county seat, but remained so for only a year (Carrillo n.d.). That same year saw the construction of the first public school in Bent County at Boggsville. The teacher, Peter Scott, taught the Prowers, Boggs and Carson children (who continued to live with the Boggs after their parents' deaths) as well as a few others from neighboring farms (Scott n.d.).

The construction of Las Animas City had ensured that Boggsville would remain a small settlement. Ironically, in 1873, Las Animas City was to share a similar fate. That year the Kansas Pacific Railroad built the Arkansas Valley Railway branch line not to Las Animas City, but to a new town, West Las Animas, a mile north of Boggsville. As the railhead, West Las Animas (now known simply as Las Animas) drew the nearby population like a magnet. Las Animas City was quickly abandoned, and by the early 1880s it was a ghost town (Carrillo n.d.).

The building of West Las Animas had a chilling effect on Boggsville's growth as well. No longer on the main transportation and shipping lines, Boggsville settled down to existence merely as a ranch headquarters. Smelling the opportunity to increase his business, John Prowers quickly followed the railroad to West Las Animas, moving his family there in 1874. However, Prowers still used Boggsville as the center of his cattle operations. Three years later, in 1877, the Boggs moved to Clayton, New Mexico. In 1883, the Boggs sold their entire claim to John Lee. After the sale of Boggsville, Prowers divested all of his interests there (Hurd 1957) (Long Hoeft 1994).

CHAPTER 5  
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF BOGGSVILLE

A History of Work

In 1985 the Bent County Historical Society acquired the site of Boggsville. By then only one of the three original wings of the Prowers house was still standing, and the Boggs house was not in much better shape. In an effort to save the site, the Historical Society formed the Boggsville Revitalization Committee (BRC) to oversee the preservation of the site. Much to the credit of the BRC, historic archaeology soon became an important aspect of work at the site.

Dr. William G. Buckles conducted the initial survey and test excavations at Boggsville beginning in 1989 and 1990 (Buckles 1990). In addition some excavation was performed prior to the digging of a drainage trench around the Boggs house (Buckles and Arwood n.d.). Since 1990, Richard F. Carrillo has overseen the archaeological work at the site. The archaeology conducted to date at the site includes: monitoring of trenching at the Boggs house (Carrillo and Barnes 1990), and two field schools conducted in coordination with the



University of Colorado, Colorado Springs (UCCS). In 1994, units were excavated in three locations: in an area between the Boggs and Prowers houses; in the vicinity of the old Boggsville (Kit Carson's house); and at the schoolhouse (Carrillo 1995b). Excavations at the schoolhouse were especially successful, and the 1995 UCCS field school expanded upon that work (Carrillo, et al. 1996).

In addition to the excavations at the rest of the site, much attention has been paid to the archaeology of the Prowers house. Between 1991 and 1994, a total of 64 units were excavated in the vicinity of the Prowers house (Figure 4). In 1991, ten units were excavated using a combination of BRC members and other local volunteers, as well as UCCS students. UCCS students dug an additional nine units were dug in 1992 (Carrillo n.d.). The intent of the excavations was to ascertain the location of the north and west wings of the Prowers house visible in early sketches of the site (Figure 5). These early excavations gave a good indication of where we could expect the walls to be. In addition, they revealed one of the main reasons why the missing wings were gone; it appears that those wings did not have any foundation. The adobe was laid directly onto the ground. This is typical of New Mexican adobe construction methods (Carrillo 1995a), however it was ill suited for a two story adobe.

Two areas of the Prowers house were excavated in 1993. In the spring, testing occurred in and around the existing south wing of the building to facilitate its restoration/reconstruction. Students from the University of Denver, and other

Figure 4- Prowers House Excavations (based on figure from Carrillo 1995a)

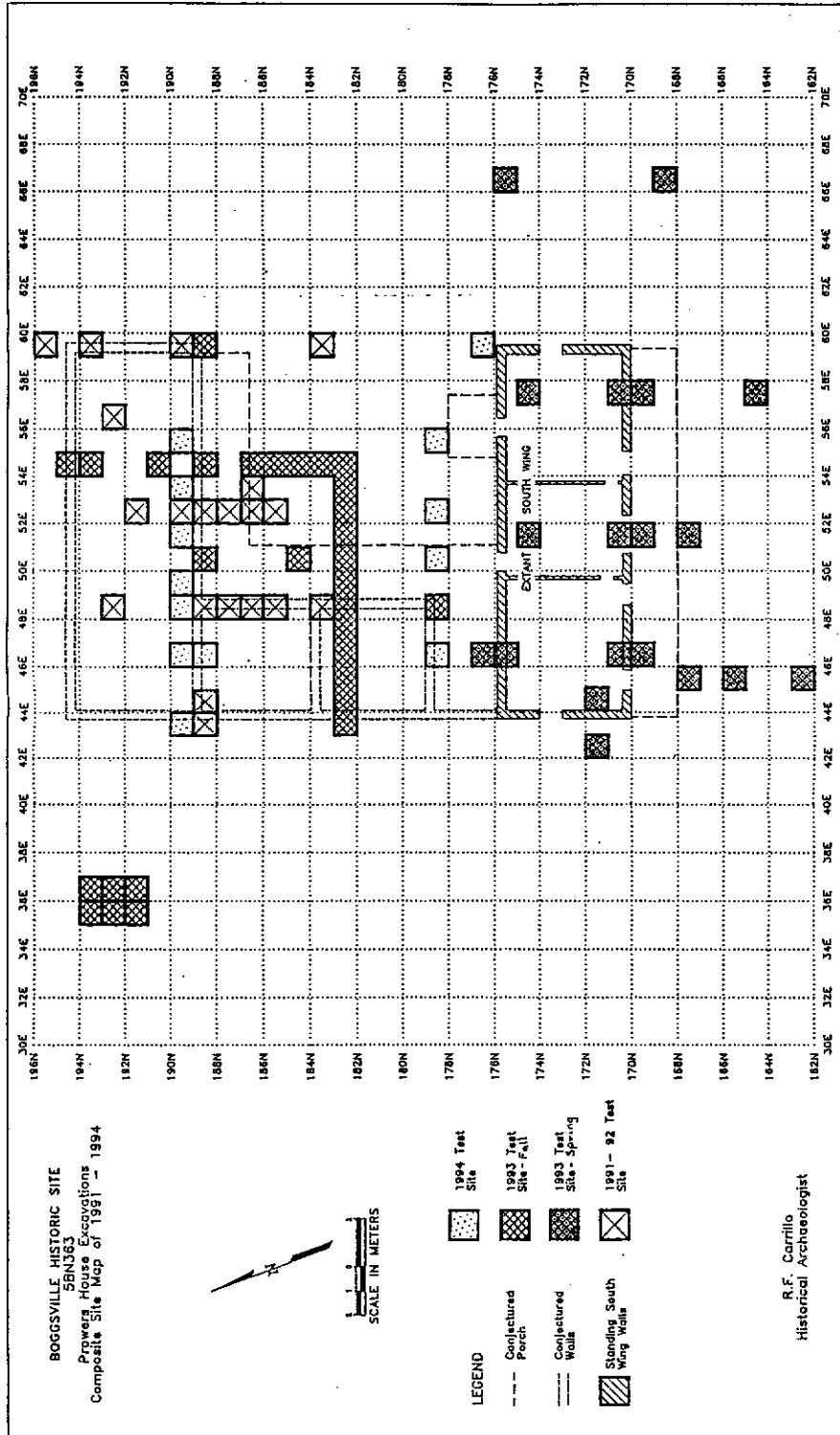


Figure 5 - Portion of promotional sketch of Las Animas showing Boggsville. Prowers house is in the background and the Purgatory River is in the foreground. From the collection of the Kit Carson Museum.



volunteers excavated a total of 20 units (Carrillo, et al. 1993). The following fall, test excavations were undertaken north of the standing wing to further refine our knowledge about the architecture of the rest of the house (Carrillo, et al. 1994). The Fall 1993 excavations were the most extensive to date, numbering 24 units.

The most recent excavations at the Prowers house occurred in 1994. That year, 13 additional units were excavated to further define specific features related to the north and west wings including the location of cross-walls, stair-landings, and the north porch (Carrillo 1995a). During those excavations the actual contact point between the bottom adobe level and the ground was revealed.

#### Findings at the Prowers House

The emphasis of excavation to date has centered on architecture. This ranged from units dug to find the location of walls to work done in areas slated for ground disturbance during reconstruction. This emphasis has meant that excavations have occurred in the general site area.

In analyzing any archaeological site, the processes that affect the formation of the record are crucial. Analysis of site formation processes is one of the first steps in archaeological interpretation. For the most part, the principal of superposition is a safe one; artifacts from the lower levels of a site are older than those that overlie them. But historic sites have not been long subjected to the

wide range of natural deposition that occurs on prehistoric sites. Although in historic times the wind continues to blow sediment, floods bring in mud, arroyos erode and rocks roll down hills, these forces have not usually had time to separate early deposits from later ones. Thus, cultural factors become crucial to dating various deposits because environmental ones rarely give us clear answers.

In his discussion of discard behavior on historic sites, LeeDecker (1994) advocates the excavation of sealed deposits such as privies, wells, cellars, and trash pits. Such feature fill may often be linked to specific, datable deposition events. In contrast, artifacts in the general site area, often called sheet trash, have low archaeological integrity. "Yard deposits often contain a mixture of refuse discarded throughout a site's occupation, with no apparent stratigraphic separation" (LeeDecker 1994:353).

Analysis of the Prowers house excavations indicate that the deposits fit LeeDecker's assessment of sheet trash. The Fall 1993 excavations were subjected to particularly rigorous analysis (Carrillo, et al. 1994). The excavation of 24 units allowed for a large sample size. In all, 8643 artifacts as well as 446 faunal remains were recovered. Despite the number of artifacts recovered, only two temporally diagnostic artifacts were recovered that appear to date to the early occupation, an earthenware ink bottle and a small, hand made clear bottle (Plate 1). The ink bottle came from a deep excavation (level 4), but the clear bottle was recovered from an upper deposit (level 1) (Carrillo et al, 1994:112).

