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Article Summary: Dudley's letters provide previously unknown details concerning the first major battle of the Sioux Wars. More than fifty years later he recalled no instance of brutality during the famous battle and no mistreatment of prisoners.

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Photographs / Images: Dudley in 1887 with his staff; Dudley during the Civil War; "Sketch of the Blue Water Creek," 1855; illustration from General Harney's 1878 biography showing the Battle of Ash Hollow; Spotted Tail, wounded in the battle; photograph of Blue Creek; mound that is the only visible remnant of Fort Grattan (1931 photo)

Battle of Ash Hollow: The 1909-1910 Recollections of General N. A. M. Dudley

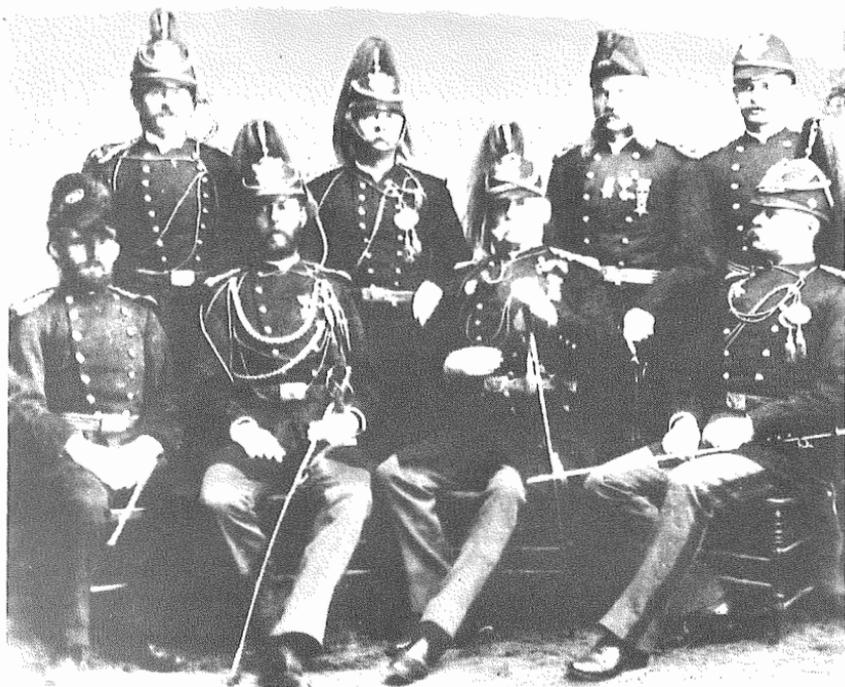
EDITED BY R. ELI PAUL

INTRODUCTION

On September 3, 1855, a United States Army expeditionary force attacked a village of Brule Sioux encamped on Blue Water Creek, a tributary of the North Platte River near the overland trail landmark of Ash Hollow. Acclaimed as a great military victory by some and a massacre by others, the Battle of Ash Hollow¹ was nonetheless starkly effective in its accomplishments: 86 Indian fatalities, few casualties among the soldiers, and the apparent chastisement of the same Sioux accused of wiping out Lieutenant John L. Grattan's detachment near Fort Laramie the previous year. Moreover, the US Army had successfully used a combined infantry and mounted force—the largest that had yet been seen in Nebraska Territory—against the ever-mobile Sioux.²

The letters of Brigadier General Nathan Augustus Monroe Dudley recall heretofore unknown details concerning the battle. Dudley, a member of the expedition against the Sioux, was a newly commissioned first lieutenant in the 10th Infantry Regiment. The year 1855 marked his first as a member of the frontier Army and began a career which would span four decades, a period which roughly coincided with the Indian Wars on the plains.

Nathan Dudley was born in Lexington, Massachusetts, on August 20, 1825, the son of John and Ester Dudley. His home was Roxbury, Massachusetts, a town now engulfed by the Boston metropolis. He was appointed to the US Army as a first lieutenant on March 3, 1855, and saw action immediately on the Sioux Expedition with a newly recruited company of the 10th Infantry. In 1857 he was a member of the Utah Expedition, a government attempt to forcefully deal with the Mormon



N.A.M. Dudley (seated second from right), late in his military career, Fort Custer, 1887, with his staff. Courtesy Custer Battlefield Historical and Museum Association.



General Dudley during the Civil War. Courtesy Library of Congress.

problem. Dudley served during the Civil War as a colonel of the 30th Massachusetts Infantry, with extensive duty on the lower Mississippi. Major engagements included the Battle of Baton Rouge, the siege of Port Hudson, and the Red River campaign. After being mustered out of volunteer service, he was placed in charge of the Freedman's Bureau at Memphis, Tennessee, and performed later reconstruction duty in Texas. Dudley was assigned to the 3rd Cavalry (1870), then reassigned to the 9th Cavalry (1876). During this time he was stationed at numerous posts on the frontier, especially in the Department of the Platte, as well as campaigning in the Southwest against Apaches. Promoted to colonel in the 1st Cavalry in 1885, he retired four years later. He dutifully volunteered in 1898 to lead a cavalry force against the Spaniards, but apparently his offer was declined. In 1904 he received a promotion by act of Congress to the rank of brigadier general. Dudley died at his home in Roxbury on April 29, 1910, some seven weeks after writing the last of these letters.³

As 1855 proved to be a memorable year for Lieutenant Dudley, so it was for the relations between the United States and the Sioux Indians. The Sioux Expedition was organized as retaliation for the Grattan incident of 1854 and to end any threat of a closed overland route.⁴ It was the first major military foray against the Sioux. Led by Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney, nine companies of troops were gathered at Fort Kearny.⁵ Leaving there on August 24, they followed the Platte Valley route, crossed the South Platte River at the Upper Ford, and reached Ash Hollow on September 2, 1855.

The days immediately following the battle were occupied with the construction of a sod enclosure, appropriately named Fort Grattan. Most of the command traveled on to Fort Laramie; one company of infantry remained at the new fort. Dudley's company of mounted infantry wintered at Fort Laramie, while Harney pushed on to Fort Pierre. There he met the second contingent of his force which had been transported up the Missouri River by steamboats. The expedition effectively concluded the following spring with a large treaty council between the Sioux bands and General Harney at Fort Pierre.

These letters join a number of published eyewitness accounts of the Battle of Ash Hollow⁶ and bear witness to the interest that Robert Harvey, chairman of the Nebraska State Historical

Society Committee on Historic Sites, took in the event. Harvey wished to mark the site of the battle and contacted survivors for information on its exact location. Another subject of Harvey's inquiry was that of soldier atrocities at the battle. He had acquired considerable information in 1908 from one such participant, General Richard C. Drum, and undertook the same procedure the following year with General Dudley.

