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Article Summary: The Battle of Massacre Canyon which occurred on Tuesday morning, August 5, 1873, was an inter-tribal battle where more than a thousand Sioux made a surprise attack upon 350 Pawnee men, women and children while on their summer buffalo hunt. The battle left approximately seventy Pawnee dead and is considered to be the last major battle between two Indian tribes in the United States.

#### Cataloging Information:

Names: Charles Meinhold, David Franklin Powell, Frank Joshua North, Jacob M Troth, Sky Chief, Spotted Tail, Eagle Chief, Petalesharo, John Burwell Omohundro (Texas Jack), Eugene Asa Carr, John D Devin, Luther Hedden North, George Bird Grinnell, Washington Mallory Hinman, J F Zediker, William Frederick Cody (Buffalo Bill), Fat Badger, Hand Smeller, Mortimer N Kress (Wild Bill), John C Ralson (Jack), La-sharo-teri, John Story Briggs, John William Williamson, Lester B Platt, Antoine Janis, Stephen F Estes, William H Belknap, Little Wound, Galen E Baldwin, Luther H North, E E Blackman, Addison E Sheldon, Ter-ra-re-cox, Roy Buck, Charles Meinhold, William S Fitch, Joseph Lawson, Leon Francois Pallardie, Sarah Wildman Leach, Samuel C Longshore, William M Bancroft, Royal Buck, J S Shaw, John Byfield, Ashton C Shallenberger, Pawnee Killer; Sun Chief, Two Strikes, Fighting Bear

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Keywords: Pawnee, Brule Sioux, Quaker Agents; Whetstone Agency; Ponca; Cut-off Oglala; 3<sup>rd</sup> Cavalry; *Omaha Herald*; Republican River Expedition; Whetstone Agency; Oto; Red Cloud Agency

Photographs / Images: Massacre Canyon monument, 1950; Southwest Nebraska map showing location of Massacre Canyon; Nebraska map of present-day showing Massacre Canyon; Pawnee Killer, chief of a Cut-off Oglala band; 1921 photo at Massacre Canyon, with Luther H North, E E Blackman, John W Williamson, and Addison E Sheldon; Lone Man's pictorial autobiography for Mrs Ena Palmer Raymonde showing Lone Man killing a Pawnee; view of the Massacre Canyon battlefield taken in 1916; Massacre Canyon monument dedicated September 26, 1930; Inscription of the Massacre Canyon Battlefield



*The Massacre Canyon monument has since been relocated from its original site (shown above) overlooking the mouth of the canyon. A prehistoric Woodland village site was being excavated to the left of the monument by the Nebraska State Historical Society at the time this photograph was taken in 1950.*

## THE BATTLE OF MASSACRE CANYON

By PAUL D. RILEY

Much has been written and filmed about the Indian wars in the trans-Missouri West, conjuring up the image of the U.S. Cavalry fighting and defeating some band or tribe of Indians. But there is another image of which the term "Indian wars" could and should remind us: long before Europeans came to the Americas, long before Nebraska was settled, Indians were engaging in inter-tribal warfare. These wars, ranging from minor horse stealing raids to out-and-out battles, continued in a varying degree almost to the turn of the century.

Two miles east of Trenton, Hitchcock County, in an attractive roadside park stands a towering granite shaft erected by the federal government in 1930 to commemorate the Battle of Massacre Canyon, which occurred on Tuesday morning, August 5, 1873. A half mile west of the park, U.S. Highway 34 curves down into a canyon and crosses a tree-lined, spring-fed creek, which flows through the lower reaches of the canyon into the Republican River Valley. The battle took place two miles up this canyon, where the abrupt canyon walls are lower and the valley much narrower.

Today that stretch of canyon has no extraordinary quality to set it apart from any other canyon in Southwest Nebraska, but on the afternoon of August 5, 1873, the view was far from ordinary. The first to view the battlefield that afternoon were Captain Charles Meinhold and Co. B, U.S. 3rd Cavalry, accompanied by Acting Assistant Surgeon David Franklin Powell. The latter described the scene in a letter to the *Omaha Herald*.

It was a horrible sight. Dead braves with bows still tightly grasped in dead and stiffened fingers; sucking infants pinned to their mothers' breasts with arrows; bowels protruding from openings made by fiendish knives; heads scalped with red blood glazed upon them—a stinking mass, many already fly-blown and scorched with heat.<sup>1</sup>

These were the Pawnee dead, resulting from a surprise attack by more than a thousand Sioux upon 350 Pawnee men, women, and children as they moved up the west bank of the canyon on their summer buffalo hunt. It was one of the largest inter-tribal battles in historic times, leaving approximately seventy Pawnee dead. It is considered to be the last major battle between two Indian tribes in the United States.

During the preceding twenty years, the Pawnee, once Nebraska's most powerful and noted Indian tribe, had declined both in influence and numbers, the result of disease and warfare. From the Civil War onward they had allied themselves with the whites and had half-heartedly begun to learn the new ways. This included some of the warriors enlisting in the U.S. Army, serving under Major Frank Joshua North, and gaining wide fame as the Pawnee Scouts. Their determined zeal in aiding the army in seeking out their traditional enemies, the Sioux and Cheyenne, did nothing to lessen old antagonisms.<sup>2</sup>

The Sioux settled into an uneasy truce with the army during the early 1870's, while they were still in the process of being successfully settled on reservations, but their raids against the Pawnee reservation continued. After signing a treaty with the United States in 1857, the Pawnee had been settled upon a reservation which is present Nance County in eastern central Nebraska. The government promised them protection from their enemies, but the Pawnee continued to find themselves and their horse herds threatened by raiding bands of Brule and Oglala Sioux. The Loup River flowed through the reservation to the Platte, and its three major forks served as a natural highway between the Pawnee and the Sioux living in northwestern Nebraska and the Dakotas. Women were killed in their cornfields and horses were stolen, embittering the Pawnee.<sup>3</sup>

A series of Quaker agents under President Ulysses S. Grant's Indian reform policies now administered the Pawnee, and they continually warned their wards that they must keep the peace. In the main they did, though parties of young men regularly slipped away on horse-stealing raids, often going as far south as

Oklahoma. Pressures from the advance of white settlements around the reservation also created problems. Thieving whites decimated the Pawnee wood reservation and homesteaders pastured their horses and cattle on remote sections of the Pawnee land. The dogmatic ethics of the determined Quakers only further confused and irritated the Pawnee, especially the young warriors. No aspect of Pawnee life was too minor to be ignored by the agents, who in turn credited the Pawnee chiefs with having more power than they actually had.<sup>4</sup>

In the spring of 1871, Quaker Agent Jacob M. Troth announced that the federal government was proposing a peace treaty between the Pawnee and Spotted Tail's Brule Sioux, their most frequent raiders. The Pawnee were not overly impressed. Too often in the past they had been victimized by both treaties and the Sioux. Sky Chief (Te-la-wa-hut-lai-sharu) of the Republican or Kitkehahki band (later to die at Massacre Canyon) spoke of his doubts at a council with the agent on March 27, 1871:

"Spotted Tail may tell the truth. . . . for our part we tell the truth when we say we don't go on the war path. . . . I want to make peace at Washington and see if Spotted Tail tells the truth." Then, in an aside to the other chiefs, he added, "Our great father at Washington thinks he can make us do just as he pleases. We have one man over us and he makes us do as he wants."<sup>5</sup>

Other chiefs joined in the discussion, all agreeing peace would be a fine thing but all doubted the trustworthiness of Spotted Tail and his ability to keep his own warriors in line. For this reason they insisted such a treaty be signed in Washington rather than at the Santee Sioux reservation as the government desired. They believed the Sioux would take more seriously a treaty signed with pomp in Washington rather than one signed locally. The possibility of such a treaty was discussed on several occasions, but it never developed beyond the talking stage.<sup>6</sup>

