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Article Summary: James Frew lied about his age in order to enlist in the Army in 1876. He participated in the Starvation March in the Black Hills, writing an account of that harsh campaign as seen from the ranks.

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Names: James Barcus Frew, Samuel S Sumner, Wesley Merritt, George Crook, James Egan, William F (Buffalo Bill) Cody, Yellow Hair, Alfred Howe Terry

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Photographs / Images: James B Frew, 1896; Company B, 5th Cavalry, at Custer City, South Dakota, 1976; James Frew and his father George in Frew Saddlery, Harrison, Arkansas, 1907



James B. Frew, 1896

Campaigning with the 5th Cavalry: Private James B. Frew's Diary and Letters from the Great Sioux War of 1876

Edited by Paul L. Hedren

INTRODUCTION

Literary materials on the Great Sioux War of 1876 are plentiful, at least on most aspects of the extended campaign. One topic only lightly treated, however, is the Regular Army enlisted men who fought in the war. Military historians have always been faced with the problem that officers alone filed official reports of campaigns and battles. Officers more frequently kept journals, had wider personal correspondence, and in subsequent years were more inclined to write their reminiscences. Generalities about the line soldier who fought the campaign are usually gleaned from the Army's own sparse records, and *his* war is less well known. Few were literarily inclined; some men, in fact, could barely write their names. Recent discovery, then, of a diary and letters written during the Campaign of 1876 by an enlisted soldier of the 5th US Cavalry is an important addition to the literature of the war. It is a rare look at events as seen from the ranks.

Author of these unique documents was James Barcus Frew, a somewhat literate young Missourian who joined the Army, was then exposed to one of the harshest Indian campaigns in the history of the American West, and ultimately pressed for and received an early release from his enlistment. Exactly what prompted Frew to enlist is unclear. A letter from his father, George W. Frew, and other records, indicate that he was born in a farm family on January 9, 1856. Don Rickey Jr. in his chronicle of enlisted life, *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*, comments on the harsh realities of 19th century rural life, and how farm youth were often lured to the Army by the romance of the West or the glitter of gilt buttons and blue

uniforms.¹ However, Frew had military antecedents: a great-grandfather, grandfather, and father who had served respectively in the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War. Perhaps young Frew was driven to enlist by a familial patriotic calling, particularly since the United States was just embarking upon a well-publicized campaign against the Plains Indians.

Regardless of his motives, 20-year-old Frew enlisted for five years at an Army recruiting station at Cincinnati, Ohio, on May 25, 1876. When the recruiter asked whether he was 21, the Army's legal age for enlistment without parental consent, Frew said that he was, and his lie was readily believed. His vital statistics recorded that day were: occupation, harness maker; eyes, blue; hair, brown; complexion, ruddy; height, 5 feet 6 inches.²

More is learned about Frew in the letters written to his family and in his diary kept for three-and one-half months during the 1876 Sioux Campaign. These primary documents, drawn up as they were on scraps of paper, are presented exactly as written. Punctuation and capitalization are lacking, and spelling is often phonetic. Evident as the letters proceed is Frew's change of attitude about his experiences, from that of exuberance and optimism to expressions of the harshness about field service and combat, and finally to his bitterness and desire to get out of the Army.

James Frew's saga begins with a letter from his father George. James apparently had written his family that he had joined the Army. Their astonishment is obvious:

St. James Mo³
June 76

Well son we received your written from Cincinnati saying you had enlisted and was to say the least surprised—but it may be not so bad after all if you live to get through with it—the principal danger is from sickness of which you must gard against by every possible means—now son let me give you some advice—the rules in the army are as you probably know *very* strict and obediance to ever order required to the *letter*—now to insure good treatment and respect is to obey promptly your commanding officer—it is not the place I would desire to see you in but as you have enlisted carry it out like a man—my Father and grandfather were soldiers and Honorable ones in the wars of 76 and 12 and sence you have undertaken it go through with it like a man and don't bring dishonor on the old Scotch name of Frew

one word more by the way of advice dont *never* let a drop of whiskey enter your mouth for that is the bane of a soldiers life—that is the great objection I had to your enlisting the mass of the army is made up of reless men—now I beleve if you pursue a strait forward course get in the good

will of your officers through good behaveyer with you good looks and learn-
 ing you will be advanced and many a favor shown you that you wold not get
 otherwise—again save your money send it home and i will put it in Bank
 or to some good man at Intrust so that when you get Home you will have
 something to go on—one word in regard to the Armeý and I have
 done—watch the Sutler as a general rule thay are land sharks bye
 nothing you can do without—as you are in the Armeý make it pay and come
 out like a man—you will have money plenty to bye you a improved
 farm then get you a wife and settle down for life—it was allways my
 hope that I wold have my children about me but prehaps it is all for the
 best—all i can say is do your best and God Bless you and keep you from
 harm—do not keep me in suspençe but write every two weeks give me
 the name of your captain and col it might be if they belonge to any of the
 orders i do i could get you some favors it would not Hurt any thing
 shure now i will tell you about the Farm i rented the new ground to
 Rose it is in corn your farm is in Hungarian he gives me one half
 of the corn in the shock and half the grass cut on the ground—the Hill side i
 have in sorgum and potatoes i have oats in the far end under the Bluff
 and in the orched all looks well my corn in the bottom looks well i
 have a good fence all on my side of the crick—i have all the ground back of
 the bluff in corn or rather Rose has i give it to him the first year to clear it
 up my grape vines is very nice—i set out 25 more apple trees this
 spring all doing well every thing on the place looks well but your
 dog he has been sick for a week but is geting better—the gun is all
 right old Black had a fine calf and gives all the milk we want—cherry
 does well to will calv this fall so we will have a winter cow times is very
 Hard no money to be had, thair will be a large Harvest of oats and
 wheat—thay moved the Round House to Dixon' and St. James is dead we
 cannot sell any thing in the town—Job Smith and Hobert has failed thair
 stores locked up some other merchants expected to fail well son I must
 quit—*dont* fail to write often—

i remane Dear Son yours truly
 Geo W Frew

James Frew's own letters begin one month following his enlistment. He was quickly moved from Cincinnati to the cavalry recruit depot at Jefferson Barracks, south of St. Louis. There, customarily, new recruits were provided with their first uniforms and an introduction to the Army routine. This lasted only until there existed sufficient recruits to justify transporting them to duty assignments. Frew in the early summer was caught up in the large-scale troop movements during the ensuing campaign, for he notes how his leaving St. Louis was sudden and unexpected.