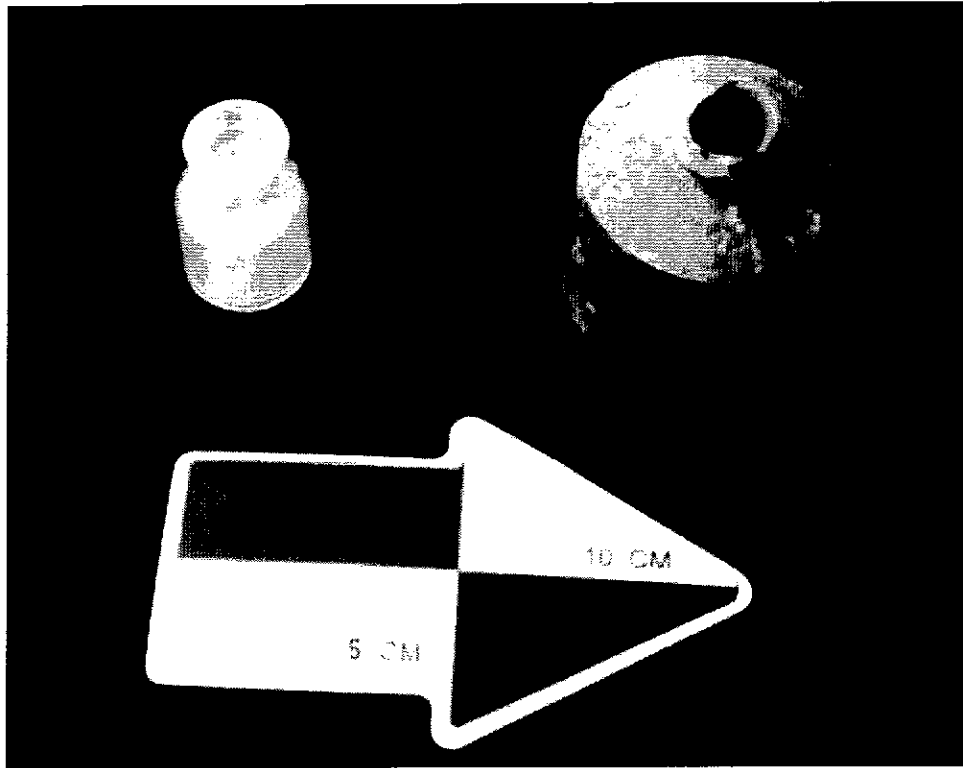


Plate 1 - Early occupation artifacts recovered from Fall 1993 Prowers house excavations

Because there were few artifacts that could be definitively dated, the location of different types of glass was analyzed. Like many technologies, glass technology changed rapidly in the 19th and 20th centuries. Because of this variability, it is possible to analyze even shards of glass based on their color. The Fall 1993 glass artifacts were divided into early and late glass. Although the number of early glass specimens (n=200) was far lower than that of late glass (n=1,914), there was a large enough sample to be reliable. The results revealed that early glass was found in roughly the same proportions throughout the various levels as the late glass (Table 1 and Figure 6). An analysis of early and late nails from the 1994 excavations indicated a similar result (Table 2).

Although excavations at the Prowers house have failed to yield good stratigraphic control, they still have provided important information. In particular, all of the excavations have contain evidence of stone tool technology throughout the deposits. These artifacts range from finished tools--including a biface and a projectile point--to debitage (material left over from the manufacture or upkeep of stone tools).

The lithic material on this site potentially comes from three different sources: prehistoric Native Americans, Hispanics, and historic Native Americans. The site area, fortuitously located on the banks of the Purgatory, has been a prime camping and hunting spot for thousands of years. A complete projectile point dating from 400 BC to AD 1400 was recovered from the Fall 1993

Table 1  
Vertical distribution of temporally diagnostic bottle glass within select  
Prowers house spatial segments (from Carrillo, et al 1994)

SPATIAL SEGMENT	LEVEL	EARLY GLASS		LATE GLASS	
		Freq.	Column Percent	Freq.	Column Percent
WEST WING PORCH - UNITS 182N, 49E & 182N, 50E	Surface	17	39	74	28
	1	24	54	161	61
	2	3	7	27	10
	TOTALS	44	100	262	100
NORTH WING PORCH - UNIT 186N, 54E	Surface	7	37	31	34
	1	2	10	12	13
	2	10	53	47	52
	TOTALS	19	100	90	100
COURTYARD - UNITS 182N, 53E & 182N, 54E	Surface	8	18	123	34
	1	10	22	28	8
	2	6	13	49	14
	3	10	22	119	33
	4	11	24	41	11
	TOTALS	45	100	360	100



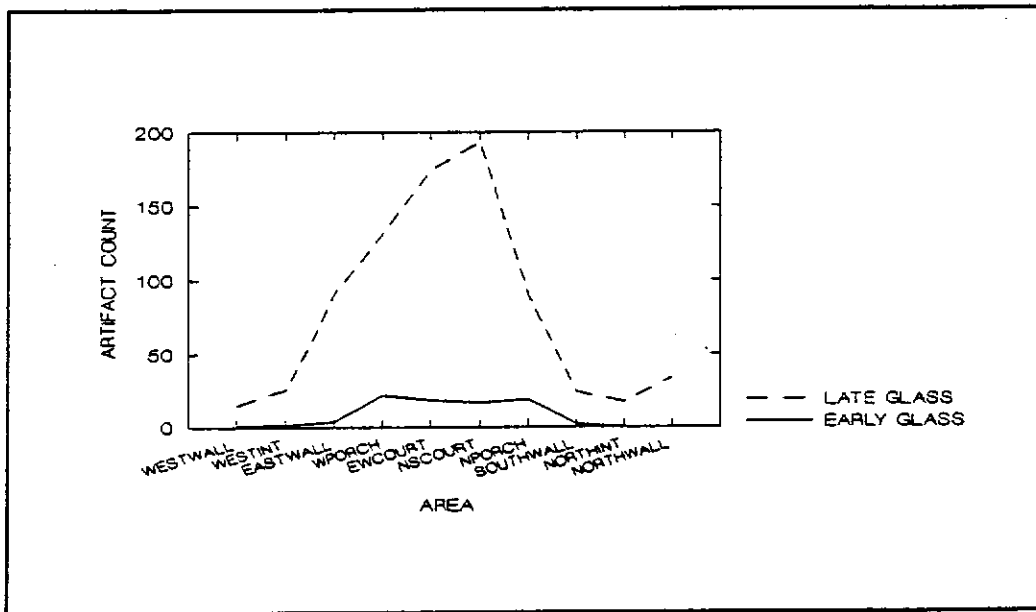


Figure 6 - Horizontal distribution of early and late glass in Fall 1994 Prowers house excavations

Table 2  
 Vertical Distribution of Nails  
 1994 Prowers House Excavations

LEVEL	CUT NAILS		WIRE NAILS	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Surface	18	23	37	23
1	26	33	55	34
2	16	21	51	32
3	10	13	16	10
4	4	5	1	1
5	4	5	0	0
TOTALS	78	100	160	100

excavations (Plate 2) (Carrillo, et al. 1994). Whether in primary deposition, or the result of historic curation, the projectile has probably not travelled far from the location where it was originally lost.

Hispanic, especially *Nuevomexicano*, use of lithics has been documented in this region (Carrillo 1985, 1996; Hardesty, et al. 1995; Moore 1992).

Although many prehistoric archaeologists consider stone tools unique to Native Americans, there are enough references to the practice of Hispanic flintknapping and stone tool use to make this view questionable. For example, lithic and chipped glass tools are an integral part of some ceremonies of the Penitente, a religious sect active in New Mexico and Colorado (Weigle 1970; Carrillo 1996). The presence of Hispanics on this site can be found in numerous records. In an interview, Ida Prowers makes reference to her "mexican nurse" (Snoddy 1989). The account book for Prowers' store contains entries for a number of his employees, including Juan Gonzales, J. Valasquez, Lapeto Salazar, Avucarios Martine, Jose Gonzales and Auto Romano, as well as employees with the more Anglo-sounding names of Tate, Valentine, Levy, Holland and Brewer (Prowers, n.d). It is possible that between 1874 and 1883, one or more of these employees would have resided in Boggsville to run the cattle operations there.

Despite the assertion of ethnohistorians that the Cheyenne abandoned stone tools after they had access to metal (Grinnell 1962), it is reasonable to propose that Amache and her relatives who visited the site engaged in stone tool

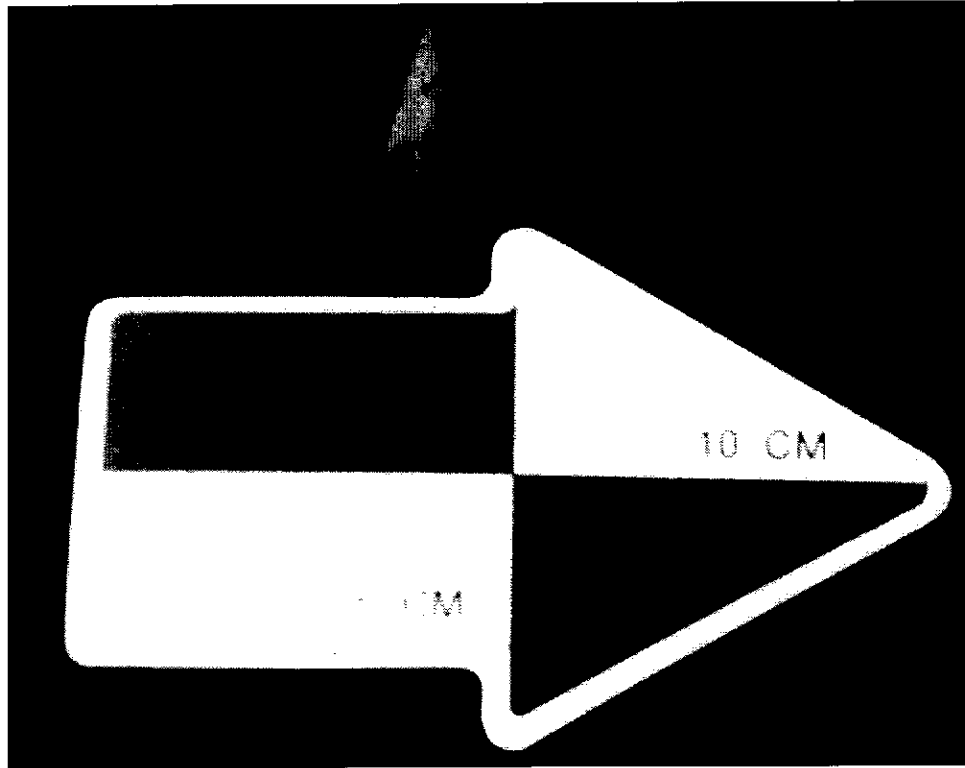


Plate 2 - Corner-notched projectile point from Fall 1993 Prowers house excavations

manufacture and upkeep. The earlier discussion of Cheyenne material culture indicated some inconsistencies in Grinnell's account of their adoption of metal tools. In an early and influential configuration of cultural evolution, Lewis Henry Morgan divided the world into three stages of culture: savagery, barbarism, and civilization (1877). One of the hallmarks of the move up the ladder from savagery to barbarism was the use of iron tools. Grinnell, upon whom most Cheyenne ethnohistory is based, did his field work in the 1890s when "cultural theory in the United States was dominated by a mixture of Spencer's and Morgan's evolutionism" (Harris 1968:254). It should not be surprising that Grinnell and other researchers would fail to recognize the continued use of stone tools in the face of the presence of metal.

The archaeological record appears to contradict Cheyenne ethnohistory. The six archaeological sites recorded in Colorado that have been definitively identified as Cheyenne all appear to be associated with lithics. However, because they are surface sites, it could be argued the lithics date from an earlier occupation. Luckily, excavations outside Colorado have been conducted at several historic Cheyenne and Pawnee sites (Hudson 1993; Wood 1971). The data indicate a continued use of lithics by Plains Indians well into the 1800s. Certainly lithic tools are found in lower frequencies through time, especially those which were easily replaced by metal implements, knives being a good example. However, stone tools do not disappear. For example, lithics still comprised 27%

of the cutting or abrading implements found at the Linwood site which dates into the 1850s (Hudson 1993).