In N. A. M. Dudley, the career soldier, Robert Harvey found a man who had experienced an amazing variety of events in the West. His participation in the Battle of Ash Hollow served merely as a prelude. His post-war Army service found him in 1874 in the midst of a catastrophic grasshopper plague which devastated the Republican River Valley in Nebraska. Later in 1878 Dudley gained a small measure of frontier immortality by being the senior Army officer on the scene during the most heated part of the famous Lincoln County War, New Mexico Territory. In 1880 he was on the Buell Expedition which tracked down the Apache leader, Victorio, in Mexico. In 1886, nearing retirement, Dudley participated in a 10-year anniversary observance of the Battle of Little Big Horn at Fort Custer, Montana. As post commander, he served as the reunion's host.⁷

Fortunately, a few of Dudley's fellow comrades in arms have mentioned him in their writings. Captain Albert Tracy, with Dudley on the Utah Expedition, described him thus:

This man has not the slightest conception that he is an ass, and isasmuch as to bray him in a mortar would have no effect to convince him, he will go through life as composedly cheerful as if he were not an ass. Happy Dudley!⁸

Captain Jesse A. Gove, also on the Utah Expedition, had mixed feelings in the letters to his wife:

(February 12, 1858) "I think he has more tact than any man I know of. . . ." (July 8, 1858) "Dudley is a noisy, boisterous fellow, and not very popular in his regiment or in this army. As a soldier he is not considered equal to most of the others. . . . He is coarse and vulgar in his language and only tolerable as an officer. . . . Dudley is very sociable with all the officers, "but a high toned gentleman he is not, nor never can be."⁹

A contemporary of Dudley in the Civil War met a column commanded by "Colonel N. A. M. Dudley, who had been known by the *sobriquet* 'The Great North American Dudley,' but who afterwards, from the splendor of his uniform, was called 'Gold

Lace Dudley.”¹⁰ Anson Mills, a junior officer under Dudley at Fort McDowell, Arizona Territory, remembered him as being “of an overbearing, tyrannical disposition, and much addicted to drink.”¹¹ His superior in New Mexico Territory, General Lew Wallace, tersely wrote, “Honest. . . Talks too much.”¹² Although these miscellaneous descriptions are of a somewhat mixed nature, they help shed light, albeit dimly, on Dudley’s character and personality, frailties and strengths.

Dudley wrote Robert Harvey 11 letters, all of which are in the State Archives of the Nebraska State Historical Society. It is not known why Harvey did not prepare these letters for publication as he did in Drum’s case.¹³ However, when examined with a critical eye and compared to other accounts, they add considerable detail to this first major battle of the Sioux Wars. At times proud, other times maudlin, occasionally wandering far from the specific subject, the letters, nonetheless, comprise the aged soldier’s last reflections on a rich life.

All letters were written to Robert Harvey, and subsequently greetings and closings have been deleted. Original paragraphs have been retained, as has the spelling. Occasional punctuation has been added or deleted where needed.

THE LETTERS

January 23, 1909

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 20th inst. I shall take great pleasure in writing out a brief synopsis of my recollections of the Battle of Ash Hollow.

Your note brought it all fresh to my memory.

I am just recovering from a slight fever and hope within a week to be able to sit and do a little desk work.

The frost of eighty-four winters has not only whitened my locks, but somewhat restricted my physical capacity to sit long at my desk.

If you will wait patiently I hope to be well enough by the first of the month to do some work.

January 29, 1909

Your favor of the 20th inst., citing that Major [W. J.] Turner,* U. S. Army, had given you my name as one of the survivors of General [William Selby] Harney’s Fight at “Ash Hollow” with “Little

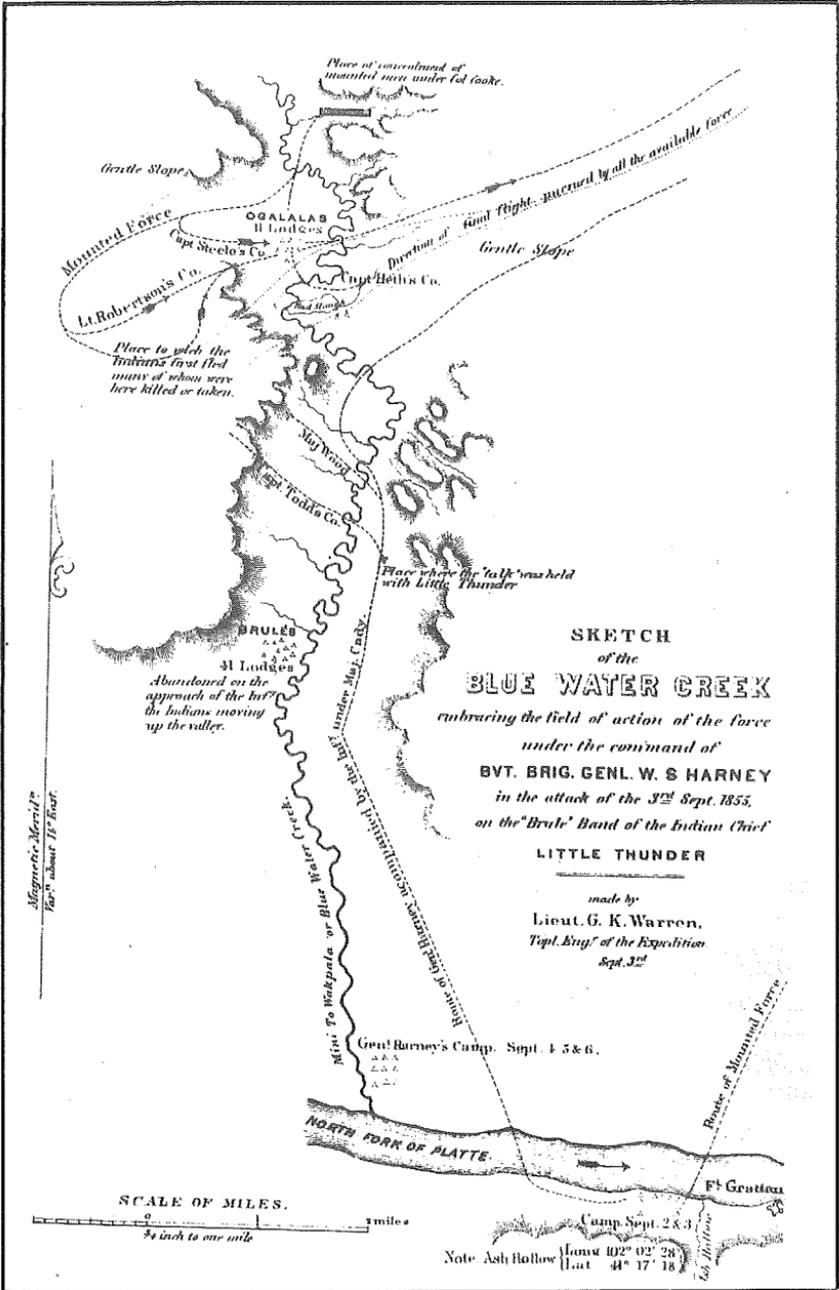
*An appendix has been included which lists Army officers mentioned by Dudley.

Thunder's"¹⁴ Brule Sioux Band on the 3d of September 1855, and that you would be glad to have my version of the affair, especially as to the truth of the generally credited reports, that cruelties and inhumanities were perpetrated by the soldiers in that engagement. Intimating that no quarter were given by the command, that grave, wanton treatment was given prisoners captured etc.