Indians and their agents seldom worked well together, but the religious beliefs of the Quakers seemed to create additional misunderstanding. Being men of reason, they could not understand why the Pawnee desired the old ways, when it was obvious—at least to the Quakers, that civilization offered the one bright future. Their extreme honesty and their pacifism

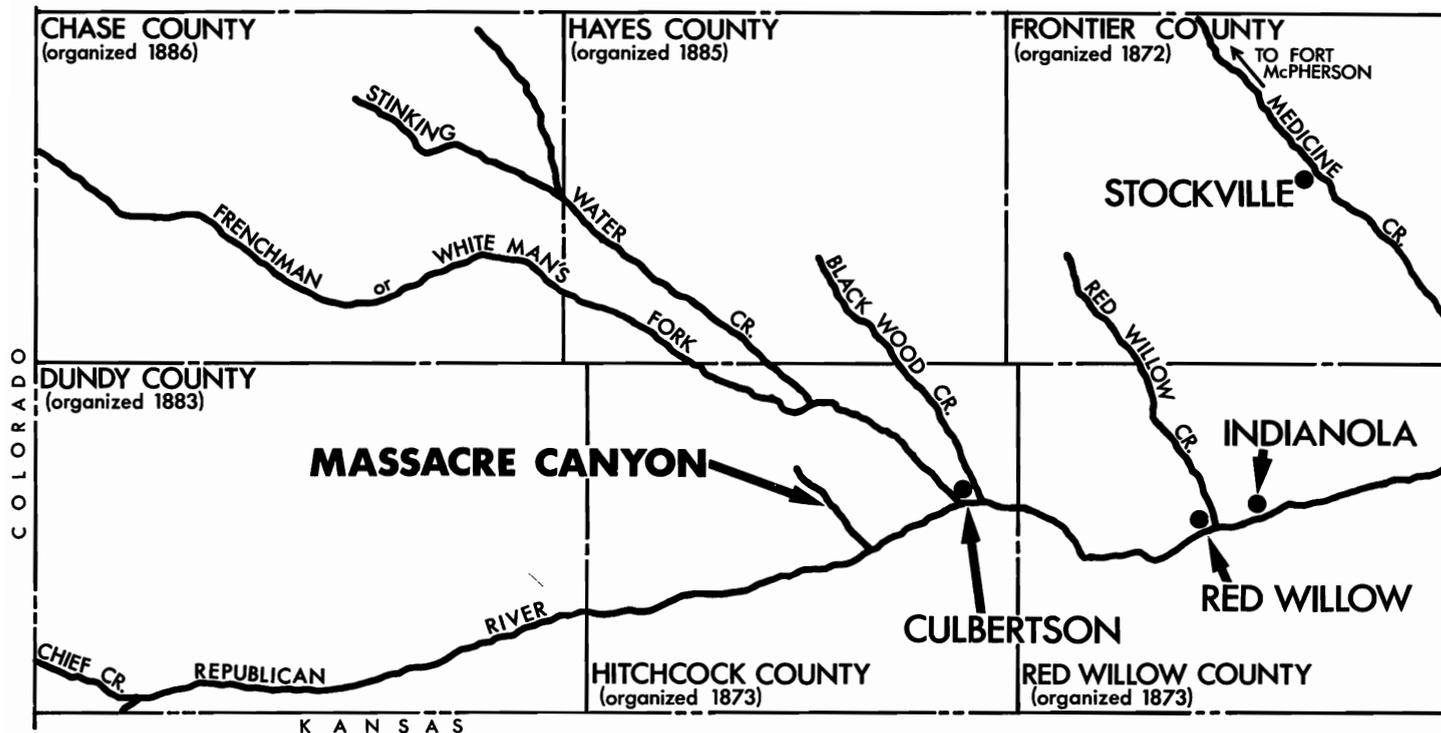
were particularly confusing to the Pawnee, a people to whom horse stealing was a fine art and limited warfare was an everyday fact of life. Also, common to most missionaries, the Quakers were blind to the highly intellectual religion of this monotheistic people. In fact, the Pawnee belief in one god apparently made missionary efforts more difficult. At a council held June 8, 1872, Agent Troth confused the issue by saying, "I thought this would be a good time to read and explain about God—You believe in the same God as we do. . . . I call on you to know how to meet and talk about God." One by one the chiefs replied, speaking of their god, trying to reconcile him with the god of the Quakers. Sky Chief said, "As soon as our children get old enough to understand, their father tells them of God." Eagle Chief of the Pita-how-e-rat band said, "All persons in the tribe will tell you the same story about God . . . we tell our children about God. . . . we still have things that God gave us and want to keep them. It is good to have a certain day to rest. You know better than we for you have writings and we have none so forget." Petalesharo, the main chief of the Pawnee, then added a comment of his own: "We are done talking about God I suppose." Sky Chief closed the discussion, leaving the agent with nothing to say: "Now we are done talking about God—we would like to hurry up the Annuity money or something else before we go on the Hunt."<sup>7</sup>

The Pawnee were a semisedentary people living in permanent earthlodge villages and planting crops of corn, beans, and squash. Nearly half the year, however, was spent on the buffalo range, between the Platte and Smoky Hill Rivers. The summer hunt began about the first of July after their crops were planted; they returned in time to harvest in late summer. The winter hunt began in early November and usually lasted until after the New Year. It was upon these hunts that the Pawnee depended for their meat supply, as little wild game and buffalo had been available near the reservation for many years. Councils between the Pawnee chiefs and their agent devoted much time to the upcoming buffalo hunt. Although the Pawnee were dependent upon the hunt, the Quaker agents deplored it, for the Pawnee were then virtually free from agency control and were free to live in the old way without interference. As the years passed and the buffalo diminished in number, due to mass

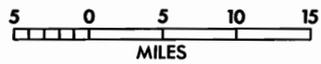
slaughter by whites, they had to travel farther and farther from the reservation, thus increasing the possibility of their having troubles with Sioux hunting in the same region.

For the summer hunt of 1872, Agent Troth hired John Burwell (Texas Jack) Omohundro of Fort McPherson to travel with the Pawnee as trail agent. The noted frontiersman was instructed to let the Pawnee do as they would on the hunt, but in matters dealing with whites or other Indians he had the right to command. Prior to 1869 when General Eugene Asa Carr's Republican River Expedition cleared the valley of hostiles, the Republican Valley and its watershed had been the domain of the Indians. Southern Cheyenne and Brule Sioux were all but permanent residents there, while the Pawnee, Omaha, and Oto visited there on their seasonal hunts. After Carr's expedition, the Cheyenne seldom came so far north, while Spotted Tail and his Brule were placed at Whetstone Agency in Dakota Territory and visited the valley irregularly in small bands. Only Whistler and his small band of Cut-off Oglala lived permanently in the region, their main village being near Stockville, Frontier County, though most winters they moved at least part of their village to the Stinking Water Creek in Hayes and Chase Counties. Professional hide hunters, mainly from Kansas, entered the region and slaughtered the buffalo by the thousands, while scattered frontier settlements in two years' time had spread up the valley from Webster County in 1870 to Red Willow County in 1872. The following year the frontier was moved another twenty-five miles west and Hitchcock County was organized. Even on the buffalo range the Indians were being restricted.<sup>8</sup>

Even so, the summer hunt of 1872 was successful. The Pawnee left their reservation on Monday, July 8, accompanied by a party of Ponca Indians and they were joined by Omohundro at Grand Island on Saturday, July 13. From there they crossed the divide to the Republican country, reporting to Captain (Brevet Lieutenant Colonel) John D. Devin of the 14th Infantry at Camp Red Willow, a temporary military post established to allay fears of the frontiersmen as well as to afford any necessary protection to the several surveying parties in the area. The Pawnee had been furnished with "4 white flags 3x4 ft. with a large P in the center," to identify them.<sup>9</sup>



# SOUTHWEST NEBRASKA



*This map of Southwest Nebraska shows the traditional hunting area of the Republican Valley.*

