CHEYENNE DOG SOLDIERS: A LEDGERBOOK HISTORY OF COUPS AND COMBAT

by Andrew Masich

Warriors of the Plains tribes produced wonderfully detailed paintings depicting their brave deeds. Cheyenne men painted their coups and conquests on hides and tipis. A new artform evolved when these warrior-artists discovered the utility of lightweight and easily transportable paper books introduced by westering Anglo Americans. Collectors and curators valued this "ledger art" for its "naïve" artistry. But in the 1990's, white historians working with Cheyenne elders realized that there was more to these drawings, if only we could learn to interpret them. Examining the earliest-known Cheyenne ledgerbook, these researchers discovered the key to "reading" pictographs drawn by warriors in 1865. An understanding of the arms and equipment depicted enabled historians to date and identify previously unrecognized people and events. The detailed drawings of war and raids involving U.S. volunteer troops, citizens, and tribal adversaries reveal long-hidden history.[1]

Cheyenne Dog Soldiers

The Cheyenne recognized six military societies which men might join. Members of these warrior or "soldier" societies hunted, danced, raided, and went to war together. Each society had its own traditions, songs, and regalia. There were Bowstrings, Crazy Dogs, Kit Foxes, Red Shields, Crooked Lances, and Dog Soldiers. In 1837, Porcupine Bear, a Dog Soldier headman, participated in the killing of another Cheyenne. Tribal law did not permit any form of capital punishment but dictated that banishment would be the penalty for such a serious crime. Accordingly, Porcupine Bear was exiled. His power and prestige, however, were so great that other warriors—Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho—and their families joined him. In time, Porcupine Bear's Dog Soldiers became a separate political and military division of the Cheyenne nation and were widely known for the boldness of their warriors and resistance to whites traveling the overland trails. After the Sand Creek Massacre, peace chiefs such as Black Kettle, who once looked upon the Dog Soldiers as outlaws, turned to the outcast band for protection and leadership.[2]

Figure 1. A Lakota village on the Pine Ridge Agency, circa 1891. This village approximates the size of Tall Bull's encampment at Summit Springs, Colorado Territory, July 11, 1869. Beinecke Library, Yale.

The Dog Solider Ledgerbook and the Battle of Summit Springs

Hidden in a ravine just a mile from Chief Tall Bull's Cheyenne Dog Soldier village at White Buttes in northeastern Colorado Territory (for example of size, see Figure 1), blue-coated soldiers of the Fifth U.S. Cavalry stood by their exhausted horses, tightening girths and loading carbines, waiting for the command to mount. Accompanying the soldiers, Pawnee scouts stripped for battle, keeping only their weapons and enough army clothing to distinguish themselves from the Cheyenne warriors. It had been a long

Figure 2. Eugene A. Carr commanded the Republican River Expedition as a major of the Fifth U.S. Cavalry (left). Pictured here at the end of the Civil War as a major general of volunteers. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. William F "Buffalo Bill" Cody served as chief of scouts for Major Eugene A. Carr's Fifth Cavalry during the summer of 1869 (right). For his exceptional skills as a scout, Cody earned Carr's respect. History Colorado.

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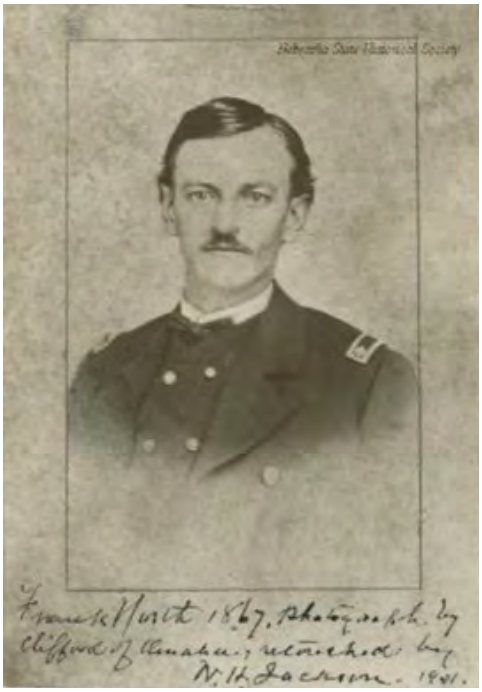


Figure 3. Major Frank North, Commander of the Pawnee Scouts (left) and his brother Luther North (right), Second Nebraska Cavalry, wearing dress typical of volunteer troops on the frontier during the Civil War. Nebraska Historical Society.

ride for Major Eugene A. Carr and the Fifth (Figure 2, left). They left Fort McPherson in Nebraska on June 9, 1869 to the sounds of the regimental band and snapping silken flags and guidons. A battalion of Pawnee scouts, led by brothers Frank and Luther North, and William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody (Figure 2, right) guided the expedition as it took to the field.

Though it had been nearly five years since the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado, the Dog Soldiers still burned with a desire to avenge the innocent victims of the unprovoked attack. Cheyenne warriors struck white hunting parties, railroad construction crews, and outlying settlements along the Saline and Solomon river valleys. Settlers appealed to the Army for protection, and Major General Christopher C. Augur, commander of the Department of the Platte, responded by directing Carr's Fifth Cavalry to "*drive the Indians out of the Republican* [River] *country*."[3] Within three days they encountered a small Cheyenne hunting party. Outnumbered, the Dog Soldiers chose not to fight. As the expedition searched for lodgepole travois traces and other signs of the Indian trail, Cody and the Pawnee scouts returned to the main column day after day with the same discouraging news: no Cheyennes anywhere. Then, on June 15, the sudden cry of "Indians!" A teamster rode into camp with an arrow protruding from his side, shouting that the warriors were cutting through the wagons and mule herd. The Pawnees quickly mounted and in a running fight killed two Cheyenne Dog Soldiers.

Angry that the Pawnees had engaged the enemy without direct orders, Major Carr reprimanded Captain Luther North (Figure 3), who temporarily commanded the scouts until the arrival of his older brother, Major Frank North. Carr, who held a low opinion of the fighting abilities of the Pawnees, reminded Luther North that the command was in unfamiliar country far from bases of support. The Dog Soldier attack might have been a ruse to lure the troops into an ambush or to draw them away from the mules and wagons. North answered that he believed the only way to fight Indians was "*to go for them as fast as possible wherever they were found*."[4]

Carr's frustrations grew when Major North joined the command, bringing with him new orders from department headquarters. Carr was directed to send a company of the Fifth to protect settlements on the Little Blue in eastern Nebraska. Although North's escort included a fresh company of Pawnees, Carr believed these Indian scouts to be "*lazy and shiftless*." He vented his displeasure in a dispatch to headquarters: "*It is very disheartening to me for my command to be reduced; it was already too small*." Moreover, he pointed out that "[Lieutenant Colonel George A.] *Custer's smallest command last winter was (11) Eleven full companies, with, I believe, Infantry train Guards*."[5]

Figure 4. Left: Southern Cheyenne warrior, Little Bear, is shown here in traditional dress including a hairpipe breastplate and a strung bow. Right: Shoes of the type worn by two white women captured by the Dog Soldiers shortly before the Battle of Summit Springs. Bottom Right: Discarded shoes pried by Cheyenne warriors from government mules; excavated near Summit Springs, Colorado. History Colorado.

For the next three weeks, the command searched the upper Republican River country attempting to pick up the Dog Soldiers' trail. On June 30, Major Carr reported that his scouts had discovered an enemy campsite. The fast-moving Cheyennes had paused only long enough to remove the iron shoes from a captured government mule herd (Figure 4). Carr recognized the importance of this evidence, explaining later that the Dog Soldiers "*would scatter; then come together on the high, hard prairie and drive their animals in every direction to confuse the trail; then scatter again and not reassemble till near their night camp*."[6] By early July, however, increasing signs of Cheyenne presence convinced Carr that his command was gaining on the warriors. The Pawnees reported fresh hoofprints near the soldiers' night camps, and Major William B. Royall, dispatched to investigate, returned with news of his own sharp skirmish with Dog Soldiers on July 5.

On the afternoon of July 8, several soldiers driving straggling stock fought off a party of warriors. That night, Dog Soldiers swept through the sleeping camp, shouting and firing. As the Cheyenne warriors neared the horse herd, the Pawnee scouts drove them off. Mad Bear (*Co-Rux-Te-Chod-Ish*), a sergeant of the Pawnee guard, rushed out to kill a Cheyenne warrior who had been thrown from his horse. In the darkness and confusion, however, Mad Bear was accidentally wounded by a bullet from the soldiers' camp. Carr singled out the scout in his official report of the campaign, saying that the Pawnee deserved special mention for his bravery under fire. Later, Congress awarded Mad Bear the Medal of Honor for his actions that night.[7]

The boldness of the Dog Soldier attack was calculated to instill fear. It was also designed to delay and confuse the soldiers, for unknown to Major Carr, the vulnerable Dog Soldier village with its women, children, and elders was only twenty miles away. The Pawnee scouts correctly assessed the situation and informed Carr that the troops were within striking distance of Tall Bull's village. On the following day, Buffalo Bill and the Pawnees led the soldiers across sandhills and then up Frenchmen's Fork of the Republican, about fifteen miles from Valley Station on the South Platte River trail in far northeast Colorado. The troops passed three abandoned Cheyenne camps in one day and observed discarded government mule shoes and the shoeprints (Figure 4) of white women captives clearly visible in the dirt around the still-warm campfires.

Carr now cut loose from his slow-moving wagon train. In his report, he wrote, "*I took all available men; that is, all those whose horses were fit for service, and they amounted to two hundred and forty-four* (244) *officers and soldiers, and fifty* (50) *Pawnees out of seven companies 5th Cavalry and one hundred and fifty Pawnees*."[8] On July 10, Major Frank North recorded in his diary: "*In the morn we move out early and take three days' rations on pack mules and light out for the Indians. We will have a fight tomorrow sure*."[9]

The next day, July 11, 1869, Major Carr and his reduced command pressed on until the Pawnee scouts sighted Cheyenne horsemen. The Pawnees urged Carr to move the troops under the cover of ravines and hills. The Cheyenne trail divided again, but the main trail seemed to run on the table land. Knowing the Cheyenne would need water as much as his own men, Carr struck out across the sandhills, ignoring trails, and headed directly for the South Platte, only ten miles distant. His hunch paid off. Buffalo Bill and the Pawnees soon reported a Cheyenne horse herd ahead. The village was sure to be nearby.

Two days earlier, Tall Bull had encamped his people at White Buttes, a place known to the whites as Summit Springs. Here he determined to wait until his scouts found a crossing of the South Platte. Two Crows and five other young Cheyenne men forded the river, but the rushing waters ran over the horses' backs. A second ford seemed less dangerous for the women and children, so the scouts marked this place with sticks. They hurried to the village to report to Tall Bull, only to find the camp greatly excited and confused. A Lakota (Sioux) war party had just come in with news of cavalry moving toward the village. Tall Bull, however, dismissed these reports, believing that the soldiers were far away on decoy trails and of no immediate threat to his people. He resolved to remain at White Buttes, even though most of the Lakota warriors broke camp and crossed the river that night.

Now, just after midday, July 11, Two Crows sat in his lodge talking and eating with his friend Brave Bear. Suddenly, they heard the shout: "*People are coming*!" At first the two warriors paid no attention, but then came muffled sounds of gunfire. Two Crows and Brave Bear ran from the lodge toward the sound of the guns. Horses stampeded in the panic that gripped the camp. Dust and smoke filled the air, but through the noise and confusion Two Crows heard Tall Bull shout: "*All of you that are on foot and cannot get away follow me*." Picking up a rope, bridle, pistol, and war club, Two Crows ran to catch one of the loose horses.[10] Throwing his bridle on a black steed belonging to Tall Bull, he quickly outdistanced the exhausted horses of the charging Pawnee scouts. Two Crows then joined other warriors fighting a series of delaying actions, while leading the women and children south and away from the doomed village. Other Cheyenne warriors and a few women and children followed Tall Bull to the protection of a ravine between the white crags that loomed over the village to the southeast. For a few minutes warriors with firearms succeeded in keeping the soldiers from overrunning this defensive position. But soon, the Pawnees encircled the Dog Soldiers, and the ravine turned from a place of refuge to a death trap. Warriors who had hastily dug handholds and steps into the steep sides of the cut were shot down from behind.

Tall Bull found a protected place for his wife and child, then returned to the mouth of the ravine. Here he killed his horse, determined to make his last stand. It was not a good place to fight, but it was the best he could find. Wolf with Plenty of Hair, a renowned warrior and one of four wearers of the Dog Rope (Figure 5), the very symbol of the Dog Soldiers, drove a stake through the tail of this six-foot-long sash, pinning himself to the ground. By this act he declared that he would neither retreat nor surrender. Singing his song of death, here the bravest Dog Soldier would die.