Frew mentions "his" company. It is uncertain just when he learned he was to be assigned to the 5th Cavalry, but clearly he knew it at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, his next stop west of St. Louis, and it was earlier decided that he go to the

cavalry when the Army shipped him to Jefferson Barracks. Specifically, he was headed to Company D, commanded by Captain Samuel S. Sumner. Until early June, 1876, Company D had been stationed at Fort Hays, Kansas, also the home, Frew notes, of regimental headquarters, staff, and band. In early June eight companies of the 5th, including Company D, were called to the Northern Plains as part of the Army's mobilization against the Sioux and their allies, the Northern Cheyenne. Frew spent another eight days following the traces of his company before finally joining it in Wyoming.—P.L.H.

THE LETTERS AND DIARY

Fort Leavenworth Kas

June 23rd/76

Dear pearents I arived here yesterday all right and I take the opertunity to drop you a few lines my leaving St. Louis was very sudden and unexpected I expected to stay three or four months

I had barly time to go and see Nellie before I started

I felt like Jumping off at Franklin⁵ as I came along—you sayed in your letter to Nellie that you wrote me a long letter I did not get it have only had one since I come to St Louis

I do not know how long I will remain here and I dont care this is a good place it is on top of a mountain overlookin the Mo river it is cool and pleasant and plenty to eat this is an infantry post no cavalry here at all but our company is in Black Hills now and I dont know whether we will be sent to it or to fort hays (Head-quarters) there is only two of us

in regard to the pay cavelry and infy both get the same \$13 per mon for the first year 14 for next 15 for next and 16 for the last two \$18 for 2nd Enlistment I enlisted for five years thay take no men for three years now not since 1861 my wages will be \$15 from the beginning and all I have to do will be to take care of my horse carbine and saber and mend halters and things⁶ I dont have any fatigue duty or picket duty to do except as corperal of the guard

did you get all of my things two coats and vests pants shoes shirts and ties I dont care what you do with them but keep my collar button it is sollad gold you say John is going to Sedalia I think it is a good move it is the most beautiful country that I ever saw from Jefferson city to Sedalia and on to Kansas City you can see nothing but pariria as far as you can see and it good too the crops look well it is 30 miles to Kas city from here 50 to topeka

I had four pictures taken at Cincinnati I gave Sarah one and

mort and Emma one and told Sallie to send the other to you if you have written any letters to me at St Louis they will be forwarded to my company I will get them when I get there

the reason I did not keep my shirts is it would cost me extra for washing

tell John he had better go over on the other road near Sedalia I think he could do well if he could get in a military post he could do well they pay \$75 and \$100 per month but it is hard to get in unless he searve one enlistment⁷

you need not answer this letter for I may go from here at any time I will write to you as often as possible don't worry about me for I am as well off as if I was at home tell grandma to take good care of her self and not let the ticks eat her up and father dont take it so hard about me leaving it is the best i could do dont work too hard I wish I could be there to help you but it is out of the question this is all for this time so good by

love to all Jim

Company D 5th C

this is the Hotest day I ever felt I dread the traveling Evening. Red orders and transportation to go to fort Russell⁸ tomorrow at 10 oclck they give us comution money for 6 days it will take 6 days to go there we go to denver col take the Kas Pacific R.R. and go to Russel up on the platt will write as soon as i get there—Russell is in Y.T.⁹ both the cavelry and inf. ar armed with Nedle guns¹⁰

Jim Frew's trip west passed without unnecessary delay. As he recounted, he traveled the Kansas Pacific Railroad from Fort Leavenworth to Denver, Colorado, and then north to Cheyenne, Wyoming. With a short pause at Fort D. A. Russell, near town but not at all close to the Platte River as he suggests, Frew joined an escort for Lieutenant Colonel Wesley Merritt, 9th US Cavalry, who, in anticipation of his promotion to colonel, 5th Cavalry, was enroute to his new regiment. Especially charming in the next letter is the mix of geographical naivete, general misinformation, and soldier bias shown by one who had been in the Army for only a month and who had not yet even joined his regiment. And it is remarkable how quickly recruit Frew understood a common soldier complaint about their government simultaneously feeding and fighting the Indians. He refers, of course, to the Interior and later War Department responsibility, through assigned Indian agencies, to care for the same Sioux and Cheyenne that the Army was warring against in the nation's centennial year. —P.L.H.

Fort Laramie June 27th 76

Dear Pearients I arived here at 4 this evening all right we left Levenworth the 23rd went to Chyenne then to ft. Russell then on to here as escort for our Col. we came in an ambulance from Russell did not see any indians Now I must tell you about the country the country from levenworth to aboline 125 miles is beautiful parara all in cultivation I saw wheat fealds as far as I could see back and 3 or 4 miles long the farmares have the best of machinery then from aboline all the way here is a vast dessert plain all sand hardly any grass have not seen a tree since i left Levenworth denver is right at the foot of the rocky mountains the tops ar covered with snow it is very cool here the wind off the mountains is cool

I saw lots of Buffelow and antelopes as I came along we past through the south range of Black Hills¹¹ coming here there is lots of partys going to the Black Hills in spite of the indians my company is on there way to Join the expedition they are near custer city now about 100 miles from here¹² we will leave here in the morning with an escort to Join them the col will go with us they want every man they can get gen crook had 2 engagements he got whiped lost 7 killed and 15 wounded about 40 men killed alltogether in the 2 and about the same number of sioux killed¹³ there is talk of calling volentears

before it will be settled the sioux muster 13000 braves and are well armed—as we came along we would pass a team of goods for the indians then a team of goods for soldiers one department feeding them and the other fighting them I expect gen Sheridan¹⁴ will relieve Crook and take command himself our Col is a perfect gentelman he was gen in the volentiers servase his name is Merritt

I do not know when I can write again it may be two or three months befor I can send word again but I will write as soon as possible there is nothing but stage lines between here and Cheyenne (pronounced) shian

we stoped for dinner at topeka Kas but I did not see anything of tiptons every thing is dear here whiskey 25 cts per drink concequently most every body is temperate well I must quit and go to bed for I will have a long ride tomorrow this is all for this time you need not answer this I will write as soon as I can dont worry about me
yours J.B. Frew Com. D. 5th C

28th the order is for every man to be ready for the road at 12/00 we have an escort a hole company goes with us

I must go and get ready yours as usual Jim

The "hole company" accompanying Merritt, Frew, and others to the camp of the 5th Cavalry was Company K, 2nd US Cavalry, commanded by Captain James Egan and stationed at Fort Laramie. Egan's "gray-horse troop," as they were commonly known, was a work-horse outfit for southeastern Wyoming during the summer.