In addition to the lithics, a number of other artifacts recovered from Boggsville testify to its multiethnic composition. These artifacts include grinding stones, glass trade beads, Native American pottery, and mortar and pestle fragments. Once again, the question of the origin of these artifacts comes into play. In the analysis of Amache's material culture, some of the answers become clearer.

CHAPTER 6  
HISTORIC DOCUMENTATION OF AMACHE

The Creation of Self

When Amache married John Prowers, she became intimately involved in a world very different from that of her youth. The society of the Cheyenne is kin-based. Even members of Northern Cheyenne tribes were distantly related to Amache's camp. However, the society she married into was driven by the economics of emerging industrial capitalism. Although kinship was often tied to business relations, increasingly the social sphere in which Euro-Americans moved, and certainly where they lived, was contingent upon their source of income. Although economic relations on the western frontier were different than those in the increasingly urbanized east, they were marked by the fracturing of families (Schlissel, et al. 1989). Amache passed from a world where everyone was kin to "the problematic world of strangers" (Beaudry, et al. 1991:155).

As a new member of Euro-American society, Amache had to forge an identity for herself. That identity included the language she would speak, the way she reared her children, her relations to friends and family, and her attitudes

about marriage. Those behavior patterns would be reflected in her material world: choices in personal adornment; the spaces in which she lived and worked; the tools she used to keep her home and the food that would be served there. Of course, any number of these would be mitigated by the others who also held sway over those arenas, especially her husband.

The historic record of Amache, like any historic record, needs to be analyzed. That analysis, almost like an excavation, involves peeling back layers to see what is revealed. We know that Amache had a number of cultures from which to choose to create herself. The two which appear in the documentary record are her natal Cheyenne culture and Victorian culture. However, different accounts emphasize one over the other. Before presenting the two main narratives of Amache's history, it is important to know the outlines of the two cultures. Cheyenne culture has already been discussed at some length. Victorian culture, although generally a trope with which we are somewhat familiar, deserves closer scrutiny before we are to place Amache on the continuum between the two.

### Victorian Culture

The Victorian era is delineated chronologically by the years Queen Victoria ruled England, 1837 to 1901 (Crow 1972). It is related to the preceding Georgian era, especially with regards to architectural style. There are a number



of hallmarks of the Victorian era: revolutions in communication and travel brought about by railroads and telegraphs; religious and moral standards propagated through the growing mass media; the creation of "the cult of domesticity" with women at the center; and perhaps the most important, the creation of the middle class as we now know it (Howe 1975). Suddenly, instead of being the center for production, the home needed a reason to exist. Women of the emerging bourgeoisie were no longer producers. Their labor became fine-tuned to focus on serving their children and husbands. With the prevalence of live-in servants, this service focused on moral and social functions. This era--foreshadowing the current deluge of self-help books--saw the fluorescence of books, pamphlets and magazine articles aimed at teaching readers how to be proper Victorians. It has been suggested that, as obsessed as we are with Victorian culture, the Victorians were even more obsessed with it (Howe 1975).

The creation of an entirely new class brought with it the pangs of legitimation. One method the middle class employed was the creation of philanthropic organizations. "The bourgeoisie constructed institutions that would both act to contain disorder and serve their specific economic and emotional needs as an emerging class" (Smith-Rosenberg 1985:87). Bringing enlightenment to the masses about such topics as hygiene, sobriety and self discipline served the dual purpose of making the organizers feel they were contributing to society while creating better workers. Although it took them out of the home, women

often were the leaders in such movements. Because they were cast as the moral centers of the family, many saw them as the moral centers of society as a whole.

A virulent strain of consumerism was also a hallmark of the emergent Victorian bourgeoisie (Howe 1975). It too served to legitimize, not so much the entire class, as individual members of it. A Victorian home, properly decorated with correctly dressed inhabitants, revealed the ability of its owners to participate in the culture. A good example is the ritual of "calling," and the pieces of material culture that went with it, the card and hallstand. The calling ritual consisted of women visiting one another and leaving their calling card. The cards themselves were placed on a tray on the hallstand. The calling ritual, says historian Kenneth Ames, "was evidence of conspicuous leisure and an instance of non-productive, if gracious, labor" (1978:43). The hallstand was required in order to correctly leave one's card. Thus the stand itself was as critical to proving the status of a household as the knowledge of when and how to call. It was, as Ames calls it, "a portable emblem of respectability" (Ames 1978:35).

#### Narrative One: Amache as Victorian Wife and Mother

The Bent County Courthouse, located just two miles north of Boggsville, displays a number of historic paintings in its foyer. An oil painting of Amache is hung next to one of her first husband John Prowers (Plate 3). Below the picture, entitled "Amache, The Cheyenne Princess" is this inscription:

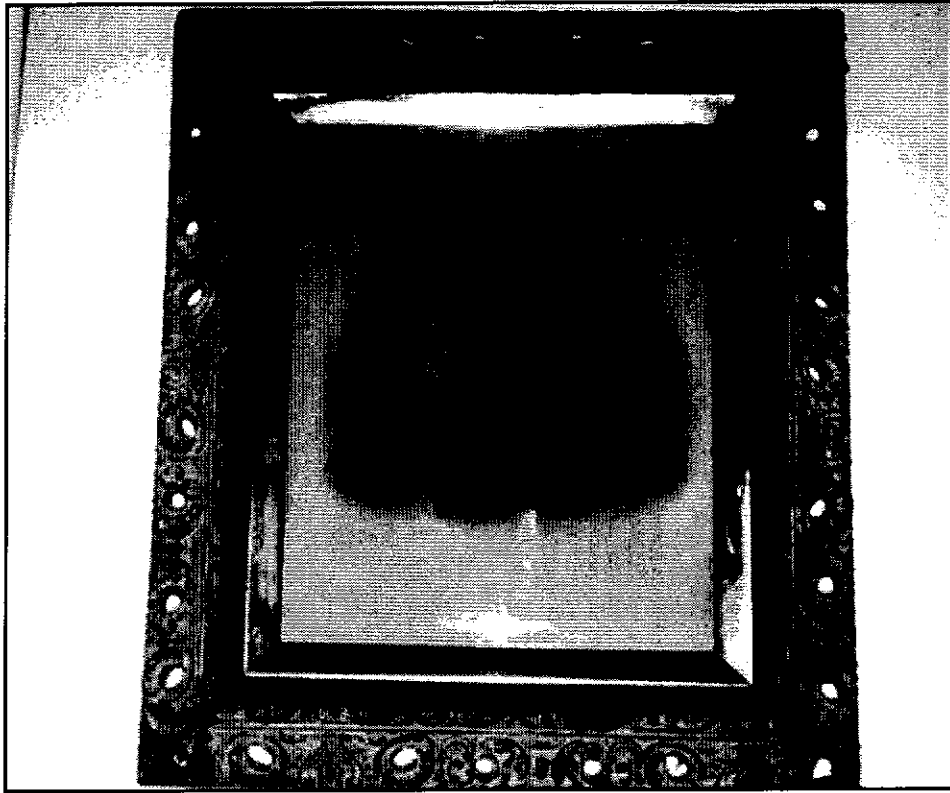


Plate 3 - Painting of Amache Prowers in Bent County Courthouse

AMACHE, the Cheyenne Princess, also Mrs. John W. Prowers. At the age of fifteen years she married John Prowers, who was twenty-three years of age. Ten children were born to them.

It was a wide stride from the teepee to the Prowers House at Boggsville, but the Prowers home was a success. Mrs. Prowers was held in high esteem by the members of her tribe and was respected by all her new friends among the people of her adoption due to the strenuous effort of the Cheyenne woman to adapt herself to the white man's ways.

She passed away at Las Animas in 1905, aged 58 years. Charles W. Hurd.

This narrative of Amache, the one that emphasizes her Euro-American enculturation, is perhaps the most popular version of her life. Charles Hurd, the author of that inscription as well as a book on Boggsville (1957), emphasizes the great pains Amache took to ingratiate herself into white society. "She was giving up her own way of life and was taking on the white man's civilization" (Hurd, 1957).

In the El Pueblo Museum in Pueblo, Colorado, similar text appears next to Amache's photo: "Vibrant, intelligent, a woman at peace with herself, she became a leader in the Upper Arkansas settlements and was always in demand at social functions...For her part, Amache enthusiastically joined in community work, and even became a member of the Eastern Star." Several sources mention Amache's participation in The Order of the Eastern Star, which is the women's auxiliary branch of the Masons. Nell Propst, in her popular work Uncommon Women and the Colorado Prairie goes even further. "Amache Keesee (her name

after her second marriage) was a beautiful, refined woman and Boston society talked about her with fascination, but also respect and genuine liking" (Propst 1992:58).

It is perhaps not surprising that these narratives often accompany a reprint of a specific photograph of Amache (Plate 4). This photograph speaks volumes. Rigorously posed, Amache sits at a writing table, her hair, jewelry, and clothing at the height of Victorian style. Her necklace, a cameo on a long, thick chain, epitomizes the display of material possessions endemic to Victorian identity.

A final text of Amache as a Victorian woman can be seen at the Las Animas cemetery, just south of Boggsville. There, Amache is buried beside the largest headstone in the cemetery, that of John Prowers (Plate 5). Her portion of the monument reads "Amy Prowers Keese". Amy, spelled in various ways, was the name John Prowers called his wife. The inscription on her headstone reveals nothing of her original identity, nothing of her birth name. Amache Ochinee is indeed dead.

#### Narrative Two: Amache as Cheyenne Woman

There is another narrative of Amache that can be found in the documentary record. These other accounts, although still discussing Amache's



Plate 4 - Photograph of Amache Prowers, Courtesy of Colorado Historical Society



Plate 5 - Prowers family monument in the Las Animas Cemetery

acculturation, also emphasize continuity with Cheyenne ways of life. The two accounts which provide the most detail come from two of her daughters.

In 1945, Mary Prowers Hudnall wrote an article entitled "Early History of Bent County" for the Colorado Historical Society magazine. The article includes this passage:

Mother clung to many of the Indian customs and we children learned to like them. At Christmas she always prepared us an Indian confection made thus: She would slice dried buffalo meat very thin, then sprinkle in generously with sugar and cinnamon and roll it up like a jelly-roll... We kids just loved it but father looked on rather askance and would slip over to the store to return with a wooden pail of bright colored Christmas candies for us. Every season mother used to gather prickly pears for sweet pickles... She knew all the prairie herbs and their use... We always had preserves made with wild plum, choke-cherries, grapes, etc. And of course we had our spring greens of lambs-quarters and wild lettuce (1945:241).

Historian Dorothy Boyd interviewed Inez Prowers Comstock, another of Amache's daughters. Inez related a story of a dinner party that occurred when she was about 20, five years after John Prowers' death in 1884. Two of Amache's relatives, Little Elk, her half-brother and White River, a male cousin, were in attendance. After the dinner, all present smoked a pipe filled not with tobacco, but with Kisineck, probably the traditional Southern Cheyenne smoke described by Grinnell (1962). At first Little Elk took three puffs, then passed it to White River, who then passed it to Amache. After that, all the others in attendance smoked (Boyd n.d.).