William Cody and Frank North both claimed to have fired the shot that killed Tall Bull, but gun smoke shrouded the ravine, and no one could know for certain whose bullet ended the life of the great Dog Soldier leader. Fifty-two warriors fell that day, as did an unknown number of women and children. Seventeen Cheyennes were taken prisoner. The Army's victory was so complete that Major Carr reported only one casualty, a slightly wounded soldier. The Pawnees broke off their pursuit of the Cheyenne survivors only because their horses were jaded and nearly ridden to death. As the scouts turned their attention to rounding up captured Cheyenne horses, Carr's troops tended to the needs of the white captives found in the village. Maria Weichell, wounded by a pistol shot in the chest, survived; but her companion, Susanna Alderdice,

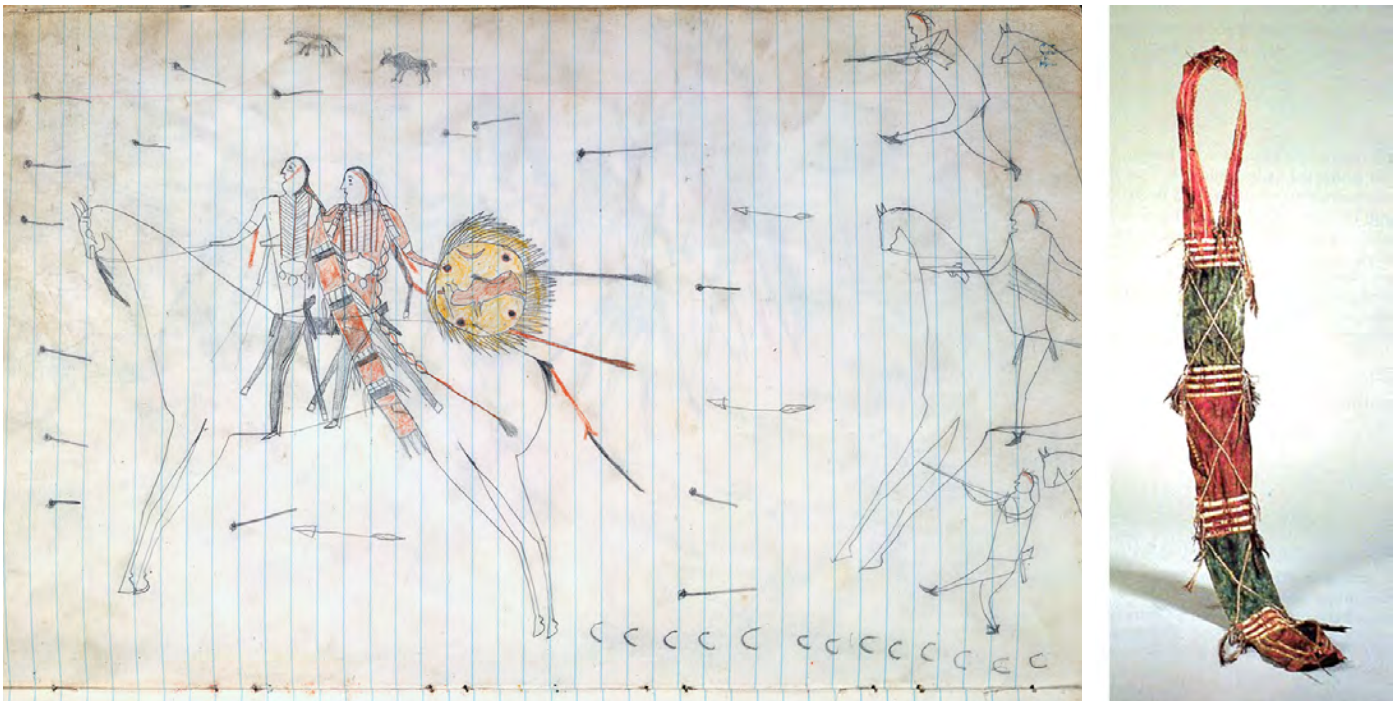


Figure 5. Shown here in an earlier encounter with Pawnees (left), Wolf With Plenty of Hair wears the Dog Rope, sash-like over his shoulder, the very symbol of the Dog Soldiers, as he rescues Tall Bull, the renowned Dog Soldier leader. The Dog Rope was worn by only four warriors, chosen for their prowess and bravery (right). In a desperate battle, the Dog Rope wearer would dismount and drive a stake through the rope's end, announcing his intention to fight to the death unless a fellow warrior pulled the pin and released him of his obligation. Dog Rope, Denver Museum of Art and Cheyenne Dog Soldier Ledgerbook, History Colorado.

was killed by her captors at the first fire. The soldiers wrapped Alderdice's body in buffalo robes and buried her atop a hillside overlooking the village.

A hastily appointed commission of military officers inventoried the contents (for examples, see Figure 6) of eighty-four lodges and everything the Cheyennes had left behind:

"56 rifles, 22 revolvers, 40 sets of bows and arrows, 20 tomahawks, 47 axes, 150 knives, 50 pounds of powder, 20 pounds of bullets; 14 bullet molds, 8 bars of lead, 25 boxes of percussion caps, 17 sabers, 17 war shields, 9 lances, 13 war bonnets, 690 buffalo robes, 552 panniers [large baskets], 152 moccasins, 319 rawhides, 361 saddles, 31 mess pans, 52 water kegs, 67 brass and iron camp kettles, 200 rawhide lariats, 16 bottles of strychnine, 84 complete lodges [tents], 125 travois, 9,300 pounds of dried meat, 160 tin cups, 180 tin plates, 200 dressing knives, 8 shovels, 75 new lodge [tent] skins, 40 saddle bags, 75 bridles, 28 new women's dresses, 50 hammers, 9 coats, 100 pounds of tobacco, 200 tin coffee pots, 1,500 dollars in gold and bank notes, 274 horses, 144 mules, 25 horses and mules killed."[11]

As the weary soldiers and Pawnee scouts straggled back to the village the wind turned into a gale, blowing away the smoke of battle. Carr noted that a "*terrible thunder and hail storm*" struck the troops. One lightning bolt killed an army horse, leaving its rider stunned but unhurt. Now the regiment sought cover in the abandoned tipis, allowing the men time to thoroughly search the enemy camp and its contents. Carr was especially interested in the safe-conduct passes and other papers discovered in the village.[12] One letter read

Figure 6. Examples of Cheyenne camp equipage and weapons (left). Women decorated parfleches, moccasins, and other utilitarian items while men painted and drew pictures of their coups on tipis and in captured ledgerbooks. Smithsonian Institution. Photo courtesy of Salamander Books, Ltd. Firearms modified by warriors of the Plains (right). From top, Lakota Chief Gall's Leman rifle, 1860 Spencer carbine, 1868 Springfield rifle. Warren T. Lewis.

Figure 7. White Horse, a prominent Dog Soldier leader (lower right) wears a German silver pectoral cross bearing etched figures. Smithsonian Institution. He is depicted in the ledger drawings captured by the Fifth Cavalry at the Battle of Summit Springs and appears in the Dog Soldier ledgerbook found by Lt. Haskins and the small pocket notebook Major Carr included in his report of the Republican River Expedition(above). The small notebook bears the date October 12, 1868, on the same page with a drawing by White Horse. NARA.

To Whom it May Concern

Kiowa Ranch May 20, 1868

The bearer "Tall Bull" Chief of dog soldiers has been camped within four miles of this ranch and been in the ranch every day and has always been very friendly. I think he can be trusted if he is used well; at least he has shown good nature all the time he has been here.

James S. Boyd. He may want something to eat, a little Coffee & sugar.

Another letter said:

Upper Arkansas Agency Fort Larned KS.

May 17, 1868

The bearer of this is Tall Bull, a chief of the Dog Soldiers of the Cheyenne; his camp will be for some time on Pawnee Fork west of the Santa Fe stage road and he may come in contact with many white men; he is peaceably disposed, and will do nothing that is wrong, unless forced to do so by the impudent acts of white men; it were well that he be treated kindly by all he may meet, as it is the object of the Government to have all these Indians shown proper consideration for the purpose of avoiding trouble.

E.W. Wynkoop, U.S. Indian Agent.

Still more letters, dated from March 1855 to June 1868, attested to the good conduct of other Dog Soldier leaders, including Pretty Bear, Good Bear, Powder Face, Whistler, Bull Thigh, Yellow Jacket, and Slim Face. Other papers found included a U.S. soldier's honorable discharge and a pocket notebook filled with colored drawings by Dog Soldier warrior-artists. The notebook, measuring three and one-half by six inches, could be almost precisely dated (Figure 7, bottom). Over the notation, "*Chas. Wendell time commenced work Oct 12 1868*," the great Dog Soldier leader White

Horse (Figure 7, top) pictured himself capturing an enemy horse. Carr saw the importance of these documents, including them in his official report of the Republican River Expedition.[12] Meanwhile, young Lieutenant Peter V. Haskins made his own discovery—a larger, full-sized army ledgerbook with lined, numbered pages, containing 107 drawings by Cheyenne warrior-artists, each depicting in exacting detail a record of the Dog Soldiers' combats against all enemies, Indian and white.

The next day, the storm clouds cleared. Carr ordered the village torched and everything of value destroyed. This accomplished, the exhausted command made its way to Fort Sedgwick (formerly Camp Rankin), Colorado Territory, the nearest point of resupply, situated a mile from Julesburg. Carr realized that his victory over the Dog Soldiers was made possible by the tracking and fighting abilities of the Pawnee scouts, who he now praised in his final report. The Colorado and Nebraska legislatures passed resolutions honoring Carr's victory at Summit Springs. The Nebraska legislature thanked the Fifth Cavalry and Major North's Pawnee scouts for the "*perseverance in their campaign*" and "*driving the enemy from our borders*." Colorado Territory, too, extended thanks to "*Brevet Major General Eugene A. Carr...and the brave officers and soldiers under his command for their victory*."[13]

The Republican River Expedition was over. Buffalo Bill, Eugene Carr, Frank and Luther North, and the Pawnee scouts gained lasting fame for their victory at Summit Springs. For well into the twentieth century, Cody in his popular Wild West Show would reenact the battle, Tall Bull's death, and the rescue of Maria Weichell. The North brothers, leaders of the famed Pawnee battalion, would forever be known as the "Two Great Scouts." As for Carr, Summit Springs was the great achievement of his long military career.[14]

For the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers, the Battle of Summit Springs resulted in total defeat. Never again would they control the Smoky Hill country of Colorado and Kansas. While the resilient Cheyenne people did not surrender, and many continued to fiercely resist encroaching whites and Government troops through the 1870s, Summit Springs represented the Dog Soldiers' last stand as the protectors of the Cheyenne people and the free life they had once known.

Cheyenne Dog Soldier Ledgerbook Drawings

Warriors of the Plains would use drawings to aid in recounting brave deeds and events of tribal importance. They would say: "*The picture is the rope that ties memory solidly to the stake of truth*."[15] This attention to detail and accuracy allows us to understand not only the meaning of the drawings but also to identify the people, events, and places depicted.

While Cheyenne women were renowned for their artistry in decorating parfleches, clothing, and other utilitarian objects, only men created representational art depicting real people and events. Wooden Leg, a Northern Cheyenne warrior and veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, demonstrated for ethnographers the art of drawing (Figure 8). Using colored pencils or crayons and sitting cross-legged with a white man's ledgerbook in his lap, the warrior-artist first outlined the horse, then added people and other relevant details that could be used to narrate a man's conquests, brave deeds, and coups counted in war or on raids. Often, the warrior depicted in a drawing is shown with his spiritual preparations and protections. The gutter of the book is always the "ground" and the action invariably flows from right to left. As with Plains Indian sign language, the symbols (Figures 9 and 10) and glyphs found in these pictographs would be intelligible to other tribes possessing similar artistic and military society traditions. In all cases, the warrior-artists were honor-bound to accurately depict their deeds.

