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Article Summary: This article contains diary entries relating to the experiences of both an officer and an enlisted man of the Fourteenth U S Infantry in the aftermath of the Rosebud and Little Bighorn encounters. The diaries of Frank Taylor, Lieutenant, Company I and Private William Walter Jordan, Company C, provide insights into daily events during Crook's exhausting late summer expedition through the Yellowstone-Powder river region to the Black Hills of Dakota.

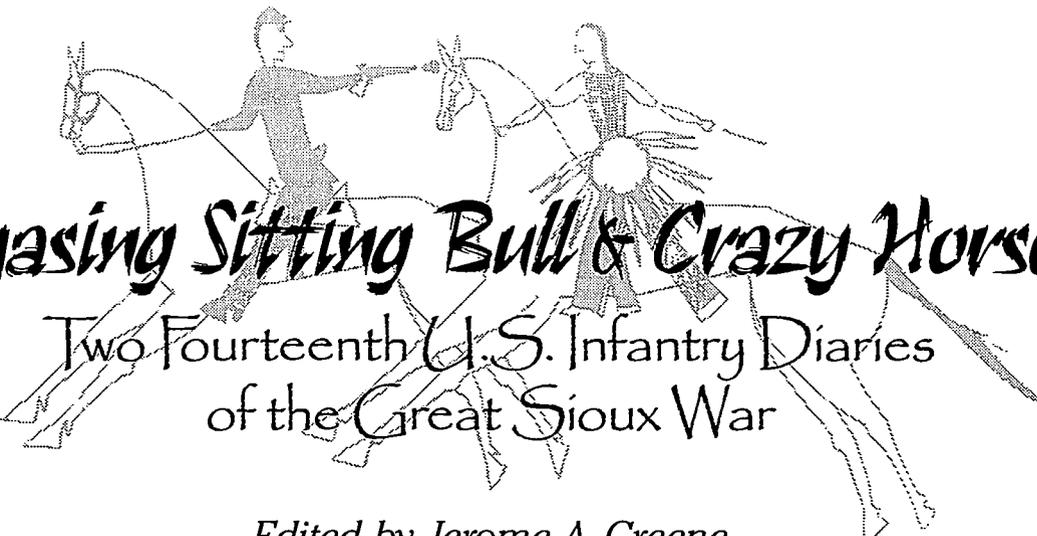
Cataloging Information:

Names: George Crook, George A Custer, Nelson A Miles, Frank Taylor, American Horse, Iron Plume, Iron Shield, Black Shield, Frederick Schwatka, Emmet Crawford, Adolphus H Von Luetwitz, John W Bubb, William P Clark, Lieutenant Lloyd, Private Desmond, Pat Robinson, General Carr, Wesley Merritt, General Terry, Frank Grouard, Dr Patzki, Andy Shuttles, Captain Burt, Captain Toby, James Radcliff, Major Chambers, Buffalo Bill, Charley White, Philip H Sheridan, Ranald S Mackenzie, Little Wolf, Dull Knife, Crazy Horse, Alexander Chambers

Place Names: Wyoming Territory; Montana territory; Dakota Territory; Nebraska; Yellowstone Valley, Montana; Black Hills, Dakota Territory; Powder River; Rosebud Creek; Slim Buttes, Dakota Territory; Rosebud; Little Bighorn; Camp Douglas, Utah Territory; Gap Creek, Medicine Bow; Fort Fetterman; Dry Fork of Cheyenne River; Rosebud Valley; Tongue River; Fort Keogh; Belle Fourche River; Camp Robinson, Nebraska; Willow Creek

Keywords: Lakota; Sioux; Cheyenne; Fourteenth U S Infantry; Starvation March; Miniconjou; Oglala; Brule Lakota; Battle of Wolf Mountains

Photographs / Images: Frank Taylor and other infantry officers at the conclusion of the Starvation March; Camp of the Second Cavalry near Fort Fetterman; Brigadier General George Crook, 1877; Cheyenne warrior; Lakota warrior; Map of Bighorn and Yellowstone Expedition; Frank Grouard, 1890-1891; Alexander Chambers



Chasing Sitting Bull & Crazy Horse

Two Fourteenth U.S. Infantry Diaries of the Great Sioux War

Edited by Jerome A. Greene

Editor's Introduction

The Great Sioux War of 1876–77, perhaps the ultimate symbolic manifestation of four hundred years of culture conflict between Indian peoples and Euroamericans in the area north of Mexico, involved armed combat at at least twenty-two sites in a broad expanse of north-central Wyoming Territory, southeastern Montana Territory, western Dakota Territory, and northwestern Nebraska.¹ The conflict, instigated by the United States Government in contravention of its treaties with the Lakota people in an effort to open mining, commerce, and settlement in the Yellowstone Valley of Montana and the Black Hills of Dakota, required fielding large numbers of troops to locate and subdue the tribesmen. The army's initial campaigns met reversal—first at Powder River in March 1876, then at Rosebud Creek the following June, both instances wherein Sioux and Northern Cheyenne warriors bested the forces of Brig. Gen. George Crook. The fighting climaxed a week after Rosebud with the warriors' triumph over Lt. Col. George A. Custer's Seventh cavalrymen at the Little Bighorn River.

The government's immediate response to the Little Bighorn was to institute a military takeover of the Sioux agencies in Dakota and Nebraska and to rush reinforcements into the war zone. Army operations in July and August

proved fruitless as troops combed the Yellowstone wilderness, and only in September did Crook's famished troops find minor redemption when they routed a largely Sioux village at Slim Buttes, Dakota, as they trekked toward the Black Hills. As discussed further below, later government prosecution of the Indians, consisting of Col. Nelson A. Miles's fall and winter campaigning against the Sioux in Montana and of Crook's own move against the Cheyennes in Wyoming, ended the war. Most tribesmen surrendered at the agencies or crossed into Canada.²

The following diary entries relate the experiences of an officer and an enlisted man of the Fourteenth U.S. Infantry in the aftermath of the Rosebud and Little Bighorn encounters. After General Crook's withdrawal from the war zone following the Battle of Rosebud Creek, troops of the Fourth and Fourteenth infantry regiments, along with those of the Fifth U.S. Cavalry, were directed to northern Wyoming to renew operations against the tribesmen. The four companies (B, C, F, and I) of the Fourteenth Infantry, about 185 men, traveled from Camp Douglas, near Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, reached Crook's command on July 13, and continued with it for the duration of the operations. Crook took the command into Montana and Dakota territories, through the combat at Slim Buttes, to the close of the expedition at Camp Robinson, Nebraska.

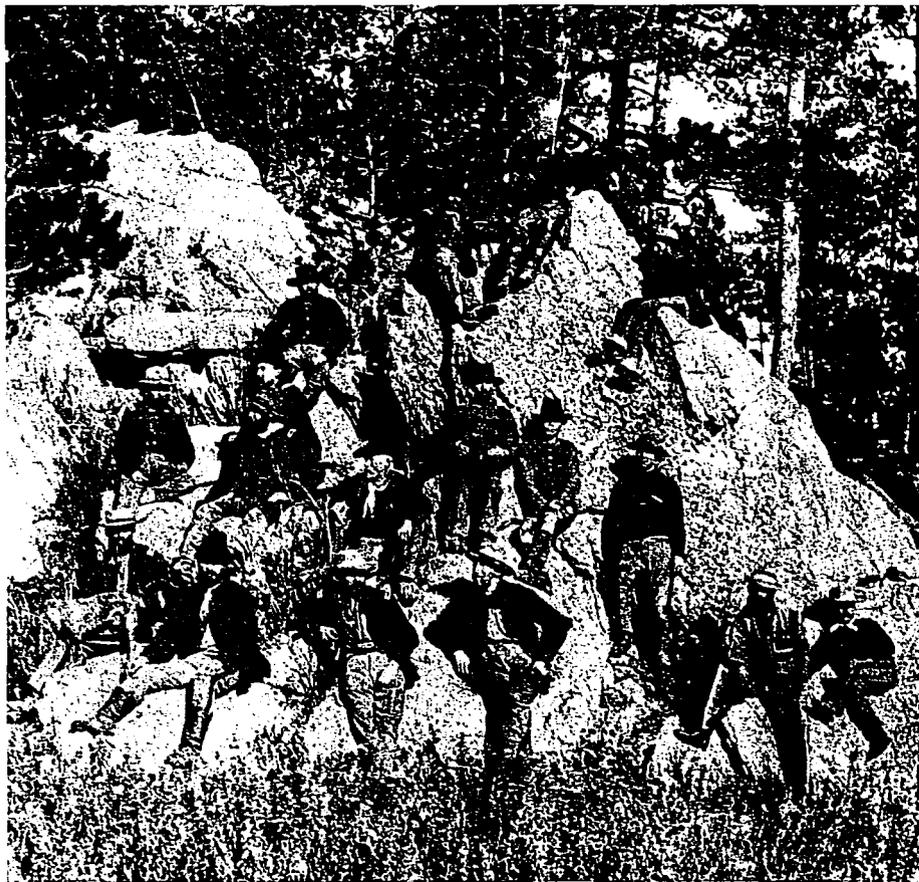
Together, the diaries provide insights into daily events from the perspectives of both an officer and an enlisted man during Crook's exhausting late summer

expedition through the Yellowstone-Powder river region to the Black Hills of Dakota—the so-called "Starvation March." As such, they add significantly to our knowledge not only of army campaign routine of the period, but of the Fourteenth Infantry's particular role in the Great Sioux War.

The author of the following chronicle, 1st Lt. Frank Taylor, commanded Company I. Born in 1842 in Calais, France, the son of British parents, Taylor emigrated to the United States in 1860. He joined the army and served as a sergeant in the general service from 1861 to 1863. Commissioned a second lieutenant in the Second U.S. Infantry in 1867, he was assigned to the Fourteenth regiment two years later and promoted to first lieutenant in February 1876. Taylor remained with the Fourteenth for thirty-one years, advancing to captain in 1892. He transferred to the Eighth U.S. Infantry in 1900 and became major to the Fifteenth Infantry later that year. Following service in the Philippines, Taylor retired from the army in 1905. He died in Seattle, Washington, on May 20, 1920, at age seventy-eight.³

A photocopy of Taylor's 1876 diary in what appears to be his hand reposes in the Research Library, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma. The location of the original document is not known.⁴ Taylor included mileage information with many daily entries in the form of miles traveled and miles actually walked. The figure given at the end of an entry is the miles traveled (mi.). When this differs from the miles actually walked (mi. walked), both are given.