The John Hough Manuscript file at the Colorado Historical Society contains a newspaper clipping about the Prowers. The *Kansas City Star* published an article in 1905 with a reminiscence of some unnamed "pioneer" about visiting the Prowers house. Speaking of Prowers, the oldtimer said:

He married a full-blood Indian squaw, a chief's daughter...Being a child of the plains and opposed to restraint, Prowers' wife did not take kindly to even the primitive civilization of the early-day Las Animas, and living in a wooden house suited her not at all (CHS Ms 323, ff 47).

Perhaps the element of Amache's history that best reveals her adherence to Cheyenne social customs is her remarriage to Dan Keese. The exact date of that marriage is unknown. A search at the Las Animas courthouse failed to turn up a marriage certificate. Thus the marriage probably took place between 1884, when John Prowers died, and 1888 when the Bent County Courthouse burned along with all of its records.

Amache's remarriage was apparently not viewed kindly by the Prowers family and still it is not talked about by descendants (Petersen, 1994). Certainly, John Prowers' estate of about \$750,000 was large enough to support Amache and the children in comfort. Her remarriage could not be justified by economic necessity. It is important to remember that Victorian ideology stressed the placing of family interests above personal ones (Mintz 1983). A social commentator writing in 1865 called widows who remarry, "second-hand wives"

(Calhoun 1917:216). Thus it is not surprising that her remarriage was viewed with a certain amount of distaste.

By contrast, from the Cheyenne viewpoint remarriage was a perfectly appropriate course of action. Indeed, a Cheyenne woman had much more control over her marital relations than a Euro-American woman of that era. It is interesting to note that, as opposed to the photograph discussed above, the photograph of Amache taken during her marriage to Dan Keesee reveals a much toned-down display (Plate 6). Her hair is pulled up, but still in the braids that apparently were her normal hair style (Hurd 1957). She is wearing a simple dress and no jewelry. In fact, her portrait seems almost stark, especially when compared with that of her husband, posed against a busy Victorian back drop (Plate 7).

Based on the documentary record, we have opposing reconstructions of Amache Prowers' life. This is not to say that we cannot give more credence to those documentary records that are closer to the source, ie: those of her daughters as opposed to Hurd, a later historian. But none of these are primary documents; Amache left no written record of her life.

The next chapter, an analysis of the material record of Amache, acts as counterpoint to the historic record. Not only can material remains help us judge the accuracy of the current competing narratives it can also extend them in new ways. The method employed is similar to that advocated by historical



Plate 6 - Photograph of Amache Prowers Keese, Courtesy of Phillip Petersen



Plate 7 - Photograph of Dan Keese, Amache's second husband, Courtesy of Phillip Petersen

archeologist Mark Leone. By seeing the historic and material record as independent one can create a dialogue between the two, like that of contrapuntal melodies. The differences and ambiguities force us to return again to both records "to see or discover what can be seen in either source that was not apparent before" (Leone 1988:26).

CHAPTER 7  
THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF AMACHE

The Architecture of Home: An Analysis of the Prowers House

The Prowers house at Boggsville is much like the Boggs House. They both are comprised of a formal front wing, formal entry porch, and window symmetry. From the front, both houses display the symmetry typical of Georgian structures (Figure 7 and Plate 8). In fact, neither of these homes would look out of place in Missouri. However, the Euro-American flavor of the houses is a facade. Both are constructed of adobe, an indigenous technology adopted by the Hispanics of the Southwest. But original plaster from both structures reveals that the fronts of the houses were painted with squares to make them appear, at least from a distance, as if they were constructed of stone.

Although both houses have a formal front wing, they also have two other wings. The footprint of the houses is a "U" shape with the three wings enclosing a courtyard. The courtyard or hacienda style house is a common variant of nineteenth century vernacular New Mexican houses (Spears 1986). The

Figure 7- Front of Prowers house as it appeared historically  
(from Long Hoeft 1994)



SOUTH ELEVATION

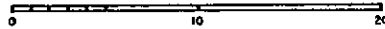




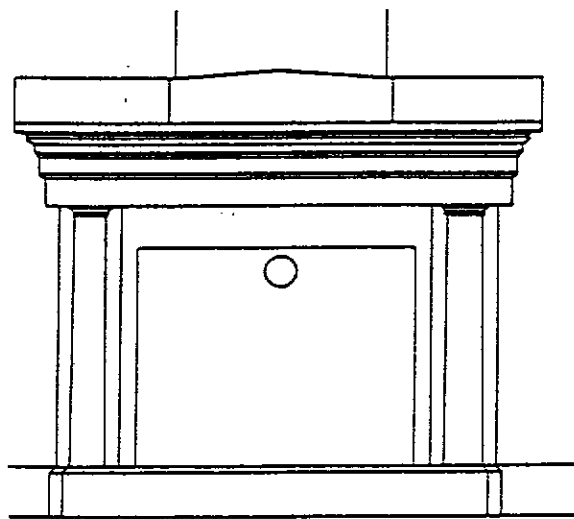
Plate 8 - Front of Boggs house



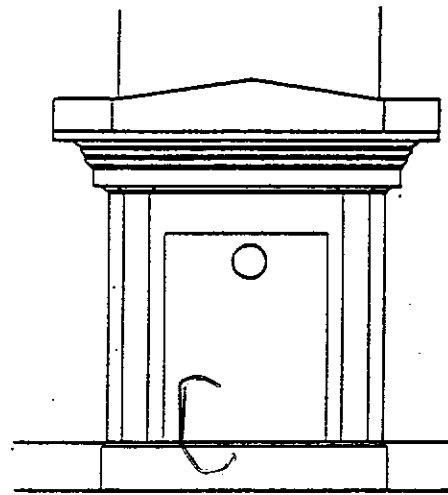
courtyard, usually an informal space, provided an outdoor work area as well as a protected and easily visible place for children to play.

The Prowers house has been interpreted by historic architects as a fine example of territorial architecture--the melding of Hispanic and Euro-American styles (Long Hoefft, 1994). The formal mantels in the front rooms are a fine example of the classical revival elements of territorial style (Figure 8). The fourteen room, two story Prowers house took that concept even further. Two story adobes were rare. They usually were built in areas of high Euro-American influence like the railroad towns of Wagon Mound and Las Vegas, New Mexico; and military towns like Watrous, New Mexico, located just outside of Fort Union. The difficulty in keeping two story adobes standing is well illustrated by the Prowers house. The only standing wing was listing badly prior to renovation. Failing to incorporate a foundation was the death knell for the other two wings of the Prowers house which may have collapsed by the turn of the century (Carrillo, et al. 1994).

It is clear that display was important to the form of the houses at Boggsville. The attempt to pass these adobe houses off as stone makes that abundantly clear. Another aspect of the site intended to make an impression on visitors is the Avenue of Trees, a tree-lined entryway from the river crossing up to the site (see Figure 3). This design element, like the symmetry of the front



SOUTH WING WEST MANTEL (SIMILAR)



SOUTH WING EAST MANTEL

Figure 8- Mantels in the Prowers house (from Long Hoefft 1994)

wings of the houses, is quintessentially Georgian. It embodies the power of humans to recreate nature in an ordered fashion<sup>2</sup>.

The orientation of the Boggs house takes full advantage of opportunities for display. The vast majority of traffic through Boggsville would have been coming from Fort Lyon to the east (Carrillo et al, 1994). As one passes west up the Avenue of Trees, the facade of symmetry holds. It is not until one passes by the house that the Boggs courtyard becomes visible (Plate 9). In addition, the orientation of the Boggs house makes sense from an environmental viewpoint. The south facing courtyard takes advantage of passive solar energy. (I can vouch that on chilly mornings the best place on the entire site to drink one's coffee is that sunny Boggs courtyard protected from the wind that seems to continually blow on the Plains.)

The orientation of the Prowers house has neither of those advantages. The front of the house faces south, with the courtyard opening to the east. As one rose up from the banks of the Las Animas, the courtyard of the Prowers would have been visible (see Figure 5). The courtyard itself is in the shade most of the time (and is thus a miserable spot for morning coffee). If one takes into account only the elements of Hispanic and Euro-American architecture, the

---

2 For a discussion of how Georgian worldview influences the material record, see Mark Leone's work on the William Paca Gardens of Annapolis (1984). "Gardens were places where their builders were to demonstrate that they understood natural laws so well they could reproduce them and...were able to say that society and its structure were natural and rational as well" (Leone 1988:33).



Plate 9 - Courtyard of Boggs house

orientation of the Prowers house makes no sense. But if one factors in the influence of Amache's Cheyenne world view, it becomes much more clear.

It is not terribly surprising that, to date, the analysis of the architecture at the Prowers house has not factored in any Cheyenne influences. The Prowers house and a tipi could hardly be more divergent variations on the theme of domestic space. But one of the few areas where Victorian and Cheyenne ideology overlap is in the home, for it was there that women were in charge. Although Amache did not construct the Prowers house as she would have a tipi, she must certainly have had influence on its form.

Domestic space reflects the rituals of daily life. One of the rituals that is the most critical to everyday Cheyenne functioning was *niv'stan'y'vo*, the supplications to the cardinal points of the compass. Regardless of where she lived, Amache was probably always aware of her orientation to cardinal directions. The Prowers house, with its east-facing courtyard, mirrors a Cheyenne encampment. The tipis themselves opened to the east or southeast, and the camp circle did the same (Figure 9). That configuration allowed the Cheyenne to greet the sun daily as it rose in the east (Grinnell 1962). The "U" shaped Prowers house similarly opened up to the east, enabling Amache to greet the rising sun.

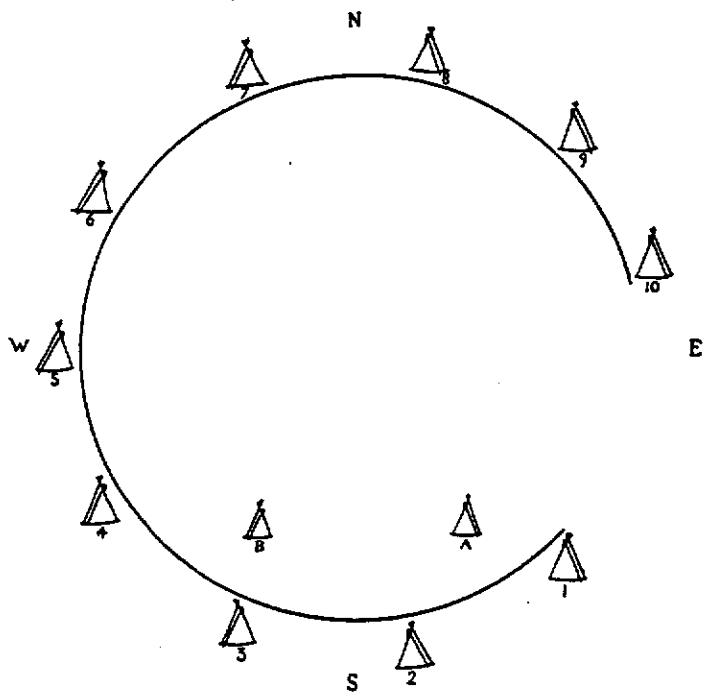


Figure 9 - The Cheyenne camp circle (from Grinnell 1962)

### The Artifactual Record

As stated in the earlier discussion of Boggsville archaeology, the depositional regime makes it difficult to discuss the artifacts recovered from the Prowers house excavations. The historic documentation of Amache's life indicates she utilized a great deal of typically Victorian material culture. Boyd's (n.d.) interview of Inez includes a sketch of Amache's china pattern. The two artifacts that appear to date to the early occupation--the ink bottle and another small bottle--give us little feel for the consumption of mass produced goods at the Prowers House (see Plate 1).