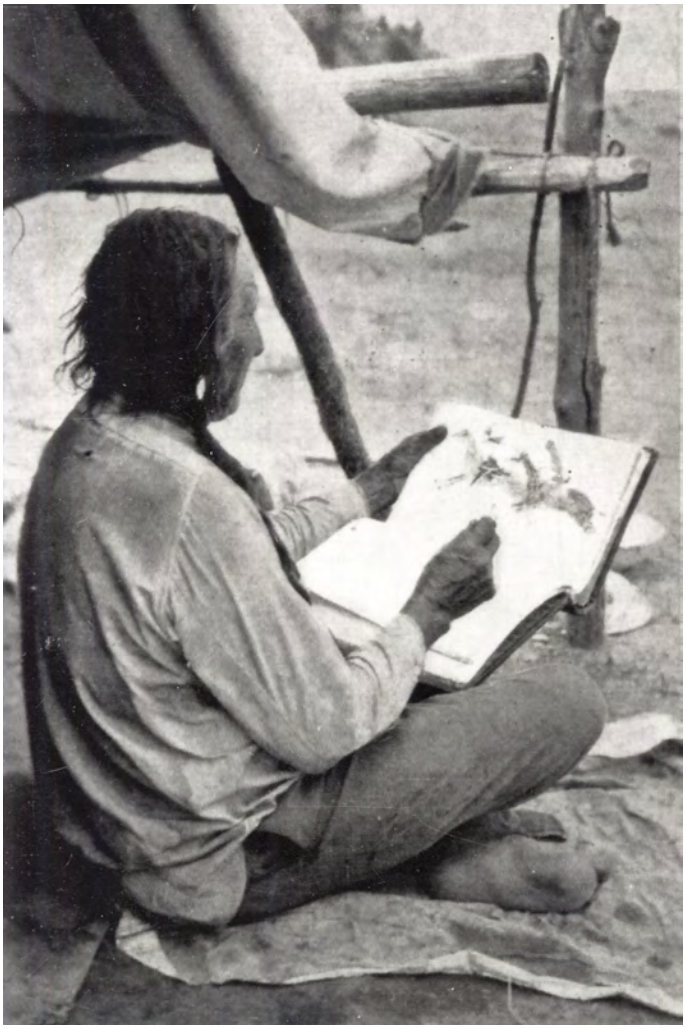


Figure 8. Northern Cheyenne warrior Wooden Leg, a veteran of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, demonstrates the art of ledger drawing. In the Dog Soldier Ledgerbook captured at Summit Springs, Cheyenne warrior-artists, including Whirlwind, Big Crow, White Bird, Lean Bear, Bear Man, and Beaver (George Bent) are depicted the 1865 Platte River raids and battles at Julesburg, Colorado and Mud Springs, Nebraska. History Colorado.

When Lieutenant Haskins picked up the ledgerbook in Tall Bull's Cheyenne Dog Soldier village, he knew only that the colorful Indian drawings would be of interest to soldiers and civilians back at Fort McPherson. While he may not have understood the full meaning of the drawings, he probably suspected they might have some monetary value. From Haskins, the ledgerbook passed to John Henry Filler, an infantry officer once stationed at Fort McPherson. Later, the book was acquired by Union Pacific Railroad surveyor Ira LaMunyon of North Platte, Nebraska. In 1903, LaMunyon donated his library to the Colorado Historical Society. Included in the collection was the Dog Soldier Ledgerbook, which was duly cataloged by the Society's registrar.

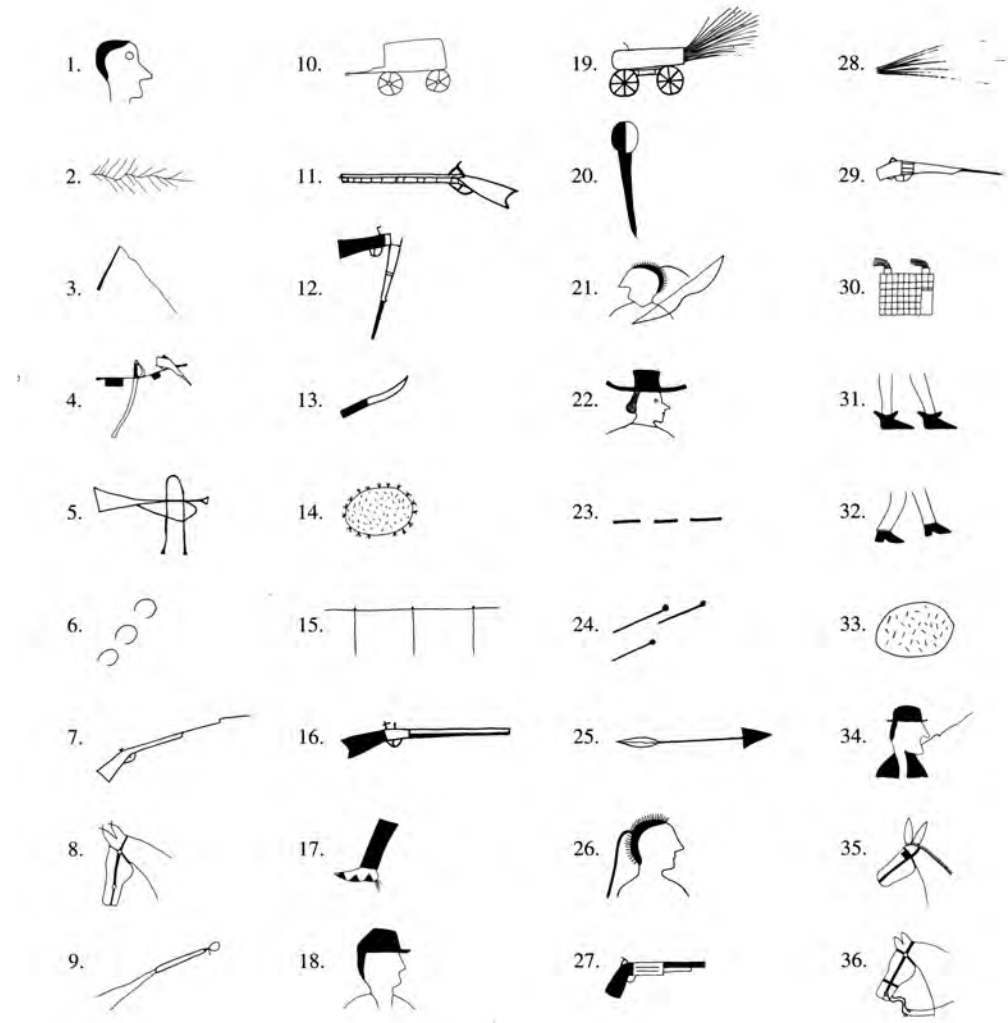
For nearly three-quarters of a century, the book languished in the Society's archives, unstudied and largely forgotten, until it was

Figure 9. Name glyphs of Cheyenne warrior artists. Matthew Masich.

1: Bear Man.
2: Bear's Foot.
3: Bear's Track.
4. Beaver.
5: Big Crow.
6: Blue Bird.
7: Brave Bear.
8: Brave Wolf.
9: Bull's Head.
10: Feathered Bear.
11: Knows His Gun.
12: Lean Bear.
13: Left Hand Woman.
14: Little Man.
15: Lousy Bull.
16: Man Who Breaks the Arrow.
17: Old Lodge Skin.
18: Red Lance.
19: Snow Bird.
20: Standing Elk.
21: Tall Bull.
22: Tall Wolf.
23: Thunder Hawk.
24: Tomahawk.
25: Whirlwind.
26: White Bird.
27: White Bull Robe.
28: White Face Bull.
29: White Horse.
30: Wolf with Plenty of Hair.

Figure 10. Cheyenne Ledgerbook drawing symbols. Matthew Masich.

1: Large Round eyes representing fear or excitement.
2: Bushes, trees, or branches.
3: Whip.
4. Saber belt.
5: Bugle with silk cords.
6: Horse Tracks.
7: Musket with bayonet
8: Horse with notched ears.
9: Quirt.
10: Wagon.
11: Citizen rifle showing full, tiger-striped stock.
12: Smith carbine (loading position).
13: Skinning knife.
14: Corral.
15: Telegraph poles and line.
16: Flintstock musket.
17: Cheyenne beaded moccasin.
18: Soldier wearing forage cap.
19: Cannon (mountain howitzer).
20: Scalp.
21: Coup counted with bow.
22: White man wearing hat.
23: Footprints.
24: Bullets indicating shots fired.
25: Arrow.
26: Pawnee with roached hair and scalp lock.
27: Revolver.
28: Muzzle blasts indicating shots fired.
29: Colt revolving rifle.
30: House or building.
31: Pawnee moccasins with cuffs.
32: White man wearing shoes with heels.
33: Buffalo wallow or depression.
34: Man shouting.
35: Mule.
36: Curb bridle.



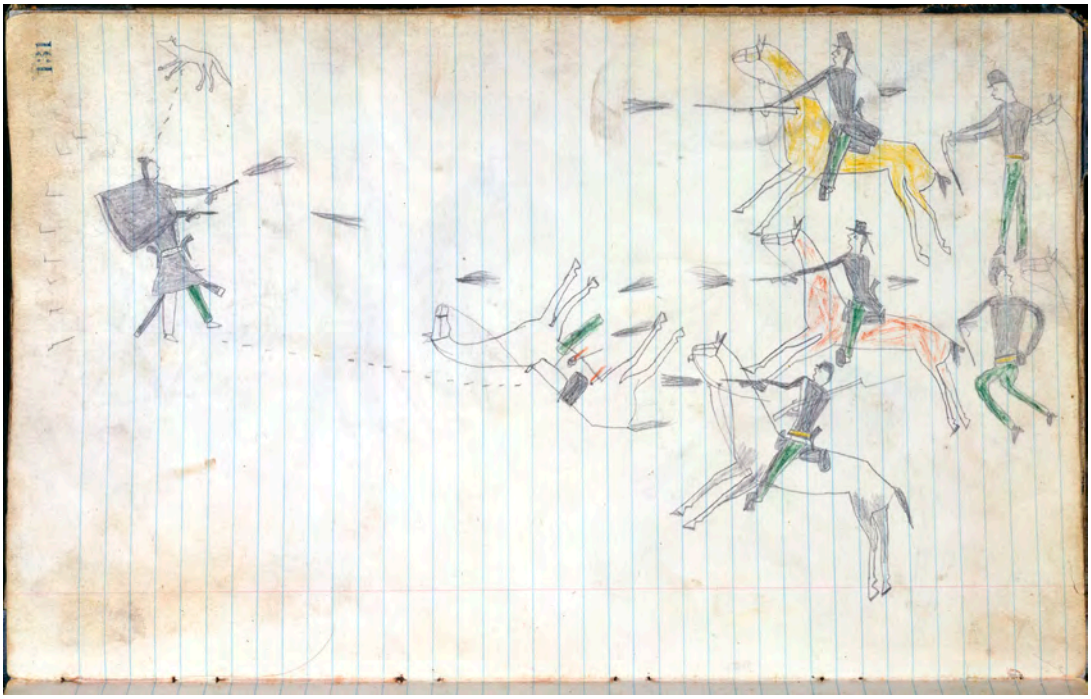


Figure 11.A Surprise Encounter - *Zĭ-sĭhowa hazĭwus*. Cavalrymen armed with Smith Carbines and ride with Pawnee Scouts to attack a Cheyenne Dog Solider in a winter encounter. Dog Solider Ledgerbook History Colorado.

Figure 12. White Horse, a Pawnee Scout (left), wears the 1857 pattern infantry frock coat and holds a Remington New Model Army Revolver, issued to Pawnee Scouts in 1865. Note, too, the distinctive scalplock trailing behind him. Beinecke Library, Yale. Carbines (right) that saw extensive use in the hands of Dog Soldiers and troops during 1865 are (top to bottom) Spencer, Starr, Sharps, Gallager, and Smith. Note that only the Smith opens at a ninety-degree angle. History Colorado.

rediscovered by historians who enlisted the aid of Cheyenne elders residing on reservations Oklahoma and Montana. Together, they realized that these were not just imaginative works of art but, rather, depictions of real people and events. Close examination of the action drawn on ledger page 131 (Figure 11) revealed that a Cheyenne warrior, dressed for cold weather, fights mounted soldiers armed with Smith carbines. These cavalrymen are accompanied by Pawnee scouts, identifiable by their distinctive scalplocks, outdated caps, frockcoats (Figure 12), rifle muskets, and the clubbed (knotted) tails of their horses. This raised the question: What troops carried Smith carbines and fought in concert with Pawnee scouts during the cold months of 1865? An investigation of Army records and contemporary white and Cheyenne accounts supported a conclusion that pointed either to the Cheyenne attack on Julesburg, Colorado Territory, in February 1865, or to General Patrick E. Connor's Powder River campaign in the early autumn of that year.

Army ordnance returns and reports from the northern plains during the 1860s revealed that Smith carbines were issued to only six companies of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry, one company of the Sixteenth Kansas Cavalry, two companies of the Eleventh Ohio Cavalry, and, after January 30, 1865, one battalion of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry. The Eleventh and Sixteenth Kansas regiments and the Eleventh Ohio never operated in concert with Pawnee scouts and thus could be eliminated. The Seventh Iowa, however, occasionally served with Pawnee scouts—at Julesburg in February 1865 and in Montana during Connor's Powder River campaign in September.[16] The Pawnee scouts, organized in mid-1864 and armed with Springfield rifle muskets, were reorganized on January 13, 1865, and sent to Julesburg, arriving there several days after the station was sacked by Dog Soldiers on February 2. Significantly, the Pawnees continued to use muzzle-loading Springfield rifle muskets until 1866, when they were issued repeating Spencer carbines. If this ledger drawing does not depict an action near Jules-

burg, it most likely represents a skirmish associated with Connor's campaign.[17]

The warrior's capote (blanket coat) can be explained by the fact that the weather turned cold on September 2, 1865. Unlike the warrior, the troops were unprepared for the hard freeze. In the drawing they are depicted without winter greatcoats. Both the Seventh Iowa and Major Frank North's Pawnee scouts were with Connor, and both saw action during the campaign. George Bent, the Cheyenne mixed-blood who fought alongside the Dog Soldiers in 1865, remembered that on one occasion Pawnees attached to Connor's column surprised the Cheyenne, killing five warriors. Although this drawing cannot be conclusively identified with Julesburg in February 1865 or Connor the following September, it is either one or the other. This success provided hope that a similar approach could be applied to other drawings and that precise dating and identification was possible.