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Diarist Frank Taylor (bottom row, third from left) joined other infantry officers for a group portrait at the conclusion of the Starvation March. Courtesy of National Archives and Paul L. Hedren

**Diary of 1st Lt. Frank Taylor,
Company I, Fourteenth Infantry**

Diary of my marches &c. on the "Big Horn & Yellowstone Expedition."

June 23. I was officer of the guard at Salt Lake City. At about 5 P.M. rec'd orders to start for the field in command of my Co. "I" 14th Inf'y & in company of Cos. "B," "C," & F of our reg't.⁵

June 24. Marched from Camp Douglas 5:45 A.M. to depot in Salt Lake City & embarked on trains for Medicine Bow Wy. T. (3 mi.)⁶

June 25. Arrived at "Medicine Bow" 8 A.M. where we joined Co. "D" 4th Inf'y under same orders as we.⁷ Crossed the "Big Medicine" by raft & went into camp. (1 mi.)⁸

June 26. After crossing stores for Fetterman, wagons &c., marched to 1st crossing of "Little Medicine," crossed stream & camped. (8 mi.)⁹

June 27. Tuesday. Left camp about 5 A.M. Marched to 3d crossing of Little Medicine.¹⁰ This took us over the Laramie Plains which is a nearly level road all the way & very good for wagons and marching. After going into camp my tent was almost darkened by the grass-hoppers on it. (22 mi.)

June 28. Wednesday. Left camp 4:30 A.M. & marched to a point a little below the head of "Box Elder" creek. (19 mi.)¹¹

June 29. Thursday. Left camp 4:40 A.M. Marched to a point about 4 miles beyond the crossing of "Box Elder creek" on the "cut off." I was officer of the day and in rear with the wagons. One wagon

upset and had to be reloaded. A team ran away off the road, two hind wheels of wagon coming off, bolster breaking and linch pins lost. Teamster fell from his wagon his foot severely injured by wheel running over it. Was delayed about 2 hours by these mishaps. (16 mi.)¹²

June 30. Friday. Left camp 4:20 A.M. in a drizzling rain which soon increased to a heavy shower and continued for about 4 hours. Our overcoats being in the wagons which kept a long distance in rear on account of bad condition of roads, everybody got wet through. Arrived at Fort Fetterman at 12:15 P.M. Still raining. Marched the distance with only 3 halts of short duration. Mustered on right bank of Platte river about 7 P.M. & crossed the river by ferry boat and camped. (24 mi.)¹³

July 1st. Saturday. Same camp. Went over to Fort Fetterman to provide for future march.

July 2d. Sunday. Same camp. I was officer of the day & engaged all day superintending men unloading stores from ferry-boat for expedition.

July 3d. Monday. Same camp. Last of stores ferried over.

July 4th. Tuesday. Marched to Sage Creek—very dusty. (10 mi.)¹⁴

July 5. Wednesday. Left camp about 5:30 A.M. Marched to "Brown's Springs." (17 mi.)¹⁵

July 6. Thursday. Left camp 5 A.M. Was rear guard with Comp'y & delayed fully three hours by bad places for wagons. Crossed Cheyenne river (dry) about 3 P.M. after leaving last camp. A very hot, dusty & disagreeable march. Camped on fork of Cheyenne about 5 P.M. Water not plentiful and tolerably good. Glimpses of Big Horn Mountains. (22 mi.)¹⁶

July 7. Friday. Left camp 4 A.M. Crossed dry bottom "Wind river" 1½ miles out.¹⁷ It was a pleasant cloudy morning when we started but fearfully hot in mid day & afternoon. In sight of "Pumpkin Buttes" nearly all day. Camped at "Antelope Springs."¹⁸ Pool of water not very good. (22 mi.; 11 mi. walked)

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July 8. Saturday. Left camp 4:45 A.M. & marched to old Fort Reno on Powder river.¹⁹ Pleasant day and easy march. During the march were overtaken by scouts bearing dispatches to Gen'l Crook & bringing news of the massacre of Gen'l Custer & his command on the "Little Big Horn." (17 mi.)²⁰

July 9. Sunday. Left camp 4 A.M. & marched to "Crazy Womans Fork."²¹ Heat moderate and no dust. (26 mi.; 15 mi. walked)

July 10. Monday. Left camp 4:30 A.M. Marched to Clear Fork Powder river. (22 mi.; 13 mi. walked)²²

July 11. Tuesday. Left camp 5 A.M. Marched to "Little Piney" creek & camped near Old Fort Phil. Kearney.²³ Visited the Post grave yard which was in dilapidated condition. Skull of Indian dead about 3 months found in vicinity. (15 mi.)

July 12. Wednesday. Left camp 5 A.M.. Crossed "Big Piney" about 1/2 miles from last camp. A large clear stream. A series of bad crossings during this march greatly delaying train. We had expected to get to Crook's headquarters but on account of delays above mentioned went into camp at 7 P.M. on a small stream. Grass burned off the bluffs

which made us suspect the presence of Indians and rather to expect being fired at during the night. (12 mi.; 7 mi. walked)

July 13. Thursday. Left camp 6 A.M. Bad places again for wagons and much delay in progress. We reached Gen'l Crook's camp on fork of Goose Creek foot of Big Horn Mountains about 10:45 A.M.²⁴ Met many acquaintances among the officers. (6 mi.)

July 14. Friday. Same camp. During the day the Indian allies paraded in their savage splendor.²⁵

July 15. Saturday. Same camp.

July 16. Sunday. Gen'l Crook & staff, cavalry pack train and wagons left for new camp—for grass.

July 17. Monday. Left camp about 7:30 A.M. & marched to new camp on fork of Goose Creek. (4 mi.)

July 18. Tuesday. Same camp.

July 19. Wednesday. Moved again for grass in n.w. direction. 4 Crow Indians came in near dusk with dispatches from Gen'l Terry. (3 mi.)²⁶

July 20. Thursday. Same camp.

July 21. Friday. Moved to camp on "Middle Goose" for grass. (4 mi.)

July 22. Saturday. Same camp.

July 23. Sunday. Same camp. False alarm at night, by firing of several shots, which turned out to be a disturbance between teamsters gambling.

Monday 24th. Same place. Trial of Capt. Sutorius 3d Cav'y for drunkenness on duty began.²⁷

Tuesday 25. Same place. About 3 P.M. 4 Snake [Shoshone] Indians came in reporting some hostiles in vicinity of camp. All the animals brought in promptly. In the evening infantry pickets increased by two officers & 20 men. Officers to stay with pickets all night. Pelt-ing rain all night. All co. officers to be out at Reveille.

Wednesday 26. Same place. Was up at 4 A.M. for Reveille. Rain again in the evening. Extra officers for picket discontinued.

Thursday 27. Moved camp in afternoon to fork of Tongue River. (5 mi.)

Friday 28. Same.

Saturday 29. Same.

Sunday 30. Moved about 1 1/2 [miles] down same stream. Prairie fire started by embers left at last camp & threatened to reach us. About half command turned out to extinguish flames. (1 mi.)



Camp of the Second Cavalry near Fort Fetterman. In 1876 Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory, was a major supply and assembly point for the troops of Brig. Gen. George Crook's command. Courtesy of Paul L. Hedren

Monday 31. Same place.

Tuesday Aug. 1. Moved to another fork of Tongue river (Northerly direction). Creek here flows into a larger one at this point. Larger one said to be "Tongue River." (5 mi.)²⁸

Wednesday 2d. Same place.

Thursday 3d. At last intelligence of the arrival of the 5th Cav'y on Goose Creek, for which we have been waiting for beginning active operations has reached us and we march back to meet it.²⁹ After a march of about 17 m. to the confluence of the "Little" & Big Goose creeks went into camp. The 5" Cav'y soon after got to same place.³⁰ Sick to day and rode most of distance in ambulance. (17 mi.)

Friday 4th. Same place. Orders to be in readiness to move to-morrow.³¹ Nobody allowed to carry more than one blanket and an overcoat. 8 recruits joined co. Sent to us with 5" Cav'y.

Saturday 5th. Marched across to Tongue River to near scene of attack on Crook after Rosebud fight in June last.³² To-day begins the real hard work and hardships of the campaign as we have left our wagon train and our transportation consists of some 300 or 400 pack mules carrying 15 days rations of bacon, sugar, coffee & hard tack.³³ We have not a stitch of canvas and are entirely at the mercy of the weather. This is my first night in a "wicky up," a sort of cover of twigs and leaves. Slept very comfortably though rather cold towards morning. (17 mi.; 8 mi. walked)

Sunday 6. Marched down Tongue River, crossing the stream 12 times. A hard march, the men compelled to wade with shoes & stockings on. Stream rapid and deep—to the hip mostly. Direction northerly. No time nor energy for a wicky up to-night. (17 mi.; 8 mi. walked)

Monday 7. Marched to Rosebud. Started 4:30 A.M. Bivouacked 3:45 P.M. A hard march. Very hot day. (22 mi.; 9 mi. walked)

Tuesday 8. Broke camp at 5:45 A.M. & marched down Rosebud about 4 miles



Brig. Gen. George Crook (1828-90) in a January 1877 photograph. Crook commanded the Department of the Platte, headquartered in Omaha, which included the Wyoming country traversed during the Great Sioux War. Courtesy of Jerome A. Greene

when we [were] ordered to stack arms & bivouac. Nearly all of this distance was through the remains of an old Indian village. Broke camp again at 6 P.M. & continued the march on Indian trail till about midnight, then camped. Slept soundly on the rocks. (19 mi.; 11 mi. walked)

Wednesday 9. Broke camp 7 A.M.. Continued down "Rose Bud" on Indian trail & camped 1:30 P.M.. Rain and very cold. Overcoats & fires in great requisition. (14 mi.)

Thursday 10. Broke camp 5 A.M. & followed same trail down "Rosebud." After about 12 miles of march Gen'l Terry's command was reported in sight & we went into Camp.³⁴ Trail here turned to the right towards Tongue River. (12 mi.; 10 mi. walked)³⁵

Friday 11th. Marched to Tongue River, crossed it & marched about 1/2 mile down stream following trail. Began to rain at night and continued all through it. Very wet clothes in consequence. (12 mi.)