There are a number of artifacts that appear to be Native American. A couple of small seed beads were recovered from excavations south of the house (Plate 10). In addition, a few pieces of groundstone were recovered in excavations to the north of the standing south wing (a mano fragment in the 1994 excavations and two fragments--probably manos--in the Fall 1993 excavations). One piece of groundstone, a portion of a basalt pestle, was recovered from one of the interior units, Unit 170N, 47E.

The seed beads are typical of those found on post-contact Native American sites and probably reflect Amache's use of beads as decoration. The groundstone is more problematic. The fragments recovered outside the west wing are pieces of larger manos. As such they are probably not Cheyenne in origin. Such large objects were too unwieldy for easy transport and are not

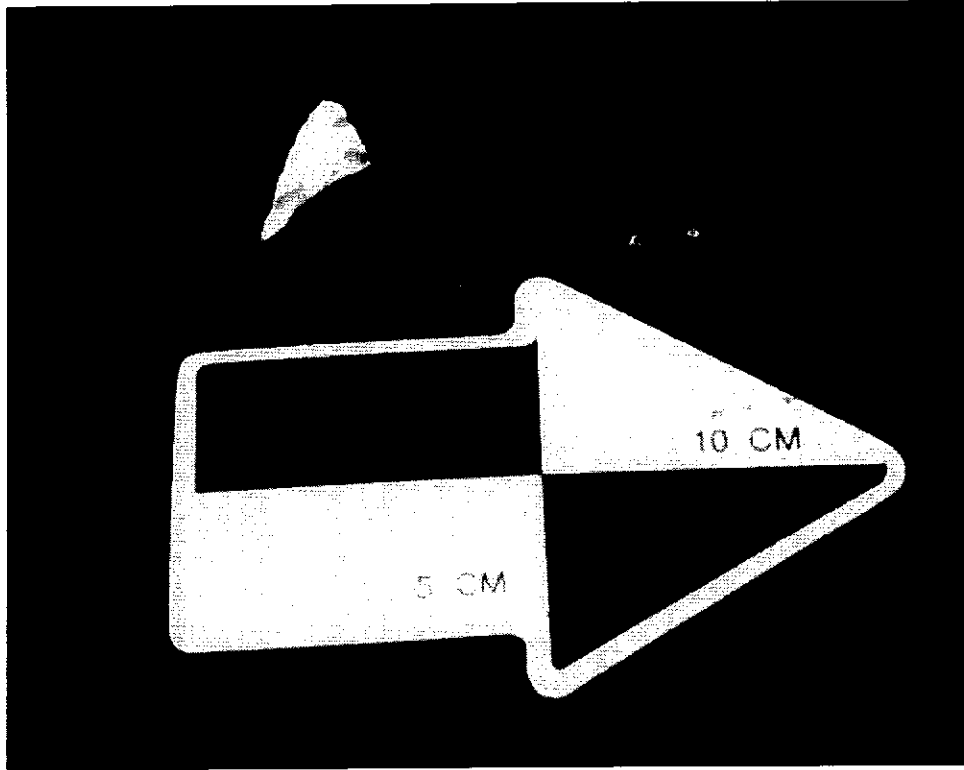


Plate 10 - Biface and seed beads recovered from Spring 1993 Prowers house excavations



reported in the ethnohistorical record of the Cheyenne. More likely, they represent Hispanic use of grinding stones for processing corn, or are remains of an earlier prehistoric occupation. The pestle, however, is a part of a typical Cheyenne toolkit. Its location between the bottom of the floor joists and the floor itself indicate it was deposited during the historic era. In addition, Mary Prowers Hundall's account of her mother's processing of wild foods (1945) gives added credence to the association of the pestle with Amache. It was just such tools that she would have used to make buffalo candy or grind herbs.

Only one Native American sherd has been recovered from the excavations at the Prowers house. The artifact, a small micaceous sherd, appears to have once been part of a bowl (Plate 11). The sherd has been analyzed by Priscilla Ellwood, a ceramicist who specializes in Eastern Colorado pottery (Ellwood 1995). Her preliminary analysis indicates that it is a piece of post-1750 Taos Incised ceramics (Ellwood, personal communication). It does not appear to match any of the Plains types of pottery, prehistoric or historic. Given that the Cheyenne had not produced ceramics for over fifty years before Amache's birth, the results are not surprising. This piece, although it may have been acquired by Amache's family in trade with the Pueblo, more likely represents something that Rumalda Boggs would have acquired from Taos Pueblo.

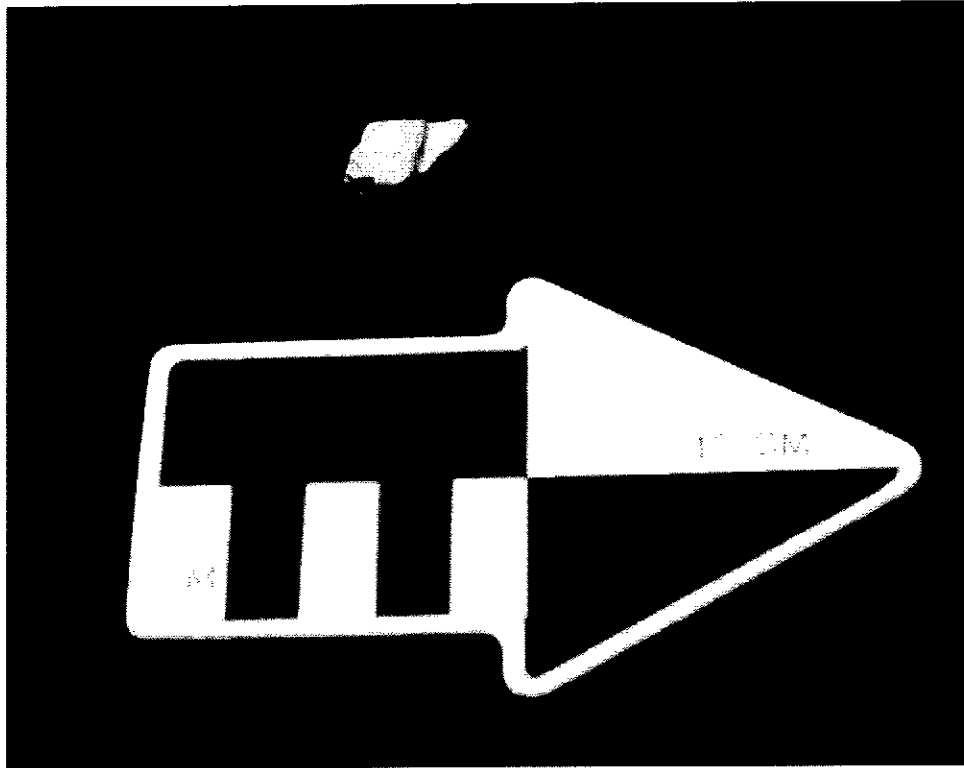


Plate 11 - Native American sherd recovered from 1994 Prowers house excavations

### Lithics at the Prowers House

As outlined earlier, a number of lithics have been recovered from Prowers house excavations that may stem from three different sources: prehistoric Native Americans, historic Hispanics or historic Native Americans. Because of the unclear stratigraphy on the rest of the site, I focused my research on those lithics recovered from units excavated inside the standing west wing of the house. Those units were dug from just below the floorboards to the bottom of the floor joists. Excavation halted at the bottom of the floor joists. Thus we can postulate with a certain amount of confidence that these artifacts were deposited during the historic era because they come from fill deposited since the house was constructed.

The two historic sources for these lithics, Hispanics and Native Americans, can be differentiated based on the morphology of their lithic technology. The most thorough analysis of the phenomenon to date is James Moore's research on Spanish Colonial stone tool use. Based on artifacts from 35 sites he writes, "formal tools were usually rare, but debitage was common and often exhibited edge damage indicating informal tool use. In some cases it was the author's opinion that reduction techniques were simple or had been accomplished by someone unfamiliar with lithic technology" (Moore 1992:240). This data backs up my personal experience recording Hispanic sites in the Pinyon Canyon region south of Boggsville. Hispanic lithic technology appears to be one

of expediency. Certainly their lithic technology was much less formal than that of the area's Native Americans. Thus, we expect a Hispanic lithic toolkit to be characterized by few formal tools, a high percentage of utilized flakes, and few small, finishing flakes.

A historic Native American toolkit, on the other hand, would include a higher percentage of formal tools, a lower percentage of utilized flakes, and more finishing flakes. In fact, as lithic tools were being edged out by metal, formerly utilitarian tools took on more of a symbolic function. Analysis of historic Pawnee sites indicates that lithics begin to be found more frequently in burial contexts or associated with medicine bundles, which has been analyzed as “an indication of their increasingly sacred nature “ (Hudson 1993:269). As magico-religious items, they would have been utilized less and thus more prone to curation. Thus, we would expect an even higher percentage of smaller flakes as the debitage would reflect less tool production and more tool sharpening and maintenance.

An analysis of lithic debitage by its mass can indicate two different aspects of lithic technology, the level to which tools are being refined, or the amount of curation. The smaller the flakes, the more formal the lithic technology and the further along in tool production. For example, the first several flakes struck off a core are much larger than the flakes carefully taken off a finished tool in order to replenish its edge. Two statistical tests were run on the Prowers

house lithics based on the mass of the artifacts. The results of a T-Test comparing the total mass (length x width x height) of interior and exterior unit lithics is presented in Table 3. The mean mass of the interior units is 314 cubic cm as opposed to 1472 cubic cm for the exterior units. The F value of 30.67 far exceeds the 9.89 value required to give a 1% confidence value. In other words, the chances that the difference in the size of lithics found inside and outside the west wing could happen by chance are less than 1 in 100. It appears that the lithics inside the house fit with what we would expect from a historic Native American toolkit.

A discriminant analysis of the same data gives a very interesting result (Table 4). The lithic artifacts appear to fall into two populations: small lithics and large lithics. These populations do not, however, split cleanly between interior and exterior units. Four of the artifacts recovered from the exterior fit better with the interior unit population. One of the interior lithics has a closer fit with those on the exterior, but only by a very small percentage (11). This result does not, however, refute the theory that artifacts found inside the west wing were deposited by a Native American toolsmith. In fact, we should expect that some of the artifacts recovered from the exterior units were deposited prehistorically. Those items that more closely match the interior units may, in fact, represent an earlier site component.