Figure 13. Examples of U.S. Army cavalry equipage and uniforms including the 1854 pattern jacket of blue wool with yellow worsted lace. From the collection of Col. J. Craig Nannos and the Civil War Library and Museum, Philadelphia. Photo Salamander Books, Ltd.

U.S. Army uniforms and equipage allow us to date and identify encounters (Figures 13, 14). The following details contained in the Dog Soldier ledger drawings confirm that the events depicted could only have occurred in 1865:

- Two twelve-pounder mountain howitzers firing in battery against Dog Soldiers occurred only once prior to the ledgerbook's capture at Summit Springs in July 1869—on January 7, 1865, at Julesburg.
- A bugler sergeant killed in action against the Dog Soldiers ccurred only once prior to July 1869—on January 7, 1865, at Julesburg.
- Cheyenne and their tribal enemies generally used traditional weapons—lance and bow—and early model flintlock and percussion firearms. By the time of the Battle of Summit Springs in July 1869, the Dog Soldiers were armed with the latest patent firearms, including breechloaders and repeaters (Figure 9).
- Soldiers are frequently depicted wearing overcoats. Winter combat involving Dog Soldiers and the U.S. Army occurred but rarely after February 1865.
- Cavalrymen frequently are shown equipped with sabers. This was common practice among volunteer troops stationed in the West during the Civil War, but following the war, regular troops found these weapons cumbersome and rarely carried them in the field.
- Soldiers ride 1859 McClellan saddles and wear 1858 pattern forage caps, typical of Civil War volunteer troops.
- Troops defend adobe or sod buildings. Dog Soldiers did not attack such fortified positions until after the spring of 1864.
- George Bent is depicted in the drawings during a fight with Crow Indians. Bent rode with the Dog Soldiers and fought the U.S. Army only during 1865.

Additional evidence helping date the ledger drawings comes from what is not shown by the warrior artists:

Figure 14. Private Joseph W. Aldrich, Company F, First Colorado Volunteer Cavalry, was killed at Sand Creek on November 29, 1864. He is uniformed like most troops that served on the western border1858 forage cap, 1854 cavalry uniform jacket, and reinforced 1861 pattern kersey trousers. His weapons include an 1853 Sharps carbine, a Colt's .44-caliber New Model Army Revolver, and a light cavalry saber. History Colorado.

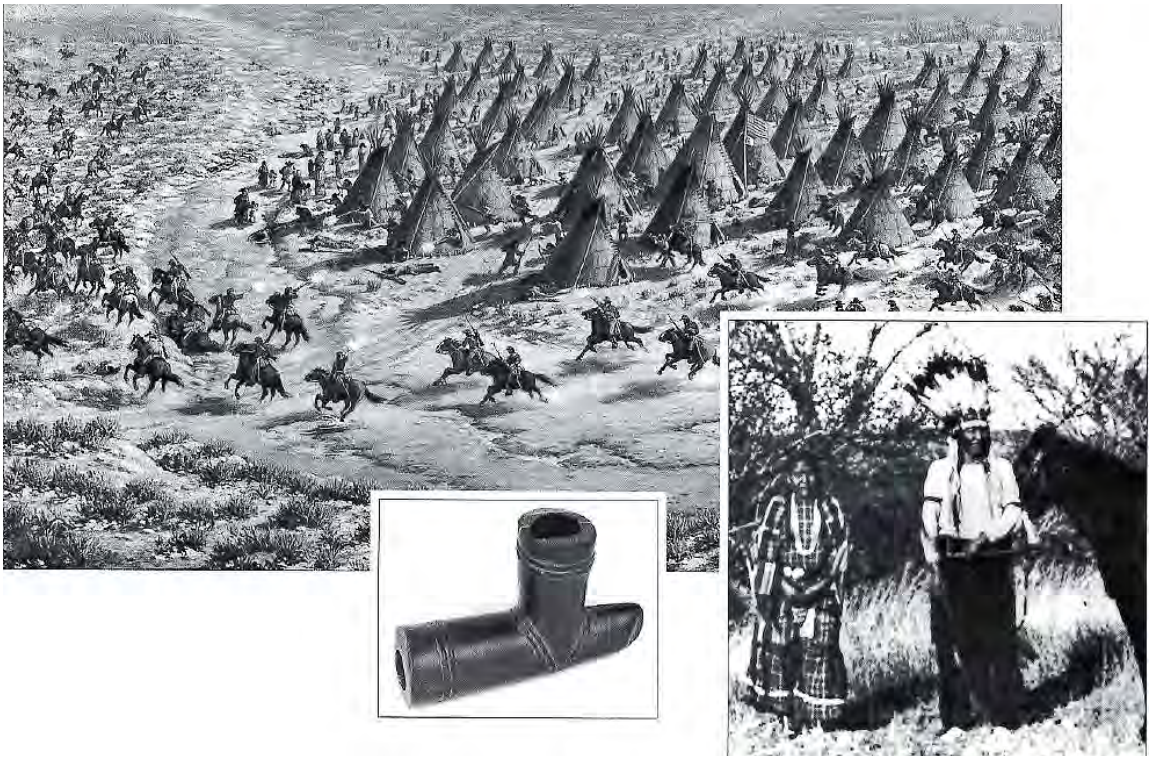


Figure 15. "Sand Creek Massacre" by Robert Lindneux. History Colorado. Red stone pipe bowl retrieved by Cheyenne warrior Cometsevah from Black Kettle's destroyed Sand Creek village. Cometsevah and his daughter, Long Face, survived the massacre at Sand Creek. Laird Cometsevah.

- Cartridge belts designed for metallic cartridges began appearing in soldier and civilian dress by 1866 and became common by 1869.
- Winchester lever-action rifles and carbines, introduced in 1866, were commonly used in the West by warriors and white civilians by late 1868.
- Trapdoor Springfield rifles were introduced by the Army in 1866.
- Kansas Pacific Railroad trains and tracks appeared in central Kansas by 1867 and were common targets for Dog Soldiers.
- The Dog Soldiers do not equip their horses with Hispano-Anglo style saddles and bridles, a common practice by the late 1860s.
- African American "Buffalo Soldier" regiments fought against Dog Soldiers as early as 1867 but are not depicted in the drawings.

The Sand Creek Massacre

Along the banks of Sand Creek, Colorado Territory, on November 29, 1864, U.S. Volunteer troops attacked Chief Black Kettle's peaceful village of Cheyenne and Arapaho families (Figure 15). With four twelve-pounder mountain howitzers in support, the horse soldiers swept through the camp indiscriminately killing men, women, and children. By early afternoon, nearly 200 people lay dead. The troops' commander, Colonel John Chivington, claimed a great victory, but the Sand Creek Massacre, as it became known to the Army and Congressional investigating committees, united the Plains tribes in an unprecedented war against white soldiers and civilians.

A great village of 10,000 Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho people formed in northeastern Colorado Territory. On January 7, 1865, warriors struck on a hundred-mile front along the South Platte River road (Figure 16). They targeted wagon trains, stage and telegraph stations, and ranches. Julesburg, a major stage and telegraph station, was attacked, as was nearby Fort Rankin, where fifteen soldiers were caught on open ground and killed in a running fight. For weeks, the South Platte River raids stopped all travel between Denver and the East. The scale of the public and private property destruction was unprecedented. Nelson A. Miles, later General of the Army, noted that the war "*cost the government $30,000,000, and carried conflagration and death into the border settlements. In the spring and summer of 1865 no less than 8,000 troops were withdrawn from the effective forces engaged against the Rebellion to meet this Indian war*."[18]

Following the Civil War years, the U.S. Government turned its attention to subduing the Plains Tribes. Gen. Phil Sheridan advocated for total war against all tribes not confined to reservations. Stone Calf (Figure 17), a Cheyenne chief and great warrior, verbally sparred with Sheridan during peace negotiations at Fort Larned in 1868. The chief asked to be supplied with firearms needed for hunting. Sheridan said that this might be arranged and that if the Cheyennes then started a war, "*the soldiers will kill them like men*." Stone Calf replied, "*Let your men grow long hair, so we can have some honor in killing* [and scalping] *them*." Sheridan reportedly smiled at this but declined, saying his men would "*get lousy*" with long hair.[19]

The Great Raids Following the Sand Creek Massacre Inspired the Dog Soldier Ledgerbook

The following illustrations from the Cheyenne Dog Soldier Ledgerbook tell the story of the great South Platte River raids made in retaliation for the Sand Creek Massacre. These drawings depict warfare and raids along the South Platte River in 1865, including the battles at Julesburg, Colorado, and Mud Springs, Nebraska. Some of the warriors identified are Whirlwind, Big Crow, White Bird, Lean Bear, Bear Man, and Beaver—the latter perhaps better known by his white name, George Bent.

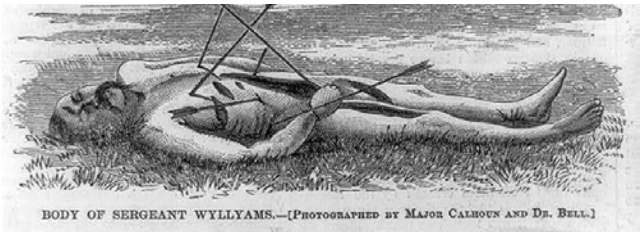


Figure 16. Following the Sand Creek Massacre, Cheyenne Dog Soldiers attacked travelers and forts on the Smoky Hill Trail between Fort Wallace, Kansas and Denver, Colorado Territory. *Harper's Weekly*, July 27, 1867 (left). Sergeant Frederick Wyllyams, Co. G, Seventh U.S. Cavalry, Fort Wallace, Kansas, killed June 26, 1867 (right). Dog Soldiers stripped the bodies of their enemies, taking weapons and useful clothing. The warriors would slash major muscles and shoot arrows into vital organs of the slain to hinder adversaries who might be encountered in the afterlife. Scalps would often be taken, unless Cheyennes were also killed in the fight. After a photograph by Dr. W. A. Bell. *Harper's Weekly*, 1867 July 27.

Figure 17. Stone Calf verbally sparred with General Phil Sheridan at peace negotiations at Fort Larned, Kansas in 1868. Pictured here with his wife, Lame Woman, the Cheyenne chief wears an army officer's frock coat and German silver pectoral (left). Smithsonian Institution. General Phil Sheridan (right). Library of Congress.

Figure 18. A Running Fight. Protected by his bearpaw shield, Whirlwind lances and chases cavalrymen.

A Running Fight - *Ĭya mĭ mĭate zĭstov*

After lancing one cavalryman who slumps over his saddle, the Dog Soldier warrior Whirlwind closes in on two more, firing at them three times with his revolver (Figure 18). Eleven of the soldiers' bullets fly through the air, narrowly missing Whirlwind. He appears to be gaining ground on the soldier riding the large leopard-spotted Appaloosa, but he fails to overtake two troopers who escape unharmed. Whirlwind's painted face includes a distinctive green stripe running across his cheek to the ear. He seems impervious to the cold, wearing only a vest and lightweight clothing. Whirlwind adorns himself with a string of silver hairplates (hair ornaments) and shell eardrops. A traditional breechclout made of stroud cloth (a heavy wool textile imported from England for the Indian trade) completes his battle attire. In his left hand he clutches a bow and long red lance, an eagle feather trailing from the butt end. In his right hand, Whirlwind takes careful aim with a revolver. A four-tiered stream of eagle feathers is attached to his bear-paw painted shield (Figure 19). His horse is undecorated save for its silver-mounted bridle.

The warrior-artist drew the leopard-spotted Appaloosa and its rider with special attention to detail. The soldier wears an 1858 forage cap and 1861 pattern cavalry greatcoat with its wrist-length cape. Sky-blue kersey trousers and bootees complete his uniform. He holds a revolver in his right hand, while his carbine remains slung against his right side as prescribed by Army regulation. The soldier's horse is furnished with 1859 McClellan equipment, including rawhide-seated saddle, saddlebags, girth, bridle, and halter. His comrades are similarly uniformed and equipped, although rendered in less detail.