Saturday 12. Late start on account of looking up trail. Began march down stream about 11:45 A.M. Rain through the whole march and all through the night. Clubbed in with Capt. Tobey, Lts. Yeatman & Calhoun & fastened some blankets to a tree for shelter.³⁶ I (slept?) in my overcoat with my feet to the camp fire till about 1 o'clock in the morning when I could not bear it any longer and got up and dried myself as well as possible before the camp fire. (10 mi.; 3 mi. walked)³⁷

Sunday 13. Marched down Tongue River fully 25 miles. Weather clear at starting (about 5 A.M.) and clear when we halted for the night but heavy rain for short time during night. On this day I stumbled while crossing a creek on a wet log and fell in. (25 mi.; 13 mi. walked)

Monday 14th. Marched down Tongue River about 9 miles, then struck off to the left & camped on a small fork of the stream.³⁸ Rain at night. (15 mi.; 5 mi. walked)

Tuesday 15th. Marched about 20 miles to Powder River. Camped at 3 P.M. Heavy rain for 1/2 hour after camping, but cleared up towards sundown. Cavalry horses playing out to-day. Heard that 17 horses were lost yesterday and eight to-day. (20 mi.; 15 mi. walked)

Wednesday 16th. Marched down Powder River about 19 miles. Camp about 1:30 P.M. Tremendous shower shortly after entering camping ground. (19 mi.)

Thursday 17. Marched across divide to mouth of Powder River. Infantry much incensed at Comd'g Offr [commanding officer] marching us 3 or 4 miles further than necessary in indeavours [endeavors] to make short cuts. (24 mi.)³⁹

Friday 18th. Same place. Went across the river to Gen'l Terry's coms'y [commissary] to try to get some change of food, but succeeded only in obtaining a small piece of cheese and a few beans. Left my pocket book in coms'y tent with all my money in it. Was gone about 1/2 an hour before missing it but fortunately found it where I had laid it.

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Saturday 19. Same place. Heard that last night Gen'l Crook proposed to move but that Gen'l Terry had assumed command & determined otherwise.⁴⁰

Sunday 20. Same

Monday 21. Same

Tuesday 22. Same. Rain for 1/2 an hour in the evening.

Wednesday 23. Same. Rained in afternoon, ceased for a while but began to pour down in torrents at sunset & continued all night with thunder and lightning. Men without rations at breakfast.

Thursday 24. No rations had come up so most of the men without breakfast. Marched through mud & mire up left bank of Powder R. about 9 miles. Cleared up towards noon. No rain, but heavy dew at night. (9 mi.)

Friday 25. Crossed Powder River which was very rapid & deep, some of the infantry unable to cross on foot and had to be ferried over on horseback, others hanging to stirrups & horses' tails. Marched over divide & camped on right bank. Fine night and good night's rest. (13 mi.)

Saturday 26. Started about 6 A.M. & marched in easterly direction 20 miles to Branch of "O'Fallons Creek."⁴¹ Very poor camp. No wood. Water in pools & only tolerable. Capt. Burke of our reg't taken with rheumatism & had to be mounted.⁴² Fine weather. (20 mi.)

Sunday 27. Marched easterly. Crossed north branch of "O'Fallons Creek" about 10 miles, then creek 3 miles further & camped at some water pools.⁴³ Fine weather. (16 mi.)

Monday 28. Marched easterly about 19 miles to small stream supposed to lead into "Cabin" Creek.⁴⁴ Clouds threatening all afternoon, finally broke loose with a deluge of rain & large hailstones with thunder & lightning continuing nearly all night. Rain kept out from top of "Wicky up" but soon found it was underneath & I was lying in a pool of water. Blanket & everything soaked through. Green coffee issued to men

about time of rain & could not light fires to roast it, so no coffee. (19 mi.)

Tuesday 29. Left at 6 A.M. in easterly direction. Crossed small stream about 4 miles & marched 3 miles further, when suddenly & unexpectedly ordered to camp near some high grassy bluffs. It is supposed that some new developments in regard to trail is the cause. Scouts out all night. Fine night & good sleep. (7 mi.)

Wednesday 30. Same place. To-day officers ordered to have their rations issued to them same as the men.

Thursday 31. Marched at 5 A.M. about 10 miles to "Beaver Creek." Frost at night. (10 mi.)

September 76. Friday 1st. Marched in northerly direction about 9 A.M. & re-crossed same creek. Mounted horse as usual in crossing. Horse got mired climbing up bank & fell on his back in the stream giving me a complete ducking. Cut horse's girth & got him out with difficulty—all my rations spoiled. Had to cover myself with a blanket & dry all my clothes by the camp fire. (9 mi.)

September 2d. Marched northerly about 18 m. on same creek. Crossed again to right bank & camped. Crossed Stanley's old trail during march. (18 mi.)⁴⁵

Sunday 3. Marched south-easterly 18 miles & camped at some water holes. Crossed Sully's Trail.⁴⁶ Rations beginning to run short. Tried for a little extra sugar and was allowed one pound (18 mi.)

Monday 4th. Marched across divide on an old wagon trail most of the way & camped on east side of Little Missouri River.⁴⁷ Rain during march and all night. (15 mi.)

Tuesday 5th. Marched in north easterly direction over a good wagon road about 26 miles & camped at 4:30 P.M. Here is to be determined which route will be taken—Fort Lincoln or the Black Hills.⁴⁸ We are at the head of Heart River with a supply of rations on hand said to be sufficient for the command for four days.⁴⁹ We are 250 m. from the Blk. Hills. I don't know exactly how far from Fort

Lincoln, but it is generally understood to be but about half that distance. Orders to night for officers and men to be put on half rations. (26 mi.)

Wednesday 6th. Bound for Black Hills. Start about 5 A.M. due south and march 27 miles to some water holes.⁵⁰ During the day permission for a certain number of men from each Co. given to leave the column to hunt game. One of my men killed an antelope. Mouth watering for a good supper when we camp, but find absolutely nothing to make fire with except grass. Try to make cup of coffee with that but fail. No bacon issued to-night but having saved a little take it raw with a cup of water & a biscuit & turn in under a slight rain. No material for "wicky up" to-night and too tired to make one if we had. (27 mi.)

Thursday 7th. Up at 4:30 A.M. Heavy mist—everything wet. Had succeeded night before by great patience in finding a small bunch of dry weeds which I saved under my head till this morning and with which I succeeded in getting a cup of coffee (had my bacon raw with a hard tack). Marched 30 m. Slept badly, cold with rain. No shelter, no wood. In the morning 3/4 of cracker box was issued me for the use of my Com'y to cook with! I succeeded in getting half a cup of coffee in the evening & a full one in the morning, with a piece of antelope each time. Capt. Mills 3" Cav'y & 2 officers & 150 picked cavalry start for Deadwood with a pack train to get supplies.⁵¹ Several horses partly carved & eaten by troops lying on the road side.⁵² Piece of bacon size of a hen's egg issued to each officer & soldier. No sugar. (30 mi.)

Friday 8th. Started off in same direction (due south) as near as we could judge without sun. Rain fell nearly all the morning, wetting everybody through and through. Marched 25 m. No bacon. No sugar issued. Horse meat issued. Rode about 1 1/2 [miles] during heaviest rain. Camped on a small stream where there was wood and I made a shelter for the night—a rainy and uncomfortable one. (25 mi.; 23 1/2 mi. walked)

[The mixed camp of Minneconjou, Oglala, and Brulé Lakotas and Northern Cheyennes attacked by Capt. Anson Mills's troops at dawn on September 9, 1876, contained thirty-seven lodges and approximately 260 men, women, and children. The man generally recognized as leader of the camp was American Horse (*a k a* Iron Plume, Iron Shield, or Black Shield), a Minneconjou. The village stood along Gap Creek, a tributary of Grand River, a short distance east of the present community of Reva, in Harding County, South Dakota.⁵³

Mills had directed Lt. Frederick Schwatka to charge southeastwardly through the camp with twenty-five mounted soldiers while larger bodies of dismounted troops under lieutenants Emmet Crawford and Adolphus H. Von Luettwitz closed in fan-like from the north on either side. Lt. John W. Bubb stayed far in the rear in charge of the pack train, the horses of the dismounted troopers, and twenty-five soldiers. The attack thus drove most of the tribesmen from their lodges and to the south, away from the soldiers. Many of the warriors regrouped at a distance, then carried on a long-range counterassault against Mills's men until the rest of Crook's army reached the scene. A number of Indians, mostly noncombatants, took refuge in a large, deep ravine at the time of the initial attack. Upon Crook's arrival, their extrication became a focus of the soldiers, as Taylor explains.⁵⁴

Army casualties in Mills's attack and in immediate efforts by Mills's command to dislodge the Indians from the ravine numbered one officer wounded—Von Luettwitz, who was shot in the right leg—and one enlisted man killed and two others wounded. Most accounts indicate that the pony herd contained as many as four hundred animals.⁵⁵

Again, the principal effort to dislodge the Indians from the ravine took place after Crook reached the scene. The ravine ran about 200 yards back into a hillside and was about twenty feet deep in places, its bottom measuring from six to fifteen feet across. Trees and under-



Cheyenne warrior (left) and a Lakota warrior with a three-bladed club. Crook's troops encountered large numbers of Northern Cheyennes and Lakotas during his 1876 campaigns. NSHS-C951.3-11

brush grew in it, further protecting the refugees and obscuring the soldiers' view inside. Eventually, sharpshooters under 1st Lt. William P. Clark surrounded the ravine and opened a heavy fire into it, causing the noncombatant occupants, about twenty women and children and some badly wounded, finally to surrender. After continued shooting, four men, including American Horse, appeared at the mouth of the ravine. Crook's men found the bodies of four women, a man, and a child in the makeshift fortification.⁵⁶

The afternoon fight began at approximately 4:15 o'clock and involved warriors from the Slim Buttes village augmented by those from neighboring camps. They opened fire from surrounding high ground on the soldiers as the latter went into bivouac. Contemporary estimates placed the number of Indians at as many as six hundred. The troops responded and gradually mounted the heights in skirmish order shooting at the distant Indians, most of whom remained

mounted. The objective of the warriors seems to have been the captured Indian pony herd, which was corralled in the Gap Creek bottom near the village. As the exchange occurred, other soldiers burned the tipis. The fight seems to have lasted less than an hour and ended as darkness fell and the warriors rode away. Five or six soldiers were wounded in the affair; Indian losses are unknown with certainty.⁵⁷—Ed.]