Table 3  
T-Test of Lithic Debitage  
Powers House Spring 1993 Excavations

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
Total mass in mm <sup>3</sup>				
GROUP 1	6	314.8333	235.546	96.161
GROUP 2	13	1472.6154	1304.557	361.819
Pooled Variance Estimate   Separate Variance Estimate				
F		Degrees of 2-tail		Degrees of
Value		Prob.	Prob.	Value
30.67	.001	-2.13	17	17
		.048	-3.09	13.59
				.008

Group 1 = Interior units  
Group 2 = Exterior units

Table 4  
 Discriminant Analysis of Lithic Debitage  
 Prowers House Spring 1993 Excavations

CASE SEQNUM	MIS VAL	SEL	ACTUAL GROUP	HIGHEST PROBABILITY GROUP P(D/G)	P(G/D)	2ND HIGHEST GROUP P(G/D)	DISCRIM SCORES
1			1	1	0.5260	0.8473	-1.5390
2			1	1	0.6483	0.8143	-1.3610
3			1	1	0.5879	0.5394	-0.3632
4			1	1	0.8516	0.6519	-0.7179
5			1	1	0.6681	0.8087	-1.3337
6			1	**	0.5943	0.5424	-0.1150
7			2	**	0.5405	0.5163	-0.2930
8			2	**	0.9637	0.7181	-0.9505
9			2		0.8051	0.6337	0.1709
10			2		0.2967	0.9051	1.4612
11			2	**	0.6986	0.8001	-1.2922
12			2	**	0.8946	0.6681	-0.7724
13			2		0.9553	0.7209	0.4737
14			2		0.8474	0.7557	0.6101
15			2		0.7741	0.6213	0.1306
16			2		0.1060	0.9531	2.0342
17			2		0.3304	0.8968	1.3910
18			2		0.0568	0.9675	2.3226
19			2		0.7840	0.6253	0.1436

SYMBOLS USED IN PLOTS

SYMBOL GROUP LABEL

1 Interior  
 2 Exterior

It could be argued that the difference in the size of lithic artifacts between the interior and exterior units could be a result, not of source, but of formation processes. Namely, the larger artifacts were swept away and the smaller objects fell through the floorboards. However, a number of artifacts found in the interior units were quite large. Unfortunately, measurements were not taken on many of the artifacts, but measurements taken on diagnostic artifacts indicate a number exceed the mean mass of exterior unit lithics ( $1472 \text{ mm}^3 \pm 361$ ), including a biface ( $2000 \text{ mm}^3$ ), a piece of blue earthenware bowl ( $7392 \text{ mm}^3$ ), and two bottle fragments ( $5320 \text{ mm}^3$  and  $2850 \text{ mm}^3$ ). It appears there were some pretty big gaps between the Prowers house floorboards.

Admittedly, the sample size used for the analysis of lithics is small ( $n=6$  for interior units and  $n=13$  for the exterior units). However, this analysis is based on debitage alone. In addition to the six pieces of debitage, two formal tools, a biface and a uniface, were recovered from the interior units (see Plate 10). That 1 to 3 ratio of tool to debitage is much lower than the 1 to 8.5 ratio of lithics recovered in the Fall 1993 exterior excavations. The lithics from 1994 (used in the statistical analysis) did not include a single formal tool, but did include two utilized flakes. The much higher rate of formal tools from the interior units, and the utilized flakes from the exterior units shores up the analysis of the debitage, strengthening an association of the interior lithics as Native American and the exterior as Hispanic.



### Amache and Lithics

The assertion that the lithic tools and debitage found on the interior units of the Prowers house are of historic Native American etiology points to the one historic Native American we know lived in the house: Amache Prowers. This proposition, although it seems reasonable enough, leads us into the heart of a controversy in archaeology, the relation of women and lithics. Long standing archaeological practice has been to equate lithic production with men. David Hurst Thomas, a respected New World archaeologist, went on the record as recently as 1983 claiming "the most visible activity in the archaeological record is stone tool fabrication, an exclusively male endeavor" (Thomas 1983:439). Joan Gero, in her research on "genderlithics", questions such exclusive assertions. In *Engendering Archaeology*, she makes the point that lithic production by women is common sense:

As women work...it is inconceivable that they sat and waited for a flake to be produced, or that they set out each time to borrow one. Women clearly required ready access to efficient working edges in their routine work, and they must have manufactured them as needed. Since the user of a tool is in the best position to judge its adequacy, it makes sense that women produced many of their own tools...(Gero 1991:170).

The ethnographic record points out a number of lithics that were part of Cheyenne women's toolkits, including hide scrapers, implements for cutting meat, and knives with which to sharpen their digging sticks. Anthropologist Stan Hoig asserts "the many chores performed by Cheyenne women required a variety of

tools that *they devised themselves*" (Hoig 1989:25, emphasis mine). This would have especially been true of Amache, who was separated from Cheyenne men most of the time. If her stone tools needed sharpening, she would have had to do it herself.

One puzzling aspect of the lithics in the Prowers house relates to the exigencies of flint knapping. When a stone tool is produced or sharpened, the byproducts include very sharp, small pieces of stone, perfect for slicing one's feet if one happens upon them barefoot. It hardly seems an activity fit for the indoors. However, based on Mary's account of John Prowers' reception of the yearly buffalo candy, he was perhaps none too keen on her practice of Cheyenne customs (Hudnall 1945).

Historical architects postulate that the upper rooms of the Prowers house were the chambers for John and Amache and their children (Long Hoefft 1994). It would have been in these upper rooms, away from the public spaces, where Amache would most likely have been flint knapping. The lithics, which were recovered from beneath the floor of all three of the south wing rooms, would have easily fallen through to the bottom floors. In fact, the tongue-in-groove flooring found throughout the house would have been the perfect place for lithics to lodge, remaining hidden until the floors began to heave and gaps opened up. Ironically, it appears the privacy built into Victorian homes gave Amache the space in which to engage in traditional Cheyenne activities.

The assertion that Amache engaged in lithic tool production or maintenance is based on only a handful of artifacts. Still, the presence of lithics deposited along with historic Euro-American items throughout the interior units remains very suggestive. Based on the lithic material alone it would be a less than solid assertion. However, taken in combination with the written records about her maintenance of Cheyenne traits, and other pieces of the material record, it fits into the patterns of behavior we might expect from Amache.

## CHAPTER 8

### LEARNING FROM AMACHE

#### The Archaeobiography

Amache Ochinee Prowers was a multifaceted woman. Her life presents for us a case study of how an individual made her way in a world fraught with unprecedented change. As a Native American and a woman, there were many avenues of power unavailable to her. Discussions of domination and resistance remind us, however, that there are different forms of power (Paynter and McGuire 1991). Amache's "power over" any individual was limited. However, her "power to" was always available and it is obvious from the record that she exercised it.

It could be argued that by marrying John Prowers, Amache committed cultural suicide. Indeed, none of her children appear to have practiced a Cheyenne lifeway. The marriage announcement of her daughter Ida May, printed in fine script on linen paper, indicates that Ida's wedding was a far cry from Amache's own marriage ceremony (Figure 10). John Prowers gained control of

*Mr. Lewis Frederick Horton*  
*and*  
*Miss Ida May Powers*  
*announce their marriage.*  
*on Wednesday, September the twenty-ninth,*  
*eighteen hundred and ninety-seven.*  
*Las Animas, Colorado.*

Figure 10 - Ida May Prowers' wedding announcement, Courtesy of the Colorado Historical Society (MSS#323, ff#48)

Cheyenne lands not to encourage cultural autonomy, but to feed his growing cattle herd. Even Amache's final resting place erases her "Cheyennesness."

But we must remember the world Amache left behind was coming abruptly to a close. If she had married a Cheyenne man and stayed with her tribe, she could very well have been counted among the dead at Sand Creek. The year she married John Prowers was the year the Fort Wise treaty was signed, giving away the lion's share of traditional Cheyenne territory. She made a decision that vastly increased the chances of her own survival and the survival of her future progeny.

It is clear that Amache was no shrinking violet. She adapted those elements of the Victorian world that suited her, while still engaging in a number of Cheyenne behaviors. Those behaviors have written themselves into the material record of Boggsville. She exerted her "power to" in a number of ways and created a life for herself that was innovative because it had to be.

Her use of language is an example of the way Amache was creative in her cultural expression. Her daughter Mary wrote, "Mother was a quiet, sweet woman, and very intelligent. She readily picked up the English language. She never talked the Cheyenne language at home, only occasionally with her own people" (Hudnall, 1945:240). Yet her brother-in-law John Hough gives a very different account. Writing of his 1867 trip out to the Colorado Territory he never referred to Amache by name, but called her the "full blood Cheyenne

squaw" married to Prowers. Hough wrote that she "had but little knowledge of the English language. She could understand fairly well but would make no attempt to talk it. She would speak in Spanish to those who addressed her in English if they did not understand Cheyenne" (in Petersen, personal files). By 1867, Amache had been married to John Prowers for six years. She had worked with Prowers at Bent's New Fort for several years and had spent about a year in Missouri living with his aunt. She was apparently intelligent enough to be fluent in Spanish as well as Cheyenne. It seems more probable that she **could** speak English, but that in certain situations she **chose** not to.

Racism was integral to the Victorians' belief in their own moral superiority. "While Victorian didacticism assumed that every one would benefit by acquiring Victorian culture, the stereotypes supposed that some people were incapable of doing so, at least beyond an elementary stage" (Howe 1975:528). John Hough, who later moved on to a career in the Colorado state government, was a man of considerable ambitions. The presence of a "full blood Cheyenne squaw" in his inner family circle may have been an uncomfortable situation for him. Perhaps, in order to free herself from commerce with someone who had little respect for her, Amache refused to speak to Hough in English.

Although they became full participants in Euro-American culture, Amache's Cheyenne life still held interest for a number of her descendants. Mary remembers with great fondness the times she spent in Cheyenne camp with her

grandmother, who apparently declared her "too dumb to learn Cheyenne" (Hudnall 1945:241). At camp Mary would catch turtles and listen to her grandmother's stories. Mary's son Leonard retained his mother's interest in Cheyenne culture. When Leonard was twelve he would take Amache's half-brother and cousin to town to show them off, walking Cheyenne style--single file (Boyd, n.d.). Perhaps it was about then that Leonard acquired the nickname "Chief." He kept much of the family memorabilia and the Prowers account book now at the Colorado History Museum bears the inscription, "Property of Leonard 'Chief' Hudnall."

#### Archaeological Implications

There are a number of implications of this research. A very concrete one deals with the future of archaeological research at Boggsville. The research design for the site targets questions about architecture, household organization, social structure and class, gender, and ethnicity (Carrillo, et al. 1993). However, the excavations to date have been driven by architectural and site structure concerns. No sealed deposits, features that might give us the material to begin addressing the research questions, have been dug. That situation is understood by the Boggsville Revitalization Committee and the next excavations planned include a number of privies and a cistern.



