AMACHE OCHINEE PROWERS:
THE ARCHAEOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHEYENNE WOMAN

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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.
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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 Rits. The male heads of household, Tom Boggs, John Prowers, and Charles Rite, 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. Rtc was German, a recent immigrant to the states.

Each of these men was married to a woman of color, Boggs and Rtc 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-granteds, and obviousnesses of a culture" (Leone 1981:309) then material culture does not merely reflect ideology or cultural meanings, it helps creates 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 is 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 matrilocal 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 *Balsamorrhiza 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'siwin, 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'iwun*, 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 Massauum 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'ihi'u's), 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\(^1\). There Prowers focused on the business that would make him rich: raising cattle. In 1961, 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.

\(^1\) 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 politicos 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 troubled 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 no: 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 cогrantors 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 cогrantees 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
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
Figure 3 - Historic Boggsville Site Layout based on archaeological investigations and historic photographs (from Long Hoeft 1994)
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPATIAL SEGMENT</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>EARLY GLASS</th>
<th>LATE GLASS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>Column Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEST WING PORCH - UNITS 182N, 49E &amp; 182N, 50E</td>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH WING PORCH - UNIT 186N, 54E</td>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COURTYARD - UNITS 182N, 53E &amp; 182N, 54E</td>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>CUT NAILS Frequency</th>
<th>CUT NAILS Percentage</th>
<th>WIRE NAILS Frequency</th>
<th>WIRE NAILS Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surface</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Stated 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.