While this drawing could depict any number of cold-weather encounters between Cheyenne and the U.S. Army, it is strongly reminiscent of Captain Nicholas J. O'Brien's running fight with the Dog Soldiers near Julesburg, Colorado Territory, on January 7, 1865. O'Brien and a force of thirty-seven troopers of Company F, Seventh Iowa Cavalry were decoyed by ten Cheyenne warriors. The soldiers galloped out of Fort Rankin into the sand hills south of the fort by Julesburg Station. Some of the young men among the hidden warriors could not be restrained and attacked before the troops could be lured fully into the trap set for them. As the horse soldiers raced back to the protection of Fort Rankin's fortifications, Whirlwind and other Dog Soldiers rushed forward to cut down fifteen of the enemy.

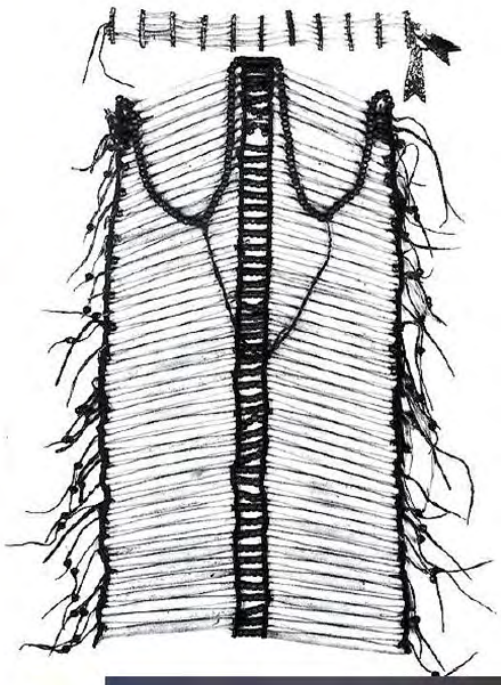


Figure 19. Whirlwind, an honored Dog Soldier warrior, wears a hairpipe breastplate (upper right, with shell choker) and silver pectoral with hanging najas. Smithsonian Institution. The rawhide Bear Paw shield pictured lower left is identical to the one carried by Whirlwind. Kansas City Museum. Cheyenne lances were fashioned from repurposed iron or steel and bore feather, fur, and painted adornments (lower right). History Colorado.

Figure 20. A Dash for the Fort. Express Messenger William Hudnut, rides to Fort Rankin chased by Big Crow. Dog Solider Ledgerbook, History Colorado.

A Dash for the Fort - *Mĭnah-oh-ĭv ĭhĭshĭ vĭnno oh duno*

Riding a powerful bay, Big Crow uses his quirt to count coup—an act of bravery involving the touching of an enemy—on a civilian fleeing toward the safety of a building and the covering fire of his comrades (Figure 20). Big Crow boldly attacks the white man only yards from the walls of the outpost, dodging six bullets as he goes. The civilian rides for his life bareback, clutching a handful of the big buckskin's mane in his right hand and holding the coiled lead rope in his left. With his horse running away with him and his hands occupied, the white man is unable to defend himself, his holstered pistol flapping uselessly on his left hip.

Big Crow wears a breastplate over a red-colored shirt or tunic. He also outfits himself with pectoral, armbands, and hairplates, all of German silver, along with leggings and breechclout cut from dark cloth. His hair is braided with red cloth (as is the tail of his horse) and otter skin. The Mexican bridle is decorated with silver. Big Crow's only weapon is a pistol holstered on his right hip. Using his left hand, he lashes his enemy with a quirt. The chin-whiskered civilian wears a yellow sack coat and broad-brimmed hat. Under the tail of his coat rests a holstered pistol. He rides a saddleless and unbridled horse, which he attempts to control with only a halter and lead rope. A soldier wearing a forage cap and possibly two civilians, one in a top hat, provide covering fire from the protection of a sod or adobe structure.

The civilian who rides the saddleless and unbridled horse is the key element in identifying the time and place of this incident. Cheyenne oral tradition, army reports, courtroom testimony and legal depositions, newspaper accounts, and reminiscences of participants, both Indian and white, all offer compelling evidence that this drawing represents the desperate one-mile ride of William M. Hudnut, an express messenger for the Holladay Overland Mail Express Company, between Julesburg Station and Fort Rankin on January 7, 1865. Early that morning, Hudnut and the westbound stage arrived at Julesburg Station after a four-mile, running fight with Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. Changing his fatigued horses for fresh animals, he drove on to Fort Rankin, one mile west. Here, he implored Captain Nicholas J. O'Brien (Figure 21) to provide an escort for the stage so that his party might continue on to Denver. O'Brien refused, arguing that his small force was hardly suffi-

Figure 21. Capt. Nicolas O'Brien, 7th Iowa Volunteer Cavalry, commanding Fort Rankin when it was attacked by Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho warriors in January and February 1865. History Colorado.

cient to defend the fort, let alone escort one stagecoach all the way to Denver. Besides, he had been overwhelmed by such requests, many of which were delivered by excited travelers who exaggerated the dangers.

Figure 22. Contemporary magazine depiction of an attack on the Overland Stage similar to the possible experience of Hudnut prior to his flight to Fort Rankin (insert: stagecoach strongbox c1865). History Colorado.

As Hudnut made his way back to Julesburg, O'Brien received another report of an Indian attack, this one on a wagon train corralled scarcely two miles to the east. The captain now took action. Ordering his bugler to sound "boots and saddles," he led his men out of the fort past Julesburg and east to the endangered train. By this time, Hudnut had returned to Julesburg and unhitched his team. But he saw and heard the troopers as they pounded past the station to engage the Indians about three-quarters of a mile southeast. "Almost immediately," Hudnut testified later, "*I saw the soldiers were retreating toward the station, the Indians in pursuit. Very soon the detachment dashed past the station toward the fort, warning the people to save themselves if they could*."[20]

When Hudnut attempted to hitch the horses to the coach, passengers and stagehands fled on foot for the fort. The Indians now were only about a hundred yards away. Quickly, to save himself, Hudnut leaped onto the back of one of the horses, and, gripping both a handful of mane and the animal's lead rope, made his desperate ride, the Dog Soldiers right behind him. Soldiers and civilians offered cover fire as he approached the fort's sod enclosure. This drawing follows Hudnut as he makes his escape to Fort Rankin. Big Crow, the leader of the decoy party which had successfully drawn O'Brien and his command out of the fort, now leads the charging Cheyennes in their pursuit of the stage messenger. Behind him, Hudnut had left the stagecoach filled with treasury notes. These did not escape the notice of the Dog Soldiers. George Bent recalled that some of the warriors found a strongbox and knocked the lock off. It was filled with pieces of green paper. The Indians handled the paper but did not know what it was. One man took a big bundle of paper, chopped it into three or four pieces with his tomahawk, and then threw it up in the air, laughing as the wind blew the fragments across the valley. (Figure 22).

Before the Cheyennes left, they helped themselves to a bountiful meal prepared for the passengers of the incoming stage. "*Several of us set down and ate at the table*," said Bent. "*First time I had seen butter for long time* [and] *I ate my share of it*." The chiefs now ordered the warriors to leave some of the buildings and warehouses untouched "*as they wished to come back and carry off* [a] *lot more stuff*." When Bent and the Dog Soldiers finally left Julesburg, Hudnut returned to find "*the coach empty, the safe gone, the mail bags cut open, letters scattered all about, as the wind was high.*" Destruction was everywhere. Poles and lines were down, the telegraph office and stage station ransacked, furniture smashed, and great quantities of provisions carried off.[21] True to their leaders' wishes, less than a month later, on February 2, 1865, the warriors returned to Julesburg and Fort Rankin. This time, they plundered not only the stores but also set fire to the warehouses and buildings. The sack of Julesburg was complete.

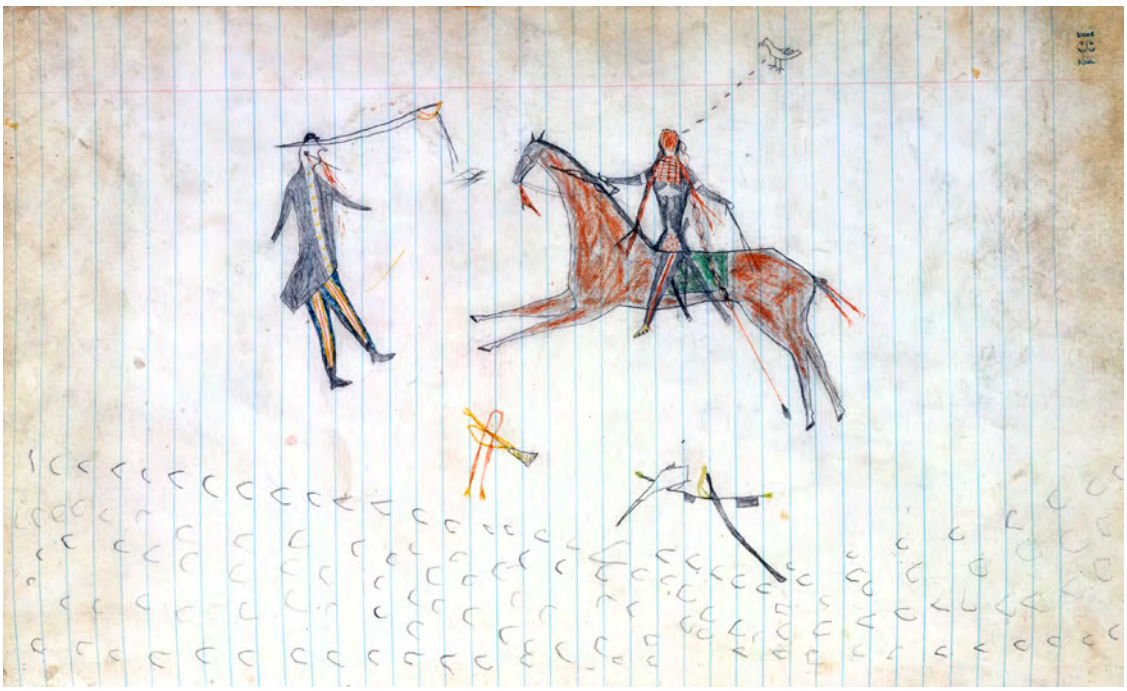


Figure 23. Taps for a Bugler. White Bird counts coup on bugler Sergeant Alanson Hanchett near Julesburg, Colorado Territory, January 7, 1865. History Colorado.

Taps for a Bugler - *Zĭ kĭn bĭnost moĭ na hĭ heh*

White Bird fires his rifle at a dismounted bugler, wounding him in the right cheek (Figure 23). The cavalryman bleeds profusely from the mouth as White Bird closes in and counts coup with his saber. The bugler has abandoned his equipment, which is strewn on the ground about him. The hoof prints of many horses indicate that this hand-to-hand encounter is part of a larger action. White Bird is prepared for battle. His face paint protects him from enemy bullets, and he wears his finest vestments, including hairplates, choker, armbands, and pectoral, all of German silver, and a hairpipe breastplate. A calico shirt is visible beneath his coat, while his stroud-cloth breechclout trails behind him. His hair is braided with red cloth. Striped leggings and elaborately beaded moccasins complete his outfit. White Bird rides a pad-type saddle, its girth strap showing between the tails of his breechclout. The horse's tail is clubbed for war and tied with red stroud cloth, and a black-spotted red flag decoration is attached to the bridle.

The wounded bugler is a cavalryman despite certain inconsistencies in his uniform. He correctly wears the regulation forage cap, but his 1857 nine-button frock coat was authorized only for company officers and foot soldiers. The distinctive yellow double stripes separated by a welt of red or contrasting material on his skyblue trousers are not regulation, although they were unofficially worn by buglers during the 1860s. Such inconsistencies in uniforming were common as officers typically allowed musicians considerable latitude in dress.[22] The bugler wears the tall boot preferred by the cavalry. His brass bugle, which lies at his feet, is wrapped with tasseled silk cords. The bugler's other visible equipment includes an 1855 pattern saber belt (either black buff or bridle leather) complete with full-flapped holster and pistol; a percussion cap box; a model 1840 saber; and a carbine cartridge box (Figure 24). The brass 1851 pattern belt plate and clasp are clearly shown at either end of the belt.

Figure 24. Army regulation bugle with silk cords. The brass 1851 pattern belt plate and clasp are clearly seen on the 1855 pattern saber belt depicted in the drawing (figure 23) by White Bird. The Dog Soldier detailed the brass-hilted Model 1840 saber as well as the full-flapped holster and pistol, percussion cap box, and carbine cartridge box.

Bugles were used by U.S. troops to communicate battle signals and instructions. A bugle, however, held no mystery for the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. They understood that white soldiers drilled and fought to its sounds; indeed, army officers reported that in some fights Cheyenne war leaders utilized captured bugles to direct warrior movements. Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Sully, after a fight with Indians on the Cimarron River in September 1868, reported that not only were the Cheyenne armed with the latest "patent inventions of firearms," they were also skilled buglers. "*I noticed*," he said, "*one squad of about one hundred, who drilled with the bugle; their calls were different from ours, yet the Indians understood them*." Sully's scouts identified these antagonists as Cheyenne Dog Soldiers.

