The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876

Historical Report Written by Dave Eckroth
Reviewed by
Dave Eckroth, Becky Kallevig, Mike Penfold and Jaeger Held
Our Montana
Billings, Montana, February 9, 2017

National Park Service Disclaimer

“This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Interior.”

Acknowledgements

The following persons and organizations contributed to this report. Our Montana is most grateful for their efforts and support. This report reflects the collective efforts of those listed. Their contributions are all important and no ranking is intended.

People

Mike Penfold - Our Montana Project Coordinator, Archival Research, Field Study
Doug Melton - Lead Archeologist, Miles City Field Office BLM
Becky Kallevig - Archeologist, Field Work, Terrain Analysis, Editor, Archival Research
Howard Boggess - Crow Historian, Field Study
Tim Urbaniak - Professor, Montana State University, Billings, College of Technology (retired):
Imagery Compilation
Dennis J. Elliott - GIS Map and Imagery compilation
Jaeger Held - Researcher, Field Study and Terrain Analysis, Editing
Bill Goethe - Personal Collection, Photo Permission
Tom Cardaraopli, Walnuts Antiques - Personal Collection, Photo Permission
Mary Hannah - Personal Collection, Photo Permission
Mike Fitzpatrick - Personal Collection, Photo Permission
Hugh Fulton - Landowner, Permission for Terrain Analysis and Field Work
Patrick Zimmer - Collaboration on previous and independent Field study
Bob and Dee Talcott - Powder River Historical Museum, Broadus, MT
Ron and Twila Talcott - Powder River Historical Museum, Broadus, MT
John Pugrud - Field Study

Organizations

American Battlefield Protection Program, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.
Miles City Field Office, Bureau of Land Management, Miles City, Montana
Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, Walter M. Camp Photograph Collection, Provo, Utah
Powder River Historical Museum, Broadus, Montana
Buffalo Bill Center of the West, McCracken Research Library, Cody, Wyoming
Dull Knife College, Lame Deer, Montana
Our Montana, Billings, Montana
Oglala Lakota College, Oglala Lakota Archives, Kyle, South Dakota
Indiana University, Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana
Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana
National Archives, Washington, D.C., Denver, and Maryland Branches
Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska
Smithsonian Museum, National Anthropological Archives, Suitland, Maryland
University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming
Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, Wyoming
U.S. Army Office of Medical History, Fort Sam Houston, Texas
U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania

U.S. Military Academy Library, Special Collections & Archives Division, West Point, New York
I. The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876, Abstract

This Report has been prepared with a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program Grant No. (GA-2287-15-016) The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 was completed under the guidance of Our Montana, Billings, MT.

The purpose of this report is to place in the public record extensive archival and archeological information which the authors and researchers have compiled over a period of two years. This study confidently lays out the Battlefield Boundary of the Powder River, March 17, 1876 battle site. It is the author’s position that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds’s fight with Old Bear and Two Moon’s Northern Cheyenne village was significant in that it was the first major fight that ignited the war with the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, also known as the Great Sioux War. Furthermore, this event drove many of the Northern Cheyenne into the camp of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse’s non-reservation Sioux band.

This report demonstrates that avocationals and professionals collaborating in this study can produce a quality report which expands research and knowledge of Indian Wars history. This report includes the following: a concise historical account of the Big Horn Expedition and the Powder River Fight of March 17, 1876, a detailed map of the expedition route, phases of the engagements, and lists and images of participants in the engagements as well as the Expedition.

The report recommends first and foremost the preservation of the battle site through the cooperation of the stewards of the property. Our Montana will provide the Montana State
Historical Preservation Office with the application for nomination to the National Register of Historic Sites. The site information will remain private.
II. Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... 1
People ............................................................................................................................................... 1
Organizations ................................................................................................................................. 2
I. The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876, Abstract ................................................................. 4
II. Table of Contents ..................................................................................................................... 6
III. List of Figures and Tables ....................................................................................................... 8
IV. Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 11
V. History of the Big Horn Expedition, March 1-26, 1876 ....................................................... 13
  Big Horn Expedition Route Maps: .......................................................................................... 186
  Battle Phase Maps .................................................................................................................... 189
  Study Area Maps ..................................................................................................................... 200
VI. Bibliography ......................................................................................................................... 201
  Manuscripts and Photographic Collections ........................................................................... 201
  Government Publications ......................................................................................................... 204
  Books ........................................................................................................................................ 205
  Articles ..................................................................................................................................... 208
  Personal Interviews .................................................................................................................. 209
  Internet Resources ................................................................................................................... 209
  Newspapers ............................................................................................................................... 212
  Maps ....................................................................................................................................... 212
Appendix A: Field Methodology ............................................................................................... 214
  Reconnaissance Inventory at the Powder River Battlefield, March 17, 1876 ...................... 219
  Artifact Identification .............................................................................................................. 224
  Artifacts recovered during 2016-2017 field reconnaissance at the Powder River battlefield ... 225
  Select artifacts found during the field reconnaissance at the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 Site ...................................................................................................................................................................................... 227
  U.S. Military Artifact Samples: ............................................................................................... 229
  Northern Cheyenne and Sioux Artifact Samples ..................................................................... 232
  Powder River Historical Museum Battlefield Collection and Held Collection .................... 240
    George Fulton Collection (Powder River Historical Museum) ............................................. 240
    Larry Cooley Collection (Donated to the Broadus Museum by Mary Cole Cooley) .......... 244
III. List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Fort Laramie, Circa. 1876. Sub. Neg. 5455 NARA Photo, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming State Archives....................................................................................................................................................... 23

Figure 2: Figure 2: Fort Fetterman. Sub. Neg. 10840 NARA Photo. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming State Archives....................................................................................................................................................... 27

Figure 3: Crook's Camp, Fort Fetterman, 1876. Sub. Neg. 19545 NARA Photo. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming State Archives ............................................................................................................................................................................................. 28

Figure 4: Black Coal, sitting on right side. Courtesy of Tom Cardaraopli, Walnutts Antiques ................. 29

Figure 5: North Platte River in vicinity of Fort Fetterman. Courtesy of David Eckroth.................................................. 31

Figure 6: Sage Creek Camp, March 1, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .............................................................. 32

Figure 7: Rifle Pit on small bluff overlooking Sage Creek Camp. Courtesy of David Eckroth.................. 33

Figure 8: Pumpkin Buttes. Courtesy of David Eckroth .......................................................................................... 34

Figure 9: Vicinity of Brown Springs. Courtesy of David Eckroth .............................................................................. 34

Figure 10: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 2, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .......... 35

Figure 11: Wagon Ruts between Big Horn Expedition Camp 2 and 3. Courtesy of David Eckroth .......... 38

Figure 12: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 3, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ............................................. 38

Figure 13: Solder Dot Can found in vicinity of March 3, 1876 Camp. Courtesy of David Eckroth ............ 39

Figure 14: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 4, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ............................................................. 40

Figure 15: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 5, 1876 across from Old Fort Reno. Courtesy of David Eckroth ........................................................................................................................................................................... 41

Figure 16: John Shangreau, scout with the Big Horn Expedition. Sub. Neg. 2900. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming Historical Society......................................................................................................................................................................................... 42

Figure 17: Fort Reno Monument. Courtesy of David Eckroth .............................................................................. 44

Figure 18: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp on Crazy Woman Creek, March 6, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .......................................................................................................................................................................................................................... 46

Figure 19: Terrain crossed during the night march. Courtesy of David Eckroth .................................................. 49

Figure 20: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition, 1st Camp on March 8, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ........ 50

Figure 21: Big Horn Expedition Camp, 2nd Camp on March 8, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .............. 51

Figure 22: Terrain crossed by General Crook's Command on March 9, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .......................................................................................................................................................................................................................... 53

Figure 23: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 9, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth .............. 54

Figure 24: Wounded soldier carried on travail taken from Otis, George., Assistant Surgeon, U.S. Army, Circular No. 9: A Report to the Surgeon General on the Transport of the Sick and Wounded by Pack Animals, Washington: GPO, March 1, 1877 ......................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................... 55

Figure 25: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 10, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ................................. 55

Figure 26: Tongue River between General Crook's March 11 and 12, 1876 Campsites. Courtesy of David Eckroth ......................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................... 57

Figure 27: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 12, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ................................. 58

Figure 28: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 13, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ................................. 59

Figure 29: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 14, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth ................................. 61

Figure 30: March 16, 1876 Following Red Clay Creek. Courtesy of David Eckroth ................................. 62
Figure 31:  The divide between the Tongue and Otter Creek.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 32:  Vicinity of March 16, 1876 Camp Site.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 33:  The Valley of Indian Trail Creek.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 34:  The first view of the Powder River Valley from the summit.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 35:  Looking northeast at the site of the Northern Cheyenne village.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 36:  Frank Grouard discovers the village

Figure 37:  A Northern Plains village.  MS 035 North American Indian Photographs, P.35.0 Cody, Wyoming:  McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West

Figure 38:  Orders are given and troops move to concealed positions


Figure 40:  bluffs adjacent to the Powder River.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 41:  Captain Moore's Battalion concealed themselves near the crest of the ridge.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 42:  1st Lieutenant Rawolle's position prior to Captain Egan's charge.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 43:  Major Stanton's position (bluffs closest to the plateau in center of picture).  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 44:  Vicinity of Captain Noyes and Egan's Avenue of Approach.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 45:  Captains Egan and Noyes lead the assault

Figure 46:  Private Charles Minarcik, Company "I", 2nd Cavalry.  Courtesy of Mary Hannah, Private Collection

Figure 47:  Location of Northern Cheyenne village.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 48:  Fight for control of the village

Figure 49:  Captain Mills's advances

Figure 50:  The soldiers take control of the village

Figure 51:  Many of the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux women and children escaped to the ravine seen between the bluffs.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 52:  The edge of the plateau, overlooking the Northern Cheyenne village.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 53:  Burning the village

Figure 54:  Captain Mills requests reinforcements

Figure 55:  Assistant Surgeon Munn's 1st Hospital was set up near the bend in the plateau (seen toward the right side of the photo).  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 56:  A detachment of Captain Noyes's Company "I", 2nd Cavalry stood guard over the captured horse herd, near the bluff seen in this image.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 57:  The arrival of Captain Noyes

Figure 58:  The withdrawal

Figure 59:  Jeremiah J. Murphy.  Deeds of Valor, 1992.  Vol. II, Beyer, Walter F. and Keydel, Oscar F....

Figure 60:  Colonel Reynolds's camp at the mouth of Lodge Pole Creek, March 17, 1876.  Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 61:  Vicinity of the Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 18, 1876.  Courtesy of David Eckroth
Figure 62: The terrain crossed by the Big Horn Expedition on March 19, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 63: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 19, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 64: Terrain crossed by the Big Horn Expedition on March 20, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 65: Big Horn Expedition Camp near Fort Reno, March 21-22, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 66: Big Horn Expedition, March 23 1876 Camp on Dry Fork, Powder River. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 67: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 24, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 68: Vicinity of Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 25, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

Figure 69: General Crook’s Headquarters, Fort Fetterman, Harper’s Weekly, December 16, 1876

Figure 70: Fort Fetterman (Captain Edwin M. Coates, sitting with dog). Fort Fetterman File F775, Neg. 9969. Laramie, Wyoming: American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

Figure 71: Big Horn Expedition, March 1-27, 1876 Route Map

Figure 72: Big Horn Expedition, March 1-27, 1876 Route Overlay

Figure 73: Phase 1

Figure 74: Phase 2

Figure 75: Phase 3

Figure 76: Phase 4

Figure 77: Phase 5

Figure 78: Phase 6

Figure 79: Phase 7

Figure 80: Phase 8

Figure 81: Phase 9

Figure 82: Phase 10

Figure 83: Battle Study Area
IV. Introduction

The potential for a grant for the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 was initially reviewed by Our Montana. This organization has a mission of addressing historical and cultural heritage themes that transcend county and federal lines, and has a goal of facilitating preservation, interpretation, development and promotion of historical and cultural resources. Our Montana is governed by a distinguished and knowledgeable board of directors representing the state of Montana and is a non-profit “501 (c)(3)” organization.

This study includes the events in the Big Horn Expedition, March 1-27, 1876. The purpose of this military expedition, consisting of 10 companies of cavalry and 2 companies of infantry under the leadership of Brigadier General George Crook and Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, was to search for Sitting Bull’s as well as other non-reservation Sioux winter encampments, break their will to live off the reservation, and bring these people to the Sioux reservations. The fight that occurred on the banks of the Powder River, March 17, 1876 was the climactic event of the Big Horn Expedition. On that day, Colonel Reynolds with six companies of the 2nd and 3rd U.S. Cavalry attacked the Northern Cheyenne village under the leadership of Old Bear and Two Moon. Colonel Reynolds’s men thought they had struck Crazy Horse’s encampment, instead they attacked Old Bear’s and Two Moon’s Northern Cheyenne camp. Colonel Reynolds’s force succeeded in taking the village and capturing a significant number of horses, but failed to capture the women and children and subsequently failed to force the subjugation of their people. Once the women and children were safely concealed, the Northern Cheyenne and a few Oglala Sioux warriors regained the initiative and succeeded in occupying key terrain and kept up a steady and heated harassment of the U.S. Military force which occupied the captured
village. The soldiers withdrew and followed the Powder River for nearly 20 miles to their day’s campsite. That night a small party of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors succeeded in recapturing many of the horses taken by Colonel Reynolds’s force. Colonel Reynolds, Captain Moore, and Captain Noyes were ultimately court-martialed for their conduct during the battle. Only Captain Noyes was able to recover from the court-martial. Colonel Reynolds and Captain Moore’s military careers were effectively ended following their convictions.

Two important books have been published which would allow the readers to further explore the story of the Battle on Powder River, March 17, 1876. They are as follows: *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, published in 1961 by J. W. Vaughn and *Powder River: Disastrous Opening of the Great Sioux War*, published in 2016 by Paul Hedren. Both of these works were well researched and substantial undertakings.
V. History of the Big Horn Expedition, March 1-26, 1876

The Big Horn Expedition, March 1-26, 1876 and the Battle on Powder River, March 17, 1876

Westward Expansion

The decade following the Civil War brought the nation’s focus back to the West (Wyoming, Montana, and Dakota Territories) because of gold discoveries, the Homestead Act of 1862 and the coming the transcontinental railroads. With renewed attention to this region came inevitable conflict. The Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho clashed with the U.S. military and civilians over the encroachment of this region. After mustering at Fort Laramie, General Patrick Connor’s Powder River Expedition of 1865 marked a punitive strike against the Sioux. The opening of the Bozeman Trail, leading prospectors to the Montana gold fields fueled Red Cloud’s War (1866 – 1868). Military posts (Forts Reno, Phil Kearney, and C.F. Smith) constructed on the Bozeman Trail to protect travelers, added fuel to the already growing flames. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 ended Red Cloud’s War. This treaty created the Great Sioux Reservation, ensured tribal ownership of the Black Hills, and provided an “unceeded territory” for Indian use. These unceded lands lay east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains and north of the North Platte River. Northern borders were not specified.

Following the conclusion of Red Cloud’s War, the next significant encroachment was the push for the Transcontinental Railroads. Construction of the Union Pacific Railway through Nebraska and Wyoming Territories directly impacted the tribes as tracks crossed through their traditional hunting grounds, significantly diminishing big game, most notably buffalo. Diminishing food supplies severely affected the tribes, causing reliance on the reservation
system to escape starvation. Additionally, the Northern Pacific Railroad threatened the rich hunting grounds of the unceded territory of the Powder River Basin.

Although Red Cloud did not personally fight these encroachments, Sitting Bull, Black Moon, Crazy Horse and other Sioux leaders wielded the mantle of defiance. Several fights occurred on or near the Lower Yellowstone River Valley further demonstrating resistance to the arrival of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Major Eugene M. Baker’s fight on August 14, 1872 near present-day Billings, Montana, Colonel David S. Stanley’s fights at the mouth of the Powder River (August 18, 1872) and O’Fallon Creek (August 22, 1872) and effectively disabled progression of the 1872 Northern Pacific survey. Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer’s clashes on Sunday Creek, August 4, 1873 and at the Mouth of the Big Horn River, August 11, 1873 demonstrated the level of resistance to encroachments on the unceded hunting grounds provided by the Treaty of 1868. Following Colonel Stanley’s and Lieutenant Colonel Custer’s Yellowstone Expedition of 1873, the United States suffered a national financial crisis that temporarily halted the efforts of the Northern Pacific to push westward.

The Black Hills

In 1874, the possibilities of exploiting the resources of the Black Hills were pursued. That summer, Lieutenant Colonel Custer and an expeditionary force explored the region. Custer’s report and findings revealing the existence of gold rekindled the nation’s optimism after the “Great Financial Panic of 1873.” Colonel Custer noted in his report,

Gold has been found at several places and it is the belief of those who are giving their attention to this subject that it will be found in paying quantities. I have upon my table 40 or 50 particles of pure gold in size averaging that of a small pin head, and most of it obtained today from one pan full of earth. ... There is no opportunity to make a
satisfactory examination in regard to deposits of valuable minerals. Veins of lead and strong indications of silver have been found. ... Veins of what the geologists term gold bearing quartz crop out in almost every hillside. ... In one place (where a hole was dug) ... the miners report that they found gold among the roots of grass.¹

The Custer Expedition into the Black Hills violated the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which prohibited incursions into Indian Territory without tribal permission. The Sioux saw the Black Hills as sacred land and reacted with great uneasiness. The Expedition,

Occasioned great excitement among the Sioux people during the summer. They regard it as a palpable infraction of their treaty stipulations, and were filled with the apprehension that it might lead to their exclusion from a country held sacredly their own, and highly prized as their home and last refuge from the encroachment of settlements. ... It is not improbable; however that legislation will be sought, meanwhile, by which to procure the opening of this country to settlement. Such a course cannot be too strongly deprecated, and should be opposed in every form. Scarcely a greater evil could come to the Sioux people than the disturbance and demoralization incident to an attempt to dispossess them of their country.²

Reports of gold reverberated throughout the newspapers of our nation, and mining parties appeared in great numbers to try their luck at exploiting the resources of the region. The Army was ordered to try to stop these trespassers. Meanwhile, the government was preparing for a second incursion into the Black Hills. Professor Walter P. Jenny, a geologist, escorted by the military under the command of Colonel Richard I. Dodge, explored the Black Hills and determined the region’s worth in precious minerals. In a letter to the Indian Bureau, dated July 31, 1875, Professor Jenny stated,

I have found gold in placer deposits on both Spring and Rapid Creeks, from their headwaters to the point where they emerge from the hills, and a more extended prospecting and exploration shows that in localities in the valleys of these streams the gravel bars, especially those of older formations and elevated above the present level of the streams, contain gold in quantities sufficient to yield a fair remuneration for labor economically and skillfully applied. ... still there is enough of the precious metal to develop the country, and stock-raising and agriculture will do the rest.³
Colonel Dodge pointed out the most significant issue facing the military commands of both the Department of Dakota and the Department of the Platte; the constant influx of miners pouring into the Black Hills. Dodge went on to say, “From my best authority, I am satisfied that not less than 600 men left the hills under General Crook’s proclamation. Equal if not greater numbers will pour in the spring.”

The costs of barring the miners from the Black Hills proved to be severely taxing on the military resources of the United States. President Grant and his administration’s obvious solution was to unburden the military resources and allow miners to extract the minerals of this region. Purchasing the Black Hills was an end to this means.

On September 20, 1875 the Council of the Commissioners of the President of the United States and the Sioux Nation convened on White River, eight miles from Red Cloud Agency. The following tribes attended: Cheyenne River Agency (Two Kettle, Minneconjou, San Arc, and Blackfeet Sioux), 3,000, Standing Rock Agency (Yanktonai, Uncpapa, Blackfeet Sioux), 1,000, Santee Sioux, 50, Fort Thompson (Yanktonai, Brule), 30, Lower Yankton, 80, Lower Brule, 800, and 30 non-agency attendees. The United States commissioners at this grand council determined to purchase the Black Hills and part of the Big Horn country (This region rich in game, was occupied by Sitting Bull’s bands who never accepted government aid or reservation life). Tribal leaders Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Black Crow, Little Wolf, and Living Bear met with U.S. officials. The U.S. offer was wholly rejected by these tribal leaders. The tribal counter offer requested full support for their respected tribes for seven generations (about 200 years) with the promise that this message be delivered to the “Great Father” in Washington.
President Grant, frustrated by the lack of progress concerning the purchase of the Black Hills, chose to pursue a different course of action, ultimately designed to achieve the goal of seizing the Black Hills. As historian John S. Gray noted,

In early November 1875, Major General Philip Sheridan, Commander of the Division of the Missouri, and Brigadier General George Crook, commander of the Department of the Platte were called to Washington, D.C. to meet with Grant and several members of his cabinet to discuss the issue of the Black Hills. They agreed that the Army should stop evicting trespassers from the reservation, thus opening the way for the gold rush into the Black Hills. The committee further discussed initiating military action against the bands of Lakota and Northern Cheyenne who had refused to come to the Indian agencies for council. Indian Inspector Erwin C. Watkins supported this option. "The true policy in my judgment," he wrote, "is to send companies against them in the winter, the sooner the better, and whip them into subjection."  

The following comments by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward P. Smith, reveal that the Black Hills issue and “gold fever” are center stage to the upcoming U.S. policies related to western expansion.

However unwilling we may be to confess it, the experience of the past summer proves either the inefficiency of the United States troops, or the utter impossibility of keeping Americans out of a country where gold is known to exist by any fear of orders of a cavalry patrol, or by any consideration of the rights of others. The occupation and possession of the Black Hills by white men seems now inevitable, but no reason exists for making this inevitability an occasion of wrong or injury to the Sioux. If an Indian can be possessed of rights of country, either natural or acquired by treaty, this country belongs now to the Sioux. 

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs continued to advocate for the purchase of the Black Hills. Especially in light of the failed negotiations, Smith stated,

The fact that these Indians are making but little if any use of the Black Hills has no bearing upon the question of what is a fair equivalent for the surrender of these rare facilities for farming and grazing. ... Their ignorance of themselves and of true values makes the stronger appeal to our sense of what is right and fair. The true equivalent to be offered the Sioux as helpless wards of the Government for the Black Hills will be
This article summarized Commissioner Smith’s view on the acquisition of the Black Hills, “In short, the Commissioner is perfectly willing to turn over the troublesome job to the Army, but decidedly objects to seeing his “little bureau” abolished, in favor of territorial government for the peaceable Indians, military government for the warlike ones, as dictated by a sound policy.”

General Grant’s meeting with Major General Philip Sheridan, Brigadier General George Crook and members of his cabinet provided the impetus for turning over the Department of Indian Affairs to the War Department, an abrupt change in policy. The following description taken from a letter by Indian Inspector E. C. Watkins provided justification for the upcoming war with the non-reservation Sioux and ultimately the possession of the Black Hills.

On November 9, 1875, Watkins reported findings of his recent tour into Montana and Dakota. He documented that Sitting Bull’s and other bands of the Sioux roamed throughout Western Dakota and Eastern Montana (primarily the valleys of the Yellowstone and Powder River) and fought against the Arickaree, Mandan, Gros Ventre, Assiniboine, Blackfeet, Piegan, Crow and other peaceful tribes. He also noted that Sitting Bull and his followers were in open defiance to U.S. laws. Sitting Bull boasted that the U.S. authorities were not capable of conquering them. They held the U.S. troops in contempt. From unceded territory, the Sioux struck in all directions stealing horses. They plundered surrounding tribes, frontier settlers, white hunters, and emigrants not capable of effective resistance. However, Sitting Bull’s warriors numbered
only a few hundred. In Watkins’ judgment, a force of one thousand soldiers under the command of an efficient officer could effectively subjugate Sitting Bull and his followers.”

Indian Inspector Watkins’s communication also submitted his recommendations to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Edward P. Smith. In turn Smith forwarded the recommendations to Secretary of the Interior, Zachariah Chandler, who then sent them to Secretary of War, General William W. Belknap for his consideration and action. On December 3, 1875 the following message reached the Secretary of War,

I have the honor to inform you that I have this day directed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to notify said Indians (Sitting Bull and others outside their reservation) that they must remove to the reservation before the 31st day of January 1876; that if they neglect or refuse to remove, that they will be reported to the War Department as hostile Indians, and that a military force will be sent to compel them to obey the orders of the Indian Office.

February 1, 1876, the Secretary of the Interior notified the Secretary of War, “The time given him [Sitting Bull] in which to return to an agency having expired, and the advices received at the Indian Office being to the effect that Sitting Bull still refuses to comply with the directions of the Commissioner, the said Indians are hereby turned over to the War Department for such action on the part of the Army as you may deem proper under the circumstances.”

Throughout February 1876, the Commanders of the Departments of the Platte and Dakota began the necessary logistical preparations for a winter campaign against non-reservation Sioux, Cheyenne, and other tribal bands living in the Yellowstone and Powder River regions.
Preparations for the Winter Campaign

The military plan for the subjugation of Sitting Bull’s people included sending out three distinct expeditions from Fort Ellis, Fort Abraham Lincoln, and Fort Fetterman to force surrenders and compel the tribal populations to go to their designated reservations. The implementation of this plan failed, although the same strategy was enacted during the summer of 1876.

On February 22, 1876 the Montana Contingent of the 2nd Cavalry (Companies “F”, “G”, “H”, and “L”) under command of Major James S. Brisbin departed from Fort Ellis with orders to break a siege by Sioux warriors and rescue a civilian party at Fort Pease, near the confluence of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers. This event would tie up Major Brisbin’s four companies of the 2nd Cavalry until at least April. On March 4th Brisbin’s column arrived at Fort Pease and relieved the garrison. Two days later his men and the remaining civilians departed for their home destination of Fort Ellis, near present-day Bozeman, Montana.

In addition to the delay of Colonel Gibbon’s Montana Continent, Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, Commander of the Department of Dakota had only nine companies of the 7th Cavalry Regiment available. Lieutenant Colonel Custer’s 7th Cavalry would not commence operations until at least April, 1876. The excessively hard winter disabled any troop movements, since the logistics of supplying and outfitting a command proved impossible. The avenues of supply in the remote region of Dakota Territory (i.e. railroads and steamboats) were unavailable. The 7th Cavalry Regiment, short three companies, wouldn’t reach Fort Abraham Lincoln until May 1, 1876.
Logistics and Supply

Brigadier General Crook, Commander of the Department of the Platte, followed through with his plan to engage in a winter campaign despite the lack of support from Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry’s command from the Department of Dakota. Crook selected five companies of the 2nd Cavalry, five companies of the 3rd Cavalry and two companies of the 4th Infantry from the Department of the Platte as his Expeditionary force.20

Crook’s next priority was to properly equip the mounted battalions. He required the ten companies of cavalry be provided with the strongest horses available in the Department. Forecasted weather conditions for the upcoming expedition predicted extremely cold temperatures which would tax the endurance of the men and horses.

On January 6, 1876, Deputy Quartermaster General Samuel B. Holabird sent a request, directed by Lieutenant General Sheridan to Major Marshall L. Ludington, Chief Quartermaster of the Department of the Platte for the purchase of 99 Cavalry horses.21

Nearly a month later, General Crook ensured that his men acquired the best mounts available from Cheyenne Depot. The following letter from 2nd Lieutenant John Bourke, Aide-de-Camp to the Department Commander, to Captain James Gillis, Acting Quartermaster for the Department of the Platte (Cheyenne Depot) demonstrates General Crook’s focus on the priority of acquiring the best mounts.

General Crook directs you to defer the sale of the forty-six (46) public horses advertised to be sold at public auction (illegible) until after the Commanding Officers of the Companies of Cavalry now fitting out for the field at this point shall have selected such as may be best suited for service with their commands. This selection made, you will disperse of the remainder as already directed.22
General Crook aggressively pursued the acquisition of the finest mounts, preparing his men for a winter campaign; he hoped to prove that pursuing and defeating an enemy force in the severely adverse winter conditions of northern Wyoming and southeastern Montana could be accomplished.

An example of a supply request for the upcoming Big Horn Expedition is as follows:

“Need 100 prs. boots (5, 6, 7) 100 prs. Drawers No. 4, 100, pants 4 and 200 blankets – your dispatch received Wednesday night.”

Military Intelligence

Brigadier General Crook expertly prepared for the upcoming winter campaign by ensuring that his men and mounts were ready for the harsh weather conditions they would confront. Meanwhile intelligence was being gathered on the size and whereabouts of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse’s bands, the key targets of the upcoming expedition. On January 15th scouts arrived at Fort Stevenson, Dakota Territory alerting Major Orlando H. Moore that Sitting Bull’s camp was on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Powder River. This information was forwarded to Colonel Huston, Fort Stevenson, Dakota Territory. The same day, Fort Berthold Indian Agent Charles W. Darling penned a letter to John Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., which described a horse stealing incident at the Gros Ventre and Mandan (friendly tribes) winter camp, near the mouth of the Little Missouri. A Sioux party stole 25 horses and were seen heading for their camp on the Yellowstone. Furthermore, sources from the Standing Rock and Cheyenne Indian Agencies revealed that Sitting Bull’s followers numbered about 500 lodges. The above information, along with additional supporting letters
arrived at Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri on February 8, 1876. A summary of the letters follows, “The letters received from Fort Stevenson show that Sitting Bull has left the Little Mo. River and is now on the Yellowstone as high up as Powder River. ...” The information regarding the size and location of Sitting Bull’s camp proved invaluable to Brigadier General George Crook in the planning stages of the upcoming winter campaign.25

**Mustering of the companies for the Big Horn Expedition**

Troop movements began in mid-February in response to General Crook’s orders to report to Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory (Figure 1), the staging point for the upcoming expedition.

![Figure 1: Fort Laramie, Circa. 1876. Sub. Neg. 5455 NARA Photo, Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming State Archives](image)

The first companies to depart their home station were Companies “B” and “E”, 2nd Cavalry.

These companies under the leadership of Captains James T. Peale (Company “B”, 2nd Cavalry) and 1st Lieutenant William C. Rawolle (Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry) set out on February 16, 1876 from Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory en route to Fort Fetterman.26

Five days later on February 21, 1876, Companies “A”, “D”, “E”, “F” and “M” 3rd Cavalry departed Fort D.A. Russell also en route to Fetterman.27
A dispatch dated Cheyenne, February 21, noted the movements of the Expeditionary forces:

Brigadier General George Crook, commanding the Department of the Platte, accompanied by Captain Stanton and Lieutenant Bourke, leaves here to-morrow morning for Fort Fetterman, for which post a large force of cavalry under command of Brevet Brigadier-General J.J. Reynolds, Colonel 3d Cavalry, is en route. The entire force is to move northward from Fetterman, but for, what purpose is unknown. Large parties are arriving from east and west, and departing for the Black Hills daily.28

A reporter from *The Cheyenne Leader* captured the departure of General Crook and his entourage. This account provided a more detailed look at General Crook’s activities prior to and at the time of his departure.

The General leaves for Fort Laramie this morning at 8:00 accompanied by his aide, Lt. Bourke, their conveyance being an ambulance. Once at Fort Laramie, however, the General will take the field on horseback and personally superintend the campaign against the Redskins. No aggressive movements will be made until the Indians begin their outbreak, an event liable to occur any moment. The General apprehends that the work of the campaign will be unusually arduous, owing to the fact that the soldiers under him are completely unaccustomed to Indian fighting. Yesterday he (Gen. Crook) spent an hour in the telegraph office here in correspondence with General Grant, General Sherman, Lt. General Sheridan, Gen. Custer and the commanders of Forts Laramie, Fetterman and Lincoln.29

A dispatch from the *Kansas City Times* special correspondent to the Black Hills, from Cheyenne, Wyoming also dated February 21, 1876 noted:

A general concentration of troops is now being made at Ft. Fetterman, for an expedition, which will be commanded by General Crook, and will consist of eleven companies of cavalry; no wagons. All the available pack mules in the country are being gathered in and shod. The expedition is destined, either for the Big Horn region or for the removal of the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos from the Black Hills. All the cavalry at Ft. Laramie are under marching orders.30
Brigadier General George Crook along with his Aide-de-Camp, 2nd Lieutenant John Bourke, and Assistant Surgeon Curtis Emerson Munn departed Fort Laramie on February 23rd and arrived at Fort Fetterman three days later.31

Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3rd U.S. Cavalry, along with Captain George A. Drew, the Regimental Quartermaster and 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton departed Fort D. A. Russell on February 23rd.32

Companies “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry marched out from Fort Laramie on February 24th to join the other companies that comprised the Expeditionary force.33

John Hunton, a prominent businessman in Wyoming Territory, reflected in his journal the mobilization of the companies that encompassed the expedition.

- Wed. Feb. 23 (Bordeaux), At ranch all day fixing harness. Gen. Crook passed.35
- Thurs, Feb. 24 (Bordeaux), Lt. Reynolds & Mr. Moore (boss packer) here last night and two miners from the Hills who report very unfavorably. Gen. Reynolds passed to (Fort) Laramie. Five Companys 3rd Cavalry passed going to Fetterman. Wagons and pack trains with them all want hay. I think they are going to try to recover stolen stock from Indians and to force them to go on reservation, and will establish camp near old Ft. Reno.36

Robert Strahorn, reporter for the Denver Rocky Mountain News and escort departed Cheyenne, Wyoming on February 24th to join General Crook. Strahorn’s party arrived at John “Portugee” Phillips’s ranch on the Chugwater that night. Phillips was well known for being the courier who rode from Fort Phil Kearny to Fort Laramie, arriving the night of December 25, 1866 and
delivering the news of the defeat and deaths of Captain William Judd Fetterman and his entire command on December 21st by a combined force of Sioux, Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho warriors.\textsuperscript{37}

Strahorn captured a vivid description of the country traversed and of the long lines of the wagon train and pack mules which served as the supply train for the expedition,

\textquote{Early on the morning of the twenty-fifth, we were again on the trail which for 25 miles descended Chugwater Valley. \ldots During the forenoon, a superlative bright and pleasant one, we overhauling several pack and transportation trains. The former consisted of over two hundred stout mules, laden with supplies for the expedition, in charge of a large corps of professional packers, and the latter were the usual huge and heavily laden army wagons with six-mule teams for motive power. Later in the day, a high grassy divide literally covered with cattle was crossed, and after fording the main Laramie River, we ascended to where it receives the waters of the North Laramie and made camp. \ldots I came upon the ranch of T.A. Kent, of Cheyenne - the only one for a number of miles up and down the river.}\textsuperscript{38}

By February 26\textsuperscript{th}, Fort Fetterman, as Robert Strahorn described, was a sort of bustling city with men and beasts arriving from various posts and settling into camp, awaiting orders for the upcoming expedition. Strahorn encompassed the scene of that day in the following excerpt for the \textit{Rocky Mountain News}.

\textquote{Long lines of tents are pitched on the banks of the quiet and peaceful La Prelle nearby; hundreds of men are crowding around the campfires - which tonight lead me in fancy back to Denver's lamp-lit streets - cleaning their arms, looking up the few necessities that a soldier is allowed to possess, and speculating, as a soldier will, upon the campaign and its results; horses, mules, and pack animals, to the number of a thousand or more, are pawing and neighing a loud refrain to the hum of master's voices; the fort is flooded with commissary supplies, arms, ammunition, etc., and officers are galloping back and forth with the orders that bring system out of all this din and chaos.}\textsuperscript{39}

First Lieutenant Drew, Acting Assistant Quartermaster and Acting Chief of Subsistence for the Expedition was responsible for maintaining a herd of cattle to feed the men. Drew calculated
the average weight of the herd of cattle (60 in number). After butchering three (one selected from the largest, one from the intermediate, and one from the smallest), he determined that the average weight was 613 pounds. Drew issued a voucher to the contractor for 35,703 pounds.40

The last of the units to be mustered into the Big Horn Expedition included Companies “A”, 2nd Cavalry and “C” and “I”, 4th Infantry, relieved of duty at Fort Fetterman (Figure 2) on February 29th.41

![Figure 2: Fort Fetterman. Sub. Neg. 10840 NARA Photo. Cheyenne, Wyoming: Wyoming State Archives](image)

**Departure from Fort Fetterman**

The Big Horn Expedition, commanded by Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and accompanied by Brigadier General George Crook consisted of ten companies of cavalry (Companies “A”, “B”, “E”, “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry) and (Companies “A”, “D”, “E”, “F” and “M”, 3rd Cavalry) and two companies of the 4th Infantry (Companies “C” and “I”), 23 scouts and guides, 82 wagons and 85 (actually 60) beef cattle departed Fort Fetterman at 1 p.m. on March 1st.42 An additional ten scouts from Fort Robinson joined the command the following day.43 The command generally
followed the Bozeman Trail to a point near the territorial border of Montana. At that location scouts were sent to search for the camps of the “hostile Sioux” under Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Crook planned to strike the non-reservation Sioux in their winter camps, breaking their will to live off their established agencies, and escort them to the reservations in early spring.44

Portions of the trail were well known to many of the scouts. Frank Grouard, one of the guides hired for the expedition, lived with Sitting Bull and Crazy Horses’ bands for years. He had recently defected from Crazy Horse’s band, and agreed to serve as a scout with the Big Horn Expedition. His knowledge of the terrain and experience living in winter camps with the non-reservation Sioux proved indispensable. Several other scouts also knew the region’s landscape.

Major Stanton described the departure from Fort Fetterman,

A rollicking, keen-eyed band of scouts in whose first ranks I have had the pleasure of dashing along from the start were first, ten long companies of cavalry were next, two of infantry followed; then the ambulances, transportation wagons, pack trains; and in the rear of all, our herd of beef cattle, sixty or seventy head in number which were to be slaughtered along the way as occasion demands. ... The Medical Department is
represented and has three or four ambulances for the accommodation of medical stores and wounded men - ominous affairs at best, which we have earnestly hoped might be rendered conspicuous for their disuse, but which, alas, have been needed even this early in the campaign.45

Brigadier General George Crook, the Commander of the Department of the Platte accompanied the Expedition, but matters of daily command would fall to the judgment of Colonel Reynolds. Crook did not leave Fort Fetterman until the following day, due to the necessity of awaiting mail and replying to various communications.46

On March 1, 1876 Arapaho Chief Black Coal’s (Figure 4) band of 38 lodges was near Fort Fetterman traveling to the Agency by way of the Laramie road.47 On January 3rd Black Coal told the commanding officer of Fort Fetterman there were no war parties in the direction of the Powder River except the Snakes (Shoshone).48 On October 30, 1875 military reports stated that Black Coal accompanied 60 lodges of Arapaho and 10 lodges of Cheyennes to the Powder River country to hunt.49

Figure 4: Black Coal, sitting on right side. Courtesy of Tom Cardaraopli, Walnuts Antiques
The Big Horn Expedition organized into 5 battalions. Each Battalion consisted of 2 troops of cavalry or 2 companies of infantry. Each cavalry battalion was assigned a pack train. The wagon train was assigned to the Infantry battalion.

**Big Horn Expedition Battalion and Pack Organization Assignments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Battalion</th>
<th>Companies</th>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Commanders</th>
<th>Pack Train</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td>Cpt. A. Mills, 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Lt. J. B. Johnson</td>
<td>McAuliff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td>Cpt. W. Hawley, 2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Lt. W. W. Robinson</td>
<td>Closter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td>Cpt. H. E. Noyes, Cpt. J. Egan</td>
<td>Foster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>K</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td>Cpt. T. B. Dewees, Cpt. J. T. Peale</td>
<td>Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td>Cpt. A. Moore, 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Lt. W. Rawolle</td>
<td>Delaney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Cavalry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Infantry</td>
<td>Cpt. E. M. Coates, Cpt. Ferris</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Infantry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: Big Horn Expedition and Pack Organization Assignments*  

Second Lieutenant John G. Bourke, the Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier General George Crook reflected the departure in his journal, noting, “The command moved off in fine style this morning, officers and men in good spirits and horses champing on their bits as if eager for the journey. The snow storm of last night has ceased and upon the serene sky not a trace of cloud
could be seen. The weather promised to be all we could desire ....” Bourke went on to say, “Much enthusiasm is manifested especially among the younger officers, partly in hope of distinction that may be gained, partly from the desire to explore unknown country and perhaps a desire to escape the restraints of garrison life.”

The need for forage was a chief concern. Supplying the men and beasts in the field, especially under winter conditions was no simple task. The expedition carried 92,000 lbs. of grain and 55 tons of hay. Even the pack mules and ambulances were laden down with grain along with their principal supplies, rations, ammunition, and medical equipment.

The icy North Platte River (Figure 5) proved the first obstacle. Once the expedition forded the North Platte, the trail passed the hog ranch (a brothel, bar, and gambling house that catering to the soldiers and citizens in the vicinity of Fort Fetterman) which intersected the north bank of Fetterman Creek and the crossing of the Oregon Trail.

Figure 5: North Platte River in vicinity of Fort Fetterman. Courtesy of David Eckroth
During the first day’s march the command met a band of Arapaho heading for their reservation. Robert E. Strahorn, the reporter from the *Rocky Mountain News* noted, “Their band of two or three hundred ponies were the finest we have ever seen and as fat as stall-fed cattle.”

Following the meeting with the Arapaho band, the command continued their day’s march toward the expedition’s destination, Sage Creek. Second Lieutenant John G. Bourke noted, “The day was a bright one, free from winds with a temperature reaching a high of 30 degrees F.”

After a march of 15 miles over a relatively flat and easily traversable terrain, the command arrived at Sage Creek (Figures 6 and 7). The location of the camp provided an abundance of grass, but water was available only in a few pools. Colonel Reynolds noted, “The region was devoid of fuel with the exception of sagebrush.” Second Lieutenant Bourke described the first camp site as, “a pretty stream one half mud, the other half alkali.”

![Figure 6: Sage Creek Camp, March 1, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth](image-url)
Upon arriving at camp, the men cared for the horses and mules, established camp, and prepared for its security. As was usual with military expeditions, the officers and men of the Big Horn Expedition gradually improved their efficiency with daily practice.

The following morning, March 2nd, the command broke camp early and by daybreak made their way to the South Cheyenne drainage. Newly promoted Corporal John P. Slough, Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry (promoted from private to corporal on March 1, 1876) remarked in his journal, “The weather was characterized by noticeably windy weather but not markedly cold in nature.”

After a march of about eight miles, Major Thaddeus H. Stanton, Chief of Scouts described the terrain, specifically Pumpkin Buttes (Figure 8),

We found abundant croppings of slate and other indications of coal. Near the same point were obtained fine views of the Black Hills of golden promise, some seventy miles to the northeast; Pumpkin Buttes four large elevations resembling in shape the good, old-fashioned vegetable of the same name, forty miles north; and Laramie Peak, long since left behind, to the southeast.
About four miles prior to reaching the day’s destination the men passed Brown’s Spring (Figure 9), where they viewed the flat-top rock, and possibly the knoll where Lieutenant John Brown, Company “E”, 11th Ohio Cavalry was buried. Brown had been mortally wounded on July 20, 1864 while pursuing hostile Indians who had captured Fanny Kelly.62

After a march of 18 miles, the expedition reached the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. Corporal Slough described the camp (Figure 10) as having poor grass, but plenty of wood and water.63 Major Stanton further detailed the terrain at the campsite, noting, “The steam upon
which we are now camped, commonly called the South or Dry Fork of the Cheyenne, cuts its narrow bed through hills and bluffs so rugged that at many points it cannot be approached. There is plenty of cottonwood and other soft timber ….”

While the main command progressed northward toward the Powder and Tongue Rivers, Brigadier General George Crook completed his necessary tasks as the Department Commander of the Platte and began his march to rendezvous with the main body of the Big Horn Expedition.

General Crook’s party departed Fort Fetterman on the morning of March 2nd with an escort of Captain Alex Moore’s Company “F”, 3rd Cavalry and ten scouts from Camp Robinson under the leadership of Louis Richard. Many of the scouts from Camp Robinson were part Oglala Sioux with ties to Red Cloud Agency.

Second Lieutenant Bourke (Brigadier General Crook’s Aide-de-Camp), who accompanied General Crook’s detachment, described the terrain between Fort Fetterman and the campsite at Cheyenne River. He viewed the terrain as, “sandy, barren, and treeless; not even the feeble merit of poor grazing can be asserted in favor of this wretched tract; some few bluffs, of no
great altitude, scattered to left and everywhere." General Crook’s detachment arrived at Cheyenne River after a long march. There they found Colonel Reynolds’s Command, as Bourke noted, “snugly in tents.”

Louis Richard’s scouts from Camp Robinson accompanied the Department Commander joined those already settled in at Camp No. 2. These scouts and guides numbered 33 men. Among these scouts, guides, and interpreters included the leader Louis Richard (also frequently spelled as it was pronounced, Reshow), Charlie Richard (Louis Richard’s cousin), Charles Janis, Baptiste Pourier, also known as “Big Bat.” Baptististe Garnier, also known as “Little Bat”, John Provost, Frank Grouard, Louis and John Shangreau (also spelled Jangra), Richard “Bloody Dick” Seymour, Jack Russell, John Farnham, Speed Stagnier, and Ben Clark.

Major Stanton reflected upon the weather that evening,

When tattoo sounded … and the troops looked up toward the little sky that Fetterman needs for a cover, it was found that even that little was hid by clouds that hung black and heavy as a pall. A northeastern wind which brings the worst storm here whistled a refrain to that tattoo, which did anything but lighten spirits and unburden hearts. Snow came down in great thick flakes and promised faithfully to gather to the depth of a foot before ceasing, and then came up the declaration of General Crook, which drowned all hopes of camping until the storm was over, in this way: "The worse it gets the better; always hunt Indians in bad weather.

Under the cover of darkness, a small group of Sioux warriors stealthily approached the camp. These warriors fired on the two herders, wounding one severely, and stampeding the livestock. The injured herder, James Wright, was shot through the lungs with a .45 caliber bullet. Wright said that two Indians approached him and when he shouted to alarm the camp, he was fired upon and wounded.
Following this incident, Captain Alexander Moore and Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds with a detachment from Company “F”, 3rd Cavalry were detailed to follow the missing herd. The men pursued the cattle for six miles. After hearing assurance that the cattle were heading toward Fort Fetterman and not falling into the hands of the enemy, Captain Moore steered the detachment away from the chase and returned to camp on the South Fork of the Cheyenne River.\(^72\)

Second Lieutenant Bourke reflected on the loss of the cattle noting in his journal, “This incident had an excellent effect upon the officers and men by impressing upon all hands the need for unceasing vigilance if we would not have exertions came to naught.”\(^73\)

The command continued to the day’s destination, Antelope Springs on March 3rd. Bourke noted that sage brush, which had been so prevalent during the last two day’s march, was now being replaced by grass. He went on to note, “Here and there a stunted cedar or cottonwood can be seen but there is not enough timber for our firewood which we supplied ourselves previous to starting from Fort Fetterman. Saw in the distance an elevated snow-clad range, the Big Horn Mountains, also the Pumpkin Buttes, which serve as the divide between the waters of the Little Missouri and the Belle Fourche of the Cheyenne.”\(^74\) The command passed a spring of fair water, some eight miles from the last camp.\(^75\)
After a march of 23 miles in a course slightly northwest they reached the Cheyenne River, the location of Camp No. 3 (Figure 12). Colonel Reynolds described the attributes of the camp, noting that the water was not very good nor was wood abundant. Bourke’s journal noted, “Made camp for the night in a very pleasant little cove, in one of the forks of the Wind River. Water poor, but where the snow had melted drinkable.”

Corporal Slough was assigned to first picket duty that night. He mentioned that the command was encircled by a chain of guards. Corporal Thomas C. Marrion and Sergeant Hugh K.
McGrath, both of Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry also shared picket duty that night. The incident of the previous night had taught the lesson that the ‘hostile’ Sioux should not be underestimated.

The Big Horn Expedition broke camp at daybreak on March 4. The men marched in a northwesterly direction passing lodge pole tracks that appeared to be heading for Fort Fetterman or the Red Cloud Agency. Bourke documented that at about 11 o’clock the men crossed the divide between the waters of South Cheyenne and the Powder River. He went on to note, “Day quite serene, but an unpleasant blustering and rather cold breeze blew upon us from the high mountains, a spur of Big Horn, to our left.”

After 21 miles the command camped on the Dry Fork of Powder River (Figure 14). The location had plenty of wood and good grass, but the water was of poor quality.
That night Private William Riley, Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry was on guard and near midnight fired a shot at an Indian which alarmed and excited the camp for some time.\textsuperscript{82}

On March 5\textsuperscript{th}, the men broke camp at daylight. Lieutenant Bourke noted, “No delay occurring on any account and everything commencing to move like clock-work. The march was down the valley of the dry fork of Powder River, with bare, uninteresting bluffs on either side.”\textsuperscript{83} Bourke remarked on the weather, as tough an adversary as possible. “Had most disagreeable weather, the leaden sky overhead promising no respite from the storm of cold snow and wind beating into our teeth from the northwest.”\textsuperscript{84}

Later in the morning two Indians were spotted. The scouts began to give chase, but were recalled by General Crook.\textsuperscript{85} Lieutenant Bourke said, “About six or seven miles out discerned two young bucks mounted on fleet ponies who waited until the head of our column had approached within one thousand yards when they scampered rapidly over the hills and were soon lost to sight.”\textsuperscript{86}
Skirmish near Old Fort Reno

After marching 16 miles the men arrived at the day’s camp, opposite old Fort Reno (Figure 15). The post was established in 1865 but was abandoned just three years later as a result of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. The site was rich in resources needed by both troops and animals, mainly wood and water. Fortunately for the men as Bourke remarked, “The weather resumed a more serene presence, far more pleasant than that experienced during the march.”

The realization of hostile Indians sighted so close to the command [two warriors seen the previous day] along with the earlier incidents resulted in a more cautious defensive posture in camp. Lieutenant Bourke wrote in his journal, “Scarcely had the sun disappeared behind the lofty buttresses of the Big Horn Mountains when pickets were posted about 300 yards in front of camp to detect the approach of any prowling Indians and frustrate their attempts to steal stock.”
With the camp well protected by various picket posts, the men settled into the usual routine and set about preparing for the following day. General Crook promptly decided to send out a handpicked party of scouts to search for any activity of non-reservation Sioux in their vicinity. The scouts were instructed to depart camp that night, and travel by the light of the moon following the Powder River to the mouth of Crazy Woman Creek in search of Indian sign (travois or horse trails, fire pits, etc.).

John Shangreau, one of the scouts remaining in camp that night, visited with Captain James Egan, Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry. He recalled Egan asking, “Shangreau, what do you think of the two Indians that were seen this morning?” The scout answered, “If the village is camped below us they will charge us tonight. If there is a big camp of them they may charge early in the morning. If there are not very many they may charge tonight. ... or they are 25 to 30 miles from here now. Don’t you think it.” Following his conversation with Egan, Shangreau headed to his tent. “Just as he reached the camp fire, they commenced hollering and shooting. The Indians...
were going up the creek firing; then they turned about and came down firing. Before they went away the soldiers began firing by volleys. When it was all over it was found that one soldier was shot through the cheek.”

Lieutenant Bourke further detailed the events of the skirmish noting,

Captain Coates, 4th Infantry, had just left his men in position when they discovered a small party of Indians stealthily creeping up through the grove of cottonwood trees near our camp. Fire was at once opened by our men and returned by the enemy, whose plan was then comprehensible. The little party referred to was to make an entrance, if possible, into our bivouac from the Fort Reno (i.e., north) side and by shouting, shaking buffalo robes and shooting, cause a stampeded among our mules and horses. With many hundreds of animals wild with terror rushing through and over our tents and picket lines, it would require every exertion to save our own lives, or at most catch a few horses and mules. In the confusion the bold intruders could easily escape to their confederates posted on the other side of the camp, whose duty it would be to seize upon the herd and decamp, leaving us in the middle of a terrible desert, without an animal to bring us back to Fort Fetterman. ... such in general terms was the plan sought to be pursued by the small gang of Indians who had dodged our footsteps all day, and its complete defeat is worthy of especial praise as evincing the vigilance of our videttes and the care taken in tying up our animals at night instead of letting them run loose around camp. Finding their scheme a failure, the Indians adopted a vexatious kind of tactics and for some thirty or forty minutes kept up a brisk fusillade upon our campfires which had not yet been extinguished. Their shots came with provoking deliberation and accuracy; our men were soon in line but did not answer the fire of the enemy as their position could only be ascertained by the flash of their rifles. Nevertheless some occasional shots were fired where the foe exhibited rather too much boldness. Our fires were at once put out, but the enemy having obtained range, maintained their fusillade for some little time longer. Considering it was the first time many of the command had ever been exposed to an attack (the majority being recruits, many of them as yet imperfectly drilled.) the coolness and precision with which they obeyed orders were remarkable. Only one of our men, Corporal Slavey, of Major Coates’ Company, 4th Infantry, was wounded, (slightly in the cheek.) but many close calls were made. After remaining under arms about half an hour our line was withdrawn, leaving strong picket posts at suitable points about 300 yards to our front. These little night attacks are excellent things and serve to turn the raw recruits into a veteran with great celerity. They impress upon the minds of young soldiers the necessity and value of the disciple and subordination they so frequently ignore and also make them acquainted with each other's merits in moments of trial and danger. The best school of instruction is the school of war, where officers seldom find they have as much to learn as the men they command.”
Shangreau recalled,

Frank Gruard and 4 scouts (Jack “Buckskin” Russell being one of the scouts in the group) who had departed the command made it about 6 miles or about halfway to Crazy Woman when Charlie Janis saw flashes from guns illuminating in the direction they had departed from. The scouts knew that fighting was going on, and they decided to return. When they crossed the river from the camp, the soldiers had a fire on each side of the road so they could examine these scouts as they came in.93

The rest of the night passed quietly. The medical staff treated Private James Slavey’s (Company “I”, 4th Infantry) wound while the sentries maintained their positions and kept up a vigilant watch. The evening’s excitement was over.94

The next morning the men of the Big Horn Expedition marched in a northwesterly direction toward Crazy Woman Creek. After a long march of 27 miles, the command halted at the day’s camp site. Here they found plenty of wood and water. The water was the most palatable since their departure from Fort Fetterman.95
The following day the command crossed the Powder River. Lieutenant Bourke stated,

Upon climbing the opposite bank our advance entered the ruins of old Fort Reno. Nothing now remains but a little of the stockade formerly surrounding the post, part of the bake-oven, the chimneys of the trader’s store and one or two of those belonging to the officers quarters. The whole aspect is most dreary, the face of the country grassless and destitute of any redeeming feature. Yet in this miserable spot, a garrison of the U.S. Army, maintained a place for two years [1865-1868] to protect, in conjunction with Fort Kearny, 61 miles to the West near the head-waters of the Tongue river and Fort C.F. Smith, at the big bend of the Big Horn river, the overland line of travel to Montana, then a most promising field of adventurous gold hunters. The "Fetterman" and "Fort Kearney" massacre, as it is indifferently entitled, proved the rancor of the Sioux and the treaty of Fort Laramie, made in the winter of ’67 and ’68, yielding up to hostile Indians an immense belt of country ...\(^96\)

Bourke went on to describe the landscape,

From the crest of the bluffs overlooking the Powder, a magnificent view was obtained of the Big Horn range. Piercing far above the superincumbent clouds, the snow-capped eminences seemed so many sentinels guarding the country at their base. Heavy belts of black pine and juniper brought into bold contrast the glaring white of the summits and marked more plainly the line of separation from the yellow grassy plains beneath. Prominent foothills, themselves mountains of great elevation, extended out as flying buttresses from the main crest. The sky of faultless blue revealing in perfection the rugged profile while the effect of light and shade was most striking. Here the sun’s rays lit upon some bold peak, the eye rested with pleasure, but sated with such beauties turned with satisfaction to the relief afforded in the gloom of the deep gorges and canons, through which noble little streams find their way to the currents of the Big Horn, Powder, Tongue and Rosebud. The altitude of the highest peak is, I have been informed, 13,500 feet. All day long we pursued our way over a good road, without rocks or breaks to impede our progress of the trains.\(^97\)
The command arrived at Crazy Woman Creek (Figure 18), and shortly after General Crook met with the scouts. He questioned the group on the feasibility of crossing the forks of Clear Creek and on through the badlands. He planned to move forward with the pack trains, and leave the wagons behind with Captain Coates’s 4th Infantry battalion.⁹⁸

The command arrived at Crazy Woman sometime between 3 and 4 p.m. The location had good water and plenty of cottonwood, but no grazing for the animals.⁹⁹

Lieutenant Bourke reflected on the command’s observations, noting that during the day they had seen, “… Indian signals off on the right and once or twice the guides observed signals reflecting across the sky. A great column of dust was seen to the command’s left and rear ... Fresh buffalo trackers were seen on road and the animals themselves were seen by some of the guides.”¹⁰⁰

At sundown General Crook summoned the officers to his tent for upcoming instructions.

Bourke’s journal sheds light on details of the meeting,
All the officers connected with the Expedition were summoned to General Crook’s tent at sun-down to receive their final instructions. In a few clear, well-considered sentences, General Crook enunciated his ideas upon the very important topic of baggage. He directed that officers should examine the bundles made up by their men for carriage by the pack-mules and see that each has one buffalo-robe, or two blankets and no more. The clothing upon their backs was all that should be carried. No tentage to be allowed, but every man might take a piece of shelter tent and every two officers, one tent fly. Officers to be governed in regard to clothing and bedding by the same rules as the men. No messing arrangements to be taken along for officers: company officers to mess with their companies and those of the staff or unattended to eat with the pack-trains. Rations for 15 days to consist of hard-bread, half-bacon, coffee and sugar. Each officer to be provided with one tin cup and one tin plate. One hundred rounds of ammunition to be carried on the person and an equal amount to go with the pack-train.\textsuperscript{101}

The men of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry enjoyed a final night in the comforts of their tents. They prepared themselves mentally for the hardships of campaigning with light supplies.

That evening, Corporal Slough noted that breastworks were constructed and a chain guard was placed around camp. He went on to mention a near tragic incident that evening. During the hours of darkness, the pickets fired on soldiers mistaking them for Indians. No one was struck by the weapons fire.\textsuperscript{102}

The following morning (March 7\textsuperscript{th}) the cavalry contingent remained in camp. The men prepared for an upcoming night march and a 15-day scout in search for signs of non-reservation encampments. In accordance with General Crook’s orders, the cavalry troopers shed all excess equipment to lighten the load. The men loaded the wagons and the two companies of the 4\textsuperscript{th} Infantry escorted the wagons back to Old Fort Reno. They would await the return of the eight companies of cavalry and the accompanying pack trains.\textsuperscript{103}
Assistant Surgeon Munn recalled spending the day selecting the necessary medical equipment to be carried on pack-mules. Munn instructed Assistant Surgeon John Ridgely to have a field hospital ready at Old Fort Reno for their return, due to the probability of casualties and sickness.\(^{104}\)

**The Night March**

Lieutenant Bourke’s journal illustrated the long night march from Crazy Woman Creek that would commence on the evening of March 7,

> At night, about 7 O'clock, by the light of a very fine three quarters moon, commenced our march, which lay to the West for two miles and then moved towards the North Star for the remainder of the distance which summed up thirty-five miles. At first the country had the undulating contour of that near old Fort Reno, already visited, but soon the prairie swells were superseded by bluffs and bolder character until as we found ourselves in a region deserving the title mountainous. In the bright light of the moon and stars, our little column of cavalry wound its way up the steep hill-side, like an enormous snake whose scales were glittering revolvers and carbines. The view was certainly very exhilarating backed as it was by the majestic landscape of the moonlight on the big Horn Mountains. Cynthia’s silvery beams never lit up a mass of mountain crests more worthy of commemoration upon the artist’s canvas. Above the frozen summit of Cloud Peak, the evening star, cast its declining rays. Other prominences rivaling in altitude this one boldly thrust themselves out against the midnight sky. Exclamations of admiration and surprise were entoned from the most stolid as our column made its way rapidly from bluff to bluff, pausing at times long enough to give everyone an opportunity to study some of nature’s noble handiwork. Finally, even the gorgeous vistas I have so feebly attempted to portray failed to assuage the cold and pain in our limbs or to drive away the drowsiness Sleep was placing upon our exhausted eyelids. With no small degree of satisfaction we noticed the signals which at five o’clock in the morning bade us make camp on the Clear Fork of Powder River.\(^{105}\)

Corporal Slough wrote of the hardships the men endured during that long march. “The weather was fine till midnight but then a sharp frost struck the command … Route over an almost impassable mountainous country … command halts at clear fork, to make coffee after 35 miles night march and pull out again. Weather intensely cold all hands used up.”\(^{106}\)
Second Lieutenant Daniel C. Pearson, Company “A”, 2nd Cavalry, a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point (Class of 1870), recalled, years later, the miserable night march.