Omohundro's letters and reports of the hunt have not been located, but on a part of the hunt, the Pawnee were accompanied by Luther Hedden North and George Bird Grinnell, both of whom left written accounts. The young Grinnell, who was later to gain fame as an author, ethnologist, and conservationist, was on his second trip to the West, and he was much impressed with his first meeting with the Pawnee and their traditional methods of hunting, though he realized the day of the buffalo would soon be at end.<sup>10</sup>

In late August or early September, the successful Pawnee and Ponca visited Camp Red Willow and the adjacent frontier settlement:

We had 2,700 Pawnees and Ponca Indians here two or three days, and they killed 200 or 300 buffalo, drove off some cattle and stole two or three horses and tried to sell them, but the owners paid them something to help them hunt them up and bring them back. Poor things. They mean no harm, but it is so natural to steal that they can't help it, and the troops being here, they were afraid to be too barefaced about it.<sup>11</sup>

The author of the above, Washington Mallory Hinman, operated a sawmill at Red Willow and was a former resident of Lincoln County. Hinman was far more charitable toward the Indians than most frontiersmen, but then Hinman had lived on the frontier since the early 1850's and had had time to get to know and understand the Indians of the Plains.<sup>12</sup> Most frontiersmen, at least those writing letters to the state press, felt more in line with the opinions of J. F. Zediker of Franklin County, who wrote:

We find a very general dissatisfaction prevailing hereabouts, on the frequent passing through this region, of the reserve Indians. Three times within the past six months, the Otoe, Pawnee and Omaha tribes have passed through this section, and being out now, will soon pass through again. The last time they passed through they were more annoying than ever before, as they made it a point to travel more *slowly* and *beg* their living as they went. . . .

We are willing to pay our share of tax to build comfortable dwellings, to clothe and feed them, and to pay soldiers for guarding them. . . . But after we have done all this, we cannot consent to have them passing through our peaceful domain several times a year, to beg and plunder, and to frighten our families. And to kill off, and drive out of this region, all the game which nature, and nature's God, has placed here for the benefit of the poor frontier settlers, who are trying to earn an honest livelihood by tilling the soil . . . .

This is not the voice of one man, but of the indignant multitude along the Republican Valley.

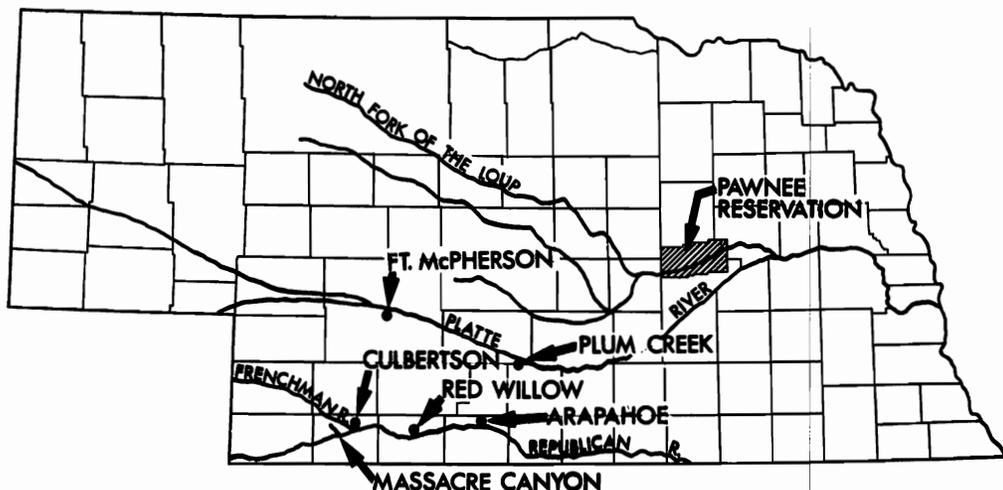
Our own private opinion is, that the Indian is as good as the white man, so long as

he behaves himself. . . . We believe them no better than the white man, and he must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.<sup>13</sup>

By early October the Pawnee were preparing to start on their winter hunt. Omohundro had served the Pawnee, or at least their agent, well and applied for a second appointment as trail agent. Troth was favorable, but before the Pawnee departed Omohundro had decided to join his best friend, William Frederick (Buffalo Bill) Cody upon the New York stage, taking the "Wild West" to the East. No trail agent was appointed, and the Pawnee, who were joined by some Oto, left for the Republican in the middle of November.<sup>14</sup>

While the Pawnee were hunting their way west along the Republican, Whistler and his Cut-off Oglala were hunting on the Upper Republican, probably in Colorado, while their women and children were in camp on the Stinking Water. The winter was not overly severe, but sometime in late November or early December, Whistler, accompanied by Fat Badger and Hand Smeller, started for Fort McPherson supposedly to ask for supplies. Somewhere along the way between the forks of the Republican and the mouth of Medicine Creek, they visited the hunting camp of two trappers or hunters. All versions agree that the Indians begged for food and were fed. They asked for more and were refused. Later one of the Indians tried to steal from the breadbox, and one of the hunters stamped the lid on his hand. Frightened at what had been done, the whites plotted together and suddenly turned and murdered the three Indians. They hid the bodies along a creek and then hurriedly left the region. Much speculation as to the identity of the murderers has appeared in print with several frontiersmen confessing the crime. The most likely candidates for this dishonor are Mortimer N. (Wild Bill) Kress, pioneer settler of Adams County and noted hunter and trapper on the Republican, and his partner, John C. (Jack) Ralston, an Easterner. At least their contemporaries thought they were the killers, and so it appeared in the press at that time.<sup>15</sup>

Shortly after this, the Pawnee and Oto were camped at the forks of Beaver Creek, the present site of Atwood, Rawlins County, Kansas, about thirty miles south of the later Massacre Canyon battle site. One account says the Pawnee women and children had been left at or near the Red Willow Creek



*The Pawnee reservation (present-day Nance County) was located about 170 miles northeast of Massacre Canyon.*

settlement, though no writer of that time or later makes mention of a Pawnee encampment in the area.<sup>16</sup>

The few minor mentions of the events at that campsite are contradictory, particularly those written by white informants. According to La-sharo-teri, described as the second chief of the Pitahauerat band of Pawnee, they had left their horses in camp and had had a buffalo surround on foot. While the camp was all but unguarded, the Sioux swept down and stole over a hundred of their horses. Either in pursuit or later while hunting, four Pawnee youths came across the Sioux and gave chase. They were apparently decoyed into a trap and one Pawnee was killed. At about the same time John Story Briggs, trader to the Oto, who was following the Indians with trade goods, was robbed by some Sioux of his horses and goods. The identity of the Sioux is not known, though they were probably Cut-off Oglala, possibly joined with some Brule. One account claims that Spotted Tail led the raid himself, though this is not likely. The Pawnee were forced to cache their buffalo meat as well as their tents and other equipment and return to the reservation on foot, most of them arriving there in terrible condition. Some of the women

earned food by tanning hides at the various trading posts scattered along the Republican.<sup>17</sup>

Reports in the press are very confused, not only as to the exact details of the raid, but they also succeed in combining it with the murder of Whistler and his two men. At first it was reported the Pawnee had killed them, then later that the real murderers had fixed evidence so the Sioux would blame the Pawnee. The raid by the Sioux (described as a battle) was supposedly in retaliation for the murders, though another account says the Sioux chief was killed in the battle itself. At any rate the raid was a serious defeat for the Pawnee. Not only did they lose their meat and robe supply, but they lost their horses, vital to the Pawnee economy as well as their most obvious sign of wealth and prestige. The encounter was a disaster to both the Pawnee economy and ego.<sup>18</sup>

While the Pawnee were on the winter hunt, Agent Troth had been replaced by William Burgess, another Quaker. The poverty of the Pawnee, referred to as unprecedented in the tribe, was a shock to him, and he spent much time aiding the Pawnee in an attempt to convince the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the necessity of delivering the Pawnee annuity goods earlier than usual.<sup>19</sup>

On July 2, 1873, Agent Burgess appointed John William Williamson as trail agent for the summer buffalo hunt. He was just 23 years old, having been born June 28, 1850, near Delavan, Walborth County, Wisconsin. At the age of 21 Williamson came to Nebraska, homesteading in Boone County. He soon moved permanently to the Pawnee Agency at Genoa, where he was employed as an agency farmer. In the only detailed account of the buffalo hunt and battle, "The Battle of Massacre Canyon: The Unfortunate Ending of the Last Buffalo Hunt of the Pawnees," Williamson wrote that he had been selected as trail agent in May, though as late as June 24, Burgess wrote that he had not yet selected anyone. According to Williamson, "I did not apply for the place and was surprised when one of the chiefs came to me and informed me that they had decided to request the government to appoint me to accompany them."<sup>20</sup>

Because of the unforeseen events of the hunt, Williamson's

letter of instructions from Burgess throws important light on the hunt and the battle:

[Wednesday,] 7 mo 2nd day [187]3

To John Williamson.