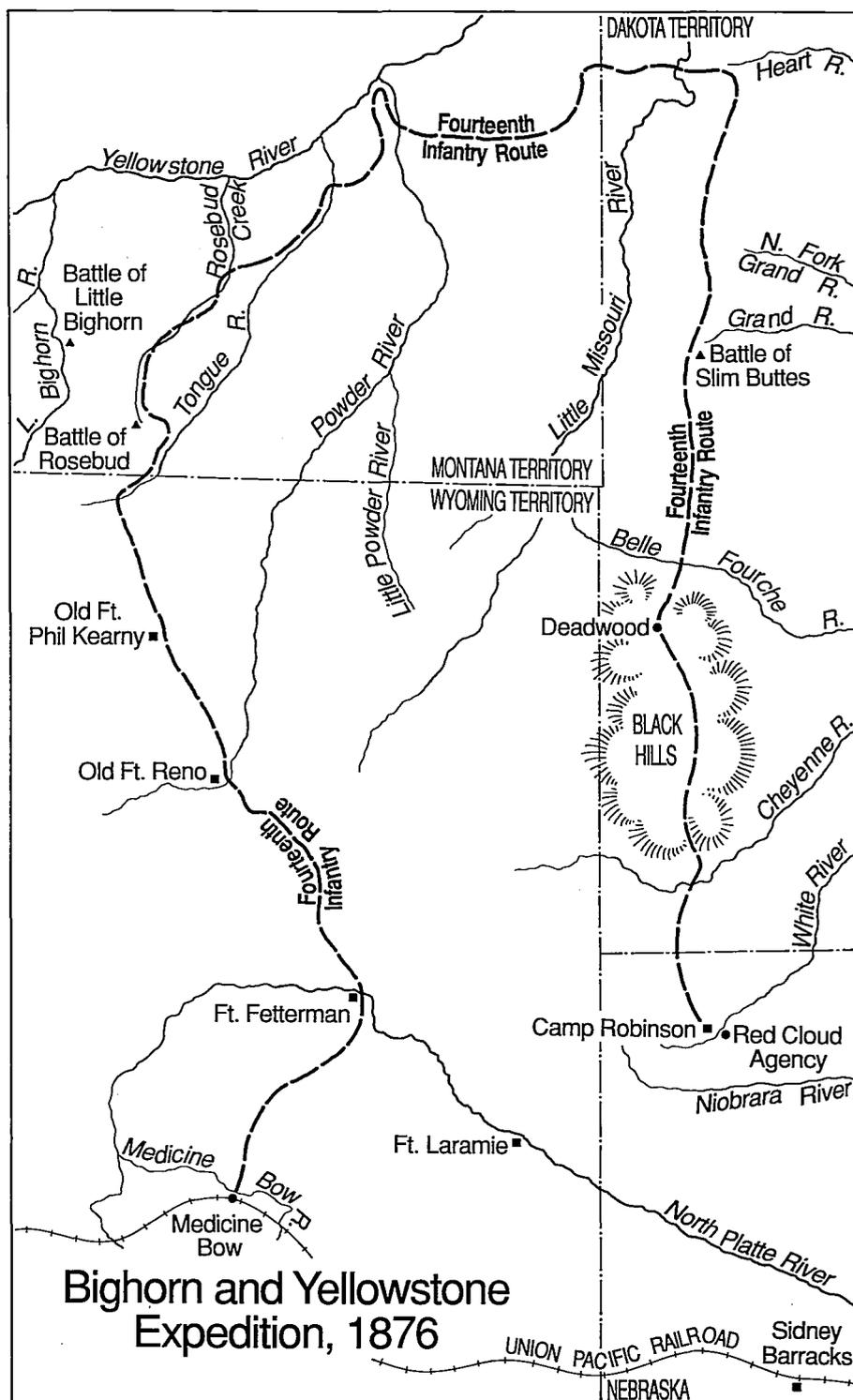
Saturday 9th. Left at 5:10 A.M. Crossed wide stream about 4 miles out. About 2 hrs after starting we met a small party returning from Capt. Mills & reporting capture by Mills' party of 25 Indian lodges. Marched in all about 16 miles in Mills' trail & arrived at Slim Buttes, scene of fight. We found the Indian village from which the Indians had been driven. Mills' command on one side of it, the Indians on another, both in position to prevent either from taken [*sic*] possession. Indians withdrew upon the arrival of the main column upon the scene and

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the soldiers swarm into the village found a large quantity of dried meat and some wild fruit which had just been prepared for drying. The Com's'y of Subsistence takes charge of the meat, not however till a lot of it had been appropriated for immediate use. Found that during the charge in the morning Lt. Von Ludwitz and 5 men had been wounded, 110 Indian ponies captured. Some Indians who had not been able to get away with the rest were in a ravine hidden from view. We final[ly] discovered this by on[e] of the soldiers [having] been shot dead by them.⁵⁸ Soon after that one of the scouts sauntering about carelessly was shot through the heart.⁵⁹ After a great deal of trouble, these Indians were induced to come out of their hole when it was found that one Indian man, 2 women and one child had been killed during the attempt to dislodge them. Another Indian, "American Horse," fatally wounded in the bowels died the same night.⁶⁰ 2 men and 2 women came out of the hole alive and were taken along with the command. We found one little Indian boy who had been left behind in the confusion. He was rolled up in some buffalo robes asleep—was badly frightened when we disturbed him. The Indians made show of attack from the neighboring hills just before sun-down. The infantry soon deployed as skirmishers & Indians kept at respectful distance. My Co. & some others was deployed again before day break in hopes of meeting the foe, but we only saw them out of range. Rations $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Indian beef, 2 crackers & small portion coffee. Lt. Ludwitz' [Luettwitz's] leg amputated above the knee. (16 mi.)

Sunday 10th. Skirmish line at 3:45 A.M.⁶¹ Breakfasted on dried beef & coffee, saving only two crackers for supper in the evening. Had buffalo robes from Indian camp & slept very warm. Camped on small creek. (13 mi.)

Monday 11th. Marched to Owl Creek 25 m. Rode 3 m. Same breakfast as yesterday. Chanced to buy a small piece of antelope from one of the scouts and



having saved 6 crackers during time when 7 were issued daily treated myself to two of them and had a feast. Stewed antelope with wild onions. Issued to us for to-morrow—horse meat & 2 table spoons beans. (25 mi.; 22 mi. walked) *Tuesday 12th.* To Willow Creek 36 m. This was the hardest day of the campaign. Rained most of the day, the Infantry following the muddy trail of the cavalry ahead of us. Cleared up for a short time about noon but rained again before sunset. We plod along in darkness and mud till near 12 o'clock at night, almost in despair, discipline at an end, men cursing & growling thus till we at length see the camp fires of the cavalry troops who have been in ahead of us some hours. Confusion reigns in camp. The poor Inf'y are taken a mile away from this meagre store. Blankets—some find them, others do not. The wounded howling with pain & in constant dread of being trodden on in the darkness. Rain and no shelter. Managed to get a little piece of antelope and a cracker for supper and turned in under the black canopy of Heaven. When we reached camp this night it was without more than ten per cent of the Infantry present, the rest had fallen out of ranks and lain down on the side of the trail.

[Inexplicably Taylor's diary ends at this point. Fortunately the other account by a member of the regiment herewith presented continues the story. Private William Walter Jordan, who penned the following diary entries, was born in Keokuk, Iowa, in 1853. He enlisted in the army at Springfield, Illinois, on September 9, 1873, and served with the Fourteenth Infantry in Dakota and Utah territories until called to the front during the Sioux War. Promoted corporal in Company C, Jordan stood 5 feet 9 1/2 inches in height, had blue eyes, brown hair, and a dark complexion. Jordan returned to Camp Douglas following the Sioux campaign. Discharged at Fort Cameron, Utah Territory, in 1878, he reenlisted in the regiment at Fort Hall, Idaho Territory, the next year and in

1881 transferred to White River, Colorado. In May 1883 the regiment removed to Fort Sidney, Nebraska, where one year later Jordan, now a first sergeant, was again discharged. He immediately reenlisted, this time with the Second U.S. Artillery, but his tenure with this unit was brief, and Jordan was discharged on his own application, apparently for disability, in May 1885 at Washington Barracks. He became a policeman in Washington, D.C., and by mid-1917 was retired and living at the U.S. Soldiers' Home in the capital. Jordan died December 4, 1921.⁶²

In prefatory remarks to published excerpts from his diary, Jordan noted:

I enlisted in the Fourteenth Infantry, and went from St. Louis to Fort [Camp] Douglas, . . . near Salt Lake City, Utah [Territory]. . . . When the command to which I was attached arrived there, we were all set at work tearing down the old wooden buildings, and rebuilding them of stone, which we quarried from the surrounding hills.⁶³ We completed the work in 1876, and were congratulating ourselves on the fact that our hard labor was at an end, and that we were at last on easy street, when the Sioux war broke out, and we were marched off to the scene of action for two [sic] years of about the hardest and toughest campaigning I ever experienced.

Jordan's diary excerpts appeared in an unidentified newspaper ("the Post"), possibly of Washington, D.C., a clipping from which is in the Colorado Historical Society, Denver. The location of the original diary has not been established.⁶⁴—Ed.]

Excerpts from Diary of Pvt. William W. Jordan, Company C, Fourteenth Infantry

June 25. Command (which left Fort [Camp] Douglas on June 24) reached Medicine Bow station in the afternoon. Went into camp. Before we reached the station had to cross Medicine Bow River, which was very much swollen, in an old flat boat. Soldiers and mules all packed in together. While my company was crossing, the mules became frightened and crowded to the upper side of the boat, which caused it to dip water.

The current being very strong, threw the boat on edge, and mules, soldiers, wagons, and everything on board slid off into the river, and were washed down stream, passing under the boat. Fortunately, there were no casualties. Sergt. Gallagher and I lost our guns, but were rearmed by the quartermaster.⁶⁵ Gallagher came near drowning, but was rescued by Lieut. Lloyd and Private Desmond, of Company B.⁶⁶

June 26. Broke camp and started for Fort Fetterman.

June 27. Usual morning scene. Struck camp, roll call, march, &c. During the day's march the boys found a great many curious petrifications, fossils, moss agates, and other semi-precious stones, and the frequency with which the boys fell out of the column to gather these curiosities aroused the ire of our commanding officer, who declared that we was not making a geological survey, and who ordered these curio hunters to do extra duty on our arriving in camp.

July 4. Left Fort Fetterman to join Crook's command.

July 6. Marched twenty-four miles. Camped on Dry Fork of the Cheyenne River. An amusing mishap befell Pat Robinson, of Company C, Fourteenth Infantry, at this point.⁶⁷ The day being hot and the march a long one, the men were tired and footsore, and, on striking camp, they were soon busy bathing their feet in various water holes in the dry bed of the river. Robinson was careful to select a choice hole near the bank, and was all prepared to bathe his tired extremities, when the mules that had been unhooked and turned out to graze came along and drank all the water out of Pat's hole, leaving him high and dry on the bank. The language he used at the time came near drying up all the other holes.

July 30. Moved camp one mile down creek.⁶⁸ Indians set fire to the prairie. Entire command out fighting fire until dark.⁶⁹

August 3. Marched all day through smoke of prairie fires. Weather hot.