The wonder is that so few buglers were targeted by Cheyenne warriors. Army records reveal that only three were killed by Cheyenne between 1864 and July 1869: at Julesburg, Colorado Territory, on January 7, 1865; at Fort Wallace, Kansas, on June 26, 1867, and at the Washita, Indian Territory (later Oklahoma), on November 27, 1868. Few if any Dog Soldiers were present at the Washita, but they were involved in the action at Fort Wallace. However, the Fort Wallace bugler, according to witnesses, was struck by five arrows and then carried away by an exceptionally powerful warrior. George Bent related that a Dog Soldier named Big Moccasin swooped up the bugler and then turned him over to Long Chin, an old warrior who had recently lost his son in a skirmish with soldiers, "*to do as he wanted with him*." Long Chin beat out the wounded soldier's brains with a war club. The many white witnesses of this fight corroborate Bent's account. Such details are not consistent with the action depicted in this drawing. Julesburg, therefore, seems the most likely scene of this encounter.

Following the November 1864 Sand Creek massacre of Black Kettle's village of Southern Cheyennes, the Dog Soldiers, along with Southern and Northern Cheyenne and their Arapaho and Lakota allies, made a killing sweep of ranches, stage stations, and military outposts along the South Platte River. On the morning of January 7, 1865, they struck Julesburg, a stage and telegraph station, and nearby Fort Rankin. Ten Cheyennes acted as decoys and lured a portion of Company F, Seventh Iowa Cavalry, led by Captain Nicholas J. O'Brien, from the fort. Suddenly, this small force was surrounded by more than a thousand Indians. The soldiers fought their way back to the post, but in the desperate hand-to-hand fighting, fifteen troopers and four civilians were killed.

Among the slain was bugler Sergeant Alanson Hanchett, age nineteen. When the soldiers came out, said George Bent who accompanied the Cheyennes, "*we killed* [a] *number of them including* [a] *young bugler, who was on* [the] *ground. His horse fell with him and* [he] *was captured by Medicine Water. Starving Elk counted first coup on this bugler*." Starving Elk was one of the decoys sent to lure the soldiers out of the fort. When interviewed years later, he remembered that he counted coup on the dismounted bugler about 300 yards from the post's fortifications.

The drawing shows White Bird counting coup and killing a tall white soldier, whose head wound is so severe that blood gushes from his mouth and onto his clothes. While White Bird is not the warrior named by Bent, he must have come upon the bugler after Starving Elk counted his coup, for the Cheyennes recognized as many as nine separate coups on a given enemy. One of the surviving soldiers of Company F remembered that when the stripped and mutilated bodies of the slain troopers were recovered, bugler Hanchett was still clothed in his shirt, for it was so bloodied and cut up that the warriors did not bother to remove the garment. It is also noted that young Hanchett was unusually tall. According to army records, he measured six feet in 1863 when he enlisted at the age of eighteen.[25]

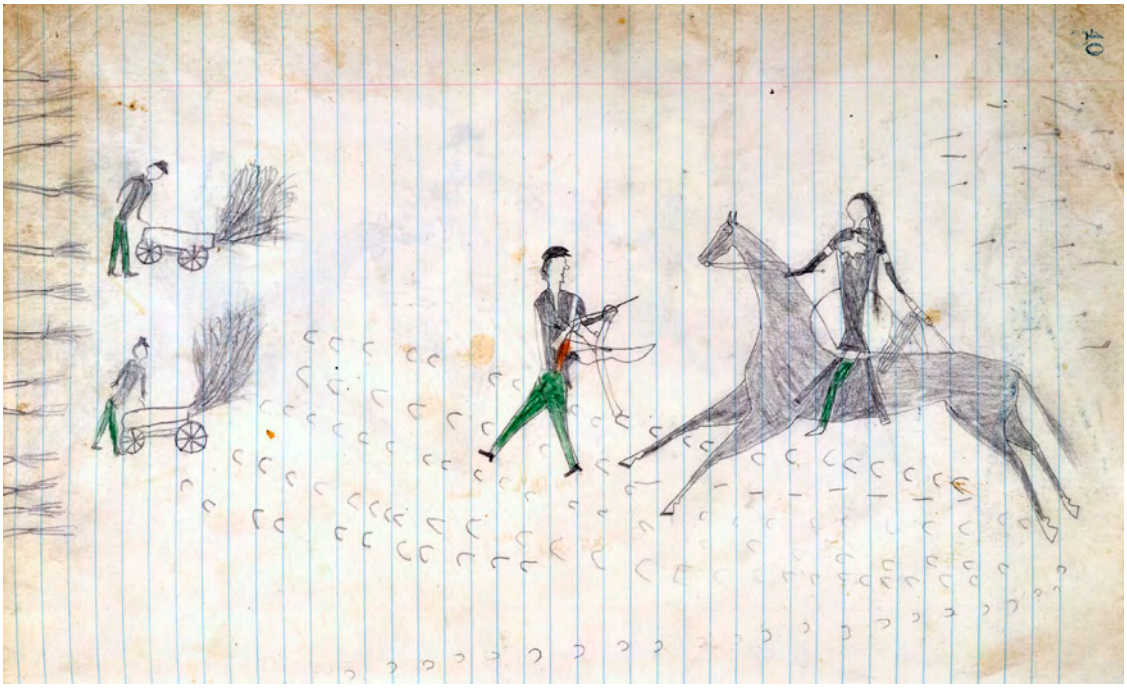


Figure 25. Charging the Thunder Wagons. A dismounted cavalryman runs to the fort and the protecting fire of the mountain howitzers. History Colorado.

Charging the Thunder Wagons - *Zĭ ahĭa Zĭdoĭst no-no-mahĭ amoĭ-ĭ-nĭyo*

A Dog Soldier uses his bow to count coup on a dismounted cavalryman, who is wounded in the side (Figure 25). The unhorsed soldier runs desperately toward the covering fire of his fourteen comrades and two artillery pieces. Burdened with his cumbersome saber which bangs uselessly against his side, the soldier attempts to aim his carbine and shoot the charging warrior, who presses on through a storm of cannon fire and bullets. The hoofprints represent either the bravery of warriors who have charged to the mouths of the cannons or cavalrymen who have retreated to the safety of the fort. The unidentified warrior wears a silver pectoral and armbands; his long hair is unadorned; and he carries what appears to be an unpainted shield. His leggings seem to be fabricated from sky-blue trousers, but he wears a traditional long stroud-cloth breechclout. His arrows are sheathed in a quiver slung on his back, and he urges his horse forward with a quirt held in his left hand. His horse is unpainted and its tail loose and unclubbed.

The dismounted cavalryman is simply dressed in his forage cap, uniform jacket, and "sky blue" Kersey wool trousers. He appears to wear Jefferson bootees rather than the taller half-boot often issued to horse soldiers. His saddle-ring carbine is attached by means of a snap swivel to a broad leather strap slung across his left shoulder. His 1840 or 1860 model cavalry saber in its heavy iron scabbard is suspended from a saber belt by leather slings attached to rings on the scabbard. A pistol remains holstered on his hip.

The two artillery pieces are U.S. Model 1841 twelve-pounder mountain howitzers mounted on prairie carriages (Figure 26). The gunners ignite the charges with friction primers attached to lanyards. The absence of exploding shells in the drawing indicates that the soldiers are firing "canister loads"—tin cans, each filled

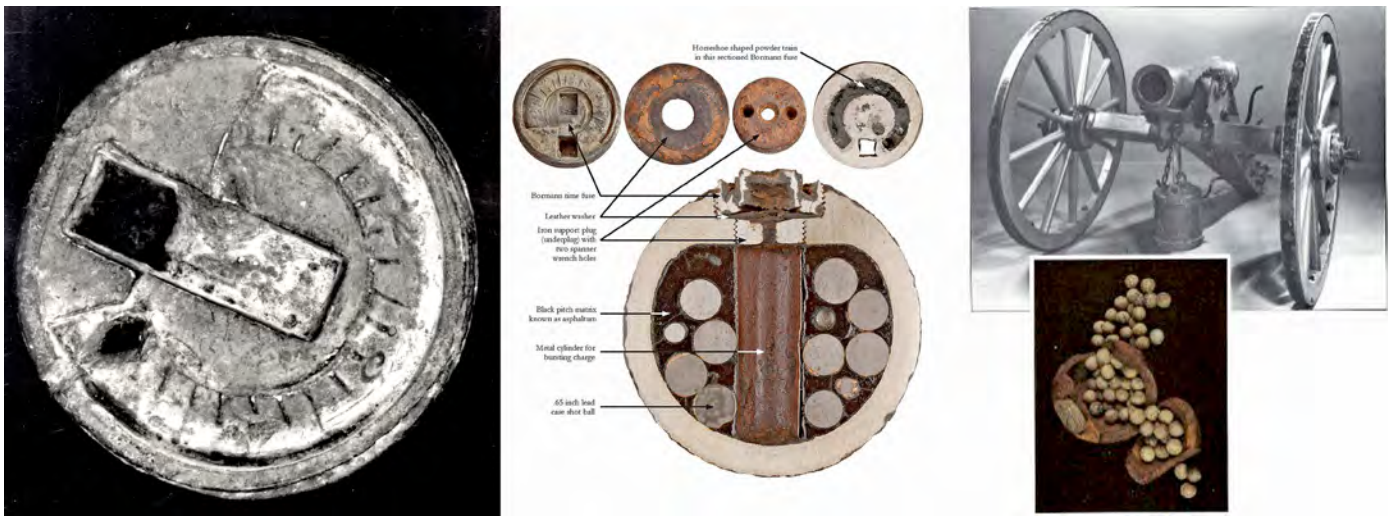


Figure 26. The 1841 twelve-pounder mountain howitzer saw wide service in the West and figured prominently in the Sand Creek Massacre and the battles at Julesburg, Colorado Territory. History Colorado collection. Twelve-pounder spherical case shot fired from Fort Rankin, Colorado Territory, on January7, 1865. The case shot and shrapnel balls were excavated at the site of the battle and reassembled; the Bormann fuse is set to burst at 5 seconds (800 yards, maximum range). Dallas Williams collection. Sectioned twelve-pounder spherical case shot showing the pewter Bormann fuse and inner components. Jack Melton, *Half Shelf Book*.

with 148 lead .69-caliber musket balls. This shotgun-like load was fired only at point-blank range.

On a number of occasions, the Dog Soldiers faced cannon fire when attacking corralled military trains and forts—and even when meeting troops on campaign. But there is only one recorded incident in which two artillery pieces were fired in battery at Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. This was the first attack on Julesburg, Colorado Territory, January 7, 1865. On that occasion, two bronze twelve-pounder mountain howitzers provided covering fire for Captain Nicholas J. O'Brien and his thirty-seven cavalrymen as they made a desperate dash through 1,200 Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota warriors. According to O'Brien in his official report, "*the Platte bottom was completely covered with Indians, and by well-directed fire of shot, shell, canister and carbines I drove them from the station*." Had it not been for the presence of the mountain guns, O'Brien and his small force almost certainly would have been annihilated. As it was, fifteen of his men were killed attempting to reach the stockade.[26] Despite the deadly blast of canister, this Dog Soldier bravely counts coup on one of O'Brien's wounded and unhorsed soldiers.

The Sack of Julesburg - *Zĭ vĭ-pun veho mah-vĭdo-ĭn*

Lean Bear counts coup with his bow on a cavalryman, turning in his saddle as he attempts to block the warrior's blow (Figure 27, top). The soldier rides toward the covering fire of prone troopers deployed along a telegraph line which runs into a sod or adobe fort. Meanwhile, Bear Man fires three times as he gallops under the telegraph wires and across the line of fire laid down by another detachment of troops who have dismounted to fight on foot (Figure 27, bottom). The eyes of his great bay are wide in excitement and its nostrils flare as the warrior jerks the reins, forcing the animal to turn in the face of the enemy fire.

Figure 27. The Sack of Julesburg. Lean Bear counts coup with his bow on a cavalryman (top) and Bear Man gallops across a line of fire (bottom) during the sack of Julesburg.

Lean Bear appears to wear a soldier's frock coat, along with a breechclout made of stroud cloth. He clutches two arrows in his rein hand, and a quirt hangs from his left wrist. A quiver is slung on his back. His gray horse is unadorned but for its braided tail. The whiskered soldier, riding a buckskin horse, wears a forage cap and a waist-length 1854 pattern cavalry uniform jacket. Sky-blue kersey trousers complete his outfit. His pistol remains holstered, even though it appears to be his only weapon. His 1859 horse equipment includes a McClellan saddle with saddlebags, hooded stirrups, crupper (a leather strap tied beneath the horse's tail to secure the saddle), and curb bridle. A nonregulation running martingale completes the riding tack. The prone soldiers are outfitted in 1861 pattern kersey greatcoats with wrist-length capes and dark-blue 1858 wool forage caps. Two of the soldiers' carbines are fullcocked; seven shots have already been fired.