The Sioux expedition was organized, filled out and equiped at Old Fort Leavenworth, Kansas,¹⁵ under General Harney, known as one of the most distinguished and successful Indian fighters in our Army.

The expedition was composed of the crack organizations of the service. Among those selected was the old veteran regiment of 2d Dragoons, commanded by Col. P[hilip]. St. George Cooke; 5th Regiment Infantry,¹⁶ with Seth Eastman in command, Captain [William] Chipman [Chapman], Dan[iel] Ruggles, [Nathan Beakes] Rossell, [John C.] Robinson, [Benjamin] Wingate, [Carter Littlepage] Stevenson as company commanders, all afterwards general officers in the Rebellion [Civil War] on one side or the other. Part of the 2d, some of the 6th Infantry with [William Scott] Ketcham, Chas. S[wain]. Lovell, and alike elegant soldiers. Battery "G," 4th Art., under Albion P[arris]. Howe; E. Co. Tenth Inftry. was selected, being specially detached from its regiment, at Carlisle, Penn., and ordered to Leavenworth under Henry Heth, with the view of being mounted on the camels, then being imported purposely for this expedition as an experiment. The writer, 1st Lt. N. A. M. Dudley, was chosen as one of the subalterns, and 2d Lt. James S. Deshler, the other of this novel camel corps. Unfortunately the camels did not arrive in season, and after a long delay Indian ponies were secured from the Sacs and Foxes and these furnished the mount for this command.¹⁷

There were other detachments, including a small detachment of engineers under Lt. [Gouverneur Kemble] Warren, also one from the Ordnance Dept.¹⁸ It was as perfect a little army as ever up to that date had rolled out of Fort Leavenworth. Nearly all of the officers were old experienced veterans, who had served in the Mexican War and many years on the frontiers, campaigning against the Indians. The stores and transportation, including a well organized pack train, were along in excellent condition. Harney had his own way, taking his own time to organize the columns. Many minor expeditions had been sent out to capture and chastise these lawless, troublesome bands, specially the Brules under "Little Thunder." They had been visited by agents, by prominent officials; General Harney had personally talked with and advised their principal chiefs what the result would be if they continued their depredations. Council after council had been held resulting in no good. The Government had exhausted its resources, in all peaceful ways, to bring them to terms. The Indian Department had long lost its



SKETCH
of the
BLUE WATER CREEK
embracing the field of action of the force
under the command of
BVT. BRIG. GENL. W. S. HARNEY
in the attack of the 3rd Sept. 1855,
on the "Brule" Band of the Indian Chief
LITTLE THUNDER

made by
Lieut. G. K. Warren,
Capt. Eng^y of the Expedition
Sept. 3rd

From "Explorations in the Dakota Country in the Year 1855," Senate Executive Documents, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, Document 76 (US Serial Set, No. 822).

influence on the principal men. Patience ceased to be a virtue and the authorities decided on an open war with them. The Sioux, at this date, were generally well armed with rifles, had plenty of ammunition procured from emigrants, unprincipled traders, Mormons, and half breeds. The squaws and young bucks or boys all had supplies of bows and arrows, and were as skilled in their use as the warriors were in the rifles and pistols.

The column, as it rolled out of Fort Leavenworth and winded [wended] its trail westward over the beautiful undulating green prairie, its long supply train of white covered wagons, bodies of which were all painted freshly blue, headed by the full regiment of Dragoons followed by the regiments of Infantry in full marching kits and full ranks, with the Light Battery mounted as riflemen, the mounted infantry (camel corps) and other organizations presented a picture not often seen. The officers and men all in excellent spirits. The regular routine of march, day after day, about the same distance being accomplished daily, was enjoyed by the whole command. The weather was elegant. The trail in perfect condition. A brief halt was made at Old Fort Kearney [Fort Kearny on the Platte]. We had accomplished some three hundred miles of our march without any sign of Hostile Indians. We were now entering the campaigning grounds of the Brule, and reasonably could soon expect to see some sign of "Little Thunder's" Band, in detached parties. Scouts and guides were on the alert night and day on our flanks and in our front, seeking the location of the main body of the enemy.

The monotony of our marches was relieved and made fascinating to the men who had never before been on the plains by the frequent appearance of immense herds of buffalos in some instances stretching away in the horizon as far as the eye could cover. Not infrequently large bands of antelope would come within rifle shot of the column. This afforded the troops fine sport and gave us lots of fresh meat.

On the 1st [2nd] of Sept., 1855, the scouts came in reported that "Little Thunder" with his entire band were encamped on the "Little Blue Water" some six or eight miles nearly north of the mouth of "Ash Hollow." When we got the information we were halted at the head of "Ash Hollow" on the table land overlooking the north fork of the Platte.

The column was put in motion at once, and in two hours we were camped on the south bank of the North Platte, opposite Ash Hollow, on the ground where the earth work was built and maintained as a temporary post for a small force for the protection of emigrants for some two or more years.

No plans of attack were made to the troops until near midnight the evening of the 2d of Sept. When the command was roused by the guard waking the officers and men in a low tone of voice with orders to fall in on our company streets. No matches were to be lighted, no pipes or

cigars to be smoked and no loud talk or noise to be made; when the column moved across the Platte, which is nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide at that point, it was to be kept as close and compact as possible.

As its head stepped off the bank to enter the water of the Platte, General Harney stood on the bank and in a few words stated to the heads of corps where we were going, the object of the expedition, the justice of the punishment he was going to inflict on these bad, treacherous Indians, told the soldiers to remember the outrages that these Indians had perpetrated upon the whites who had attempted to cross the Plains to Oregon and California—urged the command to give them no let up until they were thoroughly thrashed. The old General was prolific in the use of profanity and utilized not a little of it to illustrate his earnestness at this time.¹⁹

There was no excitement, no noise or chinning, no transportation of wagons to create confusion or noise, as the latter was to be left in camp. In columns of twos, occasionally doubled up at halts, we rapidly marched until just before daylight, when a halt was ordered, and quickly the troops were moved into the several localities assigned them in the most quiet order conceivable and rested on their arms—for further order. The coming of daylight developed the position of the Indians. General Harney with his staff, with a small force of Dragoons, rode to the high ground in front of the force where his presence was discovered by “Little Thunder” who rode out to meet him, holding an umbrella over his head as a flag or insignia of truce.