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Command suffered for water. Arrived in camp about sundown. Made eighteen miles. Gen. Carr and Col. Merritt joined our command same evening with ten troops of the Fifth Cavalry.⁷⁰ Also recruits for Fourth, Ninth, and Fourteenth Infantry. The whole country is one sheet of flames, from the valley to the mountain tops. At 8 o'clock P.M. a terrific rainstorm set in. All the tents blown down. I was on picket duty. Indians fire on pickets. Pickets return fire. One Indian killed.

August 5. Our trouble begins. Gen. Crook orders wagon trains corraled. Provisions, ammunition, one blanket, and one change of underclothing to each soldier ordered packed on our mules. Wagon train left in charge of teamsters and invalid soldiers. Each soldier carried 100 rounds of ammunition and one day's rations. Start to form a junction with Gen. Terry's command, which was somewhere in the Little Big Horn country, the scene of the late Custer massacre. Frank Guard [Grouard], our faithful scout, led us onward.⁷¹ Marched down Tongue River, wading it three times. Marched twenty-four miles to-day.

August 6. Continued down Tongue River Valley and crossed over to Rose Bud Valley. This was a very hard day's march. Made twenty-four miles. No water except that we had in our canteens, which held about a quart each. A great many of the infantry fell, exhausted. They were placed on pack mules. One soldier fell out of the column and called on Dr. Paszche [Patzki], who saw that he was not sick, but desperate from heat and thirst, and ready to do most anything to get transportation into camp.⁷² The doctor talked very kindly to him, offering to carry his gun and ammunition on his (Paszche's) horse, which offer the soldier accepted. When, however, the doctor gained possession of the gun he turned it on the soldier and began prodding him along at the point of the bayonet. He started him off on the double quick and kept him moving until he rejoined his company, where he was placed under guard, but later released.



Frank Grouard (1851-1905) from an 1890-91 photograph. Grouard, Crook's chief of scouts in 1876, had lived with Sitting Bull's people for several years before signing on with the army. NSHS-R539:22-4

August 8. Broke camp, marched eight miles, and had to go into camp again. All the timber on the hills on fire, the work of Indians. Smoke so thick we could not see our way. Broke camp again about 6 P.M. and started to make a night march. We marched until 2 A.M. and bivouacked on the Rose Bud River. Made twenty miles. I spread my blanket out on what I thought was a nice patch of grass, but it turned out to be an ant hill, and I had no more than settled myself for a few hours' rest when I felt about a dozen of the most excruciating bites on my body and legs. We never disrobe when following the trail of Indians, and the ants had crawled in under my clothing and next to the skin in a way that made me wince.

August 10. Marched down Rose Bud about fourteen miles. Gen. Terry' [s] command, consisting of twenty-two companies of infantry and eleven troops of cavalry, appeared in the distance.

This column and ours were acting independently, and neither knew of the other's presence in the valley. Therefore, when we came in sight of each other, both sides prepared for a fight, the two commanders taking one another for the enemy. Buffalo Bill (Cody) was present, and by the merest accident discovered who and what we were, thus preventing what might have proved a serious mistake.⁷³

August 12. Has rained steadily for forty-eight hours. In camp. No shelter of any kind. Stood up all night with blankets over our shoulders, and soaking wet. One soldier proved an exception. Name, Andy Shuttles.⁷⁴ First man I ever saw who could lie down in a pool of water, with water dammed up against his back and running over him, and sleep like a top. Andy had been shot in the nose and snored dreadfully.

August 14. Left Tongue River Valley and headed for Powder River. Camped on Pumpkin Creek after day's march. Water in this stream about the color of yellow ochre, and as thick as mud could well make and call it water. In fact, we could not make coffee with it, or at least when made it had not the slightest taste of coffee. Capt. Burt, of the Ninth Infantry, found a stray dog to-day, and christened him "Sitting Bull."⁷⁵ Was a dog the Indians had left behind.

August 15. This proved another hard day's march over a mountainous country. Guard [Grouard] reports numerous Indian trails, evidence that the redskins (the body that massacred Gen. Custer's command) have divided. "Sitting Bull," Burt's dog, and "Walloper," Capt. Toby's dog, had a fight to-day. "Walloper" came out victorious. "Sitting Bull" deserts camp. Marched twenty-two miles. We had a wag of a fellow in my company named James Radcliff,⁷⁶ who enlivened the march by his comic songs and remarks. To-day he composed a song while marching, which ran something like this:

We went with Crook to the Rose Bud
to fight the Indians there;

We came near being baldheaded, but they did not get our hair.
We lay upon the ground, in the dirty, yellow mud,
And we never saw an onion, a turnip, nor a spud.
And there was Corp. O'Donahue and Sergt. The-Devil-Knows-Who,
They made us march and toe the mark in gallant Company Q.
And the drums would roll upon my soul, and this is the way we'd go:
Forty miles a day on beans and hay, in the regular army O.⁷⁷

The entire column would join in the chorus of this song, thus diverting our minds from the hardships of the march.

August 16. Started out as usual; marched about twenty miles over a very rough and rugged road. Radcliff enlivened the column with his new song. Today he nicknamed Maj. Chambers "Route Step," owing to the fact that he always gave the command "Route Step" after the order to march. He was one of the most methodical officers I ever served under. Every formality of military discipline had to be observed before the column could get under way.⁷⁸

August 23. Last night on the Yellowstone. At 8 P.M. a terrific rain storm set in, which lasted all night. We provided ourselves with wickiups over which we spread our blankets; a pretty fair shelter under ordinary conditions, but on this occasion they were useless. Stood up with blankets over our shoulders all night. Commands separate here, Col. Miles (now Gen. Miles) left to establish Fort Kehoe [Keogh] on the Yellowstone, Gen. Terry went down Yellowstone. Buffalo Bill left for the East to start his Wild West show.⁷⁹

September 5. It was here that Gen. laid plans for ending the campaign. Rations about exhausted. Crook decides to head for the Black Hills by compass.

September 8. Entire command living on horseflesh. Crook details detachment of cavalry, selecting best horses, to go to the Black Hills and hasten rations out to command, then on the point of starvation.

September 9. Camped on Slim Butte,

where we surprised a village of thirty-five lodges and 300 warriors under Chief American Horse. Captured 200 ponies and all the stores of the Indians. They came back at dusk with re-enforcements and attacked our camp. Engagement lasted two hours. Indians driven off at all points. Our scout, Charley White, and one soldier killed during the fight. One officer and seven men wounded. Captured eight squaws and three bucks, and their chief, American Horse, who was mortally wounded and died next day.

[After the Slim Buttes engagement Crook ordered Mills to proceed ahead to the Black Hills for provisions, which he did. On September 13, a supply train and a herd of cattle from Crook City in the northern Black Hills met the command along the banks of the Belle Fourche River. After bivouacking there for two days the troops proceeded south under Col. Wesley Merritt while Crook hurried on to Fort Laramie to consult the Missouri Division commander, Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. On September 18, the command under Merritt started south through the Black Hills gold camps. For the rest of the month and through half of October the soldiers bivouacked in the vicinity of Custer City before starting for Camp Robinson, Nebraska, where on October 24 General Crook formally closed the expedition.⁸⁰—Ed.]

September 12. This was a record-breaker. We broke camp at sunrise, traveled all day through mud the like of which I have never seen before or since. We marched in the trail (following) of the cavalry all day and until late at night. In short, we were fourteen hours on the road and no sign of camp. The officers all marched at the head of the column, thus leaving the companies to follow or lay down at will. The men were falling out of the ranks from sheer exhaustion. For miles the trail was strewn with played-out men and horses, cavalry saddles, blankets, &c., each trooper abandoning his traps in order to lighten

the burden of his patient and faithful horse. The head of the column went into camp about 10 P.M., after marching forty miles. The men came straggling in all during the night. Had the Indians known of our weak condition they would have had an opportunity to avenge themselves for the thrashing we gave them at Slim Butte. I will say, however, that in the event such a thing had occurred they would have met with a warm reception, as the men were half-crazed with hunger, and would have welcomed a go at Mr. Indian. Camped on Willow Creek, well named, for its banks were lined with willow brush, which made good fuel. Those of us who came in camp early started fires, the light of which served as a beacon to those who had dropped out during the march, guiding them into camp.

September 13. Camped on the Belle Fourche River, a very rapid mountain stream. Most of the infantry were so exhausted they could not wade the stream, for in case they had the current would have swept them off their feet. Some who reached the stream first came near drowning while attempting to wade it. The pack mules were, therefore, employed to carry the men across. We went into camp on the opposite side of the stream, where we had our first supplies—some flour, bacon, and potatoes, which were brought out from Deadwood City.⁸¹

I paid 50 cents per pound to a Jew sutler for some potatoes, and ate them raw at first, my hunger was so intense. Our quartermaster learning that the men were paying fabulous prices to the Jew sutlers for the necessities of life, ordered everything in the way of eatables to be purchased and paid for by Uncle Sam. Men went so far as to pay \$5 for a single loaf of bread. Some of the men who reached camp first, and who had no money with which to buy grub, were standing around a wagon where two Jew sutlers were quarreling over the price which they should charge for bread. One Jew wanted to sell it at \$1 per loaf, but the other demurred, saying:

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Maj. Alexander Chambers (1832-88), Fourth Infantry, commanded the infantry battalion of Crook's command, consisting of Companies D, F, and G, Fourth Infantry; C, G, and H, Ninth Infantry; and B, C, F, and I, Fourteenth Infantry. Courtesy of U.S. Military Academy Archives

"No, py krashus; tey has lots of moneish, let tem pay \$2 for it." While the row was in progress these moneyless soldiers overturned the wagon, drove the Jews off with stones, and made short work of the bread and provisions it contained. The Jews complained to the commanding officer, who told them it served them right for acting the hog.

October 26. Went into winter quarters at Fort [Camp] Robinson, Nebr.⁸²

As mentioned, the Great Sioux War did not end with the close of Crook's campaign at Camp Robinson. Soon after, the general, on Sheridan's directive, sent cavalry to surround and dismount the Sioux followers of Red Leaf and Red Cloud. He then organized yet an-

other campaign to strike the Oglalas of Crazy Horse in the area of the upper Tongue River in Wyoming and Montana. Instead, on November 25, 1876, Fourth cavalymen under Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie of Crook's command discovered and charged a large North Cheyenne village of chiefs Little Wolf and Dull Knife in the Big Horn Mountains, killing forty of those people as they attempted to flee their lodges in the icy dawn twilight. The Dull Knife battle ended Cheyenne participation in the war; refugees from the fighting journeyed north to Crazy Horse's camp or turned themselves in at the agencies. Crook returned to Camp Robinson. Meantime, Fifth and Twenty-second infantrymen under Colonel Miles had

rousted the followers of Sitting Bull north of the Yellowstone in a series of encounters that ultimately made them seek refuge in Canada. In January Miles ascended the Tongue River in pursuit of Crazy Horse, defeating the Oglalas and the refugee Cheyennes at the Battle of Wolf Mountains. Following that engagement, most of the Indians, including Crazy Horse, traveled into the Dakota and Nebraska agencies and gave themselves up. A few isolated encounters occurred, but by the late summer of 1877 the Great Sioux War was over.