The research design itself deserves some attention. The hypotheses regarding gender suggest that gender based segregation may have occurred at Boggsville (Carrillo, 1995). Because of the deposition at the site, this question remains to a certain extent unanswerable. However, my analysis of Native American artifacts points to Amache's presence throughout the west wing of the Prowers house. The documentary record indicates that both Amache Prowers and Rumalda Boggs played hostess to travelers on the Santa Fe Trail as well as soldiers from Fort Lyon. In addition, they were caring for a number of children. The notion that they were segregated from certain portions of their houses or the site seems questionable, especially in light of the material record of Boggsville which indicates a female presence not just in the artifacts, but in site layout and architecture.

The remains at Boggsville could address interesting questions about gender. It has been suggested that the frontier nature of Boggsville allowed women to play "a non-circumscribed female role" (Carrillo 1995: 57). Certainly the almost exclusive presence of women of color must have influenced the settlement. Perhaps a better research question would involve comparing the assemblage from Boggsville to a contemporaneous site in a more concrete social setting--St. Louis, for example.

The existing research design also suggests that racial or ethnic segregation may also be possible at Boggsville (Carrillo 1995). This hypothesis

suffers from the same difficulties of evaluation as that of gender-based segregation. We know that Boggsville exemplifies the mixing of ethnicities that often took place on the frontier. Instead of looking for exclusion, we need to be researching how ethnic interaction shaped the settlement. The occupants of Boggsville, by negotiating identities and ethnicities via material culture, gave the settlement its unique form. The analysis of Cheyenne influence on the architecture of the Prowers house is one example of how such research might be undertaken.

This critique is not meant to be an indictment of Boggsville's research design. The work at Boggsville was informed by current research paradigms. Like much of the historical archaeology done in the west, the work here has been influenced by Hardesty's conceptions of the western frontier (Hardesty 1980, Hardesty 1988). His research, conducted mostly in Nevada, centers on mining communities. In those settlements, ethnic and gender-based segregation occurred frequently. But boom mining towns and an agrarian settlement along the Santa Fe Trail are worlds apart.

Luckily, the breadth of research in historical archaeology has grown tremendously in recent years. Indeed, the Fall 1991 issue of *Historical Archaeology* was devoted to gender issues. A number of historical archaeological projects have dealt specifically with women in positions as "cultural brokers" (McEwan 1991:34), including research in California (Purser

1991), the High Plains (Kornfeld and Francis 1991, Whelan 1991), the Spanish New World (McEwan 1991), and northern Michigan (Scott 1991). It is to sources such as these we can turn to help reconfigure our research.

### A Woman of Her Time

In downtown Las Animas, a mural depicting the Santa Fe Trail decorates the side of one of the buildings (Plate 12). This mural, located just a few miles north of Boggsville, is interesting because it reflects common misconceptions about the Trail. There is a single Native American depicted, but all the other faces are Euro-American. No Hispanics are evident, in spite of their important presence as traders, and the two females consist of a white woman clutching her bible and her daughter who is hiding behind her mother's skirts and apparently frightened out of her wits. The dominant presence is that of Kit Carson, who, in fact, spent little time on the Trail and only lived at Boggsville for less than a year. This Euro-centric version of the Trail's history is not an uncommon one. The fact that the only females depicted are travelers on the trail is noteworthy. In discourse on the women of the Santa Fe Trail, traveler Susan Magoffin figures prominently; her journal of a trip along the trail is one of the best historic sources we have for Santa Fe Trail history (Magoffin 1926).

However, the women who traveled the trail were in the minority compared to the women who lived along it. Some of them, like Charlotte Green,

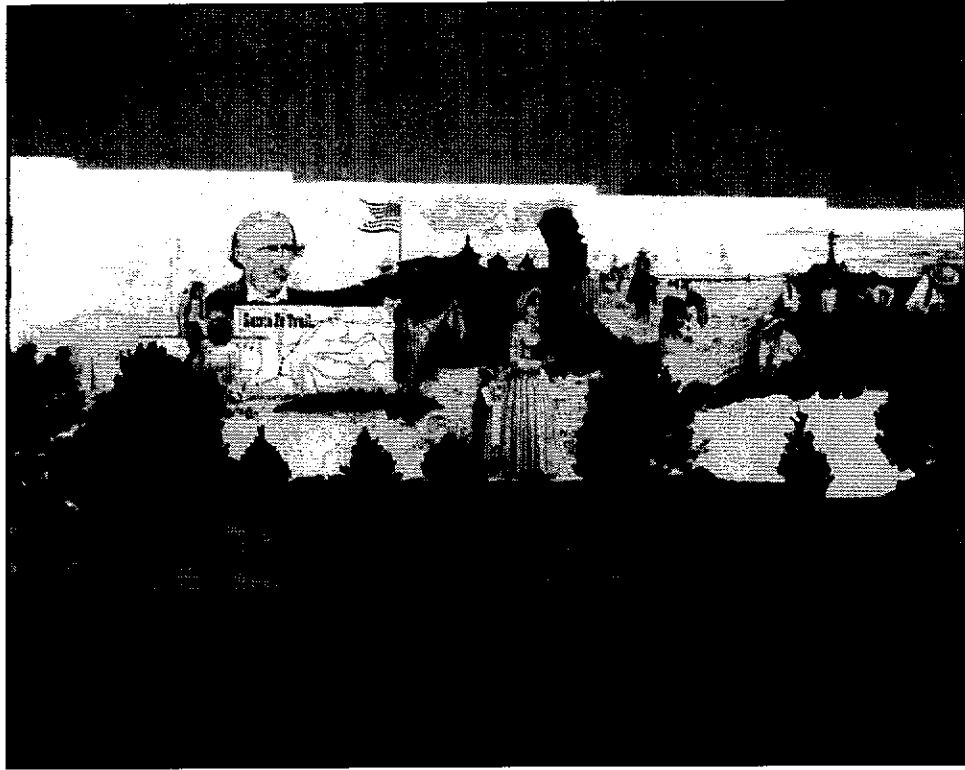


Plate 12 - Mural of Santa Fe Trail in Las Animas, Colorado

the black cook at Bent's Fort, provided services for travelers. Others, like Amache Prowers and Rumalda Boggs, were positioned more peripherally. But, for the most part, the women along the Trail have been silent, and their contributions have gone unacknowledged. This thesis has attempted to utilize the dialogue between history and archaeology to correct that narrative. In focusing on an individual, it has fleshed out Peggy Pascoe's West, where women of color stand at the center of the crossroads.

Amache Ochinee Prowers' story is not just the narrative of one individual. In many ways, she personifies the history of the Santa Fe Trail. Cultural mediators and innovators like her were present all along the Trail, in towns like Santa Fe and Trinidad and in settlements like Boggsville and Bent's Fort. Boggsville's blend of Hispanic, Native American and Euro-American material culture is not out of the ordinary, just relatively unobscured by later development.

Amache lived in a time that brought sweeping changes to the region, requiring the creation of a new society. Cultural mediators like Amache built the foundation of the American West. We residents of the late twentieth century West, are still trying to build upon those foundations. Issues of ethnic identity and integration in this region are as current today as they were in Amache's time. One need only look at the evening news for examples of this struggle. In 1995, Hispanic students became the majority in the Denver City School District, but Colorado remains an "English only" state. It is critical that we return to our

history, not just to rescue it from the black and white of John Wayne movies, but for clues on how to proceed. We need to examine how those who came before us negotiated ethnic identity, because just like Amache, we live in a world where compromise is crucial to our survival.

## REFERENCES CITED

- Ames, K. L.  
1978 Meaning in Artifacts: Hall Furnishings in Victorian America. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* IX(I):19-46.
- Beaudry, M. C.  
1991 Reinventing Historical Archaeology. In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, edited by Cunzo, Lu Ann de and Bernard L. Herman. Proceedings, 1991 Winerthur Conference.
- Beaudry, M. C., L. J. Cook and S. A. Mrozowski  
1991 Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse. In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, edited by McGuire, Randall H. and Robert Paynter, pp. 150-191. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Bell, W. A.  
1965 *New Tracks in North America*. Chapman & Hall, London.
- Berthrong, D. J.  
1963 *The Southern Cheyennes*. The Civilization of the American Indian, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.
- Boyd, D.  
n.d. Interview with Inez Comstock, Personal Collection of Phillip Petersen, La Junta, Colorado.
- Boyle, S. C.  
1994 *Comerciantes, Arrieros, y Peones: The Hispanos and the Santa Fe Trade*. Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Professional Papers No. 54, Southwest Cultural Resources Center, Southwest Regional Office, National Park Service, Santa Fe.

Buckles, W. G.

1990 Boggsville Archaeological Investigations 1989. University of Southern Colorado, Pueblo. Submitted to The Boggsville Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Buckles, W. G. and K. Arwood

n.d. The 1990 Excavations at the Boggs House, Boggsville. Colorado, University of Southern. Submitted to Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Calhoun, A. W.

1917 *A Social History of the American Family From Colonial Times to the Present*. Barnes & Noble, Inc., New York.

Carrillo, R.

1996 Archaeological Sites on *El Rio de Purgatorio*: Hispanic New Mexican Influences in the Historical Archaeology of Southeastern Colorado. Paper presented at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Plains Anthropological Conference, Laramie.

Carrillo, R.

1995a Historical Archaeology at the Prowers House: Phase 5, an Architectural Assessment, Fall 1994, Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363), Bent County, Colorado. Richard Carrillo, Historical Archaeologist and Principal Investigator. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Carrillo, R.

1995b A Preliminary Report of Results from the First Annual University of Colorado-Colorado Springs Historical Archaeological Field School at Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363): An Early 1860s Village in Southeastern Colorado, Summer of 1994. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Carrillo, R.

1985 The Historical Archaeology Research Design. In *A Manuscript for the Fort Carson-Pinon Canyon Maneuver Site*, compiled by Mark Guthrie. Contribution No. 7, Fort Carson-Pinon Canyon Cultural Resource Project. Submitted to the Interagency Archaeological Services, National Park Service, Denver.



Carrillo, R.

n.d. A Report of Preliminary Historical Archaeology Test Excavations Conducted at the Boggs and Prowers Houses, 1990-1991, Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363), Bent County, Colorado .

Carrillo, R. and A. Barnes

1990 A Report of Historical Archaeological Monitoring and Survey at the Site of Boggsville (5BN363), Bent County, Colorado. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County. Copies available from Richard Carrillo, Las Animas, Colorado.

Carrillo, R., et al.

1994 Archaeological Excavations at the Prowers House, Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363), Bent County, Colorado. Centennial Archaeology, Inc., Fort Collins. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Carrillo, R., L. E. Rhodes and P. L. Petersen

1993 Historical Archaeology at Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363): Excavations Conducted to Facilitate the Resotation and Reconstruction of the Prowers House, Bent County, Colorado. Richard Carrillo, Historical Archaeologist and Principal Investigator. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas.

Carrillo, R., P. L. Petersen, and P. Cowen

1996 A Report of Results from the Summers of 1994 and 1995 University of Colorado-Colorado Springs Historical Archaeology Field Schools held at Boggsville Historic Site (5BN363): An Early 1860s Village in Southeastern Colorado, Bent County. Edited by Thomas Wynn. Prepared for the Boggsville Revitalization Committee, Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County, Las Animas (in preparation).

Cassells, E. S.

1983 *The Archaeology of Colorado*. Johnson Books, Boulder.