Bear Man clothes himself in elaborate war regalia, including a coyote headdress, hairpipe breastplate trimmed in red, and a German silver pendant. A blanket wrapped around his waist shows a morning star motif, and he wears red-striped leggings and a stroud-cloth breechclout. His hair is braided with strips of red and blue trade cloth. He also has a bow case and quiver made of otter skin with pendant tails which hang low across his back, and he carries a revolver at the ready in his left hand. His horse's tail is braided. The dismounted troopers, dressed in cavalry greatcoats and forage caps, shoulder their full-cocked carbines and fire in volley as Bear Man executes his dash beneath the telegraph wires. The troops are positioned in front of the fort's wood shingled adobe buildings, one of which is capped by two smoking chimneys.

Clues provided in these drawings point to the action at Julesburg and nearby Fort Rankin, Colorado Territory, on January 7, 1865. The soldiers shown defending a fortified position in the shadow of the telegraph poles and wires are cavalrymen. They wear the horse soldiers' distinctive greatcoats with wrist-length capes rather than the shorter, elbow-length, capes issued to foot soldiers—and they fire short cavalry carbines rather than long infantry rifle muskets. The many horse tracks leading to the buildings indicate horsemen riding into the fortifications, while the dotted footprints show hurried dismounting and deployment. Finally, Lean Bear pursues a soldier who seeks the safety of the stockade under the covering fire of his comrades. This fits perfectly with the situation at Julesburg on January 7 when Captain Nicholas J. O'Brien's small command of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry was lured by ten Cheyenne warriors toward the sand hills south of Fort Rankin (Figure 28). Here, on open ground, they were attacked by a combined force of Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota warriors. O'Brien managed to get most of his thirty-seven-man command back to the fort, but fifteen soldiers and four civilians were killed along the way.

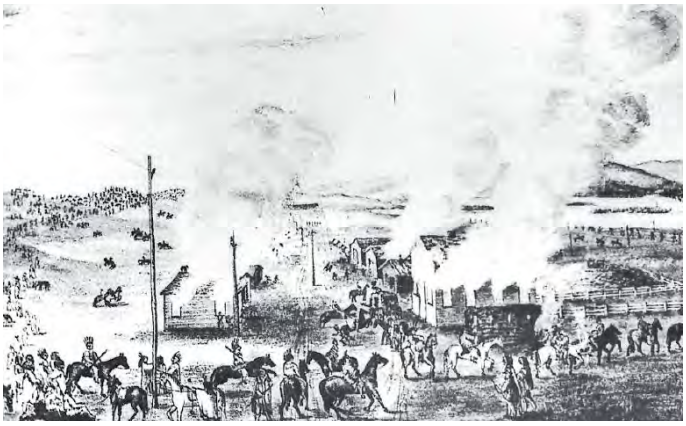


Figure 28. Contemporary drawing of the attack on Julesburg, January 7, 1865. Note the stagecoach in the foreground and Fort Rankin in the distance. A 12-pounder mountain howitzer shell bursts near the telegraph poles.

As the Cheyenne decoy party led the soldiers out of the fort, the mass of warriors hiding in the sand hills prepared themselves for the coming battle. Here, Bear Man adorned himself in his sacred coyote headdress and otherwise prepared himself for war according to the instructions of holy men. During this preparation, however, some of the young warriors, unable to restrain themselves, broke from the cover of the sand hills and prematurely charged O'Brien's column. The trap so carefully planned was undone. The soldiers bolted for the fort. In the ensuing hand-to-hand fighting, Lean Bear (Figure 27), shown here less than three hundred yards

Figure 29. Through a Hail of Bullets. Wielding his lance, Bear Man chases a dismounted civilian toward the fort. Dog Solider Ledgerbook History Colorado.

from the stockade—counts coup on one of the soldiers. The prone soldiers who offer covering fire for their beleaguered comrades are probably survivors of O'Brien's retreat to Fort Rankin.[27] Confident that his sacred powers will protect him from the soldiers' bullets, Bear Man charges (Figure 27) across his enemy's line of fire, fearlessly, defiantly, and untouched.[28]

Figure 30. Civilians in a variety of dress and with weapons typical of the western frontier in the 1860s were depicted by Cheyenne warriors in their ledger drawings (see figure 28). This 1859 photograph shows Silas Soule, second from right, an inveterate enemy of Colonel John M. Chivington, who led the attack on Black Kettle's village at Sand Creek, November 29, 1864. For his testimony against Chivington at the army's hearings into Sand Creek, Soule was assassinated on the streets of Denver. Kansas Historical Society.

Through a Hail of Bullets - *Ehrsopa ghĭ veho-mau-hozt*

Bear Man chases a dismounted civilian toward a fortified building garrisoned by soldiers who offer cover fire (Figure 29). The warrior charges through a hail of bullets, breaking off the attack at the threshold of the station. Running hard, the unarmed white man holds his hat in hand and, glancing over his shoulder, narrowly escapes the warrior's lance. Bear Man wears a red and yellow fringed headdress, a string of silver hairplates, shell eardrops, a hairpipe breastplate with silver pectoral and najas, silver armbands, and red trade cloth in his braided hair. A vest, striped shirt, red striped leggings, dark cloth breechclout, and beaded or quilled moccasins complete his outfit. His lance is red at the ferrule and butt, and bears an eagle feather, yellow streamer, and fringed red cloth near the butt end. He carries a revolver at the ready in his left hand. His horse is equipped with a silver-mounted bridle and a pad saddle with a red cinch, and its clubbed tail is decorated with red cloth.

Whether soldier or civilians, the white men at the station wear frock coats, flat-crowned hats, and blue trousers (Figure 30). One man wears a striped shirt. All fire carbines. The whiskered running man wears a broad-brimmed hat, frock coat, white shirt, and dark trousers over boots or shoes. The barracks-like building has four doorways, one with a transom, and two smoking chimneys. It appears to be made of adobe or sod.

In the weeks following the Cheyenne-Lakota attack on Julesburg and nearby Fort Rankin on January 7, 1865, the allied warriors struck the adobe and sod stations and ranches along the Platte River Road for over a hundred miles. Most were burned and abandoned. But two outposts—Fort Rankin and Valley Station—held out and offered refuge for survivors from other stations along the road. On January 30 the telegraph operator at Valley Station wired: "*We see large fires down the road today, and think every ranch between here and Julesburg is burned*."[29]

George Bent, who was with the Dog Soldiers, remembered these attacks:

> *At night the whole valley was lighted up with the flames of burning ranches and stage stations, but these places were soon all destroyed and darkness fell on the valley In every camp the fires were burning all night, and until daylight feasting and dancing and drumming went on. I remember that, when I was out with raiding parties at night, we used to halt and look for the campfires to tell which way the village lay, and when we could not see the fires we would listen for the drums. On a still night you could hear them for miles and miles along the valley.*[30]

Although Bear Man does not count coup on the running white man, he still braves the fire of the enemy. Moreover, he proves the power of his war regalia, for he comes closest to the enemy position—and not one of the many bullets fired touches him or his war-horse.

Grabbing the Reins of an Army Horse - *Zĭ na ĭns noĭte-ghĭ-veho hĭsto zĭa*

A Dog Soldier lunges for the reins of a cavalry horse, which drags its heavy iron picket pin in its attempt to elude the charging warrior (Figure 31). The Dog Soldier's hair has been braided; he wears a long plain tunic, striped leggings, and breechclout made of blue stroud cloth. On his waistbelt he carries an early style horseman's saber decorated with two streams of eagle feathers, a horn-handled sheath knife, and a black leather percussion cap box. His arrows are sheathed in the quiver slung over his back, and he holds one arrow aloft in his left hand. The warrior's horse displays a silver mounted bridle and its tail is clubbed for battle. The warrior-artist here depicts the U.S. Army horse in minute detail. The rawhide-seated 1859 McClellan saddle is complete with sweat leathers and hooded stirrups. The woolen girth is fastened to the D-ring, which joins the quarter straps. A regulation crupper extends from the rear of the saddle to the horse's tail. Reins are attached to an 1859 bridle with curb bit. The horse is shod as per Army regulations, the horseshoe nails plainly visible. Finally, the brand "US" appears on its left shoulder.[31]

Following the January 7 and February 2, 1865, attacks at Julesburg, the combined Cheyenne, Lakota, and Arapaho village moved northward. By the evening of February 4, the camp reached a small stream just east of Mud Springs Station on the overland stage road, where a few soldiers and herders stood watch over the telegraph line and stage buildings. The next morning, the warriors pinned down the soldiers, who defended themselves by firing through loopholed log ranch buildings. To draw the Indians away from the station, the soldiers released their stock. Cheyennes who were present remembered that…

> *..the horses and mules rushed off, scattering in every direction; the young warriors pursuing them, each man doing his best to touch as many animals as he could. If a man touched a horse with his whip, bow, or any implement held in hand, that animal belonged to him, and all the Indians recognized his claim. Satisfied with the capture of the stock—all of the animals were branded U.S.—and having little hope of taking the ranch, the Indians ... returned to the camp* [now located at the head of a stream known as Rush Creek].[32]

Figure 31. Grabbing Reins. A Dog Soldier lunges for the reins of a US branded cavalry horse (top). The U.S. Army's depiction of a horse outfitted with the 1859 equipment (bottom). Note that the Cheyenne version includes details, such as the US brand and horseshoe nails, omitted in the 1860 Ordnance Manual illustration.

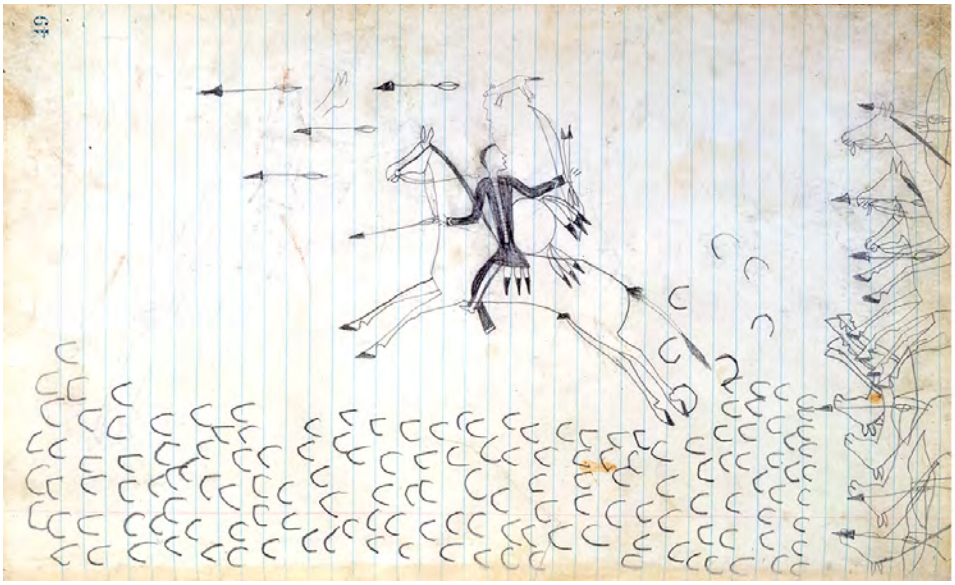
This drawing depicts the warrior in the act of counting coup and claiming the picketed horse as his own. He leans over the horse's right side, attempting either to touch the horse or grab the loose reins. In any case, he will return to camp one horse richer.

Defying the Enemy - *Zĭ da zĭ da noĭtz noĭste*

George Bent, identified here by his Cheyenne name *Hi-my-ike*, or "Beaver," wheels his horse to confront an enemy, which charges toward him while firing arrows. Armed only with bow and arrows himself (Figure 32), Bent turns in his saddle and defies his pursuers, to ride away untouched. Beaver wears close-cropped hair in the style of a white man; his face is unpainted; and he has outfitted himself in a U.S. regulation 1857 pattern frock coat of dark blue broadcloth. The nine brass buttons and cuff piping are clearly visible. One end of his stroudcloth breechclout hangs beneath the skirt of his coat. Plain moccasins complete his dress. In his left hand he clutches a bow and two arrows; in his right, he grasps an arrow which he prepares to shoot at his enemies. His plain shield is decorated with clusters of three eagle feathers at the cardinal points. His war horse is equipped with a simple bridle, and its tail is unusually wrapped.