Notes

¹ For an enumeration, see Paul L. Hedren, *Traveler's Guide to the Great Sioux War* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1996), 18n.

² For overviews of the Great Sioux War, see "The Great Sioux War: A Military Perspective," in *Battles and Skirmishes of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877: The Military View*, ed. Jerome A. Greene (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), xv-xxvii; and "The Great Sioux War and Indian Testimony," *Lakota and Cheyenne: Indians Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876-1877*, ed. Greene (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), pp. xiii-xxi. For focused studies of early battles of the conflict, see Jesse W. Vaughn, *The Reynolds Campaign on Powder River* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961); Vaughn, *With Crook at the Rosebud* (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1956); Neil C. Mangum, *Battle of the Rosebud: Prelude to the Little Bighorn* (El Segundo, Calif.: Upton and Sons, Publishers, 1987); and, especially, Edgar I. Stewart, *Custer's Luck* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955).

³ *Seattle Daily Times*, May 21, 1920; *The Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle), May 21, 1920; Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army 1* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903):946; *Official Army Register, January 1, 1920* (Washington: The Adjutant General's Office, 1920), 920; *Official Army Register, July 21, 1921* (Washington: The Adjutant General's Office, 1921), 1389.

⁴ Joy Werlink, manuscript curator, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, to the editor, Oct. 24, 1996. Determination that the diary is in Taylor's hand followed comparison of that document's script with samples of Taylor's penmanship contained in his Appointment, Commission, and Personal (ACP) File, Record Group (RG) 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁵ Co. B, Capt. James Kennington and 2d Lt. Charles F. Lloyd; Co. C, Capt. Daniel W. Burke and

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1st Lt. John Murphy; Co. F, Capt. Thomas F. Tobey and 2d Lt. Frederic S. Calhoun; and Co. I, Capt. Frank Taylor and 2d Lt. Richard T. Yeatman. Since August 1875 most of the Fourteenth Infantry, commanded by Col. John E. Smith, had been stationed in Utah Terr., with headquarters and companies B, C, F, H, I, and K at Camp Douglas. Companies D, E, and G were at Fort Cameron, Utah, while Company A was at Fort Hall, Idaho Terr. Thomas M. Anderson, "The Fourteenth Regiment of Infantry," in *The Army of the United States*, eds. Theophilus F. Rodenbough and William L. Haskin (New York: Maynard, Merrill, and Company, 1896), 606-7; *Roster of Troops Serving in the Department of the Platte Commanded by Brigadier-General George Crook* (Omaha: Headquarters, Department of the Platte, May, 1876), copy in Entry 3740, General Orders, Dept. of the Platte, RG 393, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, National Archives; James Willert, comp., *March of the Columns: Chronicle of the 1876 Indian War, June 27–September 16, 1876* (El Segundo, Calif.: Upton and Sons, 1994), 62.

⁶ Camp Douglas, Utah Terr., was established October 26, 1862, east of Salt Lake City to protect regional mail and telegraph lines from Indians and to oversee area Mormon activities at a time when the religious group was suspected of disloyalty to the Union. The post was designated Fort Douglas on December 30, 1878. Robert W. Frazier, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 166. In-depth histories of the post are in Charles G. Hibbard, "History of Fort Douglas, Utah," unpublished manuscript dated 1990, copy provided by author; and Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862–1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Fall 1965):326–50.

Medicine Bow Station, Wyoming Terr., served as a pump station for furnishing water from the Medicine Bow River for steam rail engines on the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1876 it became the major drop point for provisions earmarked for Crook's summer campaign against the Sioux. From Medicine Bow, supplies went north via wagon to Fort Fetterman. David P. Robrock, "A History of Fort Fetterman, Wyoming, 1867–1882," *Annals of Wyoming* 48 (Spring 1976):55–56. For a history of the community that evolved at Medicine Bow, see Mrs. Charles Ellis, "Medicine Bow, Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming* 9 (July 1932):673–77.

⁷ Company G, Fourth Infantry, commanded by Capt. William H. Powell and 2d Lt. Albert B. Crittenden, was from Fort Sanders, near Laramie, Wyo. *Roster of Troops Serving in the Department of the Platte*, 8, 10. The company consisted of two officers and forty-seven men. James Willert, comp., *After Little Bighorn 1876 Campaign Rosters* (La Mirada, Calif.: James Willert, Publisher, 1985), intro.

⁸ See the following diary excerpts of Pvt. William W. Jordan for details of the troops' fording of the Medicine Bow River.

⁹ Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Terr., stood on a sage-covered plateau adjoining the south bank of the North Platte River. Established in 1867 to afford protection to various emigrant routes in the vicinity, the post stood adjacent to the Bozeman Trail, which led to the western Montana gold fields. Fort Fetterman closed in 1882. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 181; Robrock, "Fort Fetterman," 5–76. For particulars of Crook's movements in and out of Fort Fetterman in 1876, see *ibid.*, 48–65; and Paul L. Hedren, *Fort Laramie in 1876: Chronicle of a Frontier Post at War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), 52–53, 87, 98, 207, 214–15.

The Little Medicine Bow River is located directly north of the Medicine Bow River. *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer* (Freeport, Me.: DeLorme Mapping, 1992), 32.

¹⁰ Apparently in present Carbon County, Wyo., where the Little Medicine Bow River courses in a roughly north-south axis. *Ibid.*

¹¹ In present Converse County. *Ibid.*

¹² These mishaps seemingly occurred in the area of what is now the Medicine Bow National Forest. Apparently the troops followed the Box Elder drainage until within about fifteen miles of Fort Fetterman. *Ibid.*, 44–45.

¹³ From Fort Fetterman, Taylor's Company I, Fourteenth Infantry, along with Companies B, C, and F of that regiment, and Company G, Fourth Infantry, would proceed north accompanied by Company C, Ninth Infantry, and Company F, Fourth Infantry. The latter two units, commanded by Col. Alexander Chambers, had departed Crook's Goose Creek camp on June 21, four days after the Rosebud battle. They escorted the wounded from that engagement, along with Crook's supply train, which needed reprovisioning, to Fort Fetterman. John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), 319–36.

¹⁴ The command followed the Bozeman Trail, which during the 1860s led diagonally northwest from the North Platte River to Montana. For the Bozeman Trail, see Grace R. Hebard and Earl A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, 2 vols. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1922). The historic route from Fort Fetterman corresponds to the present course of Wyoming State Route 93. *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 45. For succinct histories of the trail, see Burton S. Hill, "John Bozeman and the Bozeman Trail," *Annals of Wyoming* 36 (Oct. 1964):205–33; and Sherry L. Smith, "The Bozeman—Trail to Death and Glory," *Annals of Wyoming* 55 (Spring 1983):32–50. For a concise synopsis of its northwestwardly route through Wyoming from Fort Fetterman in relation to the modern landscape, see Hill, "John Bozeman and the Bozeman Trail," 213–14. For discussion of the Sage and other creek crossings mentioned by Taylor, see Maurine Carley, comp., "Bozeman Trail Trek," *Annals of Wyoming* 36 (Apr. 1964):43–77.

¹⁵ Brown's Springs Creek was a branch of the Dry Fork of the Cheyenne River. Hebard and

Brininstool, *Bozeman Trail*, 1:228; *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 44–45.

¹⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁷ Taylor here probably means Sand Creek. Wind Creek, not Wind River, with its various forks lies two drainages farther northwest. *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁸ Near present Ross, in Converse County. A visitor in 1880 noted a mud-chinked log hut present at Antelope Spring. Howard B. Lott, ed., "Diary of Major Wise, an Englishman, Recites Details of Hunting Trip in Powder River Country in 1880," *Annals of Wyoming* 12 (Apr. 1940):115.

¹⁹ In present Johnson County. *Ibid.* Fort Reno stood along Powder River to protect emigrants passing over the Bozeman Trail. Established on June 28, 1866, by Col. Henry B. Carrington, Eighteenth Infantry, Fort Reno was abandoned in 1868 in accordance with conditions of the Fort Laramie Treaty of that year. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 184. A detailed study is in Robert A. Murray, *Military Posts in the Powder River Country of Wyoming, 1865–1894* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), 13–27.

²⁰ For George Crook's military record, see Heitman, *Historical Register* 1:340. For a sketch of his life, see Jerome A. Greene, "George Crook," in *Soldiers West: Biographies of the Military Frontier*, ed. Paul A. Hutton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 115–36. See also Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook: His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

Crook had been first into the field in 1876, and part of his command under Col. Joseph J. Reynolds attacked a village of Northern Cheyennes along Powder River on March 17, 1876. Three months to the day later, on June 17, Crook's troops encountered, battled, and lost to a large body of Sioux and Cheyennes at Rosebud Creek, Montana, an episode that brought the general's withdrawal from the war zone to await sufficient reinforcements before proceeding north again. For details, see Mangum, *Battle of the Rosebud*; and Vaughn, *With Crook at the Rosebud*.

George Custer led his command to defeat on the Little Bighorn on June 25, just eight days after Crook's encounter with the Indians at Rosebud Creek. For Custer's military brief, see Heitman, *Historical Register* 1:348. For an interpretive biography, see Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Frontier Tradition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

At the Old Fort Reno camp, 2d Lt. Frederic S. Calhoun, Company F, Fourteenth Infantry, learned of the death of his brother, James, a first lieutenant in the Seventh Cavalry with Custer at the Little Bighorn. Thaddeus H. Capron, *Marching with General Crook; or, The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition against Hostile Indians in the Summer of 1876, . . . Being the Diary of Lieutenant Thaddeus Hurlbut Capron, Company C, Ninth Infantry*, ed. Ray Meketa (Douglas, Alaska: Cheechako Press, 1983), 29. At the same time, 2d Lt. Albert B.

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Crittenden, Company G, Fourth Infantry, learned of the loss of his cousin, 2d Lt. John J. Crittenden, in that battle.

²¹ *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 64.

²² In present Sheridan County. *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 63. Fort Philip Kearny, established on July 13, 1866, to act in concert with Forts Reno and C. F. Smith (in Montana) in guarding the Bozeman Trail, stood at the base of the Big Horn Mountains between Big Piney and Little Piney creeks, some fifteen miles north of the modern community of Buffalo, Wyo. Like its sister posts, Fort Kearny was abandoned by the government in 1868. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 183–84. For specifics of the construction of Fort Philip Kearny, see Murray, *Military Posts*, 28–49.