Under the commission of Hon. Edw. P. Smith, Commissioner of Ind Affrs . . . I hereby appoint you to have the oversight of the Pawnee Indians on their Summer hunt. Your salary will be one hundred dollars per month for the time in actual service.

The Pawnees will leave the Reservation about the 3rd of July and proceed toward Grand Island, thence up the Platte valley to some point near Plum Creek [Lexington], thence southward to the waters of the Republican where they propose to hunt and continue near six weeks but may probably be absent about two months. While you are not [to] interfere with their regular or customary modes [of] conducting their hunting operation you are authorized to give them such counsel as the circu[m]stances in your judgement shall dictate and to use all precaution to guard [against] any predatory raids or from any incursions by their enemies and give due notice if any should occur. You are to see that they do not [take] property, commit depredations on the settlers [or interfere] in any way with the rights of whites or others, to keep them together as much as practicable and aid them in maintaining friendly relations with all classes of Indian tribes or other people. You are to notify me by letter when you leave the Platte valley and every week thereafter give a little sketch of your operations and of their success, sending the same as often as you meet with an opportunity to reach the mails or by runners when necessity may require. You will also give me notice of the nearest P.O. address where letters may reach you. You will also notify me about the time they propose to return, the route they take and any other particulars that may seem important.<sup>21</sup>

That same day Burgess wrote the commander of the Department of the Platte at Omaha notifying him of the hunt and included a copy of Williamson's letter of instruction. He also gave permission for L. B. Platt, a young man from Baltimore, to accompany the hunt. Platt was a nephew of Lester B. Platt, who had served as Pawnee agent prior to the Quaker policy. He had then become government trader to the Pawnee, and for a time his wife continued to teach in the agency school.<sup>22</sup>

The 350 Pawnee left the reservation on Wednesday, July 3, and for a month they hunted on the Beaver and Prairie Dog Creeks in southwestern Nebraska and northwestern Kansas. The Pawnee had great success, though 1873 was the last good year for large scale hunting in the region. About August 2, the Pawnee turned north to the Republican to begin their slow return to the reservation, and, on the night of August 4, they camped near the present site of Trenton in Hitchcock County. Here they were warned by a party of white buffalo hunters that

a great number of Sioux were in the region. Thinking this was a scheme to get them out of the region, the Pawnee did not take the warning seriously.<sup>2 3</sup>

The hunters were telling the truth. Not only were the usual Cut-off Oglala in the area, but the Brule Sioux were present in force, with the total numbering over a thousand warriors. Never again would there be so many Indians in the Republican Valley. Spotted Tail and "a large number of Lodges" left the Fort Laramie region for the buffalo range in the middle of April without a trail agent. Pawnee Killer and his band of Cut-off Oglala (not to be confused with the Whistler and Black Bear bands) with Antoine Janis as sub-agent arrived on the Republican early in the summer, camping on Blacktail Deer Creek (Arickaree Fork or the North Fork of the Republican).<sup>2 4</sup>

On Sunday night, July 6, Pawnee Killer's camp was raided by a party of Ute braves. They were able to steal ten horses and get away undetected. The Sioux assumed the horses had only strayed and no search was made for them. The following night the Ute returned and stole fourteen horses. In the morning the Sioux began hunting their strayed horses and found a Ute moccasin and arrows. A short distance from camp, they found where the Ute had killed a colt. The Sioux camp was alerted and one hundred warriors took off in pursuit. About twenty-five miles west of their own camp, the Sioux found the abandoned camp of the Ute, which had consisted of twenty-one lodges.

The pursuit was hotly pushed and thirty nine horses died on the road from exhaustion. The advance of the Sioux, seven warriors, got up with the rear guard of the Utes, numbering eleven warriors, about 3 o'clock P.M.; fighting immediately ensued, resulting in the defeat of the Sioux, with the loss of one man and three horses killed, and six men wounded. Others of the Sioux arriving the Utes left. The exhaustion of their horses precluded further pursuit on the part of the Sioux. On their return to camp a strong disposition was manifested to make an expedition to the Ute country for revenge; from this, however, they were dissuaded by interpreter Antoine Janise.<sup>2 5</sup>

Shortly thereafter, perhaps as a cautionary measure, Pawnee Killer moved his camp to the Frenchman or Whiteman's Fork of the Republican in present Chase County. Toward the end of July, seven hundred Brule Sioux under sub-agent Stephen F. Estes arrived in the same region and camped on Stinking Water Creek, a fork of the Frenchman.<sup>2 6</sup>

*Pawnee Killer, chief  
of a Cut-off Oglala band,  
was one of the Sioux leaders  
in the attack against the  
Pawnee at Massacre Canyon.*



Estes and his Brule had visited Sidney on their way to the buffalo range. On July 21 Estes visited the commandant of Sidney Barracks and requested rations for the Indians. On the following day Secretary of War William H. Belknap turned down the request on the grounds that the army would not be able to replace the rations even if reimbursed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Apparently Estes continued to press the issue, for on August 4 Belknap authorized the issuing of sugar and coffee to the Brule, then thought to be camped at Julesburg, Colorado. The authorization came too late, however, for by this time the Brule were far to the south on the Stinking Water. It is a possibility that this unfortunate delay served as an additional irritant in preparing the Brule for a warlike stance, just as the Cut-offs were probably anxious to avenge their July defeat at the hands of the Ute raiders.<sup>27</sup>

On the morning of August 3, six Oglala warriors returned to the Cut-off camp and reported they had come across the Pawnee, about whose presence in the Republican country they apparently had no prior knowledge. According to Janis:

Little Wound came to me and asked if I had any orders to keep him from going to fight them, I told him I had not. He said he had orders not to go to their reservation or among the whites to fight them but none in regard to this part of the country. I told him I would go with him and see the Pawnee but he said it would be of no use as

the young men had determined to fight them. They say I stopped them from going to the Utes and they came and stole their horses and killed one of their men and they thought the same thing would occur if they did not strike the Pawnees first.<sup>28</sup>

The Oglala then sent representatives to the Brule camp inviting them to join in the attack. Estes tried to prevent their going but failed to do so, as he later wrote:

I would respectfully state . . . that my failure to avert the attack and consequent massacre of the Pawnees so far as the Brules were concerned was due in great measure to the ignorance and bad advice given by Sub-Agent Janis to the Indians under his charge. . . . [Janis left] "Little Wound" impressed with the idea that he had a perfect right to make war upon the Pawnees, if he so desired. Fortified with this belief several of the head-men from the "Cut Off" visited my camp and informed the Brules of what Janis had told them, and invited them to join in the attack. As a natural result of Indian character the Brules contended that they had as good right to make war upon the Pawnees as the "Cut Off"—they could not understand why one band of Sioux should be prohibited from going to war and not another—as a consequence—although every effort was made by myself and interpreter to prevent a conflict, they proved useless.<sup>29</sup>