No enemy warriors are visible, but their presence is felt by the hail of arrows they unleash. The horses, massed for attack, are guided only by simple war bridles tied to the animals' lower jaws. The war bridle, common to northern Plains tribes, is described by ethnologist John Ewers as:

> *a two-rein bridle formed of a single length of rope with a honda [fixed loop at the end of one rein through which the other rein passes]. The end with the honda served as one rein, at the forward part of which two half hitches were taken, placed in the horse's mouth, and tightened around his lower jaw. [Some men tied a knot in the rope below the half hitches to keep them from slipping.] The rope continued around the other side of the horse's neck [serving as a second rein], passed through the honda, and the long end remaining was carefully folded or coiled and placed under the rider's belt at one side.*[33]



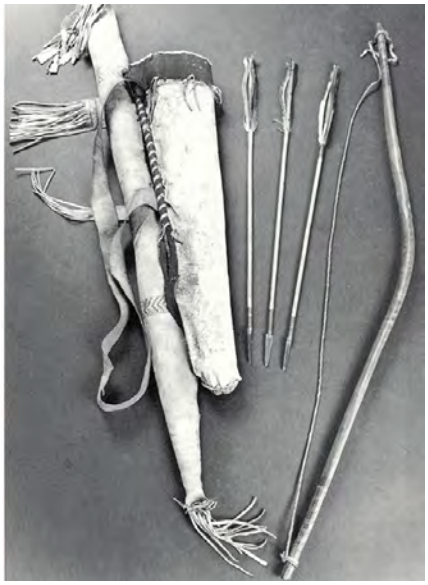


Figure 32. Defying the Enemy. Riding with the Dog Soldiers, George Bent, armed only with bow and arrows, defies the enemy (left). Cheyenne bow, arrows, bow case, and quiver recovered at the Sand Creek Massacre site (right). History Colorado.

This warrior's unique dress, short-cropped hair, and his name glyph—a beaver with its round ears and flat, black tail—identify him as George Bent, the mixed-blood son of William Bent, builder of Bent's Fort, and of Owl Woman, daughter of White Thunder, keeper of the Cheyenne Sacred Arrows (Figure 33). Cheyenne people held the beaver in the highest esteem, for it was an animal of great intelligence that built dams and elaborate dwellings.[34]

Bent was born in 1843 at Bent's Old Fort on the Arkansas River and was reared in both the Cheyenne and white worlds. When he was ten, his father sent him to St. Louis to receive a white man's education, and there he remained until the outbreak of the Civil War. Caught up in the excitement of secession and war, he enlisted in the Confederate Army and fought in several major engagements, including the 1862 Battle of Pea Ridge and the siege of Corinth. Captured by Union forces in August, he was marched off to Gratiot Street Prison in St. Louis. Here several army officers well acquainted with his famous father recognized him and authorized his parole and transport home to Colorado. But it seemed that war followed him. On November 29, 1864, he was living in Black Kettle's peaceful Cheyenne village at Sand Creek. At daybreak, Colorado Volunteer troops under Colonel John M. Chivington swept through the sleeping camp, killing men, women, and children. Bent was among the wounded, but he managed to make his way to the large Dog Soldier encampment some fifty miles to the east.[35]

From that moment on, Bent said, "*I lived with the Cheyennes both in war and peace*." He rode with the Dog Soldiers in their great retaliatory raids on white settlements along the Platte and Smoky Hill Rivers. He was with them on January 7, 1865, when they attacked the Julesburg Station on the South Platte. After the warriors cleared Julesburg of all civilians and soldiers and plundered its warehouses, Bent not only helped himself to a hot meal that had been prepared for arriving stage passengers but also found an express package containing an army uniform. "*I captured a uniform at Julesburg ... and wore this in several fights*," he said.[36]

General Grenville M. Dodge reported that during Connor's campaign in Montana, Bent and the Dog Soldiers stopped Colonel James A. Sawyers's road-building party. Sawyers gave the Indians a wagonload of goods as payment for safe passage and reported the presence of George Bent, who was dressed "*in one of our staff officer's uniforms*." Bent took the occasion to demand that Colonel Chivington be hanged for his crimes at Sand Creek. Only then, Bent said, would the Cheyennes make peace with the soldiers.[37]

Figure 33. George Bent with his wife, Magpie, 1866. Bent wears his hair short and the clothes of a white man, but has Cheyenne moccasins on his feet. History Colorado.

Bent was proud of his days with the Dog Soldiers. In later life, in letters to army officers, historians, and reporters, he willingly described the ways of Cheyenne warriors and their fights against enemies, both Indian and white. Yet never in his vivid descriptions of battles did he admit to personally killing any white soldier or civilian. He did, however, detail his fights against Indian foes. Bent rode with the Dog Soldiers when they fought the Crows in Montana during Patrick E. Connor's 1865 Powder River campaign. As he put it, "*I was on Yellowstone River with Cheyennes hunting Crow Indians*." In later years he told correspondents that he wished a good artist had captured his exploits during those stirring times.[38] In fact, an exceptional artist did capture Bent in all his glory. Red Lance, one of the most prolific artists among the Dog Soldiers, depicted in compelling detail Beaver's defiant ride against Crows on the Yellowstone. Of course, Bent had no way of knowing that this ledger drawing would survive the destruction of Tall Bull's Dog Soldier village at Summit Springs in July 1869.[39]

Acknowledgments

Historians and Cheyenne elders worked together to interpret the drawings in the *Dog Solider Ledgerbook*. The Cheyenne translation of the title of each drawing was provided by Sand Creek Massacre descendants Laird and Colleen Cometsevah. Other descendants and elders contributed to the identification of the warrior artists. L-R Joe Big Medicine, Laird Cometsevah, Colleen Cometsevah, Geoge Night Owl, Jean Afton, Andrew Masich, David Halaas, Arleigh Rhoads, Dick Ellis, "Little Joe" Big Medicine at Old Fort Lyon during a Sand Creek research trip in 1995. Photo by Hal Gould.

Endnotes:

1 Afton, Jean, Halaas, David F. and Masich, Andrew E., et al. *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers; a Ledgerbook History of Coups and Combat*. University Press of Colorado, 1997.

2 Halaas, David F. and Masich, Andrew E. *Halfbreed: the Remarkable True Story of George Bent Caught Between the Worlds of the Indian and the White Man*. Decapo Press, 2004., Pp. 30-35, 161; see also Afton, Halaas, and Masich, Cheyenne Dog Soldiers.

3 Carr's orders from June 7, 1869, cited in King, James T. "The Republican River Expedition, June-July, 1869: I. On the March," *Nebraska History* 41 (1960), 172.

[4] Grinnell, George B. *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion: The Experiences of Frank J. North and Luther H. North*. University of Nebraska Press, 1973, Pp. 89-92; King, James T. "The Republican River Expedition, June-July, 1869: I. On the March," Nebraska History 41, 1960. P. 180.

[5] Report, Bvt. Maj. Gen. E. A. Carr to Bvt. Brig. Gen. G. D. Ruggles, 20 July 1869. NARA RG 98; Report, Carr to Ruggles, 17 June 1869, NARA RG 98; Grinnell, George B. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, 310-18.

[6] Report, Carr to Ruggles, 20 July 1869. NARA RG 98.

[7] *Medal of Honor Citations*. United States Army Center of Military History. April 19, 2005. Mad Bear received the first Medal of Honor awarded to a Native American, though there was some confusion at the time with the heroism of another similarly named Pawnee Scout, *Co-Tux-A-Kah-Wadde* (Traveling Bear), whom Carr and the North brothers commended for his bravery during the Battle of Summit Springs on 11 July 1869.

[8] Report, Carr to Ruggles, 20 July 1869. NARA RG 98.

[9] North, Frank. *Diary* entry July 10, 1869.

[10] Hyde, George, *Life of George Bent*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. Pp.332-33.

[11] Report, Carr to Ruggles, July 20, 1869. NARS RG 98.

[12] Carr, Eugene A. Papers. Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Letters Received by the Commission Brand July 25, 1869, RG 94, NARA

[13] King, James T. "The Republican River Expedition, June-July, 1869: II. The Battle of Summit Springs," *Nebraska History* 41, 1960. P. 294.

[14] Grinnell, George B. *Two Great Scouts and Their Pawnee Battalion*, 1973.

[15] Blish, Helen H. *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux*. University of Nebraska Press, 1967, xxi.

[16] Office of the Chief of Ordnance, Quarterly Regimental Ordnance Returns, 1865, RG 156, NARA.

[17] Bueker, T. R. and Paul, R. E. "The Pawnee Scouts: Mounted Auxiliaries, 1864-1877". *Military Images* VIII:16-19. 1985; Bruce, Robert. *The Fighting Norths and Pawnee Scouts: Narratives and Reminiscences of Military Service on the Old Frontier*. Kessinger Publishing, 2010. P. 33.

[18] Miles, Nelson A. *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles*. Chicago: Werner Co., 1896, P. 155.

[19] Hyde, George. *Life of George Bent*. P. 290.

[20] Hudnut's ride can be followed in "Testimony as to the claim of Ben Holladay," Sen. Misc. Documents No. 19, 1879; see affidavits of W.M. Hudnut, Lt. J.S. Brewer, E.R. Murphy, and Richard Quinn. See also Hudnut's testimony 23 November 1866, before the First Judicial District, Colorado Territory as quoted in Parkhill, *The Law Goes West*, 47-48. For an account of Big Crow's decoy party and O'Brien's retreat see: Bent to Hyde 3 May 1906, 18 October 1906, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale.

[21] Bent to Hyde, 3 May 1906, 24 April 1905, 18 October 1906, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale.

[22] *Revised U.S. Army Regulations*, 1863, 464, 481. The men of company F, 7th Iowa Cavalry, were issued saber belts with the model 1851 belt plate. On this belt they carried Remington's .44 caliber New Model Army revolver in a full-flap holster, cap pouch with cone pick, and leather cartridge pouch for pistol ammunition. Oddly, only nine men in the company were issued cartridge boxes for their Gallagher carbine ammunition. The troopers all carried the heavy model 1840 cavalry saber, known to the soldiers as the "wrist breaker." Other details of arms and equipage are found in the Summary Statement of Ordnance for the 7th Iowa Cavalry, 30 September 1864, RG156, NARA.

[23] Lt. Col. Alfred Sully to Bvt. Brig. General Chauncey McKeever, AAG, Dept. of Missouri, 16 September 1868, Annual Report of 1869, Sheridan Papers, LC.

[24] Bent to Hyde, 18 October 1906, and 27 October 1914, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale; *Grit-Advocate* (Julesburg), 21 October 1920.

[25] Alanson Hanchett, a farmer in civilian life, enlisted at age 18 and was appointed fourth sergeant in 1863. Reduced in rank for insubordination, he was eventually reinstated as sergeant six weeks before his death at Fort Rankin. Company F, Seventh Iowa Cavalry Descriptive Book, RG 156, NARA; See also Enlistment Papers and Muster Rolls, Seventh Iowa Cavalry. Archives, State Historical Society of Iowa.

[26] Grinnell, George B. *The Fighting Cheyennes*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, Pp. 185–186.

[27] Hyde, George, *Life of George Bent*, Pp.172-75. Halaas and Masich, Halfbreed, Pp.166-69.

[28] Grinnell, George B. The Fighting Cheyennes, Pp.183-85; Powell, Peter J., *People of Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies 1830-1879.* Harper Collins College Div., 1981., Pp. 311-21; Berthrong, Donald J. *The Southern Cheyennes*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. Pp. 224-29; OR I, vol.48, pt. 1, 463, 470, 490-92; Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers, 1256-57; Ingersoll, L. D. *Iowa and the Rebellion*, Wentworth Press, 2016. Pp.690-93; The Rocky Mountain News, 7 January 1865, 9 January 1865, 14 January 1865, 16 January 1865. See also Williams, D. *Fort Sedgwick, Colorado Territory: Hell Hole on the Platte*. Sedgewick, Colorado: FSR Trust, 1993. Pp. 1-28; Afton, Halaas, and Masich, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers*, Pp. 236-38.

[29] *Rocky Mountain News*, 30 January 1865.

[30] Bent to Hyde, 3 May 1906, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale; Hyde, George, *Life of George Bent*, P. 181.

[31] U.S. Ordnance Manual 1860, 155-62.

[32] Grinnell, George B. *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 195-96.

[33] Ewers, John, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture with Comparative Material from Other Western Tribes*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1955, Pp. 75-76.

[34] Grinell, George B. and Fitzgerald, J. A. (ed.) *The Cheyenne Indians: Their History and Lifeways*. World Wisdom, 2008. 2:104.

[35] Halaas, David F. and Masich, Andrew E. *Halfbreed*. Pp. 89-91, 149-60, 179-80, 161-201.

[36] Grinnell Field Notes, 10 November 1905, Folder 341, *George Bird Grinnell Papers*, Southwest Museum; Bent to Hyde, 17 November 1915 and 7 May 1906, George Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale; Afton, Halaas, and Masich, *Cheyenne Dog Soldiers*, Pp. 98-100, 354 (Plate 49, note 6); Halaas and Masich, *Halfbreed*, Pp.166-68.

[37] Maj. Gen. G.M. Dodge to Maj. Gen. John Pope, 15 October 1865, *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, I, vol. 48, pt. 2(B), 1229; Bent to Hyde, May 1906, 21 September 1905, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale.

[38] Bent to Hyde, 15 October 1904, Bent Papers, History Colorado.

[39] Bent to Hyde, 30 May 1906, Bent Letters, Coe Collection, Yale.