²⁴ *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 63, 69. Crook had withdrawn to this point following the Battle of Rosebud Creek. The location of this camp on Big Goose Creek (South Fork of Tongue River) on July 13 was southwest of present Sheridan and close against the Big Horn Mountains. As will be seen, the camp changed locations every few days to provide new grass for the hundreds of animals on hand. A few days previous a scouting detachment from Crook's command under 2d Lt. Frederick W. Sibley experienced a brief encounter with the Indians in the Big Horn Mountains. The soldiers, forced to abandon their horses, managed to return to the base camp after several harrowing days eluding the warriors. John F. Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac; or, The Conquest of the Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 113–28; and Joe DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard*, ed. Edgar I. Stewart (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 136–46.

Besides Taylor's diary and the following excerpts from Private Jordan's diary, the course of Crook's expedition from this point is well documented in a number of memoirs, journals, and diaries. In addition to those previously cited here, see the corresponding letters and/or diary entries in James H. Nottage, ed., "The Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition of 1876, as Seen Through the Letters of Captain Gerhard Luke Luhn," *Annals of Wyoming* 45 (Spring 1973):27–46; Agnes Wright Spring, ed., "Dr. McGillycuddy's Diary," *Denver Westerners' Brand Book, 1953* (Boulder, Colo.: Johnson Publishing Company, 1954); Susan C. Reneau, comp., *The Adventures of Moccasin Joe: The True Life Story of Sgt. George S. Howard* (Missoula: Blue Mountain Publishing, Inc., 1994), 50–83; John Scott Payne, "Marching with the Fifth Cavalry: The Reminiscence of J. Scott Payne," *South Dakota History* 23 (Spring 1993):5–32; and Cuthbert Mills, *The Cuthbert Mills Letters to the New York Times during the Indian War of 1876*, ed. James Willert (La Mirada, Calif.: James Willert, 1984).

²⁵ These were 213 Shoshone scouts under Chief Washakie from Wind River. Crook's aide, 1st Lt. John G. Bourke, wrote that the Shoshone scouts feared that the recently arrived infantrymen might confuse them with the Sioux and fire on them and

that Crook detailed some officers to accompany them to prevent such an accident. The Shoshones paraded around the camp "in all the glory of war-bonnets, bright blankets, scarlet cloth, headdresses of feathers, and gleaming rifles and lances." Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 337.

²⁶ Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry (1827–90) was a Yale alumnus who entered the volunteer army at the outbreak of the Civil War and emerged a major general in 1865. Terry garnered a regular army commission as brigadier general and continued in the service, by 1876 serving as Crook's counterpart commanding the Department of Dakota at Fort Snelling, Minn. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:951; John M. Carroll and Byron Price, comps., *Roll Call on the Little Big Horn, 28 June 1876* (Fort Collins, Colo.: Old Army Press, 1974), 158–59. For Terry's work in the West, see John W. Bailey, *Pacifying the Plains: General Alfred H. Terry and the Decline of the Sioux, 1866–1890* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979). For the Crow messengers from Terry to Crook, see Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 339.

²⁷ Capt. Alexander Sutorius (ca. 1837–1905), a native of Switzerland, had served with the Third Cavalry since 1854. He was promoted to captain in 1869 and saw extensive western service, but owing to his predilection for alcohol, as noted by Taylor, Sutorius was dismissed from the army on September 25, 1876. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:937; Carroll and Price, *Roll Call on the Little Big Horn*, 158; Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 345.

²⁸ See *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 69, for the upper Tongue River area.

²⁹ See Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 344–45, and Willert, *March of the Columns*, 268–71, for the union with Merritt and the Fifth Cavalry. Also with Col. Wesley Merritt were 120 recruits for the infantry and cavalry companies, plus sixty-seven replacement mounts. Willert, *After Little Big Horn Campaign Rosters*, intro. The ten companies of the Fifth Cavalry (583 men) were among the reinforcements slated to join Crook following the Rosebud battle. Commanded by Colonel Merritt, these troops, gathered from among several posts on the southern plains, had on July 17 met a contingent of Cheyennes enroute north from Red Cloud Agency near Camp Robinson. Merritt's force fired on the tribesmen at Hat, or Warbonnet, Creek, Nebr., then chased them back to Red Cloud before returning to Fort Laramie and resuming the trail north to meet Crook. Paul L. Hedren, *First Scalp for Custer: The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, July 17, 1876* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980).

³⁰ Presently within the city of Sheridan. *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 69.

³¹ The excerpted entry for Pvt. William W. Jordan's diary, which herein follows Taylor's, indicated that the troops pulled out of Fort Fetterman on July 4. The muster roll for Company B, Fourteenth Infantry, stated that the unit "marched from

Ft Fetterman Wy Ty July 4 1876." RG 94, National Archives.

³² The attack on Crook's bivouac, known as the skirmish at Tongue River Heights, occurred on June 9 at a point where Prairie Dog Creek enters the Tongue. There were no casualties in the encounter, which consisted of warriors firing into the soldiers' camp from a bluff north (east) of the stream and a brief pursuit by cavalry. Greene, *Battles and Skirmishes*, 20–25; *Wyoming Atlas & Gazetteer*, 69.

³³ Crook's force departing down Tongue River on August 5 consisted of twenty-seven companies of the Second, Third, and Fifth cavalry regiments, ten companies of the Fourth, Ninth, and Fourteenth infantry regiments (total number of troops=1,875), 250 Shoshone and Ute scouts, thirty citizens, and 350 pack animals bearing 150,000 rounds of ammunition. Willert, *After Little Bighorn Campaign Rosters*, intro.

³⁴ Terry's command, rationed for twenty-five days, consisted of twelve companies of cavalry, twenty-two companies of infantry, forty artillerymen (1,713 soldiers total), seventy-five Crow and Arikara scouts, and 203 wagons, each drawn by six mules. *Ibid.* For personal accounts of the meeting between the forces of Crook and Terry, see Charles King, *Campaigning with Crook* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 70–73; and Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 161–65. For a description derived from multiple sources, see Jerome A. Greene, *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War, 1876–1877* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 41–44.

³⁵ Crook's march north from Wyoming took him into present Big Horn and Rosebud counties, Mont. It was in Rosebud County, near the confluence of Rosebud and Miller creeks, that the junction of the forces of Crook and Terry took place. *Montana Atlas & Gazetteer* (Freeport, Me.: DeLorme Mapping, 1994), 32–33, 46–47.

³⁶ Thomas F. Tobey (1840–1920), a Rhode Island native, served in that state's volunteer infantry regiments as an officer through most of the Civil War before transferring to the Fourteenth Infantry in 1865. Tobey received a first lieutenant's commission, and won promotion to captain in 1874. He retired from the Fourteenth Infantry in 1892. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary*, 1:963.

Ohio-born 2d Lt. Richard T. Yeatman (1848–1930), Taylor's subaltern in Company I and an 1868 West Point graduate, joined the Fourteenth Infantry in 1872. Successively promoted first lieutenant and captain in 1883 and 1892, Yeatman sat out the Spanish-American War in Alaska, but served with his regiment in the Philippines, 1899–1900. *Ibid.*, 1066. See also *The Association of the Graduates of the United States Military Academy, Annual Report, June 12th, 1933* (Newburgh, N.Y.: The Moore Printing Company, n.d.), 75–79.

Frederic S. Calhoun (1847–1904) had served

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briefly with Ohio troops during the Civil War. Commissioned second lieutenant in the Fourteenth Infantry in 1875, he won promotion to first lieutenant in 1886 and retired in 1890. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:274. An in-depth biography is in Thomas R. Buecker, "Frederic S. Calhoun: A Little-Known Member of the Custer Clique," *Greasy Grass* 10 (May 1994):16–25.

³⁷ This parenthetical addition is in the handwritten manuscript, suggesting that this generation of the diary was modified from another, doubtless earlier version from surviving notes.

³⁸ The troops camped on Pumpkin Creek. For details of the Crook-Terry maneuvers enroute to the mouth of Powder River, see Greene, *Yellowstone Command*, 47–51.

³⁹ Presumably the "commanding officer" in question was Maj. Alexander Chambers, Fourth Infantry, in charge of Terry's infantry battalion. See the reference to Chambers in Jordan's diary excerpt for August 16.

⁴⁰ For discussion of Crook's determination to move, see Greene, *Yellowstone Command*, 53–55. Taylor's remark about Crook's proposal to move being superseded by Terry's authority as commander of the Department of Dakota, in which both commands were operating, is significant because of the date, August 18, only one day after the combined force reached the mouth of Powder River. Crook finally departed on August 24, with Terry following the next day until news of the presence of warriors along the Yellowstone turned him back to that river. Thereafter, Crook was on his own.

⁴¹ This stream was likely Whitney Creek. *Montana Atlas & Gazetteer*, 64.

⁴² Capt. Daniel W. Burke (1841–1911), from Connecticut, had served as an enlisted man and officer in the Second Infantry during the Civil War. Later serving as a captain with the Forty-fifth Infantry, he transferred to the Fourteenth in 1869. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:263.

⁴³ The "north branch" is apparently the main branch of O'Fallon Creek. *Montana Atlas & Gazetteer*, 64.

⁴⁴ This "small stream" is probably Pennel Creek. *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴⁵ Reference is to the trail of Col. David S. Stanley's Yellowstone Expedition of 1873, which accompanied a surveying party of the Northern Pacific Railroad up the Yellowstone Valley to the landmark called Pompey's Pillar. Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866–1890* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973), 242–43.

⁴⁶ In July and August 1864, Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully led a brigade of volunteer cavalry into the Yellowstone-Missouri hinterland seeking to intimidate various Sioux tribesmen. The trail encountered along the Yellowstone River by Crook's men in 1876 was that of Sully's return march to the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri and

east. Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian, 1848–1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 275–79.

⁴⁷ In present Billings County, N. Dak.

⁴⁸ Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Terr., stood along the right (west) bank of the Missouri River a few miles below Bismarck. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 111–12.

⁴⁹ In present Stark County, N. Dak.

⁵⁰ The command crossed both branches of the Cannonball River in present Slope County, N. Dak.

⁵¹ Anson Mills (1834–1924), from Indiana, attended West Point for two years before leaving the academy in 1857. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mills received a commission of first lieutenant in the Eighteenth Infantry and later was promoted to captain in that regiment. After the war, Mills saw much western service. Transferred to the Third Cavalry in 1870, he remained with that unit until 1878, when he was assigned to the Tenth Cavalry as major. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:713. Mills authored an autobiography, *My Story* (Washington: Byron S. Adams, 1918). During the Great Sioux War, Mills played distinctive roles at the battles of Powder River and Rosebud Creek, as well as in the Battle of Slim Buttes, in which context he is mentioned in Taylor's diary.