On August 3 the combined Sioux force, numbering over a thousand warriors, started down Frenchman's Fork toward its juncture with the Republican just east of Culbertson, a new trading post established the previous month. The first settlers had arrived in Hitchcock County in April and there were now a dozen or so frontiersmen living along Blackwood Creek east and north of the trading post. One small party of Sioux raided the home of Galen E. Baldwin, stealing property and destroying goods while Mrs. Baldwin and the children (Mr. Baldwin was not home) watched from their hiding place in the creek bed. This is the only known time that any of the Hitchcock County frontiersmen were bothered by Indians.<sup>30</sup>

On that same evening, August 4, a fatal decision was being made at the Pawnee camp. Williamson later wrote:

At 9 o'clock that evening three white men came into camp and reported to me that a large band of Sioux warriors were camped twenty five miles northwest, waiting for an opportunity to attack the Pawnees. . . . Previous to this white men had visited us and warned us to be on our guard against Sioux attacks, and I was a little skeptical as to the truth of the story. . . . But one of the men a young fellow about my age at the time, appeared to be so sincere in his efforts to impress upon me . . . that I took him to Sky Chief who was in command that day for a conference. Sky Chief said the men were liars; that they wanted to scare the Pawnees away from the hunting grounds so that white men could kill buffalo for hides. He told me I was a squaw and a coward, I took exception to his remarks and retorted: "I will go as far as you dare go. Don't forget that."<sup>31</sup>

At that point Williamson failed as trail agent. In a conflict

between boyish egotism and his empowered duty, egotism won. His letters of instruction from Agent Burgess had been clear. If the possibility of trouble with other Indians arose, Williamson had the authority as well as the orders to use this authority to compel the Pawnee to do as he saw fit. Unfortunately the young greenhorn cared more about his own masculine image than he did his legal wards. The freedom of the hunt and the buffalo range after months of Quaker dictation caused Sky Chief to act rashly, and unfortunately Williamson did not have the maturity to withstand the chief's harangue.

The following morning, Tuesday, August 5, instead of moving east down the Republican Valley to probable safety, the Pawnee camp went downstream two miles and then turned northwest, following along the west bank of a canyon that cut almost entirely through the point of high divide which separated the Republican and Frenchman Valleys. The lower reaches of the canyon are steep and the spring-fed creek is lined with cottonwood and ash. About three miles from its mouth, the canyon has low walls and finally blends into the divide. A short distance to the north of this point is the head of another canyon which leads down into the Frenchman Valley and the Pawnee were apparently heading for this route down from the divide.<sup>32</sup>

As they rode along, Sky Chief apologized to Williamson for his speech of the previous night, but the chief was still so convinced of his own wisdom that he did not send out scouts. Buffalo were sighted on the divide and the Pawnee men and their chief scattered to hunt, leaving the women, children, and old men to continue their trek. A young warrior borrowed Williamson's gun and rode off to hunt, leaving him unarmed. The Sioux killed several of the hunters first and Sky Chief, caught off guard, was one of the first to die. Shortly thereafter, according to Williamson:

I noticed a commotion at the head of the procession, which had suddenly stopped. I started to ride up where three of the chiefs were talking, when a boy of sixteen rode up and stopped me. Dismounting, he tied a strip of red flannel on the bridle of my horse, and after remounting told me that the Sioux were coming. What significance was attached to the red flannel on the bridle I was never able to learn.<sup>33</sup>

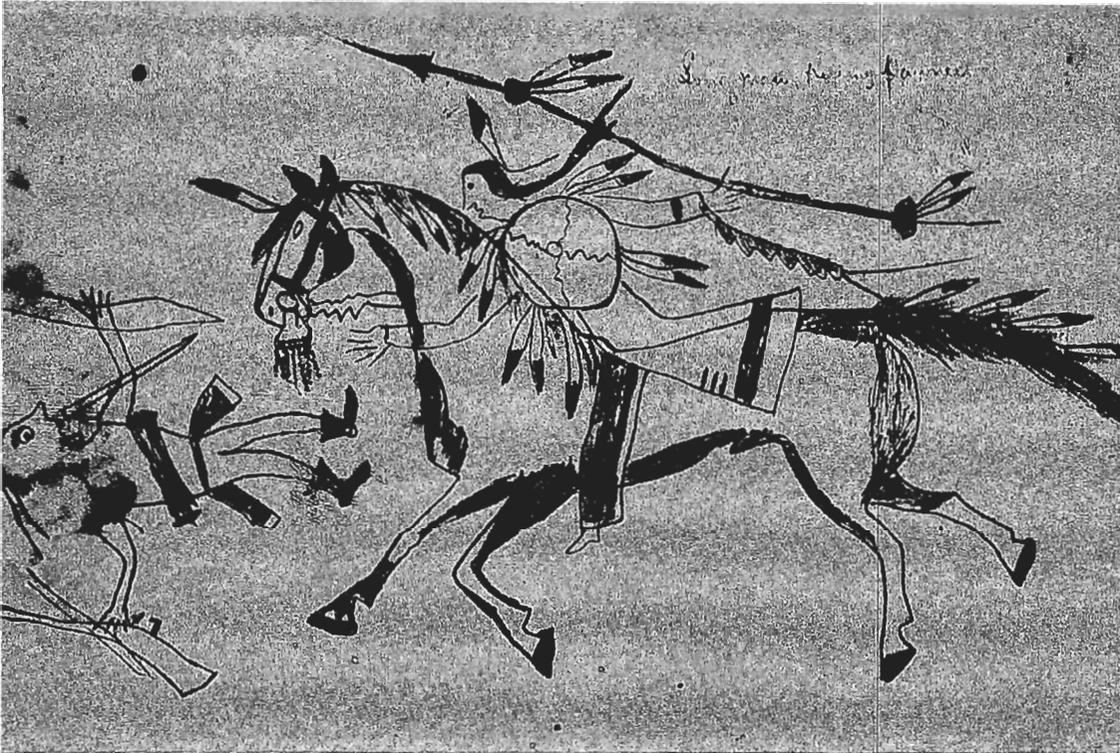
The women, children, and pack horses were hurriedly ordered into the canyon while the men regrouped and prepared to fight



*Luther H. North, E. E. Blackman, John W. Williamson, and Addison E. Sheldon at the site of the Battle of Massacre Canyon, October 14, 1921. Williamson was the Pawnee trail agent at the time of the battle.*

the Sioux. Williamson conferred with Ter-ra-re-cox, a chief of the Skidi band, and they agreed that the Pawnee should fall back down the canyon to the trees, but Fighting Bear of the Kitkehahkis rashly demanded they make their stand where they were, and in the end he won. Soon the main element of the Sioux appeared, and as the men rode out to meet them, the Pawnee women began to chant the Pawnee war song. Williamson advised Platt to get away down the canyon, which he did. When it became clear that the Pawnee were overwhelmingly outnumbered, it was suggested that Williamson ride out and try to parlay with them. With an interpreter he rode out a short way, but the Sioux ignored their white flag and swept down upon them, firing as they came. The truce party fled to the canyon, Williamson having his horse shot out from under him just as he reached safety. The Sioux divided so that they controlled both banks of the low canyon and were able to shoot down into the mass of terrified Pawnee. Fighting Bear engaged in a duel of tomahawks with a Sioux chief, and Williamson aided him by shooting and wounding the Sioux.<sup>34</sup>

A retreat down the canyon was then ordered and the packs



*Lone Man, a member of Whistler's band of Cut-off Oglala Sioux, made a pictorial autobiography for Mrs. Ena Palmer Raymonde, a Frontier County pioneer of 1872. This view shows Lone Man killing a Pawnee.*

of robes, meat, and equipment were cut from the horses. The withdrawal was a rout as the Sioux shot from both banks of the canyon into the fleeing Pawnee. Williamson joined in the flight, which left him with searing memories:

I often have thought of a little Indian girl, who evidently had fallen from her mother's back, in our retreat down the canyon. She was sitting on the ground with her little arms raised as if pleading for some one to pick her up. As I passed I tried to pick her up but only succeeded in touching one of her hands. I couldn't return so she was left behind to suffer a horrible death.<sup>35</sup>

