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Article Summary: *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger* provides important information from the prereservation period of Plains Indian history. It includes family names and details about the composition of Crazy Horse band families and other Native Americans involved in the Sioux War surrenders.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, American Horse, Young Man Afraid of His Horses, Frederic S Calhoun, Charles A Johnson

Place Names: Red Cloud Agency on the North Platte River (later on the White River), Nebraska; Camp Robinson, Nebraska

Native American tribes: Sioux (Oglalas, Cut-Offs or Kiyuksas, "Loafers," Wazhazhas), Cheyennes, Arapahos

Keywords: Crazy Horse, Red Cloud, Frederic S Calhoun, *winkte*, Great Sioux War, Charles A Johnson

Photographs / Images: Red Cloud Agency, scene of the spring 1877 surrenders of Oglalas and Northern Cheyennes; two inset pages from *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger*; Third Cavalry and Fourteenth Infantry officers with White Horse, an Arapaho, at Camp Robinson, summer 1877: Lt Frederick Calhoun, Capt Thomas Tobey, Lt Charles A Johnson and others

THE CRAZY HORSE SURRENDER LEDGER

A NEW SOURCE FOR RED CLOUD AGENCY HISTORY

By Thomas R. Buecker

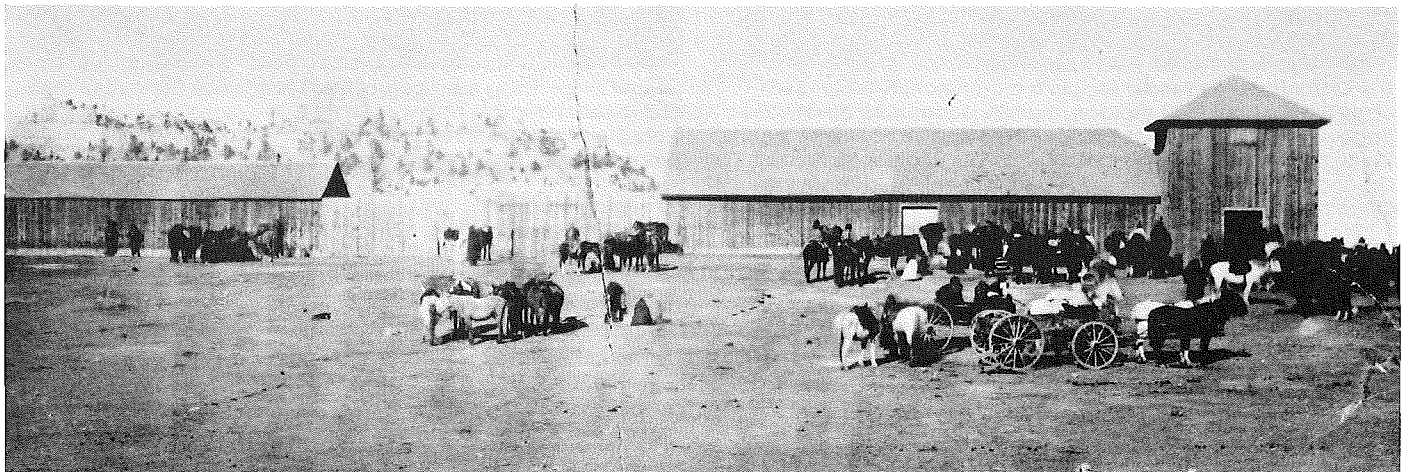
In 1990 the Nebraska State Historical Society acquired a rare artifact of the Great Sioux War of 1876-77, a unique document relating to the life of Crazy Horse. The item is a ledger book containing census information on the Oglala Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos living at Red Cloud Agency. This important record was compiled by Camp Robinson officers during the period the northwestern Nebraska agency fell under military control. Besides the Indians who remained near the agency, the ledger registered the important 1877 surrenders by individuals and whole groups at war's end. Of particular interest is the listing of the Crazy Horse band, whose arrival on May 6, 1877, was one of the more remarkable events in the agency's brief history.