That night was the longest, without exception, that I ever passed. The most intense desire for sleep asserted itself, chiefly, no doubt, because sleep was among the impossibilities, and altogether out of the question. An officer comrade, to whom a night march was not so much a novelty, remarked interrogatively to me, and as I thought with an unnecessary reach to his voice, that that was probably my first night march. At this date, I do not mind admitting that it was. In that night one of the sudden changes of weather occurred for which Montana is noted. A blizzard struck us, locked the streams up solid, and lay a carpet of snow. What success in escaping the observation of Indians had attended our night march was threatened to be of no avail by our conspicuous trail in the snow. Our belief at the time, corroborated by subsequent events, was that the Indians just then were comfortably quartered in their tepees.\textsuperscript{107}

The ten cavalry companies and some 360 pack mules took a three-hour break near the frozen banks of Clear Creek (Figure 20) at about 5 a.m. on the morning of March 8\textsuperscript{th}. The tired command settled into camp, making coffee, unsaddling the horses, unpacking the mules, and enjoying a much-needed break from the long march.\textsuperscript{108}
Second Lieutenant Bourke described the break at the first camp noting,

The site was dreary enough; scarcely any timber in sight, plenty of water but frozen solid, and only a bare picking of grass for our tired animals. However, what we most needed was sleep and that we sought as soon as horses had been unsaddled and mules unpacked. Wrapped up in our heavy overcoats and furs, we threw ourselves on the bleak and frozen ground and were deep in slumber. It will give a faint idea of the climatic vicissitudes to which campaigning exposes a soldier in Northern Wyoming when I say that after going to sleep under the bright, calm and cheerful moonlight of this morning, we were awakened at 8 o'clock by a bitter, pelting storm of snow which blew in our teeth whichever way we turned and almost extinguished the petty fires near which our cooks were trying to arrange our breakfasts, if we can dignify by such a lofty title the frozen bacon, frozen beans and frozen coffee which constituted the repast. It is no part of a soldier's business to repine, but if there are circumstances to justify complaint, they are the absence of warmth and good food after a wearisome night march and during the prevalence of a cold winter's storm.\textsuperscript{109}

The men rested for a few hours, ate their near frozen breakfast and saddled up. Near 10 a.m. they commenced their movement toward the day's second camp (Figure 21), which proved to be five or six miles distance in a northwesterly direction on Clear Fork.\textsuperscript{110}
Corporal Slough vividly mentioned the hardships that the men endured that day.

Cold, cramped for room in the extreme. Officers, men, horses, packs and packers huddle together in democratic confusion. A cold drizzling snow all night, with thermometer (sic) said to be 30 below zero. Guards on the bluff crests above camp were not to walk their posts. Must lie on the snowy ground and keep watch without moving, only the slightest turn of the head to detect any hostile approach. Think of such a thing, with only one blanket to warm a motionless body, with 30 below zero for 2 hours at a stretch. I consolidated our horse guard and picket guard thus making the frozen arctic vigil running guard of one hour instead of two hours. I thus disobeyed official orders, to obey the more humane orders of humanity for which I was placed in arrest.111

Second Lieutenant Bourke went on to say that the storm they experienced had a miserable effect on the men,

As we were without tents, we had nothing to do but grin and bear it; some officers stretched blankets to the branches of trees, others found a questionable shelter under the bluffs, one or two constructed non-descript habitations of twigs and grass, while Genl. Crook and Col. Stanton seized upon the abandoned den of a family of beavers which sudden change in the bed of the stream had deprived of their home. To obtain water, holes of suitable dimensions were cut in the ice, here found to be eighteen inches thick, clear in color and vitreous in texture. We hugged the fires as closely as we dared, ashes and cinders with every turn of the breeze being cast into our faces. The narrow thread of the stream, with its opaque and glassy surface of ice covered with snow, here drifted into little masses, here again carried away before the gale, looked
the picture of all that could be imagined cheerless and dreary. We tried to find some pleasure in watching the troubles of our fellow-soldiers, obliged for any reason to attempt a crossing of the treacherous surface the ice presented. Commencing with an air of boldness and confidence, with some even of indifference a few steps forward would generally serve to intimidate the unfortunate wayfarer, doubly timid now that he found himself the butt of our gibes and jeers. Now one foot slips, now another, but still he struggles manfully on and has almost gained the opposite bank, when - slap! bang! both feed go from under him and a dent in the solid ice commemorates his inglorious fall. In this way, we tried to dispel the weariness of the day. Every one welcomed the advent of night which enabled us to seek such rest as we could find and, clad, as last night, in the garments of the day, officers and men, wrapped up in blankets from the pack-train, found rest but not much repose. Our men shared with their animals their own scanty allowance of blankets, as the bad weather and poor rations had made our animals look gaunt and travel-worn.112

That day, General Crook assembled the scouts and questioned them on the probable locations of the non-reservation winter camps. Frank Grouard, who had recently lived among Sitting Bull’s and Crazy Horse’s people recalled that the general opinion was that the Indians were camped on either Tongue River or the Little Big Horn.113 Following their meeting, General Crook dispatched a party of scouts, including Louie Richard, Louis and John Shangreau, Frank Grouard, Baptiste Garnier, Baptiste Pourier, Charles Janis, Tom Reed, and Speed Stagnier. The group of scouts pushed ahead of the command and camped on Tongue River that night.114

Meanwhile, Captain Coates led his two companies of Infantry, “C” and “I”, 4th Infantry and the wagon train to Dry Creek, where they remained for the night. The following day they would continue to their destination, Old Fort Reno, where they awaited the return of the ten companies of the cavalry and the pack mules of the Big Horn Expedition.115

The command commenced movement at 10 a.m. the following morning, March 9th. They maneuvered over a rough and difficult countryside (Figure 22).116 Second Lieutenant Bourke
noted that the already cold and bitter weather turned more severe, as snow came down all day and a bitter north wind oppressed the troops in their march.\textsuperscript{117}

![Figure 22: Terrain crossed by General Crook's Command on March 9, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth](image)

Nearly five miles out from their day’s destination, the command crossed Big Piney, a tributary of Powder River and the stream on which Old Fort Phil Kearney lay.\textsuperscript{118}

On this day’s march, Captain James T. Peale must have recalled his old, desolate duty station, Fort Phil Kearney, now abandoned, which lay near their line of march. Peale, then a 1st Lieutenant, commanded Company “L”, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry at the time when Colonel Henry W. Wessells took over the shattered command of Fort Phil Kearney from Colonel Henry B. Carrington, following the defeat of Captain Fettermann’s command in 1866, nearly ten years earlier.\textsuperscript{119}

The command continued the difficult march until they advanced upon a secluded ravine. Here camp was made (Figure 23). Second Lieutenant Bourke observed that the site afforded the command with good water, cottonwood fuel and good grass. The weather dropped to 6 degrees below zero.\textsuperscript{120}
The party of scouts previously sent out spent the day scouring the country between Tongue River and Prairie Dog Creek and found little of consequence.  

The following day, March 10th saw the expedition on the move by 9 a.m. Snow and a chilly wind again greeted the command as they marched 22 miles in a northwest direction, over rough and slippery terrain.  

During the march, Corporal John N. Moore, Company “D”, 3rd Cavalry was hurt in an accident. His horse slipped down and fell upon him, causing him serious injury. Assistant Surgeon Munn moved him to the rear of his battalion in a rude imitation of an Indian travois (Figure 24).
The exhausted command settled into camp upon arriving at Prairie Dog Creek’s junction with Tongue River (Figure 25). The temperature at 8 p.m. dropped to 13 degrees below zero.125

Second Lieutenant Bourke further described the camp as one of the best regarding comfort. “Wood, water, and grass, camp well screened from observation. Prairie Dog Creek, at first flows down a rather narrow gorge which soon widens into a flat valley, full of burrows of the little animals from which it takes its name.”126
During the day, the scouts traveled to the head of Rosebud Creek and returned to meet the troops at the confluence of Prairie Dog Creek and Tongue River that evening.\textsuperscript{127} John Shangreau, a member of the scouting party noted that they found nothing of consequence. However, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Lieutenant Bourke’s journal did note that,

> Our guides returned this evening and reported having come across a very recently deserted Indian village of sixty "tipis", or loges, and every indication of a long habitancy. The Indians belonging thereto had plenty of buffalo and deer or elk meat, some of which they left behind upon their departure. A young puppy, strangled to death, was found suspended to a tree by a piece of rope. This is one of the greatest delicacies of a Sioux feast - choked pup - and its abandonment betokens that these savages have been apprised of our coming and left in haste. Guides brought us in some fine venison - a good dish roasted in hot ashes.\textsuperscript{128}

**Following Tongue River**

At 5 a.m. on March 11, as the command woke, the temperature was bitterly cold, 23 degrees below zero.\textsuperscript{129} Second Lieutenant Bourke noted the weather was even more severe, ranging somewhere between -22 and -39 degrees F. He explained, “Our instrument is not graduated below -22 degrees F, and the mercury had shrunk low down into bulb, altho’ it did not congeal.”\textsuperscript{130}

The men were on the move by 10 a.m. in frigid weather. They followed Tongue River in a northern direction, crossing the thick ice five times. The expedition camped on the frozen left bank of the Tongue River after a short march of 5 to 6 miles.\textsuperscript{131}

The camp on Tongue River had plenty of wood, water, and grass.\textsuperscript{132} Bourke noted, “This is a fine stream between 30 to 40 yards wide, banks thickly fringed with box-elder, cottonwood, ash and willow. Gramma grass abundant, along foot-hills. This was the finest camp of the expedition.”\textsuperscript{133}
That night one of the pickets fired shots, mistaking another of the pickets for an Indian.

Fortunately, no one was hurt in the exchange.134

The command awakened on the morning of March 12th to another frigid day. The thermometer registered at 26 below zero.135 The men endured another day of bitterly cold weather as they marched north along the Tongue River Valley (Figure 26).

By 9:30 a.m. the march began and during the course of the day they crossed Tongue River eighteen times.136 Bourke described the terrain they passed, noting,

Its valley gradually narrowed down to a little gorge bordered by bluffs of red and yellow sandstone, between 150 and 200 feet high, in some places much higher, well fringed with scrub pine and juniper and having coal measures, of a quality not determined definitely, cropping out in several points along trail. We now found ourselves well across the Southern boundary of Montana, in a region well grassed with gamma and the black sage, a plant almost as nutritious as oats. It is hard to say if much of the land is arable, but I should answer in the affirmative for the river bottoms.137
They reached camp after a march of 20 miles (Figure 27). Corporal Slough commented that the camp had plenty of wood and water but the grass was poor. He further noted that Privates George Watts and John Russell, both of Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry, and another by the name of Rumay, killed a buffalo that day, and that Indian signs were getting plainer. Bourke mentioned the buffalo killed that day stating, “Another buffalo was killed at head of column: an enormous old fellow, whose flesh through very tough was eaten thankfully.”

The next morning was overcast and cloudy. By 9:30 the men were on the march down the Tongue River Valley passing what they assumed was Hanging Woman Creek. That day the command passed several Indian graves which Bourke described as, “wrapped in the cerements of death and then firmly fastened to the stout branches of some lofty tree.” Bourke went on to note, “Noticed a number of deserted Indian villages, the uprights supporting the cross-pieces upon which these savages dry their winter's supply of buffalo meat were still standing; also the corrals where their ponies had been enclosed. It was remarkable to observe the quantities of
cottonwood timber they had felled to the ground for no other purpose than to feed their stock upon the bark of the tender young shoots and branches.”143

Colonel Reynolds reported that, “As the day went on the weather moderated to a much more palatable temperature of 20 degrees above zero. After a march of twelve miles and seven crossings of the Tongue River the men set up camp near the banks of the river (Figure 28).144

Figure 28: Big Horn Expedition Camp, March 13, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth

General Crook once again sent out the scouts with instructions to search the region up to the Yellowstone River, and rejoin the main command in two days, farther downstream on the Tongue.145 Frank Grouard recalled, “From there all the scouts except Stagner (there were thirty-four of us started out) followed Tongue River down and scouted in the vicinity of Tongue River to its mouth on the Yellowstone.”146

Lieutenant Bourke also reflected on how the men were improving their skills as campaigners. He wrote,
Not much time is now lost after getting into camp until everything is in what sailors call "ship shape". Companies take the positions assigned them by the Officer of the Day, mounted videttes are at once thrown out on the neighboring bluffs, horses are unsaddled and led to the grazing ground, mules are unpacked and follow after, wood and water are brought in great quantities for the cooks whose enormous pots of coffee and kettles of beans even now are exhaling a tempting aroma.... Mules and horses are now brought back and fastened up inside camp, sentinels and videttes are inspected, everything made sure, and we now retire to rest within the little square corral formed of the mules' aparejos and sleep undisturbed save by an occasional inquisitive animal walking over us or nibbling at our blankets for long forage.147

On March 14th the men of the command awoke to a cold wind and light snow.148 By 9 a.m. the command was once again following the Tongue River.149 While en route the men viewed bluffs along the banks that were much higher than those they saw during the previous day and two of those bluffs towered as high as 750 feet above the river. Juniper and pine trees covered the steep bluffs.150

The following day, Lieutenant Bourke observed,

A small band of four or five old buffalo bulls seen this morning and fired upon by our advances. General Crook badly wounded one under the fore-shoulder but the old bull escaped. All along trail to-day, marks of recent Indian occupancy very frequent. Our train has now very little to carry and the mules press close upon the heels of the Cavalry companies.151

The day's camp on the left bank of Tongue River (Figure 29), opposite the mouth of Pumpkin Creek (O'Dell Creek), was reached after a march of nine miles. Corporal Slough noted, “Cold and snowy, wood, water and grass good. We are on an old Indian camping ground. An Indian arrow found in camp and other signs showing trouble and fights between the Crow and Sioux.”152
The temperature dropped to 10 degrees below zero at sunrise on March 15th. The command lay in camp and awaited the return of the scouts. By 3 p.m. the temperature rose to 32 degrees above zero.

Lieutenant Bourke noted, “By 4 p.m. the guides returned from their reconnaissance to our front; reported having found no villages and no Indians, but saw in their ride of 25 miles down the river that all the trails led across the hills to the Powder River.” General Crook opted to remain in camp till morning and then march in a north easterly direction to Otter Creek. While in camp the men spent the day picking up meat left by Indians. Some of the hungrier soldiers ate the corn issued to the stock.

Fort Fetterman, nearly 200 miles away, received the first word of the progress of the Big Horn Expedition. A courier arrived from Fort Reno reporting that General Crook with his cavalry units, and 15 days rations had departed Old Fort Reno on March 7th, and that the Infantry and supply wagons on Crazy Woman’s Fork returned to Reno. They learned of the loss of the herd,
and the wounding of the citizen herder on the second night as well as the wounded soldier from Company “I”, 4th Infantry. The courier explained that the expedition was expected back at the supply camp at Old Fort Reno by March 23rd.\textsuperscript{158}

The following morning at 8 a.m. General Crook’s command crossed Tongue River. After a march of a half mile the men viewed the steep red shale cliff, for which the creek is named. The column steered in a southeast direction that followed “Red Clay Creek” (O’Dell Creek) which snaked through the divide between Tongue River and Otter Creek (Figure 31).\textsuperscript{159}
The men passed through the valley until they arrived at a high divide. Reaching the divide, they dropped into a valley, reaching Otter Creek, a tributary of Tongue River, at approximately 2:30 p.m.\textsuperscript{160}

Corporal John Lang, Company “E”, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry recalled the day’s march of 20 miles as strenuous, and when camp was made the men were not allowed to make fires for fear of being located by the enemy (Figure 32).\textsuperscript{161}
As the men set up their camp on Otter Creek, two mounted warriors were spotted. John Shangreau recalled the scouts pursuing the two warriors, being unable to overtake them.162

When the scouts returned to camp, General Crook addressed Shangreau, telling him, “Saddle up your horse and Charley Richard; you saddle up your horse.” The General ordered the scouts to follow the Indian tracks through the deep snow back five or six miles and see what direction they came from.163

John Shangreau recalled that upon the scouts’ return to camp, Louis Richard asked how it was about the trail. John told him what they had done, and that the trail came down Otter Creek all the way. Louis Richard reported this information to General Crook.164

**The Separation of the Commands, March 16th**

The discovery of the two mounted warriors was the impetus General Crook needed to strike the non-reservation bands. Subsequently, the warriors inadvertently led the soldiers to their village, and provided the chance to strike the occupants and bring them, broken and beaten to Red Cloud Agency.

General Crook ordered Colonel Reynolds to lead six companies of cavalry (Companies “E”, “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry and Companies “E”, “F” and “M”, 3rd Cavalry), and fifteen of the scouts with one day’s rations, and feed of grain, and follow the trail of the two Indians along Otter Creek to its head, and then cross the divide into the valley of the Powder River.165 Second Lieutenant John G. Bourke, Aide-de-Camp to General Crook and Robert Strahorn, correspondent for *The Rocky Mountain News*, volunteered to accompany Colonel Reynolds’s command.
Assistant Surgeon Munn directed Acting Assistant Surgeon Charles R. Stephens to remain with General Crook’s train (Companies “A” and “B”, 2nd Cavalry and Companies “A” and “D”, 3rd Cavalry and the pack mule teams). Munn divided the necessary medical stores, ensuring that Colonel Reynolds’s command packed the essential medical supplies in event of a probable skirmish with the hostile Indians. Corporal John N. Moore, Company “D”, 3rd Cavalry, injured, when his horse fell on his body and several men suffering from inflammatory rheumatism were left with the train.166

First Lieutenant William C. Rawolle, Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry recalled Colonel Reynolds’s departure from General Crook’s command on Otter Creek at 5 p.m. They marched all night until about 3 or 4 a.m., and eventually stopped in a ravine to wait for daylight.167

When the men broke from Crook’s command, Colonel Reynolds gave instructions, “to kill all the bucks we could, if we met the Indians, and capture women and children.” Reynolds informed the men that these were Crook’s orders.168

Figure 33: The Valley of Indian Trail Creek. Courtesy of David Eckroth
The most likely route taken by Colonel J. J. Reynolds’s cavalry column was Indian Trail Creek (Figure 33) in an easterly direction. This route led the men to a high divide that overlooked the Powder River valley (Figure 34), nearly four miles distant from their vantage point.

Second Lieutenant Charles Morton recalled the bitterly cold night march noting, “The night before the fight very cold and almost everybody had some part of body frozen – feet, fingers, toes, face, etc. When they halted in early a.m. (3 or 4 a.m.) the officers had to shake their men to keep them awake from freezing to death.”169

Captain Henry E. Noyes, one of the Battalion Commanders, in a letter to Walter M. Camp dated February 8, 1911, recalled travelling all night in deep snow and remembered the weather as very cold.170 Noyes went on to describe the miserable weather, “It was so cold that we had to run around in circles to keep from freezing.”171

Corporal John Lang, Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry recalled the miserable night,

The suffering we endured during the night cannot be described. The temperature dropped to 45 below zero by one o’clock a.m. We were forced to stop, dismount, and
run the bullring to get our blood to circulate. We reached a point overlooking the valley at daybreak.\textsuperscript{172}

While on the plateau overlooking Powder River, the command saw the first indication that a village was in the vicinity. The alert, a great smoke coming up, was presumed to be from an Indian village. However, it turned out to be a burning coal seam. Despite the false alarm, the scouts were certain that an Indian village was nearby.\textsuperscript{173}

**Discovery of the Village**

At approximately 4 a.m., the men waited in their concealed position near the plateau’s edge, while Colonel Reynolds once again sent the scouts to look for Indian signs.\textsuperscript{174}

Captain Noyes recalled that the halt made near the plateau’s edge lasted about two hours, while the scouts descended to the valley floor.\textsuperscript{175}

The small group of scouts descended the plateau, and rode toward the Powder River Valley. John Shangreau recalled the group included Frank Grouard and his brother, Louis (Shangreau). The scouts arrived at a ridge overlooking the Powder River, a distance of approximately 3 to 4 miles beyond Colonel Reynolds command.\textsuperscript{176} There (at about 5:00 a.m.) the small party discovered the camp (Figure 35). Grouard hurried back to Colonel Reynolds’s position on the plateau with the news of the discovery.\textsuperscript{177}
Frank Grouard returned to Reynolds’s command sometime near 6 a.m. He reported his findings to Reynolds, describing the village as being situated on the west bank of the Powder River under a large mountain bluff.\(^{178}\)

Colonel Reynolds, hoping to engage in a surprise attack on the village, was faced with a formidable task and only a short time to accomplish it. Reynolds needed to maneuver his cavalry force from the summit to the river valley floor. This move would be difficult due to the rough terrain, cold weather, and the tired condition of his men. Reynolds would use the natural cover of the uneven and wooded terrain to conceal his movement. The creek beds and obvious natural paths would serve as a route for his men. His next task would be finding a staging area that would provide his force with a view of the enemy and avenues of approach that would allow his men to remain concealed until positioned to strike the enemy. He would rely on the skills of Frank Grouard and the other scouts and guides to accomplish these tasks.

John Shangreau recalled the approach to the village, noting,

> The Indian camp was on the west side of Powder River and between the two draws. This was the way it was through these draws ran, and the force was divided and one
party should follow down one of them, on the upside of course and the other down the other draw on the inside. It turned out, however to be this way: the right hand draw went down to the River, but the left hand one bore off diagonally and emptied into the right hand one about half a mile from Powder River. To the surprise of all the two divisions came together disparaging the plan of attack which was to strike the camp simultaneously from both north and south. The command all moved down toward the river and to the south of the camp. Where there was a cut bank, so that there was a first bottom on the river, and within was the camp.\textsuperscript{179}

John Shangreau remarked that the command then moved together, descending the plateau in the direction of the village in an attempt to reach it before daybreak. At a point approximately one and a half miles distance from the village the command halted.\textsuperscript{180} The men reached this location at about 7 a.m.
Captain Noyes recalled, “We got to the foot of the hills at about daylight and could not see nothing, as everything was obscured by hoar frost, but we knew we were near the village as we could hear bells.”

Second Lieutenant Bourke noted,

... The scouts were certain we were near an Indian village and went ahead of us about 2000 yds. Shortly they came back, Frank Grouard at the head of them. He and Col. (Major) Stanton, who was in command of the scouts, were speaking to Col. Reynolds. Grouard noted, “… right down in the valley beneath us, in one word, directly under our feet, lay a village of more than a hundred lodges with great herds of ponies grazing on the rich pasture bottoms.

Bourke recalled the meeting with Frank Grouard, Colonel Stanton (Chief of Scouts) and Colonel Reynolds. Grouard described the lay of the land, the pony herd, and other details – as well as the village, which he characterized as quite large.

The estimates of the size of the village ranged from John Shangreau’s account of 51 lodges to Captain Anson Mills later estimate of 100 lodges. The actual size of the village was likely nearer to Shangreau’s numbers as evidenced by the small area of land where camp related artifacts were uncovered.

Shortly after the return of the scouts, 2nd Lieutenant Charles E. Morton, the Adjutant of the Bighorn Expedition rode up to Captain Mills, whose Battalion was situated second in the column. Morton directed Mills to ride double time to the front of the column, led by Captain Moore’s men. Morton also informed him that the guides discovered a large village in the vicinity. Captain Noyes, commanding the rear battalion, hurried to the front to assess the situation.
The Northern Cheyenne Village

The military scouts had discovered a village, although at the time, they did not have enough information as to the leadership or the tribal affiliations, nor did that seem to matter to Colonel Reynolds. What did matter was a successful strike on a non-reservation village, and removal of the vanquished warriors and non-combatants to the reservations. The soldiers erroneously believed they hit Crazy Horse’s Sioux village. However, the village discovered was Northern Cheyenne, under the leadership of Old Bear (The Old Man Chief), Box Elder, and Two Moon, with a small contingent of Oglala Sioux under the leadership of He-Dog. During the winter, this village was located on Otter Creek, and later moved to Tongue River, until it was relocated on Powder River.

The Northern Cheyenne village on the Powder River was strategically positioned. It was located on the river bottom within a grove of cottonwoods and thick vegetation that provided natural cover and afforded easily accessible defensive positions. A steep terrace, about eight to ten
feet high lay directly to the west of the camp. Beyond the terrace a steep bluff overlooked the village to the west and north. Two ravines northwest of the village provided possible escape routes. Dense cottonwoods and vegetation along the Powder River marked the eastern edge of the village. The horses grazed in various herds scattered along the river bottom.

According to Wooden Leg (interviewed by Thomas Marquis) sometime around February, Last Bull arrived at the village and warned them that soldiers were coming to fight all the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne who were living off the reservation. Wooden Leg stated that Last Bull’s warnings were not taken seriously nor believed. John Stands in Timber, John Fire Wolf, and James Medicine Elk (all interviewed by Father Peter J. Powell, circa 1957-1961) explained why Last Bull was not believed. They placed the blame on warrior society rivalry and serious indiscretions by Last Bull that had not been forgotten. Last Bull, a Kit Fox Warrior Society leader, was accused of stealing the wife of American Horse, and of being overly arrogant and overbearing. The Elkhorn Scraper Warrior Society included the village’s leaders, Old Bear and Box Elder, who had contempt for Last Bull.

In the following month, Spotted Wolf, Medicine Wolf, and Twin, three Cheyenne chiefs, came to the camp (while on Powder River) and warned of the upcoming threat of a U.S. military attack if they did not move to the reservation. After their warning, the fear of attack became real. Following a council, the decision was made to remain where they were. Some factors in that decision were: confidence that the soldiers were unable to strike the village because of the severity of the winter, Northern Cheyenne warriors could steal U.S. cavalry horses, and the
severity of the winter made it extremely impractical to move the village. Wooden Leg stated that warriors were sent out to look for the presence of U.S. soldiers.193

About the middle of March, Little Wolf, the Sweet Medicine Chief, arrived at the village on Powder River. The teepees were estimated to number between 40 and 60.194 The Northern Cheyenne were vigilantly sending out parties to watch for soldiers. Black Eagle, in an interview with George Bird Grinnell on September 22, 1907, mentioned sending out six men to look for soldiers; however, they went too far and missed the soldiers.195 Wooden Leg and Yellow Hair were noted as seeing the abandoned campfires of a soldier camp. Upon their return the two reported their news to the camp council who came to the conclusion that the camp must have been another “wolves” camp (Northern Cheyenne or Sioux scouting party) rather than soldiers. At the time of Wooden Leg and Yellow Hair’s discovery, the village was downstream on Powder River; the camp leadership moved the village to the location on Powder River that was soon to be struck by Colonel Reynolds’s command.196 The last reports of U.S. soldier movement were from hunters and scouts who said they saw soldiers going over the hills to the headwaters of Hanging Woman Creek down to the Tongue River. This news gave the Northern Cheyenne village some measure of what would be (false) relief.197

**Colonel Reynolds’s Command halts and orders are given for the attack**

Colonel Reynolds’s command halted on a high plateau with a number of little ravines running down to the Powder River that provided ease of access to the river bottom. The Powder River flowed in the valley below, fringed with cottonwood and willow trees, and the river was very sinuous at that place. The village itself was not in sight (it was one and a half miles from the
command’s location). Here, the officers were called forward to receive instructions for the forthcoming fight.\textsuperscript{198}

The Battalion commanders, Captains Henry E. Noyes, Anson Mills, and Alexander Moore, along with their subordinate officers attended the meeting with Colonel Reynolds. Major Thaddeus Stanton (Chief of Scouts. Second Lieutenant Charles Morton (Adjutant), 2\textsuperscript{nd} Lieutenant John Bourke (Aide-de-Camp to General Crook), Frank Grouard (Scout) and Robert Strahorn (Newspaper Reporter for The Rocky Mountain News) were also present.\textsuperscript{199}

The orders for battle were delivered. Each battalion commander was given specific instructions for their movement.

Company “K”, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry led by Captain James “Teddy” Egan was selected to lead a mounted charge on the village with pistols (the majority of his men were armed with Schofields and a few with Colts, both .45 caliber).\textsuperscript{200} Company “I”, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry led by Captain Henry E. Noyes was to accompany Egan’s men to a point near the village, then break off and drive the pony herd away from the village. Major Thaddeus Stanton and his scouts were to lead the companies down through the bluffs toward the river, and to assist and retain general charge of the captured herd.\textsuperscript{201}

Captain Alex Moore’s Battalion (Companies “F”, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry and “E”, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry) were detailed to approach the village dismounted without revealing themselves to the Indians, and hold themselves in readiness to promptly and vigorously follow up the charge.\textsuperscript{202} Major Stanton remembered hearing Colonel Reynolds direct Captain Moore to dismount his battalion, and
take a position in the rear of the village, or a position covering the rear.\textsuperscript{203} Robert Strahorn also recalled,

I heard the orders, I can’t remember the exact language used, but Captain Moore was directed to go to the lower or left hand edge of the village, and remain in position till Captain Egan charged the village, and when the Indians fled he was to charge in and cut them down.\textsuperscript{204}

Captain Anson Mills’s battalion (Companies “E” and “M”, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry) was to be held for reserve.\textsuperscript{205} Mills recalled being told to remain where he was, as he would be held for future developments.\textsuperscript{206}

Following Colonel Reynolds’s instructions to the various officers, questions and specifics were entertained. This was the usual military protocol and ensured that each officer clearly understood his role in the upcoming fight. Scout John Farnham noticed, “There was a lot of parleying among the officers.”\textsuperscript{207} He recalled, “Egan would like no part in this, but walked around impatiently, explaining, “Well let me get at them! Let me get at them!”\textsuperscript{208}

Captain Egan was not the only officer in question of Colonel Reynolds orders. Captain Mills was surprised by Colonel Reynolds’s decision to have Egan charge with pistols. He, in an excited manner, remonstrated with the Colonel saying, “There was no use trying to attack the village with pistols, as we had both agreed that fighting was to be done with carbines and I was directed to leave my pistols.” Colonel Reynolds replied that Captain Egan had confidence in his pistols, and thought he would wake them up. Mills responded that was all he would do – he would wake them up, and they would all get away.”\textsuperscript{209}
Mills turned to the Adjutant (2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton) and asked him to try to persuade the Colonel, but Morton replied that he had already done so, but would try again.\textsuperscript{210} Years later, Morton admitted to Walter Camp (a historian known for interviewing both U.S. and Native American participants of the Indian Wars) that he and many of the other officers were displeased with Colonel Reynolds’s plans before the attack was made, but no one could influence the Colonel.\textsuperscript{211}

By the time the preparations were made for the upcoming fight, Bourke recalled that it was long after sunrise. He went on to note, “... looking over the crest of a steep ridge, the bucks could be seen in the valley below, moving about among the tipis, while their horses and mules grazed quietly on the banks of the river nearby.”\textsuperscript{212}
The Battalions move into their respective positions

Figure 38: Orders are given and troops move to concealed positions

Captain Noyes’s Battalion

Captain Noyes’s Battalion, Companies “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry led by Baptiste Pourier (Big Bat), Baptiste Garnier (Little Bat), Buckskin Jack, Charlie Janis, and John Shangreau and accompanied by 2nd Lieutenant John Bourke, Robert Strahorn, and Hospital Steward William C. Bryan left the position held by Colonel Reynolds’s Command, and as Bourke recalled, “... descended a ravine which Frank Grouard said, we could tumble down. The descent was very rough, and a difficult maneuver for the men and horses.” \(^{213}\) The cavalry dismounted. Captain Egan’s troopers led
During the descent, one of Captain Noyes’s horses fell and broke its neck. Captain Egan recalled that it took half an hour to get the horses down over the bluffs and through the ravine to a position that was within sight of the village. He noted, “When we got in sight of it, it was a mile off, down the river, to my left.”

About 8:30 a.m., the men maneuvered over a ravine that led to the valley floor. Captain Noyes soon halted his battalion, and sent Baptiste Pourier (Big Bat) to find the best avenue of approach for the upcoming charge. Noyes wanted Pourier to determine if it was advisable to go around the little bluff. He returned to the battalion, recommending to Captain Noyes that he take a direct route down a fairly gentle slope leading to the village. When studying 2nd Lieutenant Bourke’s rough sketch, it must have appeared to Baptiste Pourier that the Powder River butted up against the slope of the bluff, negating that option.
Captain Noyes’s Battalion halted behind the slope of a hill, which afforded a view of the grassy plateau in the immediate vicinity of the village. Noyes recalled seeing some young Indian boys driving their herds to water.220

John Shangreau recalled waiting with Captain Noyes’s battalion as Pourier scouted the approach,

The command was huddled down close in a position protected from view by a depression in the surface and 200 yards south of the camp [Captain Egan’s Report placed the distance to the village at 600 yards which seems more accurate]. While in this place, an Indian came out on the edge of the cut bank and began yelling to the camp to wake and get up. The sun had risen.221

Second Lieutenant Bourke noted, “It was a great tax upon our patience, at this moment to remain quiet, but Major Noyes (Bourke was referring to Captain Noyes by his brevet rank of Major awarded on April 2, 1865 for gallant and meritorious service at the capture of Selma, Alabama). He was very firm in his determination not to attempt any charge before ascertaining the nature of the surface to be traversed.”222
While waiting for Big Bat’s return, Companies “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry, formed up in columns of two. The men remained in position for 20 to 30 minutes. Captain Egan, speaking to the scouts said, “Boys I am going to charge into the camp. You half-breed scouts charge to the right of me and take all the horses you possibly can.”

Captain Moore’s Battalion

Captain Moore’s Battalion (Companies “F”, 3rd Cavalry and “E”, 2nd Cavalry) was instructed to occupy the crest of the ridge overlooking the village (Figure 41). Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled Moore showing great anxiety when orders were given, and that Moore wanted to give them what he called a “blizzard” and get a “bucket-full of blood.” His men would depart the staging area, cross Thompson Creek and climb a small bluff, affording a distant view of the village.

First Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds recalled the movement, “We proceeded across a wide ravine to a hill in front of the village. The whole distance travelled was a mile and a half before we assumed a position ... .” Major Stanton, who accompanied Captain Moore’s men, recalled that the course was along the bluffs until they reached their position on the brow of a ridge.
First Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds judged their position as being approximately 400 yards from the village.\textsuperscript{228} Captain Moore maneuvered his battalion to the back side of the ridge and awaited the upcoming charge.

In retrospect, 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant Reynolds’s estimation of the distance to the village appeared to be short. In July 2016, while touring the battle site, Hugh Fulton, the current landowner provided evidence of Lieutenant Reynolds’s error in distance. Fulton pointed out where he discovered approximately twenty .45/55 casings, upon the bluff overlooking the village.\textsuperscript{229} A photograph from the Jesse Wendell Vaughn Collection (circa 1950’s) shows where he (J. W. Vaughn) discovered military cartridge casings in the same vicinity mentioned by Hugh Fulton.\textsuperscript{230} The measured distance from the bluffs to the village was approximately 1000 yards.\textsuperscript{231} This result closely matches those of 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant William C. Rawolle (1200 yards), and Major Stanton’s (1000 yards) from the village. \textsuperscript{232}
Colonel Reynolds, accompanied by 2nd Lieutenant Johnson’s Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry began a slow advance toward Captain Moore’s position. Upon reaching Moore, the two officers met near the crest of the hill. Colonel Reynolds commented, “You are at least 1000 yards from the village.”

After his interaction with Moore, Colonel Reynolds followed the Thompson Creek drainage, carefully concealing his men behind the uneven terrain while waiting for Captain Egan and Noyes to advance on the village and horse herd. Second Lieutenant Charles Morton (the Adjutant), recalled Colonel Reynolds’s later comments, “Captain Moore was 1000 to 1500 yards away and might as well be in Texas or words to that effect.”

**Captain Mills’s Battalion**

At the staging area, approximately one and half miles southwest of the village, Colonel Reynolds accompanied by 1st Lieutenant John B. Johnson’s Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry gave orders to Captain Mills to follow and support Captain Moore’s battalion, located to the north and directly west of the village. During the pre-battle maneuvers, 1st Lieutenant John B. Johnson’s Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry, part of Captain Mills’s Battalion, was attached to the Commander. If needed Johnson’s men could be called upon to join Mills in the ensuing action.

Mills’s men were ordered by Colonel Reynolds to dismount and per protocol, to leave 4 horses per soldier. Soon after, Colonel Reynolds changed the disposition, asking Mills to leave one soldier per 10 horses. The remainder of Mills’ Company moved in a northerly direction where Captain Moore was last observed. Captain Mills later testified at Colonel Reynolds’s Court
Martial that he had dismounted at Colonel Reynolds’s staging area, prior to moving out in a
dismounted fashion. While en route, Mills briefly halted his company, ordering them to take
off their burdensome buffalo robe overcoats so they could more easily descend the slope. They
moved another 600 to 800 yards where they observed Captain Moore’s men climbing up the
south side of a bluff. Mills’s men continued in a northerly direction, crossing a small creek
(Thompson Creek) leading up to Captain Moore’s location. At the foot of the slope, Moore
motioned Mills not to come any further.  

Mills ordered his men to halt and lie down. He went uphill to see what Moore’s situation was.
Captain Moore replied, “It’s no use you coming up here – you can’t get into the village this way
– there is an impassable ravine between me and the village.” Mills responded that he was
ordered to support him and asked what he should do. Moore explained that he had a position
overlooking the village, within 150 yards of it, (as noted previously Moore’s error in distance
from the village was far from accurate) and he intended to remain there until Captain Egan
began his charge, and then fire into the village.  

First Lieutenant Augustus E. Paul, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry, a subordinate of Captain Mills,
recalled the start of the conversation between the two officers (Mills and Moore). Moore, with
pistol in hand, exclaimed, “Just as Captain Egan makes his charge we will give them a blizzard
from the hill.”  

Captain Mills, after this discourse with Moore, wrote a brief note to Colonel Reynolds in
reference to Lieutenant Johnson’s Company. The contents of the note were never explained.
The note was given to 1st Lieutenant Augustus C. Paul, who in return gave it to Private George
Rabb to deliver the message to Colonel Reynolds. Reynolds, receiving the note recalled, “I read the paper as well as I could – I did not have my glasses, and did not want to take them out just then – I put it in the pocket of my overcoat, and have not seen it since.”

Following the departure of courier Rabb, Captain Mills advanced to the crest of the bluff, looking out at the village from Moore’s position. Mills was surprised to see the village at such a distance, recalling that it, “… appeared to me to be a full mile distant!” Mills addressed Moore, telling him it was utter folly to remain there (in their current position), as Moore’s volley would not reach the village. Furthermore, they should try to get in some other way. Moore replied that he had some sharpshooters in advance to pick off Indians. After continued discussion, Mills decided to take his men in an easterly direction to support Captain Egan’s charge. Captain Mills urged Moore to promise not to fire from the mountain, and follow him in his advance. Following this discourse, Captain Mills maneuvered his company as near the village as possible, concealing them behind the southeastern tip of the ridge. His men, in prone position, were closer to the village and able to quickly react to support Egan’s and Noyes’s strike on the village.

Captain Moore, after his conversation with Mills, ordered Sergeants John Warfield and Robert Emmet, and six privates, along with a detail from Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry, to approach the village as closely as possible to support the upcoming charge.

Shortly after Captain Moore’s Battalion occupied positions on the rear slope of the bluff overlooking the Indian village, Major Thaddeus Stanton approached Captain Moore, stating “… this was no place for his command, that we might as well be in Cheyenne as there and that the
Indians would all escape.”

Stanton recalled that Moore, with pistol in hand and flourishing it about, stated, “That was the place.”

Moore later defended his decision to hold this position, saying, “I had positive orders from Reynolds to keep my command concealed till the cavalry passed me.”

Following his conversation with Moore, the obviously frustrated Stanton approached Captain William Rawolle’s (Commander of Company “E” 2nd Cavalry, Captain Moore’s Battalion) location, a short distance from Captain Moore’s. After some verbal discourse, Captain Rawolle replied, “I know this is not the place for this battalion, but you see I am not in command.”

First Lieutenant Rawolle realized his position was too far from the village and took the initiative to advance to a concealed position closer to the village. His new position (Figure 42) was estimated to be within 400 yards of the village. At this location, he concealed his men behind the south crest of a ridge and awaited the upcoming charge.
Major Stanton moved in a northerly direction across the rough terrain to the position he felt should have been occupied by Captain Moore’s Battalion. While moving closer to the village, he saw a small element of Captain Moore’s lead battalion: Sergeant Louis Gilbert of Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry and four cavalrymen near a knoll about 150 yards beyond Moore’s main position (at this point Captain Moore’s position was south of Stanton’s). Stanton ordered Gilbert to take his men and follow him. Shortly thereafter, 2nd Lieutenant Frederick W. Sibley, Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry also departed Moore’s position to join Stanton’s small group.

Stanton and company continued on, in a northern direction, crossing ravines, then reached an effective firing position northwest of the village. Stanton’s position was in closer proximity to the village and provided better observation and fields of fire than the position chosen by Captain Moore. Stanton’s location was the only position close enough to counter a withdrawal of the enemy, should they try to run. Sergeant Gilbert recalled the move,

We went out 1000 to 1400 yards in a roundabout course. ... We got within 200 or 300 yards of the village and Stanton was with us. We stopped and took position somewhat to left of a line from hill (we had come from) to village.\textsuperscript{248}

From behind the crest of the bluff (Figure 43), Stanton’s group watched Captain Egan’s Company begin their descent, and their advance across the valley floor toward the village.\textsuperscript{249}
Captain Egan’s Charge and Captain Noyes’s raid on the pony herd (9:00 a.m.)

Captain Noyes, battalion commander (Companies “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry) received the needed assurance from Baptiste Pourier (Big Bat) that the best avenue of approach to the village lay directly ahead. Big Bat’s route led the men down a slope of a hill flanked on the northeast by a rise (See Figure 44), concealing the troops until they reached the river bottom. Just about the time they were ready to proceed, 1st Sergeant John McGregor alerted Egan’s attention to a cavalry company approaching on their left, about 500 yards distance. This was 1st Lieutenant J. B. Johnson’s Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry escorting Colonel Reynolds. Captain Egan, determined to maintain the element of surprise, sent Frank Grouard, to get them (Colonel Reynolds and 1st Lieutenant Johnson) to halt their command. Following Grouard’s departure, John Shangreau recalled Captain Egan addressing his men, moments before they started out, “You get ready.” To the scouts he said, “You charge to the right-hand side and take all the horses.”
Captain Egan ordered his men to move out in parallel columns. The two cavalry companies proceeded forward, descending a gentle slope which opened to a ravine approximately thirty or forty feet deep with steep banks. Crossing the ravine would delay the men if both companies moved in unison. Noyes’s Company maneuvered to the left of the route taken by Company “K” (Captain Egan’s Company) which Noyes joined on the opposite side, just as Captain Egan’s company formed into line. Noyes kept his men in column of twos, with the head of his column parallel with Captain Egan’s Company. They moved in this formation until within a few hundred yards of the nearest teepees.²⁵²

Figure 44: Vicinity of Captain Noyes and Egan’s Avenue of Approach. Courtesy of David Eckroth
From his position overlooking the village Major Stanton observed,

Just at nine o’clock Captain Egan turned the point of the mountain nearest the river, and first in a walk and then at a rapid trot started for the village. The company went first in a column of twos, but when within 200 yards of the village, Egan shouted out the command “Left front into line” … and with a yell they rushed into the encampment!253

Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled Egan’s troopers riding among the herd of Indian ponies which trotted off to the right and left at his approach. Soon an Indian boy came into view. He was herding the ponies and was in close proximity. Bourke aimed his revolver at the youth, however, Egan said, “Let him alone John.” The young boy shouted out an alarm to the village once the cavalry troopers passed him by.254
Captain Noyes’s Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry moved up promptly following the rear of Captain Egan’s Company, and suddenly wheeled to the right and captured the Indian horses grazing below the village. A small detachment of half-breed scouts assisted Noyes in this maneuver.255 Promptly, Frank Grouard was seen cutting out the herd.256

![Figure 46: Private Charles Minarcik, Company “I”, 2nd Cavalry. Courtesy of Mary Hannah, Private Collection](image)

Second Lieutenant Bourke who accompanied Egan’s Company recalled, “In front of Captain Egan’s men lay the lodges of the village sheltered in little coves and nooks among the rocks and finely protected in front by a little clump of cottonwood and a dense undergrowth of wild plum.”257

In the moments that Captain Egan’s men approached the village (Figure 47), 2nd Lieutenant Bourke noted, “I was at Egan’s right, Mr. Strahorn was there. Our left went by the tepees and they commenced firing on it.” Our left struck the end of the village.”258
Bourke went on to recall the earliest action of the engagement at Powder River noting,

Egan’s men pushed forward, firing their pistols at the teepees and any visible Northern Cheyenne warriors. They later ran out of their lodges in dozens, throwing themselves behind the brush and opening a lively fire, which we returned with apparent good effect, causing them later to abandon the first line of trees and take refuge farther to the rear of the village.259

The initial melee resulted in the Northern Cheyenne warriors losing ground, but not without casualties to Captain Egan’s Company. Bourke recalled that in the first three or four minutes of the charge, three troopers were wounded: Private Edward Eagan was struck by a pistol bullet in the lower part of the lungs, Private John Droege was struck by a large caliber rifle ball to the elbow-joint, and Farrier Patrick Goings was struck by a large caliber rifle ball to the top left of his shoulder. Six horses were killed and two wounded, not including Captain Egan’s horse which was also wounded once in the neck.260 (The Muster Roll for Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry lists 2 horses killed and 7 wounded on March 17, 1876.261) Bourke recalled his bridle-rein being cut in two by a bullet and a number of men had bullet holes in their clothing.262
Scout John Farnham recalled that Frank Grouard rode out on the bench overlooking the village about the same time Egan’s men struck, calling out and challenging their leaders to come out and fight. Sergeant Gilbert (who accompanied Stanton’s small party in the hills west and above the village) observed the start of the fight. He recalled the Northern Cheyenne Indians running to the cover of the trees farther back in the village when Egan’s men struck the village.

Northern Cheyenne warriors soon regained their confidence, and rushed forward toward Captain Egan’s troopers. Egan gave the command to fight on foot, realizing a mounted charge would fail. His men formed a skirmish line in the undergrowth, and rather than rely on pistols,
the men retrieved their Springfield carbines, and opened a determined fire on the advancing
warriors, leaving the soldiers with possession of the southeastern edge of the village.\textsuperscript{265}
Meanwhile, Captain Egan ordered the remaining mounts to be led to the banks of the Powder
River, where the cover of the heavy brush would provide an element of protection from enemy
fire.\textsuperscript{266} At this point the fight for control of the key terrain was becoming desperate, as the
warriors fought to protect their families and Egan’s company continued to pour volleys of rifle
fire into the village.

As the fighting commenced, Noyes’s men and scouts rounded up nearly 700 horses, mules, and
brood-mares.\textsuperscript{267} They herded the greater part of the animals up the Powder River bottom a
half mile to a location across from a prominent bluff.\textsuperscript{268}

John Shangreau recalled the scouts dashing forward at the same time Egan’s troops rushed into
the camp, passing to the right of the camp, and between it and the river, capturing many Indian
horses.\textsuperscript{269}

Noyes proceeded to send small squads to gather up remaining straggling ponies. First
Lieutenant Christopher T. Hall and a few men crossed the Powder River, and gathered up
ponies on the east side of the river, and drove them back to the rest of the captured herd.\textsuperscript{270}
Colonel Reynolds later estimated the soldiers captured about half of the Northern Cheyenne
animals.\textsuperscript{271}
The struggle for control of the village continued as Captain Egan’s men exchanged fire with the Northern Cheyenne and Oglala warriors, who had recovered from the initial shock of the charge.

**Northern Cheyenne warriors cover the escape of the women, children, and elders.**

Ten of the Northern Cheyenne warriors departed the village the night before the attack. At the time of the attack they were still searching for the presence of soldiers.272

The alarm of the soldiers’ attack came from an old man who had climbed to the top of a nearby knoll to pray and watch. Wooden Leg recalled the old man yelling out, “The soldiers are right here! The soldiers are right here!”273

Historian Marie Sandoz was given the following account by a Northern Cheyenne informant, “Little Wolf moved to action at once, hurrying from the lodge in order to open fire on the soldiers as they charged in. He shouted to the men around him to hold fast, and they kept shooting at the advancing troopers, forming a wall between the enemies and the women, children, and old people, who broke for the safety of the hills west of the camp.”274

Black Eagle, in an interview with George Bird Grinnell on September 22, 1907 recalled hearing a young man shouting, “Get your guns. The soldiers are charging us!”275 Black Eagle went on to say,

> By that time soldiers on gray horses were riding between the horse herd and the village, moving through the bitter cold at a slow trot. When they reached the edge of the camp they opened fire. Women screamed and small children, filled with terror at the sight of the troopers, shrieked for their mothers. Some people slashed the sides of their lodges, rushing out through the slits in order to escape the steadily advancing soldiers.276
Grinnell recorded Black Eagle’s description of the earliest moments of the attack, noting,

Box Elder’s lodge rose directly in the path of these soldiers, who urged their mounts forward firing as they came. Black Eagle and his wife, Elbow Woman and Box Elder’s daughter, were living with the blind holy man at this time ... Now Black Eagle picked up his rifle and ran from the lodge, ready to cover the flight of the women and children. ... Throughout all the shooting and commotion, Box Elder remained calm, for he was carrying Oxohotsemo, his Sacred Wheel Lance, in his arms. Indeed, he had spoken to Black Eagle and Elbow Woman, telling them that he did not wish to leave the camp.\(^{277}\) He knew that Oxohotsemo’s protective power would hide them from the soldiers’ sight, and protect them from enemy bullets.\(^{278}\)

Regarding his interview with Black Eagle, Grinnell noted,

Black Eagle, however, did not wish his father-in-law to be exposed to danger. “Take away your father,” he told his wife. Then he started toward the gray horse soldiers, who by now had dismounted. Bullets were flying in around him, sounding like the patter of raindrops in a hard storm as they struck the lodge covers. Black Eagle ducked behind a tree, where he opened fire on the advancing troopers. He kept firing at them, and it seemed as if his shooting made them turn a little to one side. Then four young men near him began to shoot, and their firing forced the soldiers to turn even more. Black Eagle never left the camp, but remained there behind the tree, shooting at the troopers. ... Meanwhile, Elbow Woman had coaxed Box Elder into leaving the camp. She helped her blind father to mount a horse, then she led him to safety behind a breastwork in the hills rising west of the village. A number of young warriors were there, all firing down at the soldiers.\(^{279}\)

Thomas Marquis recorded that Wooden Leg responded to the alarm in the following manner,

He grabbed his bow and some arrows. Then he raced for the horse herd and threw his rope over the neck of the nearest pony. It belonged to Old Bear, the Old Man Chief. A few of the other warriors also managed to catch horses, and they all turned back to face the soldiers, covering the flight of the women, children, and old people. Most of the warriors fought on foot, taking cover behind trees or in any other protected place they could find. Only a few had rifles and ammunition, most had only arrows to fire at the attacking soldiers.\(^{280}\)

Wooden Leg recalled,
After the first charge by the gray horse soldiers, troopers on bay horses appeared, charging in from another direction.” Wooden Leg probably saw Noyes’s company gathering their horses. His men rode in close proximity of the village. “Wooden Leg started for his family lodge, hoping to get his sacred shield and other holy objects. Women struggled to get by him, burdened with bundles of their most precious possessions. Some were carrying their children or dragging them along, trying to get them away from the soldiers. All were shrieking in fear.

Marquis recorded Wooden Leg’s rescue of some of the women and children during this early part of the fight,

Wooden Leg came upon a woman who carried a pack on her back and a little girl under one arm, with an older child holding fast to her free right hand. All three were weeping and nearly exhausted. A moment before Wooden Leg arrived, they had ducked into a thicket to catch their breath. Wooden Leg recognized them immediately, for they were Last Bull’s wife and daughters. “Let me take one of the children,” he suggested, and Last Bull’s wife swung the older girl, Walks at Night up behind him. Then he rode off, with the girl clutching him about the waist. As he hurried his horse along, Wooden Leg came upon another fleeing woman, staggering under the weight of the baby she carried on her back and the two children she carried, one beneath each arm. A little eight-winter-old boy was trudging along behind her. Wooden Leg slowed down his horse long enough to swing the boy up in front of him. Then, while Last Bull’s daughter held on to him tightly, he wrapped an arm around the little fellow, guiding his horse with his free hand. Frightened by the shooting and noise, the pony was becoming more and more nervous. He began to buck and shy, so that Wooden Leg had to fight hard to keep control of him. Finally the three reached a place of safety, where Wooden Leg dropped the children. He had not been able to reach his family lodge, and now he had to ride back against the soldiers without his shield or other sacred protective possessions.

**Captain Mills advances to support Egan’s men in the village (9:15 a.m.)**

Captain Anson Mills’s men, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry lay in the snow concealed by the bluffs southwest of the village when Captains Egan and Noyes began their advance. They watched Egan’s and Noyes’s cavalry advance around the spur of a hill across Thompson Creek.
As Noyes’s battalion (Companies “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry) crossed Thompson Creek, 1st Lieutenant John B. Johnson’s company with Colonel Reynolds, 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton, and 1st Lieutenant George A. Drew advanced to the left, coming around another set of bluffs.284

Captain Mills’s men held their position until Egan’s company was discovered. Mills then ordered his men to advance at a double-quick pace across the plateau toward the southwestern side of the village. While advancing past the ravine directly to his front, Mills could hear Captain Moore’s men firing a volley over their heads.285 Mills recalled being astonished when hearing Moore’s men firing the volley.286

First Lieutenant Augustus C. Paul, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry recalled hearing the bullets fired over their heads. He estimated that the distance fired was three quarters of a mile. Paul noted that the shots fired did not fall among his men, but they did hear the fire.287 He went on to comment that his men were half way across the mesa when the volley was fired.288
Second Lieutenant Morton heard the volley from the hill, and appeared to see soldiers off to the left dodging as if the bullets were striking among them, and rode in the direction of Moore’s troops. The following year Morton in testimony recalled waving his hat and calling out for them to cease fire.\(^{289}\) He further testified that, “They were firing on our own men”\(^ {290}\). Morton recalled that he was uncertain if Moore’s men heard his warning.\(^ {291}\)

Second Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds, Company “F”, 3\(^{rd}\) Cavalry, recalled firing a volley about the time Egan’s men got to the edge of the village.\(^ {292}\) Major Stanton’s group of seven soldiers, located on a slope about 300 yards from the village viewed Egan’s charge and the events that followed.
About the same time as Captain Moore’s volley, Mills heard some of his men calling out and pointing to their left, at who they thought were Indians firing at their troops. Mills recalled seeing 10 to 12 men running, dressed in white men’s clothing. He yelled to his men that the runners were scouts, and not to fire on them. Mills went on to recall that he thought the warriors were concentrating their fire on Captain Egan’s Company and had not yet discovered his advancing men.293

Major Stanton observed at least 250 Indians, and further recalled, “The fleeing Indians passed 250 to 300 yards from us. We fired upon them and in return we were fired upon.”294 Major Stanton remembered firing in a northeast direction at the retreating women, children, elders, and warriors fleeing from the village. He went on to note that they did not fire at the Indians still in the village. Stanton judged that they fired from 25 to 50 shots at the Indians retreating out of the village.295 Second Lieutenant Frederick W. Sibley (with Stanton’s group), recalled firing at the Indians till they got through the fight.296

**The soldiers take control of the village (9:30 a.m.)**

Second Lieutenant Morton who accompanied Colonel Reynolds’s contingent viewed the dismounted men (Captain Mills’s Company) advancing across the plain. He recalled the advancing soldiers as running and being considerably scattered.297
Captain Mills’s company pushed forward and formed a skirmish line near the edge of the bench overlooking the village. From this point Mills could observe the engagement on the river bottom and decide how best to approach and support of Egan’s men. Mills viewed Captain Egan’s dismounted men in the willows on the brink of the river firing at Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux warriors who were returning fire.²⁹⁸

While near the edge of the bench, and about 100 yards away from the village, Mills’s company fired upon the warriors (who appeared surprised) and began to withdraw.²⁹⁹
Lieutenant Bourke (with Egan’s command), near the right edge of the village, heard cheering from behind the cavalry line. He initially thought Captain Noyes’s men were moving forward, but it proved to be Captain Mills’s company scrambling to their support.300

Meanwhile the women and children fled from the village, exiting the opposite side to the relative safety of the nearby bluffs. The warriors determined to keep the avenue of withdrawal open, fell back to support the fleeing non-combatants.301

Egan commented, “The straggling shots from my left was what caused the Indians to run from their attack on me. When those shots were fired they commenced to fall back.”302

Following their rifle volley, Captain Mills’s men descended the edge of the bench (this was a steep descent of at least 8 to 10 feet) and pushed forward perpendicularly to Captain Egan’s formation. Mills’s men formed a line on the left flank of Egan’s company. Egan’s men emerged from the cover and concealment afforded at the edge of the Powder River and pushed forward to link up with Mills’s soldiers. A small group of Egan’s men holding the company’s remaining horses remained in the bushes with their backs to the river.303

While Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry was descending the bluff enroute to the river bottom, Mills recalled that about 200 ponies came charging down through his line, and were driven to the rear by 1st Lieutenant Johnson’s men.304

During the heat of the fight, 2nd Lieutenant Bourke recalled,

One of the men with me, a recruit, raised his pistol at something. I saw he was about to fire at a soldier and I told him to stop. I saw it was part of Capt. Mills’ company going
through the village from another direction. A few men were with him, but I saw Captain Mills.  

Captain Mills estimated it took about 6 to 10 minutes following Egan’s charge before his 
company (Mills) occupied the village. Mills estimated his arrival in the village at approximately 
9:30 a.m. Egan felt the time he was engaged in the fight without support was much longer. 
His estimate was 20 to 25 minutes without help (Egan recalled his watch reading 9:05 when he 
began his attack).  

While Mills’s men pushed forward, the remaining warriors fled, firing wildly. In a short time, 
Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry held the line from the bottom of the steep bench to a position 
stretching toward the willow bar, while Captain Egan’s men held the willow bar to the Powder 
River. The village was now in the hands of the soldiers.  

Northern Cheyenne and Oglala occupants took cover behind the rocks and bluffs (Figure 51) 
northwest of the village about 800 yards away. Captain Mills noted, “The Indians had taken 
their squaws and children up the side of the mountain in the gorge in front, and expecting a 
return attack as soon as they had placed them in security.”
It was the opinion of more than one officer, justified or not, that Captain Moore’s men were not properly positioned. Bourke felt that they were too far to the left and rear of the village to effectively prevent the occupants from escaping, and Moore’s volley was completely ineffective.\textsuperscript{311} A maneuver by Captain Moore similar to Stanton’s would have proved to be extremely difficult. In Captain Moore’s defense, it would have been highly improbable to circle around the large bluff and position his men to the rear of the Northern Cheyenne village before Captain Egan commenced his charge.
An element of Captain Moore’s Battalion could be seen crossing the bench (Figure 52) about 15 minutes after Captain Mills’s men entered the village (9:45 – 10:00 a.m.). Sergeant William Land of Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry (Rawolle’s Company of Captain Moore’s Battalion) recalled descending the hill, and going around a large ravine, as they approached the village.

Shortly after Captain Mills’s men formed on the northern edge of the village, Colonel Reynolds rode from the upper side (southern side). Captain Mills met him in the middle of the village. Reynolds appeared pleased, and asked, “What have you got?” Mills responded, “A very large village and meat and everything.”

The return fire from the Northern Cheyenne warriors alarmed Mills, who warned the Colonel to dismount, as he was making himself too much of a target. After a short exchange of words, Reynolds said, “I want you to burn everything and get as quickly as possible to a safer camp. Mills responded, “It is a very large village, rich in everything we want, and my idea is we ought to camp here and wait till General Crook comes and select all that is valuable to us, carry it away on a pack train and destroy the balance.” Colonel Reynolds responded, “Do you think we
can hold the village?” Mills answered, “Certainly.” Reynolds replied, “Make a detail and select all that is valuable and destroy the rest.” The Colonel then returned, south of the captured village where he had set up his headquarters.315

In the verbal exchange between Reynolds and Mills, the captain asked for support in holding the village. Reynolds responded by dispatching Lieutenant Johnson’s company, who arrived to support Mills’s men promptly.316

Following this meeting, Mills met with 1st Lieutenant Augustus C. Paul, his subordinate officer, and informed him that they were going to camp at the village site and prepare to resist counter attacks. Paul was tasked to select a detail to gather up meat and robes, and burn everything else. Mills later estimated that there were several thousand robes, perhaps 20,000 pounds of meat, and 1,500 to 2,000 horses along with a great many pack saddles.317

Northern Cheyenne and Sioux withdraw from the village

The volley from Captain Mills’s Company prior to their descent into the village (to reinforce Captain Egan’s men) resulted in the withdrawal of the remaining warriors. Northern Cheyenne and Sioux combatants fled to the jagged bluffs northwest of the village, while others remained concealed near the cottonwood trees and underbrush in the river bottom.

Black Eagle later reflected on the warriors’ actions,

At first most of the fleeing ones took refuge behind a stone breastwork, ten or twelve feet high, rising in the hills west of the camp. There many of the young warriors took their stand, firing out at the soldiers. The women and children moved back even farther, running until they reached the safety of the second breastwork, some distance behind the first. There they were safe from the soldier bullets.318
Black Eagle recalled remaining in the river bottom firing at the soldiers when he heard voices over the shooting. He heard the voice of someone singing the Chief’s song. He turned and saw a young man racing toward him. It was Little Creek, his brother-in-law. When Little Creek reached him, he gasped out, “Brother-in-law, I have come for you. Your wife is up there, and has her father there, and now I have come for you.” Black Eagle and Little Creek hurried toward the breastworks, exposing themselves to rifle fire, finally reaching their destination. There Black Eagle found his wife, mother, and Box Elder, the blind holy man, seated on a horse with the Sacred Wheel Lance cradled in his arms. From that position, Black Eagle guided his relatives to a better protected position.

**Destruction of the Village (10:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.)**

First Lieutenant Paul’s detail sorted through the tribes’ property deciding what to salvage or burn. Captain Mills kept the remainder of his battalion (men of both Companies “E” and “M”, 3rd Cavalry) in skirmish line took cover on the northern edge of the captured village, maintaining vigilant observation and the best fields of fire available, in preparation for a possible counterattack.