Royal Buck, founder of the little settlement at the mouth of Red Willow Creek thirty miles to the east, visited the canyon a few days later and in describing it was the first to use the name by which it is still known—Massacre Canyon:

The first thing we met [at] the head of the canyon was the loading thrown off their ponies, and this was done in a space of fifty yards, and over this space the ground was literally piled up with packed meat, robes, hides, tents, camp kettles, and in fact everything they carry on their hunting expeditions. . . . In one place is a pond hole two or three rods long, where, I should judge, near twenty bodies were lying in the most sickening state of decomposition. . . . In only one place is there any sign of resistance. This was about a mile and a half from the commencement of the retreat; here eight warriors took shelter behind a sort of bank or opening on one side of the canyon, and all of them are lying there in death, a squaw and pappoose with them.<sup>36</sup>

As the Pawnee reached the Republican Valley, the Sioux turned back up the canyon to the spoils of battle. The squaws who fell behind were raped, the bodies were mutilated and some of them were burned on piles of camp robes. Why the Sioux withdrew after killing so few is not known. Williamson wrote that they were scared off by the arrival of the cavalry, but military reports show that Captain Charles Meinhold and his small command were camped at the mouth of Blackwood Creek a dozen miles downstream and knew nothing of the battle until the Pawnee survivors arrived there. It is possible the Sioux had heard rumors of the military presence; perhaps in their excitement they simply quit, or perhaps it was their desire for the Pawnee goods and prisoners. Whatever the reason, the Sioux ceased to follow the Pawnee and returned to their camps on Frenchman and Stinking Water Creeks.<sup>37</sup>

Captain Meinhold and his command had left Fort McPherson in the Platte Valley on July 30 for a routine tour of the Republican country. This was done to keep track of the Indians, pacify the frontiersmen, and if needed protect the numerous surveying parties. In spite of Whistler's murder, 1873 had been quiet on the frontier and the army had not stationed troops in the valley that summer as it had the three previous years. Though the settlers at Culbertson, two miles west of Meinhold's camp, heard the sounds of the battle ten miles to the west, the military camp was apparently too far away. The first Meinhold knew of the battle was when Williamson, Fighting Bear, and two other chiefs crossed over from the south bank of the Republican and came into camp. At about the same time the first of the retreating Pawnee came into sight. The chiefs asked for military protection and to be allowed to join the army in finding the Sioux. Instead Meinhold told the Pawnee to continue down the Republican at least as far as Red Willow, while he would visit the canyon that afternoon.<sup>38</sup>

Meinhold's command rode to the battlefield and found two survivors, a wounded squaw with a badly injured baby in a pool of water. Dr. Powell placed them in a more comfortable spot while the rest of the canyon was toured. When they returned the woman was gone and it appeared she had killed the child, which had fresh wounds on the head. A frontiersman from Red

Willow County, William S. Fitch, who ran a small trading post on the Driftwood south of present McCook, also visited the canyon that afternoon with an Eastern tourist. They found a wounded woman, probably the same one Dr. Powell had seen, and they took her by wagon back to Indianola, just east of the Red Willow settlement, where she died. The army counted sixty-three dead—thirteen men and fifty women and children. A census was later taken at the Pawnee reservation by Agent Burgess, and he concluded that the slain included twenty men, thirty-nine women and ten children, along with twelve wounded and several children still missing after eleven prisoners had been returned.<sup>39</sup>

Two Pawnee chiefs had remained in Meinhold's camp while he toured the canyon. Upon his return Meinhold (as he later reported)

told the Pawnee chiefs to bring back about twenty men, and as many pack animals as they choose, to carry off the large amount of dried meat, camp equipage, furs, etc., abandoned by them in their flight, and that I would hold the Sioux in check, should they renew their attack.

The Chiefs agreed to be back at sunrise next morning. I waited until ten o'clock a.m. but the Pawnees not returning, I resumed my march.<sup>40</sup>

Meinhold in his report says the command then marched twenty miles up the Frenchman where they camped for the night, which should have brought them almost to the mouth of the Stinking Water. Lieutenant Joseph Lawson, a few enlisted men, and the guide, Leon Pallardie, were sent out to scout for the Sioux parties. The results of the scout were negative, as Meinhold reported:

After the massacre the Sioux ran off at full speed, due west [*sic*, north], in the direction of Alkali Station, not even stopping at night, as I ascertained afterwards. . . . I thoroughly scouted the country up the Stinkingwater, thence to the heads of Blackwood and Red Willow, without finding any signs of Indians.<sup>41</sup>

Dr. Powell's account is only slightly different:

From this point Lieut. Lawson with a small party scouted along the stream as far as Stinking Water, where Pallarday, the guide found signs showing that a war party had recently passed northward towards Ogalalla. Captain Meinhold's scout visited places during this trip over which troops have never before passed.<sup>41</sup>

Leon Francois Pallardie was an old frontiersman, having come west with the American Fur Company as early as 1849, and he had served as guide and scout for the army at Fort

McPherson since 1865, also working as an independent Indian trader. Probably no other person knew the Upper Republican country so well as he, and he had lived among the Cut-off Oglala and the Brule for many years. His inability to locate or follow a thousand warriors on horseback or to locate their villages (since it is likely the Brule village was within ten miles of the army camp) is amazing. One can only conclude that Pallardie (if not Meinhold) had no interest in locating the Sioux. The command consisted of the two officers, one guide, and forty-nine enlisted men. Even allowing for Pawnee exaggeration, Meinhold and Pallardie knew they were following a huge war party. With the Sioux in an excited state of mind, it might have been foolhardy for the small company of soldiers to attempt to visit their villages. It would appear that Pallardie, and perhaps Meinhold, recognized the wisdom of the old cliché, "Discretion is the better part of valor."<sup>42</sup>

While the army toured the Frenchman and Stinking Water Valleys, the Brule were in their camp on the latter and Stephen Estes gathered what information he could before writing his report for the Brule agent at the reservation in Dakota Territory. He collected the prisoners the Brule had taken—two girls, a woman, and a boy. He also reported that one Brule had been killed and two or three mortally wounded. He expected Janis and the Cut-off Oglala to join his camp within two days, after which he would take the prisoners to North Platte where they could be returned to the Pawnee reservation. Janis also wrote a report telling of his inability to control the Oglala. His Indians had taken seven prisoners—three women and four girls aged two to ten years. He reported no Oglala killed but two were wounded. From other evidence, however, it seems likely that six Sioux were either killed or died of their wounds.<sup>43</sup>

Instead of waiting for the Oglala, Estes moved the Brule to the Oglala camp on the Frenchman "about twelve (12) miles above the timber." He collected the prisoners and on the 8th he and Janis started for the Platte Valley. The Oglala had been less eager to give up their prisoners than had the Brule. Just before leaving, four Oglala from the Red Cloud agency came into the camp with the information that Ute had been seen on Chief Creek, a tributary of the Republican in the very western part of



*It was near the head of Massacre Canyon that most of the sixty-nine Pawnee were killed by the Sioux. This view of the battlefield was taken July 30, 1916.*