Frew commenced his diary July 1, the date he notes when he joined his Company D on Sage Creek, 60 miles north of Fort Laramie. Penned on bits and scraps of paper, his diary entries were typically brief. Sometimes days were skipped when little, in his observation, happened. But brief or not, these entries are an insightful record of day-to-day campaigning with the 5th Cavalry, providing word pictures of the barest elements of existence—water "thick as cream with alkali," or beef "worth its weight in gold"—commentary usually missing from the official narratives of this or any campaign.

Frew provided essential clues too, to the 5th Cavalry's clash with Northern Cheyenne at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, on July 17. In this brief dawn encounter the 5th turned back several hundred heretofore peaceful agency Indians who were enroute to various hostile camps in the Powder River country. Actually only one Indian was killed, a subchief named Yellow Hair, but Frew corroborates other testimony that William F. (Buffalo Bill) Cody downed the Cheyenne. Later, other soldiers claimed that they had slain Yellow Hair, when Cody not only did but also took the chieftain's scalp, proclaiming it as the first for Custer. Frew, incidentally, is curiously quiet about the demise of Custer, even though the 5th Cavalry had learned on July 6 of his death at the Little Big Horn River in Montana.—P.L.H.

July 1 Joined my co at Sage Creek very cold Rain marched to Cheyenne River

- 2 G co started out to scout for indians seen by coady
- 3 more indians in site two more cos gon out D co on picket fine weather
- 4 wagons left for sage creek co went to scout around another way marched 60 miles very Bad water water thick as cream with alkali
- 5 found rifle pitt and two men killed and Horses¹⁵
- 6 marched to sage creek no breakfast
- 11 still in camp on sage creek drew Beef first since we came on scout worth its weight in gold
- 12 en rout for Laramie camp on Running water¹⁶
- 13 camped on RaweHide creek cool with rain

- 14 orders to go to Red Cloud marched 18 miles camped
on Rawhide fished in the creek caught a few
 - 15 ordered to sage creek again marched 33 miles to Running
water very hungry no supper
 - 16 arrived at Sage creek rested for an hour marched on to
indian creek 45 miles nothing to eat till late at night
 - 17 indians reported by the pickets the command ordered to
secreet in the ravines But two couriers arriveng from agency
being in danger coady fired on them Killing the chief Yellow
Hand the rest tried to rescue him but we charged on them
killing six followed them into the agency 40 miles¹⁷
 - 18 started for laramie 10 miles
 - 19 camped on runing water 25 miles
 - 20 Raw Hide 28 miles met recruits going to agency to com-
panys stationed there Rashons Run short today
 - 21 marched to laramie very hungry nothing to eat for 36
hours Co C arived from scouting they captured 14
ponys packed for the warpath
 - 22 rest and preparing to start for crooks comd¹⁸ bathed in the
platt
 - 23 camped on Bulls Bend of the platt 35 miles caught a
fine mess of fish
 - 24 camp unnown 27 miles Gen carr and Dr Killed some
sage hens¹⁹
 - 25 camp at ft fetterman 22 miles three men deserted taking
there Horses and equipments²⁰
 - 26 made 12 miles marching slow to let other cos catch up
 - 27 camp at Welton springs very pore water
 - 28 made 22 miles co F and C cam up with us
 - 29 camped on N fork of powder River 25 miles
 - 30 camp on powder River at old fort Reno²¹ 28 miles
found 3 wagons there the oners had been Jumped by in-
dians and abandonded everything
 - 31 camp on old womans creek 30 miles Killed Buffalo
- Aug 1 stoped to cook coffee at a beautiful mountain stream
took up the march at 5 p.m. 35 miles camped on deer
creek . saw a fine lake
- 2 camp on goose creek 35 miles passed fort Phill Karney
on crow creek saw a monument put up for those killed
there 90 in number²²
 - 3 camp on tongue River Joined crook
 - 4 layed over preparing to start for sitting Bull

The arrival of Colonel Merritt's 10 companies of 5th Cavalry at Crook's camp on August 3 bolstered the general's forces to nearly 2,200 effectives. After stripping this command of excess baggage which could retard its advance, on August 5 Crook resumed operations. The Sioux and Cheyenne, who had checked Crook at Rosebud Creek on June 17 and had annihilated the 7th Cavalry only eight days later at the Little Big Horn, did not remain idle during that same period, but had broken up their large camp, and in small bands were seeking haven in the obscure reaches of the Yellowstone River drainage.

As Frew recounts in the continuation of his diary and in a letter home, the next several weeks were marked by few highlights. On August 10 Crook's Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition, as it was properly designated, joined the forces commanded by General Alfred Howe Terry. Together these troops, including the surviving elements of the 7th Cavalry, ambled eastward for three more weeks. Hostile Indian signs were few and old, and the troops, most of whom who had now been in the field for three months or longer, were wearing out. —P.L.H.

- Aug 5 started for Sitting Bull with 500 mule packed 18
miles camp on tongue River
- 6 camp on tongue river 20 miles very Rough country
crossed River 17 times
- 7 camp on Rose Bud 27 miles Beautiful country but Hilly
- 8 changed camp 2 miles down RoseBud started out at 1 p.m.
made 18 miles down R.B. very heavy indian trail lik a
road²³
- 9 camp on R.B. 20 miles very cold made a lodge to
sleep in
- 10 met Gen terrys command went in camp on R.B. 18
miles got grain from Terry
- 11 Both commands start on the trail camp on tongue
River 12 miles found the Bodys of 2 men scalped by in-
dians²⁴ Lieut Eaton shot in Hand accident²⁵
- 12 camp on tongue R 10 miles rain all day every thing
wet
- 13 tongue R. 25 miles rain all day 9 of the Horses give
out left behind 1 mule give out packed with Hard
tack we made a raid on it
- 14 Branch of powder R 18 miles
- 15 camped on powder R 16 miles 8 horses give out
country very Rough
- 16 powder R 22 miles Rain Boys very hungry Being

- 17 issued 2 days Rashons and eating them in one day after arriving in camp a fawn Run through the ranks causing lots of fun
 arrived at Yellowstone 2 Boats here with supplies for us
 sent a letter Home