During the salvaging detail, Colonel Reynolds’s Adjutant, 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton sought out Captain Mills. Morton reported to Mills that Colonel Reynolds changed his mind, and ordered everything destroyed, adding that Mills and his men depart as soon as possible. Mills responded that it would be a difficult task to destroy the property. He added, “... the
tepees were mostly leather and hard to burn and it was dangerous work because there were caps and powder in the tepees and they were exploding.”323

Mills returned to his men and delivered the order to destroy everything. Due to the chaos of the fight, there was great confusion. Fixed ammunition was exploding adding to the chaos. Mills, later indicated in his report that it was hard to make the men understand, and individually addressed many of the soldiers. Additionally, many of the men were removing robes to the southern edge of the village.324

Major Stanton’s small party left their positions in the bluffs and entered the village.325 Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled Major Stanton’s arrival, “I sat down for a few minutes thinking the Indians were certainly caught and in a few minutes Major Stanton came in and just after this several men were running around calling out to burn everything and destroy it and then move out.”326 Bourke went on to say,

I thought they were irresponsible men, but one of them said the orders were to fall back. Another man came up and said such was Reynolds’s order. I kept the men burning, or rather exploding the tepees. They were so full of powder, caps and fixed ammunition that they all exploded. Those orders were coming up so much that I looked around and found Captain Egan had been withdrawn – I don’t know by whose order. I was gathering up robes and meat for the men. We had no rations and nothing but the clothes on our backs and the temperature must have been 30 degrees below zero, at least.327

Captain Egan concurred with Bourke and Mills on their frustration with the decision to destroy everything in the village. Egan noted,

Everything in the village was destroyed by order of Col. Reynolds. The meat could have been taken away either on packs or travois that we found in the village. …. I saw at least 50 travois in the village destroyed. At one time I took 25 men to assistance of Capt. Mills in the village to help him destroy the village.328
Meanwhile, Captain Mills’s battalion was maintaining a thin skirmish line at the northern edge of the village, while providing a detail to burn teepees and village equipment. Captain Egan’s company soon withdrew south of the village, leaving 1st Sergeant John McGregor and 20 men (less than half the number assigned to the company) to support the right side of the skirmish line, from the northeast portion of the village to the Powder River. 329

By 10:00 a.m. the remainder of Captain Moore’s men began to leave their positions and approached the southern edge of the village. 330
As Moore’s men continued to withdraw, Northern Cheyenne warriors, with their families in relative safety, returned to engage the soldiers. Groups of warriors took positions in the underbrush near the Powder River and in the dense tree cover north of the village. Other warriors, taking advantage of the soldiers’ movement to their village, took cover in the bluffs west and northwest of the village. A concentrated counter attack began. These positions allowed the warriors good observation good fields of fire. The soldiers in skirmish line formation on the north and west sides of the village responded to the renewed vigor of the warriors.331

Second Lieutenant Bourke noted, “Those of the men on the skirmish line under Captain Mills saw an Indian chief in full war costume, riding down among his men on the cliffs, haranguing them and animating their valor.”332

While heading toward the eastern edge of the village, Sergeant Kaminski, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry was wounded above the right knee. Captain Mills noted, “He barely reached it when he was wounded. I saw the smoke from the gun of the Indian who shot him and he was not more than 150 yards away in the grass.”333 Captain Mills, feeling the increased intensity of the enemy counter fire, sent Private Alexander Shore, Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry to Captain Moore asking him to not abandon the bluffs as they were being reoccupied by the warriors. Moore responded that he would “attend to it.”334
Captain Mills was becoming very anxious. He later said, “... called the men in, saying they would be killed if we stayed there, and we had no support.” Responding to the intensified weapon fire from the warriors and the wounding of Sergeant Kaminski, Captain Mills twice went to Captain Moore and requested support. Moore told Mills to see the Colonel. Shortly after their meeting, Reynolds met with Moore and told him Mills’s request. Reynolds said not to mind Mills.
Meanwhile, the detail continued to burn the lodges. Some lodge poles were frozen tightly in the ground, and were difficult to remove and burn, therefore, the destruction of the village was a slow and difficult endeavor.337

After the capture of the village, Assistant Surgeon Munn was able to set up his field hospital at the southern edge of the village (Figure 55). He began receiving wounded and dead.338

First Lieutenant Johnson, who reported to Captain Mills, ordered one man per eight horses to remain at the rear of the village. Of his remaining men, a portion was ordered by Colonel Reynolds to assist in the further destruction of the village. Those soldiers proceeded to the eastern edge of the village near the willows to begin their work.

The remainder of 1st Lieutenant Johnson’s company was positioned along the line occupied by Captain Mills’s men. Mills gave orders to take cover behind trees and logs.339 Under Mills’s direction the troops fired upwards of sixty rounds per man.340
Johnson reflected on the reinforcement of Mills’s company stating,

When I came on the line, Cpt. Egan's Co. of the 2d Cavalry occupied our right and Cpt. Moore's battalion your left, subsequently during the engagement Cpt. Egan's horse and apparently men were removed from the right, which point the Indians gained and fired upon us from. Cpt. Moore's command was apparently withdrawn from the original place occupied, for Indians boldly appeared and danced on the sage brush bench which he had occupied. Our line received the Indians fire from the right, front, and left.341

While holding the skirmish line at the north end of the village, Johnson’s company received its first casualty. Private Peter Dowdy was struck in the head by a bullet, killing him instantly.342

First Sergeant Jeremiah Foley recalled that Private Dowdy was away to the rear and left of the line when killed.343

Privates Michael Brannon, Henry Burton, Charles Cunningham, William Schubert, and Benjamin Slater assisted 1st Sergeant Foley in carrying Dowdy’s body toward Assistant Surgeon Munn’s field hospital. On their way, Colonel Reynolds intervened and told this group to abandon the body, cover it with a buffalo robe, and go back to the front. First Sergeant Foley directed his men to leave the body behind the bluff.344

While the fighting continued, some of the men in the southern edge of the village lost their military bearing (acted unsoldierly), taking buffalo robes and prizes from the captured village.345

Major Stanton recalled, “I saw soldiers carrying off buffalo robes and trinkets when we left the village, but my orderly was the only one I saw carrying provisions. This by my order.”346

Sometime between 10 and 11 a.m., Captain Mills went to the southern end of the village and met with Colonel Reynolds. Mills told Reynolds that Moore was not supporting him. Mills requested that Captain Moore be ordered to hold his position in the hills. Captain Mills noted,
“Colonel Reynolds turned his eyes away and would not look that way, and said, never mind, we will talk about that some other time. I will send you Captain Noyes.”

Mills returned to the tenuous ordeal of holding the skirmish line intact. Meanwhile, the Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux warriors moved closer to the soldiers, using the cover and concealment of the bluffs as well as the cottonwoods and heavy brush, further pressing the soldiers’ line. Captain Noyes was absent. The mounting pressure and tardiness of Captain Noyes’s men spurred Captain Mills to send Lieutenant Bourke with another message. The message informed Reynolds that the skirmish line could not be held, if not supported on either side. First Lieutenant Bourke relayed Mills’s message. Bourke returned, telling Captain Mills to expect reinforcements shortly. Bourke wrote in his journal that as he met with Reynolds, he noticed Captain Noyes’s company was unsaddled and not ready for action. As a result of the continued absence of Noyes, Mills dispatched 1st Lieutenant Johnson to deliver a second message to the Colonel. Johnson soon returned with Reynolds’s message that Captain Noyes was ordered to support Mills, and would soon arrive.

After Mills’s meeting with Bourke, Mills saw Lieutenant Morton and informed him of Reynolds’s orders: the men must keep their places. Soon Colonel Reynolds was seen moving toward Mills’s position. Mills ran down to meet Reynolds, and told him that his men (Mills) could not stay there without support. Following the discourse, Mills returned to his command.

Second Lieutenant Morton saw the situation differently, making the following comment about Captain Moore’s soldiers, “From 10 to 20 men along at different points and there was quite a squad out to the front (six or eight men) were as near the Indians as Captain Mills. He further
noted, “... from the amount of firing going on it was adequate to prevent Indians from entering and overcoming Captains Mills and Moore’s force.”\(^{353}\)

Moore’s company was located southwest of Mills. The extreme left of Moore’s command was fifty to one hundred yards west of the village, and facing west, fired at the warriors in that rough terrain.\(^{354}\)

Assistant Surgeon Munn recalled an interaction with Moore while he (Moore) occupied a position near the hospital. Munn asked him if he thought the men on the line were wasting their ammunition. Moore intimated that, “he would tend to that part of the business if I would tend to mine.”\(^{355}\) Munn further stated that the firing by Moore’s men was very rapid.\(^{356}\)

Munn was hard at work in the field hospital during the occupation of the village. Besides taking care of the wounded, travois were constructed from lodge poles.\(^{357}\)

Captain Noyes’s company finally completed their task of herding the Indian ponies near a bluff that the soldiers referred to as Hospital Bluff (Figure 56), approximately 900 yards south of the village. One-third of his men guarded the herd, while the rest of his company unsaddled their mounts on the river bottom across the Powder River from Hospital Bluff.\(^{358}\) Noyes gave his men permission to make coffee while they rested their unsaddled horses.\(^{359}\) Noyes defended his decision to unsaddle noting, “It was after the village had been destroyed by fire when the bulk of the business appeared to be over.”\(^{360}\) Noyes soon received orders to support the skirmish line.
As the fighting intensified, Private George Schneider, Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry was mortally wounded when struck in the neck by a bullet. Mills ordered a detail to carry him to the rear, and sent a man for the doctor. Private Michael Himmelsbaugh, a former Medal of Honor recipient and member of Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry was in that detail. About this time, Mills saw Reynolds approaching and intercepted him as the Colonel saw the detail carrying Private Schneider. The Colonel asked how badly the soldier was hurt. Mills responded that he thought Schneider was mortally wounded. The sergeant accompanying the wounded man replied that Schneider was almost dead. Colonel Reynolds responded by ordering the body abandoned. Private Schneider succumbed to his wound shortly thereafter.

On his return to his line, Mills approached Captain Moore and a number of officers and about 25 men, sheltered behind a clump of trees. Mills asked Moore to send troops to cover his left flank, but received no reply from Moore.
Simultaneously, Mills met Egan, who said, “Mills if you want more men on your right I will send them. Mills accepted his support, and a detail of eight to ten men joined the line on his right.\textsuperscript{366}

Anxious at the continued absence of Captain Noyes’s company, Captain Mills once again sent 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant Johnson to Colonel Reynolds for Noyes’s assistance. Johnson returned with assurance that Captain Noyes would arrive soon.\textsuperscript{367}

After the return of 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant Johnson and his assurance of forthcoming reinforcements, Mills waited a short period of time. After 15 minutes, Mills gave the order to retire.\textsuperscript{368} As Mills’s men withdrew (a few yards), Lieutenant Johnson observed troops nearing the village from a southern direction. He called out, “There is Noyes coming” and on hearing this news, Mills ordered his men to form a skirmish line again.\textsuperscript{369}

While the soldiers were engaged in occupying the captured village, and burning its supplies, Colonel Reynolds consolidated his command. The horse holders from the cavalry companies were called in to more defendable locations. First Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds’s, Company “F”, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry ordered three or four men to retrieve the horses from his company.\textsuperscript{370} The other companies followed suit.

Black Eagle, years later, recalled his movements near this time. He moved to some high rocks, where other warriors stood waiting. Looking over the rocks, they saw soldiers herding their horses in two bunches down below. The warriors moved closer, and opened fire on the soldier herders, who quickly rounded up the horses and drove them away.\textsuperscript{371} Black Eagle also recalled the anguish of seeing the soldiers destroying the village, looting the lodges, carrying off the painted robes, sacred war clothing, and fine beadwork.\textsuperscript{372}
Next, Colonel Reynolds instructed Assistant Surgeon Munn to move the field hospital about 800 yards south to a position under the bluffs. About the time Captain Noyes arrived at the village, the wounded were transported to the new field hospital location.373

Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors push into the village

Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors refocused their efforts, fighting the U.S. soldiers occupying their village. From the western slopes, warriors skirted closer, opening fire at opportune times on the soldiers, while warriors in the river bottom worked their way nearer and into the village. The Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors took advantage of the soldiers’ confusion and chaos. At this point from the bluffs west of the village, Wooden Leg, Bear Who Walks on the Ridge (Ridge Bear), and Two Moon fired at the soldiers below (Ridge Bear and Two Moon were Kit Fox Society Chiefs, positions held in high esteem in Northern Cheyenne culture). Wooden Leg recalled, “Two Moon was the only one of the three with a repeating rifle. He stood the rifle up in front of him and passed his hands up and down the length of the barrel, not touching it, but rather blessing it, as a man makes a blessing gesture over an object used in the sacred ceremonies. ‘My sacred power is good. Watch me kill that soldier.’” Two Moon said. Then he fired, but the bullets missed the trooper. Bear Who Walks on a Ridge was carrying a muzzle-loader. He fired next, and his bullet caught the soldier in the back of the head. As the trooper went down, all three warriors rushed in and finished him off. Another warrior joined them, and snatched the soldier’s rifle. Wooden Leg took this trooper’s blue coat, and Two Moon and Bear-Who-Walks-on-the-Ridge stripped the body. The warriors then returned to a safe position.374 The soldier killed was probably Private Michael J. McCannon,
Company “F”, 3rd Cavalry. McCannon’s assigned company was located close to the bluffs. In the confusion the body was left on the field of battle and the surgeon’s report noted his death as a gunshot of unknown caliber.  

During the counter attack, another soldier fell to rifle fire. Powder Face, Yellow Eagle, and Bull Coming up Behind counted coup on a soldier, likely Private Lorenzo E. Ayers, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry, whose body was left on the field.  

**Captain Noyes’s Company forms his line just south of the village (1:00 p.m.)**  

When Captain Noyes’s troops arrived at the southern edge of the village, Captain Moore’s company was at the location where Egan had charged. Noyes recalled Moore’s line ran to the sage brush mesa, his right flank extending toward the river, and other companies were on the left. Noyes further noted Mills occupied the center, and Egan’s contingent occupied the right.  

A number of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors reoccupied the northern side of the destroyed village, taking advantage of the cover formed by the remaining debris. They continued to press the soldiers remaining in the village.  

As Noyes formed his men in line at the south edge of the village, Corporal John Lang, Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry was shot through the ankle. First Lieutenant Rawolle remarked on Lang’s wound, noting that the bone was shattered.  

With the arrival of Captain Noyes’s men, Colonel Reynolds began withdrawing his command, ordering the various companies to withdraw to the vicinity of Hospital Rock.
First Lieutenant Paul (of Mills’s Battalion) recalled, “The only thing I remember is that we saw a lot of soldiers (Captain Moore’s men) retreating, and Captain Mills calling out, for God’s sake don’t leave us or words to that effect.” It was clear that Captain Mills and 1st Lieutenant Paul were not aware of the immediate order to withdraw to the vicinity of Hospital Rock, although they quickly ascertained Colonel Reynolds’s intentions. Once Mills understood the commander’s intent, he went down his line and cautioned his men to retire in an orderly manner.
Captain Noyes’s men, 35 in number, advanced in skirmish formation closer to the village. Captain Egan, still in that vicinity, heard Noyes ask the Colonel for an opportunity to saddle up his horses. Hearing Captain Noyes’s request, Egan rode to the Colonel and asked him if Noyes’s horses were unsaddled. Reynolds responded that they were. Egan replied, “… that the Indians would play the mischief” and asked for permission to keep his men in their current location, and withdraw with Noyes to ensure that his company got saddled up. Colonel Reynolds agreed to Egan’s request to hold back with Noyes. Reynolds then rode toward the base of Hospital Bluff where the other companies were forming and mounting up.

Captain Noyes’s men, faced with covering an area formerly protected by five companies, spread out and took a defensive posture, using cottonwoods, heavy brush, and other debris for cover and concealment. His men remained in their positions for approximately ten minutes to half an hour. Noyes cautioned his men not to shoot at random. While holding this line, there were occasional shots exchanged between warriors and Noyes’s men. Nine of Noyes’s men remained with their horses. Another six men straggled in, and formed on the line within a short time.

Captain Mills and 1st Lieutenant Johnson’s companies passed Noyes’s line, and took positions south of them. The withdrawing soldiers moved in a calm and orderly manner. Captain Mills went back to Captain Noyes and briefed him, “That the Indians were in the grass on the right and left and if the men went forward they would be killed.” Colonel Reynolds and the remainder of the command remained about 500 yards to the rear of Captain Noyes’s position.
Reynolds ordered the command to halt and lie down.\textsuperscript{389} Mills’s company soon joined the command and took position at the lead.\textsuperscript{390}

Within minutes, Captain Mills’s battalion mounted and crossed the river. Soon after, Blacksmith Albert Glavinski, Company “M”, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry reported to his battalion commander, Captain Mills that Private Ayers had been left behind.\textsuperscript{391}

Mills promptly turned to Colonel Reynolds and asked him what could be done about Ayers. Reynolds replied that nothing could be done and directed him to proceed.\textsuperscript{392}

The following testimonial by Captain Mills vividly captures the words spoken between Blacksmith Glavinski and himself, and then Mills and Colonel Reynolds,

As the company had formed and was ready to march, Col. Reynolds was forward, the blacksmith of my company came to me and said Private Ayers of my company was in the village wounded. I said: “How in the world is that?” He said we left him there. I asked where and he told me. I asked where he was wounded and he said in the arm. I asked why they did not bring him off and he said Ayers could not walk. I said he must be wounded somewhere else and he said he thought he was. I told the men to call Reynolds back that there was a wounded man in the village. He came back and I said: “My God Colonel, I have word that I left a wounded man in the village, what shall I do?” He said: “You can do nothing”. If you go back you will renew the engagement and lose 20 men, you must move on.” Some men came to me and asked permission to go back and try to get him. I said yes, they could go and said to them that Capt. Noyes was there and to give him my compliments and tell him for God’s sake to get the man. Lieut. Morton asked me if I had a wounded man and I told him I had and Col. Reynolds would not consent that I should go and get him. Lieut. Morton said he would be one of 10 men to go and get him. I said it was no use. Col. Reynolds prohibited it and we had better obey orders and go on. I afterward learned that Ayers and some others stopped back after plunder.”\textsuperscript{393}

Captain Mills sent one of his men to go with Glavinski and report to Noyes. Mills asked Glavinski to seek out Noyes and in his name (Captain Mills) send men to try and rescue him (Ayers).\textsuperscript{394}
Captain Noyes recalled the arrival of the messengers,

Just after the companies left village a non-com came from Mills and said Mills wanted me to have my men bring off the wounded men he had left there. Part of my men were then occupying the entire line that had been occupied by the companies that had left and this made my line very thin. I thought that if Mills had any wounded there he was liable for them and I would have all I could do to care for my own men. I sent him back word that I could not help his wounded man off, that he would have to remove him himself. I hear that this wounded man was off to our right. I did not see him. There were Indians in our front. When I left the village I supposed Mills had taken this wounded man along.\textsuperscript{395}

Shortly before the soldiers withdrew, Major Stanton, Chief of Scouts, sent an orderly to Colonel Reynolds and asked if he had any orders regarding the captured horse herd. The colonel’s response was to kill as many as he pleased. However, Stanton had only five scouts since the others had been conscripted by the Colonel. Stanton’s men were reduced to about ten rounds of ammunition per person, and could not kill many horses, so the Major decided to herd the ponies to the night’s camp at Lodge Pole Creek. Stanton further recalled the Indians were closing up and firing at them at this time.\textsuperscript{396}

\textbf{Colonel Reynolds’s Command moves to Lodge Pole Creek (1:30 p.m.)}

Captain Egan, following his departure from the village, remained close to Noyes’s men. Egan’s men crossed the frozen river and formed a line where Noyes’s horse holders and mounts were located. They held their positions while Noyes’s men returned.\textsuperscript{397} Captain Noyes’s men took fire from warriors pursuing them at a distance. Upon their return, Noyes’s men began the task of saddling up, which proved to be a great difficulty due to enemy rifle fire. The presence of Egan’s men and a rear guard (1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant William C. Rawolle’s Company “E” Cavalry) gave
Noyes’s men the security needed to complete their tasks.\textsuperscript{398} Rawolle’s men returned fire at the Northern Cheyenne warriors.\textsuperscript{399}

When Colonel Reynolds commenced the withdrawal, Captain Mills’s battalion took the lead. Captain Noyes’s battalion followed him, and caught up to Colonel Reynolds’s command after a ride of 4 to 5 miles. Captain Moore’s Company fell in behind Noyes’s men once they joined the Command.\textsuperscript{400} Major Stanton’s small contingent followed, with captured ponies under the protection of 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant Rawolle’s company, the rear guard.\textsuperscript{401}
Captain Egan noted when he overtook Stanton with the herd, that Stanton had only a handful of men to herd the captured horses. Egan went on to note, “I stayed with him and helped him until we came in sight of campfires. I had 3 wounded men and carried them on travois, one man was able to ride his horse.”402

Two miles into the march toward Lodge Pole Creek, Mills received more news about Private Ayers. Private Jeremiah Murphy, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry had ridden to Captain Mills and reported that Ayers was scalped, stating,

That he, Ayers, and Glavinski were together when the order for retirement was given ... that when Ayers rose up he was shot through the thigh, breaking his leg and that they tried to carry him off, but while doing so he received another wound in his arm. When Glavinski went for more help, Murphy stayed with Ayers until six Indians came right up on him and shot his carbine in two, when he ran and immediately some thirty to forty Indians arose out of the willows in his front and looking around he last saw Ayers, with six Indians dancing around him.403

Private Lorenzo E. Ayers, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry, was one of four soldiers left on the field of battle. Additionally, Privates Michael J. McCannon of Company “F”, 3rd Cavalry, George
Schneider, Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry, and Peter Dowdy, Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry, all killed during the fight, were left on the field by order of Colonel Reynolds.404

The command continued the march toward Lodge Pole Creek, and within a mile of that location, Rawolle’s troops rode ahead at the sight of camp fires, leaving Major Stanton and his small group of scouts alone until they arrived at camp.405

**Northern Cheyenne and Sioux casualties**

The Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux casualties that occurred during the fight on the Powder River were as follows: According to George Bird Grinnell’s 1921 interview of White Eagle, Bear Woman, and Starving Woman, the Oglala lost one warrior in the fight. The Northern Cheyenne lost Chief Eagle, brother of White Hawk, a little chief of the Elkhorn Scrappers. He was struck by a bullet between the shoulders, breaking his back, while riding along the hillside.406 The Bent letters dated March 13 and April 18, 1914, indicate that a Northern Cheyenne warrior, Whirlwind, was also killed by the soldiers during this fight.407 He-Dog, the leader of the Oglala Sioux mentioned three casualties, “a boy or young man who was probably Sioux (possibly the same Sioux warrior listed above), who had been tending the horses, an old Cheyenne woman and a Cheyenne man shot through the abdomen from a great distance (possibly Whirlwind or Eagle Chief).408
Reynolds’s Command followed the Powder River for twenty miles south until it reached the mouth of Lodge Pole Creek (Figure 60) where General Crook and the pack train previously arranged to rendezvous with Colonel Reynolds’s command. The men, according to Captain Noyes were, “… utterly exhausted and played out as any command I ever saw. It had marched 75 miles and fought a battle within 36 hours and no sleep for the men during that time, going over a very rough country, with snow in some places – no grain for the horses. They picked up what they could on the ground.”409 Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled, “My horse was old and tired. I would walk him 1000 yds. and then lope him 1000 yds. But could not keep up and when I got to Lodge Pole Creek it was after dark. Col. Stanton with the herd, did not get in until about 9 p.m.”410 Bourke described the location of the camp at Lodge Pole Creek as, “having plenty of water, or ice, a sufficiency of wood, but very little grass for our large herd of horses.”411 He also described the scene of the camp that night,

Officers and men were very uncomfortable from want of adequate clothing, altho' to-day has been much warmer than yesterday. Have no rations, not even for our poor
wounded men. Occasionally, an officer will be found with a small quantity of cracker-crums in his saddle-pouches, another one has carried away a small quantity of buffalo meat from the Rancheria and a third, mayhap, has a spoonful of tea or coffee. We make a miserable apology for supper; a piece or two of buffalo meat, roasted in the ashes, goes around among five or six, each getting a mouthful only; and a cup of coffee is sipped like the Pipe of Peace at an Indian Council.

The men named this location “Camp Inhospitality.” Bourke noted that the name was well deserved and well bestowed. Bourke, lying near the camp fire, first learned of the Command’s casualties, four killed and five or six wounded, two of them seriously.

Corporal John Lang of Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry recalled, “That the wounded, including himself were made as comfortable as possible as a campfire, blood-soaked blanket, and hot coffee would afford.”

Major Stanton and his men arrived in camp later than most, due to the responsibility of herding the 700 to 800 captured horses. Colonel Reynolds, fearing the distinct possibility of an attack, made the decision to keep the herd separated from the cavalry mounts. Reynolds’s decision was made following a consultation with Frank Grouard, who assured him that the herd was accustomed to graze along the river and that they would be found in the morning grazing up beyond the command’s horses. From this discussion, Grouard must have felt that there would be no attack on their camp. Under these circumstances, Colonel Reynolds spared the men two consecutive nights without sleep. The herd was guarded only by the picket line which would have been quite sufficient if these guards had been ordinarily vigilant. From sheer exhaustion they were probably not so.
General Crook’s command was the missing component at Lodge Pole Creek that night. Second Lieutenant Morton recalled Colonel Reynolds’s comments during the march to Lodge Pole Creek. “Now Crook expects me to meet him to Lodge Pole at a certain time and I must be there….”417 Colonel Reynolds’s disappointment along with his command’s exhaustion must have weighed heavily in his mind during the night of the 17th.

March 17 - 18: The horse herd is recaptured

During the late afternoon of March 17, 1876, after the soldiers withdrew from the destroyed village, Northern Cheyenne and Oglala chiefs decided to send a party to recapture their lost horses. In a 1907 interview, Black Eagle recalled six scouts who had returned from unsuccessfully locating the soldiers. Those scouts and a small party that included Wooden Leg followed the soldiers. Before they left the village, Black Eagle told them, “Follow the soldiers up. They cannot sleep with our horses to watch.”418 Two Moon interviewed in 1913, recalled that the small party of warriors that set out to recapture the horses was led by Beaver Claws and included a warrior by the name of Dog.419 According to Northern Cheyenne historians John Stands In Timber, Henry Little Coyote, and John Fire Wolf,

That night following the departure of the small party, Box Elder sat in prayer before his Sacred Wheel Lance. He offered the pipe that always brings a blessing, then he lighted it and held the mouthpiece toward Oxohtsemo, offering the first smoke to the Sacred Wheel Lance, begging Oxohtsemo to hear his prayer. With tears streaming from his sightless eyes, Box Elder begged the Sacred Wheel Lance to throw a blanket of invisibility over the wolves (Sioux and Northern Cheyenne warriors) who were trying to recover the People’s (Northern Cheyenne) horses.420 The warriors pursued the soldiers to their camp on Lodge Pole Creek. They remained concealed until the middle of the night; then they moved in close to the soldiers’ camp and began rounding up the captured horses. Wooden Leg found his own favorite horse as did some of the other wolves. They herded up as many of the horses as they could handle and stealthily moved the herd in the direction of their people. Oxohtsemo had heard Box Elder’s
prayers to conceal the wolves; so they were able to recapture the People’s horses from the white soldiers. 421

**March 18: Discovery that the herd has been retaken**

About 9 a.m. on March 18, Reynolds’s command woke to find most of the ponies were missing. First Lieutenant Rawolle noted, “… a sergeant reported to Captain Noyes that he had been out to look for the herd and found it upstream grazing. Soon some scouts reported that the herd was being driven away - said they had seen where the lariats of the drivers had trailed in the snow.” 422 Later, Major Stanton reported to Colonel Reynolds that the herd seemed to be gone. He said it had probably strayed up the river a little way. 423 Stanton recalled,

I sent some scouts out and they reported that the herd had been driven over the hill by the Indians and was a mile or 1 ½ miles away, being driven off. I reported that fact to Reynolds and he replied “We will not send for them. I put no guard over the ponies last night because the men were worn out and I did not think it would be right. He did not think they were valuable enough or something of that kind - I don’t recall the exact expression. There were officers present who wanted to go after the herd and retake it, Capt. Egan especially, and I rather think Capt. Noyes wanted to go.” 424

Bourke, present at the discussion with Reynolds, recalled the colonel said, “… they were not worth going after or something like that.” 425 He also afterwards said he wished he had killed them. 426 Captain Mills also recalled meeting with Reynolds following the loss of the horses. He told the colonel that nearly 500 ponies were taken, and that they were driven off. Reynolds asked how he knew that, and Mills replied that he saw pony tracks crossing back and forth over the general trail made by the ponies, as if herding them. He estimated that there must be 15 Indians driving them off and recalled that Colonel Reynolds did not believe that the herd was being driven off and directed him to report to Major Stanton. 427 Captain Mills replied to Reynolds that if he let the herd get away he had lost the battle. Reynolds replied that the
ponies were of no use to us – that he would rather have one company of horses than all the
ponies. Mills replied,

General Crook would rather lose all the horses in the 3rd Cavalry than that pony herd.
We could buy more horses and the Indians could not.” He asked me if my horses were
in condition to get them and I replied I thought I could capture the herd – that it could
not go fast, but I suggested that I thought a better way would be to make a detail of 10
men from each company. Major Stanton came up and about the same conversation
took place but Reynolds declined to do anything.428

Morton reflected on the aftermath of the warriors’ successful raid noted,

Not all of the horses had been recaptured. Some of the ponies had been appropriated
by the companies who naturally took advantage of the opportunity of replacing worn
out horses with fresh ponies. Some of the ponies were later sold and the money divided
among the company messes.”429

Colonel Reynolds later commented on his decision not to go after the herd, noting,

As for going after recaptured herd on morning of 3/18 I had no right to divide my
command that a portion of them might go on a “wild goose chase”. Men and horses
were tired out and had nothing to eat on hand. Had General Crook pushed on evening
of 3/17 we would have camped together on night of 3/17. If he had performed his part
of the agreement to meet at Lodge Pole as faithfully as I did mine, he would never have
had to complain that my neglect to capture ponies prevented further operations against
Indians.430

Regardless of Colonel Reynolds’s decision not to recapture the horse herd, his decision had a
negative effect on several of the officers. They vented their feelings and criticism, and openly
charged Reynolds with incapacity.

Second Lieutenant Bourke wrote extensively, severely criticizing Colonel Reynolds, not only
remarking on the loss of the horse herd but also other errors of judgment that Reynolds had
committed noting,

This exhibition of incompetency was the last link needed to fastening the chain of
popular obloquy to the reputation of our Commanding Officer. It was remembered that
no guard had been placed over the cattle-herd the Sioux had stampeded near Fort
Fetterman that our vidette system had been neglected until General Crook had interfered and caused it to be instituted; that in yesterday's fight our troops had been badly handled, the heights overlooking the enemy's position not seized upon as a single glance of the eye would have suggested; that our men were now suffering for food and covering, while everything they could desire had been consumed before their eyes in the village, and worst shame and disgrace of all, our dead and dying had been abandoned like carrion to the torture and mutilation of the Indians' scalping knife. The favorable impression General Reynolds affable manners had made upon his subordinates has been very rudely and completely effaced. I cannot use a better term than to say we look upon him as a sort of General Braddock, good enough to follow out instruction in a plan of battle conducted according to stereotyped rules, but having nothing of that originality of thought, fertility of conception and promptness of execution which is the characteristic of great military men. Reynolds imbecility is a very painful revelation to many of us. All in camp look forward to General Crook's arrival with feelings of impatience and anxious expectancy. We lay in camp all morning while couriers went to hurry him up. Day bright and pleasant the only really good one had since leaving our wagons.431

Early in the morning of March 18, Louis and John Shangreau, Jack Russell, Baptiste Garnier and Frank Grouard were sent out by Colonel Reynolds to search for General Crook's Command.432

The officers gathered that morning to discuss the pressing issue of their dwindling supplies and poor grazing land. Colonel Reynolds remarked that it was strange that General Crook had not arrived. Some of the other officers were skeptical if Crook would show up or possibly passed Colonel Reynolds's Command.433 Captain Mills replied, "There was probably a good reason he did not come and that no court martial in the world would acquit him for doing a thing of that kind."434 Colonel Reynolds was faced with two pressing choices: staying at Lodge Pole Creek and waiting for the arrival of General Crook's command as ordered, or move men and animals to a better campground. The reality of Colonel Reynolds's situation was that Lodge Pole Creek camp was marginal including burnt ground and poor grazing. Considering the condition of the
command’s horses, finding a campsite with better grazing was necessary.\(^{435}\) Captain Mills, further reflecting on the meeting noted,

There was a good deal of discussion as to what we had better do, as we were without provisions or blankets. Capt. Moore said there was but one thing to do. Col. Reynolds did very little talking – the arrangements were made by Capt. Moore and Lieut. Rowalla [Rawolle] and I understood they were to be carried out. Orders were given me to saddle up and move at 1:30, as I understood, for Ft. Reno. I did not know there was an order to move up the river. The Adjutant discussed the order and condemned it. I urged Reynolds not to move and he said he did not know what else to do – that Crook had made arrangements to meet us and had not done so and we had to do something to save ourselves – we could not stay there. While Reynolds did not say definitely that he would march to Ft. Reno his talk gave me the impression that such was his intention. Some assented to the plan and some condemned it. I don’t remember just what the official information was at the time – just where the official part ended and the social began. At first the order was that we would move at 11 if Crook did not come by that time. Again at 12 or 12:30 I was ordered to move at 1:30. These were the orders that came to me officially.\(^{436}\)

At about noon on the 18\(^{th}\), General Crook’s Command, two cavalry battalions strong, led by Captains William Hawley and Thomas B. Dewees, along with the long lines of pack mules were spotted by Captain Mills through his field glasses.\(^{437}\) They were north of camp, following the Powder River in a southerly direction. The General’s Command, led by guide Louis Richard struck the Powder River about 15 miles below Lodge Pole Creek taking with them about 40 ponies captured from the Northern Cheyenne earlier that day.\(^{438}\)

Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled General Crook’s meeting at Lodge Pole Creek on March 18\(^{th}\).

General Crook rejoined us near mid-day; was much pleased to learn of our having encountered the Sioux and taken their village; he seemed annoyed and chagrined upon being told we had left our dead upon the ground and that our ponies had been recaptured through our own carelessness; but said nothing, keeping within his own breast the thoughts that moved him. His party retook fifty of the herd which the Indians were attempting to drive past them and the General himself got a very good sight on a savage upon whom he fired. The pony, saddle, buffalo-robles and blankets of the buck fell into our hands, but he was carried off by his retreating comrades.\(^{439}\)
Later that day, General Crook in concurrence with Reynolds, decided to move the camp eight miles up Powder River (Figure 61). The need to move was clear to all. The command was in need of wood, grass, and water. Bourke went on to say that after the movement, had a good, warm supper and a drink of brandy from one of our doctors. Commenced snowing at sun-down, very cold to-night. Slept very soundly and with great refreshment, except during the short time the Indians were firing into camp; this time their attack lacked spirit, very decidedly and our videttes had no trouble in assuring the Indians they had awakened the wrong passengers. Crook was in camp and his presence was equal to a force of a thousand men: so our men felt.

Later that day the men were ordered to butcher captured ponies, too young or feeble to keep up with our march. The soldiers used axes to kill forty or fifty of the animals which provided the command with steak and choice pieces of meat. Two hundred horses remained in the herd captured at the Northern Cheyenne village.

The small party of scouts sent out on the morning of the 18th arrived at camp at 11 p.m. They missed Crook’s troops, but by circling back, they discovered his trail, and also warriors’ tracks.
following the soldiers. John Shangreau, one of the scouts, described the search for General Crook's Command,

The scouts sent out to look for General Crook’s command headed in a westerly direction. On the way they saw two warriors driving 60 to 70 head of the lost horses (1st Lieutenant George A. Drew, R.Q.M., 3rd Cavalry noted that they had recaptured 40 horses). Frank Grouard said they saw two warriors pass them as they continued searching for General Crook. Shangreau went on to comment, “... After traveling for quite some distance, they gave up the search and began the return trek following their own trail. The scouts followed the trail of the companies and very soon saw the tracks of the pack mules, and the scouts knew that Gen. Crook had joined Reynolds, for the packers were back with him. It was snowing hard. Going two miles, they saw some horses in the bottoms. They went to them to get a horse for Little Bat, as his had played out. They saw Indian saddles and (illegible) on stumps. They then knew there was a war party close by, so they caught one of the horses and Bat saddled him and then they took the horses with them. John Shangreau left the other scouts and went on ahead till he found the tracks of the Indians following the soldiers. He informed the scouts that he had seen the tracks of 10 warriors. So they left the horses they were driving. The timber was thick and could scarcely be passed except in the wood. There were five scouts and ten Indians ahead of them. John S. suggested that they keep behind the Indians a little time, the scouts could see where the Indians had turned off into the bottom. This move by them was the result of discovering just ahead of them the cavalry camp. The scouts went into their camp. Gen. Crook commented to them with the remark: “Boys I am glad you have come back. It is a shame that the Major (Colonel Reynolds) should send you back, he might know I would be along; you might all get killed over there.” That night some of the Indians charged on the camp but did not harm.

On the night of the 18th, Captain Noyes noted that the pickets of his company fired at four or five Indians who fired back at his men. Colonel Reynolds recalled that this short engagement occurred about midnight.

At 7 a.m. on March 19th, the command began marching up Powder River (Figure 62). By day’s end, the troops reached the mouth of Crazy Woman’s Fork, having traveled 21 miles.
Lieutenant Bourke noted that night’s camp (Figure 63), “It was a fine one ... Wood and water were abundant and in close proximity and good grass was accessible in sufficient quantity.”

While in camp, Colonel Reynolds requested and received permission from General Crook to kill all unnecessary horses due to the annoyance of driving and corralling the captured ponies at night (harassment from Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux warriors most likely played a
factor in Reynolds’s request). However, the scouts selected mounts that they desired and a few cavalry remounts were provided to relieve the weakest of the command’s horses.\textsuperscript{450}

March 20\textsuperscript{th}, the men proceeded 22 miles in a southerly direction on Powder River (Figure 64). General Crook sent messengers in advance to Captain E. M. Coates, 4\textsuperscript{th} Infantry, who was in command across the river from Fort Reno. Crook sent word to Coates to move his command across Powder River to the fort ruins and await their return at that location.\textsuperscript{451}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure64.png}
\caption{Terrain crossed by the Big Horn Expedition on March 20, 1876. Courtesy of David Eckroth}
\end{figure}

\section*{Camp at Old Fort Reno}

General Crook pushed the men’s limits of endurance on March 21. The command was on the move by 6:30 a.m.; they travelled for ten and a half hours. The men marched over a rough slippery road to the ruins of Fort Reno. When the command arrived at Reno they found Captain Coates’s infantry and the wagon train on the west bank of the Powder River, as instructed.\textsuperscript{452}

Second Lieutenant Bourke described the day’s march in his journal,
Marched up Powder, South, for thirty miles, a toilsome stretch with our weary horses and pack-mules. Day murky. Ground plastic, with a viscous (sic) mud oozing out from the track made by the horses’ feet. Country very dreary, no timber at all on bluffs and a greatly diminished quantity along stream. Ice growing weaker: find it vastly thinner than it was on Tongue river, where it cut from (2 1/2) to three feet in thickness. Horse and mules are now beginning to play out, chiefly among the condemned stock brought along. Reached our Infantry camp near old Fort Reno, at 4 P.M. Major Coates (Captain Edwin M. Coates did not have a brevet rank of major), Major Ferris (Captain Samuel P. Ferris was brevetted Major for meritorious service at Battle of Hatcher’s Run, Va. on Oct. 28, 1864) and Lieutenant Mason (2nd Lieutenant Charles W. Mason) made us heartily welcome. Our animals were fed on grain and carefully tended. Our men enjoyed a good square meal, the first for many days.453

The arrival of General Crook’s command at “old” Fort Reno (Figure 65) proved to be a great relief for the exhausted men. However, Assistant Surgeon Munn was appalled when he saw the conditions of the hospital tent. He observed the following,

I found only the hospital tent pitched, its interior wet, no fire in or about it, and no bed save one, on which laid poor "Wright," whom I scarcely recognized so much was he changed by disease, and as I believe by neglect. I found Dr. Ridgely and asked why so little preparation, when he had been informed of our coming by a scout, and in the light of my instructions. His replies aroused my indignation, and amounted to "I didn't, & "I couldn't". I soon procured a stove, and sent to the different companies for food and after two or three hours hard work, made my patients comfortable.454
The following day, March 22\textsuperscript{nd}, the command received a much-needed reprieve. The grueling pace, coupled with the severe weather, took its toll. The condition of the horses was rough. Captain Noyes recalled, “Between Lodge Pole Creek and Reno the horses were very much exhausted. Some of them had to be abandoned.”\textsuperscript{455}

Second Lieutenant Bourke recalled that morning, noting in his journal, “Lay in camp all day. Rained a cold drizzle in morning, but cleared off cold toward afternoon.”\textsuperscript{456}

General Crook sent a mounted party in advance to Fort Fetterman with dispatches on this day.\textsuperscript{457} Among them was the following to General Sheridan, U.S. Army, Chicago:

\begin{quote}
Cut loose from wagon train on seventh instant scouted Tongue & Rosebud Rivers until satisfied there were no Indians upon then struck across Country toward Powder River General Reynolds with part of the command was pushed forward on a trail leading to village of Crazy Horse near mouth of Little Powder this he attacked & destroyed on the morning of the seventeenth finding it a perfect magazine of ammunition war material and general supplies Crazy Horse had with him the Northern Cheyenne & some of the Minneconjou probably all one half of the Indians off the reservation every evidence was found to prove these Indians to be in co-partnership with those at the Red Cloud, Spotted Tail agencies & that the proceeds of their raids upon the settlements have been taken into those agencies and supplies brought out in return. In this connection I would again urgently recommend transfer of the Indians of those agencies to the Missouri. Am satisfied if Sitting Bull is on this side of the Yellowstone that he is camped at Mouth of Powder River but did not go there for reasons to be given by letter. Had terrible severe weather during absence from wagon train snowed every day but one and the murcurial thermometer on several occasions failed to register. Will be at Fetterman twenty sixth instant if you desire me to move these Indians please have instructions for me by this date or else I shall return the cavalry to railroad at once for recuperation.

(Signed.) Crook
Brigadier General.\textsuperscript{458}
\end{quote}

On March 23\textsuperscript{rd}, the command pushed on for 18 miles and camped on Dry Fork of Powder River (Figure 66). Bourke noted that the wounded were no longer transported by travois, but now in
ambulances. He further commented, “Our pack-mules are unloaded and our cavalry has put everything possible in the wagons to ease the horse's loads. Day rather cool, but pleasant.
Command in fine spirits.”

Earlier that day, two scouts, Thomas Reed and Jack Russell (Buckskin Jack) were sent ahead to Fort Fetterman with dispatches detailing the expedition’s failures.

On March 24th, the command marched 21 miles and camped on North Fork, Cheyenne River. Bourke noted that it, “... rained from time to time during the day.” He revealed that the camp, “... had plenty of water and grass but no wood in the vicinity and that they carried what they needed from the previous camp.”
The Big Horn Expeditionary force marched 25 miles to South Fork, Cheyenne River (Figure 68).

Bourke’s journal entry noted the day as gloomy and dark with some snow fall. He went on to say, “Wagon road obliterated and animals "balling" terribly. Found an Indian pony and rifle. Two antelope killed by our scouts - also one sage hen.”\textsuperscript{464}
Arrival at Fort Fetterman

The Big Horn Expedition marched 31 miles to Fort Fetterman on March 26. The cavalry companies arrived at the post at about noon. There they were received by Colonel Alexander Chambers, the post commander and his officers. Captain Coates’s Infantry battalion, along with the wagon train and mules, arrived by 4 p.m.

![General Crook's Headquarters, Fort Fetterman, Harper's Weekly, December 16, 1876](image)

Aftermath

Although Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds’s force destroyed the Northern Cheyenne village on Powder River, the men did not march triumphantly back to Fort Fetterman. The mood of the officers and men of the expedition was one of frustration. The objective of the expedition: breaking the backs of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse’s non-reservation bands, was a failure. They captured no women, children, or warriors. The horse herd Captain Noyes’s Company had so effectively stolen was mostly recaptured by warriors. The trail leading back to Fort Fetterman could have been followed by the bodies of horses and mules. Besides the captured horses
killed early in the return march, many of the dead horses were mounts belonging to the cavalry companies (those too weak to continue the march).

L. G. Flannery, who compiled John Hunton’s Diary, penned the following quote, illustrating the termination of the Big Horn Expedition. “At Fort Fetterman, while the military brass cast about for scapegoats on which to hang the blanket of humiliation received from Crazy Horse, our boys in blue sought solace in alcohol, as soldiers are frequently wont to do whether in victory, in defeat or in between.”

John Hunton, a prominent businessman and rancher, described the atmosphere at Fort Fetterman in the days following the return of General Crook’s Expedition.

Sun. Mar 26 – (Milk Ranch on LaPrele). Went to Post (Fetterman). Expedition arrived. Made a disastrous (sic) campaign. Lost many mules and horses, 4 men killed, others wounded, Indians retained possession of battlefield and the dead, & recaptured all their ponies, 700 in all. Much hardship endured by troops. ....

Mon, Mar 27 – (Milk Ranch). Went to Post and staid nearby all day. Much drinking going on. Could get no news and went home.

Tues, Mar 28 – (Fort Fetterman), Both “Bats” went home. Went to Post. 4 companies of Cavalry and all the pack trains left this morning. Much talk about Court Martialing officers in the late campaign against the Indians.

Wed. Mar 29 – (Fort Fetterman), At Post last night, five companies cavalry and wagon train left this morning.

March 27th marked the official termination of the Big Horn Expedition. That day Colonel Reynolds issued General Orders No. 3. The order read:

I. By direction of the Department Commander, the Big Horn Expedition organized by General Orders, No. 1. Fort Fetterman, W. T., February 27th, 1876, is hereby dissolved. The companies comprising the Expedition will return to their posts, by easy marches, under their respective Company commanders.
II. The thanks of the Department Commander and of the immediate commander of the troops are hereby returned to the members of this command for the cheerfulness and fortitude with which they have performed every duty devolving upon them throughout a campaign, of twenty-six days in an inclement season of the year, including temperature (26) degrees below zero, with the slightest possible shelter and sometimes short rations. And especially for the cold night march of thirty-five miles resulting in the surprise and destruction of a large Indian village. This march to and consequent upon this engagement of three hours duration was fifty-five miles in twenty-five consecutive hours.469

Company “A”, 2nd Cavalry, under the command of Captain Thomas B. Dewees, and Companies “C” and “I”, 4th Infantry under Captains Edwin M. Coates, and Samuel P. Ferris reported for duty at Fort Fetterman shortly after General Order # 3 dissolved the Big Horn Expedition.470

The following day, March 28, Captain Noyes and Egan’s companies (“I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry) began the march to their home station, Fort Laramie. Company “I” under Noyes arrived on the
30th, while Company “K” under Egan entered the post March 29. Assistant Surgeon Munn, with the wounded and sick men (Farrier Patrick Goings, Privates John Droege, Edward Eagan, and James Smith all of Company “K”, and Private Patrick Wall, Co. “I”), was escorted by Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry to Fort Laramie.

Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 2nd Lieutenants Drew, Morton, and Bainbridge Reynolds arrived at Fort Laramie on March 31. Author and historian Paul Hedren noted that Colonel Reynolds accompanied the ambulances with the wounded soldiers due to “his inguinal hernia, adhesions of the testicles, and chaffing from his truss.”

Assistant Surgeon Munn was exhausted. He suffered from pulmonary congestion, and remained at Fort Laramie for several days as a patient of Assistant Surgeon Hartsuff, the post surgeon. Munn remained there until April 5, when he was healthy enough to travel. He returned to his home station, Camp Robinson, on the evening of April 7.

Colonel Reynolds and his subordinates continued on to Fort D. A. Russell, and arrived there April 2. Colonel Reynolds resumed command of Fort D. A. Russell.

Brigadier General Crook, his Aide-de-Camp 2nd Lieutenant Bourke, and Major Stanton prepared to return to Omaha (headquarters of the Department of the Platte). Bourke wired ahead to Cheyenne Military Depot to arrange travel to Omaha. The three officers departed Fort Fetterman and traveled along the cut-off route to Cheyenne. They crossed Laramie River at the mouth of Chugwater River, and stopped at Portuguese Phillip’s ranch for dinner, and continued to Fagan’s Ranch on Horse Creek, and then to Cheyenne, a journey that took four days.
At 7 o’clock on the morning of March 28 the last fatality of the Big Horn Expedition occurred.

James Wright, the citizen herder who was wounded March 3, passed away at the Fort Fetterman Post Hospital.479

That same day, Surgeon J. R. Gibson released these patients for travel to their duty station.

They required ambulances and wagons for their transportation.480

- Sergeant Charles Kaminski Co. M 3d Cav.
- Corporal John Lang Co. E 2d Cav.
- Corporal John Moore Co. D 3d Cav.
- Private Richard Hallawell Co. D 3d Cav.
- Private David Cochran Co. F 3d Cav.
- Private Isaac Kelton Co. M 3d Cav.

On March 29, the cavalry companies remaining at Fort Fetterman assembled in column and departed for their home station. Companies “A”, “D”, “E”, “F” and “M”, 3rd Cavalry along with Companies “B” and “E”, 2nd Cavalry rode for Fort D. A. Russell.481 The column arrived at Russell on April 6, 1876.482 Sergeant Charles W. Day, Co. “B”, 2nd Cavalry was too sick to leave with the remainder of departing troops. He remained at Fort Fetterman Post Hospital.483

Two cavalry companies, originally from Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, “B” and “E”, 2nd Cavalry departed with the 3rd Cavalry column. After arriving at Fort D. A. Russell, they remained until called to participate in General Crook’s upcoming summer campaign.484

On April 28 at Fort D. A. Russell, 1st Lieutenant William C. Rawolle, was relieved of command of Company “E”, 2nd Cavalry, and returned the leadership to Captain Elijah R. Wells (who was on sick leave during the Expedition).485
Captain James T. Peale, commander of Company “B”, 2nd Cavalry, (also at Fort D. A. Russell) was in trouble shortly arriving at the post. Peale was charged with neglect of duty and conduct prejudicial to good order and military discipline. His court martial convened on April 26. Peale was found guilty of the charge: neglect of duty. He was sentenced by General Court Martial Order (G.C.M.O.) No. 82, per headquarters, Department of the Platte. Peale was suspended from rank and command for three months, and confined to the limits of Fort Russell, Wyoming Territory. Peale was restored to duty on August 5, 1876, and ordered to rejoin his company in the field. His court martial, unrelated to any direct actions during the Big Horn Expedition was overshadowed by the upcoming court martials of Captain Noyes, Captain Moore, and Colonel Reynolds, who justly or unjustly became the scapegoats of the failed Big Horn Expedition.

The debacle of the Big Horn Expedition was reflected well by the following letter from Brigadier General Crook to the Assistant Adjutant General, Military Division of the Missouri, dated May 7, 1876.

For a long time it has been the opinion of well informed men that the principle source of all the depredations committed by Indians along the line of the Union Pacific Railroad has been in the camp of certain hostile bands of renegade Sioux, Cheyenne, and other tribes who have roamed over the section known as the Powder, Big Horn, and Yellowstone country. Having the will, and many of the privileges of all the reservations where those of three tribes, who are supposed to be at peace are located and enjoying immunity from any restraint upon their movements, they have been able to procure arms and ammunition, and where any important raid was contemplated, reinforcements from the restless young warriors on these reservations, thus inflicting incalculable damage to the settlements upon which their raids have fallen.

To correct this and remove the principle cause the Interior Department caused these hostile bands to be notified that they must come in upon the reservations set apart for them by a certain date, January 31, current year, or thereafter be considered and
treated as hostile. The date up to which they were allowed to accomplish this movement having arrived, and the bands notified having treated the summons with the utmost contempt, acting under the instructions of the Lieutenant General, Commanding. I commenced operations against them in March with a detachment of troops known as the Big Horn Expedition. The object of this expedition was to move during the inclement season by forced marches, carrying by pack animals the most meager (sic) supplies, secretly and expeditiously surprise the hostile bands, and if possible, chastise them before spring fairly opened, and they could receive as they always do in summer reinforcements from the reservations. The number of hostiles being largely augmented in summer, while in winter the number is comparatively small.

The campaign was up to the moment our troops entered the large camp on the Powder River on the 17th of March a perfect success the Indians were surprised, the troops had their camp and about 800 ponies before the Indians were aware of their presence or well proximity. Of the mismanagement, if not worse, that characterized the action of portions of the command during the skirmish that followed and its movements for the following twenty four hours it is unnecessary to speak as they have been made the subject of serious charges against several officers, notably the immediate commander of the troops under Colonel J.J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry.

The failures however may be summed up. this 1st - a failure on the part of portions of the command to properly support the first attack, 2nd - a failure to make a vigorous and persistent attack with the whole command. 3rd - a failure to secure the provisions that were captured for the use of the troops instead of destroying them. 4th - and most disastrous of all. A failure to properly secure and take care of the horses and ponies captured, nearly all of which again fell into the hands of the Indians the following morning.

The successes may be summed up thus. 1st - a complete surprise of the Indians and 2nd - the entire destruction of their village with their camp equipage and large quantities of ammunition.

The undersigned accompanied the expedition not as its immediate commander but in his capacity of Department Commander for several reasons. Chief of which may be mentioned that it had been impressed upon him and he had almost cause to believe that operations against these Indians were impossible in the rigors of the climate during the winter and early spring and he wished to demonstrate by personal experience whether this was so or not.

When the attacking column was sent to surprise the village the Department Commander having given the immediate commander ample instructions as to his wishes, did not accompany it but remained with the train guard to the end that the command might not be embarrassed by any division or appearance of such on the field,
and the commander himself might feel free from all embarrassment that he might
otherwise feel if the Department Commander were present.

My intention being to take the horses and ponies which I was certain we should capture
and from them remount my command, and with the supplies we captured, push out and
find whatever other force there might be.

The failure therefore to properly secure the captured horses rendered a further
prosecution of the campaign at this time abortive, and the expedition returned reaching
Fort Fetterman on the 26th of March.

Attention is respectfully invited to copies of the report of Colonel Reynolds,
Commanding the Expedition, with sub reports and accompanying papers, delays in
receipt of which have caused my delay in forwarding this.\textsuperscript{490}

Lieutenant Philip H. Sheridan, Headquarters, Division of the Missouri read the reports
of the Big Horn Expedition and responded with clear condemnation in the following letter to
the Adjutant General of the Army.

Respectfully forwarded to the Adj. Genl. of the Army. Too much attention was paid to
the destruction of the Indian village and not enough to the destruction of the Indians.
Col. Reynolds had a force three or four times greater than the Indians could bring
against him, as the number of lodges, 105, would not, on the most liberal calculation,
furnish more than 105 warriors, and those warriors had the old, the lame, the blind, and
the women and children to take care of. Not the slightest effort was made to follow
them up. This perhaps is accounted for by the opportunity offered them to escape.
There were too many giving orders, there was too great a desire to receive orders, there
was too much of a desire to be supported when there was no necessity for support. The
affair is shamefully disgraceful.\textsuperscript{491}

General William T. Sherman, Headquarters, Washington D.C., agreed that mistakes had been
made, but was not as harsh as Lieutenant General Phillip H. Sheridan in his assessment of the
Big Horn Expedition. His assessment reads as follows:

I have carefully read the Reports of General Crook and Reynolds, with them of the
Reports of the Battalion and Company Commanders and do not feel disposed to
condemn the parties as severely as Genl. Sheridan does of the conduct of this
Expedition. There have been mistakes made incident to the nature of the country and the severity of the weather viz. March 11, 23 degrees below 0., March 12 26 degrees below zero, and March 17, the day of the attack on Crazy Horse village so cold that the men could not be permitted to sleep. I think Crook erred in dividing his command March 16 and that he should have approached the village as near as consistent with the views (sic) ... for Command and (sic) with his whole force and attacked and pursued the Indian warriors, women, and children till all were killed or captured and then destroyed as much of the captured property as he had no use for. Of course he had a perfect right to detach Genl. Reynolds with his six companies and General Reynolds is responsible for the (choices) he made of them. He in like manner should have used his entire force first to destroy the enemy, before pausing to destroy the village. This is the first rule in all wars. A command halted to destroy property always becomes more or less demoralized. Composed and disordered, and this case will illustrate the principle. In as much as this case has become the subject of a trail by Court Martial. I advise that this part be simply placed on file, for this purpose (sic).492

Old Bear’s and Two Moon’s Northern Cheyenne bands join Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull

One distinct effect of the attack on the Northern Cheyenne village on the Powder River was bringing Old Bear and Two Moon’s people into an alliance with the non-reservation Sioux under Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull.

When Beaver Claw’s Northern Cheyenne party returned with the recaptured herd of horses during the second night after the fight, there was once again some cause for happiness.493 With the herd safely in their camp, Wooden Leg returned Old Bear’s horse, who in turn gave the horse to his wife to ride, while the Old Man Chief continued on foot, putting the needs of the People first.494

Wooden Leg recalled that the Northern Cheyenne people moved east and north following He Dog’s Oglala, who knew the way to Crazy Horse’s village. They crossed the Little Powder, moving across the bench lands beyond the river. Hunger constantly chewed at their stomachs,
for only a few of the women carried dried meat in their bundles, and then only small chunks of
it. Wooden Leg, interviewed by Thomas Marquis, recalled, “They endured the freezing cold
weather and on the fourth day, they arrived at Crazy Horse’s village, located up a stream east of
Powder River.”

Crazy Horse’s people kindly received, fed and sheltered the Northern Cheyenne. After all were
cared for, the chiefs met in council. “The voices of Old Bear, Box Elder, and Black Eagle were
quiet but filled with anger, as they told of how they were attacked in their peaceful camp.
Finally, the Chiefs of both tribes decided to move together and join the Hunkpapa, who were
camped to the northeast of the Oglala. Crazy Horse was ready to fight the soldiers, and he told
Two Moon, the Kit Fox Little Chief, “I’m glad you are come. We are going to fight the white
man again.” Two Moon responded, “All right. I am ready to fight. I have fought already. My
people have been killed, my horses stolen. I am satisfied to fight.”

The following morning the two bands began their trek to Sitting Bull’s camp. Crazy Horses’s
people provided the Northern Cheyenne with horses to transport their people. They traveled
for three days, and arrived at the Hunkpapa village, located in the Blue Mountains (east of
Charcoal Butte at the headwaters of Beaver Creek, fifty or sixty miles east of Powder River).
Iron Hawk, interviewed by Eli Riker on May 12, 1907, recalled this camp as being on the Blue
Earth, a small stream, and that the Indians were in great numbers and consisted of many
different tribes. Upon arrival, Sitting Bull’s people generously gave the Northern Cheyenne
food, robes, lodge covers, and even a sacred pipe for White Buffalo Shaking off the Dust, the
father of Wooden Leg whose pipe was destroyed during the battle. By this time the
Ohmeseheso (Sacred Wheel Lance) was moved to the designated Northern Cheyenne camp.\textsuperscript{500}

The Court Martial proceedings

On April 20, Captain Henry E. Noyes was ordered to arrive at Fort D. A. Russell, in arrest, for the
commencement of his court martial that proceeded on April 24. Captain Alexander Moore
relinquished command of Company “F”, 3rd Cavalry to 2nd Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds,
and was placed under arrest from April 25 to 29. On May 18, he was again placed under arrest.
Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds was arrested on May 18, and he relinquished command of the 3\textsuperscript{rd}
Cavalry Regiment to Lieutenant Colonel William B. Royall, his arresting officer.\textsuperscript{501}

Captain Noyes’s Court Martial

Captain Henry E. Noyes was ordered to proceed to Fort D. A. Russell and report, in arrest, to
Major H. B. Burnham, Judge Advocate of the General Court Martial on April 24\textsuperscript{th}.\textsuperscript{502} Noyes was
charged with "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," (during the
recent engagement of March 17, he ordered the horses of his company unsaddled, and thus
rendered him unable to respond promptly to any urgent commands to move.) Noyes pleaded
not guilty to the charges. He was found guilty as charged, and sentenced to be reprimanded by
the Department Commander in General Orders. The case proceedings were published on May
2. General Crook noted that Noyes’s unsaddling of horses was an error of judgment, and that
he did not desire to shirk any duties. Captain Noyes was released from arrest and restored to
duty. He went on to command a battalion consisting of 5 companies of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Cavalry in
General Crook’s upcoming summer campaign against the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne.  

Captain Noyes’s court martial was an embarrassment to himself and the 2nd Cavalry Regiment, but was far overshadowed by the later trials of Captain Moore and Colonel Reynolds. Noyes’s experience in campaigning was valued by General Crook. However, the same was not true of Moore and Reynolds. General Crook reflected his concerns in the following letter dated May 2, to the Adjutant General of the Army, Washington D.C.

I have the honor to transmit, herewith enclosed, charges against Colonel J.J. Reynolds 3d Cavalry and Captain Alexander Moore same regiment, and ask that a court be immediately convened for the trial of these officers.

An expedition is now being organized to take the field and as much demoralization has arisen from the behavior of the accused on a previous expedition, I deem it absolutely necessary to the correction of the existing feeling among the troops and to the success of the upcoming expedition that the officers named be at once brought to trial.

The expedition ordered will be ready to start on or about the 18th instant, and as many of the officers to accompany it will be required as witnesses, it is important that speedy action should be taken on this application.