In this interview he begged Harney to let him off, promising anything. The general told him “No,” repeated to him how he had warned him of this hour, that he had come to fight him, and he was going to do it. “Little Thunder” then tried to get an hour’s time for the purpose of sending his women and children out of his camp. Harney was up to this ruse and told him to go, that he would give him time to get a certain distance, then he would let his soldiers loose on him. The assault was commenced on three sides of the village. For a time they stood the attack bravely. A considerable number of warriors took shelter in a cave, where they fought desperately, which was attacked by Lt. [Edward McKeever] Hudson, Battery “G,” 4th Artillery. Nearly all of this party was killed; the balance of the band broke and ran towards the north. The mounted portion of the troops were at once ordered in strong parties to follow them, which was carried out. The mounted troops charged them, as is always done in case of a rout, killing and capturing all who showed resistance. My company “E,” 10th Infantry, was well mounted. I was in command; Capt. Heth being disabled.²⁰ I kept up the charge for nearly two hours, being resisted, fired upon. Finally the charge was over, and I commenced my march back to the main body. I saw no wanton or brutal instances of conduct on the part

of any troops on that date. That many squaws were killed and some children, also, was true. It could not be avoided. They were all huddled together in groups, made no signs of surrender that I saw. All the women were armed with bows and arrows and fought desperately alongside the bucks. In one instance on my returning to camp, after the charge had ended, I discovered a party of two near the trail I was on. I rode out to see them. When within fifteen feet of them they both fired at me, one aimed with a bow and arrow and the other a pistol; both were squaws. After a parley they surrendered and I took them prisoners to Fort Laramie where they were retained all winter and cared for. On returning from the chase the mounted troops rejoined the main column and camped for the night on the north bank of the North Platte. The next day the march was resumed, enroute for Old Fort Laramie, where we arrived without any special incident, of course taking with us such prisoners as we captured and that surrendered after the fight. A very large number were retained at the post all winter, being well fed from the commissary department. I do not exactly recall now the number of killed, over a hundred I think counted; many, no doubt, were secretly carried off which we did not see. The fighting was close and severe. They stood up and received this punishment like Sioux braves for a while until the rout commenced.

I repeat, I saw not a single instance of what could be called brutality during the engagement.

War is always cruel; [William Tecumseh] Sherman rightly says, "It's Hell." Only way to make it effective is to make it short and severe.

These identical Indians had been engaged for years in committing depredations on the defenceless white emigrants. Using the most murderous, barbarous modes of cruelty known in history. They deserved the punishment they received. They had made the peaceful transit of the trains to our colonies on the Pacific impossible by the thousands who annually attempted the journey. They had been warned, advised, again and again. Let off on promises which they paid no respect to. There was no other course left than that followed by the Government.

The statement that no prisoners were taken is wholly untrue. I personally brought in over fifteen in one group, all squaws, and a number of children; I do not know that these notes will cover the points your communications called for. If they do, you are at liberty to use them as you please. I have hastily written them out, without going over them for correction, all from memory. Fifty-four years have passed since the scenes depicted here occurred. That interval has been filled by a most active army experience, including a participation in the Great War of the Rebellion. The frosts of four score and four years have whitened and thinned my locks; yet in my quiet, restful home I live on



General Harney's 1878 biography contained this stirring, but exaggerated, rendition of the Battle of Ash Hollow.



Spotted Tail, a leader of the Brule Sioux, was wounded in the battle but escaped capture.

in pleasant memory, parts I have taken in my country's service, never receiving a painful reflection from the scenes it has been my lot to share with my comrades in the prosecution of my official duties. Had I shared with them in "cruel, wanton brutality" towards enemies I had met in battle, I am quite sure my days, now nearly ended, would not be as enjoyable and restful as they are.

January 29, 1909

I mailed you this morning a reply to your communication of the 20th inst. In thinking over the distances referred to, in my letter, at the grounds mentioned, I, on reflection, think it must be near twelve miles from our camp of the evening of the Sept. 2d to the point where the battle was fought on "Blue Water." Our march over the ground was made during the night and we made irregular halts, and it would be quite difficult to correctly estimate the distance under the circumstances. I came back over another route to our camp on the south fork of the south bank of the Platte.

Your state is familiar grounds to me. I am quite at home in my section of it. I campaigned all over it. In 1849 I passed through it, enroute to Oregon with the Mounted Rifles under Lt. Col. [William Wing] Loring, since a Pachi [pasha] to Egypt.²¹ In 1855 I was on the Sioux Expedition under Harney, wintered at Laramie '55 & '56—summer of '56 crossed over the Bad Lands to Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, with my company E, being 1st military expedition that ever explored that route.²² In 1857 my regiment was attached to the Utah expedition (10th Infy.), marched to Utah through the state to Salt Lake with [Albert Sidney] Johnston. In 1861 I marched back to Washington, via Leavenworth through Nebraska, and a jolly time we had with rebels in our own column, the Jay Hawks on our flanks and Guerillas all around us.

After the Civil War I was ordered with the 3d cavalry to the Dept. of the Platte. I built, rather made, all of Fort "Sidney Barracks"; I planted every tree that decorated that pretty spot years ago. I constructed the acequia [irrigation canal] which furnished the garrison with water the three different years I commanded that post and district. I cultivated a splendid vegetable garden there. I was the first party to make the discovery that alkali was a fertilizing element, not detriment; all that was needed was an abundance of water properly applied to the soil.

I raised in the grounds adjacent to the post the finest kind of vegetables, equal to any raised in Utah or in the fertile deposits of Kansas. Before I subsoiled the ground, it was barren of vegetation and white as snow from alkali. The President of your agriculture society at Omaha sent up parties several times to visit my experiments.²³ I was at Sidney three different years. I was in command, three different seasons, of old Fort McPherson.

The post at "North Platte" was part of my command for years. I shall never forget the pain I suffered while at McPherson in witnessing the wanton slaughter of the buffalo by the citizens of Omaha and the border towns. I was hopelessly unable to check it. Some days thirty and forty wagons and sleds would pass down the trail loaded to their capacity with the hides of buffalo. Killed solely for their skins. All I could do was to report the fact, and by personal letters to members of Congress, urge action on the part of Congress, but action was postponed until the mischief was done. While at McPherson I took, one winter by the approval of Genl. E[dward]. O[tho]. C[resap]. Ord, personally, wagon loads of provisions down to the settlers on the Republican who were in a starving condition.

During my term of service while stationed in command of "Sidney" and "McPherson" I went into a sheep speculation; myself and another party started a sheep ranch and stocked it with five thousand head of fine Merino sheep. The first year did splendidly; unfortunately I was ordered to Arizona and my agents robbed me of the whole string, aided by the severe winter that came on. Nebraska is not a good sheep country. I was twice stationed at Fort "D. A. Russell," once in command of the post which took me through your state frequently.

Some of the happiest days of my over half a century of army experience has been while away within the borders of good old Nebraska. The hunts, campaigns and scouts, all on its undulating plains, I have, in bye days, enjoyed highly.

How is your historical society prospering? We have a very successful one in our city. I had the honor of being its President three years—we have some four hundred names on the roster, largely of our best old Roxbury citizens. Its meetings are well attended and enjoyed.

I am afraid I have trespassed too largely on your busy moments, but my pleasant recollections of services in your state in its early start has carried me further than I had intended. I shall be pleased to hear from you at any time. I am almost alone in the world, except two grandchildren; all my family have passed over [to] the great majority.

With my best wishes for your health, etc.

P. S. If you give the other letter to the press, please send me a copy of the paper.

April 29, 1909

I owe you an apology, or explanation; all of your enclosures with communication came duly to hand in February last.

I hasten to state they came just as I was attacked by one of my ill spells, and I have not been able to do the work of replying to your letter.

I have been quite ill all the season. I am pretty well along in years—eighty-four years I now score. I cannot do the work I could in bye gone days.

I am regaining my strength. I feel I shall be able in a short time to study over some records which will tend to help my recollections of events of 1855.