Montanna Ter
 Yellow Stone River
 Mouth of powder River Aug 19th 76

dear pearants and friends I take the oportunity to write you a few lines to let you know how I get along this is the first time have had a chance to write or I would have written sooner did you get the letter i wrote at Laramie I Recd a letter from you at feterman July 25th but had no chance to answer it as we left there in an hour after and went to crook then we struck the trail and followed it ever since followed it 28 days with out laying over a day and still did not catch them it is a very large command numbering about 3400 and about 400 indians every time they draw Rashons they have a dance and make the night hideous with there yells. (the indians)

we have layed over here two days. there is a steam Boat here with supplys I Just got this letter paper from the sutler have not time to write much we move camp in an hour to go 4 miles up to get more grass for the stock the horses did not get any grain for 20 days a greate many give out and was left behind and three of the infantry men give out two of them died and one rather than be left behind blew out his Brains²⁶ I bought some cheese and crackers and onions today—this is a very cold climate I nearly froze the 9th of Aug had to walk lead our horses it was so cold I think we will start back to Kas soon it will take a mon or more to go back this is all good by address as follows and I will get it

James B. Frew Co D 5th Cav
 via. Fort Laramie Wyo Ter

- 23 still in camp on Yellowstone had a general drownd out last night
 24 marched up powder R 18 miles 3 of the boys who were sick went down on the Boat to fort Lincoln²⁷
 25 camped on powder R 15 miles

August 26 was a pivotal day for Crook's Army. It marked the day in which the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition cut loose from

Terry's command and also the beginning of one of the most harrowing experiences ever to befall United States troops, the Starvation March. Crook's moves were calculated. Although he could have marched directly east to Fort Abraham Lincoln, near Bismarck, and there resupply, he elected on September 5 to turn toward the Black Hills following a relatively fresh Indian trail. When the command turned south to the Hills, Crook ordered his troops on half rations. At that rate enough food remained to last four days; the Black Hills lay, at best, six or seven days away.²⁸

As the Big Horn and Yellowstone Expedition trudged southward, conditions worsened. Torrential fall rains buffeted the command daily, thoroughly soaking the troops and transforming the vast prairie-land into a quagmire. Each step by horse and man alike was an ordeal. Adding further discomfort to the plight of these hapless men was the barren land. The route was entirely devoid of wood, and the tufts of grass collected were often too wet to burn. The horses and mules suffered greatly. Grain rations were long since exhausted, and the grass was insufficient to prevent starvation. At first worn-out animals were simply abandoned, but on September 5 Crook ordered that they should be shot. That decree was quickly reversed, however, because it proved enormously demoralizing to the soldiers, and it was also realized that these pitiful animals were a food source that could ultimately ward off the total collapse of the command.²⁹ Although Frew first records in his diary the killing of horses for food on September 11, other accounts suggest that this was actually begun about September 5.³⁰

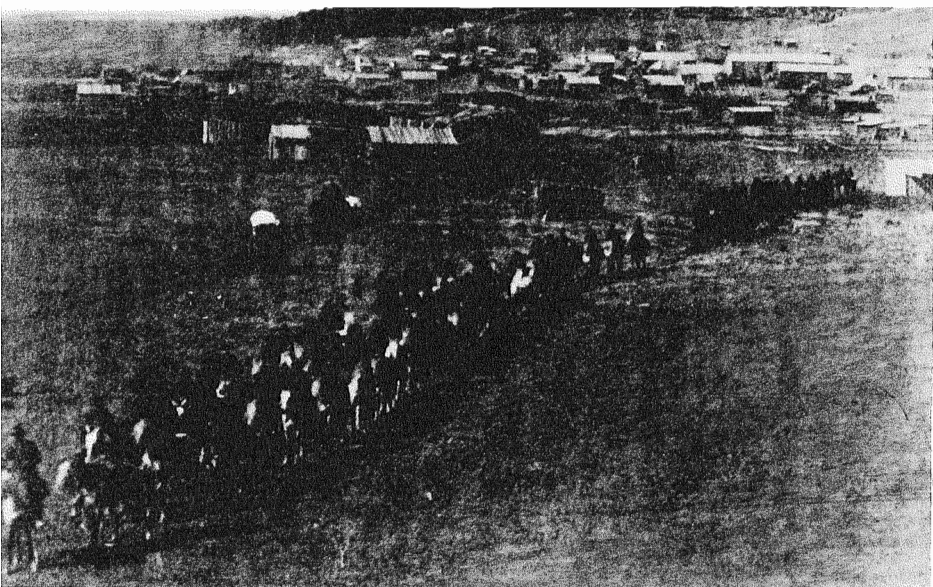
Conditions had grown so critical that on September 7 Crook ordered Captain Anson Mills, 3rd Cavalry, to advance to the Black Hills with 150 hand-picked men riding the most serviceable horses, and bring out as much food as could be purchased in the mining communities. Enroute, these cavalrymen chanced upon a sizeable Sioux village nestled in the Slim Buttes, a pine-dotted escarpment in northwestern South Dakota. Mills sent a courier back to Crook asking that he advance as quickly as possible, and in the breaking light of September 9 his cavalrymen attacked the camp. The fight at Slim Buttes proved to be an enormous success, and the first major victory for United States troops in the long 1876 campaign. Moreover, the village contained winter provisions which fed Crook's troops for several days as they resumed their march to the Hills.³¹

The worst of the Starvation March, however, came after the fight at Slim Buttes. One of the 5th Cavalry officers, 1st Lieutenant Charles King, remembered it.

Tuesday, the 12th of September, 1876—a day long to be remembered in the annals of the officers and men of the Big Horn and Yellowstone expedition; a day that can never be thoroughly described, even could it bear description; a day when scores of our horses dropped exhausted on the trail—when starving men toiled piteously along through thick clinging mud, or flung themselves, weeping and worn out, upon the broad, flooded prairie. Happily, we got out of the Bad Lands before noon; but one and all were weak with hunger, and as we dragged through boggy stream-bed, men would sink hopelessly in the mire and never try to rise of themselves; travois mules would plunge frantically in bog and quicksand, and pitch the wounded screaming from their litters. I hate to recall it. Duties kept me with the rear-guard, picking up and driving in stragglers. It was seven A. M. when we marched from Owl Creek. It was after midnight when Kellogg's rearmost files reached the bivouac along the Crow. The night was pitchy dark, the rain was pitiless; half our horses were gone, many of the men were scattered over the cheerless prairie far behind.³²

The ordeal ended on September 13 when provisions reached the expedition. For the next month the troops recuperated in the wondrous Black Hills, marching from grassy meadow to grassy meadow only as required for the horses and mules. —P.L.H.