After realizing that the upcoming trials for Colonel Reynolds and Captain Moore were delayed, 2nd Lieutenant Bourke made the following comment on May 10,

Much regret was felt by all the officers interested in keeping the honor of the army pure and bright to think that the trial of General Reynolds for misbehavior in presence of enemy and of Captain Moore for cowardice (both during the Crazy Horse engagement,) could not be hurried through with before the commencement of the present movement; the moral effect of a General Court Martial in their cases would have been most salutary.

Bourke went on to comment on what he perceived as the demoralizing effects Reynolds and Moore had on the men of the two cavalry regiments (2nd and 3rd Cavalry). His journal entry for May 10 specifically noted the rampant desertion rates,
The troops of the 3d Cavalry and some of the 2d, engaged in the recent expedition are very badly demoralized and many are deserting from Rawolle’s (Well’s) Co of the 2d; eleven have deserted, saying they would not fight under men who would leave their dead and dying to fall into the hands of a savage foe. The officers, many of them at least act as if they thought the remembrance of recent misconduct would be effaced from the public mind of persistent silence and by their behavior toward gentlemen suspected of knowing anything to the discredit of Moore and Reynolds are really guilty of an intimidation of witnesses. Such behavior will react upon themselves; it has already done so. It makes no difference what verdict the Court Martial may find, the private soldiers have already passed sentence.506

Captain Alexander Moore’s Court Martial

Captain Alexander Moore was handed charges on April 5, and was notified that his court martial would convene following the conclusion of Captain Noyes’s court martial. He was placed under arrest on April 25, and remained so until April 29. On that day, he was notified that the court martial was delayed. Captain Moore, feeling the stigma of bad press by statements published by Major Stanton, requested a court martial or court of inquiry be ordered immediately, while the facts were still fresh in the minds of witnesses.507 He did not get the immediate request he desired. On May 18, Moore was again placed under arrest, and forced to relinquish the command of Company “F” 3rd Cavalry to 2nd Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds.508 On July 15, 1876, Moore was released from arrest and returned to duty. He was unable to join General Crook’s next campaign.509

On January 16, 1877, pursuant to Special Orders No. 244, dated November 25 and No. 254, dated December 8, 1876, (Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General’s Office, Washington, D.C.) Captain Alexander Moore’s court martial was convened in Cheyenne, Wyoming.510 The charges and specifications preferred by Brigadier General George Crook are listed below:

Charge 1. – Disobedience to the lawful command of his superior officer
Specification. – In that Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Regiment of U.S. Cavalry, being in command of two companies of Cavalry on an expedition operating against Hostile Indians, and having been ordered by his superior and commanding officer, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry to co-operate with his said command in an Attack upon a band or village of said Indians, did willfully disobey said lawful command, and did not co-operate or attack as ordered.

This at or near Powder River, Montana, on the 17th day of March, 1876.

Charge II. – Violation of the 42nd Article of War.

Specification 1st. – In that Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Regiment of U.S. Cavalry, being in command of two companies of Cavalry on an expedition operating against Hostile Indians, enemies of the United States, and having been directed by his superior and commanding officer, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry to co-operate and assist in an attack with his said command against a band or village of said Indians, did misbehave himself before the said Indians, enemies as aforesaid, and tardily, timorously and cowardly fail to co-operate in said attack, as ordered and instructed, and did remain so far from said point of attack against said hostile Indians as to render the services of his command of little or no service in a capture or destruction of said band or village of Indians.

This at or near Powder River, Montana, on the 17th day of March, 1876.

Specification 2d. – In this, that Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Cavalry, being in command of the Fifth Battalion of the Big Horn Expedition, and having been ordered by his commanding office, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, to maintain the position held by his battalion during the engagement with the Indians and the destruction of the village of the Indians and the destruction of the village of the Indian chief “Crazy Horse,” and until dispositions could thereafter be made for withdrawing the command, did withdraw his command from the position then occupied, so as to be unable with them to co-operate effectively with the First Battalion of aforesaid expedition, commanded by Captain Anson Mills, 3d Cavalry, in maintaining possession of the Indian village aforesaid, and in capturing and destroying the same; and when remonstrated with by Captain Anson Mills, 3d Cavalry, and requested to assume his proper position, with his command, did fail to regard said remonstrance, and utterly neglect and refuse to assume his proper position, and did thereby utterly fail to render proper and efficient support to the troops serving in the action, in accordance with the spirit and meaning of the instructions and orders for the performance of his duty in the premises.

This at or near Powder River, Montana, on the 17th day of March, 1876.

Captain Moore pleaded not guilty to all charges and specifications.511
Findings

The Court, having maturely considered the evidence adduced finds the accused, Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Cavalry, as follows:

Charge I.

Of the Specification, “Not Guilty,”
Of the Charge, “Not Guilty.”

Charge II.

Of the 1st Specification, “Guilty, except the words ‘misbehave Himself before the said Indians, enemies as aforesaid, and;’ and the words ‘and Cowardly fail to;’ and the words ‘or destruction.’”

Of the 2d Specification, “Not Guilty.”

Of the Charge, “Not Guilty of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

Sentence.

And the Court does therefore sentence him, Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Cavalry, “To be suspended from command for six months and to be confined to the limits of his post for the same period of time.

II ... The proceedings, findings, and sentence of the General Court Martial in the foregoing case of Captain Alexander Moore, 3d Cavalry, are approved by the President, who is pleased to remit the sentence in consideration of the very honorable and gallant record of Captain Moore’s previous military career, both during the rebellion and in operations against hostile Indians.

By Command of General Sherman:

E.D. Townsend,

Adjutant General.512

Captain Moore continued to serve with the 3rd Cavalry until his resignation on August 10, 1879.513
Colonel Reynolds’s Court Martial

On March 27, a day after the Big Horn Expedition’s return to Fort Fetterman, Colonel J. J. Reynolds learned of the charges and specifications preferred against him by Brigadier General George Crook. Reynolds attempted to persuade Crook to drop the matters, but after some time, Crook said, “the behavior of every one in the action of the [1]7th must be examined into and the responsibility for the neglects charged placed upon the proper person.”

After reading the official reports of the recent expedition to Montana and the attack on Crazy Horse, General Sherman noted he was satisfied that Colonel Reynolds’s trial was to take place immediately after the conclusion of the Yellowstone and Big Horn Expedition.

On May 18, Colonel Reynolds was arrested, and forced to relinquish command of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment to Colonel William B. Royall. Colonel Royall would go on to lead the 3rd Cavalry Column in Crook’s 1876 summer expedition.

Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds’s court martial convened at Cheyenne, Wyoming on January 6, 1877. General Court Martial Orders No. 30, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General’s Office, March 3, 1877 detailed the charges, specifications, findings, and charges of the procedure.

Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry.

Charge I. - “Disobedience to the lawful command of his superior officer, in violation of 21st Article of War.”

Specification 1st - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of United State Cavalry, being in command of a body of troops of the United States in an expedition operating against hostile Indians, and having been ordered by his superior and commanding officer, Brigadier-General George Crook, U.S. Army, commanding military Department of the Platte, to unite and join the troops then under command of
said Colonel Reynolds with the troop being then under the command of his said superior
and commanding officer, Brigadier-General George Crook, did purposely and willfully
issue orders to march his said body of troop away, thereby intending to prevent said
contemplated junction of his said command as ordered. This at or near Lodge Pole
Creek, Montana Territory, on or about the 18th day of March, 1876.”

Specification 2d - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of the United
States Cavalry, being in command of a body of troop of the United States in an
expedition operating against hostile Indians, and having been ordered by his superior
and commanding officer, Brigadier-General George Crook, U.S. Army, commanding the
military Department of the Platte, to save from destruction any property that might be
captured from said hostile Indians by the troops under the command of said Colonel
Reynolds, and that such property should be reserved for the use of the United States,
did willfully disobey said lawful command, in that the troops under command of said
Colonel Reynolds having captured from said Indians a large quantity of saddles and
equipments and meats, property and provision suitable for the use of the United States,
did order, cause and permit said saddles and equipments and meats to be destroyed in
disobedience to the said orders of his said superior and commanding officer. This at or
near Powder River, Montana, on or about the 17th day of March, 1876.”

Charge II. - Violation of the 42d Article of War.

Specification - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of the United
States Cavalry, being in command of a body of troops of the United States operating
against hostile Indians, enemies of the United States, in an engagement or battle fought
with aid Indians at or near Powder River, Montana Territory, on or about the 17th of
March, 1876, did misbehave himself before the said enemies as aforesaid, and run away
with his said command and abandon and leave the dead and wounded thereof on the
field in the hands of said hostile Indians.”

Charge III. - “Conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

Specification 1st - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of U.S.
Cavalry, being in command of a body of troops of the United States operating against
hostile Indians, and having captured a large herd of ponies and mule from said hostile
Indians for the benefit of the United State, did neglect his duty and permit said hostile
Indians to recapture about 700 head of said herd of ponies and mules so captured from
said Indians. The said Colonel Reynolds having a sufficient force under his command to
prevent such recapture. This at or near Lodge Pole Creek, Montanan Territory, on or
about March 17, 1876.”
Specification 2d - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of the United States Cavalry, being in command of a body of troops of the United States operating against hostile Indians, and knowing that a small force of such Indians was engaged in his immediate vicinity in driving off the ponies and mules recaptured from him, as described in the 1st Specification to this charge, and the said ponies and mules, being so driven, being in plain view of said Colonel Reynolds and his command, and having a sufficient force at his command to recapture and recover the said ponies and mules, did notwithstanding neglect his duty and fail to make any effort to recapture and recover the said ponies and mules, defeating by such negligent and tardiness to recover said ponies and mules any further operations at the time against hostile Indians. This at or near Lodge Pole Creek, Montana Territory, on or about the 18th day of March, 1876.”

Specification 3d - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment United States Cavalry, being in command of six companies of United States Cavalry operating against hostile Indians, having detached one of said companies for the purpose of charging and attacking said village, and although the Indians inhabiting the village being in large numbers and capable of overpowering said charging and attacking company, did fail and neglect to support said charging company with the five remaining companies of troops under his command, but did permit one of said five companies to remove away from the point of attack about a mile distant, there unsaddle its horses and remain idle spectators of the charging and attacking company struggling with the hostile Indians in said village, and its safety thereby greatly jeopardized for want of proper support. This near Powder River, Montana, on or about March 17, 1876.”

Specification 4th - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, having assaulted the official reputation of Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry, by preparing, signing, and forwarding to the Department Commander a charge and specification against said Captain Noyes, thereby subjecting him to the annoyance and mortification of a trial by court-martial upon said charge and specification, and said Colonel Reynolds having been called as the principal witness for the prosecution, to substantiate said charges preferred by him, did solemnly declare under oath that he was neither the accuser or prosecutor of the said Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry. This at or near Fort D.A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, on or about April 2d, and April 26th, 1876.”

Specification 5th - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, having preferred a charge against Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry, did fail to observe the requirements of paragraph 1st, General Order No. 2, series of 1873, from Headquarters Department of the Platte, and did forward said charge to Department Headquarters without, "causing inquiry to be made into the merits of the case," as required by said
order, and being the principal witness for the prosecution at the trail, did declare under
oath that the conduct of the said Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry, on the occasion
specified, did not merit charges. All this at or about April 2d and 26th, 1876.”

Charge IV. - “Conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.”

Specification - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d United States Cavalry,
being a witness before a duly constituted General Court-Martial, appointed by Special
Order No. 44, dated April 13, 1876, from Headquarters Department of the Platte, and
having been duly sworn as such witness by Major H. B. Burnham, Judge-Advocate, U.S.
Army, Judge-Advocate of the said General Court-Martial, a person duly qualified to
administer oaths, in the case of the United States vs. Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry, that
the evidence he should give in said case then in hearing should be the truth, the whole
truth, and nothing but the truth, did when so testifying in said cause under the sanctity
of said oath so administered, in a matter immaterial to the just determination thereof,
 FALSELY, corruptly, knowingly, willfully and maliciously make the answers to the questions
as follow, namely:

Question by accused. - "Was the preferring of the charges a voluntary act on
your part, or not?"

Answer. - "No. On the 27th of March ... I had an interview with the Department
Commander, General Crook, in which the unsaddling by Captain Noyes was referred to,
and in which the Department Commander expressed himself very emphatically that
charges ought to be preferred against Captain Noyes, and that he held me responsible
for it."

Question by accused. - "By whose order or advice was the charge preferred?"

Answer. - "I cannot say there was any positive order, in express words, to prefer
the charges. They would not have been preferred but for the interview referred to, and
I understood from it that charged would be preferred against me unless I preferred
them against Captain Noyes."

Question by Judge Advocate. - "Do you say that you drew and made the charges
against Captain Noyes, because you were directed by General Crook?"

Answer. - "I do not say that I was directed in express term to make these
charges, but I do say that I was given to understand, in very plain terms, that General
Crook thought these charges should be preferred; and as he held me responsible if I did
not prefer them, charges would be preferred against me for neglect."
Question by Judge Advocate. - "Should the conversation alluded to in your answer, and give as near as possible the words used by him, with the time and place where it occurred, and who, if any person beside yourself and General Crook, were present?"

Answer. - "The conversation (between General Crook and Colonel Reynolds,) occurred on the morning of the 27th of March last, I will not after this lapse of time pretend to repeat the exact words of the conversation, but as near as I can recall them now, they were to the effect: General Crook said - 'There is no doubt in my mind that charges ought to be preferred against Captain Noyes. Somebody must take responsibility. I won't do it; and you had the immediate command of the troops, I hold you responsible.' Major Chambers, 4th Infantry commanding Fort Fetterman was present when I entered the room and commenced this interview with General Crook; I am not positive whether he remained throughout the interview." Whereas, in truth, and in fact, the said General Crook never made any suggestions or gave any directions or orders whatever to said Colonel Reynolds, touching or concerning the said charges preferred against Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2d Cavalry, as stated in said answers; and this the said Colonel Reynolds well known at the time he made said answers. This at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, on the 25th day of April, 1876.

Specification 2d - “In that Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Regiment of United States Cavalry, being in immediate command of a body of troops operating against hostile Indians, and having arranged to meet, await and unite at a point known as Lodge Pole Creek, Montana, his said body of troops with the troops then under the immediate command of his commanding officer, Brigadier-General Crook, U.S. Army, commanding the Department of the Platte, the said Colonel Reynolds, notwithstanding said arrangement with his said commanding officer, to so unite and join his command as aforesaid, did order his said body of troops to leave such place of meeting and rendezvous as arranged, and when interrogated by his said commanding officer on the subject of his intention to leave without even investigating the cause of the delay of said General Crook in coming up with his command to the place of meeting, did reply that he did not intend to fail to do so, but that he intended only to move his camp where he could get grass for his animals, which said reply the said Colonel Reynolds well knew to be false, in that he intended to leave said place of meeting as arranged, and to march his said command away from there whether his said commanding officer or his command reached said place of meeting or not, and to continue his said march to Old Fort Reno, a point about eighty miles distance from said place of meeting as arranged.

This at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, on the 27th day of March, 1876.”

To all these charges and specifications the accused (who was supplied with two civilian and one military counsel) pleaded "Not Guilty"
Findings.

The Court, having maturely considered the evidence adduced, finds the accused, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, as follows:

Charge I.

Of the 1st Specification, “Not Guilty.”
Of the 2d Specification, “Guilty.”
Of the Charge, “Guilty.”

Charge II.

Of the Specification, “Guilty, except the words “misbehave himself before the said hostile Indians, enemies as aforesaid, and run away with his said command, and.’ And the words ‘and wounded.’

Of the Charge, “Not Guilty, but Guilty of conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

Charge III.

Of the 1st Specification, “Not Guilty.”
Of the 2d Specification, “Guilty, except the words ‘said Colonel Reynolds and, ‘and the words ‘defeating, by such neglect and tardiness to recover said ponies and mules, any further operations at the time against said hostile Indians.”
Of the 3d Specification, “Not Guilty.”
Of the 4th Specification, “Find the facts, but attach no criminality thereto.”
Of the 5th Specification, “Find the facts, but attach no criminality thereto.”
Of the Charge, “Guilty.”

Charge IV.

Of the 1st Specification, “Not Guilty.”
Of the 2d Specification, “Not Guilty.”
Of the Charge, “Not Guilty.”
Sentence.

And the Court does therefore sentence him, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, “To be suspended from rank and command for the period of one year.”

II.... The proceedings of the General Court-Martial in the foregoing case of Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3d Cavalry, having been submitted to the President, the following are his orders:

The foregoing proceedings and the findings, except as to the second specification of the 1st charge and that charge, are confirmed. In view, however, of the long, distinguished, and faithful service of Colonel Reynolds, the President has been pleased to remit the sentence.

III.... The General Court-Martial of which Brigadier General John Pope, U.S. Army, is President is, by order of the President of the United States, hereby dissolved.

By Command of General Sherman:

E.D. Townsend

Adjutant General.\textsuperscript{517}

Colonel Reynolds, despite his court martial, was able to attain small victories against General Crook and Major Stanton. The court censured both Crook and Stanton (though not by name) because Stanton (officially chief of scouts and unofficially a correspondent, with Crook’s knowledge) wrote and published criticisms of on-going military operations. “The court cannot but regard such practice as pernicious in the extreme and condemns it as unsoldierly and detrimental to the efficiency and best interest of the service.”\textsuperscript{518}

Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds retired on June 25, 1877 on account of disability.\textsuperscript{519} He unsuccessfully fought to clear his name of the charges and specifications for the rest of his life.
**Post Script**

The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 and the aftermath of the court martial proceedings damaged the morale of General Crook’s cavalry force (2nd and 3rd Cavalry) during the subsequent campaigns of 1876. Many of Crook’s officers were polarized in their opinions: those who supported Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and Captain Alexander Moore, and those who favored General George Crook’s stance. The following months were a period of vicious verbal and written attacks on each other, and a plethora of preferred charges against many of the officers involved in the Big Horn Expedition.

Robert Strahorn, correspondent for the *Rocky Mountain News*, documented the infighting and viciousness occurring at the time.

.... All of these things I have written up at length for the Tribune and I hope to furnish them to you in that shape. The court martial business follows us up. The Reynolds-Moore faction grew brave as (sic) as soon as our people had progressed to a safe distance in their direction. Now about every mail brings a fresh invoice of charges against the General and Colonel Stanton, while Lieut. Bourke and Colonel Mills have to be content with receiving only about one set per week. The charges all of (sic) “conduct unbecoming of an officer and a gentleman” and claim that our folds from the General down “testified to things that were false, etc. The charges are all signed by either Moore or Reynolds. I don’t think they deserve to have their ranks preferred and they display more cheek and assurance than the most accomplished book peddler or life insurance agent was ever know to possess. Of course Capt. Egan will be charged with capturing an Indian village single-handed against orders. As for me the General says they will be content with cutting me to pieces for doing a soldiers duty when I was nothing but a timid newspaper correspondent.520

Despite the infighting and ill moods, preparations for a second campaign against the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne began shortly thereafter. Brigadier General Crook’s upcoming “Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition” was conducted by a much larger force than the Big Horn Expedition.
General Crook, Commander of the Department of the Platte led five Companies of the 2nd Cavalry, ten Companies of the 3rd Cavalry, two Companies of the 4th Infantry, three Companies of the 9th Infantry and a contingent of Crow, Shoshoni, and Civilian scouts. His force numbered nearly 1,200 men.521

Crook’s was not the lone command in the field during the 1876 summer campaign. Anticipating a large and mobile threat by the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, the grand plan was a three-pronged attack on the non-reservation Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The final object: Force the non-reservation tribes to the reservations.

Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry assigned two commands in the field. Colonel John B. Gibbon’s Montana Column was one, consisting of four Companies of the 2nd Cavalry, six companies of the 7th Infantry, one mounted Infantry detachment made up of select men from the 7th Infantry, and a contingent of Crow Indian Scouts.522

Terry personally led the Dakota Column of twelve companies of the 7th Cavalry Regiment (under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer), two companies of the 17th Infantry, one company of the 6th Infantry, and one company of the 20th Infantry, who were assigned three Gatling guns, along with a contingent of Arikara Indian scouts. Terry’s command numbered 88 officers and 1536 enlisted men.523

The summer campaign against the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne, under the leadership of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, became a bitter struggle. After the defeat of Brigadier General Crook’s forces at the Battle of the Rosebud, and the annihilation of
Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer’s Regiment at the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the U.S. military renewed its efforts to pursue and punish the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne.

Congress passed the following act in 1877 which provided:

Hereafter there shall be no appropriation made for the subsistence of the Sioux, unless they first relinquish their rights to the hunting grounds outside the [1868 treaty] reservation, ceded the Black Hills to the United States, and reached some accommodation with the Government that would be calculated to enable them to become self-supporting.\textsuperscript{524}

The Sioux met in council with the U.S. government at Standing Rock Agency to sign this agreement in 1877 which relinquished the Black Hills to the United States. Among the Sioux chiefs attending were Red Cloud, Red Dog, Old Man Afraid of His Horses, Young Man Afraid of His Horses, Little Wound, and Sitting Bull (an Oglala Sioux chief, also referred to as Sitting Bull of the South, was not the famous Hunkpapa Chief Sitting Bull). The oratories by the chiefs at the signing clearly indicated they neither understood the terms of the agreement, nor had any intentions of abiding by its terms. The new agreement ignored the 1868 treaty which required three-fourths of adult Sioux males to sign any land cession agreement. Instead, the chiefs and two head men from each tribe signed it.\textsuperscript{525} The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was ignored.
End Notes

2 Ibid., 268-269.
4 Report of Richard I. Dodge, Lieutenant Colonel, 23rd Infantry, Commanding Black Hills Expedition, Omaha Barracks, December 3, 1875 to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska; Office of the Chief Engineer, 1868 – 1881, Box No. 1, Department of the Platte; U.S. Army Continental Commands, RG 393; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
5 Army Navy Journal, XIII (9), 132 (October 9, 1875)
6 Ibid., 127.
8 Army Navy Journal, XII (17), 268 (December 4, 1875).
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 Edward P. Smith, Commissioner, Ind. Affairs, to Secretary of the Interior, Z. Chandler, Washington, D.C., Nov. 9, 1875; Letters Received, Department of the Platte Box 38 (1875-1876); Records of the Adjutant General’s Office; Record Group 94, National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
12 Secretary of War, J.D. Cameron, Letter [Military Expedition Against the Sioux Indians, p. 2] to the President, July 8, 1876 44th Congress 1st Session, House of Representatives, Ex. Doc. No. 184; National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 238; Sioux War Papers; Records of the Office off the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94: NAB, Washington, D.C.
14 Ibid.
15 Telegram from the A.A.G., Military Division of the Missouri to Lieut. General P.H. Sheridan, Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Feb. 29, 1876, copy sent to Genl. Crook, March 2, 1876; Letters Received, Department of the Platte Box 40 (1876); Records of the Adjutant General’s Office; Record Group 94, National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
16 Telegraph from Brigadier General Terry, Military Division of Missouri, to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan, Headquarters, Mil. Division of Missouri, Chicago, March 15, 1876, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1495, Roll 2 “Special Files” Military Division of the Missouri, Files Relating to Military Operations, Sioux War, Oct. 1875 – June 1876 (file 3991); Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
17 Letter from General Alfred H. Terry, Commanding Headquarters, Dept. of Dakota, Saint Paul, Minn. to Lieutenant General P.H. Sheridan, Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri, Feb. 25, 1876; Department of the Platte, Headquarters, Letters Received, 1876, Box 40, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office; Record Group 94; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C. and Letter from Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, Commanding Dept., St. Paul, Minn. To Colonel John Gibbon, Fort Ellis, Montana, Feb. 31, 176; Dept. of the Platte Headquarters, Letters Received, 1876; Box 40; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
19 Ibid., 23-29.
20 Regimental Return of the 4th Infantry for the month of February 1876; Returns from Regular Army Infantry Regiments; M665, Roll 47; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office; Record Group 94; National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
21 Letter from Deputy Quarter Master General Samuel B. Holabird to Major Marshall L. Ludington, Chief Quartermaster, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, January 6, 1876; Department of the Platte, HQ, Letters Received, 1876, Box 40; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94: National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
22 Letter from Captain John Bourke, A.D.C., Headquarters, Dept. of the Platte (In the field, Cheyenne, W.T.),
February 19, 1876 to Captain James Gillis, A.Q.M., Cheyenne Depot; Department of the Platte, Headquarters,
Letters Received, 1876, Box 40 Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; National Archives
Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.
23 Letter from Commanding Officer, Fort Fetterman to the Depot Q.M., Cheyenne, Feb. 26, 1876; Ft. Fetterman
Telegrams Sent, Wyoming State Historical Society Microfilm Publication H121C, Wyoming State Archives,
Cheyenne, Wyoming.
24 Letter from Charles W. Darling, Indian Agent, Fort Berthold, Dakota Territory sent a letter to John Q. Smith,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., January 24, 1876; “Special Files” Created by the Military Division
of the Missouri; National Archives Microfilm Publication M1495 Roll 2; Files Relating to Military Operations Sioux
War, Oct. 1875-Jun. 1876 (file 3991); NAB, Washington, D.C.
25 Telegram from Brigadier General Alfred H. Terry, Headquarters, Dept. of Dakota to Lieutenant General Philip H.
Sheridan, Chicago, Military Division of the Missouri, February 8, 1876; “Special Files” Created by the Military
Division of the Missouri; National Archives Microfilm Publication M1495 Roll 2; Files Relating to Military Operations
Sioux War, Oct. 1875-Jun. 1876 (file 3991); NAB, Washington, D.C.
26 Post Return of Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, March 1876; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916;
National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 194; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group
94, NAB, Washington, D.C.
27 Post Return of D.A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, March 1, 1876; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916;
National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1051; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group
94; NAB, Washington, D.C.
28 Army Navy Journal, Vol. XIII (29) 463-44 (Feb. 26, 1876)
29 Crook Ready to take the Field. (1876, February 26). Cheyenne Leader.
30 (1876, March 2). Winfield Courier.
31 Letter from Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn, Camp Robinson, Nebraska to Surgeon John E. Summers, Medical
Director, Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, April 12, 1876; File F, 1861-1889; Box 8; Records of the Record and
Pension Office Medical Records, 1821-1912; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94, NAB,
National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1051; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group
94, NAB, Washington, D.C.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
40 Letter from 1st Lieutenant G. A. Drew to the Depot Q.M., Cheyenne, Feb. 26, 1876; FT Fetterman, W.T.,
Endorsements Sent, Jan. 1875-Aug. 1876, Vol. 6, Entry 2; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Army
Posts, RG 393; NAB, Washington, D.C.
41 Post Return of Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, March 1876) U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916;
National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 365; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group
94; NAB, Washington, D.C.
42 John P. Slough Papers, Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana (hereby cited as John P. Slough Papers);
Index of Persons, Articles Hired, Big Horn Expedition; Entry 232; Records of the Office of the Quartermaster
General, Record Group 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
43 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; Ricker, Eli Seavey; The Ricker Tablets; Wyoming State Archives
Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1687 H235B; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming (hereafter cited
as John Shangreau Interview, Nov. 5, 1906).
Colonel Reynolds commanded the Big Horn Expedition. He graduated West Point, class of 1843. Reynolds served throughout the Civil War and reached the rank of Major General of U.S. Volunteers. He served with the Army of the Cumberland in numerous actions, including the battles of Chattanooga and Chickamauga. He was retroactively brevetted Brigadier and Major General on March 2, 1867 for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. However, Reynolds reputation was tarnished by controversy in Texas during 1871 – 1872, when General Ranald S. Mackenzie had accused him of overlooking army contractor corruption, bribery and influence. Brigadier General Crook had given the command to Reynolds as an effort to erase the damage done to him during the Texas debacle.


*Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, pp. 34-35; Wyoming State Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1631, H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.*

Letter from Commanding Officer, Ft. Fetterman to Commanding Officer, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, March 2, 1876; Army Posts, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, Telegrams Sent, March 1874-June 1878, Vol. 2 of 3, Entry 3; Record of the U.S Army Continental Commands, Record Group 393, NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from Commanding Officer, Ft. Fetterman to Commanding Officer, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, Jan. 3, 1876, Army Posts, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, Telegrams Sent, March 1874-June 1878, Vol. 2 of 3, Entry 3; Record of the U.S Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920; Record Group 393, NAB, Washington, D.C.

Colonel Reynolds’s Report;

*Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, p. 27; Wyoming State Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1631, H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.*

Letter from Commanding Officer, Fort Fetterman, W.T. to the Adjutant General, Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, Oct. 30, 1875; Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, Telegrams Sent, March 1874-June 1878; Army Post, Vol. 2 of 3, Entry 3; Record of the U.S Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920; Record Group 393, NAB, Washington, D.C.

*Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, p. 28; Wyoming Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1631, H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming and Letter from Commanding Officer, Fort Fetterman to Cheyenne Depot Quartermaster, March 2, 1876; Records of Army Posts: Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, Telegrams Sent, Vol. 2 of 3, Entry 3, March 1874-June 1878; Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920; Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Record Group 393, NAB, Washington, D.C.*

*Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, pp. 34-35; Wyoming State Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1631, H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.*


*Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, p. 35; Wyoming Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1631 H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.*

Colonel J. J. Reynolds, 3rd Cavalry, Fort D.A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, *Report of the Operations of the Big Horn Expedition* to the Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Neb, April 15, 1876; National Archives Microfilm Publication M666 Roll 238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875, Record Group 94; NAB. (hereafter cited as Colonel Reynolds’s Report); Strahorn, R. E., “Alter Ego” (1876, March 23). "Headquarters, Bighorn Expedition on South Cheyenne, Wyoming, March 3, 1876. *Rocky Mountain News.*

Strahorn, R. E., “Alter Ego” (1876, March 23). "Headquarters, Bighorn Expedition on South Cheyenne, Wyoming, March 3, 1876. Rocky Mountain News; and Muster Rolls, Companies “C” and “I”, 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB.


John P. Slough Papers


Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 219

Ibid., 220.

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; Index of Persons, Articles hired, Big Horn Expedition; Entry 232; Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Record Group 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’s Report


8 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 220

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., 221-222.

Colonel Reynolds’s Report; John P. Slough Papers

9 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 222

10 John P. Slough Papers

11 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 222

12 Ibid.

13 Colonel Reynolds’s Report; Muster Rolls, Companies “C” and “I”, 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

John P. Slough Papers

14 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 222

15 Ibid.

16 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

17 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 223

18 Colonel Reynolds’s Report

19 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 223

20 Ibid., 224-225.

21 Ibid., 223.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., 225-226. Note: Private James W. Slavery, Co. “I”, 4th Infantry was wounded in the right cheek during the skirmish on Powder River, March 5, 1876.

24 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906. Note: Jack “Buckskin” Russell recalled seeing the flashes of light and knew Crook’s camp was being attacked. This was noted in Voices of the American West, Vol. 1 The Interviews of Eli Ricker, 1903-1917. edited by Richard E. Jensen, University of Nebraska Press. 2005.

25 Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’ Report and Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 226
Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; Colonel Reynolds Report; Muster Roll, Company “C”, 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB.

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 227-228

Ibid.


*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 229

Ibid., 229.

Ibid., 229-230.

John P. Slough Papers

Ibid.

Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’ Report


John P. Slough Papers


Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’ Report; and Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 232


*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 232; Colonel Reynolds’s Report; and DeBarthe, 90

John P. Slough Papers

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 232-233

DeBarthe, 90

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

Muster Roll, Company “C”, 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Colonel Reynolds’s Report

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 233

Ibid.

Post Return of Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming Territory, 1867; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916; National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 910; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 234

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

Colonel Reynolds’s Report

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 235

Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’s Report

Colonel Reynolds’s Report

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 235

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906.

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 235

Colonel Reynolds’s Report

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 235

Colonel Reynolds’s Report; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 236; John P. Slough Papers

John P. Slough Papers

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 236

John P. Slough Papers; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 236

Colonel Reynolds’s Report

Ibid.

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 238

Ibid.

John P. Slough Papers; and Muster Rolls, Troop “I”, 2nd Cavalry and Company “I”, 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

*Bourke Diaries*, Vol. 1, 238
Ibid.

141 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 239; Colonel Reynolds Report
142 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 239-240
143 Colonel Reynolds’s Report; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 240
144 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 240
145 DeBarthe, 91
146 Ibid., 241.
147 Colonel Reynolds’s Report
148 John P. Slough Papers
149 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 243
150 Ibid.
151 John P. Slough Papers; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 243; Colonel Reynolds’s Report. Note: O’Dell Creek more accurately marks the day’s camp site.
152 Colonel Reynolds’s Report
153 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 244
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
157 John P. Slough Papers
160 Colonel Reynolds’s Report; and Bourke Diary Vol. 1, 245
162 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; Ricker, Eli Seavey; The Ricker Tablets, Wyoming Historical Society Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00I-1687, H235B; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 245 Note: Captain Henry E. Noyes recalled in an interview on Feb. 8 1911 that the scouts saw the two Indians around 1 p.m.
163 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 245
164 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906
165 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 245-246; John P. Slough Papers; Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton, Paymaster, U.S. Army, p. 89; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7 / SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah;
166 Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’ Report
167 Testimony of 1st Lieutenant William C. Rawolle, witness for the defense, January 2, 1877, pp. 83-84; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.
168 Testimony of Henry E. Noyes, p. 62; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7 / SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.
169 Interview with Charles Morton, Oct. 14, 1912 [Crook’s Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876]; MSS SCM 001 114; Reel 2, Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.
170 Letter from Henry E. Noyes, Berkeley, California to Walter Mason Camp, Feb. 8, 1911; MSS SCM 001 114; Microfilm Roll 1; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.
171 Ibid.
173 Testimony of Lieutenant J.G. Bourke 3rd Cavalry; Reynolds Court Martial Papers MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7, SCM 00893; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah and
Interview with John Farnham; date unknown; Box 4; Envelope 10; Field Notes, Unclassified; Walter Mason Camp Papers; Manuscript Division, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

174 Colonel Reynolds’s Report

175 Letter from Henry E. Noyes, Berkeley, California to Walter Mason Camp, Feb. 8, 1911; MSS SCM 001 114; Microfilm Roll 1; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.

176 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

177 Ibid.

178 2nd Report of Alex Moore, 5th Battalion, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, April 29, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. Note: Captain Moore’s Report is actually a first person narrative written by Captain T. Stanton, and Testimony & C, Taken before a General Court Martial, Convened at Cheyenne, W.T. for the Trial of Captain Alexander Moore, 3d U.S. Cavalry. (1877). Montgomery, AL: Smith & Allred Printers, (hereafter cited as Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877), 103. Note: Exhibit No. 2; Report from Captain Anson Mills to Lieut. Charles Morton, Adj. Big Horn Expedition, Colonel Reynolds’s Report and T.H Stanton Report

179 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

180 Ibid.

181 Ibid.

182 Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Burke, 3d Cavalry; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 248-249

183 Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Bourke, 3rd Cavalry; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7, SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

184 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; Report of Captain Anson Mills to Lieutenant Charles Morton, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition; Headquarters, 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition; Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, March 17, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. (hereafter cited as Captain Anson Mills Report)

185 Zimmer, Patrick (2016, June 27 and June 28) Personal Interviews related to observation and photography of Zimmer collection from the Northern Cheyenne Village, Powder River.

186 Captain Anson Mills Report

187 Report of Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2nd Cavalry, Camp on Powder River to Lieutenant Charles Morton, 3d Cavalry, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, forwarded to the Assistant Adjutant General’s Office, Headquarters, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, May 6, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. (hereby cited as Captain Henry E. Noyes Report)


189 Powell, 927. Note: Black Eagle to George Bird Grinnell, Sept. 22, 1907, Envelope 118, George Bird Grinnell Papers, Southwest Museum Library, Los Angeles, and Two Moons to Walter Camp, 9/26/1913; Camp MS, Manuscript Div., Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.


191 Marquis, 160


193 Marquis, 161

194 Powell, 939. Note: Wooden Leg noted there were forty lodges in camp. Black Eagle told Grinnell there were twenty lodges of Cheyenne and six of Sioux. Wooden Leg told Marquis forty lodges of Cheyenne and three or four of Sioux. Two Moons told Hamlin Garland that there were fifty Cheyenne lodges. Agent Hastings wrote that he
learned from one of Crook’s half-breed scouts that only “about forty lodges” were destroyed. See Jas. S. Hastings, United States Indian Agent, to Hon. J. Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 3, 1876, in 44th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document 52, 12 p. 1361 and W.P. Clark’s “Report of W.P. Clark on the Sioux War” states there were sixty Cheyenne lodges under Old Bear and fourteen under He Dog. John G. Bourke, *Diary of John Gregory Bourke*, vol. 3, 125, states there were one hundred five lodges in all. However, a number of these would have been the temporary lodges of the young men, thus causing a discrepancy in the various statistics. Cf. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, 128-129; Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse*, 304.

---

173

195 Powell, 940. Note: Black Eagle to George Bird Grinnell, September 22, 1907.

196 Marquis, 161-163 and Powell, 940.

197 Marquis, 164.

198 Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 0000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 42, and Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 6-7. Note: Colonel J.J. Reynolds questioned by Judge Advocate. 2nd Lieutenant Morton noted in his testimony at Captain Alex Moore’s Court Martial that the village was not visible at the point where he gave the instructions.

199 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 66, 15, 62. Note: Robert E. Strahorn questioned by accused, Major T.H. Stanton questioned by accused, and Frank Grouard questioned by the Judge Advocate.

200 Note: Artifact Evidence provided by Patrick Zimmer, June 27, 2016 show that the vast majority of the .45 caliber pistol casings have firing pin indentations matching Schofield pistols.

201 Colonel Reynolds’s Report; Report of T.H. Stanton, Paymaster, U.S.A., Chief of Scouts, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, April 29, 1876; National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. (hereby cited as Major T.H. Stanton’s Report); Report (2nd) of Captain Alex Moore, 5th Battalion, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory to the Assistant Adjutant General, Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, April 29, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. Note: First person narrative written by Captain Stanton.

202 Ibid., and Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 79. Note: Colonel J.J. Reynolds Questioned by Judge Advocate

203 Testimony of Major T. H. Stanton, Paymaster, U.S. Army; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah; 89

204 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 65. Note: Robert Strahorn, Questioned by Judge Advocate

205 Ibid.

206 Captain Anson Mills Report

207 Interview with John Farnham (date unknown); Box 4; Envelope 10; Field Notes, Unclassified; Walter Mason Camp Papers; Manuscript Division, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

208 Ibid.

209 Testimony of Captain Anson Mills, 3rd Cavalry; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7 / SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah; 68-69.

210 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 103. Note: Exhibit No. 2 Report from Captain Anson Mills to Lieutenant Charles Morton, Big Horn Expedition, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, March 27, 1876, Headquarters, 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition.

211 Notes related to the Reynolds Court Martial and personal views of Colonel Charles Morton; MSS 782; Box 3 Folder 28; Robert Spurrier Ellison Collection; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah

212 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 249

213 Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant John G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 42, and Report from Henry E. Noyes, Camp of 2nd Cavalry on Powder River, March, 1876 to Lieut. Chas. Morton, 3rd Cavalry, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition; MF 3158 Special Reports and Records of the Big Horn and Powder River Expeditions, 1876; RG 535; Series Two Special Reports and Miscellany, 1805-1896 Roll No. 2; Powder River Expedition,1876; and General Court Martial Records: Captain Henry E. Noyes, 1876, pp. 5473; RG 153 Records of the Judge Advocate General; Nebraska Historical Society
Ibid.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 27. Note: Testimony of Augustus E. Paul

Ibid., 75. Note: Testimony of Colonel J.J. Reynolds.

Ibid., and Captain Anson Mills Report

Report (1st) of Captain Alex Moore, 3rd Cavalry, 5th Battalion to the Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Report (2nd) of Captain Alex Moore, 5th Battalion, Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory to the Asst. Adj. General, Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, April 29, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. Note: First person narrative written by Captain Stanton, Moore admits mistake of holding men back, also signed by Moore) and Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 93.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 13-14. Note: Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton

Testimony of Captain A. Moore; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 67.

Ibid.

Report (1st) of 1st Lieutenant W.C. Rawolle, Co. E., 2nd Cavalry, Old Fort Reno to Captain Alexander Moore, 3rd Cavalry, Commanding 5th Battalion, Big Horn Expedition, March 22, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB.

Testimonial of Corporal Lewis Gilbert, 2nd Cavalry, witness for defense; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Testimony of Stanton; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Testimony of Captain James Egan; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, and Testimony of Captain James Egan; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 37.

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

Report from Henry E. Noyes, Camp of 2nd Cavalry on Powder River, March 1876 to Lieut. Chas. Morton, 3rd Cavalry, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition; MF 3158 Special Reports and Records of the Big Horn and Powder River Expeditions, 1876; RG 533; Series Two Special Reports and Miscellany, 1805-1896 Roll No. 2; Powder River Expedition,1876; and General Court Martial Records: Captain Henry E. Noyes, 1876, pp. 5473; RG 153 Records of the Judge Advocate General; Nebraska Historical Society

New York Tribune Special Correspondent, "The Battle of Powder River". (1876, April 9). New Orleans Republican; and "Big Horn Expedition, an Indian Encampment Destroyed". (1876, April 15). Wyoming Weekly Leader, Vol. 9, No. 29.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 249

Ibid., 251.

R Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant John G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 43 and Testimonial of Captain H.E. Noyes, witness for the defense; MSS 57, Walter Camp Testimonials, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 60 and Letter from Henry E. Noyes, Berkeley, California to W.M. Camp, Feb. 8, 1911; MSS SCM 001 114; Reel 1; Walter Mason Camp Papers; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo Utah.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 250

Testimonial of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 250-251

Ibid., 251.
Muster Roll, Company “K”, 2nd Cavalry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB.

Ibid, and Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn Report

John Farnham to Walter M. Camp, 1917; Unclassified, Box 4, File 8, 269-281 Envelope 10; Walter Mason Camp Papers; Manuscript Department; Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

Testimony of Corporal Lewis Gilbert, Company B, 2nd Cavalry, witness for the defense; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 251

Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J. G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 43.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 251

Captain Henry E. Noyes Report

Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906

Ibid., and Colonel Reynolds’s Report

Marquis, 164-165

Ibid., 164.


Ibid. Note: Black to George Bird Grinnell, Sept. 22, 1907.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. Note: This detail from Henry Little Coyote, John Stands in Timber, and Rufus Wallowing to Father Peter J. Powell, 1957-1961. All stated that Box Elder carried the Sacred Wheel Lance to safety during the soldiers’ attack.

Ibid. 941-942. Note: Black Eagle to George Bird Grinnell, Sept. 22, 1907.

Marquis, 165-167

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid

Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 70.

Captain Anson Mills Report

Ibid.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 24. Note: Testimony of 1st Lieutenant A.C. Paul

Ibid., 31.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, Note: Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid

Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Paper; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 70-71.

Testimony of Major T. H. Stanton; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 93.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 14. Note: Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton

Ibid., 35; Note: Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant F.W. Sibley

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 44. Note: Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton

Captain Anson Mills Report

176
Colonel Reynolds’s Report. Note: Indians fled from village and assumed positions behind rocks, trees, etc. and opened fire upon our line making it necessary that our position just taken should be strongly held by our troops to prevent the Indians from recapturing the village.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 255

Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 74.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 6. Note: Testimony of Dr. C.E. Munn. Colonel Reynolds noted the field hospital as being at least 200 yards from the nearest teepees around an abrupt corner.

1st Lieutenant J.B. Johnson’s Report

Report of 1st Lieutenant and Adjutant, 3rd Cavalry, J.B. Johnson, Company “E”, 3rd Cavalry, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory to Captain Anson Mills, 3rd Cavalry, commanding 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition, March 27, 1876; National Archives Microfilm Publication M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as 1st Lieutenant J.B. Johnson’s Report)

Muster Roll, Troop “E”, 3rd Cavalry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 97. Note: Testimony of Sergeant Jeremiah Foley, Co. E, 3d Cavalry

Testimony of 1st Sergeant Jeremiah Foley, Company E, 3rd Cavalry; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah. Note: 1st Sergeant Foley was present in Lieut. Johnson’s Company at the Northern Cheyenne village on Powder River on 3/17/1876.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 95. Note: 1st Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds, Questioned by the Accused

Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 94.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 55-56. Note: Testimony of Captain Anson Mills

Ibid.

Testimony of Captain John G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 44.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 55-56. Note: Testimony of Captain Anson Mills, and 1st Lieutenant J.B. Johnson’s Report

Ibid.

Ibid.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 41. Note: Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton
Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn, Report

Ibid., 49.

Testimony of Captain H.E. Noyes, Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 60. Note: Hospital Bluff would be the location of the closest bluff to the Powder River, where Dr. Munn would set up his second hospital location near the end of the fight on March 17, 1876.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 89. Note: Captain Charles E. Noyes questioned by the Judge Advocate

Testimony of Captain H.E. Noyes, Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah

Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn, Report, and Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 107 Note: Exhibit 2, Report from Captain Anson Mills to Lieut. C. Morton, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, Fort Fetterman, March 27, 1876, 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition

Testimony of Michael Himmelsbaugh; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah. Note: Private Himmelsbaugh received the Medal of Honor for action at Little Blue River, Nebraska Territory.

Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 76

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. Note: 1st Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds, questioned by the accused

Ibid. Note: Black Eagle to Grinnell, Sept. 22, 1907.

Ibid., 943-944.

Ibid., and Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 71. Note: Colonel J.J. Reynolds questioned by the accused

Ibid., 943-944.

Marquis, 167.

Note: Paul L. Hedren suggested the body was Private Lorenzo Ayers, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry in his book, Powder River, Disastrous Opening of the Great Sioux War, p. 213 and J.W. Vaughn, The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River, p. 120 notes that McCannon and Ayers were not brought from the picket line (skirmish line), nor seen by their Company Commanders at all when or after they were killed. However, this writer respectfully disagrees with the analysis of Paul L. Hedren because of the comment by Wooden Leg, noted in Marquis, A Warrior who fought Custer, p. 167, where Bear Who Walks on the Ridge struck the officer (soldier) in the back of the head by a ball from his muzzle-loader. Private Lorenzo Ayers, Co. “M”, 3rd Cavalry as noted in the Surgeon’s Report was wounded in the arm, thigh, and head (later). However, the eyewitness accounts related to Ayers indicate that he was struck in the arm and (Mills suggested he must have had another wound, as he couldn’t walk, i.e. thigh) also indicate that he was coherent and talkative until abandoned by the soldiers who had accompanied him (Blacksmith Glavinski and Private Jeremiah Murphy, both of Co. “M”, 3rd Cav., and Private George H. Maitland, Co. “K”, 2nd Cavalry). So he wouldn’t have been struck in the head until after he was abandoned by the soldiers. The writer refers to Colonel Reynolds’s Report noting that Ayers and McCannon’s bodies were not brought off the picket lines. Captain Mills indicated in his report that his body was left at point E, which is on the skirmish line as indicated by Pvt. Sheridan, Co. “M”, 3rd Cavalry and Private Sweeney, Co. “E”, 2nd Cavalry.

Powell, 943. Note: Bent to Hyde, March 13, 1914 and Private Lorenzo Ayers, Company “M”, 3rd Cavalry was noted in the Surgeon’s Report as being killed by gunshot wounds to thigh, arm, and head.

Ibid., and Marquis, 167.
180

378 Ibid.; Muster Roll, Troop "E", 3rd Cavalry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876 and Muster Roll, Company "I", 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

379 Report (1st Report) of 1st Lieutenant William C. Rawolle, Co. “E”, 2nd Cavalry, Old Fort Reno to Captain Alexander Moore, 3rd Cavalry, Commanding 5th Battalion, Big Horn Expedition, March 22, 1876; M238; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General Main Series, 1871-1880; 1875; Record Group 94; NAB. (hereby cited as 1st Lieutenant W.C. Rawolle’s 1st Report)

380 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 30. Note: Testimony of 1st Lieutenant A.C. Paul

381 Ibid., 108. Note: Exhibit No. 2; Report from Captain Anson Mills to Lieutenant C. Morton, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, Fort Fetterman, March 27, 1876, headquarters, 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition

382 Testimony of Captain J. Egan; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 38, and Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 87. Note: Captain H.E. Noyes, Questioned by the Accused

383 Ibid.

384 Ibid.

385 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 87. Note: Captain H.E. Noyes questioned by the accused

386 Captain Henry E. Noyes Report

387 Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 76

388 Ibid.

389 Ibid.

390 Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 108. Note: Exhibit No. 2, Report from Captain Mills to Lieut. C. Morton, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, March 27, 1876, Headquarters, 1st Battalion, Big Horn Expedition

391 Ibid.

392 Ibid.

393 Ibid.

394 Ibid.

395 Testimony of Captain Henry E. Noyes; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah.

396 Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6 Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 91.

397 Testimony of Captain J. Egan; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 38-39.

398 Captain Henry E. Noyes Report

399 1st Lieutenant William C. Rawolle’s 1st Report

400 Testimony of Captain J. Egan; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 39.

401 Major Stanton’s Report, 1st Lieutenant Rawolle’s Report, Colonel Reynolds’s Report, and Captain Alex Moore’s 2nd Report

402 Testimony of Captain J. Egan; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 38-39.

403 Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.

404 Ibid., Colonel Reynolds’s Report; Muster Rolls, Troop “F” and “M”, 3rd Cavalry and Troop “K”, 2nd Cavalry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB, and Bourke Diaries, Vol.1, 254
Captain Alex Moore’s 2nd Report (First person narrative written by Major Stanton) and Testimony of 1st Lieutenant Rawolle, Jan. 12, 1877 (87); Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Powell, 944. Note: White Eagle, Nahka (Bear Woman), and Starving Woman, to George Bird Grinnell, 1921. All three were present at Chief Eagle’s burial. “Fight with Black Eagle’s Band of Cheyenne, 1876,” Folder 529, Grinnell Papers, Southwest Museum Library.

Bent Letters, March 13, 1914 and April 18, 1914, Yale University, found in Vaughn’s Reynolds Campaign on Powder River, 130.


Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 45

Ibid.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 254

Ibid., 255.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Colonel Reynolds’s Report

Interview of Charles Morton, Oct. 14, 1912 (Subject: Crook’s Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876); MSS 57; SCM 001 1114; Reel 2, Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Powell, 944-945. Note: Black Eagle to Grinnell, September 22, 1907.

Two Moons to Walter M. Camp, 9/26/1913; Camp MS, Manuscript Div., Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Powell, 944-945. Note: John Stands in Timber, Henry Little Coyote, and John Fire Wolf to Father Peter J. Powell, 1957-1960


Testimony of 1st Lieutenant Rawolle, Jan. 12, 1877; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 87.

Testimony of Major T.H. Stanton; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 91-92.

Ibid.

Testimony of 2nd Lieutenant J.G. Bourke; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 45.

Ibid.

Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 80-81.

Ibid.

Robert S. Spurrier notes regarding Colonel C. Morton; MSS 782; Box 3, Folder 28; Robert Spurrier Ellison Collection; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 3.

Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 56-57.
431 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 257.
432 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906.
433 Testimony of Captain Anson Mills; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57 Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah. 78-79.
434 Ibid.
435 Interview with Charles Morton, Oct. 14, 1912; Walter Camp Papers; SCM 001 114; Reel 2; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
436 Ibid.
437 Ibid.
438 Robert S. Ellison notes related to Colonel Reynolds’s Court Martial; MSS 782 Box 3; Robert S. Ellison Collection; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 10. Notes: Lt. G. A. Drew, 3d Cavalry, R.Q.M., comments.
439 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 257-258
440 Ibid., 258.
441 Ibid.
442 Ibid and Robert S. Ellison notes related to Colonel Reynolds’s Court Martial; MSS 782 Box 3; Robert S. Ellison Collection; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 10. Notes: Lt. G.A. Drew, 3d Cavalry, R.Q.M., comments.
443 Ibid.
444 Walter Camp interview with Charles Morton, Oct. 14, 1912; SCM 001 114; Reel 2, Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah.
445 Interview with John Shangreau, Nov. 5, 1906; and Robert S. Ellison notes related to Colonel Reynolds’s Court Martial; MSS 782 Box 3; Robert S. Ellison Collection; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 10. Notes: Lt. G.A. Drew, 3d Cavalry, R.Q.M., comments.
446 Testimony of H.E. Noyes; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 65.
447 Colonel Reynolds’s Report
448 Ibid. Note: Bourke’s Diary indicates that the command moved 25 miles.
449 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 258
450 Ibid.
451 Ibid.; Colonel Reynolds’s Report
452 Muster Roll, Company "C", 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.
453 Bourke Diaries, Vol.1, 259; ROLO; Heitman Historical Register. Note: Entries for Captain Coates, Captain Ferris and 2nd Lieutenant Charles Mason
454 Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’s Report
455 Testimony of H.E. Noyes; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 65 and Colonel Reynolds’s Report
456 Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 259
183

Muster Roll, Company “C,” 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; RG 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 260

Ibid.

Muster Roll, Troop “E,” 3rd Cavalry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; NAB, Washington, D.C.; Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 260

Muster Roll, Company “C,” 4th Infantry, March 1, 1876 to April 30, 1876; RG 94: Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 261


Ibid

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 263

Colonel Reynolds’s Report


Dr. Munn Report; Muster Rolls Co’s “I” and “K”, 2nd Cavalry; March and April 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780-1917; Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.


Hedren, 258-259.

Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn’s Report


Letter from 1LT John Bourke, Aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Crook, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory to Captain Gillis, A.Q.M., Cheyenne, March 27, 1876, Records of Army Posts; Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, Telegrams Sent, March 1874-June 1878, Vol. 2 of 3, Entry 3; Records of the U.S. Army Continental Command, RG 393; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 262

Letter from J.R. Gibson, Asst. Surgeon, Fort Fetterman to the Post Adjutant, Fort Fetterman, March 28, 1876; Records of Army Posts, FT Fetterman, W.T., Letters Received, 1868-69, 1871-76; Box 1; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, Army Posts, RG 393; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from Asst. Surgeon, Post Surgeon J.R. Gibson to the Post Adjutant, Fort Fetterman, March 28, 1876; Records of Army Posts, FT Fetterman, W.T., Letters Received, 1868-69, 1871-76 Box 1; Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands; RG 393: NAB, Washington, D.C.


Post Returns of Fort D.A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, April 1876; Wyoming Historical Society Microfilm Publications 0000-00-1663; Wyoming State Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.


Post Return of Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, April and May 1876; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916; National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1094; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from R. Williams, Assistant Adjutant General, Omaha Neb. Hdqrs. Dept. of the Platte to Commanding officer, Fort D.A. Russell, W.T., April 24, 1876; Records of U.S. Army Posts, Part V, Entry 1, Vol. 6 of 8, Fort Sanders,

Army Navy Journal, Vol. 13, No. 42 (May 27, 1876) 677. Note: Peale was charged with “Neglect of duty,” with eleven specifications, charging absence from stable call, drills, and inspection of his company, failing to visit his guard when officer of the day, and drunkenness on four occasions, also Conduct prejudicial, etc. one specification of neglect in not drawing rations on time. Findings: Guilty on 1st Charge, but on specification of drunkenness, not guilty and not guilty of neglecting to visit his guard when officer of the day.

Post Return of Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, May 1876; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916; National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1094; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Post Return of Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory, August 1876; U.S. Returns from Military Posts, 1806 – 1916; National Archives Microfilm Publication M617, Roll 1094; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from Brig. General George Crook, Headquarters, Department of the Platte to the Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Ill., May 7, 1876; M666, Roll 238; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from Dept. of the Platte, AGO to HdQrs., Mil. Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Ill., May 7, 1876. Endorsement of Lt. General P.H. Sheridan, HdQrs., Mil. Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Ill., May 17, 1876 in response to Forwarded reports of the Operations of the Expedition against hostile Indians which left Fort Fetterman, March 1 and returned to that Post March 26, 1876; M666, Roll 238; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Letter from Dept. of the Platte, AGO to HdQrs., Mil. Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Ill., May 7, 1876. (2nd) Endorsement, General William T. Sherman, HdQrs. of the Army, Washington, D.C., May 20, 1876 in response to Forwarded reports of the Operations of the Expedition against hostile Indians which left Fort Fetterman, March 1 and returned to that post March 26, 1876; M666, Roll 238; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Powell, 945. Note: Black Eagle to Grinnell, Sept. 22, 1907.

Marquis, 169 and Powell, 945. Note: Two Moon recalled that Crazy Horse’s village was at Charcoal Butte, Graham, The Custer Myth, 101


Ibid., 945. Note: Vestal, Sitting Bull, 143; in Marquis, 172.

Ibid., 945. Note: Vestal, Sitting Bull, 143; in Marquis, 172.

Interview with Iron Hawk, May 12, 1907; Ricker, Eli Seavey; The Ricker Tablets; Wyoming State Archives Microfilm Publication Roll 0000-00-1687 H235B; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming (hereafter cited as John Shangreau Interview, Nov. 5, 1906).

Ibid., 946. Note: Marquis, 170-172.


Special Orders No. 79, Headquarters, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, April 20, 1876; Fort Laramie, Wyoming, Special Orders, 1873-April 11, 1877 Volume 8 of 9, Entry 13; Records of the U.S. Army continental Commands; RG 393; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Paul L. Hedren, Fort Laramie and the Great Sioux War, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 80-81.

Letter from Brig. Gen. George Crook, Hdqrs. Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Neb. To the Adjutant General, Washington, D.C., May 2, 1876; Box 41; Department of the Platte Letters Received, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, Record Group 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 265

Ibid., 265- 266.
Letter from Captain Alexander Moore, 3rd Cavalry, Fort D.A. Russell, W.T., to the Adjutant General, Washington, D.C. Box 41; Letters Received, Department of the Platte, 1876; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, RG 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.


General Court Martial Orders No. 20, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General’s Office Washington, D.C., March 1, 1877; National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 264; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1871-1880; RG 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Captain Moore Court Martial, 1877, 3-5.

Ibid.

Heitman, Vol. 1, 721

Bourke Diaries, Vol. 1, 261

Ibid., 288.


General Court Martial Orders No. 30, Headquarters of the Army, Adjutant General’s Office, March 3, 1877, National Archives Microfilm Publication M666, Roll 264; Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, Main Series, 1871-1880; RG 94; NAB, Washington, D.C.

Notes, p. 11; Box 3, Folder 28; Robert Spurrier Ellison Collection, MSS782; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

ROLA, 379

Letter from Robert E. Strahorn, Camp Robinson to Brig. General George Crook, Feb. 4, 1877; Container 6, A24 F0006; George Crook Papers; University of Oregon Libraries, Special Collections and University Archives, Eugene, Oregon.


Ibid.

Ibid., 459.


Ibid.
Big Horn Expedition Route Maps:

The Big Horn Expedition Route Maps created by Tim Urbaniak provide a graphic representation of camp sites, the battlesite, and forts (current and abandoned) in the area of the military operation. These maps indicate the movements of the Big Horn Expedition from March 1 - 27, 1876. The camp locations are relatively precise and are accurate to the vicinity.
Figure 72: Big Horn Expedition, March 1-27, 1876 Route Overlay
Battle Phase Maps

The Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 Phase Maps were created to divide the Powder River Fight into ten distinct Phases. Each Phase of the fight was carefully analyzed by researching the primary documentation available to investigators. After careful scrutiny, the events were placed in a sequential format, providing readers with clear time lines of the battle. The U.S. military staging area is presumed as no archeological evidence identifies the exact location. Lack of concrete evidence regarding the locations of staging areas warrants the necessity for further field studies.
Figure 73: Phase 1

Phase I

Looking north across the Powder River

Chronology of Events
March 17, 1876
Battle on the Powder River

Big Horn Expedition, 1876

Location (7.4 mi)

Frank Ground discovers the camp and returns to Colonel Reynolds, commanding to announce the
Figure 75: Phase 3

Looking northwest across the Powder River
Chronology of Events
March 17, 1876
Battle on the Powder River
Big Horn Expedition, 1876

Phase 3: Captain Egan’s men strike the village.
Captain Noyes is assisted by a small detachment of scouts.
Captains Egan and Noyes advance. Deserted stop. Noyes to the left of Egan’s company.
Captains Egan and Noyes advance. Deserted stop. Noyes to the left of Egan’s company.
Captains Egan and Noyes advance. Deserted stop. Noyes to the left of Egan’s company.
Captains Egan and Noyes advance. Deserted stop. Noyes to the left of Egan’s company.
Cap
Phase 5
Looking northwest across the Powder River
Chronology of Events
March 17, 1876
Battle on the Powder River
Big Horn Expedition, 1876

1. Major Sturgis, men lie at the Indian's receiving line the village.
2. The Northern Cheyenne continue withdrawn from the village.
3. Lt. Lt. E. Lamb (left company), Captain Mays in scouting horses.
4. Captain Mills' company takes position on the bench overlooking the village and the time
5. Captain Moore's company (54th and cavalry) for a volley over Captain Mills' company (4th and cavalry)
6. Captain Mills advances (9:15 to 9:30 a.m.)
Phase 6

Looking north west across the Powder River

March 17, 1876

Battle on the Powder River

BIG HORN EXPEDITION, 1876

Company B reinforce the line.

Colonel Reynolds meets Captain Mills at middle of village. Reynolds agrees to send Lieutenant Johnson's

1st Lieutenant Reynolds' men push to within 200 yards of village and hold ravine on the mesa.

Captains Rogers' men push to Comanche Mills, left

Captains Green's Company holds the willow bar to the Powder River.