I go down to my cottage at Egypt by the seaside the last week of May. I hope to regain my usual health and strength at once. I shall have quiet, rest and lots of time undisturbed to give your papers fine attention and, if spared, promise to do all I can to meet your wishes.

I regret my inability to attend to it before.

May 6, 1909

Your welcome favor of the 3d inst. came promptly to hand; contents noted. I cordially greet you as one of the war veterans; I heartily thank you for your good wishes.

I shall not forget to keep my promise to attend to the matter of answering your long communication. I can add my clear recollection of the fact that most of our killed at Ash Hollow Fight were massed at our camp and buried on the evening of the fight. As near as I can recall I should say we marched up the Platte about ten miles and camped in the bottom on the north side near the river. I remember the ground was very level, and the grass very tall. I was senior officer of the Guard on the west flank of the camp. I had two young graduates of West Point members of my guard. The rough service was new to them that night; they had come up and joined us only a day or so before the fight.²⁴

I do not think we got all of our dead; some were killed miles away in the charge Harney ordered the mounted to make. My troop followed the main body of Indians from ten to twelve miles. The country we charged over was undulating, mostly sand hills, no wooded country. I got into camp of the infantry just in the edge of the evening. They had moved up the river to a point west of the mouth of "Ash Hollow."

In passing up and down the country with troops previous to the Rebellion I always went up on the old Oregon Trail on the south side of the North Platte, but we could see our old camp of the night of the battle, and I have often pointed out to those that were not with us on that occasion.

I don't think the burial spot was marked. There were no stones or timber to use in the immediate vicinity.

That, if anything, was done by the small garrison that was located for a short time at the earth work built at the mouth of "Ash Hollow." To search for the missing bodies I am not able to state.

I am going to have a few more copies of Photos and I will remember you when I get them.

Yesterday, I consummated a contract with Barre Village [Vermont] Granite Co. for a memorial tablet, or monument, to be placed on my lot which was assigned me by the Federal Government twenty odd years

ago at Arlington Cemetery, Va. I am to be buried there when I pass away.²⁵

I am the last of a family of thirteen; when I am gone I have no near kin to do this for me.

It has been quite a job, so much red tape at Washington before you can accomplish anything of this sort. But I have succeeded in getting the last detail completed.

Perhaps you will feel that I might have gone into the work of answering your original communication instead of writing this. I am looking forward to getting down beside old Neptune at the south shore. I have a restful cottage there, where I go every summer. Ah! It is so quiet and restful. I can get out my old chest of notes and possibly may find something that will help you.

I won't trespass more on your time today. I love to chat with old time fellows—which is my apology for this wandering.

August 5, 1909

It is a long time since I promised to give your papers a careful study, but I have not forgotten the matter. My health has been bad. My doctor advised the laying aside all work of this character. Your communications, with lots of others, were laid away to be brought out when I got down to my summer cottage home by the south side of the sea shore at old Egypt, Mass. This morning I got them out, have just completed looking them all over; as I wrote you at first, I do not expect I can add much to what you have already got. I do want to most positively contradict the report you speak of in regard to the cruelties and wanton treatment of the prisoners captured at the Battle of Ash Hollow. It could not have been possible that such allegations could have been carried on in the presence of such men as [William] Hoffman, Ketcham, Lovell, [Frank Stanley] Armistead, all captains of the old Fifth Infantry, [Henry Francis] Clark[e], [Winfield S.] Hancock, [William Passmore] Carlin, [Louis Henry] Marshall, most of whom have become General officers, on both sides, with reputations of high repute, men of high standards, above any such acts. I could quote a dozen of church men who were present on that day who would have sacrificed their companions rather than tolerate for a moment such a course. It is a wicked lie and without a shadow of truth in it.

We had near two thousand Sioux Indian prisoners at old Fort Laramie the winter of '55 and '56, off and on. I never heard the charge from a buck or squaw. They were well fed, given blankets and attended by our medical officers as kindly as our own officers and men. As I before said, quite a number of women and children were killed in the battle. The squaws were armed and fought our men along side of their husbands. I know of some children being wounded at one point in which a desperate stand was made. The bucks refused to surrender;

they were huddled together, fighting desperately. They had to be captured; firing ceased on this point at the first signal of surrender. It is an easy matter at this distant date, after all but one or two of the survivors are dead to bring this charge, but it cannot be sustained.

I shall study over the papers you sent carefully the next ten days and if I can add anything to the exact location of the fight, I will do so. The fighting covered over an area of some ten miles. General Harney [gave] orders to the mounted troops. The 2d Dragoons, under Cooke, the Mounted Battery, under Howe, my company E, 10th Infy., which was to have been mounted on the camels that were imported for that purpose, were sent in different directions to follow the Indians who scattered in an attempt to escape. A good deal of the fighting was done on these various charges; whenever they made a stand a brisk firing was kept up until they surrendered. As near as I can judge, at this date, I would state that my company went at least six miles in a northerly direction from the point where Harney first ordered the assault. The party I pursued made two stands and I had to deploy my men to scatter them. I brought in nearly fifteen or twenty women and children prisoners. The former were captured armed and fighting. I comply with your request today and send you two photographs of myself, one in uniform, the other in citizen dress, both recently taken. One you are to retain for your own home—the other you can give to your Historical Society collection.²⁶

I send them to your address by express, freight paid, 617 S. 18th St., Lincoln, Nebraska.

My health has greatly improved the two months I have been here. The fresh, pure air from off old ocean's crest has brought me up finely; on the 20th I shall celebrate my 84th birthday. I am going to say adieu for today.

August 17, 1909

Your last letter contained an annex, which by some strange accident slipped into the back of my round top desk, and I did not get to see it until after my last was mailed.

Your ancestry is of a noble race surely. Surely you are one of old England's boasted defenders. You cannot cut yourself off from such a noble inheritance. How does it happen that you are not a soldier? What a country England is and always will be and how much she owes to old Scotland!

If our republic continues two hundred, yes, one hundred years longer, without a rupture to disturb her great prosperity, what a people we, too, will get to be! Our resources are so unlimited, our wealth so great, energy so immense, and our liberal system of education so extensive all over the union, each state trying to excell the other in the

introduction of every new discovery that will tend to enlarge the knowledge of the children. The result of which cannot help forcing the people of the United States onward and upward. I do not fear our foreign element. Our Brutus may suffer from it, but in the Great West, which has not hardly started in the race yet, has a solid stock of such men as yourself as a strong base to stand all the assaults of labor, religion or wealth can make upon the masses, if they are but educated.

I shall not be here to see even the great benefits that are to come to our now united people resulting from our Civil War. Its rich lessons of loyalty to the Union will continue to bind our whole nation together in bonds never to be broken, but others will see it in all its great magnificence. God Bless our Republic is my prayer. Let me hear from you often. I cannot write to amuse or interest you, but you so interest me I am selfish enough to solicit a continuous [continuance] of our delightful chats.

With best wishes for your health, I remain ever your friend.

