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Washita Memories: Eyewitness Views of Custer's Attack on Black Kettle's Village. By Richard G. Hardorff.

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plausibly infers that Neptune declined to translate or otherwise reveal Penobscot understandings of many names and places he and Treat visited, he does not ask whether Treat had any curiosity about such meanings. Pawling notes Treat's care in attempting to achieve phonetic accuracy in his written renderings of the names of places, but the maps and journal record only a handful of elaborations that indicate some dimension of Penobscot history, for example, "Olemon, or Paint Stream, so called, by reason of the Indians having formerly found good red paint or red ochre on this stream" (81). At the same time, Treat's observations frequently indicate less culturally sensitive motives. He repeatedly evaluates the geography of places in terms of their potential for commodification. The first Penobscot-owned stretch of river that he observes "on both sides is very good," but the next stretch of river "does not appear so good as below—the growth generally pine, hemlock and spruce and mixed—soil rather rocky." Still later that day he observed that the land would make good farming land (85). It would seem that Treat needed Neptune to find these places but not to tell him how settlers might use them. Even more revealing about Treat's regard for Penobscots is his observation that the Maliseets on the St. John River "appear to be very civil and good Indians and are more industrious than the Penobscot Indians" (184).

Given Treat's contempt for the Penobscots and his disinterest in their history, and Neptune's understandable suspicion of the English, in what sense does the journal represent a bicultural collaboration? Like "explorers" beginning with Columbus, Treat needed to attach names to places as part of his effort to legitimize Maine's claims to ownership. Unlike many such explorers, he recognized the chronological priority of Native history and was willing to co-opt Native names for places in which his own people's history had just begun. For his part, Neptune was not only eager to supply Treat with Penobscot names as a means to reinforce Penobscot land claims but also to perpetuate the living presence of the land and its places, particularly sacred ones, among present and future generations of Penobscots. In this sense their collaboration would seem to represent less a cooperative undertaking than a momentary convergence of conflicting interests. But regardless of how we finally assess the relationship between the two protagonists, we are indebted to Pawling for bringing this remarkable document to our attention and contextualizing it in such illuminating fashion.

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Washita Memories: Eyewitness Views of Custer's Attack on Black Kettle's Village. By Richard G. Hardorff. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 474 pages. \$34.95 cloth.

For Cheyennes the military attacks at Sand Creek, the Washita, and Summit Springs have special significance. The attack at the Washita holds a prominent place in studies of Indian–white conflict and was immortalized on film in *Little*

Big Man. Recently the site has been designated a national historic site administered by the National Park Service (NPS) in recognition of the national significance of this event.

During the 1990s significant research was conducted on the Washita, including archaeological work and the collection of oral histories. In 2004 NPS historian Jerome Greene published a masterful study of the event in *Washita: The U.S. Army and the Southern Cheyennes, 1867–1869,* and now Richard G. Hardorff, who previously published a book on Indian views of the Custer fight, contributes *Washita Memories: Eyewitness Views of Custer's Attack on Black Kettle's Village.*

Hardorff includes items from forty-two individuals, some with multiple entries. George Custer has four items from his official reports of 28 November and 22 December 1868, a letter, and an extract from his autobiography *My Life on the Plains*. Most accounts are by whites, but ten descriptions of the battle are by Cheyennes, including mixed-blood George Bent. Only six of those descriptions are by individuals that actually were present at the Washita; another is by a Kiowa participant.

The editor states that Cheyennes hope that history eventually will give their perspective of the battle and that *Washita Memories* is an effort to do that. Unfortunately it fails in that attempt. Hardorff apparently made no effort to collect oral traditions from tribal members. He failed to utilize the oral history work done by Mary Jane Warde for the NPS in the 1990s and to use all the rather extensive George Bent material located in several different repositories.

In addition to the individual documents, Hardorff provides an introduction that describes events that led to the campaign, the actual attack on Black Kettle's village, and the controversies that have swirled around this event. He also provides an effective introduction and annotation for each entry.

Those interested in studying original documents of historical events will find this volume of some use, but *Washita Memories* fails to provide an effective voice for a Cheyenne perspective because of the relatively small number of Indian sources used. People interested in this sad event will be better served by Jerome Greene's book, which more effectively deals with the major issues that surrounded Custer's attack, his management of his command, the loss of Major Elliott's unit, and questions in regard to reportage of Indian casualties.

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