Steep bank continuing towards the willow bar

Captain Mills' Company pushes into village and forms a skirmish line from the bottom of the

Phase 6: The soldiers take control the village (9:30 - 10:00 a.m.)
Figure 79: Phase 7

Looking north and across to the Powder River

1. Location of Everts

March 17, 1876

Battle on the Powder River

Big Horn Expedition, 1876

Phase 7

Feet

0

1000

500

Figure 79: Burnt Village (10000 – 11000 ft)
Figure 80: Phase 8

Phase 8: Request for reinforcements (11:00 a.m. - 1:00 P.M.)

Captain Noyes had his company unsaddled and allowed his men to make coffee.

Details of soldiers continue with burning of the village contents.

Captain Noyes receives word shortly after his unsaddling that he is to support the skirmish line.

Looking northwest across the Powder River

Battle on the Powder River
Chronology of Events

Big Horn Expedition, 1876

Phase 8

Notes:

- Northern Cheyenne and Arikara Sioux warriors appear in numbers in willows and hill to the west.
- Eagle Chief, Northern Cheyenne warrior, fell near this point.
Phase 9

Looking northwest across the Powder River

Big Horn Expedition, 1876

Captain Cheyenne and Cheyenne Sioux warriors push forward into the village and surrounding area.

1. Northern Cheyenne and Cheyenne Sioux warriors push forward into the village and surrounding area.
2. Captain Mills and 1st Lt. Johnston's men withdraw to the rear of Captain Noyes'
3. Captain Mills' Company moves to the vicinity of Captain Noyes' horseholders across the Powder River.
4. Captain Noyes' battery moves within 500 yards to the rear of Captain Noyes' position.
5. Captain Noyes and 45 men arrive on foot in rear of village.

Phase 9: The arrival of Captain Noyes (1200 PM)
Figure 82: Phase 10

Looking northwest across the Powder River
Chronology of Events
March 17, 1876
Battle on the Powder River
Big Horn Expedition, 1876

A small group of Northern Cheyenne and Crow Sioux warriors engage the rear guard of Custer’s command.

April 26, 1876
Battle of the Washita

1. Captain Norris, 5th and 7th Cavalry
2. Captain Garfield, 5th and 7th Cavalry

3. Captain Benteen, 7th Cavalry
4. Captain Forsyth, 7th Cavalry

5. Captain von dem Borch, 5th Cavalry

6. Captain Fetterman, 7th Cavalry

7. Captain Myles, 7th Cavalry

8. Lieutenant Brown, 7th Cavalry

9. Lieutenant Foy, 7th Cavalry

10. Lieutenant Gilman, 7th Cavalry

11. Lieutenant Grant, 7th Cavalry

12. Lieutenant Page, 7th Cavalry

13. Lieutenant Prewett, 7th Cavalry

14. Lieutenant Weyburn, 7th Cavalry

15. Lieutenant Weyburn, 7th Cavalry
Study Area Maps

This map shows the locations of actions and movements (both U.S. military and tribes) during the Battle of the Powder River, March 17, 1876. In addition, the map legend defines the core area and study area.

Figure 83: Battle Study Area
VI. Bibliography

Manuscripts and Photographic Collections

D. Scott Boggis, Private Collection

Photographic Image of Speed Richmond Stagner

Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, Perry Special Collections, Provo, Utah

Walter M. Camp Manuscripts
Robert Spurrier Ellison Collection

Buffalo Bill Center of the West, McCracken Research Library, Cody, Wyoming

MS 035 North American Indian Photograph Collection
MS 071 Vincent Mercaldo Collection
MS 024 Adolf Spohr Collection
MS 100 L. A. Huffman Collection
MS 037 Grinnell Collection
MS 165 Thomas Marquis Collection

Tom Cardaraopli, Walnutts Antiques

Photographic Image of Black Coal

Thomas Drew, Private Collection

Photographic Image of George Augustus Drew

David E. Eckroth, Private Collection

Photographic Image of Captain Edwin M. Coates

Mike Fitzpatrick, Private Collection

Photographic Image of Augustus C. Paul

Mary Hannah, Private Collection

Photographic Image of Private Charles Minarcik
Indiana University Lilly Library, Manuscript Division, Bloomington, Indiana

Walter Camp Papers

Oglala Lakota College, Kyle, South Dakota

MS 1: Jeanne Smith Collection
MSS2 OLCA SC: Hazel McGaa Cuney Collection

Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana

John Slough Papers

National Archives, College Park, Maryland

Record Group 106.1, Records of the Smithsonian Institution, 1871-1934

National Archives, Washington D.C., Microfilm Rolls

Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780s-1917; RG 94
M233 (Indian Scouts section),

Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800 – 1916; RG 393
M617 Roll ___ Fort Sanders, Wyoming Territory
M617 Roll ___ Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory
M617 Roll ___ Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory
M617 Roll ___ Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory
M617 Roll ___ Fort Phil Kearny, Wyoming Territory

Returns of Regular Army Infantry and Cavalry Regiments, June 1821-Dec. 1916

Regimental Returns, 4th U.S. Infantry
Regimental Returns, 2nd U.S. Cavalry
Regimental Returns, 3rd U.S. Cavalry

Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General’s Office; RG 94
M666 Roll 238 Sioux War Papers

M1495 “Special Files” Military Division of the Missouri Files related to Military Operations, Sioux War

National Archives, Washington, D.C., Manuscripts

RG 92 Records of the Office of the Quartermaster, 1774-1985
RG 94 Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780s-1917
RG 393 Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920

**Nebraska Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska**

MF 3158 Special Reports and Records of the Big Horn and Powder River Expeditions, 1876; RG 535; Series Two Special Reports and Miscellany, 1805-1896 Roll No. 2; Powder River Expedition, 1876; and General Court Martial Records: Captain Henry E. Noyes, 1876, RG 153 Records of the Judge Advocate General

**National Pak Service**

Ben Clark, 1868

**Office of Medical History, Office of the Surgeon General of U.S. Army**

William C. Bryan, Medal of Honor Recipient

**Smithsonian, National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.**

NAA INV 01600906 Louis Richard

**University of Wyoming, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming**

Jesse W. Vaughn Papers
John Hunton Papers

**United States Military Academy Library, Special Collections and Archives: West Point, New York**

Class of 1861 Album Collection
Class of 1868 Album Collection
Class of 1869 Album Collection
Class of 1875 Album Collection

**United States Military History Institute, Manuscript Division, Carlisle, Pennsylvania**

Andrew S. Burt Collection, RG77s
Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (MOLLUS), Mass. Collections
Civil War Photographic Collection, RG98s
Febiger Collection, GL RG100
Samuel B. Young Collection, RG 488s
Frank U. Robinson Collection, RG 100

**University of Oklahoma Libraries, Western History Collection, Norman, Oklahoma**

Native American Manuscript Collection, Campbell, Walter Stanley, Papers
Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming

H121C Fort Fetterman Letters Sent
Ricker, Eli Seavey; Ricker Tablets, Microfilm Roll 0000-00 ID No. 1687 H235B
Diaries of Captain John G. Bourke; February 17 – March 28, 1876; Volume 1, pp. 34-35;
Microfilm Roll 0000-00-1631 H-193; Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

Photograph Collection
Sub. neg. 19545: Crook’s Camp, Fort Fetterman, 1876
Sub. neg. 2990: John Shangreau

Government Publications

Army Register for January 1882. (1882). Secretary of War, Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, D.C.: GPO.

Employee of Actg. Assist. Quartermaster, Ft. Thornburgh, Utah Assistant Train Master Official
Register of the U.S. containing a list of Officers and Employees in the Civil, Military, and Naval

Heitman, F. B. (Ed.). (1903). Historical Register and Dictionary of the Unites States Army, from

Indian Depredation Claims Schedule A – List of claims filed in the Office of the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs. Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First
Session of the Forty-Ninth Congress, 1885-86. (1886). Washington: GPO. (83)

Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America from
December 3 1866, to March 12, 1867, inclusive Vol. XV - In Two Parts (Vol. I). (1887).
Washington, D.C.: GPO.

Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America from March

(NPS: Historic Resources Study Fort Laramie National Historic Site. National Park Service.

Official Register of the U.S. containing a list of Officers and Employees in the Civil, Military, and


*Testimony & C, Taken before a General Court Martial, Convened at Cheyenne, W.T. for the Trail of Captain Alexander Moore, 3d U.S. Cavalry.* (1877). Montgomery, AL: Smith & Allred Printer

**Books**


Articles

DeLand, C. E. (1930). The Sioux Wars. *South Dakota Historical Collections, XV.*


*Journal of American Medical Association,* 27(2). (November 30, 1901)

*Journal of the American Medical Association,* 40(1). (February 21, 1903)


Pearson, D., Captain, 2nd Cavalry. (September, 1899). Military Notes, 1876. *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association,* XII(43).


Reminiscence of John Lange, Troop E, 2nd Cavalry. (February, 1925). *Winners of the West,* 2(3), 5


*13th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.* (June 12, 1882).
18th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 9, 1887).

21st Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 12, 1890).

27th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 11, 1896).

30th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 7, 1899).

33rd Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 9, 1902).

46th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 11, 1915).

48th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 12, 1917).

49th Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 11, 1918).

51st Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 14, 1920).

52nd Annual Reunion of the Association of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. (June 11, 1921)

Personal Interviews

Fulton, Hugh, Landowner of the Powder River Battlefield of March 17, 1876 (2016, July 28). Personal Interview

Zimmer, Patrick (2016, June 27 and June 28) Personal Interviews related to observation and photography of Zimmer collection from the Northern Cheyenne Village, Powder River.

Internet Resources


Lewis, Henry. Family History Library Film 553247. 1870 Census, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory.


**Newspapers**

*Army Navy Journal, 1875-1876, 1880, 1881, 1896*
*Billings Gazette, 1972*
*Cheyenne Leader, 1876, 1880*
*Chicago Daily Tribune, 1891*
*Daily Constitution, 1879*
*Harpers Weekly, 1876*
*New Orleans Republican, 1876*
*Rocky Mountain News, 1876*
*Wyoming Weekly Leader 1976*
*Winfield Courier, 1876*

**Maps**


Mills, Anson. *Map of the Battle of Powder River between Companies E, I, K, 2nd Cavalry, E, F & M, 3rd Cavalry, under the Command of Colonel J.J. Reynolds, 3rd Cav., and the Hostile Bands of Ogallala Sioux under Crazy Horse, March 17th 1876*; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, M666, Unbound Letters, with their enclosures, 1871-1880, Microfilm Roll 238, 1875,

Morton, Charles, *Map of the Route of the Big Horn Expedition, Commanded by General George Crook, March 1st to 26th, 1876*, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, M666, Unbound Letters, with their enclosures, 1871-1880, Microfilm Roll 238, 1875,

_______, *Sketch of Crazy Horse’s Village and Vicinity*. Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, M666, Unbound Letters, with their enclosures, 1871-1880, Microfilm Roll 238, 1875,
Noyes, Henry E. *Topographical Sketch of Vicinity of Crazy Horse’s Village, Powder River, M.T., March 17th 1876*. General Court Martial of Captain Henry E. Noyes, GCM PP 5473, Record Group 153, Records of the War Department Office of the Judge Advocate General, National Archives, Washington, D.C. retrieved at Nebraska Historical Society, Series Two Special Reports and Miscellany, Roll 2: Powder River Expedition, 1876 (including Crazy Horse Fight) Microfilm Roll 3158 Court Martial: Captain Henry E. Noyes, 187
Appendix A: Field Methodology

You cannot fully understand the sites of the Big Horn Expedition and the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 (camp sites, skirmish sites, etc.) until you walk the ground. Our methodology was to explore the historic route and key terrain leading to the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 and the subsequent military camp sites and events leading back to Fort Fetterman, along with the exodus of the Northern Cheyenne to Sitting Bull’s camp. Our team chose to utilize the latest GIS technology along with historical archival documents and maps to discover the accurate locations of events leading to the battle, the phases of the engagement, the Northern Cheyenne village, and avenues of approach and withdrawal by U.S. military forces, and escape routes of the Northern Cheyenne. The battlefield study area encompasses about 1000 acres. After extensive ground reconnaissance aided by metal detectors at the battlefield study area and hundreds of miles of tracking the historical Big Horn Expedition trail, our team felt an archeological excavation was not in the best interests of our study. It was not feasible financially nor practical as we could not isolate an area that would prove to yield substantial cultural evidence related to the battle. Both of our team archeologists advised against archeological excavations and suggested an extensive reconnaissance focused on verification of past battlefield collections.
The reasons for our conclusion are as follows:

1. Over five decades of random collecting by private individuals at the battle site yielded thousands of artifacts related to Northern Cheyenne Culture and U.S. military usage. We have viewed approximately a thousand artifacts reportedly gathered at the site.

2. The major portion of the battle site is located on the flood plain of the Powder River. This area occasionally floods during spring runoff, likely reducing cultural evidence of the battle

3. Agricultural deep plowing has disturbed the integrity of the original site surface and provided for past significant collections of artifacts.

4. Huge cottonwoods have been removed over decades.
The battle primarily took place on what is now private land (see land ownership maps A and B).

The location of the battlefield has been known for decades by landowners and local people.

This battlefield has been heavily searched since the 1950’s by collectors using metal detectors.

The current landowner, Hugh Fulton, has found artifacts on the Battlefield. Fulton’s father, George, was a student of the battle and felt strongly about conserving the battlefield’s artifacts. The Fulton family deep plowed a major portion of the battlefield for agricultural use. Hugh Fulton informed us that he picked up artifacts while walking behind the plow. Other artifacts were found as the family conducted their agriculture operations. The Fulton collection has been kept intact and is found under the protection of the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus, Montana.
Patrick Zimmer of Lead, South Dakota, along with Bob Peters and Wayne Shields, collected thousands of artifacts between 2000 and 2006. Zimmer “spent hundreds of hours” searching for and collecting artifacts using metal detectors. He has kept his collection (Zimmer, Peters, and Shields) together and allowed the team to photograph it. Zimmer also traveled to the battlefield with the research team and identified the areas where he found artifacts. These locations were specifically and accurately located with global positions systems (GPS) by the team.

Additional collections have been made by Jaeger Held and his family. The Held’s have a ranch near the battlefield. Jaeger Held has become a volunteer assisting this battlefield study. The locations where his artifacts were found have been specifically and accurately located by global positions systems. Collections were made by author Jesse Wendell Vaughn when he did extensive exploration of the battlefield in the late 1950’s. Vaughn’s book, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, contains some information on artifacts he found as well as their context to the battle. Additionally, the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus, Montana houses artifacts found on the battlefield by Larry Cooley. Photographs of all three collections have been included in the report.

A challenge faced by the team when considering these extensive collections was: could these past collections be verified and given some reasonable battlefield location context? Three of the collectors were alive, cooperative, and available to come to the Battlefield. Hugh Fulton, the current landowner, Patrick Zimmer of Lead, South Dakota and Jaeger Held, a volunteer assisting with our study, walked the battlefield with the team and indicated where they had
found items in their collections. Significant artifact areas were identified from these field visits, i.e. locations of troop movements, the village site, hospital sites, and Native American sniper positions. These areas were photographed and their locations accurately established using GPS technology and compared to information from Vaughn’s book, maps and other archival material.

The team, using metal detectors, performed preliminary searches of key sites. Ten artifacts were found, photographed and their locations established by GPS. The types of artifacts found by the team were compared to those found by the collectors. Artifacts found by the team are consistent in regard to locality (within vicinity of previous collections) and design (cartridges and bullets) of the existing collections (Fulton, Zimmer and Held). We believe these known collections have reasonable context (Maps A, B and C of Reconnaissance Inventory at the Powder River Battlefield, March 17, 1876 section of this report.)

It is our opinion that the Zimmer, Fulton, and Held artifact collections as well as those found by our team are consistent with the historical accounts of the battle. We believe the context of the existing collections have been reasonably verified by this study. Therefore, we have used this information in our interpretation of where and how the various phases of the battle progressed. We have included pictures of most of the artifacts in this report. All artifacts collected were done with the landowner’s permission and will be curated at the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus, Montana.
Reconnaissance Inventory at the Powder River Battlefield, March 17, 1876

Legend: Weapons / Ammunition

Letters in Blue are U.S. military artifacts
Letters in Green are Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux artifacts
Letters in Red are non-battle related artifacts

Artifacts collected in this area are primarily bullets and casings used by the 2nd and 3rd U.S. Cavalry soldiers. These artifacts were primarily found by Patrick Zimmer. Extensive reconnaissance by the study team found additional artifacts consistent with those found by Zimmer. All artifacts are supportive of Army and Indian accounts of how the battle progressed (see battle maps phase 5 and phase 9).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact No.</th>
<th>GPS Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>002</td>
<td>N45 05 53 70 W105 51 27 00</td>
<td>.45/55 casing found by reconnaissance team (Held)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>003</td>
<td>N45 05 53 20 W105 51 27 90</td>
<td>.45/55 bullet fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine found by reconnaissance team (Held)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>004</td>
<td>N45 05 34 60 W105 51 30 00</td>
<td>.45/55 unfired bullet (two pieces) found by reconnaissance team (Held)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>005</td>
<td>N45 05 33 50 W105 51 32 80</td>
<td>.50 bullet Found by reconnaissance team (Eckroth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>006</td>
<td>N45 05 28 90 W105 51 36 70</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet found by reconnaissance team (Eckroth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>007</td>
<td>N45 05 28 90 W105 51 36 70</td>
<td>.45 unfired bullet found by reconnaissance team (Eckroth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>N45 05 41 48 W105 51 29 77</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet found by reconnaissance team, (Held Nov. 2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>009</td>
<td>N45 05 41 31 W105 51 30 45</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet found by reconnaissance team, (Held 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010</td>
<td>N45 05 41 31 W105 51 30 45</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet, reconnaissance team (Held 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>011</td>
<td>N45 05 41 31 W105 51 30 45</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet, (found by Rikki Held, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>012</td>
<td>N45 05 41 69 W105 51 29 63</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet, reconnaissance team (Eckroth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>028</td>
<td>N45 05 36 75 W105 51 23 40</td>
<td>.45/55 casings - approximately 60 (found by Patrick Zimmer who showed researchers the location, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>029</td>
<td>N45 05 45 19 W105 51 21 65</td>
<td>.50 cal. bullets - 4 (found by Patrick Zimmer. Circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Artifacts 030 and 031 were collected by Zimmer. They were groups of various .44 caliber casings used by Northern Cheyenne warriors. Artifact 001, a .45/55 cartridge casing was found by Becky Kallevig. This cartridge casing is consistent with those used by the U.S. Cavalry soldiers during that time period. These artifacts are consistent with soldier and Indian accounts of this site being used initially by U.S. soldiers and later by Northern Cheyenne Indian snipers (see battlefield maps 3 and 9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact No.</th>
<th>GPS Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>001</td>
<td>N45 05 54 80 W105 51 40 30</td>
<td>.45/55 casing found by reconnaissance Team, (Kallevig 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>030</td>
<td>N45 05 48 34 W105 51 42 45</td>
<td>A large rock referred to as Sniper Position One, with a cluster of .44 casings found in immediate vicinity (found by Zimmer, 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>031</td>
<td>N45 05 51 54 W105 51 40 72</td>
<td>A large rock referred to as Sniper Position Two with a cluster of .44 casings found in immediate vicinity (found by Zimmer, 2000-2016)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is the site of the Northern Cheyenne village. The artifacts collection in this area confirms this location as a village site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact No.</th>
<th>GPS Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>013</td>
<td>N45 05 54 60 W105 51 20 22</td>
<td>Percussion cap, artifact # .89-196 (found by Held 6/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>014</td>
<td>N45 06 00 87 W105 51 21 36</td>
<td>McCannon Tree - Many artifacts were found near this tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>015</td>
<td>N45 06 00 46 W105 51 21 20</td>
<td>Ayers Artifacts - mislabeled in Powder River Historical Museum. They should be labeled McCannon Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>016</td>
<td>N45 05 56 76 W105 51 13 86</td>
<td>McCannon Artifacts - These artifacts should be labeled as Ayers Artifacts. (found by Zimmer in the immediate vicinity of this badly burned tree, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>017</td>
<td>N45 06 00 42 W105 51 17 04</td>
<td>.44 bullet (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>018</td>
<td>N45 05 59 10 W105 51 25 81</td>
<td>.44 bullet, artifact #.89-192 (found by Zimmer and Held, 9/6/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>019</td>
<td>N45 05 59 95 W015 51 25 36</td>
<td>.44 bullet, artifact #.89-193 (found by Zimmer and Held, 9/6/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>020</td>
<td>N45 05 59 80 W105 51 27 02</td>
<td>.44 bullet, artifact #.89-197 (found by Zimmer and Held 9/6/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>021</td>
<td>N45 06 01 06 W105 51 21 53</td>
<td>.44 bullet, artifact#.89-204 (found by Rikki Held, 11/1/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>022</td>
<td>N45 05 59 01 W105 51 14 96</td>
<td>.45 cal. Bullet (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>023</td>
<td>N45 06 00 21 W105 51 16 41</td>
<td>.45 cal. Bullet (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>024</td>
<td>N45 05 48 12 W105 51 31 73</td>
<td>.45 cal. Sharps bullet (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>025</td>
<td>N45 05 37 71 W105 51 28 89</td>
<td>.45/55 bullet (found by Alice Zimmer 4/4/2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>026</td>
<td>N45 06 01 45 W105 51 20 16</td>
<td>Ivory handled pistol (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>027</td>
<td>N45 05 57 17 W105 51 16 49</td>
<td>2 rifle barrels (found by Zimmer, circa 2000-2006)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Artifact Identification

The artifacts from the Powder River Battle, March 17, 1876 have been carefully studied and categorized using the following references.


Artifacts recovered during 2016-2017 field reconnaissance at the Powder River battlefield

These photos are of artifacts found in 2016-2017 by researchers David Eckroth, Mike Penfold, Becky Kallevig and Jaeger Held.
Figure 95: .45/55 bullet, No. 007

Figure 96: .45/55 bullet, No. 008

Figure 97: .44 cal. bullet, No. 022

Figure 98: .44 cal. bullet, No. 023
Select artifacts found during the field reconnaissance at the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876 Site

Figure 99: Unfired .45/55 cartridge casing found on the terrace overlooking the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 100: Unfired .45/55 cartridge casing found on the terrace overlooking the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 101: .44 bullet found in the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 102: .45 cal. bullet fired in a Model 1873 Springfield carbine found on the terrace overlooking the Northern Cheyenne village site
U.S. Military Artifact Samples:

These cartridge casings and bullets were found at the Powder River battle site by Hugh Fulton and Larry Cooley, and donated to the Powder River Historical Museum prior to our research study.

Figure 103: .45/55 bullet typically fired in a Model 1873 Springfield carbine

Figure 104: .45/55 cartridge casing fired in a Model 1873 carbine
Figure 105: Firing pin imprint on a .45/55 casing fired in a Model 1873 Springfield carbine

Figure 106: .45 cartridge casing fired in a Schofield pistol
Figure 107: .45 cartridge casing firing pin mark, fired in a Schofield pistol

Figure 108: .45/55 caliber bullet fired in a Model 1873 Springfield carbine
Northern Cheyenne and Sioux Artifact Samples

The following projectile points, cartridge casings, and bullets were found at the site of the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876 by Hugh Fulton and Larry Cooley, and donated to the Powder River Historical Museum prior to our research study.

Figure 109: Metal projectile point found in Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 110: Metal projectile point found in Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 111: .50/70 Union Metallic Company (UMC) primed cartridge casing

Figure 112: .50 UMC cartridge rim
Figure 113: .50/70 Martin-primed cartridge rim

Figure 114: .50 cal. bullet
Figure 115: .44/40 cartridge casing fired in a Model 1866 Henry or Winchester rifle

Figure 116: .44/40 cartridge rim with Henry (H) head stamp
Figure 117: .44 cal. bullet fired in a Model 1866 Henry or Winchester rifle

Figure 118: .44 long cartridge casing fired in a Colt rifle
Figure 119: .44 long cartridge casing fired in a Colt rifle

Figure 120: .56/50 cartridge casing fired in a Spencer carbine
Figure 121: .56/50 cartridge rim with Spencer firing pin imprint

Figure 122: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 123: .44 cal. bullet

Figure 124: .38 cal. bullet
Powder River Historical Museum Battlefield Collection and Held Collection

George Fulton Collection (Powder River Historical Museum)

George Fulton leased a major portion of the battlefield for many years. His son, Hugh Fulton, and family are now owners of the property. The Fultons have significantly helped the battlefield study. Hugh and his father collected artifacts during their work on the ranch. They placed their collection in the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus, Montana. Hugh Fulton helped the study team when they photographed the collection at the museum. This collection is housed and available for study at Powder River Historical Museum. Hugh Fulton and the team visited the battlefield and shared his knowledge of the site and location of their artifact collections.

Figure 125: Hugh Fulton at Powder River Historical Museum
Artifact Key:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CF: Center Fire</th>
<th>RF: Rim Fire</th>
<th>UMC: Union Metallic Company</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H: Henry Head Stamp</td>
<td>WRA: Winchester Rifle Association Head Stamp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.89-001</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-002</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-003</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-004</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-005</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-006</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-007</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-008</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-009</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-010</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-011</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-012</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-013</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-014</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-015</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-016</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-017</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-018</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-019</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-020</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-021</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-022</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-023</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-024</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-025</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-026</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-027</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-028</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-029</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-030</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-031</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-032</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-033</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-034</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-035</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-036</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield Carbine
.50/70 cartridge casing (CF)
.50/70 cartridge casing (UMC)
.50/70 cartridge casing (UMC)
.50/70 cartridge casing (CF)
.50/70 cartridge casing (UMC)
Unfired .45/55 bullet (top half of the cartridge casing with bullet)
.45 Benet primed cartridge casing
Lead (excess)
.89-081  Iron projectile point, 58 cm. length
.89-082  295.9 grain, unknown caliber bullet, deformed
.89-083  .50 cal. bullet, 422.3 grain, .22 mm. length
.89-084  .45/55 cal. bullet, 399.8 grain, 25 mm. length
.89-085  .45/55 bullet, 396.1 grain, 25 mm. length
.89-086  .50 cal. 3 ring bullet, 447.6 grain, 22 mm. length
.89-087  .50 cal. bullet, 426 grain, 20 mm. length
.89-088  .45/55 cal. bullet, 404 grain, deformed
.89-089  .50 cal. 3 ring bullet, 446.3 grain
.89-090  .44 cal. 2 ring bullet, 246.5 grain
.89-091  .45/55 cal. bullet, 404.4 grain, 25 mm. length
.89-092  Lead (discarded)
.89-093  Lead bar (strip)
.89-094  3 bells (1 wire, 1 coupler, 1 plain), 493.7 mm. length
.89-095  Jingle (rolled piece of tin)
.89-096  Small circular ornament, 12 mm. diameter
.89-097  3 O-rings
.89-098  Brass key, 98 mm length
.89-099  3 square nails, medium
.89-100  4 Harness buckles
.89-101  Buckle, small in size
.89-102  Harness buckle
.89-103  Harness buckle
.89-104  Carbine snap swivel
.89-105  Ayers Tree grouping
.89-106  Model 1839 Belt Plate (U.S.) - Ayers grouping
.89-107  Flat Button, medium sized - Ayers grouping
.89-108  Flat Button, Small sized, Ayers grouping
.89-109  Leather, possible boot - Ayers grouping
.89-110  Hob nail group - Ayers grouping
.89-111  .50 cal. bullet, 443 grain - Ayers grouping
.89-112  Misc. wire, Ayers grouping
.89-113  Pistol, revolver
.89-114  Pistol tamp
.89-115  Knife, large
.89-116  Pot hanger, 55 mm. length
.89-117  Pot hanger, 45 mm. length
.89-118  Stake pin, 45 mm length
.89-119  Spike, 300 mm length
.89-120  File, 31 mm. length
.89-121  Knife, curved design, 29 mm. length
.89-122  Blade, 21 cm. length
.89-123  Saw blade
.89-124  Rifle butt plate
Larry Cooley Collection (Donated to the Broadus Museum by Mary Cole Cooley)

Larry Cooley was a local collector at the site. His wife donated his battlefield artifacts to the museum.

| Artifact Number | Description                                                                
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.89-137</td>
<td>14 link chain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-138</td>
<td>Grommet, large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-139</td>
<td>Tin can fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-140</td>
<td>Coffee pot fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-141</td>
<td>Flint striker, c-shaped, 90 mm. length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-142</td>
<td>Barrel band, 34 mm. length, 31 mm. width</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-143</td>
<td>.50 caliber bullet, 23 mm. length, bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-144</td>
<td>Buckle, 42 mm. length, 25 mm. width</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-145</td>
<td>Brass object with number 23 stamped into body, and 67 mm. length, 14 mm. width</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-146</td>
<td>7 nails and screws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-147</td>
<td>Porcelain fragment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-148</td>
<td>Metal object, rectangular, 112 mm length, 29 mm. width</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-149</td>
<td>4 buckles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-150</td>
<td>Curved iron band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-151</td>
<td>Metal object, rectangular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-152</td>
<td>2 Horseshoe nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-153</td>
<td>Iron projectile point (broken), 11 mm. length, 15 mm. at widest part pt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-154</td>
<td>Tin container lid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-155</td>
<td>.44/40 cartridge casing, (H) Head stamp fired in a model 1866 Henry rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-156</td>
<td>.44/40 cartridge casing, (H) Head stamp fired in a model 1866 Henry rifle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-157</td>
<td>.44/40 cartridge casing, (H) fired in Ballard rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-158</td>
<td>.44/40 cartridge casing, (H) fired in Ballard rifle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-159</td>
<td>.56/50 cartridge casing fired in a Spencer carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-160</td>
<td>.50/70 center fire, cartridge casing, UMC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-161</td>
<td>.50/70 center fire, cartridge casing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-162</td>
<td>.44 center fire, cartridge casing, WRA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-163</td>
<td>3 Square nail fragments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-164</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-165</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-166</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-167</td>
<td>Unfired .45-55 bullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-168</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-169</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-170</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-171</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-172</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-173</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-174</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-175</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-176</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-177</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-178</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-179</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-180</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-181</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-182</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-183</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-184</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-185</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-186</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-187</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-188</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-189</td>
<td>.45-55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-190</td>
<td>Unknown artifact (possible cartridge box, finial)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Jaeger Held Collection

Jaeger Held, 16, lives on his family ranch near the Powder River north of the battlefield. Jaeger is a serious student of the Battle of Powder River and has metal detected and found artifacts on the site. His collection consists of cartridge casings, unfired bullets, and other items. Held mapped his finds so each artifact has battlefield context.

![Jaeger Held holding an unfired .45/55 bullet at the Powder River battle site](image)

**Figure 126: Jaeger Held holding an unfired .45/55 bullet at the Powder River battle site**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.89-192</td>
<td>.44 cal. bullet, 220.4 grain, 13 mm. length - found in northwest end of village site, 4-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-193</td>
<td>.44 cal. bullet, 198.5 grain, 12 mm. length - found 25 yds. south of previous bullet, 4-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-194</td>
<td>Metal strand - west end of village, found 4-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-195</td>
<td>Unknown metal item - found on terrace near Hospital Point, 4-6-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-196</td>
<td>Percussion cap - found south end of village site, 6-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-197</td>
<td>.44 cal. bullet, 197.13 grain, 11 mm. length - found west end of village site, 8-25-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-198</td>
<td>.45 cal. bullet, 394.4 grain, 24 mm. length - found near middle of village site by Pat Zimmer, 4-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-199</td>
<td>.45 cal. bullet, 382.5 grain, 23 mm. length - found near middle of village site by Alice Zimmer, 4-4-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-200</td>
<td>.45 cal. bullet, 379.9 grain, 23 mm. length - found on terrace by Pat Zimmer, 4-5-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-201</td>
<td>.45/55 bullet, 397 grain, 30 mm. length - found on U.S. military retreat route by Alice Zimmer, 4-5, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifact Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-202</td>
<td>.45 cal. bullet, 391 grain, 23 mm. length - found on terrace overlooking village site by Pat Zimmer, 4-5-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-203</td>
<td>Grommet (The # 20 stamped on it) - found on terrace overlooking village site by Pat Zimmer, 4-6-2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-204</td>
<td>.44 cal. bullet, 198.4 grain, 16 mm. length - found on north end of village site by Rikki Held, 11-1-2013,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-205</td>
<td>Unknown Item, found on terrace, west of Hospital Point, 11-28-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-206</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet - found on terrace, west of Hospital Point, 11-28-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-207</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet - found on terrace, west of Hospital Point, west of Hospital Point, 11-28-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-208</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet - found on terrace, west of Hospital Point, 11-28-2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-209</td>
<td>Unfired .45/55 bullet - found on terrace, west of Hospital Point, 11-28-2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Keith T. Werts is the author of two books on the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne Indian War of 1876-77. He searched the battlefield with a metal detector in 1988 and 1992.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artifact Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.89-210</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found in dry ravine leading to village site, 5/30/1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-211</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found in dry ravine leading to village site, 9/25/1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-212</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found near dry ravine, 9/25/1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-213</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found near dry ravine, 6/13/1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-214</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine- found near dry ravine, /13/1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-215</td>
<td>.45/55 cartridge casing fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine- found near dry ravine, 9/25.1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-216</td>
<td>.44/40 cartridge casing (H head stamp) fired in a model 1866 Henry rifle - found near the current battle monument, 5/30/1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-217</td>
<td>.50/70 cartridge casing, Benet primer) - found near the current battle monument, 9/25/1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.89-218</td>
<td>.44.40 cartridge casing (H head stamp), 2 misfires, fired in a model 1866 Henry rifle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
.89-219 .50/70 Martin Primed cartridge casing - found near the current battle monument, 9/25/1988
.89-220 .44 cal. bullet, 197.2 grain, fired in a Henry Rifle (deformed) - found northeast of present monument, 6/13/1992
.89-221 .45 cal. bullet, 398.8 grain, fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found northeast of present monument, 6/13/1992
.89-222 .45 cal. bullet, 400.2 grain, fired in a model 1873 Springfield carbine - found near dry ravine, 6/13/1992

Photographic Inventory of George Fulton Collection (Broadus, MT Museum)
Figure 136: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 137: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 138: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 139: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 140: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 141: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 142: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 143: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 144: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 145: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 146: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 147: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 160: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 161: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 162: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 163: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 164: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 165: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 166: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 167: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 168: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 169: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 170: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 171: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 172: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 173: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 174: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 175: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 176: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 177: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 178: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 179: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 180: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 181: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 182: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 183: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 196: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 197: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 198: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 199: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 200: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 201: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 202: .45/75 (CF) casing
Figure 203: .45/75 (UMC) Casing
Figure 204: Unfired .45/55 bullet (half)
Figure 205: .45/75 (CF) casing
Figure 206: Lead waste
Figure 207: Iron projectile point
Figure 232: belt plate arrow hooks
Figure 233: medium flat button
Figure 234: small flat button

Figure 235: leather (possible boot)
Figure 236: nail grouping
Figure 237: .50 cal. bullet (deformed)

Figure 238: wire
Figure 239: pistol revolver (view 1)
Figure 240: pistol revolver (view 2)

Figure 241: revolver tomp
Figure 242: pot hanger
Figure 243: pot hanger
Figure 244: stake (large)
Figure 245: spike
Figure 246: file

Figure 247: knife (curved)
Figure 248: blade
Figure 249: saw blade

Figure 250: rifle butt plate
Figure 251: hatchet
Figure 252: spoon

Figure 253: spoon w/o handle
Figure 254: metal piece
Figure 255: 2 files
Figure 256: 6 porcelain fragments
Figure 257: nails and screws
Figure 258: 5 metal scraps

Figure 259: 4 metal scraps
Figure 260: D-ring with leather
Figure 261: metal piece

Figure 262: 9 metal scraps
Photographic Inventory of Larry Cooley Collection (Broadus, MT Museum)

Figure 263: 14 link chain
Figure 264: grommet (large)
Figure 265: 2 tin can fragments

Figure 266: metal fragment
Figure 267: flint striker (c-shaped)
Figure 268: barrel band (rifle)

Figure 269: .50 cal. bullet (deformed)
Figure 270: buckle
Figure 271: brass object (23 stamped on it)
Figure 296: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 297: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 298: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 299: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 300: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 301: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 302: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 303: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 304: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 305: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 306: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 307: .45/55 cartridge casing
Photographic Inventory of Jaeger Held Collection

Figure 317: .44 cal. (Henry) bullet
Figure 318: .44 cal. (Henry) bullet
Figure 319: metal object

Figure 320: metal object
Figure 321: percussion cap
Figure 322: .44 cal. (Henry)

Figure 323: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 324: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 325: .45 cal. bullet

Figure 326: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 327: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 328: grommet
Figure 329: .44 cal. (Henry) bullet
Figure 330: metal object
Figure 331: unfired .45/55 bullet

Figure 332: unfired .45/55 bullet
Figure 333: unfired .45/55 bullet
Figure 334: unfired .45/55 bullet

Figure 335: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 336: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 337: .45/55 cartridge casing

Figure 338: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 339: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 340: .45/55 cartridge casing
Figure 341: .44/40 cartridge casing
Figure 342: .50/70 cartridge casing
Figure 343: .44/40 cartridge casing
Figure 344: .50/70 cartridge casing
Figure 345: .44 cal. bullet
Figure 346: .45 cal. bullet
Figure 347: .45 cal. bullet
Patrick Zimmer Collection (2000-2006)

Patrick Zimmer collected a significant number of artifacts at the battlefield. Zimmer allowed us to photograph his collection, and assisted our reconnaissance of the site. Zimmer’s brother, Wayne, owned the private land portion of the site from 2003-2006. During these years, Zimmer collected artifacts. He shared the general locations of his finds with our team.

Zimmer spent hundreds of hours collecting on the Battlefield with metal detectors. Mr. Zimmer in a note to the study team wrote,

>“Wayne often allowed friends of his to come out and recover artifacts on the battlefield which he would then keep. Neil Mangum former superintendent of the little big horn battlefield was present several times during artifact collection.” I also purchased all artifacts found by Wayne and his friends at this time, as we had agreed to keep the collection together as a whole. All other artifacts were found by me personally.”

Zimmer signed the following certification:

![Certification Image]
Mr. Zimmer gave the study team his rough notes from his years of collecting on the site. In another he states,

“The collection of field notes I gave you representing were a preponderance of the artifacts located on the battlefield. I was assisted collecting artifacts many times by my good friend Mark Honey which you have pictures of.”

Figure 348: Jaeger Held and Patrick Zimmer at the Powder River Battlefield
Photographic Inventory of Patrick Zimmer Collection

Figure 350: .31 cal. bullet mold
Figure 351: .22 cal. pistol
Figure 352: .51 cal. Colt (Navy) trigger guard # 120064

Figure 353: Model 1860 Colt pistol
Figure 354: pistol fragments
Figure 355: Pistol fragments

Figure 356: Model 1860 Colt Pistol
Figure 357: powder flask
Figure 358: iron projectile point

Figure 359: iron projectile point
Figure 360: iron projectile point
Figure 361: carbine bat wing
Figure 362: carbine sling buckle
Figure 363: carbine swing swivel
Figure 364: Infantry (I) uniform button small

Figure 365: general service button
Figure 366: axe head
Figure 367: canteen stopper

Figure 368: belt adjuster
Figure 369: buckle
Figure 370: buckle keeper, Model 1851 SN 756

Figure 371: belt plate, Model 1851
Figure 372: knapsack buckle
Figure 373: belt adjuster
Figure 374: spur
Figure 375: Metal tag
Figure 376: match safe

Figure 377: unfired bullet, hole in lead
Figure 378: unfired .45/55 bullets
Figure 379: .45 cal. bullets

Figure 380: .50 cal. bullets
Figure 381: Indian Head pennies
Figure 382: Model 1858 Remington pistol

Figure 383: flint strike
Figure 384: files
Figure 385: Sharps carbine lever
Figure 398: Various items found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 399: .45/55 and .50/70 cartridge casings found on the terrace overlooking the location of the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 400: Numerous .50 cal. cartridge casings and bullets (Spencer) and a small sample of other bullets and casings found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site.

Figure 401: Grouping of bullets and round balls found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site.
Figure 402: copper shot pouch buckshot
Figure 403: trade beads
Figure 404: black glass beads

Figure 405: Grouping of bullets and cartridge casings found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site
Figure 406: Grouping of bullets and round balls found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site

Figure 407: Various items found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 408: Various items (primarily jingles) found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 409: clay pipes and stems

Figure 410: Model 1859 bit

Figure 411: portion of a gun barrel
Figure 412: lock plates, barrel bands, etc. found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 413: Various items found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 414: Various cartridges and bullets, primarily .44 cal. found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site.

Figure 415: Grouping of .45/55 cartridge casings found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site.
Figure 416: bell attached to leather  Figure 417: bells attached to leather  Figure 418: bells attached to leather

Figure 419: bells

Figure 420: Various buttons and grommets found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 421: Various buttons (Eagle, etc.) and an Infantry bugle insignia found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 422: Group of bullets, mostly .44 cal. found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site
Figure 423: Brass buckles, suspender buckle, and saddle accoutrements found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 424: Grouping of buckles found in the vicinity of the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 425: Model 1866 Winchester rifle found in the Northern Cheyenne village site
Figure 426: Fusil de Chase (flintlock) barrel found in the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 427: Smooth bore barrel (Fusil de Chase) found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site
Figure 428: Trade musket barrel (smooth bore) found at the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 429: Smooth bore barrel found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River site
Figure 430: .40 cal. German silver sight octagon barrel found at the Northern Cheyenne village site

Figure 431: Octagonal barrel found at the March 17, 1876 Powder River battle site
Appendix B: Big Horn Expedition and Powder River Battle Participants

Bighorn Expedition Muster Rolls

The following muster rolls were edited from the original National Archives rolls from February 29, 1876 to April 30, 1876. This information, along with supporting documentation, was cross referenced and researched to create a list of participants present during the Big Horn Expedition. Personnel (officers and enlisted men) who were absent from the Big Horn Expedition were omitted from the lists. Some of the notations, such as "Extra Duty" or "Sick in Quarters", relate to the status of soldiers at the time of the April 30, 1876 muster.

Since military abbreviations can be confusing to the reader, the following list is provided to help understand abbreviations used by the U.S. military during the 19th century.

Military Abbreviations

A.A.Q.M.: Acting Assistant Quartermaster   G.C.M.O.: General Court Martial
A.C.S.: Acting Chief of Subsistence   G.O.: General Order
Co.: Company   Q.M.: Quartermaster
D.D.: Detached Duty   HdQrs: Headquarters
E.D.: Extra Duty   S.O.: Special Order
G.C.M.: General Court Martial   S.D.: Special Duty
G.C.M.D.: General Court Martial Duty

Territory Abbreviations

Wyoming Territory: W.T.   Montana Territory: M.T.
**Headquarters Staff, Big Horn Expedition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Crook</td>
<td>Brigadier General</td>
<td>Department of Platte, Commander, Big Horn Expedition since Feb. 27, 1876 per G.O. No. 1, Big Horn Expedition, relinquished command, March 27, 1876 per G.O. 3, Headquarters, Big Horn Expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Jones Reynolds</td>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td>Commander, Big Horn Expedition since Feb. 27, 1876 per G.O. No. 1, Big Horn Expedition, relinquished command, March 27, 1876 per G.O. 3, Headquarters, Big Horn Expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtis Emerson Munn</td>
<td>Asst. Surgeon &amp; Captain</td>
<td>Chief Surgeon, Big Horn Expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Augustus Drew</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant, 3rd Cav.</td>
<td>A.A.Q.M. and A.C.S, Big Horn Expedition (on detached service in the field since Feb. 21, 1876) Appointed A.A.Q.M., and A.C.S. Big Horn Expedition, Feb. 27, 1876 per S.O. No. 1, HdQrs, Big Horn Expedition, released from this service March 27, 1876, per S.O. 2, Headquarters, Big Horn Expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Morton</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Cav.</td>
<td>Adjutant, on duty with company since March 27, 1876, released from duty as adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, March 27, 1876 per S.O. 2, HdQrs, Big Horn Expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gregory Bourke</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Cav.</td>
<td>Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier General Crook since April 27, 1875 per G.O. No 10, Dept. of Platte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaddeus Harlan Stanton</td>
<td>Major &amp; Paymaster</td>
<td>Chief of Scouts, Big Horn Expedition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Medical Staff, Bighorn Expedition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical Staff</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon Curtis Emerson Munn (See above)</td>
<td>Assistant Surgeon, Fort Robinson, Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting Assistant Surgeon Charles R. Stephens</td>
<td>Acting Assistant Surgeon, Fort McPherson, Nebraska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting Assistant Surgeon John Ridgely</td>
<td>Acting Assistant Surgeon, Fort Fetterman, W.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Steward William C. Bryan</td>
<td>Hospital Steward, Fort Fetterman, W.T.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Medal of Honor recipient for his actions at the skirmish at Powder River, March 17, 1876, Citation as follows: "Accompanied a detachment of cavalry in a charge on village of hostile Indians and fought through the engagements, having his horse killed under him. He continued to fight on foot, and under severe fire and without assistance conveyed two wounded comrades to places of safety, saving them from capture." Date of Award: June 15, 1899.*
## Company "A", 2nd Cavalry Muster Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas B. Dewees</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin E. O'Brian</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel C. Pearson</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory A. Harrington</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Butterworth</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles A. Maude</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Albrecht</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. Cain</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ellis</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Promoted from Corporal to Sergeant, March 16, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Winterworth</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Broguri</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Augus</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Appointed Corporal, March 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Naaf</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Appointed Corporal, March 16, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John W. Vincent</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William F. Somers</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard Schuable</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick France</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Austin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Branagan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry L. Campbell</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice W. Collins</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. Courtney</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas J. Dickinson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uriah Donaldson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Duffy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Durken</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Edwards</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Glock</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Green</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Greenbaur</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Hayes</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James P. Henry</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Kuupper</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward F. Laugdore</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Levis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudolph Laffelbeu</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Q. Lockwood</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heny A. McCook</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James McDuff</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher McIntrye</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Morgan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentenced by G.C.M. to be reduced to the ranks from Corporal and to forfeit to the U.S. ($20.00) twenty dollars of his pay, per G.C.M.O. No. 13, HdQrs, Dept. of the Platte, Omaha, Nebraska, February 15, 1876
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daniel B. McGrugen</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Murphy</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Noonan</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel H. Neil</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William J. Porter</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William L. Pegan</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George S. Robinson</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Reynolds</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas A. Secord</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Spencer</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Simpson</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George M. Sweeney</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alonzo A. Vincent</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walsh</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Watters</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson Walter</td>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bighorn Expedition Notes:

The following soldiers were attached to Company "H", 4th Infantry, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, while Company, "A", 2nd Cavalry was with the Big Horn Expedition.

John A. Bott  Farrier
John F. Vincent  Private

Horses killed:  2
Serviceable horses:  58
Unserviceable horses:  4
### Company "B", 2nd Cavalry Muster Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James T. Peale</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William C. Rawolle</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td>Commanding Co. &quot;E&quot;, 2nd Cavalry since Feb. 16, 1876 per S.O. #17, Hdqrs, Fort Sanders, W.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank U. Robinson</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles F. Arthur</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shannon Bartholomew</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. as Acting Company Quartermaster Sergeant since March 9, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William J. Cunningham</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Murray</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Howard</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Huntington</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hughey</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Mitchell</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene H. Glasure</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Dyer</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td>Deserted July 26, 1874, and apprehended July 28, 1874, restored to duty without trial per paras # 159, 1307, 1358 &amp; 1359, R.A.R. 1863 and act of Congress, approved March 16, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles L. Jones</td>
<td>Farrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Grady</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Grannickstadten</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Austin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Chambers</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Cosgriff</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>In confinement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Coulton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Carter</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Craft</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Domeck</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William F. Daughty</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles T. Edwards</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ellis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Deserted at Omaha, Barracks, Nebraska on January 16, 1871, apprehended on July 1, 1871 at Toledo, Ohio, sentenced to be dishonorably discharged and two years confinement per G.C.M.O. # 68, HdQrs, Department of the Platte, July 28, 1871, unexpired portion of the sentence remitted per S.O. # 179.HdQrs, Department of the Platte on July 28, 1872, terms of enlistment expired March 19, 1876, held 19 days on account of his company being in the field, discharged by enlistment on April 7, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Fox</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesley Gable</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Graham</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Gutike</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Grainer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hamilton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Hart</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Patrick Hasson   Private
Herman Gerhold   Private   D.D. as assistant company cook
William A. Hiles  Private
Thomas Kelley   Private
Theodore F. Leighton   Private
William Logan   Private
William H. Lyman   Private
Henry Moos   Private
Patrick Moran   Private
Francis O'Connor  Private
Edward Push   Private
James Rainer   Private
Peter J. Redwood   Private
George W. Rowles   Private
Mark B. Rue   Private   Sick in quarters
Winfield Scott   Private
Augustus Thompson   Private
William H. Tailor   Private
George D. Vickers   Private
Patrick Wall   Private
Bighorn Expedition Notes:

Charles W. Day  Sergeant  Remained at Fort Fetterman, Sick

The record of horses lost during the expedition was not annotated in the Muster Roll covering February 29 through April 30, 1876.

Serviceable horses: 50
Unserviceable horses: 6
Company "E", 2nd Cavalry, Muster Roll

William C. Rawolle 1st Lieutenant Commanding Company. Attached to Co. per S.O. # 17, HdQrs. Fort Sanders, W.T., Feb. 16, 1876, relieved from Command of Co. per S.O. No. 3, Hdqrs, Fort D.A. Russell, W.T, April 15, 1876

Frederick M. Sibley 2nd Lieutenant

William Land 1st Sergeant
Louis Gilbert Sergeant
William P. Cooper Sergeant Sick in hospital
George S. Howard Sergeant
Lewis Shaucer Sergeant Retained in the service from March 22, 1876 to April 15, 1876
Haver Dollmair Sergeant Promoted from Corporal to Sergeant, per S.O. No. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, April 7, 1876 to date from March 20, 1876
Samuel Gilmore Corporal
John Lang Corporal Sick in hospital, wounded by rifle ball in the left ankle while in the skirmish on Powder River, M.T., March 17, 1876
Peter Haag Bugler
Michael Cahill Farrier
Joseph Barles Blacksmith
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joseph F. Long</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>Appointed Saddler from Private to date from February 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson R. Burke</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Blass</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Burback</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William J. Croley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Curley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Reduced from the rank of Sergeant per G.O. no. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, April 7, 1876 to date from March 6, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William I. Dougherty</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George E. Douglas</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Deserted at Camp Sheridan, Nebraska on June 17, 1875, apprehended near Camp Robinson, Nebraska on July 19, 1875, $30.00 paid for apprehension, sentenced to forfeit all pay and allowances, except the amount due the laundress, to be dishonorably discharged and confined in a military prison for two years per G.C.M. Order No. 36, HdQrs, Dept. of the Platte, Sept. 1875. The unexecuted portion of the foregoing sentence is remitted per G.O. No. 34, HdQrs. Department of the Platte, Dec. 16, 1875.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William P. Engelhorn</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Edwards</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph M. Foyer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damon Gabriel</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles S. Gage</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Glancey</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob R. Herd</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heinrich Holzsechuler</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David L. Hogg</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hipp</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hollenbacher</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Jones</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduced from the rank of Sergeant per G.O. No. 15 on March 20, 1876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William C. Kingsley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Mason</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montgomery McCormich</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel McMasters</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William McMasters</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William C. Murray</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustav Martini</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Nichols</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindon B. Perry</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard L. Parrington</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentine Rufus</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orson M. Smith</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James A. Scott</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank H. Soule</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Tauscher</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Volmer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Vance</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John T. Welch</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bighorn Expedition Notes:

The record of horses lost during the expedition was not annotated in the Muster Roll covering February 29 through April 30, 1876.

Serviceable horses: 31  
Unserviceable horses: 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry E. Noyes</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher T. Hall</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Skinner</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Taylor</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh K. McGrath</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli I. Bennett</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Cooper</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Promoted to the rank of Sergeant from Corporal per S.O. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, March 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Meagher</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos Black</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas C. Marrion</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Appointed Corporal from the rank of Private per S.O. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, March 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John P. Slough</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Appointed Corporal from the rank of Private per S.O. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, March 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John J. Donovan</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Raynor</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Fisher</td>
<td>Farrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Knapper</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Michael Gavin   Black Smith
Henry Wilson   Wagoner

Phillipp Bennett   Private
William A. Blyler   Private
John E. Collins   Private
Charles R. Craft   Private
Daniel Donahue   Private
Henry Doyle   Private
Charles Emmons   Private
John F. Fitzgerald   Private
Charles G. Graham   Private
John B. Hall   Private
Daniel Hanesworth   Private
William G. Henno   Private
Frank E. Joy   Private
Robert Johnson   Private
William H. Keenright   Private
Walter B. Keenright   Private
Thomas Kennedy   Private
Michael Kiley   Private
Andrew W. Kinross   Private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George H. Liddle</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Maher</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Minarcik</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Moran</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Morrison</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Nicholl</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gustav Ohm</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley L. Parker</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. Ray</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reynolds</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Riley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottlieb Ruf</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Russell</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konrad Schmid</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Joined from D.S. on March 30, 1876.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John M. Stevenson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Schroder</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Resigned as Sergeant, accepted per S.O. 13, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry, Feb. 29, 1876, in confinement since April 3, 1876 awaiting trial by G.C.M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zachary Taylor</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newston Tice</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Discharged at Fort Laramie on March 30, 1876 per G.C.M.O. No. 26, March 4, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elle Ubben</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in quarters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick H. Wall</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Daniel Walsh  Private
George Watts  Private

Bighorn Expedition Notes:

Loss:  7 horses were abandoned and shot during the Big Horn Expedition

Serviceable horses:  39
Unserviceable horses:  9
## Company "K", 2nd Cavalry Muster Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Egan</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McGregor</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Fisher</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gleason</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dahlgreen</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas J. Kelly</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Cullen</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howard Fuller</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Parker</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus E. Bellows</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Goings</td>
<td>Farrier</td>
<td>Wounded by rifle ball to the left shoulder while in the skirmish on Powder River, M.T. on March 17, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon Droninburg</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward H. Droege</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td>Reassigned as Corporal per S.O. No. 15, HdQrs, 2nd Cavalry on April 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Burke</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry C. Black</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
William Bethon Private
William J. Brown Private
Joseph Benson Private
James H. Bennett Private
James Carney Private
Paul Crowley Private
George Dresden Private

John Droege Private Wounded by a large caliber rifle ball in the right side of body during the skirmish on Powder River, M.T. on March 17, 1876

Edward Eagan Private Wounded by a .45 caliber pistol ball in the right lung during the skirmish on Powder River, M.T. on March 17, 1876

Frank Fergargreen Private
Charles Firsch Private
Thomas Fillinger Private
John M. Fluschman Private
Herman Fielder Private
Henry Griefield Private
Theodore Gouget Private
William Holland Private
William E. Hood Private
Henry W. Hulin Private
Michael Himmelsbaugh Private
Thomas Hamilton Private
James Jameison Private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward Kelly</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kelly</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Langely</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Discharged at Fort Laramie, W.T. on Surgeon's Certificate of Disability by command of Brig. Genl. Crook, HdQrs., Department of the Platte on April 1, 1876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ludlow</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Luhring</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H. Maitland</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Mulaskey</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Newport</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Norton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Odbert</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Richart</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert B. Selfridge</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Smith</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Discharged at Fort Laramie, W.T. on Surgeon's Certificate of Disability by command of Brig. Gen. Crook, HdQrs., Department of the Platte on April 1, 1876</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Studley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonathan R. Southwick</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren C. Tasker</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank N. Taylor</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Truka</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William F. White</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Died

George Schneider  Private  Killed from gunshot wound to the neck while in skirmish on Powder River, M.T. on March 17, 1876

Bighorn Expedition Notes:

March 17: 2 Horses Killed, 7 wounded at skirmish on Powder River
March 18: 1 wounded horse killed by orders
March 19: 1 wounded horse killed by orders, 1 horse abandoned and shot
March 20: 1 wounded horse killed by orders
March 21: 1 horse abandoned and shot
March 22: 1 horse abandoned and shot
March 26: 1 horse abandoned and shot

Total Loss: 9 public horses

Serviceable horses: 35
Unserviceable horses: 8
# Company "A", 3rd Cavalry Muster Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Hawley</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Lawson</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Morton</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>On special duty as Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition until March 27, 1876, returned from duty as Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition, per S.O. No. 2 Para. III, dated HdQrs, Big Horn Expedition at Fort Fetterman, W.T., March 27, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Van Mott</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Shafer</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Company Quartermaster Sergeant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gottlieb Bigalsky</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Stanley</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William J. Armstrong</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Anderson</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Patton</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. London</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles A. Bessey</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Wells</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Hammer</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karl Bruher</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Conway</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Allen</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Anderson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Barnsmahau</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Bartlett</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Babcock</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conrad Baker</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Blackwood</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Boyer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Bigley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Carter</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cook</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Downey</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Davis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Fitzgerald</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Finch</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Featherall</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac Grant</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwin M. Griffin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Gynan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Goldon</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Gordon</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence L. Grazieri</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Maurice Hastings  Private
Lawrence Kennedy  Private
Herman J. Kinder  Private
Charles Kolange  Private
Henry Leonard  Private
John Lynch  Private
Bernard Martin  Private
John McCain  Private
Thomas Meyers  Private  In confinement
Florance Meiderot  Private
Samuel Peterson  Private  D.D. as company cook
John Reilly  Private
James L. Roberts  Private
Henry Rampton  Private
John Robberts  Private
Ferdinand Sichart  Private  Sick in hospital
Albet Simmons  Private
Alfred S. Southon  Private
James Snipp  Private
James Taggart  Private
James Ward  Private
Vance H. William  Private
Frank Wendling  Private
John Wenzer  Private
George White  Private
George Williams  Private
William Yeager  Private

Bighorn Expedition Notes:

March 17:  1 abandoned horse
March 19:  1 abandoned horse
March 20:  1 abandoned horse
March 22:  1 abandoned horse
March 24:  1 dead horse
March 25:  1 dead horse
March 26:  1 dead horse
March 27:  1 dead horse
March 30:  1 dead horse

Total Loss:  9 horses

Serviceable horses:  63
Unserviceable horses:  0
**Company "D", 3rd Cavalry Muster Roll**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John G. Bourke</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>A.D.C. to Brigadier General, Commanding Department of the Platte since April 22, 1875 per G.O. #10, Department of the Platte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William W. Robinson</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>On detached service in command of Co. &quot;D&quot;, 3rd Cavalry, since July 1, 1875 per S.O. 39, Hdqrs, 3d Cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Robinson</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John F. Sanders</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. as A.Q.M. Sergeant of Company “D”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kenay</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. in charge of company mess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John B. Lindsay</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard J. McKee</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Taylor</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Blair</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John N. Moore</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McDonald</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Appointed Corporal, March 25, 1876 per G.O. No. 22, HdQrs, 3rd Cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore J. Peirce</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Swartz</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Robinson</td>
<td>Farrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George A. Bales</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Delmont</td>
<td>Waggoner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney Y. Bates</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Bolton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Conaley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David H. Cokely</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Cunningham</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank DeHavre</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Desmond</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Doherty</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Donu</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Dougherty</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John M. Elder</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Fiutou</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ferguson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Flannery</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Fluit</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rovert Fisher</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. with company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hagerty</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Hallawell</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick at Fort Fetterman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Jones</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank H. Kopecky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kearney</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Kelly</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Kenny</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lowe</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Miller</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. with company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John McDonald</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William L. Peak</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Phillips</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles H. Pullis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alfred Rawcliffe</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Riley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Stahl</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Stevins</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Stevens</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis Sullivan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Thompson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Ward</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob R. Webb</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin J. Webster</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Wielenburg</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bighorn Expedition Notes:

March (date unknown): 1 abandoned horse
March 21: 1 abandoned horse
March 25: 1 abandoned horse
March 26: 2 abandoned horses
March 31: 1 abandoned horse

**Total Loss:** 6 horses

Serviceable horses: 46
Unserviceable horses: 3
### Company "E", 3rd Cavalry Muster Roll

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John B. Johnson</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td>Assumed command of Company on February 17, 1876, detailed temporarily in command of Co. per. S.O. 16, HdQrs, Fort Russell, W.T., Feb. 17, 1876, relinquished command per S.O. 31, HdQrs, Fort D. A. Russell, W.T., April 4, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Foley</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Glass</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Reardon</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank P. Secrist</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan B. Hawks</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Neurohr</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Montgomery</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward McKiernan</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Miller</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evan S. Worthy</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Hapstetter</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Stanley</td>
<td>Farrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Hauerwas</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Jansen</td>
<td>Saddler</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Christopher Ayers  Private
Edwin F. Ambrose  Private  D. D. as company clerk
Daniel Akley  Private
John Beatts  Private
Henry Burton  Private
Michael Brannon  Private
Joseph Budka  Private
Joseph Carley  Private
James Conway  Private
William H. Clark  Private
Henry Collins  Private
Charles Cunningham  Private
Andrew Dolfer  Private
Patrick Dowling  Private
Richard Dillon  Private
John S. Davis  Private  Sick
Malachi Dillon  Private
James Devine  Private
Orlando H. Duren  Private
John Foley  Private
Thomas Ferguson  Private
Lewis S. Grigsby  Private
Patrick Hallahan  Private
Patrick Hennesey  Private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Harold</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcus Hansen</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William G. Hill</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard Kelly</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Lloyd</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Lavelli</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen Lupton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William C. C. Lewis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jon Langan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas McNamara</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Nolan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Naughton</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Patterson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Perkins</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Pease</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. O'Neil</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Quinn</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Rice</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel C. Rass</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John J. Ready</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Schubert</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Scully</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Shore</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin F. Slater</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Daniel Timmey  Private
Charles N. E. Williams  Private

**Killed in Action**

Peter Dowdy  Private  Killed from a gunshot wound to the head while at the skirmish on Powder River, M.T., March 17, 1876

**Bighorn Expedition Notes:**

Michael Glannon  Private  Temporarily attached to Co. "H", 4th Infantry, Fort Fetterman, W.T. while Co. "E" 3rd Cavalry was in the field with the Big Horn Expedition

March 6:  1 dead horse
March 19:  1 dead horse
March 26:  4 abandoned and 1 dead horse
**Total Loss:**  7 horses

Serviceable horses:  65
Unserviceable horses:  7
Company "F", 3rd Cavalry Muster Roll

Alexander Moore  Captain  Commanding Company
Bainbridge Reynolds  2nd Lieutenant
Michael A. McGann  1st Sergeant
Thomas Hackett  Sergeant
David Marshall  Sergeant
John Warfield  Sergeant
Robert Emmet  Sergeant
Frank Rugg  Sergeant
John Gross  Corporal
Dennis Giles  Corporal
John Kohn  Corporal
John Fry  Corporal
Arthur N. Chamberlin  Trumpeter
Richard O'Grady  Farrier
Peter Dyke  Blacksmith
Jeremiah J. Murphy  Saddler  Medal of Honor Recipient for his actions at the skirmish at Powder River, M.T., March 17, 1876. The citation read as follows "Being the only member of his picket not
disabled, he attempted to save a wounded comrade." Date awarded: October 16, 1877

Fred S. Adams  Private
Spencer Bates  Private
John Berry  Private
Otto Brodersen  Private
Henry Carson  Private
Thomas J. Clougher  Private
David Cochran  Private
   Sick in hospital at Fort Fetterman
Thomas Cramer  Private
Samuel Cupp  Private
Charles T. Decker  Private
Charles Dennis  Private
Michael T. Donahue  Private
Frank M. Estabrook  Private
William Featherly  Private
Edward Glasheen  Private
Joseph A. Gould  Private
John Hecker  Private
Frederick Hershler  Private
Julius Jansen  Private
Peter Jones  Private
John W. Jordan  Private
Henry Kett  Private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Lannen</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Lindsay</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Livingston</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Lynch</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Lynch</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael I. Meservey</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Meyer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay Mohr</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Moran</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mulry</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James T. Murphy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Murphy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael McGraine</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank McNeal</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Noteman</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerald J. O'Grady</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael O'Hearne</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles E. Richards</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. in the Q.M. service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert Roe</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdinand Rutten</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Salice</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Semple</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Staley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Tischer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phineas Towne  Private
Charles R. West  Private
Francis Woltering  Private   D.D. as company cook

Killed in Action
Michael J. McCannon  Private  Killed from gunshot wound at the skirmish on Powder River, M.T. March 17, 1876

Bighorn Expedition Notes:
March 17:  1 abandoned horse
March 19:  1 killed horse
March 20:  1 killed horse
March 21:  1 killed horse
March 26:  3 killed horses
March 30:  2 abandoned horses

Total Loss:  9 horses

Serviceable horses:  42
Unserviceable horses:  8
### Company "M", 3rd Cavalry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anson Mills</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus C. Paul</td>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank S. Rittel</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Kaminski</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>Wounded above the right knee in skirmish at Powder River, M.T., March 17, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank V. Erhard</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Prescott</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franklin B. Robinson</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. to Q.M. service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander B. Ballard</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td>Promoted Sergeant per S.O. No. 28 on April 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John N. Kirkwood</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John K. Boyce</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmer B. Snow</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Serfas</td>
<td>Trumpeter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Glavinski</td>
<td>Blacksmith</td>
<td>Medal of Honor recipient for his action at the skirmish at Powder River, Montana Territory, March 17, 1876. The citation read as follows, &quot;During a retreat Blacksmith selected exposed positions, he was part of the rear guard.&quot; Date awarded: October 16, 1877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Charles H. Sindenberg   Saddler
Ernest Bliss   Private
Myron P. Boyce   Private
Henry Badgery   Private   D.D. as company clerk
Bernard F. Cullen   Private
Charles S. Chamberlin   Private
Henry E. Curley   Private
Isaac H. Drake   Private
Dennis I. Duggan   Private   D.D. in Q.M service
George W. Delmar   Private
William Dillon   Private   Sick in hospital
Bernard Deringer   Private   D.D. as company cook
John E. Douglass   Private
Henry J. Emptage   Private
Gilbert Exford   Private
George Foster   Private
John A. Foster   Private
Joseph Gilmore   Private
Matthew Grappenstetter   Private
Peter S. Hogeboom   Private
James Hopkins   Private
Charles S. Hicks   Private
Isaac S. J. Kelton   Private
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edward Larkin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis M. Larkin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hough H. Massy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick S. McGuire</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy McCarthy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah Murphy</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Mergenthaler</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William McGinnis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph W. Morgan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James B. Miller</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles O'Donnell</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas I. O'Keeffe</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Reynolds</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Raab</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. in commissary department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaac C. Renear</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Shuttle</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blasius Schmalz</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. as blacksmith in Q.M. service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Schmidt</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Shavely</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Sheehan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Smith</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Scarlett</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John M. Singer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Sheridan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
John I. Stevenson  Private  
John Sweeney   Private  
Robert C. Thornhill  Private  Sick in hospital since Feb. 21, 1876  
Charles E. Tredick  Private  
Soren O. Very   Private  E.D. as carpenter in the Q.M. service  
Joseph Walzer  Private  

**Died**

Lorenzo E. Ayers  Private  Killed by gunshot wounds to the thigh and head while at skirmish on Powder River, M.T., March 17, 1876  

**Bighorn Expedition Notes:**

March 22 - 1 dead horse  
March 26 - 4 abandoned, 3 dead horses  

**Total Loss:**  8 horses  

Serviceable horses:  54  
Unserviceable horses:  5
Company "C", 4th Infantry Muster Roll

Edwin M. Coates  Captain  Commanding Company

Joseph Call  1st Sergeant

John W. Dunn  Sergeant  Discharged at Fort Fetterman, W.T. on March 27, 1876, 12 days after expiration of terms of service

Philip Gallagher  Sergeant  Discharged at Fort Fetterman, W.T. on March 27, 1876, 9 days after expiration of terms of service

Henry Morris  Sergeant  D.D. as Post Sergeant Major, relieved from duties for Big Horn Expedition on Feb. 29, 1876 per Special Order No. 21, HdQrs, Fort Fetterman, W.T.