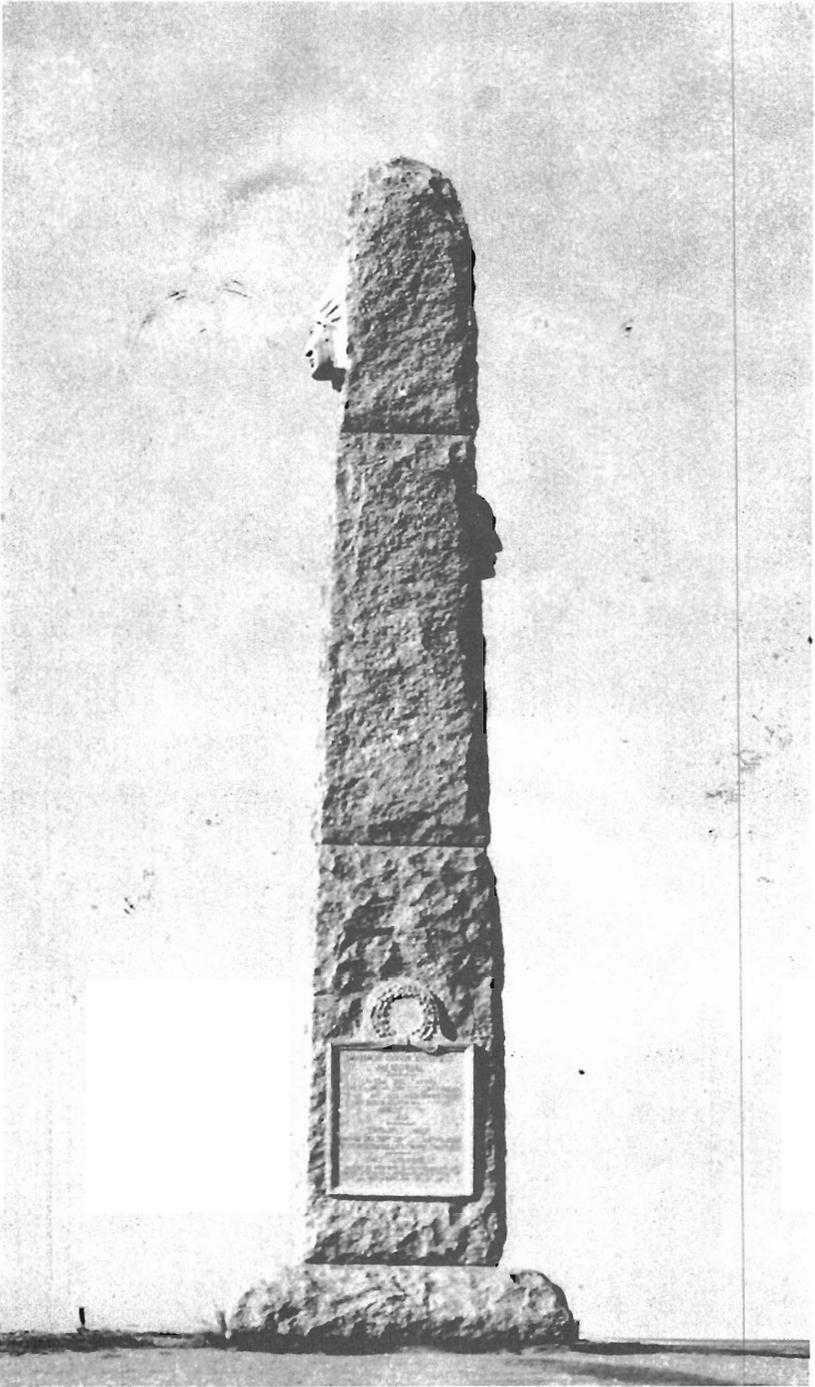
Dundy County. A raid was suggested but Estes successfully interfered, saying that if they went he wanted nothing to do with them and that he would return to the reservation. The Cut-off bands of Pawnee Killer and Two Strikes were determined to go anyway, though there is no record whether or not they went. Estes, Janis, and the prisoners camped on the prairie the evening of their departure. In the morning they were amazed to find the Brule in the hills around them, apparently frightened at the possible desertion of their sub-agent. Estes remained behind to gather the Brule together while Janis went on with the prisoners. This took Estes several days, and, once done, he and the Brule headed back to their reservation in Dakota, arriving there on August 27.<sup>44</sup>

The Pawnee, meanwhile, had been making their way back to their reservation. They had reached the settlement at Red Willow the afternoon of the battle. Their arrival created great consternation, as is shown in the reminiscences of a young widow, Sarah Wildman Leach:

My only real experience with the Indians, however, occurred in 1873. I was working for Mrs. John Byfield near the mouth of the Willow. The Byfields had a store there. It was supper time and Mrs. Byfield told me to go into the cellar and freeze some ice cream while she prepared the rest of the meal. Soon she came running down [into the] cellar with my frightened children clinging to her hands. The children were crying "They'll kill us, they'll kill us," and Mrs. Byfield told me the place was surrounded by Indians. We did not know what to do but I finally opened the door and looked out. I saw coming toward me a white man, which greatly reassured me. . . .<sup>45</sup>

As the Pawnee had lost all their supplies, Williamson purchased flour and sugar from Byfield to sustain them on the long journey back to the reservation. The chanting and wailing of the mourning Pawnee was an experience the Red Willow settlers never forgot. The Pawnee continued on downstream to Arapahoe, where they turned north and crossed back over the divide, as they had come the month before. They reached the Platte Valley at Plum Creek, where they received medical assistance from Dr. William M. Bancroft, after which they were put on trains and sent to Silver Creek, the railroad station nearest the reservation.<sup>46</sup>

On August 25 Agent Burgess sent Samuel C. Longshore, a teacher at the reservation, back to Massacre Canyon with authorization to bring back what goods he could find belonging



*The Massacre Canyon monument was dedicated September 26, 1930, after funding was provided by Congress. It stands thirty-five feet tall and weighs ninety-one tons. The inscription is on the following page.*

MASSACRE CANYON BATTLEFIELD  
MEMORIAL

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ALONG THIS CANYON,  
STRETCHING NORTHWEST THREE MILES,  
THE LAST BATTLE BETWEEN PAWNEE NATION  
AND SIOUX NATION WAS FOUGHT  
AUGUST FIFTH  
1873

---

PRINCIPAL CHIEFS  
PAWNEE-SKY CHIEF, SUN CHIEF, FIGHTING BEAR  
SIOUX-SPOTTED TAIL, LITTLE WOUND, TWO STRIKES

---

THIS MONUMENT  
ERECTED BY AUTHORITY OF THE CONGRESS OF THE  
UNITED STATES AS A MEMORIAL OF THE FRONTIER  
DAYS AND INDIAN WARS NOW FOREVER ENDED.

to the Pawnee. Royal Buck reported that Longshore collected about six tons of robes, meat, and camp equipage. A great amount of goods had been taken by the frontiersmen of Red Willow and Hitchcock Counties, some of which Longshore was able to retrieve. No doubt the battle was a boon to the frontiersmen of Hitchcock County who had arrived only that spring and had had but a poor farming season. Though only a few people lived there, the county was formally organized on August 30, in spite of reported fears of continued Indian problems. About the same time as Longshore's visit, Agent Burgess also sent Williamson back to the battlefield to bury the dead, most of whom were laid along the canyon bank with dirt pushed off to cover them.<sup>47</sup>

For several months Burgess had correspondence with those trying to be paid for what years later in reminiscences they passed off as acts of humanitarianism. Antoine Janis tried to collect money for feeding the Pawnee prisoners. Dr. J. S. Shaw, a Red Willow frontiersman, tried to collect for the burial of the squaw at Indianola. Dr. Bancroft of Plum Creek submitted a bill of sixty dollars for his work, but Agent Burgess cut it down to twelve "on account of the meager services [rendered] and he consented under protest when I paid the bill." John Byfield was paid \$35.65 for the flour and sugar which Williamson had purchased at his trading post.<sup>48</sup>

The Pawnee made no more tribal buffalo hunts in Nebraska, and in 1875 and 1876 the tribe left for the Indian Territory, allowing their lands to be sold to the government and then opened to settlement as a part of the public domain. It has been said that the battle at Massacre Canyon played an important role in the Pawnee decision to leave Nebraska, but there is no documentation to support this claim. In fact, in councils with their agent, the battle was barely mentioned. John Williamson retained the friendship of the Pawnee and moved with them to the Indian Territory for several years before returning to Genoa, where he died on March 12, 1927, a highly respected frontiersman and Indian authority.<sup>49</sup>

On the fiftieth anniversary of the battle in 1923, the citizens of Trenton held the first Massacre Canyon Pow-Wow with Sioux survivors in attendance. The celebration was held annually

(except for the World War II years) until the late 1950's. One of the more noted pow-wows was that of 1925 when both the Sioux and Pawnee survivors attended, and for the first time members of the two tribes smoked a pipe of peace. The Trenton people worked diligently to get the site of the battle appropriately marked, first through the State Legislature and then through Congress. U.S. Representative Ashton C. Shallenberger succeeded in getting \$7,500 appropriated for the marker. This is one of the few occasions when Congress passed a funding bill for the marking of what can be termed a *local* historical site. The 35-foot-tall monument of Minnesota pink granite weighing ninety-one tons was dedicated September 26, 1930. It was placed on a point of land jutting out over the Republican Valley and overlooking the mouth of Massacre Canyon. Due to highway relocation, the monument was moved to a new site along U.S. Highway 34 in the late 1950's, where it is a popular spot for tourists.<sup>50</sup>

It is ironic that the major Nebraska monument to its once most powerful tribe, as well as its most powerful Indian ally, is a monument not to their grandeur but to one of their most noted defeats. Unfortunately it is an apt memorial to an Indian policy which only suffered the Indian ally, while tending to over-placate the Indian hostile. The Indians suffered many wrongs at the hands of the whites, but it should be remembered there was death, pillage, and rapine upon the Great Plains long before the arrival of the whites.