- [Aug] 26 left powder River Started SE for deadwood mad
20 miles had to walk most of the way and lead our horses
29 Boys crazy for tobacco smoking coffee grounds offer 8 to
10 dollars for a plug Boys discouraged not knowing where
they are going
30 camp on Bever creek Boys all complaining of sickness
31 camp on foster mountains 12 miles a fine grazing country
Sept 1 moved camp 7 miles for grass over 300 of the Boys
sick hardly able to ride myself [not] feeling very well
2 camp on bever creek 18 miles Boys smoking coffee
grounds & grass
3 camp unknown 23 miles water scarce
4 camp on Little Mo R. 25 miles 100 miles from Ft Lin-
coln I gathered some Buffalo Berries stewed them the
Hills all around are like sinders all melted and run together
5 camp on Head waters of heart River 30 miles down to
Half rashes
6 camped at a Big pond no wood to Build a fire lost a
great many Horses



Company B, 5th Cavalry, commanded by Captain Robert H. Montgomery (forefront), at Custer City, South Dakota, 1876. Photo by Stanley J. Morrow, courtesy of United States Military Academy . . . (Below) James Frew (third from left) and father George Frew (second from left) in Frew Saddlery, Harrison, Arkansas, 1907. Courtesy of Karl Henry.



- 7 camp = 40 miles rain and cold Boys in a desperate condition Killing the played out Horses no wood yet
- 8 camp in a range of hills moved at least 30 miles Boys feeling very weak for want of something to eat 15 Horses give out today mine nearly gone
- 9 came on indian village at Slim Buttes routed them at 4 in the morning some took refuge in a ravine close by and took us till noon to get them out they Killed three men before they would come out then we started to Build a fire to smoke them out and The came out covered from head to foot with mud from diging to conseal themselves american Horse the chief Had his guts hanging out³³ he died soon after they came back with reinforcements at about 2 oclock charged us from all sides but we drove them back Kept up a steady fire till dark³⁴
- 10 camp 15 miles I had to walk my horse was killed yesterday feal very Bad nothing to eat but a piece of dried meat taken from Indians about 5000 pounds of it
- 11 camp 27 miles plenty wood and water Killed 25 or 30 ponys to eat the old sore Backed Horses are at a discount since we got the indian ponys to eat³⁵ in the absense of salt I opened a cartrige put the powder in my soup
- 12 marched 40 miles mud very deep I give out twice on the road Laid down got up went on got in camp about 1 ock next morning lost about 300 horses Killed over 30 ponys to eat laid over till noon waiting for the men to come in camp that give out
- 13 Broke camp at noon made 5 miles camp on Belfuch River³⁶ and got Beef and flour Such a time cooking Boys cooked till near midnight
- 14 layed over took all day a sutler from crook city³⁷ came with a wagon we went through him like wolfs
- Sept 15 camp on white wood³⁸ 7 miles Boys in better spirits but still weak
- 16 layed over to rest our selfs and the few horses that are left general crook started for Laramie³⁹ double rashons issued to us fresh Beef and flour
- 17 layed over cooked all day Baked Bread
- 18 camp on centennial park 12 miles 1½ miles from crook city carried water to cook with from a mining sluice about a mile saw them washing gold
- 19 camp on Box Elder 28 miles found a company of 3rd Art⁴⁰ with supplys for us here very cold and I was very tired and did not get any thing to eat till about 12 oclock that

- night my rashons were in my Bundle of Blankets some
siticens were hired to haul our Bundles and did not get in till
midnight
- 20 layed over had Baked Beans for dinner
- 21 camp at rappid creek 15 miles
- 22 camp at spring creek 15 miles took off my shirt and
washed it have had no change of clothing since august 4th
- 23 camp at custer city met a train with supplys for us from
laramie
- 24 layed over Boys very dirty I found some Rubys
- 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. nothing worthy of note only moveing camp
for grass
- Oct 1st - 5th our wagon train came/in today Boys in high
glee very cold weather some snow Burnes dis-
charged by order his folks got him out⁴¹ we left custer
city about the 10 some recruits and fresh horses joined us
there then we went on a 10 days scout on cheyenne
river from there to Red Cloud arived there about the
24th started for sidney⁴² next day arived at sidney Oct 31st

Oct 6th 76 Dacota T
Camp near Custer City

Dear pearants and friends your wellcome letter is recd I
got it Sept 29th dated Sept 18th was glad to here from Home and
friends again we have been laying here since Sept 23

we dont know how long we will stay here but expect to go back to
kansas soon for it is getting to be very cold up here the day I
Recd the letter was very cold and we were not fixed for it as all oure
tents and a good many overcoats and Blankets were left in the
wagon train at crooks camp on goose creek when we started
after the indians Aug 5th we took our rashons on pack mules
500 of them and expected to ovetake them at Rose Bud creek and
come back to the wagons in a few days but they went down
RoseBud and sliped out between us and Terrys command then
we all followed the trail to the yellow stone and the trails splitt up
and we started with 15 days rashons to go back to wagons got
about half way and crook took a notion to go across the country to
deadwood we traveled a day or two and layed over alternetly
so he could prosspect untill our rashons were nearly gone then
we had to make forced marches from 25 to 45 miles a day and no
grain for the horses and then marched within 18 miles of *ft* Lincoln
on $\frac{1}{4}$ rashons but would not stop and had about 300 miles to go to
deadwood⁴³

it rained all the time had 26 days rain and after we crossed
the little Mo River it came down to 2 hardtack a day then nine

days we had nothing but horsemeat two days we had no wood to make a fire and could not cook it they only killed the sore backed and played out Horses a detail came behind the command everyday and drove the abandoned Horses in to camp and Killed and ishued them to us on the 8th of Sept 150 men with the best Horses were sent on ahead to go to Deadwood to get rashons for us it was about 200 miles and they accidentally came upon the indian village the scout Frank Gereard⁴⁴ came back and told us we went and charged upon them at day Break the 9th took them by surprise captured over 300 ponys and run the Reds to the hills and 12 of them went in to a ravine near by it was about 50 feet long and 20 wide 20 deep full of rocks and brush we fired in to them for about two hours Killing five of them including american Horse there chief then they gave themselves up the dead ones were draged out striped and scalped two wounded squaws with papooses were let go we lost five men killed and the scout White⁴⁵ he was killed when he was going to shoot in the ravine shot threw the Hart all he sayed was Oh, Lord ive got it now Boys and rolled down the Bank

everything was quiett for a while then about 3 oclck in the evening the picketts fired and were drove in and the indians charged upon us from every side the Bullets were flying al around us our Horses were unsaddled so we were pushed out in line all round on foot the firing was kept up till dark then they retreated to the Hills a few shots were fired during the night there was about 5,000 pounds of dried meat in the village but a few of the 5th stole some of it and crook would not isue any to us⁴⁶ gave it to the 3rd and 2nd cavelry and would not let us have any ponys eather and about 200 of the 5th were dismounted having eaten there Horses they were eaten up clean even the Heart liver and lights and not a bit of salt