Conkey, M.

1989 The Place of Material Culture Studies in Contemporary Anthropology. In *Anthropological Collections from the American Southwest*, edited by Hedlund, A., pp. 13-31. Arizona State University, Tempe.

- Craver, R. M.  
 1982 *The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Inter-marriage in New Mexico, 1821-1846*. Southwestern Studies, 66. Texas Western Press, El Paso.
- Crow, D.  
 1972 *The Victorian Woman*. Stein and Day, New York.
- Deetz, J.  
 1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. Doubleday, New York.
- Deutsch, S.  
 1987 Women and Intercultural Relations: The Case of Hispanic New Mexico and Colorado. *Signs: Journal of Women and Society* 12(4):719-739.
- Ellwood, P. B.  
 1995 Pottery of Eastern Colorado's Early and Middle Ceramic Periods. In *Archaeological Pottery of Colorado: Ceramic Clues to the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Lives of the State's Native Peoples*, edited by Brunswig, Robert H., Bruce Bradley and Susan Chandler, pp. 129-161. CCPA Occasional Papers. vol.2. Colorado Council of Professional Archaeologists, Denver.
- Garrard, L.  
 1955 *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail*. Reprinted. University of Oklahoma, Norman .
- Gero, J.  
 1991 Genderlithics: Women's Roles in Stone Tool Production. In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by Gero, Joan M. and Margaret W. Conkey, pp. 163-193. Social Archaeology. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Glassie, H.  
 1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Glassie, H.  
 1977 Archaeology and Folklore: Common Anxieties, Common Hopes. In *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*, edited by

Ferguson, Leland, pp. 23-35. Special Publication Series, Number 2. The Society for Historical Archaeology, Tucson, Arizona.

Green, H.

1983 *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America*. Pantheon, New York.

Gregg, J.

1962 *Commerce of the Prairies, Volume 1*. Reprinted. J.B. Lippincott, Philadelphia. Originally published 1844.

Grinnell, G. B.

1962 *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Ways of Life*. vol. 1. Cooper Square, New York.

Hardesty, D. L.

1980 Historic Sites Archaeology on the Western American Frontier, Theoretical Perspectives and Research Problems. *North American Archaeologist* 2(1).

Hardesty, D. L.

1988 *The Archaeology of Mining and Miners: A View from the Silver State*. Special Publication Series, 6. Society for Historical Archaeology, Tucson.

Hardesty, D. L., et al.

1995 Data Recovery Report of Lockwood Stage Station at the Pinon Canyon Maneuver Site, Las Animas, Colorado. Western Cultural Resource Management, Inc., Boulder. Prepared for National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Regional Office, Denver.

Harris, M.

1968 *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*. Harper & Row, New York.

Hodder, I.

1982 *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists*. B.T. Batsford Ltd, London.

Hoebel, E. A.

1960 *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains*. Case Studies on Cultural Anthropology, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

- Hoig, S.  
1989 *The Cheyenne*. Indians of North America, Chelsea House Publishers, New York.
- Howe, D. W.  
1975 American Victorianism as a Culture. *American Quarterly* XXVII(5):507-532.
- Hudnall, M. P.  
1945 Early History of Bent County. *The Colorado Magazine* 22(6):233-247.
- Hudson, L.  
1993 Protohistoric Pawnee Lithic Economy. *Plains Anthropologist* 38(146):265-277.
- Hurd, C. W.  
1948 Romance of Indian Princess and Pioneer John W. Prowers affected State's History. *Sunday Pueblo Chieftain* (March 7, 1948).
- Hurd, C. W.  
1957 *Boggsville: Cradle of the Colorado Cattle Industry*. Boggsville Committee, Las Animas, Colorado.
- Kenner, C. L.  
1969 *A History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Kornfeld, M. and J. Francis  
1991 A Preliminary Historical Outline of Northwestern High Plains Gender Systems. In *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, edited by Walde, Dale and Noreen Willows, pp. 444-451. Chacmool, Calgary.
- Lavender, D.  
1954 *Bent's Fort*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.
- Lechtman, H.  
1977 Style in Technology-Some Early Thoughts. In *Material Culture: Styles, Organization, and Dynamics of Technology*, edited by Lechtman, Heather and Robert Merrill, pp. 3-20. West Publishing Company, St. Paul.

- Lecompte, J.  
1978 *Pueblo, Hardscrabble, and Greenhorn: Society on the High Plains, 1832-1856*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma.
- LeeDecker, C. H.  
1994 Discard Behavior on Domestic Historic Sites: Evaluation of Contexts for the Interpretation of Household Consumption Patterns. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 1(No. 4):345-375.
- Leone, M.  
1981 The Relationship Between Artifacts and the Public in Outdoor History Museums. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 376:301-314.
- Leone, M.  
1984 Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland. In *Ideology, Power and Prehistory*, edited by Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley, pp. 25-35. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Leone, M.  
1988 The Relationship Between Archaeological Data and the Documentary Record: 18th Century Gardens in Annapolis, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 22:29-35.
- Limerick, P. N.  
1991 What on Earth is the New Western History? In *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, edited by Limerick, Patricia Nelson, Clyde A. Milner II and Charles E. Rankin, pp. 81-88. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, Kansas.
- Little, B. J.  
1994 People with History: An Update on Historical Archaeology in the United States. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 1(1):5-40.
- Long Hoeft  
1994 The Reconstruction Plan for the Prowers House, Boggsville, Colorado. Submitted to The Boggsville Revitalization Committee of the Pioneer Historical Society of Bent County. Copies available from Long Hoeft Architects, Georgetown, Colorado.

- Magoffin, S. S.  
1926 *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.
- McEwan, B.  
1991 The Archaeology of Women in the Spanish New World. *Historical Archaeology* 25(4):33-41.
- Mehls, S. F. and C. J. Carter  
1984 *Colorado Southern Frontier Historic Context*. State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver.
- Miller, G. L.  
1980 Classification and scaling of 19th Century ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14:1-40.
- Mintz, S.  
1983 *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture*. New York University Press, New York.
- Moore, J. L.  
1992 Spanish Colonial Stone Tool Use. In *Current Research on the Late Prehistory and Early History of New Mexico*, edited by Vierra, Bradley, pp. 239-244. Special Publication 1. New Mexico Archaeological Council, Albuquerque.
- Moorhead, M.  
1958 *New Mexico's Royal Road, Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail*. University of Oklahoma Trade, Norman.
- Morgan, D. L.  
1943 *The Humboldt, Highroad of the West*. The Rivers of America, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York.
- Morgan, L. H.  
1877 *Ancient Society*. Holt, New York.
- Nash, M.  
1995 When Life Exploded. *Newsweek* 146(23):66-74.

Noel Hume, I.

1964 Archaeology: Handmaiden to History. *The North Carolina Historical Review* 41(2):215-225.

Parker Pearson, M.

1982 Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology: An Ethnoarchaeological Study. In *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, edited by Hodder, Ian. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Pascoe, P.

1991 Western Women at the Cultural Crossroads. In *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, edited by Limerick, Patricia Nelson, Clyde A. Milner II and Charles E. Rankin, pp. 40-58. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, Kansas.

Paynter, R. and R. H. McGuire

1991 The Archaeology of Inequality: Material Culture, Domination and Resistance. In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, edited by McGuire, Randall H. and Robert Paynter, pp. 1-27. Blackwell, Oxford.

Petersen, P.

n.d. Land Ownership at Boggsville, Personal Collection of Phillip Petersen, La Junta.

Propst, N. B.

1992 *Uncommon Women and the Colorado Prairie*. The Caxton Printers, Ltd, Caldwell, Idaho.

Prowers, J.

1863 Letter to Brother and Sister from Fort Lyon, Personal Collection of Phillip Petersen, La Junta, Colorado.

Purser, M.

1991 "Several Paradise Ladies Are Visiting Town": Gender Strategies in the Early Industrial West. *Historical Archaeology* 25(4):6-16.

Royce, C.

1899 Indian Land Cessions in the U.S. 18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-97, part 2. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

- Sanday, P. R.  
1981 *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Schlereth, T. J.  
1985 Social History Scholarship and Material Culture Research. In *Material Culture: A Research Guide*, edited by Schlereth, Thomas. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Schlissel, L., B. Gibbens and E. Hampsten  
1989 *Far From Home: Families of the Westward Journey*. Random House, New York.
- Scott, E. M.  
1991 Gender in Complex Colonial Society: The Material Goods of Everyday Life in a Late Eighteenth-Century Fur Trading Community. In *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, edited by Walde, Dale and Noreen Willows, pp. 490-495. Chacmool, Calgary.
- Scott, P. G.  
n.d. Unpublished Manuscript, Collection #562. , Colorado Historical Society, Denver.
- Smith-Rosenberg, C.  
1985 *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Snoddy  
1989 Transcript of tape by Ida Prowers Hawkins, Personal Collection of Phillip Petersen, La Junta, Colorado.
- South, S.  
1977 *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*. Academic Press, New York.
- Spears, B.  
1986 *American Adobes: Rural Houses of Northern New Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.



- Spencer-Wood, S.  
1987 *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*. Plenum Press, New York.
- Taylor, R. C.  
1963 *Colorado South of the Border*. Sage Books, Denver.
- Thomas, D. H.  
1983 *Gatecliff Shelter*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1. vol. 59. , New York.
- Thompson, M. A. W.  
n.d. History of Minnie Boone Boggs. , Phillip L. Petersen files, La Junta, Colorado.
- Tilley, C.  
1991 *Material Culture and Text: The Art of Ambiguity*. Routledge, London.
- Upton, D.  
1992 The City as Material Culture. In *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz*, edited by Yentsch, A. and M. Beaudry, pp. 51-73. CRC Press, Boca Raton, Florida.
- Utley, R. M.  
1984 *The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890*. Histories of the American Frontier, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Weber, D. J.  
1982 *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico*. Histories of the American Frontier, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Weigle, M.  
1970 *The Penitentes of the Southwest*. Ancient City Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- West, E.  
1991 A Longer, Grimmer, but More Interesting Story. In *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, edited by Limerick, Patricia Nelson, Clyde A. Milner II and Charles E. Rankin, pp. 103-111. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, Kansas.

Westphall, V.

- 1983 *Mercedes Reales: Hispanic Land Grants of the Upper Rio Grande Region*. New Mexico Land Grant Series, edited by John R. Van Ness. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Whelan, M. K.

- 1991 Gender and Historical Archaeology: Eastern Dakota Patterns in the 19th Century. *Historical Archaeology* 25(4):17-32.

Wobst, H. M.

- 1977 Stylistic Behavior and Information Exchange. In *For the Director: Research Essays in Honor of James B. Griffin*, edited by Cleland, C, pp. 317-342. Anthropology Paper 61. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Wood, W. R.

- 1971 *Biesterfeldt: A Post-Contact Coalescent Site on the Northern Plains*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, Number 15. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Yates, T.

- 1989 Habitus and Social Space: Some Suggestions about Meaning in the Saami (Lapp) Tent ca. 1700-1900. In *The Meaning of Things*, edited by Hodder, Ian. Unwin-Hyman, London.