## NOTES

1. David Franklin Powell letter, August 17, 1873, *Omaha Daily Herald*, August 21, 1873, as cited in Paul D. Riley, "Dr. David Franklin Powell and Fort McPherson," *Nebraska History*, 51, No. 2 (Summer, 1970), 163, hereafter cited, "Dr. Powell."
2. George E. Hyde, *Pawnee Indians* (Denver: University of Denver Press, 1951), 213-35.
3. *Ibid.*
4. "Pawnee Agency Council Minutes," *passim* (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma State Historical Society), photostatic copy in Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, hereafter cited as "Council Minutes." The council minutes are for October, 1870, through July, 1875, and usually include a complete transcription of the dialogue between the Pawnee chiefs and their agent. The minutes provide the most detailed and valuable information available on the Pawnee.
5. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1871.
6. *Ibid.*, and March 28, 1871.
7. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1872.
8. Paul D. Riley, editor, "The Red Willow County Letters of Royal Buck, 1872-1873," *Nebraska History*, 47, No. 4 (December, 1966), 371-73, 392, hereafter cited "Letters of Royal Buck."
9. Jacob M. Troth to General Edward O. C. Ord, July 11, 1872; Troth to John B. Omohundro and Baptist Bayhulle, July 25, 1872, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook" (Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma State Historical Society), photostatic copy in Nebraska State Historical Society Archives.
10. Donald F. Danker, editor, *Man of the Plains: Recollections of Luther North, 1856-1882* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), 170-174; John F. Reiger, editor, *The Passing of the Great West: Selected Papers of George Bird Grinnell* (New York: Winchester Press, 1972), 58-72. In the latter Grinnell tells of North and himself being attacked by Sioux on the open prairie south of Red Willow on their way back from the buffalo hunt. North does not mention such an encounter nor do any of the several letters available by Republican Valley frontiersmen; military reports from the region are equally silent as to Indian depredations in the region.
11. W. M. Hinman letter, September, 1872, *Omaha Weekly Herald*, September 18, 1872.
12. *Compendium of History, Reminiscence and Biography of Western Nebraska* (Chicago: 1909), 772, 773.
13. J. F. Zediker letter, December 16, 1872, *Lincoln Daily State Journal*, December 23, 1872.
14. Jacob M. Troth to Barclay White, November 9, 1872, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
15. Joseph G. Rosa, *They Called Him Wild Bill: The Life and Adventures of James Butler Hickok* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 143-54; Riley, "Letters of Royal Buck," 381-84; *Lowell Register*, February 6, 1873, as cited *Omaha Daily Herald*, February 19, 1873.
16. Frank M. Lockard, *The History of the Early Settlement of Norton County, Kansas* (Norton: Champion Press, [1894?]), 4, 5, 81; *Omaha Daily Herald*, January 15, 1873.

17. "Council Minutes," January 13 & 24, 1873; William Burgess to Barclay White, January 21, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
18. *Omaha Daily Herald*, January 12, 25, 917, 1873; "Corn Dodger," January 27, 1873, *Omaha Republican*, February 7, 1873.
19. William Burgess to Barclay White, February 20, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
20. *Genoa Leader-Times*, March 18, 1927; John W. Williamson, *The Battle of Massacre Canyon: The Unfortunate Ending of the Last Buffalo Hunt of the Pawnees* (Trenton, Nebr.: Republican Leader, 1922), [1]; William Burgess to Barclay White, June 24, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
21. William Burgess to John W. Williamson, July 2, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
22. William Burgess to General Edward O. C. Ord, July 2, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook"; Williamson, *Massacre Canyon*, [7].
23. *Ibid.*, [2-7].
24. D. R. Risley to General Edward O. C. Ord, April 12, 1873; George A. Woodward to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, July 25, 1873, *U.S. Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs: Letters Received, Whetstone Agency* (National Archives, microfilm), copy on file Nebraska State Historical Society Archives, hereafter cited "Whetstone Agency Letters."
25. George A. Woodward to Assistant Adjutant General, July 25, 1873, *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. W. F. Barnard to the Secretary of the Interior, July 22, 1873; William H. Belknap to the Secretary of Interior, August 4, 1873, "Whetstone Agency Letters."
28. Antoine Janis to J. W. Daniels, August 5, 1873, "Indian Office Documents on Sioux-Pawnee Battle." *Nebraska History*, 16, No. 3 (July, 1935), 155, hereafter cited as "Indian Office Documents."
29. Stephen F. Estes to E. A. Howard, August 28, 1873, *Ibid.*, 153.
30. Galen E. Baldwin, "Early Days in Hitchcock County" (typescript, Nebraska State Historical Society Archives).
31. Williamson, *Massacre Canyon*, [7].
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, [8].
34. *Ibid.*, [8, 9].
35. *Ibid.*, [9, 10].
36. "Letters of Royal Buck," 390, 391.
37. Williamson, *Massacre Canyon*, [10]; Charles Meinhold to J. B. Johnson, Post Adjutant, Fort McPherson, August 17, 1873 (National Archives, photostatic copy), copy in possession of author.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*; William S. Fitch, "Massacre Canyon," *Indianok Reporter*, July 30, 1925; William Burgess to Barclay White, September 13, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
40. Charles Meinhold to J. B. Johnson, August 17, 1873, *op. cit.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Riley, "Dr. Powell," 163.
42. *Ibid.*, fn 13, 169.

43. Stephen F. Estes to E. A. Howard, August 6, 1873; Antoine Janis to J. W. Daniels, August 5, 1873, "Indian Office Documents," 150, 151, 155.
44. *Ibid.*, Stephen F. Estes to E. A. Howard, August 28, 1873, 152, 153.
45. Sarah Wildman Leach Black, "Memoirs of Pioneer Days in Southwest Nebraska," *Maywood Eagle-Reporter*, July 13, 1929.
46. *Ibid.*; William M. Bancroft, "Plum Creek (Lexington) Nebraska," Nebraska Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Collection of Nebraska Pioneer Reminiscences* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1916), 59, 60; William Burgess to Barclay White, October 14, 1873, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
47. "Letters of Royal Buck," 393; Williamson, *Massacre Canyon*, [13].
48. William Burgess to Antoine Janis, September 25, 1873; Burgess to John Byfield, September 27, 1873; Burgess to Barclay White, October 14, 1873; Burgess to John Byfield, December 24, 1873; Burgess to J. S. Shaw & Louis B. Kornis, January 19, 1874, "Pawnee Agency Letterbook."
49. *Genoa Leader-Times*, March 18, 1927; "Council Minutes," 1873-1874 *passim*.
50. Asahel L. Taylor, "Building the Massacre Canyon Monument," *Nebraska History*, 16, No. 3 (July, 1935), 171-77; *Souvenir Edition: 25th Anniversary of the Founding of Massacre Canyon Pow-Wow* (Trenton: Trenton Register, 1948), [20-23].