I made supe of mine put powder in for salt—about a thousand Buffalo Robe were Burned the men were not aloued to take them the Horses and men were to weak to carry them we went on next day and the 12th marched 40 miles from day light till midnight and lost over 300 Horses about 200 of the men did not get in till the next day i got in about 1.oclck I was walking my horse Killed the day of the fight and the mud was about ankle deep a good many men died of over exertion that night as well as Horses the command layed over next day to wait for them to all come in and a party mounted on ponys were sent on to crook city and the next day a heard of cattle and wagons with rashons came from there the boys were nearly wild with joy you ought to here them shout

I have walked since we left the indians village about 250 miles north of here 100 miles from deadwood there is a good deal of gold here but the men have to hold on to there scalp with one hand while they dig with the other hand the object in Crook's keeping us here is he has a Brother in law here whoe is a sutler and he is keeping us here to be payed so as to spend our money withe him he will not give us enough clothing so as to make us buy from him he has laid in a big stock the paymaster is coming in a day or two but he will get none of my money I have never heard crooks name mentioned but with a curse the men fired into his tent tried to kill him he thought it was indians⁴⁷ this is all for this time would like to see you all very much write soon and tell me if John went to texas

there is a man in the company was discharged by order the other day he was under age—he got no pay and will have a hard time to get home lives in Boston and several others are expecting to be discharged about half the men will deseart as soon as they are payed 3 have all ready gone took horses and arms⁴⁸ as soon as we get back to Kas I wish you would see about it and get me out certify that I am under age enlisted without your knoledge and am your only support in your old age let me know if you will do it immediately but dont do any thing till i write and tell you when i get payed and draw a lot of clothing i will send you money as soon as i get a chance i am fat and Harty have not had a sick day my Beard is as long as Johns was when he came home from osage

Jim

The arrival October 31, 1876, of Frew's Company D along with Company K, 5th Cavalry, at Sidney Barracks, Nebraska, marked the end for these men of the Great Sioux War. It had been a long, arduous campaign, scored by the triumphs at Warbonnet Creek and Slim Buttes—the sole Army successes up to that time—but remembered more widely for the suffering during the forced marches into the Black Hills. This ordeal broke the health of countless officers and enlisted men alike, and it broke the spirit of many others, including young Frew. The adventurous fervor which sparkled in his early letters was gone by war's end. Now his attention was riveted on a path of escape—an early out due to an underage enlistment. Had Frew been of age when he joined the army in Cincinnati, he certainly would have fulfilled his five-year obligation. But now he wanted absolution for a patriotic lie, and forgiveness in this case was a discharge from the wholly glamourless life of a soldier. —P.L.H.

Nov 7th/76
Sidney Barracks Neb

Dear father I recd a letter from you the 4th and answered it the same day saying that I would send the affidavid to Col Merritt but I have since taken the advice of the company clerk one Chas Gilbert⁴⁹ from cincinnati and a particular friend of mine he says the proper way to do it is for you to send in affadavid to the Sect of war enclosed you will find a letter written by him you copy it and have another paper made out as soon as you get this but dont send it off till I write again and tell you that I have got my pay we expect to be payed soon

I am well and hearty I weigh one hundred and sixtyeight pounds that is more than I ever weight before hoping this will find you all well I am yours as ever answer soon

James B. Frew
Co. D. 5th Cavalry
Sidney Barracks Neb

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Sunday Nov 27th/76

Dear Pearients

I recived your last letter dated Nov 10th the 12th was glad to here from you I did not answer it becaus I kept waiting for the paymaster to come did you receive my letter with a letter written by Chas Gilbert in it tell me in your next the way to work this thing is to send an affadavit to the secretary of war and he will send an order for my discharge that is the way a fellow was discharged out of the company two months ago the paymaster came this evening and will pay us tomorrow I wish you would attend to immediately on receiving this as I will get no pay untill the first of January for this mon and next I get five months and 6 days pay this time there will be a great many men desert as soon as thay are payed I know of seven or eight that will go for sure and good many will go in the spring⁵⁰ I am having easy times now not much to do and pretty fair grub

monday evening got payed off today I got \$69.95 fix that thing as soon as you get this

this is all for this time so good by love to all

James B. Frew
Sidney Barracks, Neb

sunday morning

Sidney Barracks Neb
Dec 17th/76

Dear father I just received your letter dated 15th glad to here from you it is very cold and winday this morning and Inspection is just over in regeard to the money I will send it immediately the mail goes out from here at eight oclock this evening I will write to John today I wish you would attend to that thing as soon as possible write senitor Thurman and maybe he will hurry it up what I am afraid of is that we may have to go out on the scout again

we will be sent out in the spring sure and I will never go on another scout the report here is that Gen McKenzie⁵¹ had another fight and we may be sent for but we do not believe the report well this is all for this time so I will close give my love to all and write soon Yours as ever James B. Frew
Co. D. 5th C

P.S. Who is elected president⁵²

monday could not send this last night they would not register it on sunday will go at eight oclock this evening

Sidney Barracks Neb
Jan 30/77

Dear father & mother your welcome letter is Recd I was very glad to here from you but sorry that father is not well—I wrote a postle card to you telling you not to send the order my intentions were to take you by surprise I did not need the order at all the Sec of war sent one here to Sumner it came here the same day that your letter did (the 20th)

Sumner put off discharging me thinking that the P.master would be here the next week and then I could get my pay but he did not come he could not put it off any longer so he gave me my discharge sunday 28th I am a citisen again but I will have to wait here till the P.M. comes any how for I have not enough money to Bring me home and I have \$40.00/100 coming to me in the company and cant get a cent till they are payed it is expected that he will be here this week but it is uncertain when he will come—I will come home as soon as I am payed

this is all for this time I will send you a card when I leave here hoping to be with you all soon I am as ever

Your affectinate son
James B. Frew

AFTERWORD

Since provisions indeed existed for the release from the Army of young men who had enlisted before the age of consent and without parental approval, the intercession of James' father, George, brought desired results. Paragraph 3 of Special Order No. 10, dated Adjutant General's Office, Headquarters of the Army, January 15, 1877, read:

By direction of the Secretary of War Saddler James B. Frew, Company 'D', 5th Cavalry, now with his command, will be discharged the service of the United States on receipt of this order at the place where he may be serving. This soldier is entitled to pay &c., only under Paragraph 1371, Revised U.S. Army Regulations of 1863. By Command of General Sherman.