Thomas R. Buecker, curator of the Nebraska State Historical Society's Fort Robinson Museum, is writing a history of Fort Robinson.

In 1873 Red Cloud Agency was moved from a site on the North Platte River to a new location some ninety miles northeast on the White River. There government buildings were erected, and the normal agency activities, such as beef and annuity issues, resumed. Large bands of Oglalas, under such prominent leaders as Red Cloud, American Horse, and Young Man Afraid of his Horses, were located at the agency. Although an Oglala agency, many Northern Cheyennes and Arapahos also drew rations there.¹

Problems for agency officials developed when bands of non-agency Sioux, including Miniconjous and Sans Arcs from Missouri River agencies, appeared demanding food, threatening employees, and generally disrupting the often fragile state of peace. Security stabilized somewhat with the establishment of nearby Camp Robinson in March 1874, although defiant warriors continued to disrupt Red Cloud Agency.²

The year 1876 brought great change to the agency status quo. Massive military operations pitted the U.S. Army against non-agency warriors, and in the wake of the Custer defeat in June the War Department took control of the Sioux agencies. In August 1876 officers from Camp Robinson replaced the civilian agent at Red Cloud. In order to have adequate food on hand for issue, officer-agent 1st Lt. Oscar Elting was ordered to make a complete census of agency Indians. On August 5 he reported 4,817 people present, far short of the 13,027 reported the previous April by civilian agent James M. Hastings. Besides spotlighting the ineffective and inflationary attempts by the civilian agents to accurately count Indians, the population decline reflected in part the large numbers of Oglalas and Cheyennes absent as normal "summer roamers," who left the agency seasonally to hunt buffalo. Many more had left to join the northern warriors under Sitting Bull and Crazy



Red Cloud Agency, the scene of the spring 1877 surrenders of Oglalas and Northern Cheyennes.
Courtesy of Wyoming State Museum, Laramie.

Index.		Page
Register of Capt. Calhoun Nov 8 1876		1-
Register - Arapahoes		53-
" Cheyennes		59-110
" Young Men and Horses		62-111
" American Horses		66-113
" Red Cloud		70-115
" Red Cloud		74-
" Yellow Bear		79-117
" Little Wind		82-
Departures -		100-
Animals from the North		105-120
Transfers to Spotted Tail Red Cloud		159-188
Indians from Spotted Tail on passes		182.
" Crazy Horse -		163

The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger is a common, two-hundred-page ledger book with maroon, marble, paperback covers. The pages are twelve and one-half by seven and three-fourths inches. Inside the front cover is a label, "R. J. Wilbur Books & Stationery, Omaha," and on the index page is rubber-stamped "from the Omaha Book Company."

Horse, who had defeated the Seventh Cavalry at the Little Bighorn.

In October 1876 Capt. Thomas F. Tobey, Fourteenth Infantry, was assigned as agent, though at times Tobey had his subordinate officers perform various tasks. This can be seen in the first pages of the ledger, which begins with a census taken by 2nd Lt. Frederic S. Calhoun of

Tobey's company on November 8.

Frederic Calhoun was the brother of 1st Lt. James Calhoun, Company C, Seventh Cavalry, who died at the Little Bighorn; James was also the brother-in-law of George Armstrong Custer. Frederic's attempts prior to the battle to transfer from the Fourteenth Infantry to the Seventh Cavalry had failed, which gnawed at his

conscience for the rest of his life. At Red Cloud Agency he took no pleasure from being in the midst of the kinsmen of those who had killed his brother.