August 25, 1909

Your kind favor of the 31st of July, 1909, I duly rec'd, informing me of the fact that you had presented my name to the Nebraska State Historical Society as an honorary member of its body. I have not, as yet, received the diploma, but no doubt will in due time. I assure you I fully appreciate the distinguished compliment and thank you personally for the honor.

I cannot, in the absence of the papers, give the true, correct location of my lot at Arlington Cemetery; I can only state it is, as I understand, on the main Ave., running from Fort Meyer, Va., only 20 feet from the avenue. The lot is adjacent to Maj. Genl. [Zenas Randall] Bliss, Genl. [Robert Emmet] Clarie [Clary], and near Genl. [William] Sinclair. The monument is a neat tasty design, cost quite a bit, and I erect it myself, who ought not to perhaps, but my family, wife and son, only child, are dead and buried here. The former expressed a wish to be laid with her parents. I yielded to her wishes. My brothers and sisters are all dead, eleven of them once.

The monument is my own idea, is completed and would have been placed in the lot before this but for the fact of a miserable, in my opinion, regulation which exists, governing inscriptions on all private monuments in our national cemetery, prohibiting the name of the town and state in which a party was born being inscribed upon the face of his monument.

I was born in the good old historical town of Lexington, Massachusetts. I have the old French flint fire lock gun that my grandfather carried in the Battle of Lexington, 1775, April 19th. I hold ten different commissions given me, bearing the words, "born in

Lexington, Mass.” over the President of the United States signature. I commanded some seventeen different Massachusetts organizations, Regts. and Batteries, during the war of the Rebellion. I have served the Republic to the best of my ability, loyally and faithfully, over half a century; my record is free from a blemish, I believe. I am eighty-four years old, and now, as I am about to locate my last resting place, I am refused the right to place upon my tombstone the name of my birth place! This is to me rough indeed. I have been trying to get a special permit to do this, but the past week brought back a decision against me. I am going to have the monument erected at once, but I will keep on the fight to the day of my death to have this regulation set aside.²⁷

Pardon this long personal matter. I am excited not a little over the matter, perhaps foolishly so, but I have always taken quite a little pleasure in the thought that I was born in the old historical town of Lexington.

I sent you the photos you asked for, singular to say, only two or three days before getting your letter. Hope you will get them safe.

I shall get at the matter of location of the scene of the “Battle of Ash Hollow,” as soon as I get the monument off my hands.

August 26, 1909

I have the honor to receive your long letter of the 9th inst., acknowledging receipt of the photos sent you.

Your friendly reference to the singular regulations governing our National Cemetery, eliminating from monuments and tombstones the place of birth, state and town, I appreciate. If I live long enough, I will get it changed, or obtain authority to have the few words, which I have been required to efface from my own monument, placed upon its front.

Referring back to the subject of our former correspondence I want to state I have given the matter of the locating of the Battle, generally and officially known as “Ash Hollow,” my most careful study, and I am confirmed in my old impressions, that I am quite sure that what I formerly wrote is correct. The stand made by “Little Thunder,” after his conference with Harney on the morning of the fight, was located about six or seven miles, a little west of north of the mouth of Ash Hollow. Not a shot was fired at any Indians on the south side of North Platte. We went into camp on the evening of Sept. 2d only a few yards west of where the trail out of “Ash Hollow” opens onto the river. The camp was compact and remained quieter than usual until roused silently as possible just passed [past] midnight when it formed columns and entered the North Platte directly from the flank of the camp. Our march in the darkness was made at a regular gait, as noiselessly as possible, until we were informed by our scouts that the camp of the “Brule Sioux” was located. Our course was west of north all that morning. It



The winding Blue Creek of Garden County was the scene of the 1855 battle of Ash Hollow. . . (Below) This mound was the only visible remnant of Fort Grattan when this party visited the site in 1931. Noted frontier historian LeRoy Hafren of Colorado is second from left.



may have been a little more than six miles to the point where the conference between "Harney" and "Little Thunder" took place. As I stated in a previous letter, the stand by the Indians did not last long. When they broke to escape, they fled northwest, north and northeast, followed by the mounted part of the command, the greater body of Indians going up the course of the "Blue Water" valley or stream.

Lieut. Hudson, of Howe's Battery, drove a body of Sioux into a cave in the side of the bluff with a shelving roof or cave. They refused to surrender. Hudson's men got in rear of this cave and laid down and killed quite a number of Indians by leaning over the edge of this shelter and shooting with their pistols. This cave, as I recollect, was a short distance north of the main stand made by the Indians on that day.

The distance travelled over by the mounted force was quite great. The charges were made at times at a gallop in all directions where an Indian was discovered. My company "E," 10th Infantry, was mounted on fine, good sized ponies. Capt. Heth, during the Rebellion was a major general in the confederacy, was taken ill and unable to keep his saddle. He turned the command of the troops, or company, over to me. I followed a large body of the fleeing Sioux up the Blue Water, crossing it two or three times, occasionally leaving it as the Indians attempted to escape us.

Assisted by your blue tracings sent me—I am convinced that the site for the proposed monument should be at a point on the Blue Water on the east bank, not less than five miles north of the mouth of Ash Hollow.

Lieut. Warren, afterwards Maj. Genl. Warren, made a map of this region, locating the exact spot of the battle, as my memory serves me; I think it would endorse my recollections. I have lost the one I had.

I do not know that I can give you at this date any further information on the subject.

The locating of "Hudson's Hole," as it was called at that time, may assist you a little. That was near the scene of the 1st attack of Harney's column.

If at any time I can further aid you I shall most gladly respond to your call. The fact that this fight was called the "Battle of Ash Hollow" naturally led to the opinion which has always prevailed in your state that the fight was on the south side of the north fork of the Platte at "Ash Hollow." Where we went into camp on the evening of the 2d of Sept., Gen. Harney himself did not know the location of "Little Thunder's Band."

February 17, 1910

I owe you an apology for my neglect in replying to your letter of December 15. On its receipt I wrote to a party hoping to get some data to refresh my memory which would enable me to give additional facts

to those already sent you regarding the location of the scene which occurred on the Blue Water on Sept. 5th [3rd], 1855.

As I wrote you before, the absence of any distinct land marks which would naturally make a vivid remembrance of the country in the vicinity of the grounds where the battle was fought. The fact that I have never been over the ground since the day of the engagement makes it impossible for me to give you greater information than I have already done. I recall very clearly the bluff and high ridge of the point where Lt. Hudson with a part of the Artillery Battery, which were acting as Mounted Riflemen, had a stand-off fight with a considerable body of Indians. This spot was a central point of our first ascent and is marked by an over-hanging ledge of rock which formed a complete shelter for forty or fifty men, so much so that the soldiers had to gain a position on the top of this cave or shelter and by lying down on their stomachs were enabled to reach over the edge of the cave or hollow and firing from this point into the party that had sought safety, as they thought, from our pursuit.

I think this cave was as central a point of the main fight of that day. This spot must be about seven or eight miles north of where we crossed the North Platte on that morning. We entered the Platte directly at our camp and followed a course north until we struck the "Blue Water." The country was a high rolling series of sand hills void of timber or undergrowth of brush of any sort.