This discharge was effective January 28, 1877, at Sidney Barracks.⁵³ In accordance with the above mentioned Paragraph 1371 of the Army Regulations, Frew did not receive a final statement, which was a certificate given to soldiers at the time of their discharge noting certain physical characteristics, and a balancing of financial accounts. Frew, however, did receive an official discharge paper bearing the signature of his company commander, Captain Sumner, and also Sumner's endorsement in the "character" block: "Very good, a sober reliable man and a good soldier."

Frew returned to Missouri after his discharge and soon settled in West Plains in the south-central section of the state. On April 28, 1878, he married Isa Dora Clevinger at West Plains. Their union brought five children: daughters Jennie and Nelle, and sons George, Charles, and James Bently.⁵⁴

The Frews subsequently moved to Harrison, Arkansas, in 1888, and there he established Frew Saddlery, one of the largest firms of its type in the Ozark Mountain country. The company operated continuously for over 40 years in Harrison. Each of Frew's sons took up their father's trade, and one of George's saddles captured a first prize award at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. With the growing popularity and availability of automobiles after World War I, Frew entered that business. Although he sold the first cars in Harrison, he recalled for the benefit of a newspaperman that "his automobile business was ahead of the town, and the venture was not highly successful." Forced to close the auto

dealership, he again fitted up a small leather working shop in his home and catered to select customers who had purchased Frew products over the years.⁵⁵

In the late 1920s when Frew was in his 70s, he enjoyed the limelight as an aged veteran who vividly remembered Indian fighting days. A controversy was brewing over the publication of *The Making of Buffalo Bill, A Study in Heroics* by Richard J. Walsh in collaboration with Milton S. Salsbury. This debunking biography cast Cody in faint light, and, as he could scarcely defend himself from the grave, other friends and associates stepped forward in his defense. Of special concern to Cody's old Army associates was Walsh's reexamination of the fight at Warbonnet Creek, where he questioned Cody's singular exploit and ridiculed the embellishments given it in later published accounts, on the stage, and in the "wild-west" shows. All along, other soldiers and frontiersmen, undoubtedly in the best tradition of telling interrogators what they wanted to hear, related that they, in truth, had killed Yellow Hair, not Cody. The best evidence, however, was conclusive. Cody did kill the Indian, not in a manly hand-to-hand fight but with a shot through the heart at medium range.⁵⁶ Frew could hardly miss the national newspaper attention given these stories, and certainly he found the occasion to tell his own eyewitness version. Newspapermen picked up on Frew's straightforward account. He saw the killing, all right, but had all along dismissed the wild "duel" stories as circus ballyhoo. "If the embellishments would help the erstwhile scout to boost his shows, he certainly did not want to put a damper on it," he reported.⁵⁷

Frew's final years seem to have been fairly stable. An Indian Wars veteran's pension was approved by the Bureau of Pensions in 1927. In the mid-1930s, however, he was admitted to the Veterans' Hospital in North Little Rock, Arkansas, and he died there on August 16, 1939, aged 83. James Frew's life was long and surely a satisfying one, and to his lasting credit the diary and letters he so carefully penned in the adventure of his youth survive today for historians and all others who might be interested in these important days of '76.

NOTES

(The original diary is in the hands of Karl Henry, Goleta, Calif., grandson of James B. Frew.)

1. Don Rickey Jr., *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 22.
2. Registers of Enlistment in the U.S. Army, 1866-1877, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 233, Washington, D.C.
3. St. James is in south-central Missouri midway between St. Louis and Springfield.
4. Dixon is about 25 miles west of St. James. Both towns were on the South Pacific Railroad [now the Frisco].
5. Franklin, west of St. Louis in mid-Missouri, was a stop on the Pacific Railroad of Missouri.
6. Frew was confused about the awarding of longevity pay. The scale was \$13 per month for first and second years; \$14, third year; \$15, fourth year; and \$16, fifth year. Frew's monthly wage of \$15 reflected \$2 extra as a saddler, a company-designated position. Company-duty men were commonly excused from routine fatigues. Rickey, *Forty Miles*, pp. 109-110, 127.
7. Pay at such phenomenal rates could only have been gained for quartermaster contract work such as the cutting of cordwood or forage.
8. Fort D. A. Russell was located 3 miles northwest of Cheyenne, Wyoming.
9. *Sic.* W. T. for Wyoming Territory.
10. A needle gun was a common reference to the Springfield breech-loading rifles and carbines used by the Army. These weapons had a long firing pin resembling a needle.
11. This range today is known as the Laramie Mountains.
12. Actually Company D and the rest of the 5th Cavalry was camped on the Cheyenne River, about 110 miles north of Fort Laramie. Custer City was another 40 miles beyond. Paul L. Hedren, *First Scalp for Custer: The Skirmish at Warbonnet Creek, Nebraska, July 17, 1876* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, (1980), p. 47. W. S. Stanton, *Tables of Distances and Itineraries of Routes Between the Military Posts in, and certain points contiguous to, The Department of the Platte* (Omaha: Headquarters Department of the Platte, 1877), pp. 28, 30.
13. Colonel Joseph J. Reynolds, 3rd Cavalry, with Crook nearby, led troops at Powder River, March 17, 1876. The soldiers, indeed, were defeated. General Crook personally led a refitted and enlarged Army against Sioux and Cheyenne at Rosebud Creek, June 17, a battle which ended in a draw. The official tally of casualties at Powder River was 4 soldiers killed and 6 wounded; at Rosebud Creek 9 soldiers killed, 21 wounded, with a report of 11 Indians killed. Adjutant General's Office, *Chronological List of Actions, &c, with Indians from January 15, 1837 to January, 1891* (Fort Collins: The Old Army Press, 1979), p. 61.
14. Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, Chicago.
15. These men are thought to be Black Hills-bound miners who were slain by Indians. Hedren, *First Scalp*, p. 50.
16. Enroute to Fort Laramie; camped on the Niobrara River.
17. The clash on Warbonnet Creek is told in Hedren, *First Scalp*.
18. Merritt was under orders to join General Crook's command in northern Wyoming. The backtracking recounted by Frew (July 15-21) was merely an unplanned interlude, which coincidentally resulted in the Army's first battlefield success in 1876.
19. References are to Lieutenant Colonel Eugene A. Carr, 5th Cavalry, and Acting Assistant Surgeon J. W. Powell.
20. The deserters were Charles E. Bassett, Charles Gerhardt, and Alexander Harker, all privates in Frew's Company D, 5th Cavalry, U.S. Cavalry Muster Rolls,

Company D, July-August, 1876. Record Group 94. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

21. Fort Reno was located 91 miles north of Fort Fetterman on the old Bozeman Trail. It was one of three posts built in 1865 to protect that route, only to be abandoned in 1868 in compliance with terms ending the Red Cloud War.