Calhoun recorded the Sioux according to the principal bands at Red Cloud: the Cut-Offs ("Kiocsas" or Kiyuksas), Oglalas, "Loafers," and Wazhazhas (a Brulé-Oglala mix). The Cheyennes and Arapahos fol-

164		Ad. Male	Ad. Female	Sub. Male	Sub. Female	Child
14	Brought forward	24	1	1	2	15
1	Widow		1	2	1	4
1	Skunk Hunt	1	2		1	4
1	Geto Married		2	2	1	5
1	Round Hound	1	1	1		3
1	Grasshopper	1	1	1		3
1	Brings News		3	2	1	6
1	Big Belly Mule	2	2	1	3	8
1	Big Dodge					
1	Proctor's Initiation	2	3	2	1	8
1	Yellow Wolf					
1	Yellow Bird	1	2	2	3	8
1	Geto Together	1	1	2	2	6
✓ 1	Wives at the Home	2	3	2		7
1	Muscatine Kid					
1	Don't Kill	2	3	1	4	11
1	Comes from War					
1	Good Boat					
1	Strong Name	1	2			3
1	Big Dodge (Whining)	1	1	2	2	6
1	John Wiley	3	2		1	6
1	Red Cloud					
1	White Bull					
1	Crazy Bear	2	1	1	3	7
1	Skunk Hunt					
1	Widow No 2		2	2		4
1	The Bird	1	2	1	1	5
1	Yellow Shuffler	1	2		1	4
1	Blackbird	1	1	1	3	6
1	Geto the Pipe	1	1		3	5
1	Three Hawks	1	2	1		4
36	Carried forward	55	18	41	34	225

Ledger page listing members of the Crazy Horse band after their May 6 surrender. The name of Crazy Horse appears on page 168. Note the widows marked "(w)" and the check beside the "improper" name.

Crazy Horse Ledger

lowed. The census was conducted by lodge, with the name of each family head listed. Other information on lodge inhabitants was recorded in separate categories, including the number of men, women, and male and female children. The total for each category was reported at the end of each band or tribal section. Calhoun's census found the agency population further decreased to 3,529.

In January 1877 Tobey's other company lieutenant, Charles A. Johnson, assumed the agent's duties. Johnson started a new register on February 16, though he continued it in the old ledger. Besides listing agency residents, Johnson added the names of Sioux and Cheyennes as they returned to the agency throughout the spring of 1877, with his last sizeable entry being the May 6 surrender of Crazy Horse and his nearly nine hundred followers.

For that occasion, Lt. William P. Clark, Brig. Gen. George Crook's emissary, rode up Soldier Creek and met the entourage at 10:00 A.M., five miles from the agency. A newspaper correspondent described the dramatic scene:

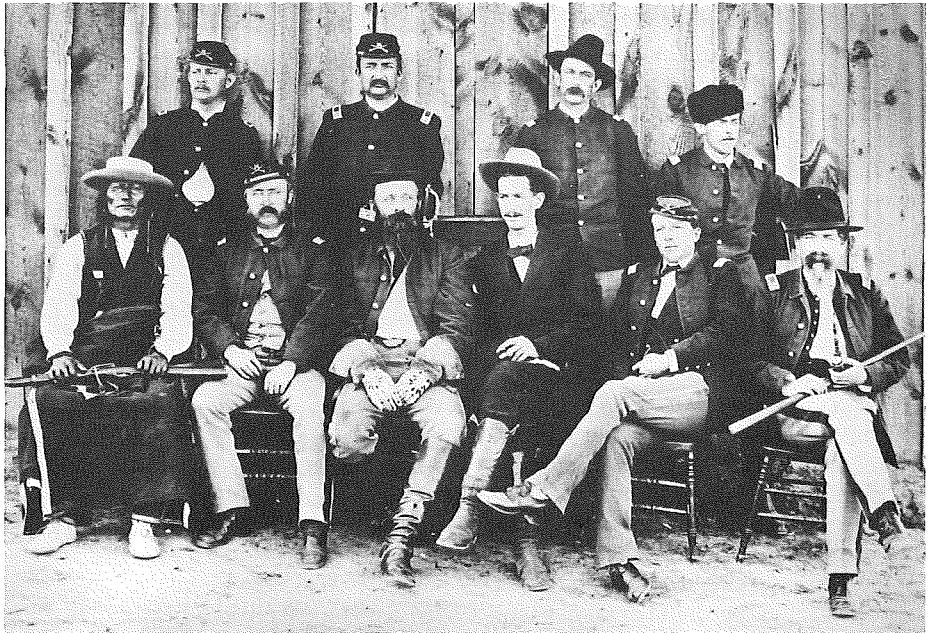
Crazy Horse was riding a few steps in advance of the cavalry, while a file of the principal chiefs followed their leader. The warriors came next, marshaled in six companies, and formed regularly in single rank. Contrary to the usual custom on such occasions, not a gun was fired, and all pomp and parade were banished. The perfect discipline of the warriors in their strange new role, with the quiet throughout the vast cavalcade, formed a most impressive scene. Crazy Horse ordered a halt, dismounted, and shook hands with Lieut. Clark, and in a few words told his spokesman to say that he would smoke the peace-pipe now, and with the help of the Great Spirit establish eternal peace. He said all his things were given to Red Cloud, his brother-in-law. He Dog, a prominent chief, took off his war-bonnet and war-shirt, and put them upon Clark, thus signifying their utter submission. At 2 p.m. the head of the column appeared in sight near the Agency. Here they formed in five bands of singers, forty in each band, and entered camp on the White River bottom, chanting songs of the tribe suitable to the great occasion. The great train of camp equipage on travoe [sic], with ponies and additional savages, formed a line two miles long. From front to rear echoed the solemn peace chant, and all betokened the abso-

lute submission of the once dreaded tribe. The tepees were soon pitched, the camp being formed in a crescent.³

Once the camp was set up, the warriors surrendered their horses and weapons. After months of pursuit and anxious waiting, the last warring Oglalas had capitulated. Thus dismounted and disarmed, the largest single band to surrender at Red Cloud settled into agency life.

for General Crook's field operations.

As the Cheyennes returned to the agency during the winter and spring of 1877, they were added in sequence to Johnson's initial February count. By the last Cheyenne entry of May 15, their agency population was six times larger than the one Calhoun had reported. The costly effects of the Sioux War on the Cheyennes was evident in the large num-



Third Cavalry and Fourteenth Infantry officers at Camp Robinson in the summer of 1877, three of whom performed agent duties at Red Cloud. Back row (left) is Lt. Frederic Calhoun and Capt. Thomas Tobey. In the front row (left) is White Horse, an Arapaho, and probably Lt. Charles A. Johnson. (NSHS-R659-2484)

Following established procedure—and providing an appropriate anticlimax to the war—Lieutenant Johnson immediately counted and recorded the names of the warriors, using essentially the same format as his predecessor, Calhoun.

A closer examination of the contents of the ledger provides a number of insights on these troubled times. For example, the stability of the Arapaho population at Red Cloud is reflected in Calhoun's count of 831 and Johnson's total of 881. The Arapahos did not leave the agency during the Sioux War but remained friendly to the army. A number of the men served as scouts and auxiliaries

ber of widows (designated "w") as heads of families.

Within the "Loafer" and other bands of Oglalas were family groups headed by women with European surnames. They were the Indian wives of white interpreters, agency employees, and other intermarried whites living at the agency. Excluding the white husband, the other family members were entitled to rations and annuities. Family groups with white and mixed-blood husbands are scattered throughout the register.

Besides using the ledger for census data, the officer-agent recorded other intelligence. Interspersed among the pages

of names is a variety of data pertaining to subsistence issues, passes issued, and transfers between agencies.

The record of Crazy Horse's band remains the most significant feature of the ledger. Johnson recorded a total of 899 persons in the band: 217 men, 312 women, 186 boys, and 184 girls. At least fifteen widows were listed as heads of families; their husbands were probably casualties of the Sioux War. Crazy Horse is listed as residing with Tall Bull and three unnamed women and two male children. The 120-plus names of family heads comprise the most comprehensive documented list of his followers yet found.