I cannot recall any point that would be more suitable for the location of a tablet to be placed to commemorate that gallant little fight than some good location in the vicinity of "Hudson's Hole" as we all termed this cave of his finding. I cannot understand how the Engineer Department at Washington can be without a proper map of that Battle ground; Lt. Warren, afterwards Genl. Warren of our union forces, was along with the command with a detachment of men of his corps. I recall his bringing a wagon load of Indian relics into Fort Laramie after the fight. I certainly saw him on the field that day. Usually maps are made from observation of the engineer officers on the spot when they accompany troops on such campaigns. If my memory serves me correctly the bodies of our dead soldiers were brought to a point near our camp by the Infantry part of the command which was located on the south bank of the North Platte which was some ten or twelve miles above the point where we left the Platte in the morning.

At the point where we camped the region was perfectly flat with an immense growth of tall meadow grass—in places three and four feet high a little distance back from the river—some tiny willows in bunches at the bottom of the sand hills. I recall these latter points as I know we had to be very careful of our camp fires. I am sorry I cannot give you a more full description of the country; most of that region is a series of rolling sand hills, not high.

I was in hopes I would be able to find some enlisted man who was in the ranks on that day, but they are all dead or scattered to the winds; I don't know now of a single officer, besides myself, now living that was in that fight.

I thank you most kindly for your thoughtful offer to send me information of any of the old timers of the fifties. I shall always recall the pleasant years of my early army life in your state. I enjoyed those days highly. I have gone many times with a company of cavalry from old "Sidney Barracks" across to the South Platte and come home the 3d day with six and eight, six mule government wagons, loaded with choicest parts of buffalo meat, which kept my garrison well supplied with fresh meat in abundance for many weeks.

The antelope were so abundant in that region that two hunters were able to supply a garrison of six or seven companies well supplied with meat which enabled the company to accumulate a very large company fund, which was used to supply the men with many delicacies which soldiers did not get at other posts.

I irrigated the alkali lands and raised many of the finest vegetables one would wish.

Those were halcyon days—never to be repeated. I would like to live them over again, would be content, however, if I was strong enough to visit the haunts of these regions only for a few days—but the dictates of old age say no, so I must be content to lay by and live on in memory the part I was assigned to play in those active days.

The frosts of eighty-five winters have settled on my locks, the marks of age; the grey hairs, rheumatics, and pains and other ills which time brings have comparatively settled very slightly upon my life. I still enjoy all my faculties, specially my eye sight and hearing; for all of which blessings I am grateful.

My brief correspondence with you has been very pleasant. I have enjoyed it much.

I am going to close with best wishes for your health and happiness, and assure you I shall be delighted to hear from you at any time you can favor me with a letter.

March 8, 1910

Your nice letter of Feby. 28th c. y. at hand, also Warren Plat of region about "Ash Hollow." I have carefully recalled the events of Sept. 3d, 1855, as near as I can at this distant date.

Warren has the points all correctly laid down. Old Fort Grattan was built after the fight so Warren does not show it. It was located only a short distance up the Platte, opposite the mouth of the Hollow. It's near on the bank on the river.

"Hudson's Cave" must be located at a point near where the Blue

Water takes a turn to the N. W. as the Infantry part of the forces acted on our western flank, Hudson's mounts a part of the time being on the eastern side of the Blue Water. I really think it was in the bluffs on the eastern side of the stream. The "Bad Slough" I recall. I passed "Howe's Battery" at this point in the charge we were making on the Indians. "Heth" had retired and left me in command of the company. Howe halted his mount and watered his horses, for which act charges were preferred against him.²⁸ I followed the fleeing Indians in a northerly direction until they disappeared from sight, when a "recall" was sounded. The mounted force was on both sides of the creek during the fight when my company was crossed [crossing] the slough a little to the left of where Howe crossed it; the ground was mushy and a little difficult to cross, so much so I held up to cross it.

I don't see that I can add any information further that will be of use to you to what I have given in my former letters. If I could go over the scene again with you no doubt I would recall many familiar land marks.

I have tried in vain to find an enlisted man that was in that campaign, but have not been able to do so.

I received the papers and photos you mention. I was quite ill about that time but am quite sure that I acknowledged the receipt of them. I shall always be most pleased to hear from you, and will promise to reply as soon as my condition will allow.

I am kept busy just now in preparing some notes which may go to the press after a little. I will send you copy if they are completed and used.

APPENDIX

OFFICERS MENTIONED BY DUDLEY IN LETTERS

All of the following except W. J. Turner are listed in Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903). A list of many of the officers on the Sioux Expedition can be found in Frederick T. Wilson, "Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors," *South Dakota Historical Collections*, 1 (1902), 282-283. The rank and, if pertinent, regimental affiliation of these officers below are those at the time in which Dudley refers to them in his letters.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SIOUX EXPEDITION

1st Lieutenant William Passmore Carlin, 6th Infantry
 Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, 2nd Dragoons
 2nd Lieutenant James S. Deshler, 10th Infantry
 Brevet Brigadier General William Selby Harney, 2nd Dragoons
 Captain Henry Heth, 10th Infantry
 Major William Hoffman, 6th Infantry
 Captain Albion Parris Howe, 4th Artillery
 1st Lieutenant Edward McKeever Hudson, 4th Artillery
 Captain William Scott Ketchum, 6th Infantry
 Captain Charles Swain Lovell, 6th Infantry
 1st Lieutenant Elisha Gaylord Marshall, 6th Infantry
 2nd Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren, Topographical Engineers

NONPARTICIPANTS

2nd Lieutenant Frank Stanley Armistead, 10th Infantry, with the Utah Expedition
 Major General Zenas Randall Bliss
 Captain William Chapman, 5th Infantry
 Brigadier General Robert Emmet Clary
 Captain Henry Francis Clarke, Commissary of Subsistence, with the Utah Expedition
 Major Seth Eastman, 5th Infantry
 Captain Winfield S. Hancock, Quarter Master Department, with the Utah Expedition
 Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston, 2nd Cavalry, commander of the Utah Expedition
 Lieutenant Colonel William Wing Loring, Mounted Rifles, commander of the 1849 expedition which Dudley accompanied
 Brigadier General Edward Otho Cresap Ord, commanding officer of the Department of the Platte under whose jurisdiction Fort Sidney fell
 Captain John C. Robinson, 5th Infantry
 Captain Nathan Beakes Rossell, 5th Infantry
 Major General William Tecumseh Sherman
 Brigadier General William Sinclair
 Captain Carter Littlepage Stevenson, 5th Infantry
 Major W. J. Turner, Harvey's source of information in the War Department
 2nd Lieutenant Benjamin Wingate, 5th Infantry

NOTES

1. Dudley uses this name for the battle in his correspondence, although in 1857 he himself called it by a different name. "Just across the river and up the small creek of Blue Water a few miles was Harney's fight with the Sioux two years ago. The battle of 'Blue Water' as Dudley calls it. This was the fight he was in." Jesse A. Gove, *The Utah Expedition, 1857-1858* (Concord: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1928), 45.