Raymond Cox  Corporal

William Webbert  Corporal

Nathan D. Daniels  Musician

Robert W. Edwards  Musician

Theodore Harm  Artificer  Appointed company artificer, Mar. 31, 1876

Joseph A. Batchelor  Private

George W. Bath  Private

George Blair  Private
Herman Boucher  Private
Julius Boucher  Private  E.D. as teamster in Q.M. service
Edward Cahill  Private
Peter Chapleau  Private  D.D. as company clerk
Frederick Charley  Private
Thomas Cromley  Private
Louis DesPortes  Private
Philippe DesRiveres  Private
Lawrence Fishenger  Private  Discharged at supply camp, Bighorn Expedition on March 16, 1876 due to expiration of terms of service
Michael Flynn  Private
Albert H. Good  Private
Charles R. Griffin  Private
Charles Kerney  Private
William Kerns  Private
William Lamb  Private
John Limehan  Private
John Lynch  Private
James McDonald  Private
John McErleau  Private
Peter McFarland  Private  E.D. as saddler in Q.M. service
Nicholas Marshall  Private
John McKennon  Private
Henry Millbauert  Private
Lawrence Morris  Private
Thomas McKenna  Private  Discharged at Fort Fetterman, W.T. March 30, 1876, due to expiration of terms of service
William Murphy  Private  D.D. as company cook
George Rushton  Private
Arthur M. Reese  Private
Edward Walsh  Private  D.D. as assistant company cook
Albert J. Ward  Private
John O. Ward  Private
William H. West  Private
Henry Williams  Private

**Bighorn Expedition Notes:**

The following soldiers were temporarily attached to Co. "H", 4th Infantry, Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory while Co. "C" 4th Infantry was in the field with the Big Horn Expedition.

Richard Lacy  Private
Andrew Morrissey  Private
**Company "I", 4th Infantry Muster Roll**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samuel P. Ferris</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Commanding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles W. Mason</td>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>Special duty as Post Adjutant, Treasurer, and Signal Officer since Sept. 12, 1876. He was temporarily relieved of these duties and assigned to company for the Big Horn Expedition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kelly</td>
<td>1st Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker H. Dine</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Fait</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. in charge of company kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hollins</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>D.D. as Provost Sergeant Major, relieved from duties for Big Horn Expedition on Feb. 29, per Special Order No. 21, HdQrs, Fort Fetterman, W.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clabe Lile</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Keough</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Duane</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John C. Bolin</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William H. Hanley</td>
<td>Corporal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baly Rice</td>
<td>Artificer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnew Francis</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James H. Barrett</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as company cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Barry</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Baseley</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel M. Bryant</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison Brooks</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Costello</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Cummings</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Devon</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Dugan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Decker</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Golden</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Gleeson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Hanlon</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenny Hodge</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oscar Kimble</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Kugan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timothy Kellcher</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael J. Marten</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufus W. Merrill</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Millet</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas S. Morgan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Mulney</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. as Teamster in Q.M. service since April 11, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Nole</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nelson</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene L. Priest</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sebastian Schafer</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. as nurse in post hospital since March 28, 1876, relieved for Big Horn Expedition, Feb 29 per S.O. No. 21, HQ, Ft. Fetterman, W.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James W. Slavey</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Wounded by rifle ball to the right cheek in the skirmish at Powder River, W.T. during the evening of March 5, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David F. Settles</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Steven</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Smith</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Sullivan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Sullivan</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervel Vasser</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>S.D. as teamster in Q.M. service. March 1, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John H. Vasser</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>E.D. as Teamster in Q.M. service Sept. 1, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Walsh</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick Weiss</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James White</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>D.D. as assistant company cook</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Guides, Scouts, and Interpreters attached to the Bighorn Expedition

The guides, scouts, and interpreters were sought out and hired from the vicinity of Fort Laramie, Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies. First Lieutenant John Bourke referred to these men in the following manner, "They are as sweet a lot of cut-throats as ever scuttled a ship, half-breeds, squaw men, bounty jumpers, thieves and desperadoes of different grades from the various Indian Agencies. Robert Strahorn, in his February 29, 1876 dispatch wrote, “Col. T.H. Stanton is Chief of perhaps a fine a corps of scouts as has ever been organized in an Indian campaign - especially as experience goes for aught. Among the twenty five or thirty selected, are such men as Jules Ecofee, who has seen almost a quarter of a century of service as scout, guide, etc. in the Rocky Mountain country; Ben Clark, from Indian Territory, for a long time one of Gen. Crook's principal scouts, and sent for by the General for this expedition; Baptiste Pourier, a well-versed French Frontiersman, and for a long time one of the scouts at Fort Laramie; Speed Stagnier, post guide at Fort Fetterman, and Louis Richard, a half-breed Sioux, who was on the expedition of Generals Smith and Connor."
**Scout, Guides, and Interpreters** (under the command of Chief of Scouts, Major Thaddeus H. Stanton)

2. Guide / Interpreter: Louis Richard (Reshaw)
3. Guide / Interpreter: Frank Grouard
4. Scout: Charles Richard (Reshaw)
5. Scout: Charles Janis
6. Scout: Charles O'Donnell
7. Scout: John Forbes
8. Scout: Thomas Reed
9. Scout: Felix Conasty
10. Scout: Louis Shangreau (Jangra on roster)
11. Scout: John Shangreau (Jangra on roster)
12. Scout: John B. Provost
13. Scout: Joseph Eldridge
15. Scout: Henry Lewis
16. Scout: Baptiste Pourier "Big Bat"
17. Scout: Baptiste Garnier "Little Bat"
19. Scout: Benjamin Rowland
20. Scout: William Crabbs
21. Scout: Louis Archambeau
22. Scout: David Madden
Civilian Pack and Wagon Train Attached to the Bighorn Expedition

The civilian pack and wagon train were divided for the support of the five battalions of cavalry, and the battalion of infantry. Each pack train consisted of eighty roughshod mules. Use of pack trains on campaigns was favored by General Crook. When he transferred from Arizona to the Department of the Platte, many packers followed. They were stationed at Camp Carlin, near Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory. Thomas Moore, the chief packer, was a veteran of previous Indian campaigns under General Crook, and was considered highly competent and experienced in his duties. The advantage of using mules for pack animals is their ability to maneuver in rougher terrain than wagon trains. The typical breakdown for a pack team was one pack master, one cargedor (an experienced packer who divided the loads and balanced the loads on...
each mule), one blacksmith, and ten packers. First Lieutenant Bourke noted that there were eighty mules per team. The wagon train consisted of eighty-six mule wagons loaded with forage, and three or four ambulances carrying as much equipment as possible.

Pack Supervisors

1. Chief Packer: Thomas Moore
2. Assistant Chief Packer: David Mears

1st Battalion Pack Train (Co's "E" and "M", 3rd Cavalry, Captain Mills)

1. Pack Master: Thomas McAuliff
2. Cargadore: J. H. DeOrsey
3. 1st Class Packer: H. Greg
4. 1st Class Packer: John Winter
5. 1st Class Packer: Andrew Careney
6. 1st Class Packer: Alfred Phillips
7. 1st Class Packer: George L. Booth
8. 1st Class Packer: Edward Stole
9. 1st Class Packer: J. Smith Armstrong
10. 1st Class Packer: Thomas Wood
11. 1st Class Packer: J. W. Tyler

2nd Battalion Pack Train (Co's "A" and "D", 3rd Cavalry, Captain Hawley)

1. Pack Master: Richard G. Closter also known as "Uncle Dick"
2. Cargadore: S. C. Burrow
3. 1st Class Packer: I. A. Fontaine
4. 1st Class Packer: Ignacious Rivera
5. 1st Class Packer: Jaun Bainsula
6. 1st Class Packer: John M. Stewart
7. 1st Class Packer: John Raymond
8. 1st Class Packer: James McArmstrong
9. 1st Class Packer: John Dayton
10. 1st Class Packer: J. D. Lydy
11. 1st Class Packer: Hugh Donovan
12. 2nd Class Packer: Louis McKean

3rd Battalion Pack Train (Co's "I" and "K", 2nd Cavalry, Captain Noyes)
1. Pack Master: Alexander Foster
2. Cargadore: Alfonso Warner
3. 1st Class Packer: Joaquin Cassio
4. 1st Class Packer: Robert Mitchell
5. 1st Class Packer: Herbert Moon
6. 1st Class Packer: Shep Madera
7. 1st Class Packer: John Hense
8. 1st Class Packer: J. Newkirk
9. 1st Class Packer: James Banville
10. 1st Class Packer: William Thompson
11. 1st Class Packer: James Hilton
12. 1st Class Packer: George Farmer
4th Battalion Pack Train (Co's "A" and "B", 2nd Cavalry, Captain Dewees)

1. Pack Master:       George Young
2. Cargadore:         John Patrick
3. 1st Class Packer:  Charles F. Brown
4. 1st Class Packer:  John Bechtel
5. 1st Class Packer:  Paul Brady
6. 1st Class Packer:  James Phillip
7. 1st Class Packer:  Thomas Mason
8. 1st Class Packer:  Frank Brady
9. 1st Class Packer:  George Herman
10. 1st Class Packer: John Simmon
11. 1st Class Packer: James Travis
12. 1st Class Packer: H. Dougherty
13. 1st Class Packer: Joseph McPherson

5th Battalion Pack Train (Co's "F", 3rd Cavalry and "B", 2nd Cavalry, Captain Moore)

1. Pack Master:       William Delaney
2. Cargadore:         Charles Rice
3. 1st Class Packer:  J. D. Williams
4. 1st Class Packer:  S. J. Green
5. 1st Class Packer:  T. Lesler
6. 1st Class Packer:  John Houssany
7. 1st Class Packer:  M. McAsey
8. 1st Class Packer:  G. Kelsey
9. 1st Class Packer: G. H. Freeland
10. 2nd Class Packer: J. D. Gardner
11. 2nd Class Packer: J. D. Pierce

Wagon Train and Ambulances (Co's "E" and "I", 4th Infantry)
1. Train Master: Elbert Hunter
2. Teamster: John O'Neal
3. Teamster: Frank O'Brien
4. Teamster: Frank Gragon Discharged on March 6, 1876
5. Teamster: John Barry
6. Teamster: John Fisher
7. Teamster: Robert Carson
8. Teamster: Robert Lyon
9. Teamster: William Folley
10. Teamster: David Markley
11. Teamster: George Searfort
12. Teamster: John Fox
13. Teamster: John Moore
14. Teamster: Harrison Dell
15. Teamster: John Curtis
16. Teamster: Joseph Horton
17. Teamster: George Boswell
18. Teamster: Clem Gardner
19. Teamster: William Mundis
20. Teamster: Barney Walters
21. Teamster: Charles Lott
22. Teamster: Robert Fisher
23. Train Master: Ken Burkett
25. Teamster: Frank Allen
26. Teamster: John Wilson
27. Teamster: John Martel
28. Teamster: Charles Rouscalp
29. Teamster: Henry Sparkman
30. Teamster: John Lynch
31. Teamster: George Berg
32. Teamster: Thomas Brown
33. Teamster: William Fisher
34. Teamster: William Blanton
35. Teamster: Patrick Maloney
36. Teamster: William Underwood
37. Teamster: Mack Holden
38. Teamster: Daniel Comstock
39. Teamster: John Clayton
40. Teamster: John Lyndsey
41. Teamster: Frank Howard
42. Teamster: James Mason
43. Teamster: John Shea
| 44. Teamster: | John Joven |
| 45. Teamster: | T. H. Eakin |
| 46. Teamster: | Daniel Barton |
| 47. Teamster: | John Inglan |
| 48. Teamster: | Matthew Finn |
| 49. Teamster: | Henry Rivers |
| 50. Teamster: | Thomas Kane |
| 51. Teamster: | F. H. Morgan |
| 52. Asst. Train Master: | J. B. McClure |
| 53. Teamster: | James Clark |
| 54. Teamster: | Dennis Farrell |
| 55. Teamster: | Henry Higgins |
| 56. Teamster: | William Yource |
| 57. Teamster: | Alexander Robb |
| 58. Teamster: | William McCarty |
| 59. Teamster: | H. M. Madera |
| 60. Blacksmith: | P. D. Kempton |
| 61. Blacksmith: | Thomas Muldoon |
| 62. Wagon Master: | J. Woodliff |
| 63. Teamster: | Timothy Hobau |
| 64. Teamster: | B. C. Babcock |
| 65. Teamster: | Charles Sneider |
| 66. Teamster: | William Smith |
| 67. Teamster: | M. Ryan |
68. Teamster: William McLear
69. Teamster: William Hamilton
70. Teamster: Ben Morgan
71. Teamster: James Halowell
72. Teamster: Charles Dixon
73. Teamster: Leon Crete
74. Teamster: T. L. Henderson
75. Teamster: Charles DuBois
76. Teamster: Frank Owen
77. Teamster: John Wilson
78. Teamster: C. L. Haley
79. Asst. Train Master: James Galloway
80. Teamster: N. H. Mcltten
81. Teamster: John Gunderfinger
82. Teamster: Frank Wallace
83. Teamster: Benjamin Bowen
84. Teamster: Milton Hendricks
85. Teamster: John Melbourn
86. Teamster: A. Roberts
87. Teamster: Clement Ward
88. Teamster: William H. Taylor
89. Teamster: Anthony Garveu
90. Herder: James Wright Mortally wounded in action, March 2, 1876 at South Cheyenne River, and died of wounds, March 28, 1876
Northern Cheyenne and Sioux Participants

Northern Cheyenne

1. Old Bear
2. Two Moon
3. Little Coyote (Little Wolf)
4. White Bull (Ice)
5. Brave Wolf
6. Flexible
7. Wooden Leg
8. Maple Tree
9. Kate Bighead
10. Ridge Bear (Bear Walks On The Ridge)
11. Powder Face
12. Bull Coming Behind
13. Tall Sioux
14. Braided Locks - wounded by U.S. soldiers at the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876
15. Black Eagle
16. Wolf Hawk
17. Beaver Claws
18. Iron Hawk
19. Elbow Woman
20. Eagle Chief - killed by U.S. Soldiers at the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876
21. Whirlwind - killed by U.S. Soldiers at the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876
Oglala Sioux

1. He Dog

2. Short Bull - Not in the encampment during the fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876

3. Rock (wife of He Dog)

4. Crawler

5. Long Face

6. Big Face

7. Yellow Twin

8. Little Creek

9. Little Shield

10. White Black Man (Black White Man)

11. Knife

12. Sweat

13. Male Dog

14. Hard to Hit

15. Iron Magpie

16. White Eagle
Appendix B End Notes

1 Vaughn, *The Powder River Campaign*, p. 41
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. 29
4 Ibid.
5 Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 254
6 Ibid.

Additional Notes:

McCarty paid for three days at $100 per month for service as scout, T. H. Stanton, U.S.A., Camp on Dry Fork of Cheyenne River to Lieut. Robinson, Fort Fetterman, March 2, 1876 Misc. Quartermaster, Ft. Fetterman 0000-00-1529 H121J, Wyoming State Archives (Could be same man as No. 58 teamster, William McCarty)

Roster of civilians found in NARA RG 92, Entry 232, Index of Persons, Articles Hired
Appendix C: Biographies

Big Horn Expedition Staff Officers

Brigadier General George Crook, Department of the Platte, Commander

George Crook was appointed from Ohio to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. He graduated in the class of 1852 and was brevetted 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry on July 1, 1852. Crook served on the frontier from 1852 until 1861. During that time, he participated in the Rogue River Expedition (1856) and was in command of the Pitt River Expedition of 1857. He was wounded by an arrow in one of the engagements he participated in. Crook was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant on July 7, 1853, 1st Lieutenant on March 11, 1856, and Captain May 14, 1861. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel and transferred to the 36th Ohio Volunteers on September 12, 1861. During the Civil War, George Crook served in the following
battles and campaigns: West Virginia operations of 1861-62, Northern Virginia Campaign, 1862, Maryland campaign 1862, South Mountain and Antietam, battles of the operations in West Virginia 1862-63; Tennessee campaign, 1863; battles of Tullahoma, Hoover's Gap, Chickamauga, and pursuit of Wheeler, Northern Virginia, 1864, Sheridan's Shenandoah Campaign, 1864, including the battles of Berryville, Fisher's Hill, Strasburg, Opequan, Cedar Creek; in command of cavalry, Army of the Potomac, 1865, engaged at Dinwiddie Court House, Jetersville, Sailor's Creek, Farmville, and Appomattox Court House, and in command of the District of Wilmington, North Carolina, 1865-66. George Crook was brevetted Major, U.S.A., in May 1862 for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Lewisburg, Virginia. He was brevetted Brigadier General of Volunteers on September 7, 1862; brevetted Lieutenant Colonel, September 17, 1862 for gallant and meritorious services at Antietam; brevetted Colonel on October 7, 1863 for gallant and meritorious services at battle of Farmington; brevetted Brigadier General on March 13, 1865 for gallant and meritorious service in the campaign of 1864 in West Virginia; and brevetted Major General on March 13, 1865 for gallant and meritorious service in the battle of Fishers Hill, Virginia., and Major General, Volunteers, July 18, 1864 for gallant and distinguished service in West Virginia. George Crook was mustered out of volunteer service on June 15, 1866. Following the Civil War (July 18, 1866), Crook accepted the rank of Major, 3rd Infantry. He was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, 23rd Infantry on July 28, 1866. Since the close of the Civil War (1866) he was on the U.S. Army Rifle Tactic Board; and in command of the Districts of Owyhee and Boise and Dept. of Columbia from 1866 to 1872 where he was actively engaged against hostile Indians. Crook commanded the Department of Arizona from 1872 to 1875. During his time as Department Commander, he put down all Indian
disturbances. He was appointed Brigadier General, U.S.A. on October 29, 1873. General Crook was assigned to command the Department of the Platte in March 1875 where his served in several encounters with the hostile Indians and helped force the non-reservation Indians onto their assigned reservations.\(^1\) George Crook was promoted to Major General on April 6, 1888. George Crook died on March 21, 1890 at the age of 62.\(^2\)

![Figure 433: Major General, U.S.V. Joseph Jones Reynolds.](Mollus Mass. RG667s V74 F3668L Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Army Military History Institute)

**Colonel Joseph Jones Reynolds,** Commander, Big Horn Expedition

Joseph J. Reynolds was appointed to the U.S. Military Academy from Indiana. He graduated in the class of 1843. Following graduation, July 1, 1843, Reynolds was brevetted 2\(^{nd}\) Lieutenant, 4\(^{th}\) Artillery. Reynolds was promoted to 2\(^{nd}\) Lieutenant, 3\(^{rd}\) Artillery on May 11, 1846 and 1\(^{st}\) Lieutenant on March 3, 1847. He resigned his commission on February 28, 1857. Prior to his resignation Reynolds served on garrison and frontier duty. He participated in the military occupation of Texas. He later went on to serve as assistant and principal assistant professor in
the Departments of Geography, History, and Ethics, and Natural and Experimental Philosophy at the U.S. Military Academy (West Point). On April 25, 1861 Reynolds was appointed Colonel, followed shortly after by promotion to the rank of Brigadier General, U.S. Volunteers. He served in West Virginia during 1861 until his resignation on January 23, 1862. Reynolds served without a commission while organizing Indiana Volunteers. On August 21, 1862, Reynolds was re-appointed Colonel and promoted to Brigadier General on September 17 of the same year. He was promoted to Major General of U.S. Volunteers on November 29, 1862. Reynolds served with the Army of the Cumberland in numerous actions, and in the battle of Chickamauga, September 19-20, 1863. He participated in the battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25, 1863. Major General Reynolds was appointed to Chief of Staff of the Army of the Cumberland; in command of the defenses of New Orleans, Louisiana from January to June, 1864, and subsequently commanded the 19th Corps. Reynolds commanded the Department of Arkansas from November 29, 1864 to April 25, 1866. On July 28, 1866, Reynolds was appointed Colonel of the 26th Infantry. He was unassigned on March 15, 1869. Reynolds was assigned to the 25th Infantry on January 8, 1870 and transferred to the 3rd Cavalry on December 15, 1870. Reynolds was brevetted Brigadier and Major General on March 2, 1867 for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. Reynolds retired due to disability incurred in the line of duty on June 25, 1877. Joseph Jones Reynolds died on February 25, 1899 in Washington, D.C. at the age of 77 and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia.
Assistant Surgeon Curtis Emerson Munn, Chief Surgeon, Big Horn Expedition

Curtis E. Munn served as a hospital steward, 1st Massachusetts Cavalry. Munn was discharged on December 21, 1861. On July 10, 1863 he was commissioned as an Assistant Surgeon, 27th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry and mustered out of service on July 11, 1863. Munn was appointed Surgeon, 2nd Massachusetts Volunteers on December 30, 1864. He was mustered out again on January 19, 1865. On November 16, 1868 Munn accepted the rank of 1st Lieutenant, Assistant Surgeon, and on December 2, 1869 Munn was promoted to the rank of Captain, Assistant Surgeon. Munn was promoted to Major, Surgeon on March 29, 1889. He retired on Feb. 26, 1900. Curtis E. Munn died at Topeka, Kansas on June 7, 1902.
Second Lieutenant George Augustus Drew, 3rd Cavalry, Acting Assistant Quartermaster (A.A.Q.M.) and Acting Chief of Subsistence (A.C.S.), Bighorn Expedition

George A. Drew was appointed from Michigan to the rank of Captain, 6th Michigan Cavalry on October 11, 1862. Drew was assigned to General George A. Custer's command. He participated in the battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and subsequent campaigns as well as Grant's campaign from the Wilderness to Petersburg, Virginia. Captain Drew served in the Shenandoah Valley and participated in General Sheridan's campaign. He was promoted to Major, 6th Michigan Cavalry on September 24, 1863, and assigned to the role of inspector of the 1st Cavalry Division. Drew participated in the final campaign of the Army of the Potomac, culminating in the surrender of the General Robert E. Lee. George Drew was on the staff of General Merritt in Texas. He received the following brevets for his actions during the Civil War: 1st Lieutenant for gallant and meritorious service in the Campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, for gallant and meritorious service in the Richmond Campaign, Lieutenant Colonel, Volunteers for highly distinguished and meritorious service in the Shenandoah Valley, Colonel, Volunteers for
highly distinguished and meritorious service in the campaign against Richmond, Virginia. Drew was mustered out of the service on October 11, 1865. Following the Civil War (May 15, 1866), he was appointed 2nd Lieutenant to the 10th Infantry. Drew was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on March 26, 1868. He was unassigned on May 19, 1869; however, on December 31, 1870 he was assigned to the 3rd Cavalry. Augustus Drew was assigned Regimental Quartermaster on August 15, 1875 and held that position until March 20, 1879. Drew was promoted to Captain on March 20, 1879. Captain George A. Drew retired on March 15, 1896 due to a disabbling incident while in the service. Captain George A. Drew died at Highland Park, Illinois on July 21, 1921.

Second Lieutenant Charles E. Morton, 3rd Cavalry, Adjutant, Big Horn Expedition

Charles Morton enlisted as a musician in Captain George K. Donnelly's Home Guard Company, organized in April, 1861, later reorganized as Company "I", 13th Missouri Infantry. Morton was captured on the steamer Little Blue near Napoleon, Missouri during September 1861. He
escaped without parole. His regiment was mustered out as paroled prisoners during autumn, 1861 by order of General Fremont, but the order was rescinded by the War Department and the regiment was reorganized during winter, 1861-1862 as the 25th Missouri Volunteer Infantry. Charles Morton participated in the battle of Shiloh, where his regiment occupied the right of the 1st Brigade of the 6th Division and received the initial effects of the enemy assault. During this battle his regiment suffered heavily, having his Colonel and Major killed and his Lieutenant Colonel, Captain and 1st Lieutenant wounded. Later he participated in the siege of Corinth, and the Campaign in Southeast Missouri. General Davidson presented him with a pistol for gallantry in leading a battalion of cavalry in a charge on a guerrilla camp. Morton served in the campaign on the Mississippi River and against General Nathan B. Forrest’s cavalry command in Western Tennessee. On February, 1864, Morton’s regiment was consolidated with the Engineer Corps of the West at Nashville, Tennessee, forming the 1st Engineers, Missouri Volunteers. At the time of the consolidation, Charles Morton was assigned to Company "H". Morton served on the Nashville and Northwestern Railroad and siege of Atlanta actions, as well as in the Union’s flank movement around Atlanta, and battles of Jonesboro and Lovejoy’s Station. Charles Morton was discharged from military service at East Point, Georgia on Sept. 14, 1864. On September 27, 1864, Morton was commission in the 43rd Missouri Volunteer Infantry. He narrowly escaped the Centralia Missouri Massacre of Sept. 28, 1864, where many of his old comrades were killed. He declined an appointment to the 43rd Infantry and instead organized militia in Daviess, Coldwell, and Ray Counties, Missouri, which were mustered to counter the invasion of General Sterling Price. Morton commanded his troops at Fishing River, Missouri, October 15, 1864, where the Guerrilla leader "Bloody Bill" Anderson and others such
as the notorious James and Younger brothers operated. Morton was active in defeating the last rebel troops in Northwest Missouri. Charles Morton was offered an appointment to the rank of Second Lieutenant, 9th U.S. Veteran Volunteers, February 1865, but declined, instead accepting an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Morton enrolled at the Academy on July 1, 1865, and graduated 25th in his class on June 15, 1869. Following his graduation at West Point, he was assigned to the 3rd Cavalry as a 2nd Lieutenant on June 15, 1869, and joined Company "A" at Fort Union, New Mexico. He served at Cimarron, Ute Agency during the winter of 1869-1870. Morton was assigned the position of quartermaster and commissary of one column of his regiment located at Fort Union, New Mexico. His regiment was moved to Camp Rawlins, Arizona on February 20 and remained there until August 10, 1870. Morton held the following positions while at Camp Rawlins: quartermaster, commissary, and post adjutant.

He served with his company at Camp Verde, Arizona from Aug. 16, 1870 to Dec. 11, 1871. During June, 1871 Charles Morton was engaged in pursuing the Tonto and Pinal Apaches that had attacked the Agua Frio ranch, killed the herders, and driven off 160 head of horses, mules, and cattle. Morton following them into Tonto Basin where he had four successful engagements for which he and his command were complimented in general orders by Headquarters, Department of Arizona and for which he was recommended to Congress for a brevet for gallantry in action. Second Lieutenant Morton accompanied his regiment to Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory and from June 1872 to April 5, 1875 served at Sidney Barracks, Nebraska. While at Sidney Barracks, he served as post adjutant, and engaged in scouting duty. Morton was on the expedition verses Cheyenne during spring 1875. He served as the Engineering Officer for Colonel Dodge’s Black Hills Expedition from May 25 to October 19, 1875. Following
the campaign, he performed engineer duty at Omaha, Nebraska (November and December 1875), making maps from his field notes which comprised the first authentic information of that unexplored region. Morton served as acting commissary of subsistence at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming, during the winter of 1875-76 and Adjutant of the Big Horn Expedition during February and March, 1876. He participated in all the skirmishes of that Expedition; and the Battle on the Powder River, March 17, 1876. Morton served as the Acting Regimental Adjutant and Quartermaster of Cavalry with the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition. While in that Expedition, Morton participated in the skirmish on Tongue River, June 9, Battle of the Rosebud, June 17, and the Slim Buttes Skirmish, September 9-10, 1876. Morton was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant in September 1876 and commanded his own company until September 10, 1878. He served at Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory from November 1, 1876 to July 5, 1877. After a short leave of absence, he commanded his company on the Winter Expedition to the Black Hills during December 1877. During January 1878 Morton was selected for the mounted recruiting service. He served as Post Adjutant and Treasurer at the Cavalry Depot, Jefferson Barracks, Missouri from October 1, 1878 to February 1, 1881. Morton was assigned to duty at Fort McKinney, Wyoming Territory until May 11, 1881. He was ordered to the Department of Arizona on May 22, 1882. Morton arrived at Fort Thomas, Arizona Territory on May 24, 1882. He accompanied an expedition against Apaches, which culminated in the engagement on Chevelon's Fork, July 17, 1882. Morton was assigned the duty of post adjutant at Fort Thomas and took command of a company on August 2, 1882. He was promoted to Captain in 1883.10 Morton was offered the brevet of 1st Lieutenant on February 27, 1890 for gallant services in action against Indians in the Tonto country, in Arizona, in June 1871, but
declined it.\textsuperscript{11} He was promoted to Major and transferred to the 4\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry on Sept. 23, 1898. Morton was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the 8\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry on March 24, 1901. He was promoted to the rank of Colonel, 11\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry on February 25, 1903. Morton transferred to the 7\textsuperscript{th} Cavalry on April 21, 1903.\textsuperscript{12} Colonel Charles Morton died on December 20, 1914 at Washington, D.C.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{wrapfigure}{r}{0.4\textwidth}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{Figure_437_Cadet_John_G._Bourke_West_Point_Class_of_1869_Class_of_1869_Album_Collection_Special_Collections_West_Point_NY_United_Sates_Military_Academy.jpg}
\caption{Second Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry, Aide-de-Camp, accompanying General Crook, Big Horn Expedition.}
\end{wrapfigure}

John G. Bourke enlisted and served with Companies "E" and "D", 15\textsuperscript{th} Pennsylvania Cavalry from August 12, 1862 to July 5, 1865. He was appointed from Illinois to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point on October 17, 1865. Bourke graduated with the class of 1869. He was commissioned 2\textsuperscript{nd} Lieutenant and assigned to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Cavalry on June 15, 1869. Bourke was promoted to 1\textsuperscript{st} Lieutenant on May 17, 1876, and promoted to Captain on June 26, 1882.
Bourke was brevetted Major on February 27, 1890 for gallantry in the battle on Powder River, Montana on March 17, 1876, and for action against Indians on Rosebud Creek, Montana, June 17, 1876. He was awarded the Medal of Honor on November 16, 1887 for gallantry in action at the Battle of Stones River, Tennessee, December 31, 1862, and January 1, 1863. Bourke was active in the fights on Powder River, Tongue River, Rosebud, Slim Buttes, Willow Creek, and with Thornburg's command pursuing Cheyenne Indians across the sand hills of Nebraska and Dakota in 1878. He accompanied General Merritt's march to rescue the survivors of Thornburg's command in 1879. During his career, he declined two brevets: Captain and Major for gallantry in action against Indians in 1873 and 1876. John Gregory Bourke died on June 8, 1896.
Major Thaddeus Harlan Stanton, Chief of Scouts, Bighorn Expedition

Thaddeus H. Stanton enlisted as a Private in Company "A", 3rd D.C. Volunteer Artillery Battery, on April 15, 1861. He was discharged on July 15, 1861. Stanton was appointed Captain, 19th Iowa Volunteers on August 18, 1862. He accepted the appointment on December 18, 1862. Stanton was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel, Volunteers on March 13, 1865 for "faithful and meritorious service during the war." He was promoted to Major, Pay Master Department on January 17, 1867. Stanton was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on March 15, 1890. On January 22, 1893 Stanton was promoted to the rank of Colonel. Stanton was appointed Brigadier General, Pay Master on March 27, 1895. Thaddeus Stanton was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel, U.S.A. on February 27, 1890 for gallant service in action on the Powder River, Montana, March 17, 1876. He retired on January 30, 1899. Brigadier General Thaddeus H. Stanton died at Omaha, Nebraska on January 23, 1900, and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.
1st Battalion (Companies "M" and "E", 3rd Cavalry) - Captain Anson Mills, 3rd Cavalry

Captain Anson Mills, 1st Battalion Commander (Companies "M" and "E", 3rd Cavalry), Commander, Company "M", 3rd Cavalry

Anson Mills was appointed from Texas to the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York. He attended the Academy from June 1855 to February 1857. Following his graduation, he was involved in surveying the El Paso and Presidio Land District of Texas from 1858 to 1861. Mills also was a surveyor for the State of Texas on the boundary survey between Texas and New Mexico in 1859. He enlisted as a Sergeant, Clay Guards, District of Columbia Volunteers and served from March to May 1861. Mills was appointed 1st Lieutenant, 18th Infantry on May 14, 1861. He was engaged in recruiting and mustering duty in Ohio until February 1862. Mills served as the 18th Infantry Regimental Adjutant until October 1862. He participated in the battle of Corinth, Mississippi on April 8, 1862 and went on to command Company "A", 1st Battalion, 18th Infantry until December 1862. He was appointed the Commissary of
Subsistence, Regular Brigade, Army of the Cumberland soon after and held that position until April 1863. Mills also participated in the battle of Stones River, Tennessee on December 31, 1862 through January 2, 1863. He was promoted to Captain, commanding Company “H”, 1st Battalion, 18th Infantry on April 27, 1863. Mills commanded this company until September 1864. He fought in the following engagements: Action of Hoover’s Gap, Tennessee, June 26th, 1863, and the battles of Chickamauga, Georgia, September 19 and 20, 1863, Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, December 26, 1863, Actions of Reseca, New Hope Church, Kennesaw Mountain, and Neal Dow Station, Georgia, battles of Utoy Creek, Atlanta (where he was wounded), and Jonesboro, Georgia, September 1, 1864. Anson Mills commanded the 1st Battalion from September to October 1864. Mills was assigned the duty of Inspector General, District of the Etowa on the staff of General Steedman until February 1865. He also fought at the battles of Nashville, Tennessee, December 15 and 16, 1864 and Decatur, Alabama, December 24, 1864, following which he engaged in recruiting services from July to November, 1865. Mills took command of Fort Aubrey, Kansas from January to April 1866. Anson Mills invented the looped cartridge-belt for metallic cartridges and served as a member of the Board of Visitors from Texas to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York during June 1866. He took command of Fort Bridger, Utah in November 1866 and remained there until September 1867. Mills escorted Union Pacific Railroad engineers with his company until December 1867. He served at Fort Fetterman until May 1868. Mills served at Fort Sedgwick, Colorado Territory until April 1869. He then served at McPherson Barracks, Georgia until October 1870. In November he went on to command the post of Laurens Court-House, South Carolina remaining at that post until December 1870. Mills transferred to Co. "M", 3rd Cavalry on January 1, 1871.
He commanded Fort Whipple, Arizona Territory from April through May 1871. He served at
Fort McDowell until December 1871. Mills commanded the expedition into Tonto Basin,
Arizona Territory during June 1871. He served at Fort McPherson, Nebraska until May 1872.
From August to September 1874, Mills commanded the Big Horn Expedition (Co’s “B”, and “D”,
2nd Cavalry “F”, “H”, and “M”, 3rd Cavalry and “E”, and “H”, 4th Infantry). He commanded a
battalion consisting of Companies "I" and "M", 3rd Cavalry on Professor Marsh’s Paleontological
 Expedition on Niobrara River, Nebraska during June and July 1873. Anson Mills took command
of Fort Sheridan, Nebraska from April through September 1875. Mills was stationed at Fort D.
A. Russell, Wyoming Territory until November 1876. He commanded the 1st Battalion,
consisting of Companies "E" and "M", 3rd Cavalry, Bighorn Expedition from February to April
1876 in which he participated in the battle on Powder River, March 17, 1876. Mills commanded
a battalion consisting of Companies “A”, "B", "D", "E", and "M", 3rd Cavalry on the Big Horn and
Yellowstone Expedition against the Sioux from May to October 1876. During that expedition he
participated in the skirmish on Tongue River, June 9, 1876, and commanded at the engagement
at Slim Buttes, Dakota Territory on September 9, 1876. Mills took command of Fort Sheridan,
Nebraska from November 1876 to May 1877. He was the military attaché to the International
Exposition at Paris, France from March 1878 to March 1879. Mills was promoted to the rank of
Major, 10th Cavalry on April 4, 1878. He commanded Fort Concho, Texas from April to July
1879. Mills was stationed at Fort Concho, Texas until July 1882. He commanded a battalion
consisting of Companies "D", "E", "F", and "M", 10th Cavalry on an expedition from Fort Concho
to the Indian Territory from May to November 1881. He commanded a battalion consisting of
Companies "D" and "M", 10th Cavalry on a march from Fort Concho to Fort Davis during July
Anson Mills was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, 4th Cavalry on March 25, 1890. He was promoted to Colonel, 3rd Cavalry on August 16, 1892. Mills was promoted to Brigadier General on June 16, 1897. He was brevetted Captain, U.S. Army for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Stones River, Tennessee on December 31, 1862. Mills was awarded the following brevet ranks: Major, U.S. Army for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Chickamauga, Georgia, and in the Atlanta campaign, Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Nashville, Tennessee on December 15, 1864.

Brigadier General Anson Mills died in Washington D.C. on November 5, 1924.
First Lieutenant Augustus C. Paul, Company "M", 3rd Cavalry

Augustus Choutea Paul was appointed Captain in the Woodward Guards of Cincinnati in August 16, 1861. During April of the same year he was appointed Captain, 2nd Kentucky Volunteers and remained with that unit through August 1861. Paul served as Captain, 23rd Kentucky Volunteer Infantry from October 1861 to June 1863. He participated in the campaigns of the Armies of the Ohio and Cumberland, participating in the battles of Shiloh, Tennessee, Perryville, Kentucky, Stones River, and actions at Cumberland Gap, McMinnville, Murfreesboro, Nashville, and Pulaski, Tennessee. Paul served as Assistant Adjutant General, U.S. Volunteers in June 1863. He was on the staff of General Gabriel Rene Paul in November 1863 and went on to serve on the staff of General Baxter until May 1864. He participated in the operations at Mine Run and the battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania. Paul was wounded and captured by the enemy, remaining a prisoner until his exchange in April 1865. Paul went on to serve on the staff of General Humphreys, who commanded a division of the Army of the Potomac until its muster out. Following that assignment, Paul joined General Pierce’s staff, who commanded a brigade of the Provisional Corps. Paul was mustered out of service in September 1865. Augustus C. Paul was brevetted Major, U.S. Volunteers for gallant and meritorious service at the Battle of the Wilderness, Virginia. He was brevetted Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Volunteers for gallant and meritorious service at the Battle of Spotsylvania Court House, Virginia. Paul was assigned as a 2nd Lieutenant and transferred to the 3rd Cavalry during January 1869. He was with the regiment in New Mexico and Arizona until December 1871. Paul was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on December 20, 1872. He served with General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition during
March 1876. Paul resigned from military service on May 24, 1881. Augustus Choutea Paul was buried on September 19, 1904 at Hampton National Cemetery, Virginia.

![Figure 441: Captain John Burgess Johnson](image)

**Figure 441: Captain John Burgess Johnson. Officers of the Army and Navy Who Served in the Civil War, edited by Major W. H. Powell, U.S. Army and Medical Director Edward Shippen, U.S. Navy, L. R. Hamersly & Co., Philadelphia, 1892**

**First Lieutenant John Burgess Johnson, Company "E", 3rd Cavalry**

John B. Johnson was appointed from Massachusetts as a 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 6th U.S. Colored Troops, in September 1863. He participated in the siege of Petersburg and the action at New Market Heights, Virginia, where he was wounded. Johnson rose to the rank of 1st Lieutenant. He mustered out of service on account of disability from wounds received in January 1865. Johnson was reinstated in February 1865. He joined his regiment at Fort Fisher, and participated in the action of Cox's Bridge, North Carolina, and the surrender of Confederate General Johnson. J. B. Johnson was assigned as a 2nd Lieutenant to the 7th Infantry on April 23, 1866. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in October 1867. Johnson was assigned to the 3rd
Cavalry on January 1, 1871. He was promoted to Captain on April 4, 1878. Captain John Burgess Johnson died at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri on April 5, 1896.

2nd Battalion (Companies "A" and "D", 3rd Cavalry) - Captain William Hawley, 3rd Cavalry

2nd Battalion Commander (Companies "A" and "D", 3rd Cavalry), Commander, Company "A", 3rd Cavalry

In 1856, at the age of 18, William Hawley left home. He was hired for the survey of the projected canal across the Isthmus by the United States Government. Hawley was appointed Lieutenant in the "Mounted Rifles," an organization which afterwards became the 3rd U.S. Cavalry on August 5, 1861. He served in the 6th Cavalry under General McClellan in the Army of the Potomac. Hawley went on to serve in New Mexico, and later served under General Grant in...
the Vicksburg Campaign. He joined the staff of General Hugh Ewing, commander of the 4th Division of the 15th Corps. He went on to serve in the Chattanooga Campaign under the command of General W. T. Sherman. After the relief of Knoxville, Hawley joined his regiment which was assigned to General Steel's Army in Arkansas, where he remained until the war’s close.28 Hawley participated in the battles of Chattanooga, Missionary Ridge, Tennessee, Ringgold, Georgia, and the action at Benton, Arkansas.29 Following the war, he served in New Mexico until his regiment was transferred to Arizona in 1869. In 1871, he was transferred to Wyoming Territory. He was promoted to the rank of Major and transferred to the 4th Cavalry on March 20, 1879. Hawley retired on June 14, 1879. William Hawley died on September 7, 1915 and was buried at the San Francisco National Cemetery.30

First Lieutenant Joseph Lawson, Company "A", 3rd Cavalry

Joseph Lawson was appointed 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 11th Kentucky Cavalry on October 3, 1862. He was promoted to Captain on November 28, 1862.31 Lawson was commissioned 1st Lieutenant and assigned to the 3rd Cavalry on July 28, 1866.32 Nearly ten years later (September 25, 1876) he was promoted to Captain.33 Lawson participated in General Crook's Big Horn Expedition in March 1876. He participated in the White River Expedition of 1879, and fought against Ute Indians at the battle of Milk Creek.34 Captain Joseph Lawson died on January 30, 1881 at Fort Fred Steele, Wyoming Territory.35
First Lieutenant William Wallace Robinson, Company "D", 3rd Cavalry

William W. Robinson, Jr. entered the U.S. Military Academy on July 1, 1864. He left on January 14, 1865 to enlisted as a Private in Company "E", 7th Wisconsin Infantry on March 17, 1865. He returned to West Point on July 1, 1865 and was officially discharged from his regiment two days later. July 3, 1865. Robinson graduated from the U.S. Military Academy on June 15, 1869. He was appointed 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 3rd Cavalry on June 15, 1869. Robinson served in the field against the Apache Indians during 1870, and was in command of companies at various times during 1872, and on scouts against Ute Indians in Utah. Robinson was on garrison duty at Fort Russell, and in the field against Sioux as well as in pursuit of deserters during February and May 1874. During 1875 he was in command of Company "D" at Camp Robinson, Nebraska. He served on General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition during March 1876.
Robinson transferred to the 7th Cavalry on June 26, 1876, and was promoted to the rank of 1st Lieutenant on August 14, 1876. Robinson participated in all the campaigns, marches, scouts, expeditions and garrison duty with that regiment from 1876 to June 1891. He was appointed regimental quartermaster on November 7, 1883, serving in that position until November 7, 1887. Robinson participated in the engagement with Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee and Drexel Mission, South Dakota in December, 1890. He was commended by Colonel James W. Forsyth, then commanding the 7th Cavalry, for efficient services rendered in these battles and recommended for honorable mention by the War Department. Robinson was promoted to Captain and served as Acting Quartermaster on June 1, 1891. He was promoted to Major and appointed Quartermaster, Volunteers on August 14, 1900. Major William W. Robinson died on March 23, 1917 in Washington D.C. at the age of 71.

3rd Battalion (Companies "I" and "K", 2nd Cavalry) - Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2nd Cavalry

3rd Battalion (Companies "I" and "K", 2nd Cavalry) - Captain Henry E. Noyes, 2nd Cavalry

Figure 444: Cadet Henry E. Noyes, West Point Class of 1861. Class of 1861 Album Collection, Special Collections. West Point, NY: United States Military Academy Library
Captain Henry Erastus Noyes, 3rd Battalion Commander (Companies "I" and "K", 2nd Cavalry), Commander Company "I", 2nd Cavalry

Henry E. Noyes was appointed from Massachusetts to the U.S. Military Academy, graduating on June 24, 1861. He was assigned as 2nd Lieutenant to the 2nd Dragoons on June 24, 1861. Noyes participated in the Manassas campaign, Defense of Washington, Port Royal, Rappahannock, and Pennsylvania Campaigns from 1861-1863. He also participated in the operations before Petersburg, actions of the Shenandoah Campaign, Battle of Nashville, and capture of Selma, Alabama throughout 1864-1865. Noyes was promoted to 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Cavalry on February 15, 1862. He received the brevet rank of Captain on August 1, 1863 for gallant and meritorious services in the battle of Brandy Station, Virginia. Noyes was promoted to Captain, 2nd Cavalry on January 25, 1865. He was awarded the brevet rank of Major on April 2, 1865 for gallant and meritorious services in the capture of Selma, Alabama. Henry Noyes was promoted to Major and transferred to the 4th Cavalry on June 17, 1879. Noyes was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry on July 1, 1891, followed by Colonel on May 31, 1898. He retired on November 26, 1901. Noyes was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and retired on April 23, 1904. Brigadier General Henry E. Noyes died on July 14, 1919 at Berkeley, California at the age of 79.
First Lieutenant Christopher Tomkins Hall, Company "I", 2nd Cavalry

Christopher T. Hall graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1868. He was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 2nd Cavalry on June 15, 1868. Hall was stationed at various posts in the Department of the Platte. On July 3, 1869 he was promoted to the rank of 1st Lieutenant. Hall participated in scouts against various bands of Cheyenne and Ogallala Sioux, north and south of the Union Pacific Railroad, then in the process of construction. He took part in dislodging the roving bands of Indians on the Platte, Republican, and Kansas Rivers in 1868 through 1870. Hall, with a small detachment repelled a war party of Sioux at Medicine Bow in 1875. He participated in Brigadier Crook’s Big Horn Expedition against the non-reservation Sioux and Northern Cheyenne in February and March 1876 and the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, 1876. In the latter expedition, Hall was conspicuously brave at the battles of
Rosebud and Goose Creek. He resigned on November 17, 1880. Hall practiced law in Chicago, Illinois for a time, after which he served as an assistant on the U.S. Military Engineering work in Shreveport, Louisiana, where he died at the age of 40, on January 31, 1887.\(^{47}\)

![Image: Captain James Egan. J. W. Vaughn Papers. Laramie, WY: American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming](image)

**Captain James Egan, Company "K", 2\(^{nd}\) Cavalry**

James Egan enlisted as a Private, Company "H", 2\(^{nd}\) Cavalry in September 1856 and remained with that Company until 1858. From March 1, 1860 until August 1863, he was promoted through the enlisted ranks until he reached the rank of 1\(^{st}\) Sergeant, Company "E", 1\(^{st}\) Cavalry. Egan was promoted to 2\(^{nd}\) Lieutenant and assigned to the 2\(^{nd}\) Cavalry on August 10, 1863. He was promoted to 1\(^{st}\) Lieutenant on October 15, 1864, and Captain on February 5, 1868. Egan was brevetted 1\(^{st}\) Lieutenant, U.S. Army for gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Cold Harbor, Virginia. He retired on May 9, 1879 for wounds and injuries in line of duty.\(^{48}\) Captain James Egan died on April 14, 1883.\(^{49}\)
4th Battalion (Companies "A" and "B", 2nd Cavalry) - Captain Thomas B. Dewees, 2nd Cavalry

Captain Thomas Bull Dewees, 4th Battalion Commander (Companies "A" and "B" 2nd Cavalry), Commander, Company "A", 2nd Cavalry

Thomas B. Dewees enlisted as a Private and rose through the ranks to 1st Sergeant, 2nd Dragoons from 1858 to October 1861. Dewees was appointed 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Cavalry on October 24, 1861. He participated in the Peninsular Campaign until July 1862. Dewees spent November 1862 at Carlisle Barrack on recruiting duty. Thomas Dewees was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on July 17, 1862. He rejoined his regiment at Falmouth, Virginia during January 1863 and remained until June of the same year. Dewees was wounded at the action of Beverly Ford, and taken prisoner by the rebels and confined at Libby Prison, Macon, Charlestown, and Columbia until November 4, 1864. He escaped and after travelling over 400 miles rejoining the Union lines on December 5, 1864. Dewees rejoined his regiment during February 1865. He
served in the Shenandoah Valley during the spring and summer of 1865. In July 1865, he was assigned the duty of Adjutant, 2nd Cavalry, which he performed until March 1866. Dewees was stationed at Fort Riley, Kansas, and served as Regimental Quartermaster until July 1866. He was promoted to Captain on July 10, 1866. Captain Dewees was stationed at Fort McPherson, Nebraska until January 1867; Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory (W.T.) during September 1868; Fort Russell, W.T. to April 1869, Fort Sanders, W.T. to September 1869; and Omaha Barracks, Nebraska, until April 1870. Dewees was awarded the brevet rank of Captain on June 9, 1863 for gallant and meritorious service at the battle of Beverly Ford, Virginia. He was stationed at Fort Steele, W.T. from April 1870 until November 1875. He participated in the Sioux campaign from February through October 1874. Dewees was at Red Cloud Agency and Fort Fetterman, from November 1875 through November 1876. He served with General George Crook's command from February through November 1876. Dewees was assigned to duty at Fort Sanders from November 1876 through September 1877. He served with General Nelson Miles's command in 1879. Dewees was assigned to duty at Fort Maginnis, Montana Territory from May to September 1881. Following which, he was assigned to duty a St. Paul, Minnesota from September 1881 to January 1882. Dewees was promoted Major, 9th Cavalry on October 26, 1881. He joined the regiment at Fort Riley, Kansas on January 31, 1882. Dewees was with regimental headquarters from January 1882 to February 1883 and in command at Fort Reno, Indian Territory during February 1883. Major Thomas B. Dewees died on July 5, 1886 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
First Lieutenant Martin Edward O’Brien, Co. "A", 2nd Cavalry

Martin E. O’Brien enlisted as a Private, Company "D", 2nd Arkansas Cavalry on June 3, 1862. He was promoted through the ranks to 1st Sergeant, Company "I", which he reached on October 12, 1863. O’Brien was promoted to Captain on October 12, 1863. He served through August 20, 1865 when he was honorably mustered out of service. O’Brien was appointed 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 2nd Cavalry on August 7, 1867. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on December 3, 1868; and Captain on April 1, 1880. Captain Martin E. O’Brien died of pneumonia at Pendleton, Oregon on December 28, 1888.\textsuperscript{52}
First Lieutenant Daniel Crosby Pearson, Company "A", 2nd Cavalry

Daniel C. Pearson was appointed from Massachusetts to the U.S. Military Academy. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, Class of 1870. Pearson was assigned as a 2nd Lieutenant to the 2nd Cavalry on June 15, 1870. Pearson participated in General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition during March 1876. Following with, he was engaged in Crook’s Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on April 23, 1879. Pearson was promoted to Captain on June 22, 1889 and Major, February 2, 1901. He was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the 7th Cavalry on July 8, 1904. Pearson retired on October 20, 1905. Lieutenant Colonel Daniel C. Pearson died at Cambridge, Massachusetts on August 25, 1920. He was 75 years old at the time of his death.
Captain James Thomson Peale, Company "B", 2nd Cavalry

James T. Peale entered the volunteer service of the United States on March 12, 1862 as a 2nd Lieutenant, Company "D", 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry. He was promoted to Captain on June 5, 1862 and promoted to Major on September 9, 1864. Peale was awarded the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Volunteers on March 13, 1865 for gallant and meritorious services during the war, and particularly in the engagement at Wyatt's farm. He was taken prisoner late in the war and remained in confinement until February 22, 1865. Peale was honorably mustered out of service on July 1, 1865. On February 23, 1866, he rejoined the service as a 2nd Lieutenant and was assigned to the 2nd Cavalry. He was commissioned 1st Lieutenant on July 28, 1866, and Captain on March 3, 1875. Peale participated in General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition during March 1876. In November 1880, he was court-martialed for "violation of the 38th article of war, conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," and
"conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman," in that he broke his pledge to abstain from intoxicating liquors for two years, and that he reported to his commanding officer, Colonel Miles, at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory, in a state of intoxication. On these charges he was found guilty and dismissed from the service on December 20, 1880. On October 7, 1885, Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles, Headquarters, Department of the Missouri, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in a letter to the Secretary of War recommended, that the President should deem Peale's case worthy of clemency due to “personal hardships and faithful service to our country that he be appointed a Second Lieutenant in the army, or by special act of Congress, be restored to the rank of Captain and assigned to the first vacancy; or he could, by special act be placed upon the retired list of the Army with rank of captain.” The decision was made to place James T. Peale on the retired list of the U.S. Army.58

Figure 451: Frank Upham Robinson. RG100 Frank U. Robinson Collection. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Army Military History Institute
**Second Lieutenant Frank Upham Robinson,** Company “B”, 2nd Cavalry

Frank U. Robinson was appointed to the rank of a 2nd Lieutenant in the 41st U.S. Colored Volunteer Infantry on December 10, 1864. He was honorably mustered out of service on December 10, 1865. Robinson was assigned as a 2nd Lieutenant to the 125th U.S. Colored Infantry on April 26, 1866. Second Lieutenant Robinson was again mustered out on December 20, 1867. He was commissioned as a 2nd Lieutenant to the 19th Infantry on March 13, 1868. Robinson was unassigned on March 31, 1869. Frank U. Robinson was assigned to the 2nd Cavalry on July 14, 1869. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant, March 31, 1878. Robinson was promoted to the rank of Captain on December 28, 1888. He rose to the rank of Major on February 2, 1901. Robinson was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and assigned to the 5th Cavalry on May 25, 1903. He transferred to the 13th Cavalry on August 28, 1903. He was promoted to Brigadier General, U.S.A. on April 8, 1905. Robinson retired on April 9, 1906. Frank Upham Robinson died on December 18, 1927. He was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.
Captain Alexander Moore, 5th Battalion Commander (Companies "E" 2nd Cavalry and "F" 3rd Cavalry), Commander, Company "F", 3rd Cavalry

Alexander Moore was appointed 1st Lieutenant, 13th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry in December 1861. He was Aide-de-Camp to General Philip Kearney, and participated in the Siege of Yorktown, Battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Seven Pines, Peach Orchard, the retreat to Harrison's Landing, Second Bull Run, and Chantilly. He was assigned as Aide-de-Camp to General Joseph Hooker, and participated in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam.