The ledger book contains approximately fifteen hundred names of Red Cloud Indians. Two-thirds are Lakota, and the remaining third consists of about three hundred Cheyenne and two hundred Arapaho names; many have survived as surnames today. Scattered throughout the census pages, particularly in Lieutenant Johnson's section, are found about seventy names that can be considered vulgar or sexually explicit, at least by Victorian standards. Most of them appear among the Lakota bands; only two are listed with the Cheyennes and none among the Arapahos. Unfortunately few details exist concerning the personnel or administrative procedures involved in obtaining the names in the ledger. Obviously the role of the interpreter looms large. Among the many interpreters at Red Cloud Agency and Camp Robinson for the 1870s were William Garnett, Leon Pallardie, Todd Randall (Sioux), William Rowland (Cheyenne), and Friday, an Arapaho fluent in English.

The origins of these names might be attributed to the *winkte*. In Lakota society the *winkte* was a male transvestite considered possessed with certain mystic powers. Parents often asked the *winkte* to give their child a name to ensure a healthy life. Such names were often obscene or scatological nicknames that were somewhat secret and seldom used. In some instances such names actually came into common use.⁴ Throughout the pages of the ledger these names were uniformly marked with

heavy, penciled checks, suggesting they were made at the same time, possibly by the same person. It is likely that some official other than the original enumerators deemed the names inappropriate and initiated their change as part of the forced assimilation process. The names eventually disappeared from official use by the turn of the century.⁵

Other reasons may explain the existence of these names in this document, and the observations of modern Lakotas must be considered. Some who have examined the ledger conclude that the coarse names reflect a successful practical joke played on the census enumerator by his subjects. This explanation adds a spirited, humorous dimension to the document which, at first glance, is absent. There were few ways the Lakotas at Red Cloud Agency could express their resistance to military control, and this may be one.

In the fall of 1877 Red Cloud Agency was moved to Sioux lands in Dakota Territory. The ledger book was probably shipped there along with other agency records. Sometime during the next century the ledger came into the possession of a Cheyenne woman residing at Pine Ridge Reservation. Recently a descendant (a granddaughter) sold the ledger to a California collector. Because of its great historical value, the ledger was purchased by the Nebraska State Historical Society and is today housed in its Lincoln archives.

The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger, to be published this year by the Society, is both an extraordinary relic of the Great Sioux War and an important social document of the prereservation period of Plains Indian history. Hundreds of historic family names of Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho people are found on its lists. Valuable demographic information dealing with the composition of the family is recorded. Other clues to Indian social fabric and agency operations can be gleaned from its pages. Though this document contains only a portion of the Sioux War surrenders, its details about one key group, the Crazy Horse band, are unparalleled.

Notes

¹ For more on the history of Red Cloud Agency, see James C. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965).

² The early history of Camp Robinson and its relationship to the agency is covered in Thomas R. Buecker, "A History of Camp Robinson, Nebraska, 1874-1878," Master's thesis, Chadron State College, Chadron, Nebraska, 1992.

³ *Chicago Tribune*, May 8, 1877, reprinted in the *Omaha Daily Bee*, May 9, 1877.

⁴ Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux, Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 121-23; James R. Walker, *Lakota Society*, Raymond J. DeMallie, ed. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 126-27.

⁵ For a contrast see the list of signatures of Pine Ridge Reservation residents taken at the time of the Sioux Land Commission of 1889. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Reports Relative to Proposed Division of the Great Sioux Reservation, and Recommending Certain Legislation*, 51st Cong., 1st sess., S.Doc. 51:265-73. In the 1890s army recruiters were directed to change any "improper" names of those Indian men who enlisted. Robert Lee, "Warriors in Ranks: American Indian Units in the Regular Army, 1891-1897," *South Dakota History* 21 (1991): 285-86.