2. The accomplishments are emphasized in the following sources: Brevet Brigadier General William S. Harney, "Report of General Harney, Commander of the Sioux Expedition, September 5, 1855," *Senate Executive Documents*, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, Document 1, Part 2 (US Serial Set, No. 811), 49-52; Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, "Report of September 5, 1855," *Senate Executive Documents*, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, Document 58 (US Serial Set, No. 881), 1-4; *New York Times*, October 6, 1855.

3. Marquis Who's Who, *Who Was Who in American History—The Military* (Chicago: Marquis Who's Who, Inc., 1975), 144; Letter of N. A. M. Dudley to the Secretary of War, April 17, 1898, Document File for N. A. M. Dudley, National Archives Record Service, Record Group 94, United States Army, Office of the Adjutant General, Appointment, Commission and Personal Branch; *Boston Globe*, April 30, 1910; *United States Army and Navy Journal*, May 7, 1910.

4. Lloyd E. McCann, "The Grattan Massacre," *Nebraska History*, 37 (March, 1956), 1-26.

5. The military force consisted of Companies E and K, 2nd Dragoons; Battery G, 4th Artillery (mounted and without cannon); Companies A, E, H, I, and K, 6th Infantry; Company E, 10th Infantry (Dudley's unit).

6. Anonymous correspondent to the *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 20 (1922), 278-281; Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army*, Ralph P. Bieber, editor (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1932); D. C. Beam, "Reminiscences of Early Days in Nebraska," *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 3 (1892), 292-315; Philip St. George Cooke, 1-4; General Richard C. Drum, "Reminiscences of the Indian Fight at Ash Hollow, 1855," *Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 16 (1911), 143-151; William S. Harney, 49-52; Henry Heth, *The Memoirs of Henry Heth* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974); Captain John B. S. Todd, "The Harney Expedition Against the Sioux," Ray H. Mattison, editor, *Nebraska History*, 43 (July, 1962), 89-130; Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren, "Report of September 4, 1855," *Senate Executive Documents*, 34th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions, Document 76 (US Serial Set, No. 822), 38-39; Emerson G. Taylor, *Gouverneur Kemble Warren: The Life and Letters of an American Soldier* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932), 24-29 include excerpts from Warren's diary kept during the battle.

7. Dudley's report of his tour through the Republican River Valley is in the *Omaha Daily Herald*, November 12, 1874; his role in the Lincoln County War is detailed in P. J. Rasch, "A Note on N. A. M. Dudley," *The Westerners Brand Book*, No. 3 (Los Angeles Corral, 1949), 207-214, and Philip J. Rasch, "The Trials of Lieutenant-Colonel Dudley," *The English Westerners Brand Book*, 7, (January, 1965), 1-7; Richard Upton, editor, *Fort Custer on the Big Horn* (Glendale,

California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973), 100-102.

8. Albert Tracy, "Journal of Captain Albert Tracy, 1858-1860," *Utah State Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. 13 (1945), 32.

9. Jesse A. Gove, 125, 182.

10. Homer B. Sprague, *History of the 13th Infantry Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers, during the Great Rebellion* (Hartford, Connecticut: Case, Lockwood & Co., 1867), 186.

11. Anson Mills, *My Story* (Washington, DC: The author, 1918), 150.

12. P. J. Rasch, 211.

13. General Richard C. Drum, 143-151. Harvey's own contribution to the literature on the battle is "The Battle Ground of Ash Hollow," *Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 16 (1911), 152-164.

14. Few details are known about Little Thunder's life other than his participation in the Battle of Ash Hollow. He is briefly described in Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 162-163.

15. Company E, 10th Infantry, of which Dudley was a member, consisted of over 70 men personally selected by Captain Henry Heth from the new recruits at Governor's Island, New York. The company under Dudley arrived at Fort Leavenworth on July 25, 1855. It left for Fort Kearny on August 4, 1855. Henry Heth, 125; Lieutenant S. Y. Seyburn, "The Tenth Regiment of Infantry," *The Army of the United States*, editors, Theo. F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskin (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1896), 532.

16. The 5th Regiment of Infantry was not involved in the Battle of Ash Hollow, nor in the Sioux Expedition. Dudley could be confused with the Utah Expedition, in which the 5th played a large part. "The Fifth Regiment of Infantry," eds. Theo. F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskin, 471.

17. There was little chance of camels appearing on the Nebraska plains in 1855. Congress did not pass the necessary legislation appropriating money for the importation of camels until March 3, 1855. Lewis Burt Lesley, editor, *Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1929), 6. The first shipload of the beasts landed at Indianola, Texas, on May 14, 1856. Lewis Burt Lesley, 11. The Sac-Fox ponies, unlike the dragoons' horses, were a good choice nonetheless, as they were described as "doing admirably, and stand this country well." *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), October 24, 1855.

18. The detachment from the Ordnance Department was led by Lieutenant George Thatcher Balch. William S. Harney, 52.

19. William Chandless, a very literate English teamster heading west, arrived at Ash Hollow three days after the battle and recorded this second-hand version of Harney's speech. "There," said he, "are those d----d red sons of-----, who massacred the soldiers near Laramie last year, in time of peace. They killed your own kindred, your own flesh and blood. Now, by ---, men, there we have them, and if you don't give it them, you deserve to be -----. Don't spare one of the d----d red sons of-----." William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1857), 74.

20. Heth makes no mention of this in his memoirs.

21. Dudley is mentioned once by name by Major Osborne Cross in "A Report, in the Form of a Journal, to the Quartermaster General, of the March of

the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to Oregon, from May 10 to October 5, 1849." *Senate Executive Documents*, 31st Congress, 2nd Session, Document 1, Part 2 (US Serial Set, No. 587), 163, journal entry for July 1, 1849. Loring indeed became a pasha. He accepted a commission in 1869 and served in the Egyptian army for a number of years. William L. Wessels, *Born to Be a Soldier: The Military Career of William Wing Loring of St. Augustine, Florida* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1971), 77-83.

22. Henry Heth, 135, 137.

23. *Sidney Telegraph*, November 18, 1876, contains a letter dated July 31, 1874, from Dudley to James T. Allen, president of the Nebraska State Horticulture Society, Omaha. It describes in detail and with unabashed pride Dudley's agricultural efforts at the post in 1872 and 1874.

24. The only 1855 West Point graduates known to have participated in the Sioux Expedition were Brevet 2nd Lieutenant James Wheeler, 2nd Dragoons, and Brevet 2nd Lieutenant Robert Clinton Hill, 6th Infantry.

25. Dudley is interred in Section 1, Grave 8-A-WS. Letter of Superintendent R. J. Constanzo, Arlington National Cemetery, to Eli Paul, November 6, 1980.

26. Apparently no such photograph is in the collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society.

27. He did not succeed in this matter.

28. *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), October 24, 1855, noted that Howe "was about being tried by a Military Court, . . . charged with disobedience of orders, having failed at the battle of Blue Water to go down the hill after being dismounted to fight on foot, whereby Colonel Cooke was deprived of the services of his company during the fight." Harney was enraged with Howe after the fight, saying, "He is not worth the powder and lead it would take to kill him." Charges were dropped because of irregularities. The same officer, Harney, who ordered the court had also preferred the charges. Henry Heth, 128-129.