Moore was promoted to Captain and served as Aide-de-Camp U.S. Volunteers to General Daniel
Sickles in May 1863 and fought at the battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, while in that position. Captain Moore went on to serve as Aide-de-Camp to General Alfred Torbert, and participated in the Shenandoah Valley from November 1864 to November 1865. He again served as Aide-de-Camp to General Sickles, Commander of the Department of the South during September 1865. Moore earned the brevet ranks of Major and Lieutenant-Colonel U.S. Volunteers for gallant and distinguished conduct in the several campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, prior to the battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. He was awarded the brevet rank of Colonel, U.S. Volunteers, for gallant and highly meritorious conduct at the battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Moore was commissioned to the 38th Infantry in January 1867. He served again as Aide-de-Camp to General Sickles commanding the 2nd Military District, Charleston, South Carolina from March to July 1867. Alexander Moore was unassigned on November 11, 1869. He was assigned as a Captain to the 3rd Cavalry on December 15, 1870 and commanded a Battalion during the Big Horn Expedition of March 1876. He resigned on August 10, 1879. Captain Alexander Moore died on March 13, 1916.
First Lieutenant William Charles Rawolle, Detached from Company "B", 2nd Cavalry to Command Company "E", 2nd Cavalry

William C. Rawolle was appointed as Junior 2nd Lieutenant of a light battery, New York National Guard, subsequently known as Battery "L", 2nd New York Artillery in July 1861. He was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in the same battery on October 26, 1861. Rawolle was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on March 4, 1862 and Captain on June 21, 1862. He served as Aide-de-Camp on the staff of General Samuel D. Sturgis, serving with the Army of the Potomac. Rawolle participated in the battles of 2nd Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Warrenton, Sulpher Springs, and Fredericksburg in 1862. In March 1863 he was assigned to the staff of Major General John E. Wool, commanding the Department of the East, where he remained until Wool's retirement. He then returned to duty with General Sturgis, Commander of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Ohio, operating in East Tennessee, and later West Tennessee and
Mississippi, where he remained until the end of the war. While in this theater he participated in the campaigns of Tennessee and Mississippi, and fought in the battle of Brice's Cross-Roads, Mississippi. Rawolle was awarded the brevet rank of Major, Volunteers on March 13, 1865 for gallant and meritorious services in the Army of the Potomac from August 1862 to January 1863, including the Battles of Second Bull Run, South Mountain, Antietam, Warrenton, Sulpher Springs, and Fredericksburg. He served in Cavalry campaigns in East Tennessee and expeditions in Northern Mississippi, fighting at the battle of Brice's Cross Roads, Mississippi. Rawolle was awarded the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Volunteers on March 13, 1865 for services in the West, including gallant, daring, and good conduct at Brice’s Cross Roads. Captain Rawolle resigned his volunteer commission on August 11, 1865, and remained out of service until June 6, 1868. He was then appointed 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 2nd Cavalry. Rawolle was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on April 26, 1869, and Captain on December 20, 1880. Rawolle served on frontier duty in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington from 1868 to 1890, participating in the Bighorn, and Big Horn and Yellowstone Expeditions in 1876. He served as Regimental Quartermaster, 2nd Cavalry from July 15, 1870 to September 15, 1874 and Adjutant of the 2nd Cavalry from March 31, 1878 to August 31, 1880. William Charles Rawolle died on June 10, 1895 at Brooklyn, New York and was buried at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn.
Second Lieutenant Frederick William Sibley, Co. "E", 2nd Cavalry

Frederick W. Sibley was appointed from Georgia to the U.S. Military Academy. He graduated from the West Point Class of 1874. Sibley was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 2nd Cavalry on June 17, 1874. Sibley participated in the Big Horn Expedition of March 1876 as well General Crook’s subsequent Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on October 20, 1881. Sibley was assigned the duty of Regimental Adjutant on January 17, 1889 and continued with that assignment until June 16, 1893. He was promoted to the rank of Captain on March 7, 1893. Sibley was promoted to Major and transferred to the 11th Cavalry on July 30, 1902. In 1903 and 1904 Sibley served in the Philippines as Adjutant General and Assistant Adjutant General, Department of Luzon. In January 1905 he was sent into the field in command of a squadron of the 2nd Cavalry and as a battalion of the 7th Infantry
to suppress the Ladrones of Cavite and Bantangas Provinces, who had been constantly growing in numbers and boldness and who had finally gotten beyond the control of the Constabulary. This campaign was completed by July 1905. Sibley was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the 4th Cavalry on April 18, 1909. He served as Commandant of Cadets at the U.S. Military Academy from 1909 to 1911. Sibley was promoted to Colonel and transferred to the 14th Cavalry on March 3, 1911. He served on the Mexican Border and in Mexico, and was promoted to Brigadier General, U.S. Army on July 24, 1916. Sibley retired from active service upon reaching the age of 64 on October 17, 1916. He was recommended for the Medal of Honor for distinguished gallantry in action against Crazy Horse’s Camp on Powder River, Montana, March 17, 1876. Frederick William Sibley died at the age of 65 on February 17, 1918 at Rockford, Illinois.

Figure 455: Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds. Mollus DC RG 127s B6 F441. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, U.S. Army Military History Institute
Second Lieutenant Bainbridge Reynolds, Company "F", 3rd Cavalry

Bainbridge Reynolds was appointed to the U.S. Military Academy from Indiana. He graduated from the Academy on June 13, 1873. Reynolds was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 3rd Cavalry on June 13, 1873. He participated in the Big Horn Expedition during March 1876 as well as the subsequent Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition. He was appointed Regimental Adjutant on August 21, 1879. Reynolds was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on August 21, 1879. He was assigned as Regimental Quartermaster in September 1883 and continued with those duties until November 22, 1884. Reynolds was promoted to Captain on January 17, 1889. He was awarded the brevet rank of 1st Lieutenant on February 27, 1890 for gallant service in action against Indians at Rosebud, Montana on June 17, 1896. In addition to the Powder River and Rosebud fights, he was also involved in the actions at Tongue River, Montana Territory, June 9, 1876, and Slim Buttes, Dakota Territory, September 9, 1876. Bainbridge Reynolds died on July 10, 1901 in Washington, D.C.
Captain Edwin Mortimer Coates, 6th Battalion Commander (Companies "C" and "I", 4th Infantry), Commander, Company "C", 4th Infantry

Edwin M. Coates enlisted as a member of the Ellsworth Zouaves in August 1860. He was assigned as 1st Lieutenant, 11th New York (Fire Zouaves) Infantry in April 1861. Coates participated in the advance on Alexandria, Virginia. He resigned in July 1861. Coates was again commissioned 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 2nd Cavalry in August 1861. He was transferred to the 12th Infantry in September 1861. Coates was promoted to 1st Lieutenant in October 1861. He was assigned the duty of Battalion Quartermaster in March 1862. Coates was stationed at Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor in January 1863. He joined his regiment at Falmouth, Virginia. Coates served as Adjutant, 1st Battalion, 12th Infantry and was in the field
with the regiment until September 1864. He left the field after being disabled by a fall from his horse. Coates was promoted to Captain, 12th Infantry during April, 1865. He earned the brevet rank of Captain for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of the Wilderness, Virginia. He accompanied his regiment to Fort Sedgwick, Colorado Territory and transferred to the 30th Infantry in September 1866. Coates was transferred to the 4th Infantry in March 1866 and joined the regiment in Washington, D.C. during October of that year. He served in the West from 1867 until 1871. Coates accompanied his regiment to Kentucky and remaining there until December 1872, and then moved to Little Rock, Arkansas. He departed Little Rock in May 1873 for the Lava Beds but was stopped while in the Department of the Platte. He participated in the Big Horn Expedition of March 1876. Coates was promoted to the rank of Major, and transferred to the 19th Infantry on July 14, 1890. He was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and transferred to the 16th Infantry on November 28, 1893. Coates was promoted to Colonel, 7th Infantry on July 23, 1893. Edwin Coates retired on January 29, 1900. He was promoted to Brigadier General on the retired list. Brigadier General Edwin Mortimer Coates died on September 13, 1913 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.
Captain Samuel Peter Ferris, Co. "I", 4th Infantry

Samuel P. Ferris was appointed to the U.S. Military Academy on September 1, 1857, and graduated June 1861. He was commissioned a 2nd Lieutenant and appointed to the 8th Infantry on June 24, 1861. Ferris participated in the Manassas Campaign of July 1861, the battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861, and in the defense of Washington, D.C. from July through October 1861. He remained in garrison at New York Harbor from October 1861 to October 1862. Ferris was transferred to the Department of the Gulf, December 14, 1862. He was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on February 19, 1862. Ferris remained in garrison at Pensacola from December 1862 to February 1863. He was promoted to Colonel, 28th Connecticut Volunteers on November 15, 1862 and commanded a brigade in the 19th Army Corps in the Expedition to Port Hudson, and during the siege of that place in 1863. He was awarded the brevet rank of Captain for gallant and meritorious services in the Campaign against Port Hudson, Louisiana. Ferris was
mustered out of the volunteer service on August 28, 1863. He rejoined the 8th Infantry, with which he served with distinction in garrison and in the field until the close of the war. On October 28, 1864 Ferris was awarded the brevet rank of Major for gallant and meritorious services at the Battle of Hatcher’s Run, Virginia. He was promoted to the rank of Captain and transferred to the 13th Infantry on July 28, 1866. He was transferred to the 4th Infantry on March 23, 1869. Following the Civil War his field services included the Big Horn Expedition under General Crook, March 1876, service against the Northern Cheyenne Indians from January 19 to February 28, 1879 and service with General Wesley Merritt in the Ute Expedition in October, 1879. Samuel P. Ferris died at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory on February 4, 1882.77

No Image Found

Second Lieutenant Charles Winder Mason, Co. "I", 4th Infantry

Charles W. Mason was appointed to the rank of 2nd Lieutenant and assigned to the 13th Infantry in January 1875. Mason transferred to the 4th Infantry on February 15, 1875. He was temporarily relieved from special duty and ordered to report at once to his Company Commander for duty on the Big Horn Expedition in March 1876. Mason was promoted to 1st Lieutenant on February 4, 1882.78 He was promoted to Captain on May 18, 1893. Mason advanced to the rank of Major on February 2, 1901.79 Charles Winder Mason died on July 21, 1913. He was buried at Oakwood Cemetery, Raleigh, North Carolina.80
Medical Department Staff

Assistant Surgeon Curtis E. Munn (See above)

Acting Assistant Surgeon Charles R. Stephens

Charles R. Stephens served as Acting Assistant Surgeon at Fort McPherson, Nebraska Territory. He reported for duty with General Crook's Bighorn Expedition during March 1876. Upon completion of this expedition he returned to Fort McPherson, Nebraska. He engaged in private practice at Omaha, Nebraska and later took up practice in California. Charles Stephens died of pneumonia at Victor, California on November 14, 1901.81

Acting Assistant Surgeon John Ridgely

John Ridgely, M.D., was a veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars, and a member of the party which explored the Yukon River in the early 1840s. He served as Assistant Surgeon with the 6th U.S. Colored Cavalry. Ridgely served as assistant to the Post Surgeon at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory prior to the Bighorn Expedition. He accompanied the Bighorn Expedition during March 1876. During the last twelve years of his life he was the keeper of the Fort Harrison National Cemetery, near Richmond, Virginia. John Ridgely died at his home on February 4, 1903 at the age of 83.82


3 ROLA, 379

4 Heitman, Vol. 1, 825, and Thirtieth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 7, 1899), 143

5 ROLA, 57


7 ROLA, p. 114


10 ROLA, 114-116

11 Forty Sixth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 11, 1915), 138.

12 Heitman, Vol. 1, 730

13 Forty Sixth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 11, 1915), 138

14 ROLA, 114, and Heitman, Vol. 1, 232.

15 ROLA, 114, Heitman, Vol. 1, 232, and Twenty-Seventh Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 11, 1896), 172

16 ROLA, 63


19 ROLA, 188-189

20 Heitman, Vol. 1, 713.

21 ROLA, 188-189


25 Ibid.

26 ROLA p. 113


31 Heitman, Vol. 1, 619
35 Army Navy Journal, 18(28), 565. (Feb, 12, 1881) and Heitman, Vol. 1, 619
36 ROLA, 170
37 Forty Eighth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 12, 1917), 111-112
38 Ibid.
39 ROLA, 170
40 Forty Eighth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 12, 1917), 112
41 Heitman, Vol. 1, p. 839
42 Forty Eighth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 12, 1917), 112
43 Heitman, Vol. 1, 839
45 ROLA, 121
46 Fifty First Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 14, 1920), 77
47 Heitman, Vol. 1, 488 and Eighteenth Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 9, 1887), 61.
48 ROLA, 429
50 ROLA, 181
51 Heitman, Vol. 1, 371.
53 ROLA, 109
54 Heitman, Vol. 1, 779
56 Fifty Second Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 11, 1921), 100 and Cullum, Vol. VI, 15
58 Ibid.
59 ROLO, p. 109.
60 Heitman, Vol. I, 838
63 Heitman, Vol. 1, 721


ROLA, 109

Heitman, Vol. 1, 885

ROLA, 117

Heitman, Vol. 1, 824

Thirty Third Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 9, 1902), 66 and Heitman, Vol. 1, 824  Note: Bainbridge Reynolds resigned on February 1, 1891

Thirty Third Annual Reunion of the Association of Graduates of the United States Military Academy at West Point, N.Y. (June 9, 1902), 64

ROLA, 248

Heitman, Vol. 1, 312

http://www.arlingtoncemetary.net/emcoates.htm


ROLA, 252

Heitman, Vol. 1, 694


Biographies of Scouts, Guides, Interpreters, and a Civilian on the Bighorn Expedition

Louis Richard, Guide and Interpreter, Big Horn Expedition

Louis Richard was born in 1847 to John Richard, Sr. and his wife, Mary Gardner, who was part Oglala. He grew up around Fort Laramie. As a young man, he worked with his older brother, John, and Baptiste Pourier at his father’s toll bridge near Evansville, Wyoming. In 1868 Louis married Jennie Reynal in a double wedding with Josephine and Baptiste Pourier. Louis Richard was first hired as a guide and interpreter by Captain Gerhard L. Luhn at Fort Laramie in 1869. Louis, along with various other mixed blood guides, scouts, and interpreters were hired and reported to Major Thaddeus H. Stanton, Chief of Scouts for General Crook for the upcoming Big Horn Expedition of March, 1876. These men lived near Fort Laramie or Red Cloud Agency and knew the region well. After the Big Horn Expedition, 1st Lieutenant Alfred Morton hired Louis Richard as a post guide at Fort Laramie, Wyoming. Richard’s interactions with Frank Grouard...
often proved adversarial. Possibly both men were jealous of General Crook’s relationship to them as scouts. Sometime after the expedition, Richard attempted to kill Grouard. Frank Grouard related the following incident: Shortly following the Big Horn Expedition, when both Louis Richard and himself were still working as scouts for General Crook, Richard tried to murder him. A malfunctioning pistol prevented it. The incident was related to General Crook who fired Richard, but when he needed more scouts, Grouard hired Richard again, apparently bearing him no ill-will. In May 1877 Louis was hired as a guide and interpreter at Camp Robinson, Nebraska. Louis Richard died in July 10, 1898.

**Figure 459:** Chief Rocky Boy standing next to Frank Grouard on horse, 1891. MS035 Native American Images Photograph Collection, P.35.6. Cody, WY: McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Center of the West

**Frank Grouard,** Guide and Interpreter, Big Horn Expedition

Frank Grouard’s background was controversial: Either he was the son of John Brazeau, an American Fur Company mountain man, or possibly he was born in French Polynesia, the son of Benjamin Franklin Grouard, an American Mormon missionary, and a Polynesian woman. He
was born about September 20, 1850. According to the second story, he moved with his family to Utah in 1852, and later moved to San Bernardino, California. Later, his mother returned to French Polynesia, and he was adopted by Addison and Louisa Barnes Pratt, fellow missionaries of his father. The Pratt’s moved to Beaver, Utah, and at the age of 15, Frank ran away. He moved to Helena, Montana, and became an express rider and stage driver. About 1869 while working as a mail carrier, Grouard was captured near the mouth of the Milk River in Montana by Crow Indians. They stole Grouard’s possessions and abandoned him. A few days later, Hunkpapa Sioux Indians found Grouard, and he lived with them. Later, Sitting Bull, the Hunkpapa leader adopted him as a brother. Grouard married a Sioux woman, and learned to speak the language. The Hunkpapa named him “Sitting With Upraised Hands” and “Standing Bear”. Frank Grouard spent several years living in the camps of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, until he managed to leave. In early 1876, he became an emissary of the Indian Peace Commission at Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska. Later in 1876, Grouard was hired as guide and interpreter for the Big Horn Expedition. Frank Grouard led General Crook’s companies north into the Powder River country, eventually finding Old Bear and Two Moon’s Northern Cheyenne village. Following the Big Horn Expedition, Grouard was rehired for the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition and participated in the Rosebud and Slim Buttes fights against the Sioux and Northern Cheyenne. Grouard was present at the killing of the Oglala chief Crazy Horse at Camp Robinson, Nebraska in 1877. Before the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, he was present at Pine Ridge Reservation. Grouard's list of service to the U.S. Military is extensive. He served as an interpreter for the Big Horn Expedition (1876), Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition (1876), and at Camp Robinson, Nebraska, and Camp Reno in 1877.
worked as guide and interpreter at Fort McKinney, Wyoming Territory (1878 – 1879 and 1889 – 1890). After serving the military, he was hired as a U.S. Marshal at Fort McKinney, near Buffalo, Wyoming. Frank Grouard died in St. Louis, Missouri in 1905.

**Charles Richard (Reshaw), Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

Charles Richard was born in 1851 to Joe Richard (a cousin of Louis Richard). Charles was a scout on the Big Horn Expedition and then was re-hired for the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876. On October 28, 1876, Charles enlisted as a Private, Indian Scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska. He mustered out January 31, 1877. He enlisted again on June 11, 1880 at Fort Keogh, M.T. and remained in service until August 22, 1880, when he discharged as a private. Charles Richard died in Oglala, South Dakota on August 25, 1913. He was buried at Saint Paul Cemetery in Porcupine, South Dakota.

**Charles Janis, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

Charles Janis was born in 1847. He married Molly Beavois in 1872. He was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition. On December 11, 1876, Charles Janis enlisted as an Indian scout, and remained in service until his discharge on March 11, 1877. Charles and his family resided on Pine Ridge Reservation. Charles Janis died on April 1, 1905. He was buried at Holy Cross Cemetery, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

**Charles O’Donnell, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

Charles O’Donnell was hired as a wagon master at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory in 1867. He was also hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.
**John Forbes**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

John Forbes was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. He was hired as a civilian employee at Fort Thornburg, Utah in 1883.27

**Thomas Reed**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Thomas Reed was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. After the Battle of Powder River, he and Jack “Buckskin” Russell were dispatched by General Crook from old Fort Reno to deliver messages to Fort Fetterman prior to the return of the Expeditionary force. The two scouts arrived at Fort Fetterman on March 23, 1876, and reported General Crook’s Expedition as a failure.28 Following the Big Horn Expedition, Thomas Reed joined the “Persimmon Bill” Chamber’s outlaw gang.29 The *Lusk Herald*, May 29, 1991 related this story.

Shortly after his (Special Agent John B. Furay) arrival in Deadwood, Agent Furay was able to find a source of information about the activities of the outlaws. He reported, “The fact that Jackson Bishop, the Colorado murderer and outlaw, Frank Towie, Jack Campbell, Tom Reed, and a deserter from the Third Cavalry, with Persimmon Bill were the six men who stopped the stage on July 25, (1878) is well known to me, still there is not a particle of legal proof of the fact as they were closely masked, and the passengers and driver could not, as they say, possibly identify them.” ... “Following his stint with the “Persimmon Bill” gang, Reed threw in his lot with the “Big Nose” George Parrott gang. Following their time with Parrott’s gang, Tom Reed, Frank Towie, and a few others took to the Deadwood trails and went to work robbing stagecoaches. His luck ran out when he was jailed for suspicion of gang activity sometime after December 23, 1878. He faced a federal charge of larceny of the U.S. mail. Tom Reed was tried on February 20, 1879. Reed was acquitted and released from custody following the trial.30

**Felix Conasty**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Felix Conasty was living in the vicinity of Fort Fetterman in the 1870’s. In 1872 he filed an Indian Depredation claim for two ponies stolen by Bannock Indians that year.31 Felix Conasty was hired as a scout at Fort Fetterman in 1875. He remained in military service and
participated in General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition of March, 1876. Conasty was rehired as a scout in the field following the Big Horn Expedition.\textsuperscript{32}

Louis \textbf{Shangreau}, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Louis Shangreau, born in 1848, was the son of Deon (Jewel) Shangreau and his Oglala wife, Wyela. Louis married Louise Janis in 1873.\textsuperscript{33} He served as Interpreter at Camp Robinson, Nebraska in 1875 and 1876.\textsuperscript{34} Louis was hired as a scout for General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition, 1876. Following the Big Horn Expedition, he continued his service and participated in the November, 1876 Dull Knife Fight near present-day Kaycee, Wyoming. Louis was hired as an Interpreter at Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota in 1891. He was selected as an Interpreter by Colonel J. D. Bingham (Chief Quartermaster of the Division of the Missouri, Chicago, Illinois and Assistant Quartermaster General of the U.S. Army) for the 1891 Sioux visit to Chicago and Fort Sheridan, Illinois. In 1891, General Nelson A. Miles and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan, ordered forty-two Sioux chiefs and interpreters to travel to Washington,
D.C. and Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The reason for this journey was to testify and explain the causes of the Wounded Knee Massacre to President Benjamin Harrison, the Secretary of Interior, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. 35 Louis returned to Pine Ridge Agency and served as interpreter during for the remainder of 1891. 36 Louis Shangreau lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation until his death on February 4, 1899. 37

---

**Figure 461:** John Shangreau and wife Lilly. Sub. Neg. 2990. Cheyenne, WY: Wyoming Historical Society

**John Shangreau, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

John Shangreau, born in May 1853, was the son of Deon and Wyela Shangreau, and the younger brother of Louis. He participated in the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. Following a stint as a scout, Shangreau toured Europe with William “Buffalo Bill” Cody. John married his first wife, Mary, an Oglala Sioux, prior to 1886. 38 Later he married Lillie Orr, a young English woman on January 4, 1892 in Glasgow, Scotland (Shangreau was touring England with the Buffalo Bill
John spent the majority of his life on the Pine Ridge Reservation. John Shangreau died at Tuthill, South Dakota on June 1, 1926.

**John B. Provost, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

John B. Provost was the son of John Provost, a French-Canadian trapper, and his Oglala wife. He was born in Colorado near the Cache la Poudre River. Provost served as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March, 1876. Later in 1876, Provost worked as a guide and courier at Fort Laramie. John B. Provost enlisted at Camp Robinson, Nebraska on Dec. 11, 1876 as an Indian scout, and mustered out as a 1st Sergeant on March 11, 1877. He enlisted again as an Indian Scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska on June 1, 1877, mustering out as Sergeant on June 30, 1877. On July 1, 1877 he served again as a scout at Camp Robinson until his discharge on October 1, 1877. In 1878 at Camp Robinson, he worked as a guide, providing excellent service. John B. Provost’s brother, Charles, also employed at Camp Robinson, ran into some difficulties. Charles became infatuated with a Sioux girl, Little Bird, the daughter of Eagle Wing, a sub-chief of Red Cloud’s. Charles gave Eagle Wing a horse as a bride price (Charles Provost acquired this horse from an employee at Camp Robinson, although Clement Bernard owned the horse). Bernard reclaimed the animal and ruined Charles Provost’s wedding plans, causing him humiliation in the eyes of Little Bird and Eagle Wing. Devastated, Charles Provost shot and killed himself. John, after learning of Charles’s suicide, sought out Bernard and the man who sold the stolen horse to his brother. He found them both in Indian agent McGillicuddy’s office. John Provost immediately opened fire and killed Bernard. Shortly after this incident, several of Bernard’s friends captured John and planned to lynch him. Dr. McGillicuddy intervened, and sent John Provost, under a guard of Indian soldiers to the military guard house at Camp
Sheridan, Nebraska. John was sentenced to five years in the Detroit House of Corrections. John B. Provost died in 1881 while in custody in Detroit, Michigan.

**Joseph Eldridge, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

Joseph Eldridge was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876.

**Jack Russell ("Buckskin Jack"), Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

John W. Russell, known as “Buckskin Jack”, was born in Missouri on November 8, 1847. He ran away from home at age 15 and worked around Denver and Cheyenne until 1864. Russell was then employed by John Richard (Richard or Reshaw) Sr. on the north fork of the Laramie River. John Richard Jr. adopted Jack as his brother in “Indian fashion”. In 1865, Russell helped tend the bridge near the present town of Casper, Wyoming, owned by John Richard, Sr. Later he moved to Deer Creek, and worked for Jules Ecoffey and Adolph Cuny. In the summer of 1875, General Crook invited Russell to report to “Big Bat” Pourier and “Little Bat” Garnier at Red Cloud Agency, Dakota. Russell was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876. He was rehired for the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, participating in the Rosebud and Slim Buttes fights during the summer of 1876. Jack Russell also spent time touring with the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show. He was living in Scenic, South Dakota in 1912, but his death was unreported.

**Henry Lewis, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

Henry Lewis was born in Prussia in 1852. In 1870, he was listed on the Federal Census as working as a laborer at Fort Laramie. Henry Lewis was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876.
Baptiste Pourier “Big Bat”, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Baptiste Pourier was born at St. Charles, Missouri, October 5, 1841 to Joseph Pourier and Marie Aubuchon. By 1868 he was living near Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory. Soon, he moved in with the Richard family on the Chugwater. While in that vicinity, the Richards had numerous difficulties with the Cheyenne, who frequently drove off their horses and cattle. Later Baptiste moved three miles up the Laramie River from Fort Laramie, and across the river from the Cuny, Ecoffey and Richard Ranch. In 1869 he married Josephine Richard and enlisted as a U.S. Army Scout. He joined Red Cloud’s journey to Washington D.C. in 1870. Baptiste Pourier was hired as an interpreter for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. Following the campaign, he was again hired for the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876. He participated in the Battle of the Rosebud, June 17, 1876 and the Sibley Scout of July of the same year. Pourier served as
interpreter at the Red Cloud Agency in 1876. He served in the same role at Camp Robinson, Nebraska in 1877. Baptiste Pourier was hired in the field in Wyoming in 1878, and during the year he served as Interpreter at Red Cloud Agency. Following his tenure with the military, Baptiste settled into life at Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, where he was listed as “husband” on the U.S. Indian Census Rolls. He died on September 7, 1928, and was buried at the Holy Rosary Cemetery in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. Baptiste Pourier was 86 at the time of his death.

Figure 463: “Little Bat”. John Hunton Papers, Box 15, folder 15. Laramie, WY: American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming

Baptiste J. Garnier “Little Bat”, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Baptiste Garnier was born near Fort Laramie in 1846 to a French-Canadian father and an Oglala Sioux mother. His father was killed by Cheyenne Indians in 1856 at the mouth of Deer Creek, near present-day Glenrock, Wyoming. His mother died when he was very young. By 1872 he lived at the Hunton Ranch on Chugwater Creek. He became a fine hunter and close friend to John Hunton. In 1874 Baptiste married Julie Mousseau. When the call came for scouts for General Crook’s upcoming Bighorn Expedition, Garnier was hired. Garnier was also hired as a
guide for the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition and served as guide at Fort Laramie in 1876. He served as guide at Fort Robinson in 1887-1891. Baptist Garnier lived on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He was killed in a tragic incident on December 15, 1900. The details of the incident are as follow:

Baptiste Garnier, formerly known all over the union as “Little Bat”, the fearless Indian scout, who first came into prominence by services rendered to General Crook and later for daring service in all the big Indian wars, was shot in the saloon of G.H. Dietrich here at 5 o’clock this evening. “Little Bat” came down from Ft. Robinson where he is stationed as chief of the government scouts, and after drinking some liquor got into a dispute with James D. Haguewood, manager of the saloon. Little attention was paid to the dispute until suddenly Haguewood drew a revolver from behind the bar and fired at close range, the bullet entering and powder burning the neck close under the chin. “Bat” turned to run, when another shot was fired, but missed the Indian, and very narrowly missed some bystanders. “Bat” reached the door, and staggered across the street, when he fell unconscious and was soon laying in a pool of his own blood. Dr. Meredith was called and had the body removed to the Syndicate block, where, with skillful attention, the flow of blood was stopped, and there is now some slight hope that “Bat” may recover. The bullet has not yet been located, and at a late hour the victim is very low. Haguewood, immediately after the shooting, put on his coat and hat and surrendered himself to marshal Mooney, who has him now in custody. Little Bat is married. Haguewood is a peaceable man and regarded generally as an all around good fellow. It is hard to conceive how he let his anger get the best of him. Baptist Garnier died a few hours later in the arms of his wife.
Richard Seymour “Bloody Dick”, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Richard Seymour was hired as a packer in the field in Wyoming in 1874. He was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876. Seymour also served as a wagon master for the Powder River Expedition, 1876. In early 1877, he was worked between Fort Sill, Indian Territory and Fort Clark, Texas. In April 1877, Seymour was again employed with the army, this time as an assistant wagon master. In September and October 1877, he was employed as a pack animal herder at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. On June 30, 1879, Richard Seymour was employed as a forage master at Fort Clark, Texas. During his time working for the military, Seymour married a Native American wife, and fathered at least two children. In 1886, Richard Seymour was arrested and charged with conspiracy to defraud the government of land in Nebraska.
Apparently, Seymour was released after supplying testimony against others involved in the alleged conspiracy to defraud.  

**Benjamin Rowland**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Benjamin Rowland was born in 1845. His nationality was Oglala Sioux. Rowland was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. He served as interpreter for the Northern Cheyenne at Pine Ridge Delegation who visited Washington D.C. on October 15, 1888. Rowland married a young woman named Nellie in 1888. In 1892 Rowland enlisted in the 8th U.S. Cavalry until his discharge in 1893. Benjamin Rowland died at Lame Deer, Montana on January 13, 1905.

**William Crabbs**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

William Crabbs was employed as a teamster in the field in Wyoming Territory in 1874. Two years later he was hired as a train master for General Crook’s Bighorn Expedition, March 1876. Following the campaign, he was again hired in the field in Wyoming in 1876. Crabbs was again hired on September 30, 1877 as a Wagon Master, near the Big Horn Post, Montana. In 1878, Crabbs was hired as a train master at Fort Custer, Montana Territory. In 1880, he served as a train master at Rawlins, Wyoming.

**Louis Archambeau**, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Louis Archambeau was born in Canada in 1833. He married his Sioux wife, Ellen, about 1870 and had one child. Louis Archambeau was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. He was described by an Army Navy Journal as "a quarter breed, born north of the Yellowstone". Louis Archambeau died of accidental poisoning in 1879.
David Madden, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

David Madden was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.75

James Murray, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

James Murray was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.76

John Farnham, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

John Farnham was born July 17, 1848.77 He came to Fort Laramie in July 1867 as a soldier in Company “E”, 4th U. S. Infantry. He later married an Oglala Sioux woman, Win Pelim, "Woman's Hair", and remained on the Northern Plains for the remainder of his life. In 1874 he was employed at the Red Cloud Agency near Camp Robinson.78 Farnham was hired as an Interpreter at Fort Laramie, Wyoming in 1875-76. He was selected as an interpreter for General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition, March 1876. Farnham was hired as interpreter at Camp Robinson, Nebraska in 1878-1879. He was also hired in the field as an interpreter for the 3rd Cavalry in 1879.79 Following his work with the military, he resided on the Pine Ridge Reservation.80 Walter Camp interviewed him in 1917, and Farnham provided an account of the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.

James B. McHugh, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

James B. McHugh was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.81

Edward LaJeunesse, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Edward LaJeunesse came from a large family of French traders often referred to as the “Seminoes” who were explorers of the Upper Missouri River region. The family of Charles LaJeunesse operated a trading post at Devil’s Gate on the Sweetwater River, Wyoming from
1852-1856. The family set up trading posts at various locations along the Oregon Trail. Edward was the son of Charles LaJeunesse. Mich and Noel, Edward’s brothers, fought at the July 1865 Battle of Platte Bridge, near Casper, Wyoming. At that fight Mich killed High Backed Wolf, a Cheyenne chief. High Backed Wolf had killed their father. In 1868 Edward’s sister Lucy married Speed Stagner, another of the Big Horn Expedition scouts. Edward LaJeunesse recorded that Cheyennes stole his horses and mules in 1864, 1865, and 1873. He filed a claim regarding those incidents on Jan. 29, 1875. LaJeunesse (noted as LaJimesse on the Index of Persons Hired, Big Horn Expedition) was first hired as a guide at Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory in 1865. The following year, he was listed as a scout and interpreter at Fort Casper. LaJeunesse was hired as a scout for General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition of March 1876. Following the Big Horn Expedition, he served as a courier at Fort Fetterman. John Hunton mentioned him as delivering dispatches on July 7, 1876. On July 15, 1876 Edward brought in dispatches from General Crook’s camp on Goose Creek, near present-day Sheridan, Wyoming.

**M. W. Farley, Scout, Big Horn Expedition**

M. W. Farley was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.
Thomas Newcombe, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Thomas Newcombe was born on September 10, 1852 near Marietta, Ohio. He left Ohio in 1872 to lead government wagon trains from Forts Leavenworth to Riley in Kansas. Newcomb was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876. He was employed as a courier at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory in 1877. During the following year, he was hired as a special guide. In 1880 Thomas Newcomb was hired as a guide at Fort Keogh.

Earlier Thomas Newcombe gained fame for killing California Joe, a well-known scout who was hired by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer’s 7th Cavalry for the Cheyenne Campaign, culminating in the Battle of the Washita in 1868. Accounts of the killing and aftermath follow:

One account said Newcombe was employed at Camp Robinson; another said he had been sent by a military officer to arrest California Joe. The writer Hobart Cody Blake implied in a letter
that he had talked to Newcombe in 1930. Blake wrote, “Facts are Newcomb on order from Colonel Jordon at Russell had arrested Joe for murdering 2 men.”

William C. Porter, the author of the article, “Tom Newcombe: The Man Who Shot California Joe” noted that there was no evidence substantiating an order for Newcombe to arrest Joe. Eyewitness, Surgeon Valentine T. M. McGillicuddy noted years later on April 8, 1927,

> There had been bad feelings between himself and Joe for some time, and on observing Joe he drew his gun. California Joe turning around and observing him, did likewise, which naturally resulted in the crowd scattering; but Joe finally called out, “Put up your dam gun, Tom, and come up and have a drink,” which Newcomb did and shook hands with Joe.

Holdout Johnson, a second eyewitness noted,

> As we were talking, in walked Tom Newcomb. Just as he saw California Joe, he pulled his forty-four Colt’s revolver out of his holster. Joe, seeing this, made a fast draw and covered Newcomb. Why California did not fire and kill Newcomb has always remained a mystery in my mind, as he had him covered.

William Porter noted in his article that both eyewitnesses describe Joe and Tom facing each other with drawn guns, finally lowering their pistols, having a drink together, and leaving separately. Both describe the excitement a half an hour or so later. Everyone in the fort heard a shot from the quartermaster corral, and word quickly spread that California Joe was dead. Although neither man saw the killing, they described what they heard about it.

> It appeared that Joe was talking to three or four men with his back to the corral when Newcomb suddenly came around the corner from a point about a hundred feet away, with a Winchester rifle, and called, “Look out boys.” They scattered, but before Joe could turn, Newcomb fired.

Nebraska Historian Eli Ricker interviewed an eye witness to the killing on November 4, 1906.

> Frank Salway, a civilian employee at Camp Robinson recalled,
Joe was coming out of the dugout. He advanced three or four steps from the door, when Newcomb came up past around the corner, not exactly parallel with the building ... and he said to Joe, “Here I am; hunt your hole.” Joe had his revolver strapped on but did not offer to use it; he turned when Newcomb said this and started to go back into the dugout. Newcomb shot him down. A good many people were around there then.95

Newcombe was arrested after the killing of California Joe, and according to Johnson, since Joe was not attached to a military command, Newcome would have to be tried by civilian authorities.96

McGillicuddy explained the problem with jurisdiction, noting,

Newcomb was arrested and put in the guardhouse, and the nearest civil authorities four hundred miles away were notified to come and get the prisoner; but they did not appear and at the end of four days, we had to under the law, turn him loose; and there being no frontier town nearby there was no one to lynch him.97

Newcombe later became a registered guide taking hunting parties through Yellowstone Park. He also volunteered for the Spanish American War, where he served in the Philippines.98

Thomas Newcombe died on April 1, 1939 at Livingston, Montana. He is buried in the Mountain View Cemetery in Livingston. 99

P. Harvey, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

P. Harvey was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.100

Jules Ecoffey, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Jules Ecoffey was born June 11, 1835 in Switzerland, and immigrated to the U.S. around 1850.101 John Hunton’s Diary notes that he operated a stage station near Register Cliff in the 1850’s, near the present town of Guernsey, Wyoming. He and a man named Cuny operated a ranch near Fort Laramie.102 During the 1860s, he worked as a trader in the Fort Laramie region.
Jules Ecoffey, Adolf Cuny, and Louis Richard, all successful in trading with the Oglala Sioux, combined their resources in a legitimate cattle ranch on the Laramie River in 1871.103 Sometime around 1874, he and his business associate, Adolph Cuney, operated the Three-Mile Ranch, west of Fort Laramie, which was a trading post, saloon, and road ranch. In addition, they built several cottages, and recruited ten or more “broadminded” young women from Omaha and Kansas City to headquartered there, among them was the fabled Calamity Jane.104 Jules Ecoffey was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, March 1876.105 The Cheyenne Daily Leader noted Jules’s death in November, 1876.

His death is believed to have resulted from injuries inflicted upon him by a worthless bummer known as “Stonewall,” who attacked him some three months ago and administered a terrible castigation. We never heard the facts of the encounter, but there was a woman at the bottom of the trouble. The remains of the dead pioneer are now en route to this city, and will be interred here.106

Matthew H. Marand, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Matthew H. Marand was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876.107 He worked as a wagon master at Fort McKinney, Wyoming in 1879.108 Matthew H. Marand married Williamene Lundstrum in Gallatin County, Montana on October 2, 1886.109

Charles D. Brown, Scout, Big Horn Expedition

Charles D. Brown was hired as a scout for the Big Horn Expedition, 1876. Following the campaign, Brown served as a wagon master at Fort Abraham Lincoln and Fort Abercrombie, Dakota Territory in 1876. Charles D. Brown served as a scout at Fort Custer, Montana Territory from 1878-1879.110
Speed Stagner was born December 25, 1847 in Livingston County, Missouri. In 1863 he crossed the plains to Denver, and worked in freighting operations for four years. Speed Stagner began his career as a scout and guide for the military in 1865. By 1867, Stagner purchased at least two wagons and teams of mules or oxen which were his primary source of income. He freighted from Fort Laramie to Fort Fetterman, and westward to Devil’s Gate on the Sweetwater River. He also started a small herd of cattle which he ran on La Prele Creek, a short distance from Fort Fetterman. Speed Stagner married Mi coo Sah “Lucy” LaJeunesse, the daughter of Charles LaJeunesse, at Fort Fetterman in 1868. He was hired as a scout at Fort Fetterman, Wyoming in 1875, and selected as a scout for General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition of March, 1876. Stagner also served as a post guide and interpreter at Fort Fetterman in 1876. He contributed significant experience and worth to the frontier military. He spoke four languages fluently: Sioux, Shoshone, French, and English. The March 11, 1876
The Army and Navy Journal mentioned Speed Stagner as well as many of the other scouts hired for the Big Horn Expedition:

Scouting party: Major T.H. Stanton, Paymaster, Chief of Scouts, Ben Clark, an experienced scout from Fort Sill; Baptiste Pourier (Big Bat), a half-breed; Baptiste Gagnier (Little Bat), a half breed; Louis Richard, half breed, with ten of his relatives from Red Cloud Agency, Louis Archambeau, a quarter breed, born north of the Yellowstone, Edouard Lajounessee, a half bred snake [Shoshone], Jack Russell (Buckskin Jack), Dick Seymour (Bloody Dick), Speed Stanger, Fetterman post guide, Frank Drew, a half breed, Wm. Grabbs, Charles Ward, Jules Ecoffey.118

Speed remained with General Crook's command on March 14th, while the other scouts searched the vicinity of the Tongue River to its mouth on the Yellowstone.119 Stagner continued to work at Fort Fetterman as the post guide and interpreter following the Big Horn Expedition. It is uncertain if he was hired to participate in General Crook’s Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, which began the march north on May 29, 1876. John Hunton’s diary entries for May 30, indicate that Speed was wounded in some sort of incident, possibly during General Crook’s Second Campaign.

Hunton’s diaries for the following days indicate Speed’s recovery.

June 6th (Fort Fetterman) saw Speed (Stagner) he is looking badly, opinion recovery doubtful.

June 8th (Fort Fetterman) Carried Speed’s wagon on home. Found him suffering from his wounds. July 20th (Fort Fetterman) Surgeon’s visited Speed Stagner.

September 25th (Fort Fetterman) Speed Stagner at post looking “Tolerable.”120

Following his tenure at Fort Fetterman, Speed settled and ranched on the Big Wind River, where he was intimately associated with the Shoshone tribe.121 On April 7, 1894, at a council of the Eastern Band of Shoshone Tribe at Shoshone Agency in Wyoming, Speed Stagner was
inducted into the tribe and granted all the rights of a full-blooded Indian. The record was signed by Chief Washakie and interpreter Norkok. Over fifty warriors were present, and the vote was unanimous.\textsuperscript{122}

In 1899, after selling a portion of his valuable interests, Speed moved to Pocatello, Idaho and built a large brick livery stable. He served as county commissioner for four years in Fremont County. Speed’s first wife, Lucy LaJeunesse died in Wyoming on May 5, 1898. On July 12, 1900, Speed Stagner married Angeline (Le Clair) Cosgrove, the daughter of Anthony Cosgrove.\textsuperscript{123} Speed Stagner died on April 19, 1903 in Pocatello. He was buried near Lander, Wyoming on the Wind River Reservation.\textsuperscript{124}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{benclark.png}
\caption{Ben Clark. National Park Service}
\end{figure}
Ben Clark, Guide, Big Horn Expedition

Ben Clark was born in St. Louis, Missouri, February 2, 1842. His father was killed by Apache Indians while crossing the Arizona desert in 1849. His mother died in 1865 in Peoria, Illinois. Ben worked as a courier at Fort Bridger, Wyoming Territory from 1855-56. Clark joined Colonel Albert Sidney Johnson’s Expedition into Utah in 1857. He afterwards joined a battalion of U.S. Volunteers, and was engaged against the Mormons until he mustered out in 1858. At the beginning of the Civil War, he enlisted in Capt. Charles Clark’s Independent Company, which was attached to the 6th Kansas Cavalry. His experiences in the Civil War were along the borders of Arkansas, Missouri, and Indian Territory. Ben Clark served as a guide for General James G. Blunt during Confederate General Sterling Price’s raid into Missouri and Kansas in 1864. Following the Civil War, Ben served as guide and interpreter at Fort Hays and Fort Harker, Kansas. He was an interpreter at Medicine Bluffs Creek, Indian Territory from 1868-1869. During that time he and three other scouts reconnoitered the vicinity of Black Kettle’s village on Washita River, and reported precise information regarding terrain to Custer. Clark went on to serve as guide and interpreter at Camp Supply, Indian Territory from 1869-1871, and 1873. He served as a guide at Cheyenne Depot in 1872. Clark was hired as an interpreter at Camp Supply, Indian Territory where he worked from 1874-1876. During that tenure, he served with Colonel Nelson A. Miles in his campaign against the Southern Cheyenne, Kiowa and Comanche. Clark was ordered to join General Crook on February 9, 1876. He was the chief scout for General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition of March 1876. He remained with General Crook’s column, and was not in the March 17, 1876 Fight on Powder River. Clark was also in the Dull Knife Campaign later the same year. He went on to serve as an interpreter at Fort
Reno, Indian Territory from 1876-1877 and 1879-1891. Ben Clark married a full-blooded Cheyenne and had eleven offspring, who were all educated, some of them graduating from Carlisle Indian School. Ben Clark’s tragic death was noted in the *El Reno Daily Democrat*, Oklahoma Territory on July 24, 1914.

Ben Clark committed suicide this morning at 10:30 at Fort Reno by shooting himself through the head with an army colt 38 calibre revolver. Ill health and worry is attributed by his many friends as the cause of this rash act.

Robert Edmund Strahorn, Newspaper Correspondent for the Denver *Rocky Mountain News*

Robert E. Strahorn was born near Bellefonte, Pennsylvania on May 15, 1852. At the age of 18 he moved to Denver, Colorado. By 1871 he joined the staff of the *Rocky Mountain News*, and worked as a reporter until 1877. He joined General Crook’s Big Horn Expedition as a correspondent, and participated in the Battle of the Powder River on March 17, 1876.

Following the expedition, he accompanied General Crook on the Big Horn and Yellowstone
Expedition. Strahorn was commended by the Secretary of War for distinguished bravery and
gallantry against hostile Indians during the Great Sioux War.\textsuperscript{135}

Strahorn fought in and reported on the Battles of Powder River, Rosebud, Slim Buttes, Dull
Knife Fight, and Wolf Mountain. He also reported on the Battle of the Little Big Horn, and
witnessed the surrender of Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson on May 6, 1877.\textsuperscript{136}

Strahorn summed up his experiences during the campaigns against the Sioux and Northern
Cheyenne as follows:

\begin{quote}
In a dozen engagements in which I participated there were only a couple of weeks of
real fighting, while the pursuit of the Indians to gain that result involved over a year of
continuous and most arduous hunting for them, the various marches totaling about
4000 miles. Much of this was accomplished in blizzards, in far below-zero temperatures,
without tents or adequate bedding, alternating with blistering and famishing lack of
water. Most of it was fatiguing and monotonous in the extreme and a lot of it on half
and quarter rations, some of it only horse meat, supplied by our worn-out and dying
horses.\textsuperscript{137}
\end{quote}

In early 1877, Strahorn moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory and wrote \textit{The Hand-Book of
Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions for Citizens, Emigrants, and
Tourists}. He died on March 31, 1944 in San Francisco, California.\textsuperscript{138} A Spokane newsman
wrote: “Robert E. Strahorn, 92, who died Friday night in San Francisco, was a colorful figure of
the Old West, remembered here as a railroad and town builder and early day
newspaperman.\textsuperscript{139}

2 Vital Statistics of Richard and Janis Families; S1 Box 1, Folder 29; Hazel McGaa Cuney Collection; MSS2; Oglala Lakota College Special Collections, Kyle, South Dakota.

3 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


5 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

6 DeBarthe, Vaughn, and Thrapp, 1214-1215

7 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

8 Vital Statistics of Richard and Janis Families; S1 Box 1, Folder 29; Hazel McGaa Cuney Collection; MSS2; Oglala Lakota College Special Collections, Kyle, South Dakota.

9 Letter from Mari Sandoz, New York to J.W. Vaughn, Windsor, Colorado, Nov. 12, 1960; Box 5, File 37 Frank Grouard, Ricker Interview Tablet 13, pp1; MS 1. Jeanne Smith Collection; Oglala Lakota College Special Collections, Kyle, South Dakota, Thrap, 592–593


11 Field, 24–25


13 DeBarthe, 343

14 Ibid.

15 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

16 Field, 24–25

17 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


22 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


48 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

49 Vaughn

50 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

51 Thrapp, 1252: Note: Taken from The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill. (1960). Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

52 Henry Lewis. 1910 US. Federal Census, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, May 24, 1910 Year: 1910; Census. (Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, Wounded Knee, South Dakota; Roll: T624_1475; Page: 16A; Enumeration District: 0120; FHL microfilm: 1375488) taken from Ancestry.com

53 Henry Lewis. Family History Film 553245, 1870 U.S. Census (Fort Laramie: Wyoming Territory; Roll M593_1748; page 450A; Image 322275 taken from Ancestry.com.

54 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


56 Ibid.

57 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


60 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.

61 Ibid.

62 Nebraska State Journal, Lincoln, NE. (1900, December 16).


64 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


66 Nebraska Historical Society RG0900.AM: Richard Seymour Research Biographical Data and material: 1874-1886, Hitchcock County, Neb.; Colorado; Wyoming; Dakota Territory: Scout, frontiersman, Size: Fraction; 1 folder a List of Officers and Employees in the Civil, Military, and Naval Service, Volume 1

67 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


69 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


71 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C. and Employees of Actg. Assist. Quartermaster, Ft. Thornburgh, Utah Assistant Train Master
100 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
102 Flannery, V. 1, 86-87
103 McChristian, Douglas C., Fort Laramie and the U.S. Army on the High Plains, 1849-1890, 489
104 Flannery, V.2, 30-32
105 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
106 Cheyenne Daily Leader, 40. (1876, November 28).
107 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
110 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
112 Progressive men of Bannock, Bear Lake, Bingham, Fremont and Oneida counties, Idaho. (1904), 172.
113 Ibid.
115 Ibid.
116 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
118 Army Navy Journal, 13, (No. 31, March 11, 1876) 496
119 DeBarthe, 91
120 Flannery, Vol. 2
125 Box 3; Robert Spurrier Ellison Collection, MSS 782; Genealogy and Biography Oklahoma (Chapman Publishing)
126 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
128 Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.
129 Ibid.
Note: N. Cheyenne name, found in Box 2; Folder 4: Ben Clark Interview; Walter Camp Files, lily Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ill.,

Entry 232 Index of Persons and Articles Hired; Record of the Office of the Quartermaster, RG 92; NAB, Washington, D.C.


133 Ben Clark, Pioneer Frontiersman dies by his own Hand. Extract from the El Reno Daily Democrat, Friday, July 24, 1914.


See Jerome A. Greene, Battles and Skirmishes of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877: A Military View, Chapter 1, The Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876, by Robert E. Strahorn (1876).


137 Strahorn Autobiography, p. 148


139 “Lundin and Lundin”
Biographies of Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux present at the Powder River

Northern Cheyenne

Figure 469: Two Moon. MS071 Mercaldo Collection, P.71.1085. Cody, WY: McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West

Two Moon, Kit Fox Warrior Society Little Chief

Two Moon was born about 1842. His mother was Northern Cheyenne while his father was Arikara.\(^1\) During the 1860’s and 1870’s he was a Kit Fox warrior society little chief. During this time, he had the names, Bear Doing More and More Work or Bear Increasing his Achievements. He also was called Roman Nose.\(^2\) Two Moon scouted against the soldiers at Fort Phil Kearney...
immediately before the Fetterman Fight on December 21, 1866.\textsuperscript{3} He was thirty-four years of age at the time of the March 17, 1876 battle on the Powder River. In 1931 Northern Cheyenne informants related to Mari Sandoz, a noted historian, that Two Moon was really the head of the band that Colonel Reynolds struck and that Little Wolf was just visiting and his band was not there.\textsuperscript{4} Two Moon remembered, “Our hearts were bad when the babies and children cried from the cold.”\textsuperscript{5} Following the Powder River Fight, he participated in the battle against Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer’s command on the banks of the Little Big Horn River, as well as the Dull Knife Fight against Colonel Ranald S. McKenzie’s soldiers on the Red Fork of the Powder River, near present-day Kaycee, Wyoming. Two Moon also fought against Colonel Nelson A. Miles troops at Belly Butte.\textsuperscript{6} He was one of the nine little chiefs of the Fox Warriors Society. Several years later when the Northern Cheyenne surrendered at Cantonment Tongue River (Fort Keogh) on April 22, 1877, Two Moon was made head chief of his tribe by Colonel Miles.\textsuperscript{7} Two Moon served as a military scout at Fort Keogh from Aug. 18, 1878 through July 17, 1880. While in the service of the U.S. Army, he rose from the rank of Private to Sergeant.\textsuperscript{8} During his years of leadership he was not accepted by all Northern Cheyenne as many chose to follow the chiefs of their respective bands. However, he held much influence until his death in 1917.\textsuperscript{9}

**Old Bear, Old Man Chief**

Old Bear was one of the four old-man chiefs of the Northern Cheyenne tribe.\textsuperscript{10} He was one of the principal leaders of the Northern Cheyenne at the village on the Powder River that was attacked by Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds on March 17, 1876. Not long after his surrender, Old Bear enlisted as a scout on November 11, 1876 on the Musselshell River, Montana Territory.
and was discharged at Tongue River on February 11, 1877. He enlisted again as a scout at Fort Custer on February 1, 1878 and was discharged at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory on May 1, 1878.11

Figure 471: Old Little Wolf. MS037 Grinnell Collection, P.37.2.06. Cody, WY: McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West

Little Coyote (Little Wolf), Old Man Chief and Elk Warrior Society Chief

Little Wolf was born sometime around 1820. He was one of the old-man chiefs of Northern Cheyenne and a chief of the Elk Warrior Society. He was known to be arrogant and impatient of those not following his orders, however, his manner became milder after he was chosen as one of the principle chiefs. Although he was fifty-five years of age in 1876, he may have been in command of the Indians during the Battle of Powder River, as noted by the Short Bull interview.12 Little Wolf, who had come to the village only a day or so beforehand to visit Box Elder, hurried from his lodge when the shooting began and helped the women, children, and elderly flee. He then turned his attention to the soldiers, firing and rallying the warriors. Cheyenne informants remembered that Little Wolf’s voice could often be heard above the din,
exhorting warriors to be strong and fight like men. On October 1, 1877, Little Wolf enlisted as an Indian Scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska. He mustered out on December 31, 1877. He enlisted a second time at New Red Cloud Agency on January 6, 1878 and remained in service until April 23, 1878. On January 20, 1879, Little Wolf enlisted at Fort Robinson, Nebraska and served until with a few short breaks until September 18, 1880, when he was discharged as a sergeant at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory. In an 1879 incident he got drunk and shot Famished Elk in the back, killing him. Because of this incident, Little Wolf lost his high standing as a chief in the tribe. He enlisted a final time on March 19, 1881 and served as a scout until August 22, 1881. Little Wolf died in 1904 and was buried at Lame Deer in Rosebud County, Montana.

Maple Tree (Box Elder), Medicine Man

Maple Tree was born in the late 1700’s. He was called Box Elder (Both Trees Having Sap), or just Tree. In his later years he was known as Blind Bull. Maple Tree was also known as a great medicine man.” In the Northern Cheyenne camp the evening following the fight on Powder River, Box Elder, the eighty-one-year-old council chief and holy man spent time in prayer. He was the keeper of Ox’zem, a Cheyenne sacred wheel lance possessing great supernatural power, including the ability to conceal the presence of the Cheyenne from their enemy. Maple Tree used the power of the Ox’zem to conceal the Cheyenne wolves (scouts) as they trailed Colonel Reynolds’s column in anticipation of recapturing their horses. Maple Tree died about 1885.
**Maple Leaf, Medicine Man**

Maple Leaf was described (in a letter from George Bent to George E. Hyde, dated March 13, 1914) as a ventriloquist who made the Cheyenne believe he could communicate with the spirits. Although blind, he would talk with the spirits and find out how the warriors would fare on the warpath. He could throw his voice on top of the lodges, and when the poles were tied together it gave a very realistic effect. Since many things happened just as he predicted, he exercised a large influence over his tribe.²⁰

![Figure 472: Wooden Leg. MS165 Thomas Marquis Collection PN, 165.1.48. Cody WY: McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West](image)

**Wooden Leg, Elkhorn Scrapers Warrior Society**

Wooden Leg was born in 1858. He joined the Elkhorn Scrapers warrior society when he was fourteen years old. His father was White Buffalo Shaking Off The Dust (Many Bullet Wounds)
and Eagle Feather On The Forehead. He counted his first coup in a fight with two Crow warriors at about the age of 17. He and his brother, Yellow Hair had been out scouting from Old Bear’s village some time prior to the battle on Powder River. Wooden Leg recalled that in the dark of the night they chanced upon an abandoned soldier camp in the Tongue River valley. As they poked about its smoldering fires, shots rang out. They were able to discern a rider but could not tell if it was a white man, a Cheyenne, or some other Indian. They concluded that it was a soldier and hastened to return to their own camp, then located on the Powder River near the confluence of the Little Powder. There the two were summoned to a council of the old men, along with some other young warriors who had also been scouting. As the stories were pieced together, it turned out that the shooting was a case of mistaken identity (most likely the shots came from another Northern Cheyenne warrior). Yet the reality of the soldiers in the Tongue River valley was not misunderstood. Wooden Leg recalled that there were forty lodges of Cheyenne and three or four lodges of Oglala present on Powder River when Colonel Reynolds’s forced attacked their village. He claimed that one Cheyenne was killed in this engagement and another had his forearm badly shattered. Wooden Leg remembered, “I had nothing but the clothing I had on, with the soldier coat added. My eagle wing bone flute, my medicine pipe, my rifle, everything else of mine was gone.” Wooden Leg went on to fight General Crook’s soldiers at the Rosebud, then Lieutenant Colonel Custer’s men at the Little Big Horn. He also fought Colonel Miles’s forces at Wolf Mountain.
White Bull (Ice), Warrior

White Bull was born in 1849. He participated in numerous fights against Crow, Assiniboine and Flathead enemies. He also fought in the Fetterman fight in December, 1866, and against Major Eugene M. Baker’s command in August, 1872. White Bull fought against Colonel Reynolds’s cavalry on the Powder River, March 17, 1876. He participated in the fight on the Rosebud and later at the Little Big Horn against Custer’s 7th Cavalry. White Bull surrendered to the U.S. on April 22, 1877 at Cantonment Tongue River. He was the first Cheyenne enlisted as a scout for Colonel Miles. White Bull scalped Lame Deer, the Miniconjou Sioux Chief after he had been shot by Colonel Miles's men on May 7, 1877 in an attack on their village. He again enlisted as an Indian Scout on December 17, 1877 at Fort Keogh, M.T. and was discharged on March 17,
1878. White Bull again enlisted on July 1, 1879 and served as a scout until September 6, 1879. His last enlisted was from January 15, 1881 until his discharge on February 6, 1881 at Camp Poplar Creek, Montana Territory.²⁹ White Bull died in 1940.³⁰

Bear Walks on the Ridge (Ridge Bear), Kit Fox Society Little Chief

Bear Walks on the Ridge was a “little chief” or headman of the Kit Fox Society of the Northern Cheyenne. He was present in the village that Colonel Reynolds attacked and was one of several warriors who counted coup on a soldier during the fight.³¹ Bear Walks on the Ridge was also present at the Little Big Horn in June of 1876. In the spring of 1877, he was among the Cheyenne who surrendered to Colonel Miles on the Yellowstone River.³² Ridge Bear enlisted on December 11, 1876 at Camp Robinson, Nebraska until his discharge at the same post on March 11, 1877. He again enlisted on March 11, 1878 at Fort Keogh, M.T. and remained in service until February 5, 1881, when he discharged as a Corporal.³³
Powder Face, Warrior

Powder Face was a Northern Cheyenne warrior present at the Fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876. In a George Bent letter, dated 1914, Powder Face was noted as shooting an officer. Yellow Eagle, Bull Coming Behind, and Powder Face counted coup on this officer (soldier).\textsuperscript{34} Powder Face was among the Northern Cheyenne who surrendered to Colonel Miles in 1877. He was also noted as being in attendance at the Semi-Centennial of the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1926.\textsuperscript{35}

Bull coming from Behind, Warrior

Bull coming from Behind was one of several warriors who counted coup on a soldier during the fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876.\textsuperscript{36}
Brave Wolf (Brave Fox), Warrior

Brave Wolf was one of the Northern Cheyenne leaders in the Fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876. He participated in both the Reno and Custer fights, during the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Brave Wolf, along with Two Moon’s band surrendered in April 1877. On September 1, 1877 Brave Wolf, at the age of 39, enlisted as a scout at Tongue River Cantonment. He served with a few short breaks until March 3, 1881 when he was discharged at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory. During this time, he achieved the rank of sergeant.

Tall Sioux (Long Sioux), Warrior

Tall Sioux is mentioned in a George Bent letter to George E. Hyde dated April 2, 1914. In that letter he was mentioned as being present at the Battle on Powder River, March 17, 1876. Tall Sioux was also present at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.
Eagle Chief, Elkhorn Scraper Warrior Society

John Stands in Timber, the noted historian of the Northern Cheyenne tribe, told Jesse W. Vaughn that a Cheyenne warrior named Eagle Chief was killed while riding his horse on the mountainside at the Battle of the Powder River. This may have been the same Indian 2nd Lieutenant Charles E. Morton saw fall from his horse on the bluff previously occupied by Lieutenant William C. Rawolle’s company.”

White Eagle and Starving Woman, both of Black Eagle’s band, identified Eagle Chief as a brother of White Hawk and a member of the Elkhorn Scrapers Society.

Flexible, Warrior

Flexible was identified as a Northern Cheyenne present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.

Whirlwind, Warrior

Whirlwind was a Northern Cheyenne warrior who was killed in the Battle of Powder River.

Wolf Hawk, Warrior

Wolf Hawk was a Northern Cheyenne warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.

Beaver Claws, Crazy Dog Warrior Society Little Chief

Beaver Claws was considered a Little Chief in the Crazy Dog Warrior Society. He was the leader of the small raiding party of Northern Cheyenne warriors who retook the horses at the mouth of Lodge Pole Creek early on the morning of March 18, 1876 following the Battle of Powder River.
Yellow Eagle, Warrior

Yellow Eagle was one of three Northern Cheyenne warriors who counted coup on an officer (soldier) at the Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was noted to have been with a party of scouts which spotted General Crook’s force on the Rosebud. He hurried back to warn the camp of the approaching U.S. military force.

Braided Locks, Kit Fox Warrior Society Headman

Braided Locks was born in approximately 1842. He became a headman of the Kit Fox warrior society. He was present at the fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876 and had the skin of his cheek furrowed by a bullet. Braided Locks enlisted as a scout at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory on December 11, 1877. He was discharged on March 11, 1878. He enlisted again on March 11, 1878 and remained in service until June 1, 1878. On December 11, 1878, he enlisted again at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory and remained in service until March 6, 1880. Braided Locks enlisted a final time on March 18, 1889 and served until September 16, 1889, when he discharged as a Private.