Actually Mills took five officers with him. His command consisted of an escort for the pack train of sixty-one mules in the charge of 1st Lt. John W. Bubb, Fourth Infantry. Mills's force was divided into two battalions of seventy-five men each, one under 1st Lt. Emmett Crawford, the other under 1st Lt. Adolphus H. Von Luetwitz. Accompanying the battalions were two second lieutenants, George F. Chase and Frederick Schwatka. Jerome A. Greene, *Slim Buttes, 1876: An Episode of the Great Sioux War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 46–47.

The Black Hills mining community of Deadwood City, situated on the Great Sioux Reservation in violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, lay approximately 150 miles south of Crook's command. Laid out in April 1876, Deadwood consisted, in fact, of an assortment of communities organized around gold claims. The Deadwood boom was in full heat during the summer of 1876. Watson Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 91–97 and passim.

⁵² On September 5, because of the dearth of rations, General Crook decreed that abandoned cavalry horses would be shot for food at the rate of twelve per day (three per cavalry battalion). Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 49.

⁵³ *Ibid.* See also Hedren, *Traveler's Guide*, 76–79.

⁵⁴ For details of Mills's attack, see Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 59–66. Mills's report is in *ibid.*, 132–35. An account by Mills is in Greene, *Battles and Skirmishes*, 110–15.

⁵⁵ Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 60, 66.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 74–79. For personal reminiscences, see Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 370–73; King, *Campaigning with Crook*, 106–15; Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 188–93; and "Charles King's Description of the Ravine Fight at Slim Buttes," *South Dakota History* 23 (Spring 1993):33–38.

⁵⁷ For details of the afternoon fight, see Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 81–88; the official reports of Crook and the battalion commanders in *ibid.*, 130–39; and the reports of the infantry company commanders (including Taylor) in "Reports of the Infantry Battalion at Slim Buttes," *South Dakota History* 23 (Spring 1993), pp. 39–47. For accounts by participants, see Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 374–75; King, *Campaigning with Crook*, 116–24; and Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 194–96. Indian accounts of Slim Buttes appear in Greene, *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 85–92.

⁵⁸ This fatality was Pvt. John Wenzel, Company A, Third Cavalry, struck square in the forehead by a bullet as he approached the ravine. *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵⁹ The death of Scout Charles (Jonathan) White occurred after Crook's men had reached the scene of the fighting and as White and other scouts tried to force the refuged Indians from the ravine. *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁰ Largely unknown to whites at the time, American Horse was the son of the Oglala leader Smoke. Gravely wounded in the abdomen during the ravine fight, he received treatment from the army surgeons, but died near midnight. *Ibid.*, 50, 80, 90.

⁶¹ This notation references Taylor's statement in the preceding entry. At about 3 A.M., Companies G, Fourth Infantry, and B, F, and I, Fourteenth Infantry, posted themselves on the hills south and southwest of the village site, ready to meet any returning warriors. A brief exchange took place at dawn as Crook's command pulled away from their bivouac and headed south, resuming the march for the Black Hills. Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 90–92.

⁶² Muster Roll, Company C, Fourteenth Infantry, August 31–October 31, 1876. RG 94, National Archives. Enlistment papers of William W. Jordan, in *ibid.*; "Register of Enlistments," vol. 80 (1879), entry 52, 140, in *ibid.*; Pension File of William W. Jordan, SC 7825, National Archives. Jordan married Maria A. Donald in Beaver City, Utah, in 1878; she died in 1909. At the time of his death from heart disease at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D.C., Jordan was drawing a pension of \$20 per month based on his Indian wars service. He was buried in the national cemetery adjoining the Soldier's Home.

⁶³ Jordan severely injured his hand in this work, and the resulting impairment was likely the basis for his leaving the service in 1885. Ten years later an army comrade vouched for Jordan's injury on an application for pension increase: "While on duty in [the] stone quarry at Camp Douglas, engaged in rolling heavy rock, claimant cut the third finger of his right hand with a piece of rock; finger became sore and has since been apparently use-

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less to him; little finger of same hand appears also to have been disabled. . . . While in [post] hospital he frequently visited the barrack room, and I noticed his finger was bent . . . and he complained of suffering from said injury. . . . He has been crippled in the fingers since date of injury."

⁶⁴ "Indians and Indian Wars," book 3, Dawson Scrapbook, vol. 12, Colorado Historical Society, Denver.

⁶⁵ This was 1st Sgt. Francis Gallagher of Company C. Willert, *After Little Bighorn Campaign Rosters*, 90.

⁶⁶ Charles F. Lloyd (1851–1924) graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1874, when he was commissioned second lieutenant in the Fourteenth Infantry. Lloyd resigned from the army in 1883, but during the Spanish-American War served four months as lieutenant colonel of the Third U.S. Volunteer Cavalry. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:637. Pvt. John Desmond appears in Willert, *After Little Bighorn Campaign Rosters*, 89.

⁶⁷ Apparently Pvt. Thaddeus ("Pat") Robinson. *Ibid.*, 90.

⁶⁸ The troops, as noted in the preceding diary, had joined Crook's force on July 13.

⁶⁹ Contrast this account of the fire's cause to Taylor's.

⁷⁰ Eugene A. Carr, appointed lieutenant colonel of the Fifth in 1873, he continued to command the regiment until July 1, 1876, when Colonel Merritt assumed command. (Carr commanded the regiment after joining Crook, who placed Merritt in charge of the entire cavalry brigade.) Carr later became colonel of the Sixth Cavalry, and advanced to brigadier general in 1892. He retired in 1893 with forty-six years of service. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:285. A full-length biography is James T. King, *War Eagle: A Life of General E. A. Carr* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

Wesley Merritt (1834–1910), who graduated from West Point in 1860, was one of Lieutenant General Sheridan's favorite officers going back to the Civil War and had emerged from the war a genuine hero. He later won promotion to brigadier general, superintended the Military Academy, and in 1895 was advanced to major general, commanding the Division of the Missouri. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:706; Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 124–25. A full-length biography of Merritt is in Don E. Alberts, *Brandy Station to Manila Bay: A Biography of General Wesley Merritt* (Austin: Presidial Press, 1980).

⁷¹ A controversial player in the events of 1876 and 1877, Grouard's autobiography is in DeBarthe,

Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard.

⁷² Julius Patzki (ca. 1838–1930), a native of Prussia, had served with the New York artillery during the Civil War, and in 1867 was appointed assistant surgeon in the regular army. Promoted to major (surgeon) in 1889, Patzki retired in 1892. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:776.

⁷³ The best Cody biography remains Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960).

⁷⁴ There was no soldier named Shuttles in the Fourteenth Infantry battalion (Companies B, C, F, and I). The closest sounding name is that of Pvt. Andrew Shields, Company I. Willert, *After Little Bighorn Campaign Rosters*, 90, 92.

⁷⁵ Capt. Andrew S. Burt (1839–1915), from Ohio, enlisted in his state's infantry at the outbreak of the Civil War, but soon received a commission in the Eighteenth Infantry. Burt transferred to the Twenty-seventh Infantry in 1866, then to the Ninth Infantry three years later. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:267. Burt's years in the West are chronicled in Merrill J. Mattes, *Indians, Infants, and Infantry: Andrew and Elizabeth Burt on the Frontier* (Denver: Old West Publishing Company, 1960).

⁷⁶ Pvt. James Radcliff is listed in Willert, *After Little Bighorn Campaign Rosters*, 90.

⁷⁷ Radcliff did not compose the song, although he likely contrived new verses to fit the occasion, as became army custom. The song, "The Regular Army, O"—most associated with the frontier army—was popularized in 1875 by two New York vaudevillians, Harrigan and Hart, and quickly found acceptance in the ranks. Innovative soldiers concocted a variety of verses, some obscene, to fit their circumstances when on the march. Those Jordan ascribed to Private Radcliff appear to be modifications of known verses. Don Rickey, Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay: The Enlisted Soldier Fighting the Indian Wars* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 189–90. That the song, with contemporary applicable verses, was also sung by members of the Fifth Cavalry during the 1876 campaign is confirmed in King, *Campaigning with Crook*, 148–50.

⁷⁸ Maj. Alexander Chambers (1832–88), graduated from West Point in 1853 and served as a lieutenant in the Fifth Infantry until 1861. After service in the Civil War he became captain in the Twenty-seventh and Eighteenth infantry regiments, then transferred as major to the Twenty-second and later to the Tenth regiment. In 1870 he joined the

Fourth Infantry and in October 1876 was promoted lieutenant colonel, Twenty-first Infantry. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:293–94.

⁷⁹ Following later conflicts with the Nez Percés and Bannocks, Nelson Miles remained along the Yellowstone until 1880, when, promoted to regular army brigadier general, he took command of the Department of the Columbia. In later years, Miles orchestrated Geronimo's final surrender, oversaw army operations during the events leading to Wounded Knee in 1890, and commanded the U.S. Army during the Spanish-American War. Heitman, *Historical Register*, 1:708–9. The best biography is Robert Wooster, *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993). For his activities in the Yellowstone-Missouri country, see Greene, *Yellowstone Command*.

Miles established the Tongue River Cantonment in August 1876 at the confluence of Tongue River with the Yellowstone River. In 1877 a larger post, Fort Keogh, superseded the cantonment a short distance away. It stood on the south bank of the Yellowstone. From these posts, Miles and other officers campaigned against several tribes, including the Lakotas and Northern Cheyennes. Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 82.

The parenthetical reference to "now Gen. Miles," as well as the mention of Fort Keogh, which was not named until 1877, constitute embellishments that could not have been known to Jordan in 1876. Likewise, although Cody performed on eastern stages at this point in his career, he did not start his Wild West show until 1883. These suggest that Jordan modified his diary some time after the events discussed, using notes or a previous diary kept during the campaign.

⁸⁰ Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 97–111.

⁸¹ Foodstuffs also arrived from Crook City, on Whitewood Creek, east of Deadwood and in the foothills of the Black Hills. Greene, *Slim Buttes*, 105. Crook City is described in Parker, *Gold in the Black Hills*, 97.

⁸² For an in-depth study of the post during its early years, see Thomas R. Buecker, "A History of Camp Robinson, Nebraska, 1874–1878" (Master's thesis, Chadron State College, 1992). For the activities of certain Fourteenth Infantry officers as Indian agents at Red Cloud Agency during the subsequent year, see Buecker and R. Eli Paul, eds., *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1994).