22. As with Fort Reno, Fort Phil Kearny guarded the Bozeman Trail from 1865 to 1868. The monument observed by Frew memorialized the dead of the Fetterman fight of December 21, 1866. Today this stone and grave are protected in the cemetery at Custer Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana.

23. This trail was indeed broad—8,000-10,000 Indians—but according to officers in a position to judge, was two or more weeks old. Captain Charles King, *Campaigning With Crook and Other Stories of Army Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890), p. 74.

24. Others report finding only one body, presumed to be a white miner killed as much as a year earlier. *Ibid.*, p. 84; and John F. Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), p. 165.

25. Second Lieutenant George O. Eaton, Company A, 5th Cavalry, lost a portion of his right index finger by the accidental discharge of his pistol as he attempted to check a night stampede of the horses belonging to his company. King, *Campaigning With Crook*, p. 83; and George F. Price, *Across the Continent With the Fifth Cavalry* (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959), p. 542.

26. Newspaperman John Finerty recorded how some of the newly enlisted infantrymen were desperate, with "feet bleeding and legs swollen from the continuous tramp." *War-Path and Bivouac*, p. 167.

27. The steamer *Far West* evacuated to Bismarck those officers and men deemed by the surgeons to be too ill to continue the campaign. The three "boys" were Sergeant John Morgan, Farrier Edward Martin, and Private John Remy, all of Frew's Company D. Muster Rolls, July-August, 1876.

28. Jerome A. Greene, *Slim Buttes, 1876: An Episode of the Great Sioux War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), pp. 11, 39.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 41-42.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

31. The entire saga of Slim Buttes is chronicled by Greene, *Ibid.*

32. King, *Campaigning With Crook*, p. 138-139.

33. American Horse, a Minneconjou Dakota sub-chief, was the headman in the village struck by Mills' detachment. He was prominent in the ravine fight mentioned by Frew, and when those in concealment finally surrendered, American Horse was fatally wounded. Crook's surgeons attended to him through the evening of September 9, but he died about midnight. Greene, *Slim Buttes*, pp. 49, 80, 90.

34. Other accounts suggest that the Indian counterattack came about 4:15 p.m. Frew fails to mention the wounding of a D Company comrade, August Dorn, in this afternoon fight. *Ibid.*, p. 81-83.

35. In addition to the dried meat captured by the troops, they also collected the Sioux pony herd. According to all accounts, these grass-fed mounts had flesh which was decidedly tastier than cavalry horses or pack mules.

36. Belle Fourche River.

37. Crook City was located in the far northern Black Hills, northeast of Deadwood.

38. Whitewood Creek flows northward from the Black Hills to the Belle Fourche River.

39. Lt. General Sheridan had ordered Crook to Fort Laramie, not Laramie, to plan the continuation of the campaign.

40. The escort with this supply train was actually from the 4th U.S. Artillery. The 3rd Artillery did not participate in the campaign of 1876.

41. Private Charles M. Burns, Company D, 5th Cavalry, was indeed discharged per

Special Order 155, AGO, at camp near Custer City, on October 5, 1876. Muster Roll, September-October, 1876. Interesting is Frew's statement: "His folks got him out." This surely was not his first introduction to an alternative manner of discharge, yet it played strongly in coming actions.

42. Sidney Barracks, Nebraska, was to be the new garrison home for Company D.

43. Frew has the route of march and distances traveled incorrect. Crook's Army never countermarched. And they certainly never closed to within 18 miles of Fort Abraham Lincoln or they would have gone in. Frew, simply, was not privy to higher echelon decisions, and reacted only to the supposition, gossip, and rumors circulating within the ranks.

44. Frank Grouard, Crook's head scout.

45. Charles (Jonathan) White, known more commonly by his nickname Buffalo Chips.

46. Frew here is contradicted by the record and his own diary entry of September 10. The entire command shared the captured Indian provisions.

47. Again, Frew knows little of the larger story although indeed there was scant good will toward Crook after the privation of the Starvation March. The troops remained in the Black Hills to recuperate. Clothing, food, and other comforts were ushered forth as quickly as taxed quartermaster and contract teams could bear them. The allegation that Crook had a brother-in-law functioning as a sutler is interesting but not substantiated.

48. The soldier discharged by order for being under age was Burns, discussed in footnote 41. The Muster Rolls of Company D, 5th Cavalry, show no deserters in the Black Hills so the three "all ready gone" must have been from other companies.

49. Private Charles M. Gilbert was not recognized on the Company D Muster Roll as a company clerk, although he may have held a comparable duty in an unofficial capacity. Too, he may have been a "barracks" or "latrine lawyer," one who was always ready with advice, good and bad.

50. Frew was correct this time, for the D Company Muster Rolls of November-December, 1876, and January-February, 1877, show a host of desertions from the unit.

51. Colonel Ranald Mackenzie, 4th Cavalry, commanded troops in a major victory over Northern Cheyenne, November 25, 1876, on the Red Fork of the Powder River, Wyoming.

52. 1876 was an election year. Democrat Samuel J. Tilden captured the popular vote from Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. Hayes, however, was declared the victor on March 2, 1877, when disputed electoral vote counts were settled. Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century: 1876* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1966), pp. 290, 337.

53. Muster Rolls, January-February, 1877.

54. James B. Frew Pension File. National Archives, Washington, D. C. Genealogical data supplied to the author by Karl Henry, Frew's grandson, November 27, 1983.

55. Undated newspaper article "Arkansas Man, an Eyewitness, Refutes Thrilling Tale of Buffalo Bill's Knife Duel," by Ralph A. Hull. Nebraska State Historical Society Collections.

56. Richard J. Walsh in collaboration with Milton S. Salsbury, *The Making of Buffalo Bill, A Study in Heroics* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1923), ch. 15; Don Russell, "A Very Personal Introduction" in *First Scalp for Custer*, pp. 16-17; and Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), ch. 17.

57. "Arkansas Man."