Black Eagle, Northern Cheyenne Council Chief

Black Eagle was one of the Northern Cheyenne Council Chiefs. He was noted as one of the principal leaders in the fight. His lodge was at the south end of the village and he heard a young boy’s cry as the attack began. Black Eagle remained in his tipi briefly with his wife, Elbow Woman and her father, the revered Box Elder, who was blind and did not want to leave the lodge. Black Eagle picked up his rifle and told his wife to lead his father away, and then started toward the soldiers. He recalled in an interview with George Bird Grinnell,
The way the bullets struck around him was like the patter of raindrops in a hard storm. He and four other young men followed the soldiers as they passed through the tipis and until they came to the bank along the river where they dismounted. Black Eagle got behind a tree and shot at them and then moved to the riverbank and kept shooting. Meanwhile Elbow Woman and Box Elder finally made their way to safety at a place called the breastworks, a defensive nook in the declivity slightly below the village. Near the end of the fighting Black Eagle’s attention was drawn to the movement of two bunches of horses being held by soldiers. He joined some other Cheyenne warriors in making their way along the rocks at the far side of the bench and creeping in as close as they could before shooting at the herders. The herders gathered up their bunches [horses] and drove them off. Black Eagle and his followers returned to the other warriors and soon watched the soldier herders drive the horses back to where the battle was and the soldiers mount and leave.

**Little Creek, Warrior**

Little Creek was the brother of Elbow Woman, Black Eagle’s wife. During the Fight on Powder River, he was urged to go find Black Eagle and get him to safety. Little Creek went into the village, found Black Eagle along the riverbank, and led him to the stony breastworks. Little Creek was among the Northern Cheyenne who surrendered to the U.S. military on April 22, 1877 at Cantonment Tongue River. Little Creek enlisted as a scout on March 13, 1878 and remained in service until March 14, 1880.

**White Black Man, Warrior**

White Black Man was a Northern Cheyenne warrior present at the Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876.

**Little Shield, Warrior**

Little Shield was a Northern Cheyenne warrior present at the Fight on the Powder River, March 17, 1876.
Antelope Woman (Kate Big Head), Northern Cheyenne

Antelope Woman was the sister White Bull and would have been a young girl at the time of the Battle on Powder River. In an interview with Thomas Marquis at the turn of the 20th century, recalled, “... the village consisted of forty family lodges.” She went on to say, “The soldiers got between our camp and our horse herd, so all of us had to run away afoot.”

Elbow Woman, Northern Cheyenne

Elbow Woman was the daughter of Maple Tree, the Northern Cheyenne Medicine Man, and the wife of Black Eagle. She was present in the village during the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.
He Dog, Warrior and leader of the Oglala band

He Dog, an Oglala warrior and noted leader of the non-reservation Oglala band, was born in the spring of 1840 near the head of the Cheyenne River, near the Black Hills. His father was Black Rock. A report written by Lieutenant William P. Clark, dated September 14, 1877 (following the surrender of the Cheyenne at Fort Robinson, Nebraska), noted that the village attacked by Colonel Reynolds on March 17, 1876 was composed of sixty Cheyenne lodges under Old Bear and fourteen Sioux lodges under He-Dog. In a later interview, He Dog personally recalled losing seven prized ponies. He also mentioned three casualties at the fight: a boy or young man who was probably Sioux, who had been tending the horses, an old Cheyenne Woman, and a Cheyenne man shot through the abdomen from a great distance away. He Dog went on to
fight the U.S. military until his surrender in May 1877 at Red Cloud Agency. After the surrender, he escaped to Canada to join Sitting Bull in January 1878. He Dog once again surrendered at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory in 1881. He was transferred to Standing Rock Agency in 1882 and later to Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota Territory. He Dog died in 1936.

Iron Hawk, Hunkpapa Warrior

Iron Hawk, a Hunkpapa Sioux, was born around 1862. He would become one of the seven-star soldiers having highest authority among the Sioux. In an interview with Eli Ricker near the turn of the 20th century, he recalled that they were living on the Powder River with some Cheyenne and a few Oglala. Riker noted that the time of which Iron Hawk was speaking was in the spring when there were many hunting in the early morning.

... about when the sun was rising he heard there were soldiers surrounding them and they began to shoot. The fighting lasted all day until the sun was down. The Indians left their tepees and their horses and fled on foot north to the Blue Earth, a stream at the point of it and escaped.
Iron Hawk was wounded in fight against Custer’s soldiers at the Little Big Horn. During that fight he killed a soldier with an arrow.\textsuperscript{71} Iron Hawk enlisted as a scout on May 12, 1877 and remained in service until December 31, 1877, when he was discharged as a private while in the field.\textsuperscript{72}

**Rock, Sioux**

Rock was the wife of He Dog. She was born circa 1841 and present in the village on the banks of Powder River when Colonel Reynolds’s soldiers attacked their village during the morning of March 17, 1876.\textsuperscript{73}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure480.png}
\caption{Several Sioux and non-Indian men in front of tipis. Short Bull, top row, third man from left, Pine Ridge, January 16, 1891. MS035 North American Indian Photograph Collection, P. 35.7. Cody, WY: McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West}
\end{figure}
Short Bull, Sore Back Band, Oglala Sioux

Short Bull was born circa 1851. He was the younger brother of He Dog and a nephew of Red Cloud. Short Bull was a member of the Sore back band. In an interview with Eleanor Hinman, Short Bull recalled that the chiefs of the Cheyenne at the time of the Fight on the Powder River were Little Wolf and Ice. Short Bull was not present in the village at the time of the Fight on Powder River. He was among the Northern Cheyenne who surrendered at Camp Robinson, Nebraska during the spring of 1877. On October 1, 1877 Short Bull enlisted as an scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska and remained in service until December 31, 1877, when he was discharged in the field as a private. In June, 1881 he was with the Northern Cheyenne who transferred to Standing Rock Agency. In May 1882, he was transferred to Pine Ridge Agency, Dakota Territory. Short Bull died on August 20, 1935 in a car accident north of Oglala, South Dakota.

Figure 481: Knife, upper left. J.W. Vaughn Collection, Box 13, Folder 28. Laramie, WY: American Heritage Collection, University of Wyoming
**Knife, Oglala Warrior**

Knife was an Oglala Sioux warrior present at the Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was among the non-reservation Sioux who surrendered in May 1877 at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska. Knife enlisted as an Indian scout on October 29, 1876 at Camp Robinson, Nebraska and remained in service until his discharge as a private at that station on January 31, 1877. Of note is the fact that Knife is posed with his former enemy, Baptiste Garnier “Little Bat”, a scout for the Big Horn Expedition who was also present at the Battle of Powder River (see image 482).

**Sweat, Oglala Warrior**

Sweat was an Oglala warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.

**Male Dog, Oglala Warrior**

Male Dog was an Oglala warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876. Male Dog enlisted as an Indian scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska on October 1, 1877. He was discharged in the field on December 3, 1877. He enlisted again at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory on December 11, 1877 until his discharge at that post as a private on February 5, 1881. He re-enlisted on June 11, 1881 at Fort Keogh, Montana Territory and served until June 10, 1882. He enlisted a final time on December 11, 1882 and served as a scout until April 21, 1883, when he was discharged at Fort Keogh as a private.

**Hard to Hit, Oglala Warrior**

Hard to Hit was an Oglala warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was also noted as one of the Sioux warriors who met Reno’s advance in the valley during the
Battle of the Little Big Horn. Hard to Hit enlisted as an Indian scout at New Red Cloud Agency on January 6, 1878. He deserted on January 6, 1878. Hard to Hit was killed around 1879 by Crow warriors in Canada.

**Iron Magpie (Magpie Tail), Oglala Warrior**

Iron Magpie was an Oglala warrior present at the Fight on Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was among the non-reservation Sioux who surrendered in May 1877 at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska.

**Crawler, Oglala Warrior**

Crawler was an Oglala warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was among the non-reservation Sioux who surrendered in May 1877 at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska.

**Long Face, Oglala Warrior**

Long Face was an Oglala warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876. He enlisted as an Indian scout at Camp Robinson, Nebraska on October 1, 1877 and served until December 31, 1877, where he was discharged in the field. He again enlisted on February 12, 1878 at Spotted Tail Agency, Dakota Territory until his discharge on April 20, 1878 at the same agency.

**Big Face, Oglala Warrior**

Big Face was an Oglala Sioux warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.
White Eagle, Oglala Warrior

White Eagle was an Oglala Sioux warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876. He was killed in the valley fight with Major Reno’s soldiers during the Battle of the Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876.

Yellow Twin, Oglala Warrior

Yellow Twin was an Oglala Sioux warrior present at the Battle of Powder River, March 17, 1876.

2 Powell, 1083.

3 Ibid.


5 “The Two Moon Interview,” in Hardorff, *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight*, 132

6 Ibid.

7 Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, p. 125 and IMG_8532; Nelson Miles Papers, Military History Institute, Carlisle, PA., and Ben Clark Interview, Box 2, Folder 4; Walter Camp Files, Special Collections, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington.


9 Powell, 1083


14 Ibid.


20 Letter from George Bent to George E. Hyde, dated March 13, 1914 found in Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, 125


22 Ibid.


Interview of White Bull, Box 105, Folder 021; Walter Stanley Campbell Collection; Native American Manuscript Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma


Interview with Two Moon, September 26, 1913; Albert Duster, Interpreter, Box 5, Folder 15, Envelope 69; Walter Camp Collection, LMC 1167; Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ill.


Movements of Yellowstone Command from October 1, 1876-October 1, 1877; Nelson A. Miles Papers; Box 2 of 10; Military History Institute, Carlisle PA.


Interview of White Bull, Box 105, Folder 021; Walter Stanley Campbell Collection; Native American Manuscript Collection, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma


454
Appendix D: Physical Description of the March 17, 1876 Battlefield

March 17, 1876 Battlefield Landscape, Vegetation and River Channel Study

The purpose of this assessment is to evaluate the likely environments of terrain, vegetation and river location at the battlefield in 1876.

Terrain

Lying on the flood plain of the Powder River, the site of the battle is essentially an unchanged landscape from March 17 1876. The village site has been slightly modified since agriculture started and at this site in the early 20th century. Water management structures such as minor dikes have been added, along with more than a century of farming and irrigation. Moorhead road, a state secondary highway, extends south from Broadus and U.S. Highway 212, and lies parallel to the site, following the west side of Powder River. Note - This road has presented the interpretive opportunity for a marker that can be visited by the public. These changes have had minimal visual impact. Uplands and army approaches to the battlefield are very much intact with the conditions found in 1876.

Scoria capped ridges surround the alluvium covered Powder River Valley. The flood plains ascend from the valley (benchmark 3358 feet above sea level) to ridges rising to 4100 feet. Outcrops and ridges of sedimentary sandstone scoria, and pine covered hills line the Powder River Valley corridor. Uplands and coulees surrounding the village site have remained intact and unchanged since 1876.
Vegetation

There has been some change in the vegetative landscape since the battle in 1876. We know, from the historical narrative record, that this part of the Powder River was a favorite winter camping location for Sioux and Northern Cheyenne. The minimum requirements for an Indian winter camp site would have been good potential for game harvest, cottonwood galleries (for fire wood, shelter and horse feed) grass pasture for horses, and water. This village site has all of those attributes.

We believe that the riverine bottom of Powder River had extensive cottonwood galleries. The soils at the village site would have produced excellent grass fodder for the Indian’s horses. The current rancher produces alfalfa hay on this rich soil. It is likely that the vegetation around the village site was bunchgrass and scattered sage.

The above photo (Figure 483) is of the vegetation on the terrace above the battle site (Kaycee Terrace). The trees in the background are cottonwoods similar to the cottonwoods at the time
of the battle. Sage brush was present on this terrace in 1876 time of the battle, as referenced by Captain H. E. Noyes sketch map of the battle area, *Topographical Sketch of vicinity of Crazy Horse’s village, Powder River, M.T., March 17th 1876* shown on page 176 of *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* by J. W. Vaughn.

The current terrain and vegetative conditions are best explained by the following reference and photo from a paper for John A. Moody and Robert H. Meade in 2014. This study acquired cross-channel profiles of the Powder River near the village site,

> The river in this photo is at about bed-full flow (12 m$^3$ s$^{-1}$, Moody and others, 1999), and several riffles with disturbed water can be seen downstream between smooth glassy reaches of the river. A narrow band (~2-4 m wide) of reddish sedge (*Scirpus spp.* ) grows just above the bed-full level along the edge of water with a wider band of mixed grasses (*Agropyron repens, A. pauciflorum, Bromus inermis, Elymus canadenis, Spartina pectinata, and S. cynosoroids*), willow (*Salix exigua*), tamarisk (*Tamirix ramosissima*) and small cottonwood seedlings and trees (*Populus sargentii*) on the flood plain. Three terrace levels have been identified along the river (Leopold and Miller, 1954; Moody and Meade, 2008). The first is the Lightning terrace with small cottonwood trees (seen here without leaves) adjacent to the floodplain in the right-center of the photo. The second is the Moorcroft terrace seen best forming the left bank and extending as a flat surface to the left (west) with a few large cottonwood trees still retaining their green leaves. The third is the colluvial Kaycee terrace that grades slowly upwards and meets the hills of the Fort Union Formation. It can be seen on the right side at the base of the hills and in the far distance on the left side, west of the white ranch buildings.
Figure 483: Powder River at about bed-full flow. John A. Moody, Robert H. Meade, USGS

Figure 484: View of Vegetation above the battle site.
The above photo (Figure 485) shows the vegetation above the battle site (Kaycee Terrace). Note the sage brush interspersed with various grasses. The timbered hillsides in the photo are comprised of Ponderosa Pine, Lodge Pole Pine and various species of Juniper. The regular occurrence of fires in the 1800’s would have resulted in these hillsides to be less covered with forest (trees). The site would have been excellent for the grazing of horses.

Figure 485: View of uplands adjacent to battle site

This photo of uplands (Figure 486) adjacent to the battle site reflect vegetation as it probably was in 1876. On the timbered hillsides shown are Ponderosa Pine, Lodge Pole Pine and various species of Juniper. The regular occurrence of fires in the 1800’s probably resulted in dispersed timber similar to what is shown in the photo.
Figures 487 and 488 were taken in a fork of Thompson Creek, typical of the dry drainages that flow into the flatlands (Kaycee Terrace) near the battlefield. Soldiers approaching the Powder River Valley descended over similar terrain. Note the young age of the timber in the lower photo. Most hillsides likely had only scattered trees in 1876.
River Channel Assessment

The following is an assessment of the fluvial geomorphology of the Powder River near and on the battlefield. This study’s purpose was to determine the location of the river channel in 1876. It is important to understand the location of the river channel at the time of the battle. Old Bear’s camp in the cottonwood bottoms was much closer to the river channel than the current channel. That close location to the river enabled the villagers a quick escape route.

The Powder River was unregulated and undammed at the time of the battle and was subject to frequent channel changes because of natural flooding. This assessment was determined by studying the earliest surveys of the area and geo-referencing those surveys. Land patent surveys, modern surveys, and aerial photos were used in this analysis. The earliest general land office (GLO) survey was approved in 1892, 16 years after the battle. (Figure 489) The surveyor ran (surveyed) a meander line along the banks of the Powder River. This survey gave the location of the river in 1892. We assume that the 1876 river location was similar to the 1892 location as surveyed. Figure 490 is the current county plat of the battle area.
Figure 488: Plat of 1892 Survey
Cottonwood trees (cottonwood galleries) commonly line the banks of prairie rivers. These cottonwood galleries are created as rivers flood and deposit seeds along the banks of the flood channel. As these seeds grow, the resulting cottonwoods trace the location of the river or flood channel at that time. (Figure 491.)
The age of cottonwoods also gives an estimate of the date when a particular flood channel was created. A cottonwood gallery in existence in 1876 would be expected to be in a deteriorating condition because of the short-lived nature of cottonwoods (Figure 492).

![Figure 491: Note the older deteriorating cottonwoods along the old river channel](image)

Our work has not definitely confirmed the location of the Powder River channel in 1876. However, we believe the river channel has changed significantly since the time of the battle along the north side of the battlefield. We believe that the river along the east bank has had little change since 1876. The following graphics illustrates what was probably the location of the river at the time of the battle. (Figures 493 and 494.)
Figure 492: The blue area indicates the probable location of the Powder River, 1876 in reference of the battle site.

Figure 493: The Northern Cheyenne village was located approximately 1,100 feet from the river.
Patrick Zimmer studied the battlefield for years and provided the following note,

*In regards to the river channel document. I believe the blue line to be correct as to the original location at the time of the battle. As I stated previously only one artifact was found past the 100-ft. line of the dike on the east side and that was an 1860 colt frame with attached trigger guard.*

**Impact on the Battle**

The Powder River was frozen during March 1876. The frozen river could easily be crossed. The cavalry attacked the village from the south; a portion of Captain Noyes’s men, under the command of 1st Lieutenant Hall crossed to the east side of the river when capturing the Northern Cheyenne horse herd. Women and children escaped to the north and west. Many escaped directly north, and moved along the frozen river into draws and uplands west of the river. The frozen stream was probably free of debris and downed cottonwoods, and facilitated a quick escape (Figure 495).

Historian Marie Sandoz was given the following account by a Northern Cheyenne informant, in turn Father Peter J. Powell, cites the following, “Little Wolf moved to action at once, hurrying from the lodge in order to open fire on the soldiers as they charged in. He shouted to the men around him to hold fast, and they kept shooting at the advancing troopers, forming a wall between the enemies and the women, children, and old people, who broke for the safety of the hills west of the camp.”

According to Captain Egan’s testimony given during the Court-martial of Colonel Reynolds, “Captain Mills’s men advanced in a southeasterly direction on the mesa toward the village. The
women and children fled from the village, exiting the opposite side to the relative safety of the nearby bluffs. The warriors began to fall back as well.”

Figure 494: Major movements of troops and Northern Cheyenne and Sioux during and after the battle
Bibliography:


Testimony of Captain J. Egan; Reynolds Court Martial Papers; MSS 57; Box 6, Folder 7; SCM 000 893; Walter Mason Camp Papers; L. Tom Perry Special Collections; Harold B. Lee Library; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah, 40.

Appendix E: Cultural Significance

The Battle on Powder River, March 17, 1876 was the opening fight of the “Great Sioux War” of 1876-1877. In the valley of the Powder River in Southeastern Montana, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and his 2nd and 3rd Cavalry companies swarmed the sleeping winter village of Chief Old Bear and his band of Northern Cheyenne and Oglala Sioux. This assault, along with other fights before and after this event, signified the final downward spiral for the Northern Cheyenne. The troops’ sudden attack caught the band unaware, yet the Northern Cheyenne were able to flee to the western hills to safety. The army torched the entire village, along with tons of robes and dried meat. Priceless cultural articles were burned, and the troops pillaged many tribal possessions. Old Bear’s band walked north in sub-zero temperatures, on snowy frozen ground for three days, losing several people to exposure (Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River*, 134) before reaching the safety and warmth of the Oglala Chief Crazy Horse’s camp.

The onslaught by the U.S. Army on Old Bear’s winter encampment directly reflected two previous massacres on the Cheyenne people and their villages. The Sand Creek Massacre on November 29, 1864, in Southeastern Colorado Territory, exemplified the army’s brutal tactics to exterminate a distinct tribal entity and its material culture. Chief Black Kettle, always a peacemaker, trusted the U.S. Army’s promise that his people could winter in its long-utilized camp along Sand Creek. Above Black Kettle’s lodge flew an American flag and also a white peace flag. The village was enveloped at dawn on a cold morning by Colonel John Chivington’s 1st and 3rd Colorado Volunteer Cavalry Companies. One hundred and forty Cheyenne were
murdered. Precious and sacred artifacts were plundered; robes, meat, and lodges were
burned, resulting in the total destruction of the village.

On November 27, 1868, Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle’s winter encampment was settled near the
Washita River in Oklahoma. At daylight, Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer and his 7th Cavalry
Regiment suddenly attacked the village. The fight was ferocious and the village burned, and
sacred and priceless cultural materials were destroyed and pillaged. Fifty-three women and
children were taken hostage, 25 Cheyenne women and children were killed, along with 16
warriors. Chief Black Kettle and his wife, Woman Here After, were slain during the fight.

Exactly six months after the June 25, 1876 Battle of the Little Big Horn, Colonel Ranald
Mackenzie’s cavalry and auxiliary Indian troops (including Lakota, Cheyenne, and Pawnee
serving with the army), under orders of General George Crook, marched north from Fort
Fetterman to the Big Horn Mountains, intent on destroying Chief Dull Knife’s winter
encampment of 1,200 people, including 300 warriors. At dawn, the camp came under the
army’s heavy fire, and Northern Cheyenne struggled to escape into the deep canyons of the Big
Horns. The village succumbed in fifteen minutes. Mackenzie torched it. Once more, a huge
treasure trove of scared clothing, war bonnets, war shields, prehistoric tools, painted robes,
lodges, and generational possessions were lost. The Northern Cheyenne counted 40 fatalities
and 120 wounded, not counting the people who succumbed to the harsh winter conditions.
Throughout these four battles, the Sacred Medicine Arrows and the Sacred Buffalo Hat of the
Cheyenne were saved and carried to safety. Countless sacred symbols along with their oral
histories were lost forever. The determination of the Cheyenne to save their most sacred
cultural symbols is illustrated by the efforts of Box Elder, a sacred priest during the Reynolds and Mackenzie fights. According to Father Peter Powell, author of *People of the Sacred Mountain*,

Box Elder also possessed bullet-proof power. John Stands In Timber, the venerable Northern Cheyenne historian, described how the holy man demonstrated that power.

Box Elder had a buffalo robe. He would send men off to a distance. Then he would stand and face East. He gave a signal. The first man would shoot at him. Box Elder shook like a buffalo shaking himself. Then he raised his left foot, took off his moccasin, and (a piece of) lead fell out.

Again he gave a signal. Two men shot at him. He took off his right moccasin and two lead bullets were there!

Blindness overtook Box Elder in later years. However, the Cheyennes say that this only helped to deepen his contacts with the spirit world. This was proven in March, 1876, when Box Elder’s tipi was among those pitched in Old Bear and He Dog’s combined Cheyenne-Lakota village on Powder River. There, on March 17, Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and his troopers attacked them. The soldiers burned the camp and drove off many of the Indian horses.

We have mentioned the power of Box Elder’s Ox’zem (a short lance with the face of Sweet Medicine, the Prophet carved in the top of the shaft) in throwing a protective covering over the Cheyennes, making them invisible to the enemy. Now, after the Reynolds attack, the blind priest invoked the wheel lance’s concealing power to cover the movements of the Cheyennes and their allies as they attempted to recapture their horses. The warriors were successful, recovering most of the herd. The victory by the Indians resulted in General Crook’s later claim that the campaign was a failure because of the loss of the pony herd; this charge was leveled against Reynolds during the later court martial in which he was involved.

... However, it was five months later that the blind holy man’s power was most clearly demonstrated. This was during General Ranald Mackenzie’s surprise attack on Dull Knife’s village in the Big Horn Mountains, November 25, 1876.

The day before, Box Elder had been gazing toward the sunrise when he saw a vision. From the direction of the sunrise, he saw soldiers and enemy scouts attacking the village, killing the people. Box Elder summoned his son, Medicine Top:
Go out and tell the Crier to warn the families (that) this camp will be attacked early in the morning, the priest warned. Now the women should go toward the high cliffs and build breastworks. They should stay there. Then they will be saved!

... Daylight was just beginning to show when the camp was attacked. Little Walking Coyote was the first warrior killed. The attack came early in the morning, just as Box Elder had predicted.

... Box Elder asked for his sacred wheel lance. He was joined by Medicine Bear, Curly, and a handful of warriors, who kept him in their midst as they hurried toward the Sacred Hat tipi. When they reached there, Coal Bear, Keeper of the Sacred Buffalo Hat, already had fastened the holy bundle on his wife’s back. Both were calm, but they were ready to move by the time Medicine Bear and the others arrived. One of the warriors said, “Let the woman walk ahead; and let Coal Bear walk not to close to her, a little to the right.

Then Medicine Bear lifted Nimhoyoh the Turner from the tripod at the head of the Keeper’s bed. He jumped on a horse, carrying the Turner on his arm-as he had carried his shield in other battles. The rest of the group scattered to both sides of the hat Keeper and his wife, forming a protective guard for them. The Sacred Woman was walking naturally, just as she walked while she carried the bundle in the camp movings. Box Elder had to be led, as he followed her and the Keeper. The blind priest was carrying the sacred wheel lance in his arms. Ox’zem’s power protected them as bullets poured in from the north and south.

Medicine Bear rode back and forth, waving the Turner from side to side, covering the rear of the procession. Nimhoyoh’s power was turning away the soldier bullets as the Cheyenne continued their flight. The Shoshones were firing at them, but they did not hit the little group of people as they moved toward the rocks. Finally, a low, dry creek came in sight. They followed it until they came upon some other Cheyennes, huddled together in the cold.

Then Box Elder turned to Medicine Top, his son. The holy man asked if there was a knoll nearby. He instructed Medicine Top and Spotted Blackbird to lead him to the top of the knoll. The three started out, with Box Elder carrying his pipe and his tobacco pouch. When they came near the top of the knoll, the priest ordered the two men to release his arms. “You stay behind,” he said. Then he finished the climb alone. At the crest he sat down and calmly filled his pipe from his tobacco pouch.

From below, the Cheyennes could hear Box Elder singing, his voice rising above the noise of the fighting. The holy man got down on his knees, offering the pipe to the Sacred Persons at the four directions and to Maheo. Suddenly the pipe began to burn. “No one knew how he lighted the pipe. It looked like he did it from the sun,” John Stands in Timber said.
Soldiers were on the high knoll about 150 yards away, and bullets were flying around Box Elder. A ridge rose to the northwest. Suddenly a warrior moved out along that ridge, a red cloth whipping up and down on his shoulders as he ran. This was Long Jaw. A dog was running along beside him, as he jumped back and forth, drawing the bullets to himself. Long Jaw ran for about one hundred yards; then he dropped out of sight. In a few minutes he reappeared, moving on toward the knoll where Box Elder was sitting. He paused there, facing the northwest for a minute or so. The women were singing strong-heart songs from their shelter behind the rocks. Then Long Jaw moved on, the dog with him. When the fighting was over, the people saw that the scarlet cloth was riddled with bullet holes.

As Coal Bear, his wife, and the other women and children continued, they came to a long ridge, leading to another small creek. As they made their way along this ridge, they were again exposed to enemy bullets. Once more Medicine Bear rode to their assistance. Again, he waved the Turner back and forth over their heads, protecting the little band as they escaped. Thus Box Elder, Long Jaw, and Medicine Bear drew the enemy bullets to themselves as the Sacred Hat and the Keeper moved on to safety.

Countless Northern and Southern Cheyenne passed the ancient stories and rituals of their people down through generations. A myriad of researchers, historians, linguists, writers, anthropologists, ethnographers, and Northern and Southern Cheyenne studied the unique culture and world view of the Cheyenne. They wrote, interviewed, participated, and worked diligently to preserve the Cheyenne’s unique world. Because of this, Cheyenne today can reflect on the old stories and remember the events of the 19th Century, and can treasure their heritage.
Bibliography

Books and Articles


Appendix F: Significance, Threat Assessment, Preservation

March 17, 1876 Powder River Battlefield –

Threats to the Preservation of the Site

The Powder River, March 17, 1876 Battlefield is located in Southeastern Montana approximately 30 miles south of Broadus Montana. Access is along State Route 391.

![Figure 495: Blue arrow indicates location of battlefield](image)

Current Land Ownership and Use

Agriculture is the primary use of the Powder River valley. There are many large ranches in the area. The principle products include hay and livestock. Deer, elk, and antelope inhabit the region, which is popular to hunters. Hunting is the most important recreational use of the area. Isolation in this vicinity curbs subdivisions and the development of “ranchettes.” Agriculture,
primarily livestock grazing and hay production will continue in the long term. Much of the battlefield lies in an area devoted to hay production.

The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) has designated the battlefield, which is partial public land as an area of Area of Critical Environmental Concern (ACEC). This federal designation protects the battlefield from major impacts. The federal and state public lands in the area are leased for livestock grazing. Mineral development will be discussed below. Figure 497 illustrates typical agricultural use in this region of the Powder River. This photo includes the Northern Cheyenne village location and the natural view scape of the site.

The Powder River, March 17, 1876 Battlefield area is under the ownership of three different parties. The main portion of the battlefield is privately owned. Important areas are in public ownership, in the form of the BLM and State of Montana (Figure 498).
The March 17, 1876 Battlefield is in near-pristine condition. The principle area of the battlefield is owned by a rancher who uses the site for agricultural purposes. Agricultural use will continue with a hay production and livestock pasturing. Our opinion is that because of heavy metal detecting on the battlefield in the past, the continued farming activities will have little impact on sub-surface cultural materials. Upland areas on BLM and private land have also been metal detected in the past. Our team used metal detectors and found some casings and unfired cartridges.

The Powder River fluvial functions similarly to 1876. The river occasionally floods over the village site on the valley floor. We believe this has little impact on the site. Our survey and detecting of the site found a small sampling of artifacts, but we believe there are few archaeological resources left on or near the ground surface.
Potential Mineral Development

The Powder River, March 17, 1876 Battlefield is located in the Powder River Basin (PRB). We have not found any specific assessments of mineral (coal, oil and gas) development of the Powder River area at or near the battlefield. Following is a broad assessment referenced from the United States Geological Service (USGS).

The Power River Basin is a geologic structure in southeast Montana and northeast Wyoming. This basin is known for its current production of coal, oil and gas. According to USGS, there are significant deep coal resources in the basin, but little of it is susceptible to underground mining. According to the *U.S. Department of the Interior Coal Geology and Assessment of Coal Resources and Reserves in the Powder River Basin, Wyoming and Montana* Paper 1809, dated May 2015, the basin “… contains the largest deposits of low-sulfur sub-bituminous coal in the world.”

Figure 498: Location of the Powder River Basin showing location of the battlefield
According to the *U.S. Department of the Interior, Geologic Assessment of Undiscovered Oil and Gas in the Powder River Basin, Province, Wyoming and Montana and the Coal Bed Methane in the Powder River Basin, Wyoming and Montana, Data Series DDS-69-C*, the most likely mineral development in the area of the battlefield is coal bed methane, oil, and natural gas. The USGS has developed mineral assessment wells in the Southern Montana and Wyoming portions of the PRB.
Figure 499: USGS assessment of location of coal beds and mine areas

Note that the USGS assessment in Figures 500 and 501 indicate there are likely significant deep coal seams under the battlefield area. Also, Figure 500 shows the location of existing coal mines, none of which are located near the battlefield. The development of a coal mine is
probably not a serious threat due to the depth of existing coal seams and better development opportunities elsewhere in the PRB.

Figure 500: USGS assessment of PRB coal deposits

A more likely threat than coal to the battlefield is the production of Coal Bed Natural Gas (CBNG). Figure 502 (developed by the State of Wyoming Geological Survey) illustrates a typical CBNG well. Land owners have reported natural gas coming from water wells located next to the Powder River. The CBMG development process is to pump water out of coal seams to release the methane gas trapped in the coal. Development of CBNG results in ground surface impacts such as roads, storage tanks, power lines, pipelines, pumping plants, and noise.
disturbances. There is also the issue of water which has been pumped from the coal seam. Sometime this water has high salt content that must be disposed of in an environmentally sound way. Planning for CBNG can be accomplished to generally avoid important small environmental areas. The BLM has established policies of “no surface occupancy” on federal mineral areas. We are not aware of any such policy under the State of Montana land.

CBNG requires connecting pipelines between wells and pipelines to export the natural gas to markets. These pipelines are major expenses. There are no major natural gas pipelines in the
vicinity of the battlefield. This presents a significant economic hurdle to coal bed methane development (Figure 503).

Other aspects of battlefield protection are the cultural artifacts that have been collected for over 70 years. The historical artifacts collections (as discussed in other sections of the report) are important to the interpretation of battlefield history. These cultural artifacts include a collection on display at the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus, Montana, and the Patrick Zimmer collection. Mr. Zimmer lives in Lead, South Dakota. Our team believes the artifacts of the Zimmer Collections are from the battlefield and consistent with the 1876-time period. Patrick Zimmer has maintained the vast majority of his collection.
Appendix G: Terrain Analysis of the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876

To understand the significance and/or value of terrain and how it contributes to the outcome of a battle or skirmish, the U.S. military developed a method known as KOCOA (Key Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Concealment and Cover, Obstacles, and Avenues of Approach and Withdraw). Military leaders of all races and nationalities, throughout the ages, have sought to benefit from holding key terrain in order to gain an advantage over enemy forces in military conflicts.

Historians have long studied the campaigns of great military personalities and sought to determine why certain leaders were victorious. What was discovered is that a major component of success was taking advantage of the landscape of the battlefield and surrounding areas. Knowing how to best use terrain and force an enemy into inferior ground was and still is critical to success and, in many cases, is the main cause of victory.

An excellent example of terrain being the primary factor for success is the Battle of Fredericksburg, Virginia, December 11-15, 1862. General Robert E. Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia controlled the heights overlooking Fredericksburg. His men, entrenched on the high ground, withstood repeated assaults by Major General Ambrose E. Burnside’s Army of the Potomac. By the time the battle was over, the Union forces had taken three times the casualties suffered by the Confederate defenders. Although terrain was not the only factor ensuring Lee’s victory, it was primary to success.

Terrain Analysis is the method of determining how the landscape in an area of military operation can impact the outcome of a battle, skirmish or campaign. The U.S. Military
developed a method known as OCOKA (Observation and Field of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles (man-made and natural), Key or Decisive Terrain, Avenues of Approach). This method has been refined and adopted by the U.S. Military and is currently used by the American Battlefield Protection Program. The refined term is now KOCOA.

The 5 steps of KOCOA follow: Key Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Concealment and Cover, Obstacles, and Avenues of Approach and Withdraw.

**Key Terrain:** Any terrain feature that provides a military force with a marked advantage.

**Observation and Fields of Fire:** Observation is the ability to see movements of friendly and enemy forces. Fields of Fire refers to the ability to effectively use weapon systems on opposing troops.

**Cover and Concealment:** Cover is protection against the effects of enemy fire. Concealment is the ability to move without enemy observation. Hills, ravines, and dense vegetation are examples of terrain that can provide concealment.

**Obstacles:** Obstacles are objects that stop or divert movement of troops, both friendly and enemy

**Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal:** Routes that friendly or enemy forces use to try to obtain their objectives.

Terrain Analysis is fundamental to understanding the Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876. It provides the reader with the opportunity to determine how effectively the U.S. military forces as well as the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors used the battlefield terrain in order to influence the outcome of the conflict.

U.S. military leaders, such as Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds and his subordinates, Major Thaddeus H. Stanton, Captains Anson Mills, Henry E. Noyes, and Alexander Moore were tested leaders,
who honed their skills during the Civil War, in such battles as Antietam, Brandy Station, Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Kennesaw Mountain. Additionally, Reynolds and many of his fellow officers studied the art of warfare at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

The Northern Cheyenne and Sioux leaders intimately knew the value of terrain and how it helped them survive in a world where warfare was expected and participation in the various warrior societies helped define their culture. Leaders such as Old Bear, Two Moon, Little Wolf, Ridge Bear, Black Eagle, and He Dog spent much of their lives fighting traditional enemies such as the Crow or Shoshoni or U.S. soldiers at the fights near Fort Phil Kearny or against Major Eugene Baker’s soldiers on the Yellowstone.

The study team developed the following KOCOA analysis after completing extensive study of primary and secondary records of this Powder River Fight, March 17, 1876. This analysis included maps drawn by officers who participated in the battle. Extensive artifact collections had previously been gathered from the battlefield. The study team has spent considerable time on the site with three of the collectors. Our team has also conducted metal detection verification of the location of past collections. The information and data discovered has given us confidence in our depiction of the troop movements on the battlefield. See Report Section V.

What remains unclear is the precise trail that Colonel Reynolds’s command used to descend into the Powder River Valley as they advanced on the Northern Cheyenne Village. The terrain between the Otter Creek divide and the Powder River could be traversed in several locations. Some historic interpretations concluded that Colonel Reynolds’s Command’s route was down Graham Creek. There are other major draws between Graham Creek and Thompson Creek that
are feasible to descend to the valley floor, adding to the uncertainty of Reynolds’s route of approach. From a KOCOA analysis standpoint it makes little difference because all potential routes entirely conceal the force until they arrive near the battle site.

The following Google image illustrates the terrain traversed by Reynolds’s command in the darkness of the early morning hours.

![Google Earth image of terrain between Graham and Thompson Creek](image)

*Figure 503: Google Earth image of terrain between Graham and Thompson Creek*

We have used the map drawn by 2nd Lieutenant Charles Morton and approved by Engineer William S. Stanton on May 7, 1876, in this KOCOA assessment. This map was approved less than two months after the battle and fits with the terrain more accurately than other maps of record. Additionally, the troop movements shown in the Morton map are consistent with artifacts found on the battlefield. The Morton Map indicates that the Command arrived in the area between Graham and Thompson Creeks. This location is feasible, and as a result we have used this prospective in this analysis.
In this analysis we have used the term “Terrain Feature” plus a capital letter to indicate locations on the various terrain images. This is important to help the reader understand the nature of the terrain and our conclusions.
Terrain of Military Significance to the U.S. Army

Terrain Feature A: Terrain Above the Powder River Valley: Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, upon reaching the summit overlooking these Powder River Valley, selected ridges and the dry creek beds in its vicinity as the avenue of approach to the Powder River. This route was discovered by Colonel Reynolds’s scouts led by Frank Grouard, who were trailing two warriors returning to their village on the Powder River. This terrain, covered with snow and traversed during early morning darkness, provided a difficult but adequate movement corridor to the vicinity of the village. The three battalions of cavalry descended the rough terrain to within one and a half miles of the village without being seen by Northern Cheyenne warriors. The rough terrain and heavy undergrowth kept Reynolds’s force entirely concealed up to one mile and a half from the Northern Cheyenne village on the Powder River valley floor.

Figure 505: Google Earth image looking north. The Yellow dotted line shows the approximate avenues of approach of the battalions

Terrain Feature B: Bluffs overlooking Thompson Creek: This feature is a large bluff located one and a half miles southwest of the Northern Cheyenne village. The ridge line of this bluff facing north is over a half-mile long. Colonel Reynolds chose this position as the staging area for the attack on the village. The selection of this site provided a large enough area at the base of the bluff to allow for the maneuver of
Colonel Reynolds’s three battalions in preparation to deploy to their pre-attack locations (assembly areas). The bluffs running in an east to west direction provided cover and concealment from enemy observation and fire. From the ridge line at this location, the soldiers and scouts had an unobstructed view of the Powder River Valley to the north all the way to due east. Finally, a dry creek bed directly south of this bluff served as an avenue of approach to the Thompson Creek Valley to the north.

**Terrain Feature C: Captains Noyes and Egan’s Assembly Area:** The bluffs to the east of Colonel Reynolds’s Staging Area B were selected by Colonel Reynolds as Captain Noyes and Egan’s Assembly Area. This location was less than a half-mile from the initial staging area. The avenue of approach to Noyes and Egan’s location was rough and required significant effort to reach. Once there, the benefits of this position outweighed the negatives. The view from the ridge at this location allowed for an unobstructed observation of the route of the upcoming charge upon the village. In addition, this position provided an excellent view of the surrounding terrain to the west and east of the village, including the location of Northern Cheyenne horse herds. Through proper reconnoitering conducted by Baptiste Pourier, the best avenue of approach from this assembly area to the village was discovered and would be effectively used by Noyes’s battalion. Complete concealment was possible for the three battalions because of favorable terrain from point B to E and point C to D.
Terrain Feature D: Thompson Creek Valley: North of the staging area lies Thompson Creek, which runs from west to east and flows into the Powder River. Thompson Creek is usually a dry creek bed and its valley is generally rough, but passable enough to allow a body of troops to move across undetected or under cover.
Terrain Feature E: Captain Moore’s Position: Captain Moore, after crossing Thompson Creek Valley, maneuvered his men to positions below the ridge line of this bluff. The bluff stretched for one quarter-mile, providing more than adequate cover and concealment for his men. Upon reaching the ridge of the bluff, the Northern Cheyenne village was clearly seen, although at a distance of 1000 yards. This location provided clear observation of the village and surrounding terrain. The field of fire was clear of obstruction but at a very long distance, rendering any rifle fire from that location as inaccurate and generally ineffectual.
Terrain Feature F: Major Stanton’s Position: The ridge line of the bluff selected by Major Stanton’s men as a fighting position was significantly closer than Captain Moore’s location. This site was less than 500 yards from the Northern Cheyenne village, offering a good field of fire. The location provided cover and concealment for this small group of men. From this bluff, the Powder River Valley was easily observed, including the village and its surroundings. This was also the only position the U.S. military held that could respond to a possible Northern Cheyenne withdrawal.

Terrain Feature G: Northern Cheyenne Village: The Northern Cheyenne village, located amongst numerous cottonwood trees and dense undergrowth was the most important objective (key terrain) that Colonel Reynolds sought to capture. The village had to be destroyed and the horse herd captured in order for the U.S. attack to be declared a victory. Additionally, the capture of the non-combatants (women, children, elders) could entice the warriors to surrender, which would result in the U.S. forcing
achieving a more important objective, that of forcing their return to the assigned reservation(s). Colonel Reynolds successfully captured and destroyed the village and its contents, primarily through the efforts of Captains Egan and Mills. Captain Noyes also succeeded in capturing the horse herd. The remaining companies supported the attack ensuring Reynolds a certain level of success. However, Reynolds did not succeed in capturing the non-combatants and warriors, who easily fled to the ravines to the northwest and along the Powder River Valley north of the village, both avenues of withdrawal securely protected by the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors. Additionally, the dense cottonwood and undergrowth north of the village were obstacles that hindered the U.S. soldiers, who were unable to clear the area, allowing the warriors to continue to harass Reynolds’s men.

Figure 509: This image is looking southeast to the village. Courtesy Jager Held

**Terrain Feature J: Hospital Bluff:** This terrain feature was located three quarters of a mile from the primary action of the engagement, far enough away to serve as a relatively safe casualty collection point and field hospital. It also served as a rally point and natural corral for the captured horse herd. The location could easily be reached by a direct avenue of withdrawal from the village, and was located
below the mesa (terrace) and further protected by bluffs to the west and south. The natural terrain (bluffs and terrace) provided both cover and concealment for the troops and animals in that vicinity. Later in the fight, Colonel Reynolds would use this location as an assembly point for his three battalions, prior to his departure from the fight.

Figure 510: Hospital Bluff (to the left), looking west from the east side of the Powder River. Courtesy Jaeger Held

Terrain of Military Significance to the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux Warriors

Terrain Feature G: Northern Cheyenne Village: The village and the surrounding horse herd was the key terrain occupied initially by the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux. The village was not only their home, but also where they kept their most prized possessions and valuables. Old Bear and Two Moon, along with the other leaders, selected the location as a winter camp, in a well-protected area. Large bluffs to the west and heavy undergrowth and cottonwoods to the north served as obstacles and obstructions that
would prove extremely difficult to circumvent. Situating the village in the thick cottonwood forest provided natural defensive positions in case of attack, and downed cottonwoods provided further protection. To the south was a flat river bottom (terrace), which provided easy access to and from the village. The only significant obstacle to the southwest was a relatively steep terrace about ten feet tall, not far from the village location that would have to be descended during an attack. Wolves (scouts) situated in locations covering the more exposed areas could alert the village to any assault from those directions. The warriors, once alerted had good fields of fire facing enemies coming from a southerly or western direction. The avenue of withdrawal from the village was well-protected by the natural terrain (rough and steep bluffs to the west).

Figure 511: This image facing west portrays avenues of withdrawal and counter-attack by Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors

**Terrain Feature H: Large Ravine:** The ravine located about a half-mile northwest of the village was well situated as an avenue of escape for the Northern Cheyenne. The bluffs located to the west of the village would make it nearly impossible to cut off anyone fleeing in that direction. The ravine not only served as an avenue of withdrawal but also served as cover and concealment for the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux non-combatants. In the course of the battle, numerous warriors would use the large ravine as an assembly area prior to returning to the battle.
Terrain Feature I: Bluffs west of village: After securing the non-combatants in the large ravine away from the fighting, warriors positioned themselves in the bluffs one-third of a mile west of the village. These locations provided good fields of fire from the high ground, overlooking the village. The warriors took advantage of positions in the bluffs, previously occupied then abandoned by Moore’s and Stanton’s men. As the battle continued, warriors used the natural cover in the bluffs to slowly work their way around Colonel Reynolds’s left flank. This action provided the Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors with improved observation and fields of fire at a variety of U.S. military targets, not only the companies occupying the village, but also horse holders, located to the south and west. The harassment initiated by the warriors in the bluffs, (position I) along with those located north of the village resulted in the withdrawal of Colonel Reynolds’s force from the village.

Figure 512: This image facing south indicates avenues of withdrawal and counter-attack by Northern Cheyenne and Sioux
Figure 513: Position I is seen to the west and shows the area occupied by Major Stanton’s party as well as advancing Northern Cheyenne and Sioux warriors later in the fight. Courtesy Jaeger Held
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Relevance to Battle</th>
<th>Field Comments</th>
<th>KOCOA Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Terrain above the Powder River: A</td>
<td>Rough Terrain SW of Powder River</td>
<td>Avenue of approach for Col. Reynolds’s force</td>
<td>Small dry creek bed</td>
<td>Ave. of Approach, Concealment (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluff overlooking Thompson Creek: B</td>
<td>1 ½-miles south west of village</td>
<td>Colonel J.J. Reynolds’s staging area</td>
<td>Large open area south (behind) of bluff</td>
<td>Key Terrain, Observation, Concealment (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains Noyes and Egan’s Assembly Area: C</td>
<td>3/4-mile south of village</td>
<td>Captains Noyes and Egan’s Assembly Area</td>
<td>Ridge overlooks Powder River and village</td>
<td>Ave. of Approach, Concealment, and Observation (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson Creek Valley: D</td>
<td>Semi-flat terrain between bluffs west of village and Reynolds’s staging area.</td>
<td>Crossed by U.S. soldiers in approach to village.</td>
<td>Relatively flat area, enough natural features to conceal troop movement</td>
<td>Ave. of Approach, Concealment (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain Moore’s Position: E</td>
<td>3/4-mile south-west of village</td>
<td>Occupied by Captain Moore’s Battalion</td>
<td>Ridge overlooking village at long distance rifle range</td>
<td>Cover and Concealment, Observation, Field of Fire (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Stanton’s Position: F</td>
<td>1/3-mile west of village</td>
<td>Occupied by Major Stanton’s party of soldiers</td>
<td>Ridge overlooking village within rifle range</td>
<td>Key Terrain, Cover and Concealment, Observation, Field of Fire (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cheyenne Village: G</td>
<td>Powder River bottoms</td>
<td>Location of N. Cheyenne Village, horse herds in close proximity</td>
<td>Village sheltered by cottonwood trees and dense vegetation, bluffs to west, Powder River to East</td>
<td>Key Terrain, Obstacles (U.S.) Key Terrain, Cover and Concealment (N. Cheyenne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Ravine: H</td>
<td>Large Ravine less than 1/2-mile northwest of village</td>
<td>Escape route for Northern Cheyenne noncombatants</td>
<td>Ravine northwest of village</td>
<td>Obstacle (U.S.) Cover and Concealment, Ave. of Withdrawal, Key Terrain (N. Cheyenne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluffs west of village: I</td>
<td>Large bluff, 1/3 miles west of village</td>
<td>Various N. Cheyenne firing positions</td>
<td>Rough terrain west of village</td>
<td>Cover and Concealment, Observation, Fields of Fire (N. Cheyenne)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital Bluff: J</td>
<td>Large bluff 3/4 mile south of village</td>
<td>Gather casualties, Staging Area for U.S. withdrawal</td>
<td>Large bluff south of village</td>
<td>Key Terrain, Ave. of Withdrawal, Concealment (U.S.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen, military leaders with the knowledge and experience to take advantage of the topography of a battlefield and the surrounding areas increase their ability to achieve a successful outcome. The readers of this report, armed with a broader understanding of the tools of KOCOA and Terrain Analysis can determine for themselves how effective the U.S. Army and Northern Cheyenne and Sioux were at using the terrain resourcefully in order to achieve their objectives.
Appendix H: Mapping the Battle of the Powder River

Mapping the Battle of Powder River
Big Horn Expedition 1876

Applying Digital Mapping Resources to Historical Reference

Dr. Timothy R. Urbaniak and Dennis J. Elliott

2017
# Table of Contents

I. Abstract..............................................................................................................................................2

II. Introduction.......................................................................................................................................3

III. Origin of the Map..............................................................................................................................4

IV. Importing the Historical Map into the GIS Environment and GPS Extraction...................7

V. Battle Chronology...............................................................................................................................12

VI. Study Area Map...............................................................................................................................13

VII. Conclusions....................................................................................................................................16

VIII. Bibliography..................................................................................................................................19
Abstract

During the spring of 1876, troops under the command of Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds traveled north through what is now Wyoming and southern Montana, with the intent of locating and confronting native peoples during a time of conflict on the Northern Plains. On March 17, 1876, the Big Horn Expedition engaged an encampment of primarily Northern Cheyenne that were camped along the west side of the Powder River. During the expedition, the military created a map that charted their travel corridor and identified camping sites.

This paper examines the process of importing the historic map into a Geographic Information System (GIS) environment for the purposes of relocating specifically referenced sites and combining specific geographical locations with written histories. In addition, a series of conflict maps were created through researching the written record that graphically represents the chronological development of the confrontation.
Introduction

This paper reviews the process of importing historical maps into a Geographic Information System (GIS) for the purpose of establishing data points for particular events including campsites, travel routes, and conflict area that occurred during the Big Horn Expedition of 1876. Once the historic map had been georeferenced into that environment, it was known from previous projects, including mapping for the Yellowstone Expedition of 1873 (Urbaniak and Elliott 2013), that specific locations could then be further examined for archaeological evidence and referenced for conflict chronology. Once complete, the overlay would provide a foundational template for examining specific events and the overall movement of the expedition.

Cultural researchers and managers engage vast amounts and varying types of data as part of their profession. "The majority of data that we are interested in is either spatial in nature or has a spatial attribute; artifacts, structures and sites are all located in space and typically we record their coordinates to place them in context" (Sorensen and Carmen 2009:238). As a data foundation for the project, ESRI ArcMap 9.3.1 software was used. GIS software "lets us visualize, question, analyze, interpret, and understand data to reveal relationships, patterns and trends." (ESRI 2017). Through the layer structure of the software a variety of representations can be embedded and navigated, which facilitates the examination of cultural resources from a variety of perspectives, including their proximity to the infrastructure existing today. One example of the interaction between the research and the mapping process occurred while referencing campsites along the military route. Once leaving
the area of Fort Fetterman to travel north, the Big Horn Expedition followed the Bozeman Trail, often camping in locations that had been used previously by other military and civilian travelers. In order to place the campsite locations as accurately as possible, factors were examined that included GPS locations of known forts and campsites, the rubber sheeting of the military map into the GIS environment, and odometer readings were used to establish the mapping route and extract GPS locations of additional campsites.

**Origin of the Map**

The map used for investigative reference for the project was obtained as a digital image by the principle investigator David Eckroth from the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. as a document within the Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, M666, Unbound Letters, with their enclosures, 1871-1880, Microfilm Roll 238, 1875. Information in the map title block states *Map of the Route of the Big Horn Expedition, commanded by Brig. General G. Crook, March 1st to 26th, 1876, Drawn by Charles Morton (sgd.), 2nd Lieut. 3rd Cav., Adjutant of Expedition* (Figure 1). The map was originally created at a scale of 9 miles to 1 inch. The map was originally obtained in two parts (north and south) which were merged together to form a 6059 x 10662 resolution uncompressed JPG image (Figures 2 and 3). Regarding the reference layers used with the ArcMap 9.3.1 software, publicly available data was obtained from the Montana Geographic Information Clearinghouse, Wyoming Geographic Information Systems, and ESRI websites, which were imported into the North American Datum (NAD) 1983 environment.
Figure 1 – Title Block of the Map of the Route of the Big Horn Expedition, commanded by Brig. General G. Crook, March 1st to 26th, 1876, Drawn by Charles Morton (sgd.), 2nd Lieut. 3rd Cav., Adjutant of Expedition.
Figure 2 – Spliced Map of the Route of the Big Horn Expedition, commanded by Brig. General G. Crook, March 1st to 26th, 1876, Drawn by Charles Morton (sgd.), 2nd Lieut. 3rd Cav., Adjutant of Expedition.
Importing the Historical Map into the GIS Environment and GPS Extraction

The images imported into the GIS environment are in an uncompressed JPG format at a high resolution. The process of importing a pixel-based or raster image into a GIS software is referred to as "georeferencing a raster dataset," commonly referred to as rubbersheeting. Through the rubbersheeting process the imported image is positioned and adjusted in the GIS environment. Since maps are often created using a variety of scales and geographical
projection systems, imported images generally need to be scaled and/or axially stretched. In some cases, specific regions of historical maps may need to be dissected and addressed as individual sections if it is found that variance in accuracy occurred for areas of specific focus. Throughout the entire process it needs to be considered that historic mapmakers were functioning in a vastly different era in every aspect of the survey process and that this process took place for them at a remote location while on the move. Additional considerations are that variance is inherent in the historical mapping of primary creek and river channels, and that a specific route line or camp point represents a group of people on the move while performing a variety of duties. Once that mindset has been established, it will follow that while some variance between past and current conditions and the two primary maps does occur, the overall accuracy of the Expedition map is quite impressive and provides an excellent source as a project foundation.

Following the importation of a landscape background, the 1876 Expedition Map was georeferenced in to the GIS environment. Overall, the top and bottom (generally the Yellowstone Valley to Fort Fetterman) of the map fit and scaled well, but issues arose in the central part of the map that included distortion of distances near Pumpkin Creek, Prairie Dog Creek, and the Tongue River. It appears that some creeks (Pumpkin Creek, in particular) may have been mislabeled. Individual control points were used to more accurately georeference these areas. Once positioned, a layer was created for symbology and the appropriate symbols were added (Figure 4). At this point, the campsite GPS locations were identified (Figure 5), then exported to a table and added to the map (Figure 6).
Figure 4 – GIS environment with the military map georeferenced and symbology added.
Figure 5 – GIS environment with the forts, campsites, and conflict area georeferenced and symbology added.
Figure 6 – GIS environment with the extracted GPS coordinates added.
**Battle Chronology**

Prior to creating the battle chronology maps, participants in the grant visited the location of the conflict area, walked the site, and obtained GPS reference points (Figure 7). This information was then used to locate and explore the area in Google Earth. Following a review of several potential landscape viewing angles and locations, a suitable viewing location was established, which provided a view of a three-dimensional landscape to compare to the written record. However, the extracted landscape image is cluttered with the infrastructure of current civilization, which would detract from the scene and ill represent the landscape as it was in 1876. To accomplish a more suitable representation for the chronology, the appropriate view was obtained, saved as an image (Figure 8), and edited in the Photoshop software primarily using the *clone tool* to digitally eradicate unwanted graphics components (Figure 9). To support the realism of the representation of the historical landscape, the timeline in Google Earth was set as closely as possible to the corresponding date of occurrence (March 17, 18176). Once the landscape scene edit was complete, Principle Investigator David Eckroth provided notes and sketches to the cartographer so that information about combatant’s locations and movements could be graphically inserted into the image. This chronological unfolding of the events through 10 phases were developed through the review and interpretation of written accounts of the participants who, in many cases, included specific detail regarding landforms where the conflict occurred (Figure 10).
Study Area Map

The Study Area Map was created from a cropped area of quad maps Bradshaw Creek (west) and Moorhead (east). The graphics were imported into Photoshop, where layers were created for area boundaries, notations and additional graphics (Figure 11). This map provides a generalized overview of the conflict area and the movements of the participants on the immediate landscape.

Figure 7 – GPS field reference from site visitation.
Figure 8 – The conflict area extracted from Google Earth.

Figure 9 – The conflict area extracted from Google Earth with contemporary features removed.
Figure 10 – Landscape as referenced for the phase maps.
Conclusions

Contrary to the many positive aspects of utilizing GPS and GIS as cultural management tools for a project such as this, negative aspects are present, in this case including concerns over access to specific GPS points which could lead unscrupulous individuals to sites for the purpose of removing historical artifacts. If this data is to be stored, a stratified data access system with varying levels of access may be desirable (ESRI 2009:20).

Figure 11 – Study Area Map as created from quad maps Bradshaw Creek and Moorhead.
Cultural Resource Management (CRM) organizations are proper in their concern over potential broad distribution of GPS data. "Technology and the Internet have exacerbated the problem," notes public land guide Vaughn Hadenfeldt. "Hand-held GPS devices, which can pinpoint the exact location of an archaeological site, combined with off-road vehicle use, have made locating archaeological sites easy. People post positions of sites on home web sites, which are widely read and promote visitation. You no longer have to be savvy with a compass. You just punch in the coordinates and go right to a site" (Schiffman 2005). There are also generalized interpretive concerns about any data collection that results in a map. "Inevitably, all maps embody their author's prejudices and partialities, and the map reveals not the 'world' but the agency of the mapmaker" (Sorensen and Carmen 2009:239). We can infer from this line of thought that when maps are made with information that is not to be distributed, the information embedded must hold cultural value that would generate such concern. Allowing an unfettered distribution of digital information relevant to culture and heritage can be damaging in many ways. The distribution of accurate mapping data can lead to the looting of previously unknown sites, damage to sites in the form of cultural conflict or unintentional damage in the form of informal tourism.

In the views of the cartographers, the project successfully presents reasonably accurate data regarding the route, campsites, battle location, and other features concerning the Big Horn Expedition of 1876, and provides a solid base for not only examining aspects of this expedition, but future studies as well. Having applied these methods successfully to multiple projects, it has been proven to be a reasonably accurate way to explore specific landscape
details through the projection of historic maps into a GIS environment, particularly those of the military of the late 1800s.
Bibliography

ESRI

ESRI

Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and Carman, John, eds.

Montana Geographic Information Clearinghouse

National Archives
2016 Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, M666, Unbound Letters, with their enclosures, 1871-1880, Microfilm Roll 238, College Park, Maryland.

Schiffman, Lisa

Sorensen, Marie Louise Stig and Carman, John, eds.

University of Virginia
2011 Virginia, Thomas L. Rosser and Family Papers, Excision No. 1171-D, -E, -F Box 2. Special Collection Department, Alderman Memorial Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Urbaniak, Timothy and Elliott, Dennis

Wyoming Geospatial Hub
Appendix I: Lessons Learned

It is important to document experiences during the development and carrying out of the battlefield study to benefit future work. We are pleased to report that there were a number of things that were accomplished and relationships established that significantly assisted in the development of this report.

Collaboration with the Powder River Historical Museum in Broadus was essential to be able to photograph the extensive artifact collection from the Battlefield and put us in contact with landowners and collectors.

Collaboration with the current landowner, Hugh Fulton was important because of his intimate knowledge of the battlefield, the terrain adjacent to the battlefield and identifying the locations where he and his family had found artifacts. Collaboration with folks with intimate knowledge of the site provided verification of specific field locations such as the Northern Cheyenne village site and Captain Moore’s position.

This battlefield had extensive collection of artifacts made over the years. Our work in identifying the principle collector and gaining his assistance in coming to the battlefield was invaluable to our understanding of the battle. He was also helpful in allowing us to photograph his entire collection which has been made part of this report. Jaeger Held, who lives close to the battlefield, shared knowledge, collections and past experiences on the site.

We accomplished more than an adequate field survey within the budget provided within the grant. Further ground survey would have been significantly more expensive and due to the
extensive collections already acquired, would have produced little additional understanding of the totality of the battle. Our archaeological work was adequate to verify what we believed were the phases of the battle.

It was important to have the technical capability of Tim Urbaniak and Dennis Elliott in the development of maps and graphics of the report. The work was expertly researched and carried out using GIS and modern graphics technology.

Field surveys and expedition route exploration, along with research materials gave the researchers strong familiarization, intimate knowledge of the site, intensive walking of the battle area provided hands-on experiences in a mostly unchanged landscape.

We believe that the teams’ and our principle researcher’s skills have improved since we started completing ABPP studies. Our ability to locate important information in archives, on-line and in the field, has significantly developed.

Our ability to organize the huge volumes of information extracted from archives and other research arenas has improved. We have been able to use the APA processes more effectively.

It was important to meet with the Northern Cheyenne Cultural Commission and get their perspective on the battle. Continued communication with the Northern Cheyenne will enhance the ability to protect the battlefield. Focusing Northern Cheyenne leadership to the significance of the battle and its specific location will help increase the efforts for battlefield preservation.

Collaborating with Doug Melton, BLM Lead Archeologist at the Miles City Field Office was essential. Part of the battle site lay on BLM lands. The BLM is striving toward conservation and
preservation of the site. Our archeologist along with Doug Melton are writing the National
Register of Historic Sites. Doug Melton was instrumental in contacting the Northern Cheyenne
Tribal Members and conferencing about the site. We will continue to collaborate with Doug
Melton and the Northern Cheyenne tribe in developing an interpretive plan for the site.

It was important to develop a study on the location changes of the Powder River. Prairie rivers
are subject to location change over the decades which can modify the understanding to the
battle site. Understanding the fluvial geomorphology of prairie rivers is important. The study
of the Powder River Geomorphological changes since the time of the battle are critical to any
KOCOA analysis.

The study was hampered by long distances traveled and the isolated location of the battlefield.
The area also has hard winters which limits the season for field work and much of the area is
used as farmland.